HISTORIC STRUCTURES

Fort Larned National Historic Site

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CONTENTS

List of Illustrations iii

Preface v

Introduction vi

Chapter One, Strategy - Construction Policy

Strategy ........................................... 1
Army Construction Policy .......................... 12

Chapter Two, The Development of Ft. Larned ............. 24
1859 - 1866 ........................................ 24
1866 - 1878 ........................................ 30
1878 - present ...................................... 34

Chapter Three, The Structures .......................... 39
Collectively ......................................... 40
Individually ......................................... 53
HB 3, Shop Building .................................. 55
HB 4, 1868 Commissary Storehouse ...................... 62
HB 5, 1866 Commissary Storehouse ...................... 66
HB 6, Quartermaster Storehouse ......................... 74
HB 7 & 9, Officers' Quarters .......................... 80
HB 8, Commanding Officer's Quarters .................... 88
HB 10, The Blockhouse ................................ 93

Appendix A ........................................... 101
Appendix B ........................................... 102
Appendix C ........................................... 103

Illustrations ........................................ 105
Plates 1 - 24
List of Illustrations

1. 1863 or 1864 diagram of fort. (National Archives)
2. 1866 diagram of fort. (National Archives)
3. 1866 diagram of fort showing sutler's structures. (National Archives)
4. 1867 Corps of Engineers map of fort. (National Archives)
5. Historical Base Map from Ft. Larned Master Plan (NPS)
6. Photograph of farm activities at Fort Larned (Fort Larned National Historic Site)
7. Photograph of farm activities at the Frizell ranch (Kansas State Historical Society)
8. Plan for Fort Larned structures, 1866 (National Archives)
9. 1867 plan for Quartermaster Storehouse (National Archives)
10. 1867 plan for Officers' Quarters (National Archives)
11. 1867 sketch of Fort Larned (Kansas State Historical Society)
12. 1867 sketch of Fort Larned (Kansas State Historical Society)
13. 1867-1868 photograph of new structures (Kansas State Historical Society)
14. 1886 photograph of Fort Larned (Kansas State Historical Society)
15. Photograph of Historic Buildings 3 and 4, farm period (Kansas State Historical Society)
16. Photograph of Quartermaster Storehouse, farm period (Kansas State Historical Society)
17. 1879 photograph of Officers' Quarters 7 and 8 (Kansas State Historical Society)
18. Shop Building, 1968 (NPS)
19. Commissary Storehouse, 1968 (NPS)
20. Commissary Storehouse, 1968 (NPS)
21. Quartermaster Storehouse, 1968 (NPS)
22. Officers' Quarters 7 in 1968 (NPS)
23. Commanding Officer's Quarters, 1968 (NPS)
24. Officers' Quarters 9 in 1968 (NPS)
PREFACE

This historical data section is authorized by Research Study proposal FOLS-H-2. Complete Part II historic structures reports will be prepared as each structure is programmed. Instead of preparing individual historical data sections for each structure, the Division of History decided to do eight of the ten buildings in a single document. This form eliminates considerable research duplication and allowed the writer to bring out features common to all the structures.

The author would like to thank all those who assisted him. Mrs. Sarah Jackson at the National Archives contributed many valuable suggestions as to possible sources. The personnel at Fort Larned, Superintendent Elbert Smith and Tom Munson, were kind enough to spend two days with me. As always, thanks are due to the westward expansion team, Erwin Thompson and Ben Levy, who answered my questions, contributed suggestions, and endured my polemics.

A special debt is owed Mr. Dwight Stinson, who in 1966 wrote the Ft. Larned Historic Structures Report, Part I. The author found Mr. Stinson's report invaluable. He is also indebted to the Kansas State Historical Society for the use of their Ft. Larned photographs.
INTRODUCTION

By definition a historic structures report has as its primary object the building or buildings which are among the principal physical resources of a national historic site. This historical data section is concerned with eight of the ten structures that will comprise the historic scene at Fort Larned National Historic Site, Fort Larned, Kansas.

The report is divided into three chapters: army strategy and construction policy in 1866, the development of Fort Larned, and the structures themselves. The discussion moves from the reasons for construction and construction policy, to the physical development of the post, and ends with an examination of each building. In a general sense, three thematic questions are asked: why was Fort Larned built, how did it develop, and what was constructed?

Fort Larned was not built in a vacuum. The buildings are of interest not only in and for themselves; they also serve a symbolic function. They represent Fort Larned's participation in the historical period designated Westward Expansion and, more closely delimited, the Indian Wars. The structures themselves could perhaps be classified and dismissed as "frontier barrack" or "19th century Kansas military;" nevertheless, they symbolize the extension of 19th century American civilization onto the Great Plains. The United States Army, the institution through
or by means of which the country expressed its will to secure the area by military force, participated in and indeed often led this expansion. The buildings at Fort Larned stand, then, as a symbol of that army and the civilization it served.
Chapter 1

Strategy - Construction Policy

The Army established Fort Larned in 1859. By the middle of the 1860s it had become apparent that the original structures, crude adobe buildings, no longer adequately housed the men and their supplies. At that time the post was rebuilt. The construction program included the buildings which are the object of this report.

As a means of setting the historical background to this construction program, this chapter attempts to briefly describe, first, why the U. S. Army decided to spend well over $100,000 to rebuild Fort Larned, and, second, how army construction policy influenced the construction. In analyzing the first topic, attention is given to the strategic and tactical conceptions of Maj. Gen. William T. Sherman. In handling the second, the policy differences between the Quartermaster Corps and the frontier line officers are examined.

Strategy

I attach much importance to these deep incisions into the enemy's country....we are not only fighting hostile armies, but a hostile people, and must make old and young, rich and poor, feel the hard hand of war, as well as the organized armies....My aim, then, was to whip the rebels, to humble their pride, to follow them to their inmost recesses, and make them fear and dread us.¹

Great military commanders are made, not born. Sherman, the man most responsible for rebuilding Fort Larned, was made during the Civil War. On March 14, 1864, the new commander of the Union armies, Lieut. Gen. Ulysses S. Grant, appointed him commander of the Division of the Mississippi. Shortly thereafter Sherman launched his now-famous campaign that resulted in the capture of Atlanta and the devastating march to the sea. Out of this experience Sherman formed a conception of the nature of war that he brought with him to the West.

According to Sherman, war was fought not between antagonistic armies, but rather between opposing peoples and their civilian armies. War was total. It had one supreme goal, the crushing of the enemy's will to resist. Will was formed by the entire people. They shared in defining war aims and morally and materially supported the efforts of their fighting men. To break that will, a general must not only defeat military organizations; he must also inflict pain, dread, and suffering on the civilian population, force the people to experience the horror of war. When the civilian population ceased to support the war, it would end.

At the end of the Civil War the regular United States Army turned its attention to, among other tasks, pacifying the American Indian in the vast frontier territories. The geographical boundaries of Sherman's command, the Division of the Mississippi, were
changed to include most of the territory between the Mississippi and the Rocky Mountains. When he moved to his new headquarters at St. Louis, Sherman was aware that he would be facing a military situation entirely different than the set-piece, large-force engagements of the Civil War. He would have to devise strategic and tactical plans that adjusted his limited means, a very small force, to the end of securing the major travel routes. But his grand strategy remained the same. As he whipped the Rebels, so he would now whip the Indians. They would be made to feel the hard hand of war.

During the war, the regular army had marched east to fight the South, leaving the task of garrisoning the frontier posts to volunteer outfits. Taking advantage of the general weakness of the white settlers, the Indians had by 1865 succeeded in slowing down and in some cases stopping travel over the major routes between the settled areas and the Far West. Upon arriving in St. Louis, Sherman's first task was to determine an effective distribution of the limited forces under his command.

On March 14, 1866, General Grant issued Sherman a general directive. Pointing out that the only information he had of general conditions in the West was Maj. Gen. John Pope's report "of the conditions and necessities of the Department
of Missouri," Grant instructed Sherman:

In the middle belt of country described by General Pope where the country is uninhabitable, select such of the travel routes as you think ought to be protected, and compel all travel to pass over them....Select posts to be temporarily occupied on the best information on hand. Inspections during the summer will determine points that should be permanently occupied.2

As was Grant's custom, he informed Sherman that the latter, who was "on the spot," would be free to determine the details.

The report to which Grant referred was written by Maj. Gen. John Pope, at that time commanding the Department of Missouri. Pope had literally been exiled to the frontier after his unfortunate performance at Second Manassas. Nevertheless, he was an experienced frontier officer and had long concerned himself with the implications of the collision of the white and red man. Dated February 25, 1866, and written after General Pope had obtained the opinions of his post commanders, the report presented an analysis of the nature of the problem facing the Army and contained recommendations for troop dispersal. Because it formed the basis for Sherman's later decisions, it is here quoted at length.

Pope divided the geographic area between the Mississippi and the Rocky Mountains into "three distinct belts of country." The

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2. Grant to Sherman, March 14, 1866, Department of Missouri, Letters Received, Box No. 20, R. G. 393, Army Military Commands, National Archives (hereafter cited as Dept. of Mo., Letters Received).
"agricultural belt" embraced the frontiers of Minnesota, Iowa, southern Dakota, Nebraska, and Kansas. The mining regions in the Rockies formed another belt, and the third was the Great Plains. According to Pope, these plains were "uninhabitable by civilized man." "They," he stated, "can never be settled and the military arrangements for the security of the great highways which cross them will be necessarily kept up as long as Indians exist in that region." 3

The first priority consisted of protecting travelers on the major routes across the Great Plains. The Southern routes were the Santa Fe and Smoky Hill trails. Pope suggested the following force dispersal on the Santa Fe Trail: Fort Riley, 3 infantry companies, 2 cavalry companies; Fort Ellsworth (Harker), 3 infantry, 2 cavalry; Fort Larned, 3 infantry, 2 cavalry; Fort Dodge, 2 infantry, 1 cavalry; and Fort Lyon, 3 infantry, 2 cavalry. He further recommended that the existing posts on the trail be made permanent. Fort Larned occupied a position of strategic importance in these recommendations.

General Sherman read Pope's report and used it as the basis for his own considerations of the future needs of the division. However, he fitted the existing posts into his own conception

of how to protect the trails. He disagreed with Pope's analysis of the Indian challenge and soon replaced him with a man more attuned to his conception of the military's mission, Maj. Gen. Winfield Scott Hancock. Pope's recommendations were in essence defensive. He offered no recommendations as to how the Indians could be defeated. Sherman thought Pope soft on Indians.

Like all good generals, Sherman believed that the responsible officer should be personally familiar with the terrain and conditions of the area he commanded. In the spring and fall of 1866 he made long trips throughout the division, which in August was reorganized as the Division of the Missouri (contained departments of Missouri, Platte, Dakota, and Arkansas). Each department was soon commanded by a man of Sherman's choice, usually an officer who had fought with him in the Civil War. During his two inspection trips Sherman wrote lengthy reports to Grant, which contained his thoughts on how to protect the travel routes. An admiring biographer of this period of Sherman's career says,

It was his notion that small army posts, used primarily for forage depots, could support the cavalry expeditions that would patrol the principal western routes during the travel season, protecting those emigrants and travelers who would follow regular roads and refrain from straggling. It was clear to him that he must employ the method of penetration, using well guarded roads as wedges into the great block of territory he hoped to control. 

This was Sherman's tactical conception; it was not his strategic goal. The travel routes and logistic support positions were intended not only to control the area, but primarily as the base for expelling the Indian from all the territory between the Arkansas and Platte rivers, driving them into selected reservations and leaving the territory open for white settlement.

In his annual report to Grant dated November 5, 1866, Sherman not only discussed his military requirements, but also suggested an Indian policy for the federal government. The Sioux would be restricted to an area north of the Platte, west of the Missouri, and east of the Bozeman Trail. The southern tribes, Arapahoe, Cheyenne, Comanche, Kiowa, and Navaho would be held south of the Arkansas and east of Fort Union. The goal was explicit, the creation of a cordon sanitaire: "This would leave for our people exclusively the use of the wide belt east and west, between the Platte and the Arkansas in which lie the two great railroads, and over which passes the bulk of travel to the mountain territories." Time and again, as long as Sherman was commander of the division, he urged the removal of the Indians to fixed reservations and mistrusted the Office of Indian Affairs for its refusal to grasp the military necessity of such a policy. During the Civil War two peoples had been engaged, one of which had to give way. Now, according to Sherman, it was not only a

question of conflicting peoples but also of incompatible races:

So long as the two distinct races of people, with such diverse interests as subsist between the roving Indians of the plains and our own white settlers, remain together, so long will actual war exist, and if there be an earnest desire on the part of the law making power of the government to save the weaker party from absolute annihilation, some provision must be made for separating these conflicting races.6

In this 1867 report, when it had begun to become clear that the Great Plains were inhabitable, Shermans apartheid conception (and it was exactly that) took the following form. The Sioux would go north of Nebraska, west of the Missouri, and east of the parallel of the mouth of the Yellowstone. "They would have a range as large as they ought to want, until necessity would force them to live on and cultivate the little strips of land that are fit for corn, along the banks of the Missouri river."7 The southern tribes would be removed to Indian Territory.

In devising his military strategic and tactical plans to accomplish the goal of this grand strategy, Sherman displayed his great ability of adjusting means to his end. Writing to Grant on September 21, 1866, at the time of his second swing through the division, he said,

My present impression is, that we should have a thin line of infantry posts, as now, from the head of the

7. Ibid.
railroad building out to Smoky Hill, to this Fort Garland, at the head of the Rio Grande; that somewhere near Bent's old fort, or the mouth of the Huerfano, on the Arkansas, we should construct, next spring, a post or cantonment for a full regiment of cavalry; that the infantry posts should be constructed as main points of security and deposits of stores.  

In March 1867, in response to an inquiry from the Secretary of War regarding "military operation in progress or contemplated," Sherman reported,

All the troops in the Departments of Dakota, Platte, and Missouri, embracing the Indian country, have been and are now being placed, in position to afford the best protection to the telegraph and mail routes across the plains, as well as to protect the four principal roads by which emigrants travel or merchants send their goods destined to the mountain territories. These troops will occupy posts rudely built but designed for defense by a fraction of the garrison, whilst the balance can operate as escorts on expeditions between the posts.

In addition to guarding the mail and wagon trains, these posts would also protect the railroads, "enterprises in which the whole civilized world has an interest." The railroads played an important role in Sherman's strategic goal and also had tactical value:

When these two great thoroughfares reach the base of the Rocky Mountains, and when the Indian title to roam at will over the country lying between them is extinguished, then the solution of this most complicated question of Indian hostilities will be

9. Sherman to Adjutant General, March 13, 1867, Dept. of Mo., Letters Received, Box No. 28.
comparatively easy, for this belt of country will naturally fill up with our own people, who will permanently separate the hostile Indians of the north from those of the south, and allow us to direct our military forces at one or the other at our pleasing, if thereafter they continue their acts of hostility.\(^{10}\)

Sherman, the brilliant offensive general of the march to the sea, refused to be tied down to defensive positions. The posts would also serve as bases for offensive purposes. He demonstrated an astute grasp of the enemy's tactics, and his conception of offensive operations, pursuit, punishment, and reservation confinement, became the pattern which eventually brought the demise of the plains Indian. As the army had marched through Georgia, so it would now "get amongst" the hostile tribes:

I will remark that defensive measures will not answer against Indians. We are tied down to long routes and our detachments are necessarily small and hardly enough to build shelters and gather firewood, the materials for which have to be hauled two and three hundred miles, whilst the Indians move hundreds and thousands of miles, taking along their ponies, lodges, wives, and children. They are thus enabled at one time to attack or molest our road at one point, and in a month or so make their appearance at another hundreds of miles distant. Our troops must get amongst them and must kill enough of them to inspire fear and then must conduct the remainder to places, where Indian agents can come amongst them, and be held responsible for their conduct.\(^{11}\)

\(^{10}\) Annual Report, Secretary of War (Washington, 1867), p. 38.

\(^{11}\) Sherman to Adjutant General, March 13, 1867, Dept. of Mo., Letters Received, Box No. 28.
Fort Larned had by 1866 become one of the principal posts on the Santa Fe Trail. Its location made it a logical choice for continuation under the plan devised by General Sherman, i.e., as a point where emigrant and commercial wagon trains could gather to be escorted to the next point of safety, and a post from which reprisal patrols and expeditions could be either launched or logistically supported (such as Sheridan's 1868 winter campaign).

It was this decision to retain Fort Larned that changed its designation from temporary to permanent fort. This upgrading of status to permanent meant that Fort Larned became eligible for barracks and quarters funds which would allow the construction of buildings conducive to the health and comfort of a regular garrison. In addition, the size of the garrison envisaged under Sherman's plan for small posts would determine the number and capacity of the structures.

The rebuilding of Fort Larned was, then, the direct result of Sherman's plans for meeting and eliminating the North American plains Indian as an impediment to the westward expansion of American civilization. This was the fort's raison d'être. He did not formulate his plans alone and, indeed, always discussed the situation with his local commanders. Nevertheless, he was the man most singularly responsible for army military policy in the West during the years 1865 to 1869. He may have thought of himself,
as his admirers claim, as an apolitical general, refusing to become involved in domestic politics. Nevertheless, his tragedy—and it is an American tragedy—was his failure to grasp that his grand strategy meant not only the elimination of the Indian as a military threat, but also dictated the political settlement or result. For the United States its pitiful fulfillment at Wounded Knee resulted in undisputed control of the Great Plains. For the plains Indian the result was his subjugation to a strange civilization and culture and the end of the social, political, economic, and cultural forms which had characterized his existence, giving it order, content, and meaning.

**Army Construction Policy - Sherman's Sheltering Fund**

The Civil War consumed not only the attention and energies of the army, but also all available construction funds. Frontier posts, scarcely models of the finest in military architecture, suffered particularly as structures built of adobe bricks or rough lumber further deteriorated. When the regular army moved back to the frontier, men and officers alike bemoaned the inferior quality of their new homes.

It was an American custom until recent times that, during war, price was of no concern. However, with the return of peace, economy became the dictum for the peacetime army. At the end of the Civil War, Congress reduced the size of the army to
an authorised strength of 55,000 men (reorganisation of 1866),
and drastically cut all spending. The custodians of the nation's
purse expected the army to all but support itself while it used
up the war surpluses. Spending reductions applied to that portion
of the quartermaster appropriation designated "barracks and quarters."
It was from this appropriation that funds came for repair and
construction at military installations on the frontier.

During 1866 officers who made inspection trips through the
frontier territories became aware of the dilapidated condition of
almost every post. Col. Delos B. Sackett, assistant inspector
general in 1866, wrote that the buildings at Fort Randall were
"uninhabitable" and designated the quarters at Fort Sully as being
"not fit to live in."\(^{12}\) Sherman, always concerned with the well-
being and morale of his men, and thus their fighting ability,
shared these sentiments. Writing from Fort Lyon he observed:
"The post is about as good as could be expected under the circum­
stances, but it is not fit for troops. Anybody looking through
them (frontier posts) can see full reason for the desertions that
have prevailed so much of late years....troops in this barren
country should have decent houses and decent tents."\(^{13}\) In June
1866 he informed Grant, "We cannot expect troops to be worth

\(^{12}\) "Protection Across the Continent," p. 22.
\(^{13}\) Ibid.
anything, if we winter them in holes, and force them to fight
with rats, bed bugs, and fleas for existence."\textsuperscript{14}

Sherman, the man of action, refused to await the slow grind
of regulation red tape to catch up with the housing needs of his
troops. "I hold," he said, "that if the U. S. can afford eleven
millions of dollars for the freedmen, there should be no hesitation
in giving us a couple of million for our white soldiers."\textsuperscript{15} He
addressed a letter to Grant, requesting that $2,000,000 be made
available for construction purposes and, moreover, that he and
his department commanders be given direct control over its
administration: "You will perceive that General Pope feels
embarrassed and naturally too, by reason of the fact that the
Quartermaster General construes himself the judge of what improve­
ments shall be made. This is all wrong. We who command troops
must station them, and we must be the judge of the kind of
structures needed."\textsuperscript{16}

Sherman's complaints that the Quartermaster Department was
overstepping its authority in attempting to determine where and

\textsuperscript{14}. Sherman to Grant, June 22, 1866, Division of the Mis­
issippi, Letters Sent, Vol. 4, p. 405, R. G. 393, Army Military
Commands, National Archives (hereafter cited as Div. of Miss.,
Letters Sent).
\textsuperscript{15}. Sherman to Pope, June 26, 1866, Dept. of Mo., Letters
Received, Box No. 22.
\textsuperscript{16}. Sherman to Grant, June 22, 1866, op. cit.
how posts would be built plus his request for direct control of quarter-master funds brought about an argument with intra-army political implications. Who would determine purpose and who would control were the issues, and the disputants were a ranking line officer, Sherman, and a pillar of the Washington staff corps, the Quartermaster General.

Brig. Gen. Montgomery C. Meigs became Quartermaster General on May 15, 1861, a position he held for the next twenty years. Admired and praised for the contributions of the department to the Union victory, Meigs was a dedicated officer of many interests and large administrative ability. An amateur scientist, engineer, and architect, he designed among other things the Pension Building in Washington, D. C., and the first regulation barracks lamp. However, his talents were matched by his prejudices. Meigs was devoted to regulations, economy, and order.

In 1866 regulations concerning organizational command within the army established no clear vertical chain. The staff departments (quartermaster, adjutant general, paymaster, ordnance, hospital corps, engineers, etc.) were not directly responsible to the General-in-Chief, but rather to the Secretary of War. So long as the General-in-Chief worked harmoniously with both the staff departments and the Secretary, or one deferred to the other, the organizational matrix functioned. However, when the General-in-Chief and one of
the bureau commanders disagreed, or, when a line officer challenged the practices of the staff, as Sherman was now doing, friction developed. Both the bureau commander and the General-in-Chief were forced to turn to the Secretary of War to arbitrate the dispute.

The regulations concerning construction and repair at frontier posts placed administrative control in the hands of the Quartermaster Department. The regulations stipulated that plans and estimates of proposed construction and repairs, normally submitted on a fiscal year basis, would be sent to the Quartermaster General, who would recommend their acceptance to the Secretary of War. By being thus able to influence whether or not barracks and quarters would be built, the Quartermaster General acquired a voice in where and how posts would be constructed. General Meigs was determined that such would be the case in the Division of the Missouri.

In January 1866 Meigs became alarmed at the size of funds requested by the Department of Missouri. In a letter to the Adjutant General, he pointed out that according to the estimates then on hand, the entire quartermaster appropriation for the coming year will be consumed in the department of Missouri alone, unless great reduction can be effected in the number of troops and the cost of their maintenance....Believing the
subject of great importance, I submit this statement in hopes that measures may be possible, which may curtail this expenditure, by reducing the number of troops and of posts; by placing them at points where they can be more cheaply supplied, and by other means, which may occur to the authorities, as well as by enforcing the discharge of civilians, and the employment of troops in all labors and work relating to service of supply and shelter. A copy of this letter was sent to Sherman, and it aroused his anger. Meigs was recommending troop reduction at exactly the time Sherman was wondering where he would get the troops to protect the travel routes. Worst of all, Meigs' suggestion that posts be built where they could be cheaply supplied contained the implication that the Quartermaster Department would determine the location of forts. The line officer, the man who understood the military realities and devised plans, must determine where his forces would be stationed, not the Quartermaster General sitting at a desk in far off Washington. General Meigs was attempting to mold military policy in Sherman's division to fit the limited quartermaster appropriation imposed by Congress.

In June 1866 the matter came to a head and resulted in Sherman's request for $2,000,000. The occasion was supplied by Fort Larned. In May Maj. Cuvier Grover, Fort Larned's commanding officer, had submitted drawings for proposed construction at his badly deter-

17. Meigs to Adjutant General, January 12, 1866, Dept. of Mo., Letters Received, Box No. 22.
iorated post. In addition to being poorly executed, the plans did not comply with Quartermaster General Order No. 3, January 21, 1864, which stipulated that drawings should embrace a ground plan, a vertical section, and the general mode and style of construction in addition to detailed estimates of material costs. Meigs immediately wrote that no funds would be allocated on the basis of Grover's drawings. Sherman complained to Grant, and, in addition, sent a strongly worded letter to Meigs. Explaining that General Pope, the department commander, knew nothing of plans for Fort Larned, because the post quartermaster corresponded directly with Washington, Sherman went on to say,

You can exercise a judicious control over the expenditures of your department by and through us. My quartermaster should have supervision over the affairs of the quartermaster department in all the country subject to me, and in like manner, each department commander should have a good quartermaster whose district of control should be the same as that of his general. Then you could set aside to me what you could spare to enable me to house my troops. Knowing the necessities of service I could apportion the amount to my several departments discriminating against those who have timber and materials that soldiers can use, and favoring those that must have money.18

General Meigs replied immediately. Contending that quartermaster officers had orders to follow the wishes of the line officers, and pointing out that the Fort Larned plans were totally inadequate and could not be sent to the Secretary of War without definite

cost estimates, Meigs continued,

But the Secretary and under him the Heads of Bureau are held responsible for Army expenditures, and we do not meet this responsibility by saying to each General Commanding a Division we have such and such appropriations, spend them at your will, without informing us where and how you intend or expect to apply them, merely send the vouchers after the expenditures to the 3rd auditor for settlement. 19

However, the matter had already been decided. On July 3, 1866, Grant had recommended and the Secretary of War had endorsed that "the sum of one million dollars be put into the hands of General Sherman's Chief Quartermaster to be expended in such amounts in sheltering the troops upon the Plains and within General Sherman's Military Division as may directed by him." 20

Sherman received half of his original request and considered the matter closed. As far as Meigs was concerned, only a round had been lost. Grant's directive did not clear up the real difficulty, namely, the confusion between the responsibilities of the line commanders and the Quartermaster Department. The regulations still stipulated that approval for expending barracks and quarters funds would come from Washington through the Quartermaster General.

No sooner had Meigs learned of the directive than he devised new tactics to retain control. He informed Sherman’s Chief Quartermaster, Col. Langdon C. Easton, that $200,000 would be made available. Further funds, however, would come "from time to time, upon your advice that they are needed." Easton was to continue to comply with regulations and "forward plans and estimates of cost of all structures which may be ordered under this appropriation; and will also forward copies of all orders which you may receive relative to the application and distribution of the fund."  

When General Easton was transferred to the Department of Missouri and replaced at St. Louis by Bvt. Maj. Gen. James S. Donaldson, another of Sherman’s Atlanta Campaign quartermasters, Meigs frankly informed him that he was to look after quartermaster interests:

Our great interest in detaining you at HdQrs is that you may be able to exercise control of the operations and expenditures of the quartermaster department in the Military Division, being at that point from which all orders for warrants of troops and establishing of posts emanate and to which all advices relating to military operations in the Division first go.  

22. Ibid.  
In the meantime Sherman gave the order to begin a program of construction and repair throughout the division. During the fall and winter of 1866-1867 the $1,000,000, or sheltering fund as it came to be known, was distributed to the departments for necessary immediate repairs and the purchase of materials in anticipation of full scale work during the summer of 1867. During the winter department quartermasters complied with Meigs' directive to Donaldson and submitted plans and estimates to St. Louis. By March 1867 it became possible for Donaldson to send Meigs a rough estimate of the cost of the proposed activity in the Department of Missouri. The estimates for the new posts and construction at the existing in just that department came to a huge $1,600,028. The new post for a full regiment of cavalry, which Sherman wanted established near Pueblo, Colorado Territory, would alone cost $486,000. As Donaldson informed Meigs, "Estimates seem frightful, and yet cannot be safely reduced in view of orders." 24

As of March 1867 approximately $524,000 officially remained of the original $1,000,000 sheltering fund. In reality only

24. Donaldson to Meigs, March 18, 1867, Quartermaster Consolidated Correspondence File, Box No. 838, R. G. 92, Records of the Quartermaster General, National Archives (hereafter cited as Q.M.C.C.F.).
$100,000 was still banked in St. Louis for the entire division and the $250,000 which the Department of Missouri had received had already been spent.\textsuperscript{25} With the sheltering fund gone, the questions became, where would new funds come from, and who would control them?

Once he had the estimates for the Department of Missouri, Meigs went directly to the Secretary of War, informing him that they far exceeded any appropriations. As a result the Secretary of War issued the following directive, which Grant endorsed on April 18:

Instead of expending large sums of money in erecting permanent quarters at temporary posts, it would be better to keep the troops at present in cantonments, occupying such quarters as they can construct with their own labor assisted by an appropriation from the remainder of the $1,000,000 recently turned over to General Sherman for such purposes.\textsuperscript{26}

This of course meant that once the sheltering fund had been spent, control over all barracks and quarters funds reverted to the Quartermaster General. General Meigs had won the fight.

Nevertheless, Sherman had reason to be pleased. With the $1,000,000 he had set in motion a construction program which met

\textsuperscript{25} Easton to Brig. Gen. Winfield Scott Hancock, March 18, 1867, Dept. of Mo., Letters Received, Box No. 28.
\textsuperscript{26} "Posts," Q.M.C.C.F., Box No. 838.
his minimum requirements. Although he had to abandon the post for a full regiment, numerous new posts were started throughout the division and, equally as important, new construction at the existing was either underway or well along in the planning stage. His major objective, freedom to determine where his limited forces would be stationed, had been achieved. Once started it became impossible to reverse the construction program. Such would have meant the waste of material already purchased and at the sites. This forced General Meigs to present larger requests to Congress to complete the work and, ultimately, required Congress to appropriate the necessary funds to support the army to which it had given the task of bringing order to the frontier. Fort Larned was one of the posts that benefited from Sherman's sheltering fund.
Chapter 2

The Development of Fort Larned

Americans...are insensible to the wonders of inanimate Nature, and they may be said not to perceive the mighty forests which surround them till they fall beneath the hatchet. Their eyes are fixed upon another sight; the American people views its own march across these wilds - drying swamps, turning the course of rivers, peopling solitudes, and subduing Nature.

Alexis de Tocqueville

1859-1866

William Bent, the well known Indian trader, had throughout the 1850's advocated the establishment of an escort station on the Santa Fe Trail between Fort Riley and Fort Union. He suggested the best location would be a small stream called Pawnee Fork near the mouth of the Arkansas River in central Kansas. When the Indians became restless in 1859 and began attacking traffic on the trail, the army ordered troops from Fort Riley to march to Pawnee Fork and set up an escort station. In February 1860 the name of the camp was changed from Camp on Pawnee Fork to Camp Alert. In June the camp was elevated to the status of temporary fort and named after the Paymaster General, Col. Benjamin F. Larned.

Originally situated at the base of Lookout Hill, the location of the fort was moved about three miles west in the fall of 1860. From that time until its abandonment, Fort Larned's position would officially be given as "on the right bank of Pawnee Fork, about
eight miles from its confluence with the Arkansas River, latitude 38.10° north, longitude 99. west, altitude above the sea, 1,932 feet.\(^{27}\)

The reasons for locating the post eight miles from the Arkansas River are conjectural. Some suggest the reason was an abundance of trees required for construction and firewood. It is also probable that defensive position played a role. The stream and ox-bow, or bayou as it is identified on an early map, provided natural barriers on the north, east, and west, leaving only the south approach exposed to a frontal assault.

When considering how they would construct the necessary post buildings, the commanding officer and post quartermaster were usually guided by two factors, climate or environment and the type of material locally available.

The term "uninhabitable desert" described the environment of the region and was accepted as an apt description by all those traveling through Kansas. The immediate environment of Fort Larned, although an oasis in the desert, was depicted by the post surgeon as "a vast rolling prairie of scanty vegetation, to the south a flat prairie extends six miles to the Arkansas river, beyond which a low range of sand hills terminate the view... on the north

a desolate prairie whose principal growth is the buffalo grass, the gourd and various species of cactus."28 The environment was indeed desolate, in the eyes of arriving easterners fit only for Indians and buffalo, but the climate of central Kansas was neither arid nor in the winter mild. In selecting materials, bitter winter winds and summer cloud bursts would have to be considered.

Available materials were lumber from the trees growing along the banks of the stream, and mud. In addition, the materials had to be such that the garrison could construct buildings from them, i.e., the materials had to correspond to the construction skills of the work force.

Col. Edwin V. Sumner, whose 1st Cavalry Regiment first garrisoned Fort Larned, intended to construct wooden buildings. However, higher authority, undoubtly worrying about the cost of cutting the trees and supplying shingles, nails, etc., vetoed the proposal and instead ordered that Fort Larned be constructed of adobe bricks, the cheapest available material. Colonel Sumner protested: "I took it for granted that the quarters at the new posts were to be built in the same manner as they had been at all frontier posts in this department. I am aware that troops can

28. Ibid. p. 5.
be quartered in Mexican huts, in a mild climate...but I did not anticipate that such quarters would be thought sufficient for the military post on the Arkansas."29 Washington, long familiar with such complaints from local commanders, opted for economy and the decision to employ adobe stood.

Plate 1 illustrates the growth of Fort Larned from 1860 to about 1863 or 1864. (It is advised that the reader turn to this illustration and familiarize himself with the fort). As can be seen, approximately 24 structures of various types were constructed during these years. They were all post-designed to fill an immediate need. Local material was employed. The types of buildings (storehouses, quarters, bake house, guardhouse, corrals, etc.) were similar to those found at most frontier posts.

Plate 2, dated 1866, shows not only general fort development to that time, but also contains very good descriptions of the existing structures and rough drawings of a few. A soldier stationed at Ft. Larned described the construction procedure and commented on the quality of the buildings:

The buildings are mostly built of mud made into large square blocks and dried, then laid into a wall - mud being used for cement or mortor. They are covered with poles and brush and then covered with dirt. They will answer for dry weather but cannot shed water. There is one of a similar wall covered with

29. Ibid. p. 7.
shingles, also one stone and one shingled (hospital and blockhouse). There are two made by setting posts endwise in the ground near together and covering with dirt but the greatest number are made by excavating the bank and then covering with dirt. These latter are quarters for soldiers.\textsuperscript{30}

Neither diagram shows the dugouts along the banks of the stream. The "soldiers' quarters" in the two storehouses were too small to house the garrison. The need for adequate quarters was one of the principal arguments for building new structures.

In a letter to his family, a reconciled Fort Larned officer nicely described the structures at the post:

For the first month or so out there, I fared very poorly indeed as to quarters. A bed on top of a heap of coffee is by no means comfortable, and that is how I slept for a month or so. I now have my bed in the office, where if not as good as could be wished, it is more comfortable than the other. The buildings are very inferior, being built of adobe or sun dried bricks, covered with earth for a roof. In windy weather the air circulates rather too freely through the walls, and the snow and rain (in a hard storm) comes down as though through a sieve. Not very pleasant is it? All these inconveniences seem hard to be borne, but they are soon ceased to be thought of unless our desks catch the rain, when our patience is sorely tried.\textsuperscript{31}

During the years 1859 to 1866 Fort Larned developed into a

\textsuperscript{30} Ibid., p. 7.
\textsuperscript{31} Ibid., p. 8.
sizeable outpost of civilization on the Kansas plain. However, it official designation remained "temporary." Not even an executive order establishing an official military reservation had been issued. Even if funds for new construction had been available - and due to the Civil War they were not - it is doubtful that the post would have shared in them. Temporary status indicated no intention to establish a regular garrison at that location. Since the fort could be abandoned at any time, economy-minded quartermaster officers reasoned that construction and repair, beyond that which the men could perform themselves, would be a waste of money. As a result men from the volunteer outfits maintained the structures, plugging here and patching there. By 1866, when the regular army again garrisoned the fort, the nicest buildings belonged to the post sutler. Plate 3, sent to Washington in 1866 at the time the post sutler was attempting to sell his buildings to the Army, shows the stage of development shortly before the beginning of new construction.

In comfort and convenience Fort Larned did not rival Forts Leavenworth or Riley. Nevertheless, tired travelers often harassed by hostile Indians welcomed the site of actual structures grouped around a waving flag. No matter how primitive or rudimentary, Fort Larned was civilization and security well beyond the line of frontier settlement.
By 1866 Fort Larned no longer stood alone between Forts Riley and Lyon. Forts Harker (1864), Zarah (1864), and Dodge (1865) had been established to shorten escort distance and offer protection. According to Sherman's plans, these posts would now not only guard the roads, but also serve as support points for the cavalry organizations pursuing depredating Indians.

In May 1866 Maj. Cuvier Grover, the Fort Larned commanding officer, submitted plans for new buildings. However, with the exception of a commissary storehouse needed to store Indian annuities, no new structures were built. The reason was twofold. First, as we have seen, the Quartermaster General refused to approve the drawings due to their poor quality and lack of detailed cost estimates. Second, it had been suggested that the site of the post be moved several miles east. So long as the location of the post was questioned, no construction could begin.

In April 1867 Maj. Gen. Winfield S. Hancock arrived at Fort Larned at the head of a large force on its way to show the flag to potentially hostile Indians gathered on the Pawnee Fork. While camped near Fort Larned awaiting communication with them, he appointed a board of officers to examine the fort's location. The brass-heavy board consisted of three brevet major generals, Andrew J. Smith, John W. Davidson, and George A. Custer, and one
first lieutenant from the Corps of Engineers, whose opinion became the board's. The board recommended that the site be moved to a plateau near the Pawnee Fork crossing. The reasons were: too great a distance from the stone quarries, i.e., six miles and across the creek; too far from the trail it protected; and, the trenches and ox-bow did not provide defense, but rather gave ideal cover for attacking Indians.\(^{32}\) In forwarding the recommendations of the board, General Hancock claimed nothing would be lost in the move, because the post trader, Mr. David Butterfield, was willing to take the existing two stone structures and in return not only quarry an equal number of stones but also place them at the new site. The rest of the public buildings were worthless, but some materials could be salvaged.\(^{33}\)

When Hancock met General Sherman in May at Fort Harker, the recommendations of the board of officers were turned down. Sherman not only did not want to undertake anything that would increase his already skyrocketing construction costs, but he was also aware that the Indians rarely attacked a fortified position and felt confident that a small force could defend the fort.

With the question of location settled, Fort Larned was free

\(^{32}\) "Report of a Board of Officers," April 9, 1867, Dept. of Mo., Letters Received, Box, No. 24.

\(^{33}\) Hancock to Sherman, May 1, 1867, Fort Larned Reservation File, R. G. 94, Records of the Adjutant General, National Archives.
to participate in the construction program already underway throughout the department. In June 1867 Capt. Almon F. Rockwell arrived to supervise construction. Rockwell, a regular quartermaster officer and not an acting assistant quartermaster assigned from a regiment, was also placed in charge of the Fort Zarah construction.

He immediately gathered a civilian work force and, although "the greater portion of the month of July was practically lost on account of the prevalence of the cholera," energetically pushed ahead. From August 1867 until January 1868 a monthly average of 191 men quarried sandstone, crushed limestone, hammered, sawed, raised walls, shingled roofs, lathed, and plastered. In December an order from Quartermaster General Meigs cut the civilian work force, but by then the bulk of the job was complete. The construction of these buildings will be discussed in greater detail below.

Rockwell left Fort Larned in May 1868 and was replaced by 2nd Lt. John P. Thompson. During the Summer of 1868 Lieutenant Thompson completed another commissary storehouse as well as attaching kitchens to the two barracks and supervising the general completion of construction started by Captain Rockwell. Many of the old buildings were torn down.

In September 1867 Lieutenant Brown, the departmental engineer officer who had been at Larned with Hancock in April, returned to the post for the purpose of finally surveying a reservation. A map of the post accompanied the survey. In that it was drawn in September 1867, when the building program was in full swing, the buildings located around the parade are not completely accurate (see Plate 4). However, the map does present a picture of the post after it was rebuilt and shows the location of the trails, quarries, mail station (Ft. Larned had mail service since 1863), the bridge burned by the Indians in 1865, Hancock's march route, graveyard, and other interesting details.

Fort Larned changed very little in the years 1868 to 1878, the time of its abandonment. No new major structure was built and the only construction activity consisted of adding small support buildings to the existing. Small kitchens were built at the rear of two of the officer's quarters, the yards of which were fenced. In 1872 quarters for the hospital steward were built behind the east barracks, the east wing of which had been converted to the post hospital. New cavalry stables were constructed in 1870, when the existing stables burned down.

The decade from 1868 to 1878 marked the gradual decline of Fort Larned. This was due, if not to the final passing of the Indian frontier, then at least to the removal of the Indians from
the neighborhood of the post. The size of the garrison dwindled from four companies in 1868 to one in 1878.

If, however, the post declined in size and importance, it increased in comfort and convenience. As troop strength dropped, the companies were redistributed in the barracks. Instead of one company occupying one squadroom, each company now had two squadrooms. A post library moved into one of the vacated messrooms. Officers received more space, much to the satisfaction of their wives. The old adobe hospital, which every post surgeon wanted replaced, was finally abandoned in 1872. Storehouse capacity, never really lacking at a post with three storehouses, became even larger. It is probable that the commissary officer had a nice office, and the issue rooms were large. Plate 5, the historical base map from the Fort Larned Master Plan, shows all the structures built at the post during the historical period. Eight of the structures scheduled for restoration will be discussed in greater detail below.

1878 - Present

The Santa Fe Railroad passed through Kansas in the early 1870s. As its coming signaled the demise of the wagon train, it also marked the end of the necessity for a fort to protect the Santa Fe Trail. During August 1867 fourteen wagon trains going east and
west, consisting of 743 men accompanying 605 wagons, registered at Fort Larned.35 From 1872 on, traders and settlers thought of Fort Larned not in terms of a safe oasis in an uninhabitable desert, but rather were interested in business opportunities in the town of the same name or the price of land in the area. A few might have asked where the railroad stop derived its name.

On May 9, 1878, the Secretary of War ordered the discontinuation of Fort Larned as an active post. Shortly thereafter the quartermaster packed the government property and shipped it to Fort Dodge. The last company marched to the station in Fort Larned and boarded a train for Fort Hays.

The usual practice upon abandoning a military reservation was to turn the land and buildings over to the General Land Office, Department of the Interior, which in turn auctioned the reservation as surplus government property. However, before the bureaucratic mill could grind, Maj. Gen. John Pope, who once again commanded the Department of Missouri, wrote division headquarters, advising that Larned not be abandoned. In case of a future Indian outbreak, similar to Dull Knife's break for the north, troops might have to be stationed there.36 General Sheridan, now division

35. "Report of trains passing through the District of the Upper Arkansas in August 1867," Dept. of Mo., Letters Received, Box No. 32.
36. Pope to Division of the Missouri, December 21, 1878, Fort Larned, Abandoned Military Reservation File, R. G. 49,
commander, opposed retention, flatly stating that in his opinion there was "not at present and never will be any military necessity for occupation of Fort Larned." He recommended that the building be torn down, the stones used to enlarge Fort Dodge, and the site given to the State of Kansas in lieu of Fort Hays. Although Sheridan wanted to abandon the post, the army accepted Pope's recommendations. Local citizens had put political pressure on the Army.

From 1878 to 1883 detachments from Fort Dodge, consisting of a sergeant and a couple of privates, were rotated at Larned to protect the government property. They policed the ground, occasionally ran off a settler stealing wood, and drank heavily. In the meantime local entrepreneurs, never adverse to a government installation and its payroll, petitioned the Bureau of Indian Affairs that the post be considered as a location for an Indian school. An act of Congress in July 1882 had stipulated that abandoned military posts be used for the purpose of removing Indian children from a state of nature and instructing them in the benefits of trades and religion. The Office of Indian Affairs turned down the petition, much to the annoyance of the Congressman representing Pawnee County. On April 27, 1882, a bill was introduced in Congress

Records of the Bureau of Land Management, National Archives (hereafter cited as Abandoned Military Reservation File).

37. Sheridan to Adjutant General, February 1, 1879, Abandoned Military Reservation File.
to sell the reservation. Appendix A is a copy of this bill. In February 1883 the land and buildings became the responsibility of the General Land Office.

That agency sent three impartial assessors to Fort Larned to appraise the value of the property. It was then put up for sale at a public auction. One F. E. Sage, representing the Pawnee Valley Stock Breeders Association, purchased both land and buildings for $4,000. However, as often occurred when western lands were at stake, an energetic land office agent discovered that Sage had bribed a potential competitor not to bid. The true value of the property was set at $12,056 and the Breeders Association paid the $8,000 difference.38

Dwight Stinson gives the history of land ownership after 1884:

The land was in the possession of the United States Government until March 31, 1884, when it was sold at public auction to the Pawnee Valley Stock Breeders Association. On May 1, 1886, the Pawnee Valley Stock Breeders Association mortgaged the land to the Lombard Investment Company of Kansas City, Missouri. The Lombard Investment Company assigned its interests to George B. Wilbur of Boston, Massachusetts. The Pawnee Valley Stock Breeders Association had by this time defaulted. A Quiet Claim transferred the land from George B. Wilbur to Charles A. Wilbur and wife. On January 5, 1893, Wilbur sold the land to Johanna Frorer. On July 1, 1902, Frorer and husband sold it to E. E. Frizell. In 1967 the National Park Service, Department of Interior, purchased the fort site from the Frizell family.39

38. Abandoned Military Reservation File.
From 1884 to 1966 the fort was the headquarters of a prosperous Kansas Farm. Plates 6 and 7 are photographs from this period. In 1961 it was designated a National Historic Landmark. Thanks to the interest of the Kansas congressional delegation in preserving the state’s historical heritage for constituents, the landmark was declared a National Historic Site in 1964. After purchasing the land and buildings from the Frizell family, the National Park Service assumed responsibility for continuing the work of the Fort Larned Historical Society in preserving and restoring this guardian of the Santa Fe Trail. Park Service goals and objectives in regard to Fort Larned are outlined in the Fort Larned National Historic Site Master Plan.
Having discussed the reasons for rebuilding Fort Larned, army construction policy in the 1860's, and the general physical development of the post, the report now turns to the structures themselves. Before doing so, however, a few introductory remarks are necessary.

These buildings have been classified as historic American buildings because they comprise the physical remains of Fort Larned, and not because they are of great architectural interest. Being at best examples of frontier American military architecture, their function is more important than their form, use of material, or workmanship. It is function which joins the structure, the part, to the whole, Fort Larned. In interpreting the buildings emphasis should be placed on function, e.g., the role of the quartermaster and quartermaster storehouse in the routine of Fort Larned operations. Although clearly much subordinate to the themes of the meaning of the West in American history, westward expansion, the Santa Fe Trail, or the Indian Wars, the theme of post life and routine is a small stroke in the larger picture.

This is not to contend the structures as such are in no way interesting. They are. The buildings as structures do represent historical change. As a mode of human habitation and shelter one finds the structure replacing the Indian dwelling as dominant in the area. The path of settlement and civilization can be traced
in them; from crude adobe hut, to sandstone army structure, to modern farm, to national historic site; from the past to its preservation. It is also interesting for the western historian to note that it was the United States Army which first introduced the structure to the area. The quartermaster-designer may have had no concern for the relationship of space, volume, planes, masses, or voids. His intention was completely practical and in no way aesthetic, with function and desired capacity determining form and economy of available material and labor the execution.

The structures are handwork, the work of craftsmen. They are not architecture; i.e., they are not art. But handwork is also a mark of culture and it was the United States Army which transmitted it to the Kansas plains.

The Structures - Collectively

With the exception of the blockhouse, all the structures covered by this report were built during the years 1866-1868. Six were part of a single construction program in 1867, one was built in 1866, and another in 1868. In that they were built at approximately the same time, a number of factors are common to them all. These factors are discussed under the headings: environment, plans, available materials, methods of labor, and economy of means.

Environment

Of the various factors influencing the construction of Fort
Larned, environment, in the sense of climate, was among the most important. From 1859 to 1866 the principal building materials had been adobe brick for the walls and viga-earth for the roofs. Such structures were suitable to the climates of Arizona or New Mexico, with 7.2 and 11.6 inches of annual precipitation. However, they were poorly adaptable to central Kansas, where the annual precipitation is 28.4 inches and where winter winds have been known to reach 60 MPH. By 1866 the adobe structures were literally falling apart, the wind and rains having washed away the earth coverings, rotted the vigas, and eroded the walls. The climate dictated the choice of a different material. Due to the absence of wood, the quartermaster department turned to stone.

Design

The story of the design of the Fort Larned stone structures began in May 1866, when Maj. Cuvier Grover submitted plans for new buildings to the Quartermaster General. As already noted, Major Grover's poorly drawn plans (see Plate 8) and the absence of cost estimates, caused them to be rejected by the Quartermaster General.

Regulations concerning new construction were explicit. Col. James J. Dana, in charge of the sixth division within the quartermaster department, which until August 1867 had jurisdiction over barracks and quarters construction, informed Colonel Easton, Chief Quartermaster for the Division of the Mississippi, that paragraph
1060 of the regulations must be followed before any Fort Larned plans would be approved.40 This paragraph stipulated that:

No permanent buildings for the army as barracks, quarters, hospitals, storehouses, offices or stables, or pier, or wharves, shall be erected but by order of the Secretary of War, and according to plan directed by him, and in consequence of appropriation made by law.41

Paragraph 1092 stipulated that the plans would be accompanied by estimates. In addition, Major Grover had not complied with Quartermaster General Order No. 3, January 21, 1864. This order stated that the drawings would embrace a ground plan, vertical sections showing the general style and mode of construction, and, if possible, a sketch. Grover's plans embraced only a crude floor plan. Dana suggested he hire a draftsman and start all over.

Major Grover's difficulties were typical. Although the Quartermaster General periodically published standard plans for army structures, they were not followed by frontier officers. Not only did local conditions make it impossible to follow plans designed for settled areas, but it is also probable that many Quartermasters did not know such existed. Almost all post quartermasters were detailed from a regiment to serve as acting assistant quartermaster. They usually held the job for only a few months, it then being rotated to another officer. The necessity for such an arrangement came from the personnel restrictions imposed on the quartermaster

41. Regulations of the United States Army (Washington, 1867).
department. The 1866 Army reorganization act permitted a total of 90 quartermaster officers. This included 17 positions which would be eliminated as officers retired in addition to 18 storekeepers. This left a grand total of 57 men to conduct department business. Naturally, the department could not staff every post and the position of acting assistant quartermaster was instituted. Many of these acting quartermasters, who had not touched a tee square or triangle since West Point, and who knew nothing about structure design, were called upon to be both architect and draftsman. The result was plans similar to those submitted by Major Grover.

Fortunately, he did not wait until the plans had been approved but proceeded to build a badly needed commissary storehouse. In the meantime the post's location had become an issue and the construction program was shelved until 1867.

Extensive and exhaustive research in the National Archives did not uncover the plans for the buildings constructed at Fort Larned. Fortunately, the condition of the structures plus other sources indicate that the lack of plans will not hinder the proposed restoration and reconstruction. The designer and place of design remain unknown. It is probable that detailed plans and estimates were submitted from Fort Larned, approved by the Secretary of War, and followed by Rockwell in 1867. It is also possible
that the plans originated department headquarters at Fort Leavenworth.

In March 1867, when the high estimates for the Department of Missouri construction were being brought to Meigs' attention, Colonel Easton informed division headquarters that one of the reasons was the lack of standardized plans for the department. "Every variety of building imaginable in plans and construction," he said, "is now being erected at the different posts in this department."\(^{42}\) He reported that this regrettable state of affairs would be remedied at the department level by instructing the corps of engineers officer to draw up standard plans for all structures. These plans were subsequently sent to Washington and filed in General Meigs' office. They have been lost. In that they were drawn in March or April, and the construction at Larned did not begin until August, it is possible that these plans were followed.

Fort Larned was not the only post where large-scale construction took place in 1867. At Forts Harker, Zarah, Dodge, and Lyon, to name those most directly associated with Larned, new buildings were going up. Plans for two buildings at Fort Lyon, quarter-master and commissary storehouse and officers' quarters, are included in the illustrations, Plates 11 and 12. It is the writer's opinion that they represent the standard department plans drawn

\(^{42}\) Easton to Division of the Missouri, March 6, 1867, Q. M. C. C. F., Box No. 838.
under Easton's direction. The commanding officer's quarters at Larned resembles the plan for officers' quarters. In addition, the storehouses at Larned were probably similar in floor plan to the Fort Lyon plan, although the dimensions are different.

Another design consideration is worth noting. Six of the eight buildings covered by this report were built at the same time, with one being constructed a year later. Since the same men supervised the work and the same mechanics carried it out, the buildings should contain a great many structural similarities. As architectural data pertaining to each building is gathered, the task of inferring original design will be easier. This information should also be of considerable help in actual restoration.

Available Material

By the end of the 1870s the Indian problem in Kansas was all but settled. Local journalists, awakening to the economic potential of their state, worked hard to dispel any misconception of Kansas being uninhabitable. In a hymn of praise entitled Kansas As It Is, the author informed the prospective settler:

Building stone is one of the grandest resources of Kansas. It is almost as universal as the grass and running waters. It goes into mills, churches, school houses, court houses, bridges, hotels, banks, stores, shops, dwellings, fences, corrals, and everything in the building line... It is probable that no state in the union has
so large and fine a supply or such equable distribution of building stone as Kansas. 43

Perhaps the almost total absence of timber influenced the above remarks. In any case, Pawnee County, where Fort Larned was located, was described as "1% forests and balance rolling prairie." 44

Army construction policy had always stipulated that local materials be used. At Fort Larned the choice fell on stone. There was no other acceptable material. As General Hancock informed General Sherman in May 1867, "There is an abundant supply of stone along that route, and it is so easily worked that I think the post should be built without delay. They would be permanent if built of stone and probably could be constructed as cheaply as if they were erected of more perishable material which would have to come from a distance." 45

The army worked several quarries in the area of Fort Larned during the years 1865 to 1868. Stone for the blockhouse, 1865, came from a quarry at Lookout Hill. Lieutenant Brown's 1867 map (Plate 4) shows three quarries. Although it is probable that all three of these quarries were worked at one time or another, it is difficult to determine which one supplied the stone employed during the construction program in 1867. In the sources the distance

44. Ibid. p.135.
45. Hancock to Sherman, May k, 1867, Dept. of Mo., Letters Sent.
of the quarries from the post varies from three to six miles, indicating more than one was exploited. These quarries may still be visible.

Lime was used in preparing mortar. In 1866, at the time of the construction of the commissary storehouse, the post commander reported that one of the reasons for a delay in construction was the lack of lime. It was not found in the area and had to be shipped from Fort Riley. However, during the construction program of 1867, lime was secured from a quarry 35 miles north of the post (see Brown map). In addition to use in cement, lime was employed in plaster and whitewash.

The source of the lumber is uncertain. Because neither the quantity nor quality of the required timbers were locally available, it is certain that lumber was shipped to the post. Some contend it originated in Minnesota. This is possible. However, it is more probable that the immediate source, the dealer, was located in Kansas at either Council Grove, Fort Leavenworth, or Topeka. In 1866 Major Grover had requested permission to purchase large quantities of black walnut at Council Grove. In all probability standard quartermaster (and commissary) procurement practice was followed. The quartermaster placed advertisements in various local newspapers for bids to supply the required amounts to the post then under construction. The bid was to include the costs of delivery to the site, thus saving the army the necessity of arranging trans-
portation (also contracted). Competitive bidding reduced the cost. An analysis of the wood in the structures in addition to further research might be able to determine exact origin. Such was done during the restoration of Fort Laramie.

Hardware, such as glass, nails, tin, oils, etc., was also shipped to the site. These items might have come from quartermaster depots at Fort Leavenworth, Fort Riley, or even from as far away as St. Louis. However, like lumber, it is probable that hardware supplies were purchased from local merchants and then shipped out onto the plains. Further research might determine exact origin.

Forts Zarah, Dodge, Harker, and Larned were all constructed during the years 1866-1867, and involved considerable government expenditures. Although not to be compared with today's defense contracts or the economic significance of defense industries to some cities and states, one can be certain that army spending was welcomed by the Kansas merchants. Army expenditures played a pump-priming role in the economies of such towns as Fort Leavenworth.

Methods of Labor

In April 1867 General Hancock demonstrated the might of the United States to hostile plains Indians by burning an empty Cheyenne-Sioux village near Fort Larned. The action ignited reprisal raids by the Indians. Throughout the summer and fall of 1867 every
available soldier was either escorting wagon trains or chasing the elusive enemy. This meant that troops could not be detailed to construction crews, much to the displeasure of the Quartermaster General. The army was forced to hire civilian employees, who, in addition to demanding high pay also received free room and board, to perform the work at posts under construction.

At Fort Larned Captain Rockwell assembled a crew that averaged 191 men between August and January. These men were attracted to the site by ads placed in local newspapers. Some probably came from as far away as St. Louis. The incentive to work in a "combat zone" was, as always, pay. As the list of employees in September illustrates (see Appendix B), wages at Larned were high. General Meigs' dissatisfaction with civilian employees is understandable, when the monthly wage of a laborer, mason, or teamster is compared with the $13 a month paid to a private in the army. In that room, board, and transportation were furnished, a worker could save a tidy sum in six months, provided he did not spend his free time at the "ranch" located just east of the reservation. This place specialized in cheap whiskey and was frequented by tireless pioneer women dedicated to providing moments of rest, relaxation, and amusement for the weary conqueror of the plains - at a price. While at the post the construction workers lived in tents and dugouts along the banks of the stream. Plates 11 and 12, sketched in July 1867, show these dugouts and the post. Those who stuck out the
long hours and hard work were able to leave Larned with enough money to think about a small farm or finance a sustained fling in Leavenworth, Topeka, or Wichita.

The division of labor during the program is indicated on the statement of employees. Unskilled workers, laborers and teamsters, made up two-thirds of the work force, whereas skilled craftsmen comprised only a third.

Today the army would simply let a contract on such a project. On the frontier the quartermaster department not only hired the workers, it also supplied all equipment. A total of 216 mules, purchased through advertisements in local newspapers, and 46 wagons were employed at the site. Further research would be necessary to determine the equipment used in quarrying the stone. Examples of the hand tools employed in finishing it are on display in the present museum at the post (they should be retained, when the historical society moves out). In general one can say the post was constructed by muscle power, with pulleys, block-and-tackle, and saws serving as the major mechanical aids.

Economy of Means

Available material, number and skill of the work force, types and efficiency of equipment, and quality of the supervision, all influenced the economy of means in constructing Fort Larned. One
would expect that all concerned would have been satisfied with the results. Such was not the case. Dissatisfaction with cost ran all the way from division headquarters to Quartermaster General Meigs.

As Captain Rockwell reported in April 1868, the total cost of the project between August 1867 and January 1868 was $104,519.84.46 Broken down into two rough categories, costs were: labor, excluding rations and transportation, $86,583.87; and material, $31,583.35. Although material was expensive due to transportation costs (the stone was free), labor dominates the total figure, being almost three times as costly as material. The cause of the high labor cost was the choice of stone as the principal material. It was not that Captain Rockwell didn't employ his men and equipment efficiently - he did - but rather that it took large numbers of men to extract and work the stone. Quarrying operations required masons, laborers, and teamsters. How the stone was prepared for placing in the walls also influenced the size of the work force. If it was rough, i.e., put up in chunks without squaring or smoothing the surfaces, fewer men were required than if it was dressed, i.e., squared and smoothed. When Inspector General Randolph B.

46. "Report showing the average number of mechanics, laborers, and etc. employed, money expended, work performed, and material used in the erection of buildings at Fort Larned, Kansas, during the seven months commencing July 1, 1867, and ending January 31, 1867," Q.M.C.C.F. Box No. 533 (hereafter cited as Rockwell Report).
Marcy visited the post during the construction program, he was shocked by the rising costs. Writing from Larned, he decried the practice of dressing the stone, pointing out that "Captain Rockwell...informed me, that the new Commanding Officers quarters, the stone which is dressed on the exterior, will cost three times as much as if the stone had been laid up rough." After Rockwell had read Marcy's report, he quickly informed higher authority that he had found the stone cut this way and the practice would immediately be discontinued. This is the reason why some of the stone work at Larned is of better quality in one building than in another and why Building 8 is the finest at the post.

When General Meigs became aware of the practice of dressing stone (it was also done at Dodge), he immediately convinced the Secretary of War and General Grant that such must immediately stop. It was also another reason why the Quartermaster Department must closely control all aspects of construction. New regulations were drawn up to eliminate any recurrence: "By judicious application of the material nearest at hand comfortable and durable buildings may be erected at no greater expense than those of a more perishable nature would cost without the exercise of proper judgement." (In other words, if stone must be employed, don't dress it.)

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47. Marcy to Assistant Adjutant General, Division of the Missouri, October 3, 1867, Division of the Missouri, Letters Received.
After 1868 this regulation was strictly interpreted to mean buildings at frontier posts were to be constructed as cheaply as possible. The result was inadequate quarters.

Economy of means, then, imposed its dictates on the Fort Larned structures. If Fort Larned was in this respect extravagant and indirectly influenced the quality of future posts throughout the west, today's visitor admiring the handwork of frontier craftsmen can be grateful for the decision to finish the stone.

The Structures - Individually

The historical base map (Plate 5) lists 44 structures as having at one time or other comprised the historical scene at Fort Larned. The preceding narrative attempted to discuss them in the context of Fort Larned as a whole. This section turns to the parts, the individual buildings.

Only eight of the individual structures are covered. This is due to the master plan for Fort Larned, which envisages the restoration of the existing nine buildings and the reconstruction of one. The two barracks structures, Historic Buildings 1 and 2, are covered in a separate report. Although the master plan reduces the number to ten, one should bear in mind that these ten buildings constituted only the heart of Fort Larned. Interpretive devices will enable the visitor to conceptualize the total historical scene.
The treatment of each building is organized under three headings: structural data, original appearance, and functional history. The information under the first two is intended primarily as data relevant to architectural considerations. Although a floor plan and elevations are presented, they are intended only as possible assistance to the architects, who have the final responsibility of determining actual historical appearance.

Two subdivisions are entitled Utilities and Furnishings. Both will be objects of special studies in the future as each building is restored and eventually furnished. Some evidence is presented here in order to provide information for those presently involved in interpretive planning (particularly, those meeting visitors and conducting the fort tour).
STRUCTURAL DATA

Dimensional Form: The structure was a simple one-story rectangle with exterior measurements, 84 feet (north-south) by 30 feet (east-west).

Materials: During the winter months of 1868, when the weather and General Meigs' order to discharge civilian employees brought an end to the construction program, Major Rockwell spent his time compiling a detailed account of the program's cost. As of January 31, 1868, the following materials had been employed in the shop building:

- 520 perches stone
- 515 bushels lime
- 2,725 bushel sand
- 20,000 feet lumber
- 50,000 shingles
- 7 kegs nails
- 3 boxes glass
- 10 lbs putty
- 50 lbs white lead
- 3 gal. boiled oil
- 5,180 bricks
- 11 window sashes
- 4 iron doors
- 1 paper glazier points

Floor Plan:

A. Bakery
B. Saddler Shop
C. Wheelwright Shop, Carpenter Shop
D. Blacksmith Shop

49. Rockwell Report.
This floor plan is based on the following sources:

a. The post bakery stands on the east side of the parade and is a building 27' x 18' with 12' ceiling. It is the end of a building containing in different compartments the wheelwright, carpenter, paint and blacksmith shops. 50

b. Bakery is large and ample to supply 500 men. It is in a building with the wheelwright, saddler, and blacksmith shops. 51

A major question is the location of the bakery and blacksmith shop. In which end of the building was each located? Dwight Stinson interviewed Mr. Walter Frizell, a former owner, on June 7, 1966. Mr. Frizell stated that there were two caved in bake ovens in the south end of the structure. "He believes that the blacksmith forge built by the Fort Larned Society was originally one of these bake ovens which had fallen into disrepair." 52 Although there is no conclusive proof that this statement is wrong, it it questionable. The large door in the southeast elevation would be more appropriate to a blacksmith shop than to a bakery. Wall sections were usually incorporated in a bake oven. The northeast interior corner is not plastered and, in addition, there appear to be three holes in the wall, which might have been for the oven tie rods. Broken brick

51. "Report of an Inspection," April 30, 1868, Dept. of Mo., Letters Received, Box No. 86.
52. Stinson, p. 66.
or stone might still be identifiable.

The saddler required little space and no large door. Both these requirements are met by placing the saddler's shop between the obvious partition and the beginning of the bare stone. The wheelwright shop required a large double door, and such is next to the saddle shop. It is suggested the blacksmith shop occupied the south end. A thorough architectural examination of this structure is necessary, before final designation of the compartments is possible.

Original Appearance

Exterior:

a. **North elevation**: as now.
b. **South elevation**: as now.
c. **East elevation**: Plates 13 and 14 indicate the present door-window distribution is the same as during the historical period, although the doors may have been slightly altered.
d. **West elevation**: It is suggested the west elevation originally contained eight windows. Rockwell's list of materials shows eleven window sashes and four doors. This would be appropriate to three windows and four doors in east elevation, with eight windows in the west. The four windows and one door in the south end of the west elevation were cut some time after the army period. Again, architectural examination may provide a positive description.
e. **Roof:** The original roof was shingled and shows three chimneys (see Plates 13 and 14). They would be flues for the blacksmith forge, the bake ovens, and heating stoves in the wheelwright and saddler shops. The north and middle flue were ripped out after abandonment by the army, with a ventilator cupola appearing as of 1886 (see also Plate 15).

**Interior:** The architectural examination will determine extent of plastering. A 12 foot ceiling probably ran from the bakery (up to bake oven) to the blacksmith shop. Wooden floors were laid in the bake house and saddler's shop, but the wheelwright and blacksmith shops might have not been floored. There was no sleeping compartment for the baker in the bake house. He and his helpers quartered with their company.

**Utilities:** Heat came from the oven in the bakery, the forge in the blacksmith shop, and heating stoves in the wheelwright and saddler shop. Open fireplaces might have heated the later two compartments.

Light was provided by adamantine candles and/or coal or lard oil lamps. Water for the bakery, blacksmith shop, drinking and fire protection came from the creek or various post wells. It was stored in barrels and water coolers.
Furnishings:

a. Bake House. The principal feature of the bake house was the oven. When originally constructed there was probably only one oven with a capacity of 340 rations per bake. In 1873 a new oven was built. Since no standard plans for bake ovens were published until 1882, the Fort Larned ovens were the products of the oven builder. Their reconstruction will present a difficult task. Other furnishings included a water barrel, work table, kneading trough, dough trough, yeast tub, and proof rack. Utensils included knives, rasps, brushes, and peels (long poles with 10-by-20 inch blade for placing and removing loaves).

b. Saddler Shop: Space does not allow a complete listing of the saddler's tools and equipment. Knives, needles, pliers, buckles, gun slings, and strips of leather - in short, all those tools and supplies necessary for maintaining the garrison horse and mule equipage in addition to the mens' accouterments were found in the shop. If he was a good leather worker, the room also contained saddle trees.

c. Wheelwright: The wheelwright and, later, carpenter shop contained the tools and supplies required to keep the post vehicles in condition and the post repaired.

d. Blacksmith: Many of these items are presently on display.
Functional History

This structure replaced four small adobe or picket structures. The bake house had been dug into the side of the bank of Pawnee Fork and resembled a field-type bake oven. The saddler, wheelwright, and blacksmith also had inadequate work areas. The structure functioned as shop building throughout the historical period and probably stood empty from 1878 to 1883.

The bake house was the responsibility of the post treasurer, who was usually the commissary officer. The bakers were detailed daily duty enlisted men from the companies. It was not until the 1880s that knowledge of baking became a qualification for the job. These men worked very hard, as the bake ovens were usually kept fired seven days a week. In addition to supplying the bread needs of the post, the bakery had another important function. It was a major source of income for the post and company funds. Each company was allowed to sell unused portions of the regulation subsistence allowance. Flour was usually a surplus item. The money from the sale went to the company fund, which in turn was used to purchase items not supplied by the army, such as fresh vegetables and fruit for the company mess, chinaware, a clock or water cooler, newspapers and periodicals, and even a company cow or some pigs. All those at the post not entitled to draw an army ration could purchase bread, the receipts going to the post fund for use in buying such things as musical instruments for the band or books for the library.
The saddler was also an extra duty position usually occupied by an enlisted man. He received more pay than the normal private. If he was a killed leather worker, he could earn a nice income on the side custom-making saddles and bridles for the officers.

The wheelwright was usually a civilian quartermaster employee. He maintained the wagons and was also the post sailmaker, i.e., he repaired the wagon covers and army tents. The carpenter was also a civilian quartermaster employee.

The blacksmith could be an extra duty enlisted man detailed from a company, but he was usually a civilian quartermaster employee. Most of the men who enlisted in the army were either newly arrived immigrants, who saw in the army an institution for adjusting to their new homes, or those broke and in need of employment. Since a good blacksmith could make a comfortable living in civilian life, few enlisted. The army had to hire their services and, as the list of civilian employees testifies, they were well paid.

During the farm period at Fort Larned the structure functioned as barn or storage shed. The Fort Larned Historical Society has turned the south end into a blacksmith museum, which is its present use. The master plan falls for the restoration and refurbishing of the building to the above named functions.
HISTORIC BUILDING 4 - NEW COMMISSARY

Structural Data

Dimensional Form: The building is a simple one-story rectangle with exterior measurements 84 feet (north - south) by 30 feet (east - west).

Materials: This structure was started in the fall of 1867, when the foundations and floor joists were set. However, completion did not take place until August - September 1868, when "about 70 citizen employees arrived at the post and commenced work on the new buildings...erecting an additional commissary storeroom."53 Unfortunately, Major Rockwell was by this time no longer at Fort Larned. His successor, Lieutenant Thompson, did not record a list of materials. Nevertheless, it can be assumed that the materials employed in this structure resembled those in the 1867 buildings. The materials were prepared the previous year.

Floor Plan:

A. Storeroom
B. Officers' Storeroom
C. Office

This floor plan is based on the following sources:

a. The Commissary storerooms are two in number and stand one on the east side of the parade and the other on the south. The one is 154' x 27' and the other 80' x 23' [dimensions wrong] and are without ceiling except two small rooms, one for the office, the other for officers' stores.54

b. In September 1870 an epidemic hit the post. The hospital being full, the post surgeon wrote the Commanding Officer requesting that, "office and adjoining storeroom on the easterly side of the parade may be given up for the temporary use of the medical department."55

The architectural examination of the structure may be able to determine the exact location of partitions.

Original Appearance

Exterior

a. North elevation: No photographs of this elevation during the historic period are available. Architectural examination will have to determine whether the windows were original. If they are original, they further document the above floor plan.

b. South elevation: as now.

c. East elevation: One door (north end) and three windows are here conjectured. The present south door is clearly a window later converted to a door. (See plate 15.)

55. Post Surgeon to Post Adjutant, September 2, 1870, Fort Larned, Letters Received, R. G. 393, Army Military Commands, National Archives (hereafter cited as Fort Larned, Letters Received).
d. **West elevation:** Unfortunately, the block house blocks this elevation in Plate 14, except for a door in the north end, which might have originally been a window. The large double window was originally a double door, i.e., commissary supplies were unloaded through this door into the storeroom. Excavation of the "tunnel" covering should be able to determine whether this wall was originally free.

e. **Roof:** It is suggested that only one flue surmounted the roof, which was shingled, and that it was located in the north end. It was the flue for a heating stove for the office. Commissary stores were usually stored in a cool area to prevent spoilage, thus there was no reason for heating the storeroom. The ventilator cupola is a later addition.

**Interior:** As noted above, except for the office and storeroom, there was no ceiling. The office and storeroom were probably lathed and plastered. Wooden flooring extended the length of the building.

The tunnel was dug by Boy Scouts and was not an historical feature. It is possible, however, that a cellar was located under the storeroom.

**Utilities:** Heat for the office was provided by either an open fireplace or more probably a heating stove. Water for drinking and fire protection was stored in water barrels, which were never left empty. Light came from candles or lamps. Open Flames in the
storerooms were never left unattended, fire being a constant threat at all frontier posts.

**Furnishings:** The office probably contained two desks, one for the commissary officer and one for the commissary sergeant. There were also a couple of chairs. In the storeroom one found shelves along the walls and there might have been a couple of long tables for use in issuing rations or selling commissary items.

**Functional History**

The building's major function throughout the historic period was as commissary storehouse. In 1870 and again in 1871 it was briefly used by the post surgeon as emergency hospital and isolation ward. There is a notation in the medical history that the ordnance sergeant used the structure in 1870 as a magazine. After abandonment by the army, the structure stood empty until 1884.

During the long period of civilian ownership the structure served a number of functions associated with a modern farm. The Fort Larned Historical Society converted the building to dormitory for visiting Boy and Girl Scout troops and added toilet facilities. In 1968 a crane boom accidentally fell across the roof, springing the south gable. That damage has subsequently been repaired. The function of a commissary storehouse will be discussed under Building 5.
HISTORIC BUILDING 5 - OLD COMMISSARY

Structural Data

Dimensional Form: The structure is a simple one-story rectangle with exterior measurements 157 feet (east - west) by 27 feet (north - south).

Materials: The principal materials employed in this structure are stone and wood. It was constructed in 1866; therefore, there is no detailed list of materials. However, Captain Rockwell did alter the building during the 1867 construction project and listed the following materials in "building office, cellar, and flooring":

- 120 perches stone
- 130 bushels lime
- 650 bushels sand
- 9,978 feet lumber
- 4,363 feet flooring
- 1,200 laths
- 1 door
- 10 lbs butt hinges
- $3\frac{1}{2}$ gross screws
- 1 lock
- 2 papers brads
- 3 kegs nails
- 10 lbs white lead
- 2 lbs white lead
- 2 lbs burnt umber
- 1 gal. oil
- 1 gal. copal varnish
- 1 window sash

Like the lists of materials for the other buildings, inferences from this list are possible; e.g., Rockwell floored the building and painted the woodwork white.

Floor Plan:

```
A

B
A. Storeroom
B. Issueroom
C. Office

C
```
The source for this floor plan is:

The storehouse is 150' x 24' inside measurements, in the clear, divided with three compartments. Two of these will be used for subsistence purposes.56

This floor plan is conjectural. It is possible that the partitioning for the three compartments was different than that shown. However, such a floor plan was typical, as shown on the Fort Lyon commissary storehouse plan.

Original Appearance

Exterior:

a. North elevation: The three doors are original. However, the windows present a mystery. They were at one time obviously doors. The following explanations are possibilities:

In that there is no foundation under these windows, it is possible that they were originally doors and at some later time, perhaps during 1867, were converted to windows. Rockwell reported using 120 perches of stone on the building and it might have been employed to raise the walls to form windows. The functional reason for numerous doors in this elevation is pure conjecture. It has been suggested that the building was a stable. There is no documentary proof for this assertion. The structure is always referred to as commissary storehouse. Corrals and stables have been identified

at other locations. Another possibility is the structure's function as blockhouse. Perhaps Major Grover felt it was necessary to place numerous doors in the building to move the defenders quickly in and out in case of attack. Unfortunately, the 1868 photograph, Plate 15, is too unclear to allow a definite identification of this elevation.

Another possibility is that they were originally windows, at some later time converted to doors, and then altered to windows. The absence of plaster under some the windows would support this hypothesis. Perhaps the Pawnee Valley Stock Breeders Association converted the structure to a stable with a later owner converting it back to barn or storage area. The architectural examination should provide more information.

b. South elevation: It is suggested the south elevation originally had neither doors nor windows, but only the loopholes. Plate 15, 1886, shows a large door in this elevation. It is possible that this door was cut sometime during the army period. Such would have been appropriate to a commissary storehouse. However, the door and windows could also have been cut out after the post was abandoned by the army.

c. East elevation: as now.

d. West elevation: as now.

e. Roof: No flue is discernible in Plate 18, 1868; however it is very probable that one or two of the compartments were heated. The roof was shingled.
**Interior:** The structure was floored throughout. It was also plastered; however, the architectural examination will have to determine how extensive this was. It is also possible a ceiling ran the length of the building. In 1867 Major Rockwell dug a cellar in the east end for storing more perishable supplies. It was filled in sometime after the army abandoned the post (the cement is post-army).

**Utilities:** same as Building 4.

**Furnishings:** same as Building 4.

**Functional History**

When Major Grover submitted plans for constructing new buildings in 1866, one of the most pressing needs was a new commissary storehouse. The old no longer protected commissary supplies, and, in that a portion of the structure was used as a squadroom, it was of insufficient capacity. Construction of this building started in July, but was not completed until November. "General (Brevet) Grover hopes to complete his storehouse by the 1st of November," wrote a visiting officer in October 1866. "It would have been completed now but for the delay in procuring lime. It has been demonstrated by repeated trials that lime cannot be made economically from the stone here. It must be obtained from Fort Riley."\(^{57}\)

\(^{57}\) Ibid.
The structure functioned as commissary storehouse throughout the army period. The function as blockhouse was superfluous. Not a single shot was ever fired through the loop holes in anger.

After the post was abandoned by the army, it became a barn. Plate 15 shows a corral at the rear of the structure. The local historical society placed a harness display in the west end of the building. It now also houses the maintenance shop for the historical site.

There are two reasons for the existence of two commissary storehouses at Fort Larned. During the 1860s Fort Larned served as a distribution point for Indian annuities. These gifts (or bribes) of the government were shipped out to Fort Larned, where they were stored until the Indians came in to collect them. In 1866, Edward W. Wynkoop, a hard-pressed Indian Agent, who while in the volunteers had attempted to prevent the Sand Creek massacre, wrote the Commissioner of Indian Affairs and requested that "I may be furnished with transportation, quarters, and storage from any U. S. Post in this section or particularly Fort Larned; my Indians still being in a nomadic state, it becomes necessary for me to have my Hqrs on the plains."58 The Army, although disagreeing with the "dove-like" objectives and tactics of the Office

58. E. W. Wynkoop to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, November 26, 1866, Dept. of Mo., Letters Received, Box No. 27.
of Indian Affairs, assisted the Indian agents. As a result, storage space in a commissary storehouse was placed at Agent Wynkoop's disposal.

In October 1867 the annuities stored at the post almost brought the construction program to a halt. The Office of Indian Affairs requested that twenty wagons loaded with annuities proceed from the post to Medicine Lodge, where a peace commission was to meet with several tribes and sign a treaty. Major Rockwell protested, pointing out that without the wagons work on the structures could not continue and he would be forced to lay off some of his crew. The post commander agreed and hired civilian transportation.

The second reason for two commissary storehouses was the need to stockpile quantities of supplies to be used by cavalry columns operating in the area. More than once a column hard on the heels of fleeing Indians had been forced to come into the nearest post to replenish depleted supplies only to discover that the commissary storehouse was empty. The expedition ended right there. In General Sherman's plans such "snafus" would not take place. The posts along the trails would serve as the logistical base; therefore, storage space was required to stockpile supplies.

The commissary officer (sometimes the quartermaster also held this position), assisted by a commissary sergeant and at
times a civilian clerk, was responsible for subsistence, i.e.,
food. He, like the quartermaster, was not a staff officer but
rather a line officer detailed to the position for a short period.
The commissary sergeant was a veteran enlisted man and a member
of the post's noncommissioned officer staff.

In providing subsistence, the commissary department followed
a standard procedure. A commissary staff officer assigned to the
department would place advertisements in local newspapers calling
for bids from ranchers to supply the soldier's basic staple, beef.
The rancher would then deliver a herd to the post, where the
animals would be butchered as required. A problem in this supply
arrangement arose when the rancher delivered scrawny animals. The
men would grumble and the commissary officer complained to higher
authority. The location of the beef corral at Fort Larned is shown
on Plates 2, 3, and 4. Other items in the meager diet, such as
vegetables, canned fruit, salt, coffee, hardtack, and salted pork,
were purchased at Fort Leavenworth and shipped to the post in
wagons belonging to a local transportation company which usually
had a year's contract to deliver army supplies. At the fort,
rations were distributed by company to be prepared by company
cooks and served at common messes. In addition, the commissary
officer maintained a store where all those not eligible to draw
a ration could purchase supplies. This group included civilian
employees, the laundresses, and officers' families.
Due to the long distance between Fort Leavenworth and Larned, supplies often arrived spoiled. Then the red tape began. A board of inquiry was called together to hear witnesses and determine responsibility. Naturally, the army attempted to place the blame on the transporter.

Between army supplies and Indian annuities the commissary storehouses were usually full. The task of accounting for their distribution kept the commissary officer busy, especially when army supplies were issued to Indians. The hard-working officer was required to keep an accurate account of each item so that the army could recover the costs from the Office of Indian Affairs.
HISTORIC BUILDING 6 - QUARTERMASTER STOREHOUSE

Structural Data

Dimensional Form: The dimensional form of this structure was a simple one-story rectangle with exterior measurements 158 feet (east - west) by 40 feet (north - south).

Material:

- 1,100 perches stone
- 1,143 bushels lime
- 5,629 bushels sand
- 4 1/2 bushels hair
- 37,152 feet lumber
- 7,850 feet flooring
- 78,000 shingles
- 3,600 laths
- 1,000 bricks
- 13 kegs nails
- 8 pairs butt hinges
- 11 pairs strap hinges
- 4 gross screws
- 305 washers
- 4 store door locks
- 4 common locks
- 4 paris staples
- 44 grate bars
- 4 door bolts
- 3 boxes glass
- 200 lbs white lead
- 20 lbs putty
- 2 lbs burnt umber
- 1/2 gal. varnish
- 14 1/2" x 10' bolts
- 28 3/4" x 15" bolts
- 112 3/4" x 8" bolts
- 5 doors
- 2 flue thimbles

Floor Plan:

```
  A
    
  B
    
  C

A. Storeroom
B. Issueroom
C. Office
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This floor plan is based on the following sources:

a. "The quartermaster storehouse stands on the southside of the parade and is 158' by 40' and without ceiling except the office."59

b. The Fort Lyon plan for a quartermaster storehouse, Plate 9.
The office and issueroom are located in the west end of the building due to the location of the chimney in Plate 13.

Original Appearance

**Exterior:** No attempt will be made to determine the original appearance of the elevations. The structure has been substantially altered. The walls have been raised, large barn-type doors have been cut into all elevations, and windows have been added. An analysis of the list of materials and the photograph should assist the architects in determining the original appearance. In that the structure was a quartermaster storehouse, it is probable that there was a large door in the south elevation. The north elevation had six windows and two doors (see Plate 16). It is also suggested the two windows in the west elevation were original.

**Interior:** The office and issueroom had ceilings, but the storeroom did not. The entire length was floored. It is suggested that the Fort Lyon floor plan be followed when restoring the

structure, i.e., that the office be divided into office and sleeping compartment and an issue rail or table be built in the issueroom. This would present a variation from the other two storehouses and closely resemble the army's standard plan.

**Utilities:** Heat came from two heating stoves, one located in the issueroom and the other in the office. The same flue vented them both. The three flue thimbles in the list of materials indicate there was only one chimney.

Water for drinking and fire protection was kept stored in water barrels and a water cooler. The water barrels were constantly kept full and a couple of axes hung near each. Light came from candles or lamps.

**Furnishings:** The issueroom contained shelves and issue tables, similar to those shown on the Ft. Lyon storehouse floor plan. The office had a desk, a couple of chairs, perhaps a picture or two, the water cooler, and a table or cabinet for files. The sleeping compartment contained the commissary sergeant's bunk, a foot locker, a table and chair, probably his commission hanging framed on the wall, and a picture or two. In the store room one found shelves.

**Functional History**

When Major Marshall I. Ludington, a staff quartermaster officer,
visited the post in October 1867 to see how work was going, he was impressed by the Quartermaster storehouse:

A stone building . . . for use as a quartermaster storehouse was about ready for occupation at the date of my visit. The storehouse is a substantial and suitable one and, as work in its erection was commenced only about August 7, its rapid construction is in my opinion highly creditable.\(^{60}\)

A year later, however, the post quartermaster complained about limited space:

The quartermaster storehouse is not large enough to contain a years supply. The corn and oats are at present piled a hundred sacks deep thereby causing it to heat to such an extent that unless a grain house be built the greater portion of it will be unfit for issue.\(^{61}\)

Such were the troubles of the quartermaster. Usually a line officer detailed to the job for a short time, he was assisted by a quartermaster sergeant, a veteran enlisted man and member of the non-commissioned officer staff. The quartermaster's responsibilities included: clothing, camp, and garrison equipage, wagons and mules, forage, fuel, and construction and repair. As the above quote indicates, in the summer of 1868 one of his major worries was forage supplies for the troops on the move throughout the department.

The list of materials includes 44 grate bars. They were used

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\(^{60}\) Ludington to Easton, October 18, 1867, Q.M.C.C.F. Box No. 533.

\(^{61}\) Stinson, p. 76.
for barring the windows in order to safeguard the clothing, camp and garrison equipage. As the designation indicates, this group of items included everything from uniforms to tents and axe handles. Each enlisted man received a cash clothing allowance. He did not have to spend this money on pieces of the uniform, if his old were still wearable. Moreover, if he was willing to risk time in the guardhouse he could steal from the quartermaster. Petty thievery among men earning $13 a month remained a constant problem for the quartermaster.

Maintaining the transportation was a constant job. He hired a wheelwright to repair the wagons which had broken down on the long hauls between Harker, Dodge, or Lyon. During periods of construction and repair, when civilians could not be hired to do the work, the post commander detailed enlisted men to work under the supervision of the quartermaster. In addition, daily duty enlisted men worked in the storeroom unloading wagons, issuing, and inventorying supplies.

Fuel was supplied either by contract with local entrepreneurs or by wood-cutting parties sent out from the post. The department quartermaster officer secured forage. Once again advertisements for bids were placed in local newspapers and the farmers delivered the grain or corn to the post. Once there it became the acting assistant quartermaster's responsibility to see that forage rations were issued. He also received new vehicles from the department as well as horses and mules.
The structure functioned as quartermaster storehouse throughout the army period. When civilians bought the post, the storehouse was converted to a barn. The walls were raised and a large hayloft constructed. Since the local historical society took over the building, it has been used to display early day wagons, carriages, farming equipment, and other odds and ends.
HISTORIC BUILDINGS 7 AND 9 - OFFICER QUARTERS

Structural Data

These structures are identical buildings; therefore, they shall be handled collectively.

Dimensional Form: Each structure was a single-story rectangle with kitchen wings attached at each end. In the sources the dimension is given as 53 feet (north-south) by 84 feet (east-west, including wing).

Materials:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Material</th>
<th>South</th>
<th>North</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Stone, perches</td>
<td>928</td>
<td>928</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Line, bushels</td>
<td>1,073</td>
<td>873</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sand, bushels</td>
<td>4,965</td>
<td>4,165</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hair, bushels</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>Not Listed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tin, feet</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bricks</td>
<td>3,000</td>
<td>3,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Flue Thimbles</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lumber, feet</td>
<td>36,118</td>
<td>31,500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Flooring, feet</td>
<td>3,752</td>
<td>4,600</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shingles</td>
<td>55,500</td>
<td>55,500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Laths</td>
<td>15,800</td>
<td>Not Listed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plaster, lbs</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>Not Listed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Glass, boxes</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Window sashes</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Doors</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Not Listed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Locks</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>Not Listed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hasps</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>Not Listed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Closet Latches</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>Not Listed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nails, kegs</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>Not Listed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wrought Nails, lbs</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>Not Listed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brads, papers</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brass bolts, pairs</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>Not Listed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bolt hinges</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>Not Listed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Putty, lbs</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Glaziers points, papers</td>
<td>Not Listed</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
At the time Rockwell compiled this list, March 1868, the south quarters were nearer completion than the north. The materials not listed for the north building indicate that much interior work remained to be done, i.e., lath and plaster, hardware, painting. As an inspecting officer reported in April 1868, "The officer quarters are large and well built, and all except one set furnished . . . three need plastering and the balconies are all to be finished, except the commanding officers, which is complete."^62 Plate 13 shows both quarters without porches. A careful examination of this list should allow many inferences.

### Floor Plan:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>A</th>
<th>B</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>C</td>
<td>D</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E</td>
<td>D</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

A. Servant's room  B. Kitchen (1867-1870)  C. Captain's Quarters (bed and sitting rooms)  D. Lieutenant's Quarters (two men to a room)  E. Hall

---

62. "Report of An Inspection," April 30, 1868, Dept. of Mo., Letters Received, Box No. 86.
Original Appearance

Exterior: The exterior elevations of both structures, including the railed porches, are amazingly little changed since the historical period. Minor changes that have taken place are the alteration of windows in the west wing elevations to doors; the addition of toilet facilities; and the addition of windows at the end of the two interior halls.

Interior: The interiors are also little changed. In his description of the post in the first volume of the medical history, the post surgeon describes the buildings and gives room dimensions:

The two longer buildings are divided into four sets of quarters two with kitchens and two without. There are two rooms in each set of quarters, 14' x 16', and the kitchens are 19' x 10½', with servant's room 16' x 8½' at side. The buildings are plain and substantial with long porches in front and small porches in rear at side of the kitchens. The ceilings of all these rooms are 14' high, there is no ventilation except by door or windows and the rooms are heated with stove fire. All the quarters have large yards in rear with high fence and comfortable sinks. The water is brought by wagon from the creek and placed in barrels in the yard. Officers have their stables in the rear of their yard.63

An addition in 1869 and another in 1870 gave the lieutenants additional space:

Under the kitchen is a cellar which, within the past year, has been deepened and floored, and been thus transformed into a kitchen, leaving the kitchen for use as a dining room. On the opposite side of the hall two lieutenants

are presumed to live in one room each, without kitchens. At this writing (February 1870) frame additions are being erected to the subalterns quarters, which will give to each two lieutenants three other rooms, although neither has the super-
ficial allowance of a room proper; so that hereafter two lieutenants will have between them a kitchen, a dining-room, and a servant's room, instead of none as at present.64

A small section of one of the frame additions is visible in Plate 17, a photograph dated April 1879.

**Utilities:** As noted above, the structures were heated by means of heating stoves. The chimneys on the ends served as flues for the captains' quarters (each flue meeting at the roof line) with a center chimney serving the four lieutenants' quarters. Water was stored in barrels and water coolers. Light came from "student" and other lard or cool oil burning lamps for which the commissary supplied the fuel.

**Furnishings:** Officers furnished their own quarters. The bachelors usually asked the quartermaster to knock together a table and a couple of chairs, or they purchased the furniture of the officer they replaced. Married officers attempted to furnish their quarters with a few pieces of manufactured furniture. Furnishings will be the object of a special study. A list of the belongings

of a lieutenant who died while visiting New York is found in Appendix C. The list gives the reader an idea of how an officer furnished his quarters.

Functional History

Both structures functioned as officers' quarters throughout the historical period. Although crowded for a couple of years, they soon became comfortable quarters as the size of the garrison dwindled.

The duties, responsibilities, and daily life of the frontier officer have been romanticized in novels, movies, and television series. Unfortunately for all of us who left home on a Saturday afternoon with a quarter in our blue jeans watch pocket to yell through a double feature, the cavalry charging to the rescue of an encircled wagon train with a faithful first sergeant taking an arrow while saving his captain's life, whose daring and bravery naturally overwhelmed the wagon master's beautiful, shy and pure daughter, seldom if ever occurred in reality. It all took place in the screen writer's imagination, to our delight and his enrichment.

Most of the officers who served at Fort Larned had seen action during the Civil War and many carried a high brevet rank. The change from commanding a regiment in actions involving entire
armies in the glorious task of saving the Union to leading an understrength company on escort duty called for a psychological adjustment that many officers found difficult. In addition to long, hot and dusty escorts, the officer's routine included worrying about the condition of the post, inspecting spoiled supplies or broken equipment, sitting on courts martial, or conducting routine drills with enlisted men who cursed the day they joined up and were either counting the days to discharge or planning to desert at the first opportunity.

Promotion was slow and difficult. An officer in a line regiment could not be promoted until a vacancy occurred within the regiment at the next rank. This meant that a young first lieutenant serving in a regiment in which all the captains were middle-aged could not look forward to promotion for many years. Moreover, it was very difficult to transfer to another organization or from the line to a staff bureau. The result was that many officers were forced to look for assistance in furthering their careers. The appointment, promotion, and commission files of many officers who served between the Civil and Spanish American Wars contain letters to congressmen or senators requesting assistance in securing promotion or transfer. A letter in one file written on behalf of an officer stationed at an Arizona post, who desired a transfer, bears the signature of James Garfield and is endorsed by William McKinley, Sherman, and Sheridan. With that kind of "pull," that particular
officer's career was assured. When Garfield became President, the officer was assigned to the White House and later became Adjutant General. Other officers were not so fortunate. Most spent years on the frontier living and working under hard conditions.

Far removed from the fashionable salons of Washington, New York, or Philadelphia, the officer's social life consisted mainly of drinking and playing billards with his fellows in the officers' bar at the sutler's store. If he brought his family with him, he and his wife tried to make their existence as pleasant as possible. This was hard. Not only was their social life limited to the families of other officers, but they had no opportunity to "get away for an evening," there being no place to go. School for the children, if it existed at all, was usually taught by an enlisted man and consisted of only the basic "r's." At Fort Larned there was only a Sunday school.

The life of the frontier officer at Ft. Larned was, then, like most, unexciting and routine. For some there was a sense of adventure and participation in securing a wilderness and many were impressed by the vast stillness of the plains. Nevertheless, army officers were neither poets nor thinkers and, like their contemporaries, their conception of the new lands was as an area to be exploited for individual gain and economic well-being. Soldiering on the frontier was a job to be done, and they did it.
When Fort Larned became a farm, the two structures became quarters for the ranch personnel. Building 9 still serves this function, whereas Building 7 has been converted to a combination museum and office space.
HISTORIC BUILDING 8 - COMMANDING OFFICER'S QUARTERS

Structural Data

Dimensional Form: The structure is L formed measuring 36 feet (north-south) by 68 feet (east-west). The kitchen wing has two stories.

Materials:

712 stone perches
757 bushels lime
4,299 bushels sand
26,440 feet lumber
3,540 feet flooring
28,000 shingles
14,200 laths
6 lbs, plaster of paris
5 boxes glass
15 locks
4 closet catches
10 kegs nails

4 dozen screws
2 papers brads
56 lbs putty
425 lbs white lead
8 gal. boiled oil
1 gal. oil
7½ gal. raw oil
4 gal. turpentine
6 lbs yellow chrome
2 lbs glue

This list appears to be incomplete. There is no mention of chimney flues. The list also includes material for a well.

Floor Plan:

A. Kitchen with servant's room in 2nd story attic
B. Dining room
C. Parlor
D. Hall
E. Family room
F. Sitting room
This floor plan is based on the 1867 floor plan for officers' quarters at Fort Lyon, of which the commanding officer's quarters at Fort Larned is a slightly smaller version. The post surgeon's description of the building reads,

The center building is for the commanding officer. It is one story high with center hall and four rooms 14' x 16' each and kitchen 19' x 16'. The servant's room is over the kitchen and is the only 'upstairs' room at the post.65

**Original Appearance**

At first sight it would appear that this building has been substantially altered on the exterior. Such is, however, not the case. Frame additions have been made on the south side and rear. If one cuts off these additions, the original structure remains.

**Exterior:**

a. **North elevation:** as now.

b. **South elevation:** four windows, two first story, two second. The present alcove window is an addition.

c. **East elevation:** as now, including porch.

d. **West elevation:** as now, i.e. two windows and door.

e. **Kitchen wing:** north elevation, two windows 2nd story; one window, one door, 1st story; now windows west elevation.

f. **Roof:** three chimneys, two at ends of north-south section, one rear of kitchen wing.

**Interior:** The floor plan gives the room partitioning. It is the writer's opinion that the entire structure is a smaller version of the Fort Lyon plan (including closets). The major differences are:

a. Smaller rooms.

b. One flue at each end of north-south section served heating stoves in each room.

c. There was neither pantry nor storeroom in kitchen, but there was a cellar in basement.

d. There was no heater in the hall.

The present fireplace does not appear to be historical.

**Utilities:** Water was stored in barrels and a water cooler. The commanding officer had his own well.

As mentioned above, the building was heated by wood burning heating stoves. Heating stoves were not standardized throughout the army until 1876, when they were produced at the Rock Island Arsenal. The stoves at Larned were purchased in the east and shipped out to the post. Light came from lard or coal oil burning lamps.
Furnishings: The commanding officer furnished his own quarters. The army allowed each officer so many pounds of baggage, for which it would provide transportation when moving from post to post. This allowance, however, didn't cover much more than household items such as kitchen ware, bedding, and clothes. If an officer wanted extensive furnishings, he had to pay for their transportation out of his own pocket. A standard practice was to sell furnishings to his successor and buy at his new post. In the end, it was his wife who decided how the quarters were to be furnished. She would usually exert great effort to make the quarters attractive, even if her interior decorating consisted only of cotton cloth and commissary packing cases. It was not unknown that she would bake something nice for the quartermaster in return for his detailing an enlisted man-carpenter to make a table, some chairs, or put up some shelves.

Functional History

The structure served as commanding officer's quarters throughout the historic period. The C.O. had an office in the adjutant's office, a frame structure built in 1867.

All post orders came from the C.O. throught the adjutant and he received and answered correspondence. Although the post commanding officer commanded the troops at the post, he did not usually accompany them on campaign, escorts, or scouts. One of
his primary duties was as listening post. He would immediately report Indian movements, rumors, and accounts of depredations to the department commander. Some of the most interesting reading in the Fort Larned correspondence consists of the commanding officer's interviews with Indian chiefs who had come in to pick up annuities or at the request of the post C.O. Although he rarely believed their claims of peaceful intentions, he never failed to send a detailed account of the conversation to higher authority. In short, the post commanding officer was a combination intelligence officer, police chief, and fort superintendent with management and administrative duties.

After the structure passed into civilian hands, it became the headquarters for the ranch. The Frizell family, who owned the buildings from 1902 to 1967, lived in the building throughout those years.
HISTORIC BUILDING 10 - THE BLOCKHOUSE

Structural Data

This structure presents a problem. It is gone and, unfortunately, no plans or specifications for the structure were found in the source material. The reconstruction will be based on inferences.

**Dimensional Form:** The form of the blockhouse as of 1866 (see Plate 2) is given as,

- **Form:** Sexangular. Each face 22 feet.
- **Height:** 11 ft. 6 in. walls. 2 feet thick to height of 3 feet, from thence to top 1 ft. 6 in.
- **Diameter:** inside, 34 ft.

The medical history states, "It is of sandstone 16 feet high in the form of a hexagon with 21\(\frac{1}{2}\) foot sides."\(^{66}\)

**Materials:** As recorded on the 1866 fort diagram, the materials were listed as: stone, timber, poles, brush, hay and earth. This covering was replaced by a shingled roof and wooden watch tower. Major Rockwell did some work on the building in 1867. The materials used were: 1,100 feet of lumber, 4 pairs hinges, 1 gross screws, 25 lbs nails, 1 lbs wrought nails, and 15 lbs iron. Inferences

\(^{66}\) "Medical History," Vol. 164, p. 11.
may be possible.

The stone came from a quarry located at the base of Lookout Hill. In reconstructing the building, it may be possible to quarry the stone there. It is unknown how this stone was dressed, but it is probable that it was put up rough.

Floor Plan: The simple floor plan which appears in plate number two shows a seven-sided structure. The drawing is wrong. The building was six-sided. Its primary function was as guardhouse. Interior partitioning is unknown; however, it is possible that one or more cells might have been built in the prison room.

Original Appearance

Exterior: Plate 13 shows the structure as of winter 1867-1868. The "Medical History," written about the same time, states, "There are two rows of loop holes, one above the other around the building." These loop holes are visible in the 1868 photograph. In the 1886 photograph, Plate 14, at least two elevations have been plastered over from the ground to just below the top row of loop holes. This occurred in 1870, when an officer discovered that "Careful investigation shows that liquor by the canteen and bottleful was passed through the portholes in side and rear of Guardhouse

early in the morning to the prisoners inside."\(^{68}\)

The door was probably located in the elevation facing the parade ground. In 1866 it was described as "Door-way arched. Entrance 5 ft. 2 in. in width. Double doors. Pine." A sketch of the door also appears on the 1866 diagram.

The 1886 photograph shows an opening above the plaster in a rear elevation. The purpose of this opening is unknown, but it is suggested it was not original. The loop holes and the door were the only openings in the elevations above ground. However, the structure did have a cellar. A tunnel extended from the cellar to a well and is described in 1866 as:

Well. 27 ft deep and 14 ft from house. Covered way or passage from cellar to well. 6 ft high x 3 ft 6 inches in width. Lined with pine boards, 2 inches in thickness.

The tunnel exit is visible in Plate 18.

There were two roofs during the historical period. The first appears in Plate 13 and the second on Plate 14. In 1866 the roof was described as, "Covering. Timber - poles, brush, hay, and earth. Roof supported by large post in center." The second roof was built around 1868. It was shingled and topped by a watch tower. Unfortunately, there is no documentary evidence as to the structural

\(^{68}\) Officer of the Day to Post Adjutant, February 27, 1870, Fort Larned, Letters Received, Box No. 1.
characteristics of this roof except the 1886 photograph.

**Interior:** As was suggested above, the interior was probably partitioned into one or more cells. The guard did not have a room in the structure, but rather "there has been a small room built at the side out of rough lumber for the use of the guard. It stands at the southeast corner of the parade." 69

There was probably no ceiling until the construction of the watch tower roof in 1868. The height of the ceiling is unknown. The building was floored. There was a cellar in the basement. In 1866 it was described as "Cellar: 14 ft. 6 inches, by 13 ft. and 6 ft. deep. Two inch pine floor above cellar." It is possible that this cellar was later used as a cell room.

**Utilities:** There are no flues visible in the two photographs. It is possible that the structure was not heated until 1868. After that a small stove provided heat for the prisoners. There was also a water barrel and a few candles or a lamp.

**Furnishings:** As a blockhouse, the structure was empty. However, its primary function was as guardhouse. The comfort of guardhouse prisoners was given very little notice. The prisoner brought his straw mattress and bedsack with him from the squadroom.

When the officer of the day inspected the guardhouse in 1870, he became alarmed at the extent of prisoner coddling. "All articles," he said, "except overcoats and blankets must be kept out of the prison room. The present practice of allowing bunks, knapsacks, haversacks, and chests in the prison room must be discontinued." As he reported to the post commander, the situation was even worse. "The keeping of tools (I found a complete set of shoemaker's tools in one of the chests) and cups, plates, and knives and forks in the guardhouse prison room . . . could be used by the prisoners to escape." He ordered them removed.

**Functional History**

During the historical period the structure served three functions. The blockhouse built in June and July 1865. Shortly before then, hostile Indians had run off the exposed stock herd and burned a bridge across Pawnee Fork. However, when no attack came, it was decided that the structure should not stand empty. It was employed as storehouse for clothing and ordnance supplies. The enlisted men couldn't easily steal clothing from the building.

During the 1867 construction program, Major Rockwell did some work on the building. It is probable that he either repaired or replaced the roof and might have added flooring. It became the guardhouse, replacing a picket hut in use until then. Foundations

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70. Officer of the Day to Post Adjutant, February 27, 1870, op. cit.
for a 48 foot square guardhouse were laid on the east side of the parade near the shop building, but this structure was not completed in 1868. The blockhouse continued to function as the guardhouse throughout most of the historical period. In later years, as the size of the garrison dwindled, a room in another structure might have been employed for housing prisoners and the blockhouse converted to magazine.

When the post passed into civilian ownership, the blockhouse was torn down. This occurred sometime after 1886. Local hearsay contends that the stone from the blockhouse was transported to the town of Fort Larned and employed in the construction of a private residence. This story can not be confirmed.

Although the watch tower might have been useful to observe movement in the immediate vicinity of the fort, it would be a mistake to portray soldiers firing from the loop holes at circling savages. Ft. Larned, like 99 per cent of other western forts, was never attacked. The Indian did indeed massacre small parties of travelers, but they rarely assaulted large, well-armed groups. Their tactic was the sneak, hit and run, guerilla attack. Not even the most ambitious sub-chief seeking tribal prestige attacked a well-armed army post.

The building was a storehouse for ordnance items. Its safety features, thick stone walls and location away from inhabited
structures, made it ideal for storing ammunition.

The principal function was as the unwelcome home for those guilty of infractions against the military regulations. Frontier army justice was not mild. Drunken conduct, talking back to a superior, shirking work, and destruction of army property were among countless offenses that could lead to a court martial, forfeiture of pay, and time in the "mill." The company commander initiated a court martial action. If he was a hard commander and strictly interpreted the regulations, court martials were frequent. The devotion of his men depended not so much on their confidence in his ability as military leader, but rather on the degree of harshness in his distribution of punishment. The court martial usually consisted of officers from the post. A judgement of "not guilty" to both charge and specification was rare. The members of the court martial assumed that, if their fellow officer charged the prisoner, the latter was probably guilty. A display of leniency could be interpreted by the men as weakness, opening the door to all sorts of misbehavior.71

Once in the guardhouse, the prisoner had to perform the more odious police duties, such as cleaning out sinks or digging new

71. For a complete discussion of military justice, see Don Rickey, Jr., Forty Miles a Day on Beans and Hay (Norman, 1963).
ones. Sometimes, however, he just sat, idling away his one, two, or three months with nothing to do but prepare for the guard change, at which time his quarters were inspected. As the above quote indicates, there was a time at Ft. Larned, when the post C.O. allowed the prisoners some privileges. As the reaction of the officer of the day indicates, such practices as allowing a bunk or tools in the guardhouse were frowned on. The regulations made the enlisted man's already rough life even harder. The arbitrariness of military justice contributed greatly to the frontier army's number one problem, desertion.
APPENDIX A

The following is a copy of the act under which the military reservation of Fort Larned was turned over to the General Land Office and subsequently sold at public auction (Abandoned Military Reservation File).
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

APRIL 27, 1882.

Ordered to be printed.

AN ACT

To provide for the disposition of the Fort Larned Military Reservation.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,

That the Secretary of War be, and he is hereby, authorized to relinquish and turn over to the Department of the Interior, for restoration to the public domain, the Fort Larned Military Reservation, in the State of Kansas.

SEC. 2. That the Commissioner of the General Land Office is hereby directed to have said public lands, when transferred as provided for in section one, surveyed in like manner as other public lands, and shall thereupon cause the same to be appraised by three disinterested competent persons; and after such appraisement shall have been approved by the Secretary of the Interior the land shall be sold to actual settlers only, at the appraised price, and as nearly as
may be in conformity to the provisions of the pre-emption laws of the United States: *Provided,* That no person shall be permitted to purchase more than one quarter-section of said land: *And provided further,* That the Commissioner may, in his discretion, cause the section of said reservation on which improvements are situated to be appraised in a body, together with such improvements, and may then sell the same at public or private sale, as he may deem to the best advantage of the government, except that it shall not be sold at less than the appraised price.

Passed the Senate February 13, 1882.

Attest: 

F. E. SHOBER,

*Acting Secretary.*
APPENDIX B

Statement of Employees at Fort Larned, Sept. 19, 1867*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Occupation</th>
<th>Rate of Pay (per month)</th>
<th>Remarks</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Chief Clerk</td>
<td>$125</td>
<td>In charge of office.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Clerk</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>Commissary and quartermaster clerk.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Clerk</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>Report of persons, receipts, transfers.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Clerk</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>Property and storekeepers.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Master Mechanic</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>Supt. of buildings being erected.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Interpreter</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>With Indian agency.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Blacksmiths</td>
<td>85</td>
<td>Shoewing public animals, repairing wagons, and manufacturing iron work for buildings.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Foremen</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>In charge of various parties of laborers.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>101</td>
<td>Laborers</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>Quarrying stone &amp; etc. for building, purposes, assisting masons, digging foundations, unloading teams, etc.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Wagon Master</td>
<td>75</td>
<td>Public transportation.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Asst. Wagon Mr.</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>Public transportation.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>47</td>
<td>Teamsters</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>Public transportation.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Ambulance Driver</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>Conveying sick.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22</td>
<td>Carpenters</td>
<td>85</td>
<td>Building quarters, hospital, and general repairs.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Saddlers</td>
<td>90</td>
<td>Repairing harness.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23</td>
<td>Stone Masons</td>
<td>90</td>
<td>Building quarters and hospital.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Plasterers</td>
<td>90</td>
<td>Repairing quarters and buildings.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Wheelwrights</td>
<td>90</td>
<td>Repairing wagons, ambulances, etc.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Painters</td>
<td>75</td>
<td>Painting quarters, wagons, etc.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Tinner</td>
<td>75</td>
<td>Repairing water spouts, etc.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Sail Maker</td>
<td>75</td>
<td>Repairing wagon covers, tents, etc.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

224 Total Number of Employees in Sept. 1867 at Fort Larned, Kansas.

A. F. Rockwell
Capt. & Bvt. Lt. Col., AQM USA

* Dept. of Mo., Letters Received, Box No. 533
APPENDIX C - Officer's Quarters Furnishings

Fort Larned, Kansas
March 12, 1873

In compliance with the foregoing order, and upon a careful examination, the following articles are all the effects of the late 2nd Lieut. D. G. Quinby, 5th Infantry, at this post.

1 shotgun and case, (Moore & Co.)
1 Rifle (Allens Patent)
1 Rifle, French make
1 Smith & Wessons Revolver, nickel plated
1 " " " " " holster
1 " " " " " belt
2 Regulation Swords, old pattern
1 " " new "
1 Sword knot
1 pair epaulettes
1 air pistol
450 S. & W. ammunition, cal. 44
100 rifle ammunition, cal. 32
150 rifle, S. & W., cal. 32
3 powder flasks
2 shot pouches
1 pair saddle bags
30 pounds shot
2 packages gun rods
1 razor and strap
1 bullet mould
1 cork screw
3 woolen undershirts
5 pairs woolen drawers
3 pairs drill drawers
2 pairs linen pants
1 white vest
6 pairs socks
3 neck ties
1 pair sleeved buttons
5 pairs gloves
4 pair cuffs
1 pocket knofe
1 tobacco pouch
8 lamp mats

1 clock
1 peper box
1 pewter syrup jug
1 oval key
2 horses
2 horse blankets
2 harness (set)
1 red blanket
1 riding bridle
1 watering bridle
1 English saddle
3 traces
2 lariat ropes
1 whip
2 buggy cushions
2 head halters and straps
1 bushel oats
1 sack corn meal
1 sack grain
1 buggy
1 forage cap
3 chairs (broken)
1 banjo
2 " books of instruction
1 student lamp
1 winding lamp
3 lamp chimneys
1 wash bowl and pitcher
1 oil can
7 dinner plates
5 breakfast plates
5 soup plates
6 sauce plates
6 cups & saucers
3 large vegetable dishes
4 small " "
2 covered dishes
1 pickle dish
2 milk pitchers
1 water pitcher
1 tea pot
2 salt cellars
1 soup dish
6 knives & forks (common)
1 carving knife & fork
1 steel knife
7 pewter table spoons
1 plated table spoon
6 plated tea spoons
2 iron tea spoons
11 glass goblets
24 napkins
5 table cloths
1 mess chest
2 tin canisters
1 coffee mill
1 nutmeg grinder
2 tin coffee pots
2 tin pans
1 one quart cup
1 chopping knife
1 tin dipper
1 wash tub
1 wooden bowl
4 small cooking tins
1 note book
1 package official memorandums
6 packages private letters
1 silver napkin ring
2 bibles
1 common prayer
1 Lady of the Lake
1 copy French conversation
2 photographic albums
2 small books
2 hat ornaments
1 pin cushion
1 woolen comforter

1 pair light pants
1 light vest
4 pairs uniform pants
2 housewives
3 sheets
5 pillow cases
2 houses
1 dress coat
1 2nd Lieuts commission
9 photographs (of self)
1 bed quilt
1 pair skates
2 feather pillows
1 pair white blankets
1 " red "
10 photo frames
1 felt table cloth (green)
2 leather satchels
1 piece stair carpet
(3 yds)
1 bundle note paper
4 pairs boots
1 pair shoes
1 pair garters
1 letter book
1 Circular No. 4, S.G. Off.
2 phamlets /sic/  
1 army register
2 hair brushes
1 ink stand
4 pieces flannel (8 yds)
1 bench vice
1 sash
ILLUSTRATIONS

Plates 1-24
1. 1863 or 1864 diagram of fort. (National Archives)

This is the earliest known diagram of Fort Larned. It was drawn about 1863 or 1864. Note the building complex associated with the quartermaster corral.
2. 1866 diagram of fort. (National Archives)

Drawn about 1866 this diagram shows Fort Larned just before the beginning of the Rockwell's construction program. The diagram is especially good for descriptions of the early structures.
3. 1866 diagram of fort showing sutler's structures. 
(National Archives)

This diagram was also drawn about 1866 and is similar to Plate 2. Only two ditches, however, appear on this map. In addition, the structures around the quartermaster corral seem to be incorporated in a single unit.
4. 1867 Corps of Engineers map of fort. (National Archives)

This map, drawn in September 1867, is the only map or diagram showing the new buildings. Note that the quartermaster corral is no longer shown.
5. Historical Base Map from Ft. Larned Master Plan (NPS)

This is the historical base map from the Fort Larned Master Plan. Although there are a few minor mistakes, it shows the location of the principal structures during the historical period, 1859-1878.
6. Photograph of farm activities at Fort Larned (Fort Larned National Historic Site)

This photograph shows farm activities at Fort Larned. Its date is unknown, but it was probably taken sometime after 1910, when the post had passed to the Frizell family.
7. **Photograph of farm activities at the Frizell ranch**

(Kansas State Historical Society)

Another photograph of farm activities during the period of the Frizell family ownership. Note how some of the structures have been altered.
In 1866 Cuvier Grover submitted this layout with plans for the buildings. When the Quartermaster General refused to approve them, General Sherman requested that he be given control of construction in his military division.
Scale 100' to the inch.
This 1867 plan for a storehouse at Ft. Lyon is a standard plan adopted for use in the Department of Missouri. Although the Larned storehouses are not dimensionally similar to this plan, it is suggested the floor plan be followed in interior partitioning of the quartermaster storehouse.
SIDE ELEVATION

CROSS SECTION

QUARTER MASTER'S STORE

COMMISARY
10. 1867 plan for Officers' Quarters (National Archives)

This is another 1867 plan from Fort Lyon. The commanding officer's quarters at Larned appear to be a smaller version of this plan.
11. 1867 sketch of Fort Larned (Kansas State Historical Society)

This 1867 sketch of Fort Larned shows the dugouts along the banks of Pawnee Creek used as quarters for enlisted men and civilian employees.
12. 1867 sketch of Fort Larned (Kansas State Historical Society)

This sketch, also drawn in 1867, shows the fort before the beginning of the construction program. Note the tents for quartering the soldiers. In addition, the commissary storehouse, Building 5, is shown with three doors and numerous windows in the north elevation.
13. 1867-1868 photograph of new structures (Kansas State Historical Society)

This photograph was taken during the winter of 1867-1868. It is one of the earliest Fort Larned photographs and is referred to many times in the text.
14. 1886 photograph of Fort Larned (Kansas State Historical Society)

The 1886 photograph, taken after the post has passed into civilian ownership, shows many of the structures as employed in farm operations.
15. Photograph of Historic Buildings 3 and 4, farm period (Kansas State Historical Society)

This photograph shows Buildings 3 and 4 during the period of farm ownership. The date is unknown.
Photograph of Quartermaster Storehouse, farm period (Kansas State Historical Society)

The structure is the quartermaster storehouse. Note the stone piled to the right of the door. It probably came from this elevation, when the door was cut.
17. 1879 photograph of Officer' Quarters 7 and 8
(Kansas State Historical Society)

This 1879 photograph shows officers' quarters
7 and 8. The soldiers are men from Fort
Dodge detached to protect the government
property.
18. Shop Building, 1968 (National Park Service)

Plates 18-24 are recent NPS photographs. The architectural section, HSR, Part II, for each building will contain photographs of each elevation. These photographs are included to give the reader a general idea of the present appearance of each building.

Plate 18 shows the west elevation of Historic Building 3, the shop building.
19. Commissary Storehouse, 1968 (NPS)

This is the west elevation of Historic Building 4, the 1868 commissary storehouse. The roof of this structure was replaced in 1968 and is now shingled.
20. Commissary Storehouse, 1968 (NPS)

This is the south or rear elevation, Historic Building 5, the 1866 commissary storehouse. It is probable that when originally built, this elevation contained neither windows nor doors, only the loop holes.
21. The Quartermaster Storehouse, 1968 (NPS)

The photograph is of the south or rear elevation of Building 6, the quartermaster storehouse. The walls have been raised about five feet and a barn type roof added.
22. Officers' Quarters 7 in 1968 (NPS)

This is the east or front elevation of officers' quarters, Historic Building 7. The porch is original and the railings have been recently found.
23. Commanding Officer's Quarters, 1968 NPS)

The photograph is of the east or front elevation of the commanding officer's quarters. The porch is original in size, but the supports are not.
24. Officers' Quarters 9 in 1968 (NPS)

This is the east or front elevation of officers' quarters, Historic Building 9. The porch is original.