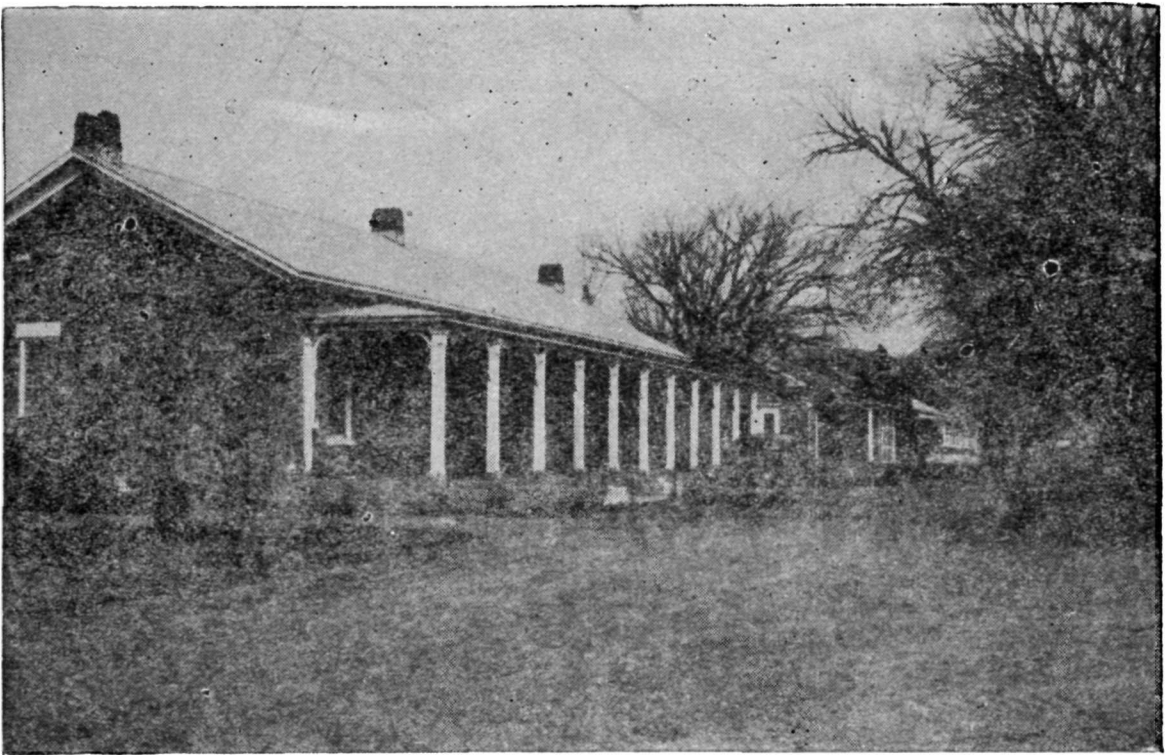


HISTORY OF FORT LARNED

COMPILED BY

William Errol Unrau



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In this installment of his history of Fort Larned, written for his master's thesis at the University of Wyoming, William Errol Unrau of the Lewis schools traces the early explorations of what later became the Santa Fe Trail by Spaniards, French and finally Americans. Formal title of the Unrau story is "The History of Fort Larned, Kansas: Its Relation to the Santa Fe Trail and the Plains Indians." Succeeding sections of this exceptionally well-researched document will be printed roughly every other day for some weeks.

CHAPTER I

Factors leading to the establishment of early Fort Larned.

The Arkansas River, greatest western affluent of the Missouri-Mississippi System, is a typical river of the plains. It has as its origin the mountains of central Colorado near Leadville, from there flowing east into the Colorado and Kansas plains, where it makes a sharp southeastern turn near Great Bend, Kansas. At this point it leads into Oklahoma, where it bends east to empty into the Mississippi River at Napoleon, Arkansas.

The banks are sand, clay or loam and these banks are low

over ordinary water level. The sandy character of the banks results in the constant shifting of the river's channel. The particular section of the river that became the route of the Santa Fe Trail (beginning at Bent's Fort midway between the present day towns of La Junta and Las Animas, Colorado to a few miles east of the present day town of Great Bend, Kansas) is quite shallow except in early spring when the melting snow of the Rockies makes its arrival. In many places the river bed is characterized by a heavy underflow and treacherous quicksand.

The Arkansas River has never been navigable in that section which became the Santa Fe Trail, the bed of the river being suitable for light navigation only from the present day town of Wichita, Kansas to its confluence with the Mississippi. The significance of the Arkansas River as related to early travel and especially the Santa Fe Trail commerce lay not in its navigability, but rather in the fact that it provided a convenient route that gave direction from such settlements as St. Louis and Westport to the Spanish settlements of the west. For the early traveler it provided kindling in the form of cottonwood trees,

food in the form of buffalo that were constantly found along its banks, and most important of all, water.

Today, this section of the Arkansas River traverses the heart of the winter wheat belt, some of the largest oil and natural gas fields in the United States, thriving cities and in general an area of high productivity that proves the absurdity of the nineteenth century nomenclature, The Great American Desert.

The particular area of the Arkansas River that this study is concerned with is that place in south central Kansas where the Pawnee Creek empties into the Arkansas, at the present day town of Larned, Kansas. It was on this tributary that Fort Larned was built.

Probably the first white man to see this area was the famous Spaniard, Francisco Vasquez de Coronado. Much has been written to show the exact location of Coronado's trip to Quivera and the many accounts vary a great deal. Bolton's study, based on exhaustive research, seems to be one of the most recent and most convincing.

Using topographical data, Bolton concludes that Coronado reached the edge of the High Plains on June 29, 1541. He then

maintaining their natural subsistence.

An official mail route survey was instigated along the Trail, the route being selected by Jacob Hall with L. J. Berry as official surveyor. The route, as designed in 1859, was to begin at Wyandotte (near present day Kansas City) and terminate at Pawnee Fork. The record of this survey to October, 1859 shows that at this date the furthest penetration was to Durham, roughly halfway to Pawnee Fork.

There was no legal barrier to the establishment of a permanent military post and mail escort station. By the Treaty of Fort Laramie of 1851 the Cheyenne-Arapahoe Reserve came as far east as the One-hundred first meridian and the eastern Indian Reserve line was approximately the ninety-seventh meridian. The area where Fort Larned was located was government held land, being free from any binding Indian Treaty.

As a consequence of these factors, namely the heavier concentration of Indians along the Trail resulting from the situation in Texas, heavier traffic due to the 1859 gold rush, the reports of Bent and Greenwood, the desire for official mail escort stations and a healthy title to the land, the federal government was convinced of the practicability of constructing a post at Pawnee Fork. Fort Riley, about one-hundred forty miles to the east, was the only military fort between Fort Leavenworth and Bent's Fort to protect and patrol the vast stretches of territory adjacent to the Trail. The site at Pawnee Fork suggested by Bent was about midway between these points and it also was notorious as being one of the more dangerous areas on the Santa Fe Trail. In the immediate vicinity were several other tributaries of the Arkansas, i. e., the Coon and Walnut Creeks, as well as Pawnee Fork. All of these locations were favorite camping areas for the tribes of Indians.

During the summer of 1859, Company K of the United States Cavalry (regiment unknown) was busy patrolling the region between Cow Creek and Fort Union. This group, under the command of Captain George H. Stewart assisted in constructing

the first Fort Larned.

On October 22, 1859, Major Henry Wessels arrived at Pawnee Fork with two companies of United States Infantry. This group began the actual construction of "Camp on the Pawnee Fork," as the first Fort Larned was named. The exact location of this installation was at the base of Lookout Hill (Jenkins Hill), on the south bank of the Pawnee, eight miles from its confluence with the Arkansas River. Wessels stated that the location was "... thirty-eight degrees ten minutes north, longitude twenty-two degrees west and elevation one-thousand nine-hundred and thirty feet above sea level ..."

A description of the first structures of "Camp on the Pawnee Fork" is given in Captain Lambert Wolf's diary:

October 23—Plans are made for horse and cattle stables, also for officers and company quarters, all of which are to be built of sod, cut with spades by members of companies. Our stable (corral) 100 foot square—inside walls 12 feet high.

However, these plans were deferred for several months, since as late as July 2, 1860, in a letter from Camp Alert (as the fort was then named) the fort to watch over. Indian troubles was described simply as a "... group of tents on the Headwaters of the Arkansas."

The forces of Stewart and Wessels remained at "Camp on the Pawnee Fork" until November 27, 1859, when they were relieved by a detail of forty men under the command of one Lieutenant Bell, whose specific instructions were to act as a construction crew for the permanent site.

On February 1, 1860, this temporary installation was renamed Camp Alert. During the period from October 22, 1859 till the midsummer of 1860, the original plans to construct a permanent sod fort were carried out at a new location three miles west. The new location had a natural advantage, since it was located on the south side of the Pawnee, with a bend of the creek affording a natural barrier on two sides.

Just prior to the completion of the sod buildings and earthen

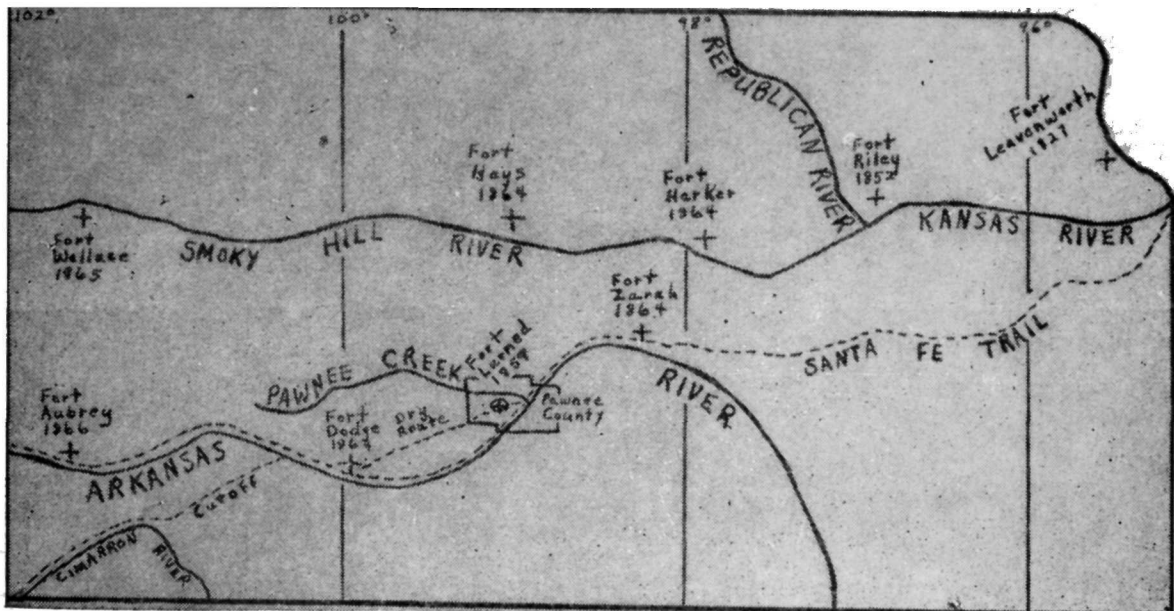
works, the post was given its third and lasting name, Fort Larned. On May 29, 1860, pursuant to General Order Number Fourteen, the post was named Fort Larned, in honor of Colonel Benjamin F. Larned, paymaster of the United States Army. The reservation included four square miles, but the official survey of this area was never carried out, although according to General Order Number Twenty-Two, Headquarters, Department of Missouri, 1867, sixteen square miles were known, the center of the reservation being the northwest corner of the commanding officer's quarters that were constructed in 1867.

On April 24, 1860, Major Wessels returned to the nearly completed fortification with one-hundred and sixty men who had been based at Fort Riley.

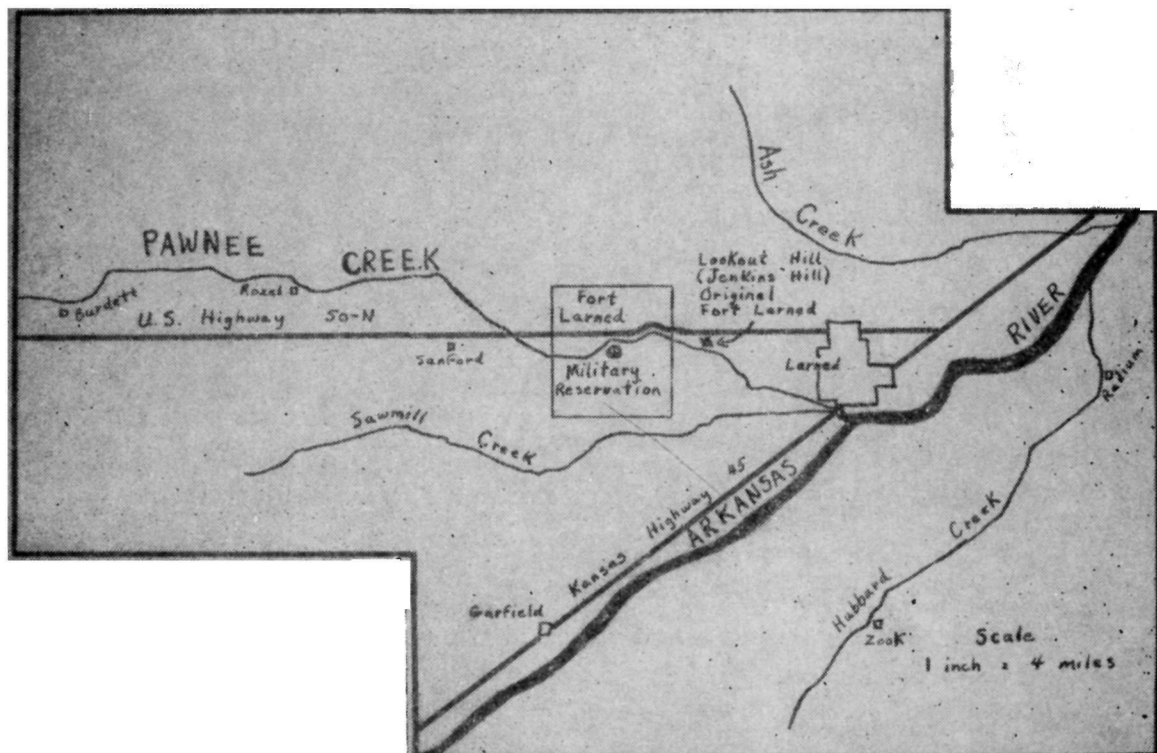
He was the first commander of permanent Fort Larned and his somewhat meager forces were strengthened by the addition of seventy-five new recruits on June 9, 1860. These very same recruits left the same day on a campaign against the Kiowas and Comanches. Obviously the new commander was wasting no time attempting to make the government's new investment pay dividends.

Just prior to the founding of Fort Larned, large numbers of Indians were met by the Santa Fe freighters. In April, 1859, Captain Wickersham, writing from "half-way" to Pikes Peak, told of meeting eight-hundred Cheyennes and Arapahoes. In May of the same year, C. C. Barnes, reporting from Allison's Ranch (a few miles east of Pawnee Fork), related an incident of encountering a large group of belligerent Kiowas. These and other Indians were not so interested in the conventional scalp as some popular writers claim, but the so-called depredations were more in forms of stealing, demanding food, and obtaining horses.

In his report of October 5, 1859, William Bent also stated that the Kiowas and Comanches desired an annuity distribution station on the Arkansas. This was evidently agreed upon, since the Treaty of Fort Atkinson of 1853 had stated that these Indians were to receive their annuities



MAP I.—Kansas showing major military forts, 1827-1865.



MAP II.—Pawnee, County, Kansas, showing Fort Larned military reservation.

at Beaver Creek, Oklahoma Territory only until a more permanent place could be decided upon.

Bent had reported the Kiowas and Comanches ranging permanently around the Pawnee Fork area, so it is reasonable to assume that Fort Larned became an official Indian post as early as 1860. Colonel Jesse Leavenworth must have been their agent then, since he was known to be sending official reports concerning these Indians in 1861. Here was a paradox: while the fort was motivated by a desire to keep the Indian away from the freighter, it was, by its very existence, attracting more Indians to that area.

Fort Larned early assumed importance for the Trail trade. William H. Ryus, mail driver for Barnum, Veil and Vickeroy, stated in 1861 that the Fort was the outfitting place for the run between there and Fort Lyon. Located here for the convenience of the freighters was a large corral for storing mules and an adequate retail supply store.

Parley Eaton, a typical freighter, reported seeing in 1862 a wagon train eight miles long, and he goes on to say that a mounted escort was provided from Fort Larned to Fort Lyon. In 1865, protection by the military was provided from Council Grove to Fort Larned. Obviously, the military post was a very active place during its early years.

After the commencement of the Indian War of 1864, caravans were not permitted to move westward in parties less than one-hundred men. The following year an official memorandum from the military (Department of Missouri) had its effect upon policy at Fort Larned as related to the commercial traffic. Trains were compelled to organize for defense, arm themselves properly and submit to the regulations laid down by the captain of the train before they would be permitted to enter Indian country. No trains consisting of less than twenty wagons and thirty armed men were allowed to leave the forts.

Consequently, by the early 1860's, Fort Larned had assumed a degree of importance. Being the first permanent Santa Fe Trail fortification west of Fort

Riley, it had a large area to watch over. Indian troubles in the future were to give the Fort even more responsibility in that area of the Upper Arkansas.

CHAPTER II

Indian Relations at Fort Larned.

By 1833, the area which now comprises most of Kansas and Oklahoma had been ceded to the federal government. Cessions of land were arranged with the Quapaws in 1818, with the Great and Little Osages in 1818 and 1825 respectively, with the Kansas in 1825, with the Oto and Missouri in 1833 and with the Confederated Pawnee Tribes in 1833.

Generally speaking, in the period after the Mexican War it became the policy of the federal government to attempt to group the Plains Indians into two geographical areas; one in the north and one in the south, with a tract between the two to be used for the construction of the Pacific railroad and white settlements.

By the Treaty of Fort Laramie of 1851, the Southern Cheyennes and Arapahoes gave the federal government the right to build roads and establish posts in their territory. They received as their official reservation an area that included the following boundaries:

Commencing at the Red Buttes or place where the road leaves the North Fork of the Platte River; thence up the North Fork of the Platte River to its source; thence along the main range of the Rocky Mountains to the headwaters of the Arkansas River; thence down the Arkansas to the Santa Fe Crossing; thence up in a northwesterly direction to the Forks of the Platte to the place of beginning.

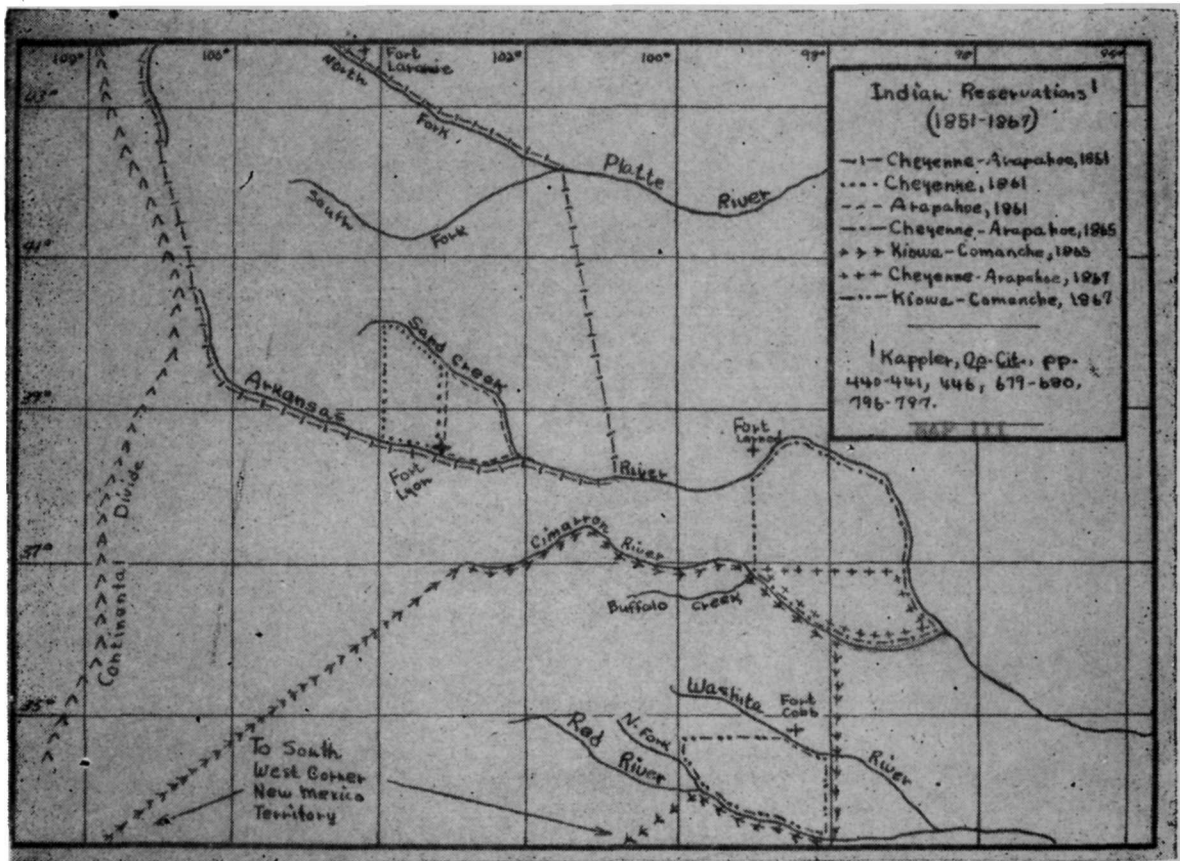
The Kiowas and Comanches also gave to the federal government the right to mark off roads, establish depots and posts and to make necessary reservation, but could continue to rove over the plains as they saw fit. This treaty also stipulated that they were to receive annuities amounting to eighteen thousand dollars a year for a ten-year period, the distribution point for these annuities to be at Beaver Creek in Oklahoma Territory. As has previously been stated,

this annuity station was to be a temporary distribution point. It is here that Fort Larned assumed one of her first duties, namely, distributing the annuities of the Fort Atkinson Treaty to the Kiowas and Comanches.

Efforts to relocate the Cheyennes and Arapahoes further south came in 1860, when Congress authorized the negotiation of a treaty to take place at Fort Wise on the Arkansas. There was a great deal of difficulty experienced in trying to assemble all of the Indian chiefs. With only two tribes represented there, this attempt failed and the negotiations left the opinion that there was little hope that any treaty would be possible in the near future.

This assumption proved to be false, for on February 18, 1861, the Fort Wise Treaty was concluded with the Cheyenne and Arapahoe Indians of the Upper Arkansas River. This treaty was designed to introduce these Indians to a settled agricultural existence. It authorized fifteen annual payments totaling four-hundred and fifty thousand dollars. In addition, it provided five installments at five-thousand dollars each to establish these Indians in their farming careers. The policy of moving the Indian further south became evident with this treaty, as shown by the new boundaries of their reservation. The western boundary was the one hundred and fourth meridian, the south was the Arkansas River and the north and east boundaries followed the Sandy Fork of the Arkansas River from its mouth to a point where it crossed the meridian that was the western boundary.

Fort Lyon was located within the confines of this reservation, and as such acted as official headquarters for Cheyennes and Arapahoes. Great difficulty was experienced in keeping these Indians confined to a permanent location, as evidenced by the report of a large group of Indians camping near Fort Larned on July 18, 1862. This group of Indians included tribes of Cheyennes and Arapahoes, so it is reasonable to assume that Fort Larned was probably storing and handing out annuities under the Fort Wise Treaty of 1861. An added point to support this assumption is that Fort Larned



was much closer to Forts Riley and Leavenworth, which were the general supply centers for Indian annuities, and as such, the freight to Fort Larned would have been considerably less than to Fort Lyon.

Probably the first instance of action between the military and the Indians that was directly related to Fort Larned came just one month before the Fort was built. On September 22, 1859, Big Pawnee, a Kiowa chief was shot by patrolling cavalry in immediate vicinity. This brought about quick action on the part of the Kiowas, who had been led to believe that a treaty parley was to take place. A few weeks later, about the very time that the first tents were put up at Fort Larned, these Indians killed a man by the name of Peacock at Allison's Ranch. They also killed two mail employees at Jenkins Hill (which was probably at "Camp on the Pawnee Fork") and looted a wagon train near that place.

In the summer of 1860, a few months later, Major John Sedgwick, with five hundred men, used Fort Larned as a base for an expedition against the Kiowas and Comanches who had been causing trouble on the Santa Fe Trail.

With the firm establishment of Fort Larned, the roving Indians began, for awhile, to respect the Trail commerce. In August, 1861, Colonel Leavenworth, reporting from Fort Larned, stated that the Indians had left the Santa Fe Trail area and that there was no apprehension of any hostilities in the near future.

Fort Larned became indirectly involved in the Civil War during the following spring. On May 14, 1862, General Albert Pike, Confederate general in Texas, arranged an alliance with some Kiowas and a group of renegade Seminoles. This alliance had as its design the seizure of Forts Larned and Wise by these Indians. Nothing came of this, since as soon as the weather permitted, the Indians left for the annual hunt.

In June of the same year, Fort Larned's small garrison was threatened by a large group of hostile Indians. To cope with this situation, Squadrons B and C of the Second Kansas Cavalry under Captain Whittenhall were

sent from Fort Riley to bolster the Fort. These cavalrymen were nearly driven to mutiny when they found, upon being issued Springfield rifled muskets, that they were to remain in a new capacity as infantrymen.

Another incident of Indian trouble at Fort Larned took place in 1862. On August 1, a group of Cheyennes and Arapahoes were induced by white traders to seize their annuities before they were to be issued. This intrigue was thwarted by the ever watchful Colonel Leavenworth.

The year 1863 witnessed additional Indian troubles in the vicinity of Fort Larned. With more white men in the area and as accelerated freighting over the Trail took place, the Indians were forced to loot and steal in order to survive. It was this situation that brought about what is called the Nine Mile Ridge Massacre (seventy five miles west of Fort Larned). In January, 1863, a wagon train that was preparing to bed down for the night was surrounded by a group of hungry Indians who asked for food. In the excitement that followed, a teamster wounded one of the Indians which prompted the Indians to return before daylight and massacre all of the whites, except one who escaped to the protection of Fort Larned.

Stealing at the Fort was also reported in 1863, when four-hundred Kiowas, under the guise of wanting to trade, entered the Fort and ran off three-hundred cattle.

The killing of an Indian chief within the confines of Fort Larned accomplished a further breach between the Indians and the United States government. In August, 1863, Little Heart, en route from his Cheyenne village west of Fort Larned to the Fort for the purpose of obtaining whiskey, was shot by the sentry. It was later determined that Little Heart had been drunk and that he had attempted to ride over Isaac Marrs, the sentry. Presents were given to the Cheyennes by the Indian agent at the Fort to pay for the death, but these Indians were not quick to forget the incident.

Conditions precipitated by the Civil War resulted in further Indian responsibilities for Fort Larned. On January 25, 1863, S.

G. Colley, agent for the Upper Arkansas at Fort Lyon, was visited at Fort Larned by twenty-six chiefs of the Caddo Indian Confederacy. They represented nearly one-thousand Indians who farmed near Fort Cobb, Oklahoma Territory. They told Colley that they had been abandoned by their agent, a man by the name of Leaper who had deserted to the Confederate Army. Not wanting to join with the South, these Indians had drifted north to seek help. Being very destitute, these Indians were befriended by the authorities at Fort Larned and W. P. Doyle, Commissioner of Indian Affairs forwarded five-thousand dollars to Colley for the purpose of providing for the Indians.

Since these Indians had been accustomed to farming, this money was used to set up a farm along the banks of the Pawnee. Accordingly, two-thousand acres of land were surveyed on the south side of the Pawnee. This site was chosen over a Fort Lyon site because more water was available for irrigation purposes. Corn was planted the following spring, and here was probably the first instance of a large scale irrigated farming attempt in the Pawnee Valley, an area that today is noted for irrigated farming.

This farming enterprise of the Caddos lasted till the fall of 1864, when open hostilities began to prevail in that area. By October 4, 1864, two-hundred and fifty acres of corn had been planted and the buildings for the Caddos were in the process of being built. These Caddos, fearing that they might become involved in the Indian War, drifted between Cow and Crow Creeks. They left all of their crops, buildings and equipment, and what the warring Indians did not take was plundered by soldiers from Fort Larned and freighters from the Santa Fe Trail.

A final event of the year 1863, was the official appointment of Colonel Jesse Leavenworth as Indian agent for the Kiowas, Comanches and a group of Plains Apaches, with headquarters at Fort Larned. This appointment came as a result of a recommendation from Territorial Governor Evans of Colorado.

By the early months of 1864, conditions between the whites and Indians became progressively worse, with the result that a general war broke out on the plains. Various causes have been suggested, but in this there seems to be little agreement. The underlying factor appears to have been that the Indians, due to the encroachments of white settlers, were having difficulty subsisting with their nomadic culture. Also it is a fact that most of the military posts on the plains, due to the Civil War, were not adequately garrisoned and that a good percent of these garrisons did not appreciate the Indian's predicament. At Fort Larned, the soldiers were reported, on January 28, 1864, to be selling whiskey to the Indians and demoralizing their women.

The infamous Chivington Massacre of the Cheyenne Indians at Sand Creek in November, 1864, served to add fuel to the existing problem. From an examination of the documents concerning this incident, it appears that a very basic factor was that some Indians were openly friendly and that others were not, but that it was, in many cases, difficult to determine the one group from the other. Discussion of this War will be confined here to those events which were directly related to Fort Larned.

The decision was made by military officials to subdue by force the Indians who were guilty of the depredations. On July 27, 1864, Governor Evans of Colorado Territory ordered all friendly Indians to the military posts, so that only the belligerent ones would remain in the field. He ordered the Sioux to Fort Laramie, the Arapahoe and Cheyennes of the Arkansas to Fort Lyon, the Arapahoes and Cheyennes of the Platte to Camp Collins and the Kiowas and Comanches to Fort Larned.

In the summer of 1864, Fort Larned was robbed of a large amount of horses and mules by angry Indians who found that ration day did not provide adequate supplies. This event, and other similar events, brought about General Field Orders Number Two, Headquarters Department of Kansas (July 31, 1864), which stated that stockades or abatis enclosures must

be provided for all troops and stock in the military posts of the frontier. These same orders severely reprimanded Fort Larned for not having a stone block-house or enclosures for the animals. Consequently, General Ford ordered the erection of a stone block-house on February 20, 1865.

Sixty teamsters were attacked near Coon Creek (just west of Fort Larned) in the summer of 1864. Several were killed and Major Robert McGhee was subjected to a most severe torture before he was rescued and taken to the Fort Larned hospital.

Lieutenant G. Eayre, in the spring of 1864, used Fort Larned as a base for a campaign against the Cheyennes, about fifty miles northeast of the Fort. Grinnell, leading Cheyenne historian, is of the opinion that this was an unprovoked action on the part of Lieutenant Eayre.

Soon after the battle, Eayre moved his force to Fort Larned. The Fort was under the command of Captain Parmeter, who had been warned by the Kiowas that they intended to run off Lieutenant Eayre's horses. Parmeter was reported drunk and while the Indians were performing a dance for the soldiers, other Indians were stealing and making off with two-hundred and forty horses and mules. Subsequent events after this incident alienated the Indians even more. Captain Parmeter's conduct during the summer months of 1864 led to his court martial and dishonorable discharge.

Colonel Chivington campaigned in the vicinity of Fort Larned during this same period. On July 26, 1864, on his return to Denver from Fort Larned, he reported that ten men had been killed at that point, and that all coaches on the Santa Fe Trail were given an escort of between ten and forty men. In October, General Blunt and Major Anthony met a group of Cheyennes at Walnut Creek, and in what Grinnell also termed an unprovoked attack, killed nine Indians.

The Chivington Massacre in opinion from Fort Larned, as voiced by Leavenworth, Kiowa and Comanche agent, January 9, 1865:

It is impossible for me to express to you the horror with which I view this transaction

(Chivington Massacre); it has destroyed the last vestige of confidence between red and white man . . . what can be done? Nothing, unless the department (Department of Indian Affairs) takes the matter up in earnest, and demands that the parties who were the cause of this wicked treatment of the Indians be properly dealt with.

This was obviously a statement from the standpoint of the Indians' agent and it shows the disagreement that existed between the War Department and the Department of Indian Affairs concerning the treatment of the Indians.

In March, 1865, additional troubles were reported. Four men enroute to the newly built Fort Zarah (thirty miles east of Fort Larned) were attacked; one escaped, but the other three were horribly mutilated, as discovered by Colonel Cloud of Fort Larned.

In the spring of 1865, Leavenworth requested the government to authorize him to hold a peace treaty with the Indian tribes of his agency. At the same time, General Ford, commander of the Upper Arkansas District, marched to Fort Larned with orders to pay no attention to any peace movements. Ford was overruled on June 15, 1865, when President Andrew Johnson authorized Leavenworth to go ahead with his treaty plans. Six tribes of Kiowas, one tribe of Apaches, eight tribes of Comanches, four tribes of Arapahoes and five tribes of Cheyennes agreed to meet at Camp on the Little Arkansas River (about one-hundred and twenty-five miles southeast of Fort Larned) in October, 1865.

At this treaty conference, Colonel Jesse Leavenworth was retained as Kiowa-Comanche Indian agent at Fort Larned and an official Cheyenne, Arapahoe and Apache agency was created there, with Major E. W. Wynkoop as their agent. This brought eight-thousand six-hundred Indians under the control of Wynkoop.

On October 14, 1865, the Cheyennes accepted annuities amounting to fifty-six thousand dollars for a period of forty years and they agreed to a reservation immediately south of Fort Larned. The Apaches broke their confederation with the Ki-

owas and Comanches and allied themselves with the Cheyennes and Arapahoes. They were to receive sixteen thousand dollars a year for a period of forty years.

On October 18, the Kiowas and Comanches accepted annuities amounting to forty thousand dollars for a period of forty years and they agreed to a reservation south of the Cimarron River in Oklahoma Territory.

By this treaty, the Indians were still allowed to hunt between the Arkansas and Platte Rivers so long as they would not molest, or camp nearer than ten miles of towns, military posts or roads without authority to do so.

It was emphasized that these reservations especially the Cheyenne - Arapahoe - Apache reservation were not to be considered permanent, since it had been decided (sometime in the future) to remove all Indians from Kansas.

It will be remembered that as early as February, 1865, General Ford had erected a stone block-house, primarily because of an official reprimand from army headquarters. The type of defenses at Fort Larned prior to this construction seemed to be quite temporary. They were described as "earthen-works" that were washed away by constant rains.

Other installations were described as tents, dugouts of thatch and sod, or mud-houses. Obviously Fort Larned was still only a temporary type of military fort.

There may have been some who entertained the idea that the Treaty at Camp on the Little Arkansas in the fall of 1865 had resolved the Indians' troubles, but surely it was not the army. Major General John Pope, in a letter dated August 11, 1866 to General Sherman, stated that he was sure that hostilities would break out in the near future. He went on to say that he would order the military posts to be in the best possible condition, since he did not believe the Treaty of 1865 worth the paper it was written on.

Also in 1866, General U. S. Grant, in a letter to Secretary of War Stanton, remarked as to the inadequacy of the forts on the plains and that appropriations were needed for barracks and storehouses especially. He

went on to say that the only expense that would be incurred would be that of materials, since the labor could be provided by the men stationed there.

As a result, officer's quarters, barracks, a quartermaster building, commissary department building, bakery and shops were constructed at Fort Larned in the years 1866-1868.

The sandstone was quarried at Lookout Hill, some three miles east and the lumber was brought from Michigan by shipping it via the Missouri River and then it was hauled overland by ox teams to Fort Larned. A number of teamsters were killed by Indians while hauling stone from Lookout Hill to Fort Larned.

Continued depredations by roving bands of Cheyennes in 1866 and early 1867 prompted the army to plan an extensive campaign to chastise the so-called Cheyenne "Dog Soldiers." For this job the army chose General Winfield S. Hancock of Civil War fame. Just prior to his marching to Fort Larned, he wrote to agent Wynkoop, "... that he was able to chastise any tribes who may molest people traveling across the plains."

General Hancock left Fort Riley April 3, 1867 and arrived at Fort Larned on April 7. His force, numbering nearly fourteen hundred men, included four companies of the Seventh Cavalry, six companies of infantry, one company of the Thirty-Seventh Infantry under George Custer and some artillery.

At the suggestion of agents Wynkoop and Leavenworth, Hancock was induced to hold a council with the Cheyenne chiefs on April 13, about twenty miles up the Pawnee, near the Cheyenne Village. Nothing came of this council, so, on the following day, Hancock moved within a mile of the Cheyenne Village, where he met the Dog Soldiers. Hancock's understanding was that the Indians were to remain, but during the ensuring night, the Cheyennes quietly slipped away, much to the disgust of General Hancock. General Custer was sent after these Indians, but was not able to locate them. They (the Cheyennes) crossed over to the Smoky Hill River, where they destroyed some stations of the Overland Stage Company. When

notified by Custer of this action, General Hancock ordered the whole Indian Village to be burned to the ground.

General Hancock had great difficulty understanding the conduct of these Cheyenne Indians, when he found out later that they thought he was planning another Sand Creek Massacre. Agent Wynkoop answered by saying, "The Nation knows, and I know who General Hancock is . . . but the Indians . . . had no means of discriminating between him and Chivington or distinguishing the man from the monster." Wynkoop also showed the true character of General Hancock by pointing out that the General had ordered the killing of six Indians at the Cimarron Crossing on the Santa Fe Trail before he had received any word from Custer regarding the Overland Stage depredations.

Before leaving the plains, General Hancock had a council with Satanta, Kiowa chief. In a meeting at Fort Larned, it became apparent that the Civil War hero was no match for the Kiowa chief. Hancock was so impressed with Satanta's peace overtures, that he presented the chief with a coat of a Union Major General. A few days later, Satanta proudly displayed this new wearing apparel while stampeding the livestock at Fort Dodge. Obviously, General Hancock's campaign to chastise the Indians was unsuccessful.

By the fall of 1867, the Indians had agreed to a peace council to be held at Medicine Lodge Creek, some seventy-five miles south of Fort Larned. This parley was to solve permanently the Indian problem in its entirety. A preliminary council was held at Fort Larned, and on October 13, 1867, the peace commissioners and the Indian chiefs left Larned for Medicine Lodge Creek. At the same time the gifts for the oncoming treaty were being shipped from Fort Larned to the treaty grounds, a task that took nearly a month.

At this treaty the Indians were given new reservations in Oklahoma Territory. The Medicine Lodge Treaty was designed to introduce the Indians to a settled agricultural life and it provided annuity payments that totaled one and a half million dollars for the five tribes. It is the date of this Treaty that

marks the beginning of the decline of Fort Larned as an important military post.

These Indians, however, were not quick to remove to their new homes. As late as July 4, 1868, General Sully had to detach six companies of cavalry from Ellis Station to Fort Larned where the Kiowas and Comanches were holding up Santa Fe Trail freighters. The Cheyennes were reported to have killed sixteen men at Pawnee Fork in September of the same year.

Because of these sporadic depredations, Agent Wynkoop was instructed to withhold all issues of arms to these Indians until they had confined themselves to their new reservations as outlined in the Treaty of the previous year. Just after this order was issued, the Cheyennes raided the Kaw settlements near Council Grove, where they stole some livestock. Since Wynkoop was not aware of this incident and since he still did not believe that any of the Indians in his agency would deceive him, he acted contrary to his orders by issuing arms to a group of Cheyennes who argued that unless they received these arms and annuities they would starve. These very same Indians, with their newly acquired arms, proceeded to the Saline and Solomon River where they killed sixteen white farmers and ravished several women.

The army acted swiftly after these depredations were reported. Lieutenant General Sherman of the Department of Missouri issued, on August 10, 1868, General Order Number Four, which read as follows:

W. B. Hazen, Major General, United States Army will have the supervision of all issues and disbursements to said Indians . . . but matters affecting the troops stationed in said district will be subject to the department commander, Major General P. H. Sheridan.

On September 21, 1869, agents Wynkoop and Leavenworth were relieved of their duties and on September 25, the Interior Department agreed to give up their annuity distribution center at Fort Larned. Fort Cobb, Indian Territory had thus inherited the functions of Fort Larned with respect to the five Indian tribes.

In the fall of 1868, General Custer was planning his campaign to the Washita River and the outcome of this battle served to remove any organized Indian troubles for the area around Fort Larned.

Troops remained at Fort Larned to as late as 1882, but these garrisons saw very little action. In the early 1870's, Fort Larned troops were used to subdue the Wichita and Osage Indians who were revolting against railroad construction, and in 1874, three Fort Larned cavalrymen were wounded in a battle which saw five Indians killed. These Indians had scalped a man south of Dodge City.

Ralph Wallace, manager of the Larned, Kansas, Tiller and Toiler, states that the newspaper files record one hundred and ninety-two deaths of red and white men in the vicinity of Fort Larned, from the year 1859 to 1869. In addition to this, there were approximately another two-hundred wounded cases recorded, bringing the total casualty number to nearly four-hundred, for the period that Fort Larned was active in Indian affairs.

CHAPTER III

Military Garrisons of Fort Larned and Other Personnel.

The first Indian agent that resided at Fort Larned was Colonel Jesse Leavenworth. The exact date of his arrival at the Fort is not known, but he was making official reports as early as August, 1861. In 1863 his appointment as official Kiowa, Comanche and Apache agent was made, and on October 18, 1865, he was reappointed as agent for the Kiowas and Comanches. After the Medicine Lodge Treaty, which moved the Indians to the south, Leavenworth was relieved of his duties. This order came from Secretary of War Schofield, on September 21, 1868.

During the period that Leavenworth was Indian agent in an unofficial capacity, the official Indian business at Fort Larned was handled by S. G. Colley, permanent Indian agent at Fort Lyon. Colley's title was Indian Agent For The Upper Arkansas; he visited Fort Larned on several occasions.

On October 14, 1865, Major E. W. Wynkoop was appointed

as the Cheyenne-Arapahoe agent at Fort Larned. He held this position till September 21, 1868, when he was relieved by the same order that dismissed Colonel Leavenworth.

The coming of the Caddo Indians to Fort Larned in 1863 brought about the appointment of another Indian agent for Fort Larned. This man was J. W. Wright, who was given the title of Special Indian Agent. Agent Wright probably left the following year, when the Caddos deserted Fort Larned.

Indian scouts were an important asset to the military post. Colonel Kit Carson was reported to be at Fort Larned on November 25, 1865 and "Wild Bill" Jim Hickok acted as despatcher in that area. A group of Delaware Indians was a part of the Hancock army that was based at Fort Larned, in the spring of 1867.

Reports of medical personnel at Fort Larned are very meager. In 1870, the medical problems were under the charge of Assistant Surgeons W. H. Forwood and A. A. Woodhull, who sent in the official medical report that year.

Henry M. Stanley, visiting at Fort Larned in April, 1867, remarked that a soldier who was seventy-three years old and who had spent forty-three years in the army was one of the nurses there.

A special medical agent was active in the Fort Larned area during the years 1863 and 1864. H. T. Ketcham was hired by the federal government to vaccinate the six Indian tribes of the Upper Arkansas for virus, a service which was provided free of charge for these Indians.

The commission who arranged the Treaty at Camp on the Little Arkansas in 1865 were the following:

General J. B. Sanborn, President of the Commission.

General W. S. Harney, Commissioner.

Colonel Kit Carson, Commissioner.

Colonel Jesse Leavenworth, Commissioner.

Colonel William Bent, Commissioner.

Judge James Steele, Commissioner.

As has been stated, the Medicine Lodge Treaty Commissioners held a preliminary council

TABLE I

Date	Place	Troops
May 23, 1867	Big Timbers	3rd Infantry
June 5, 1867	Cimarron Crossing*	37th Infantry
June 11, 1867	Big Timbers	3rd Infantry
June 21, 1867	Fort Wallace*	37th Infantry
July 11, 1867	Bluff Ranch*	37th Infantry
July 15, 1867	Fort Aubrey*	37th Infantry
July 21, 1867	Cimarron Crossing*	37th Infantry
August 15, 1867	Fort Aubrey*	37th Infantry
September 22, 1867	Pawnee Fork Bluff	3rd Infantry
September 2, 1868	Little Coon Creek	3rd Infantry
September 30, 1868	Big Bend	3rd Infantry
October 1, 1868	Fort Zarah	3rd Infantry
October 18, 1868	West of Fort Larned	3rd Infantry
October 26, 1868	Beaver Creek	10th Cavalry
November 19, 1868	Fort Dodge	3rd Infantry & 10th Cavalry
July 2, 1870	Fort Larned	3rd Infantry

*Indicates General Hancock's Troops.

Battles of Fort Larned Troops, 1867-1870¹³⁸

¹³⁸Heitman, Francis B., ed., **Historical Register and Dictionary of the United States Army** (House Executive Document Number 446, Second Session, Fifty-Seventh Congress), pp. 402-442.

at Fort Larned. The Commissioners were as follows:

General A. H. Terry, Commissioner.

General W. S. Harney, Commissioner.

General J. R. Hardie, Commissioner.

Senator John B. Henderson (Missouri), Commissioner.

Senator Edmund G. Ross (Kansas), Commissioner.

Governor Samuel Crawford (Kansas), Commissioner.

Ex-Lieutenant Governor Root (Kansas) Commissioner.

N. G. Taylor, Commissioner.

Colonel Tappan, Commissioner.

A. S. H. White, Secretary of the Commission.

Newspapermen covering the Medicine Lodge Treaty and who met at Fort Larned were:

John D. Howland, Harpers Weekly.

Bulkeley, New York Herald.

S. F. Hall, Chicago Tribune.

George C. Brown, Cincinnati Commercial.

The first sutler for Fort Larned was Jesse Crane, who received his appointment in 1859. Not long after that, he formed a partnership with Theodore Weichselbaum. This partnership lasted four years; from then till May 1869, Weichselbaum continued in this business alone. In that year, the sutler business was sold to Charles F. Tracy of St. Louis.

Other civilian personnel at Fort Larned were William H. Mackey, a blacksmith who took charge in 1865, Paul Collet who ran a store and saloon, and representatives of Dane Butterfield's Express Company.

The original force that was sent to establish Fort Larned ("Camp on the Pawnee Fork") was under the command of Major Henry Wessels, who brought two companies of men. This force was bolstered that same month by Company K of the First United States Cavalry. These forces were relieved a month later by a Lieutenant Bell, who had forty men under his command. Lieutenant Bell remained till April 24, 1860, when Major Wessels returned to take command. Wessels had under his command one-hundred and sixty men and this force was strengthened with seventy-five recruits on July 9 of the same year.

The exact date of Major Wessels's departure from Fort Larned is not known, but it must have been either in late 1860 or the spring of 1861, since Colonel Jesse Leavenworth had taken charge by the summer of 1861. Due to the Civil War, most of the forts on the frontier had very small garrisons. Leavenworth obtained some help from the state of Kansas in 1862. These voluntary military units were as follows:

On June 20, 1862, the Third Kansas Voluntary Battery, under command of General Mitchell, sent Company B, under Lieutenant Aduddell to Fort Larned. They remained until August 20 1862.

On June 28, 1862, Squadron B and C of the Second Kansas Voluntary Cavalry left Fort Riley for Fort Larned. Captain Whittenhall was in command of this force and he took over the administrative duties of the Fort until that fall, when Leavenworth again assumed command.

In October, 1862, Company H of the Twelfth Kansas Voluntary Infantry was sent to Fort Larned.

Colonel Leavenworth remained in command at Fort Larned until he was appointed Kiowa and Comanche Indian agent in 1863. He was reported to have only thirty-nine men as his garrison in that year. The man who replaced Leavenworth was Captain Parmeter, who remained in command till early 1865 when, upon his courtmartial for drunkenness, he was relieved by General J. H. Ford. The military strength of Fort Larned, as reported on December 31, 1864, was as follows:

Two companies of the Second Colorado Cavalry.

One Company of the Twelfth Kansas Voluntary Cavalry.

One Company of the Eleventh Kansas Voluntary Cavalry.

One Section of the Ninth Wisconsin Battery.

The chronic lack of soldiers to garrison the frontier posts led to the use of Confederate prisoners of war, during the period 1861-1865.

In the year 1865 the Middle West was organized as a military division of the United States Army. It included the states of Kansas, Missouri, Iowa, Minnesota, Wisconsin and Illinois,

and the Territories of Nebraska, Dakota and Montana. This military unit was called the Division of the Missouri (River). The Division was subdivided into four geographical departments: Dakota, Platte, Missouri and Arkansas. The Department of Missouri, under the command of a major general had permanent headquarters at Fort Leavenworth. This Department was comprised of four districts which were Kansas, Upper Arkansas, New Mexico and Indian Territory. The District of the Upper Arkansas included Forts Larned, Dodge, Zarah, Wallace, Hays and Harker, with Fort Harker as District Headquarters.

After the area which included Fort Larned was officially organized under the United States Army the Adjutant General's Office in Washington received annual reports concerning their military strength. These reports for Fort Larned were as follows:

Report for 1866—October 20, 1867:

Commanding Officer—Major W. H. Kidd, Tenth Cavalry.

Quartermasters—One.

Majors—One.

Commissioned Officers—Six.

Enlisted Men—One-hundred and sixty-nine.

Subalterns—Two.

Total Force—One-hundred and seventy-five.

Garrisons—Tenth Cavalry and Third Infantry.

Companies—Four.

Report for October 20, 1867—October 20, 1868:

Commanding Officer—Brevet Major Henry Asbury, Third Infantry.

Medical Department—One.

Captains—Two.

Subalterns—Three.

(Officers and Enlisted Men Not Listed).

Garrisons—Tenth Cavalry and Third Infantry.

Companies—Three.

Report for October 20, 1868—October 22, 1869:

Commanding Officer—Brevet Major D. Parker, Third Infantry.

Medical Department—One.

Captains—Three.

Subalterns—Three.

Commissioned Officers—Nine.

Enlisted Men—One-hundred and twenty.

Garrisons—Third Infantry.

Companies—Three.

Report for October 22, 1869—October 6, 1870:

Commanding Officer — Captain D. Parker, Third Infantry.
 Captains—Three.
 Medical Department—One.
 Subalterns—Six.
 Commissioned Officers—Ten.
 Enlisted Men — One - hundred and sixty.
 Total Force — One - hundred and seventy.
 Garrisons—Third Infantry.
 Companies—Three.
 Report for October 6, 1870-October 1, 1871:
 Commanding Officer — Captain G. E. Head, Third Infantry.
 Medical Department—One.
 Post Chaplains—One.
 Captains—Two.
 Subalterns—Three.
 Commissioned Officers — Eight.
 Enlisted Men—Ninety-three.
 Total Force — One - hundred and one.
 Garrisons—Third Infantry.
 Companies—Two.
 Report for October 1, 1871-October 12, 1872:
 Commanding Officer — Captain H. B. Bristol, Fifth Infantry.
 Captains—Two.
 Commissioned Officers—Six.
 Enlisted Men — One - hundred and nineteen.
 Subalterns—Two.
 Total Force — One - hundred and twenty-five.
 Garrisons—Fifth Infantry.
 Companies—Two.
 Report for October 12, 1872-October 20, 1873:
 Commanding Officer — Captain Simon Snyder, Fifth Infantry.
 Medical Department—One.
 Captains—One.
 Commissioned Officers — Three.
 Enlisted Men—Fifty-five.
 Subalterns—One.
 Total Force—Fifty-eight.
 Garrisons—Fifth Infantry.
 Companies—One.
 Report for October 20, 1873-October 9, 1874:
 Commanding Officer — Captain W. J. Lyster, Nineteenth Infantry.
 Medical Department—One.
 Captains—Two.
 Subalterns—Four.
 Commissioned Officers — Seven.
 Total Force — One - hundred and eighteen.
 Garrisons—Nineteenth Infantry.

Companies—Two.
 Report for October 9, 1874-October 10, 1875:
 Commanding Officer — Captain W. J. Lyster, Nineteenth Infantry.
 Medical Department—One.
 Captains—One.
 Subalterns—Two.
 Commissioned Officers—Four.
 Enlisted Men—Forty.
 Total Force—Forty-four.
 Garrisons—Nineteenth Infantry.
 Companies—One.
 Report for October 10, 1875-October 14, 1876:
 Commanding Officer — Captain W. J. Lyster, Nineteenth Infantry.
 Captains—One.
 Subalterns—One.
 Commissioned Officers—Two.
 Enlisted Men—Twenty-nine.
 Total Force—Thirty-one.
 Garrisons—Nineteenth Infantry.
 Companies—One.
 Report for October 14, 1876-October 12, 1877:
 Commanding Officer — Captain J. S. Smith, Nineteenth Infantry.
 Medical Department—One.
 Captains—One.
 Subalterns—Two.
 Commissioned Officers—Four.
 Enlisted Men—Thirty-two.
 Total Force—Thirty-six,
 Companies—One.
 On October 28, 1878, the official report to Washington stated that the Nineteenth Infantry had been detached to Fort Dodge. A small maintenance force remained at Fort Larned until the buildings and reservation were sold in 1882. This maintenance force was under the command of a Lieutenant Payne.

CHAPTER IV

Description of Fort Larned.

Prior to the rebuilding of Fort Larned in 1867, most of the men were housed in tents, dugouts or rude adobe buildings. Major General John Pope's letter to General Sherman (August 11, 1866) stated that all military posts were to be placed in the best possible shape for the anticipated Indian troubles. Consequently, a building program was instigated at Fort Larned, beginning in late 1866 and ending sometime in 1868. Pine timbers were brought from Michigan and the sandstone was taken

from nearby Lookout Hill.

One of the most important features of the military post was housing for the troops. The building of barracks probably began in late 1866, since a drawing made in June, 1867 shows one set of barracks completed.

The barracks that were built were comprised of two buildings, each designed to accommodate two companies. The space allotted each company was forty feet square, making a total of eighty feet square per building. Both of these buildings were ten feet high and they were located just south of the Pawnee Creek bed, facing south and forming the north side of the quadrangular parade grounds.

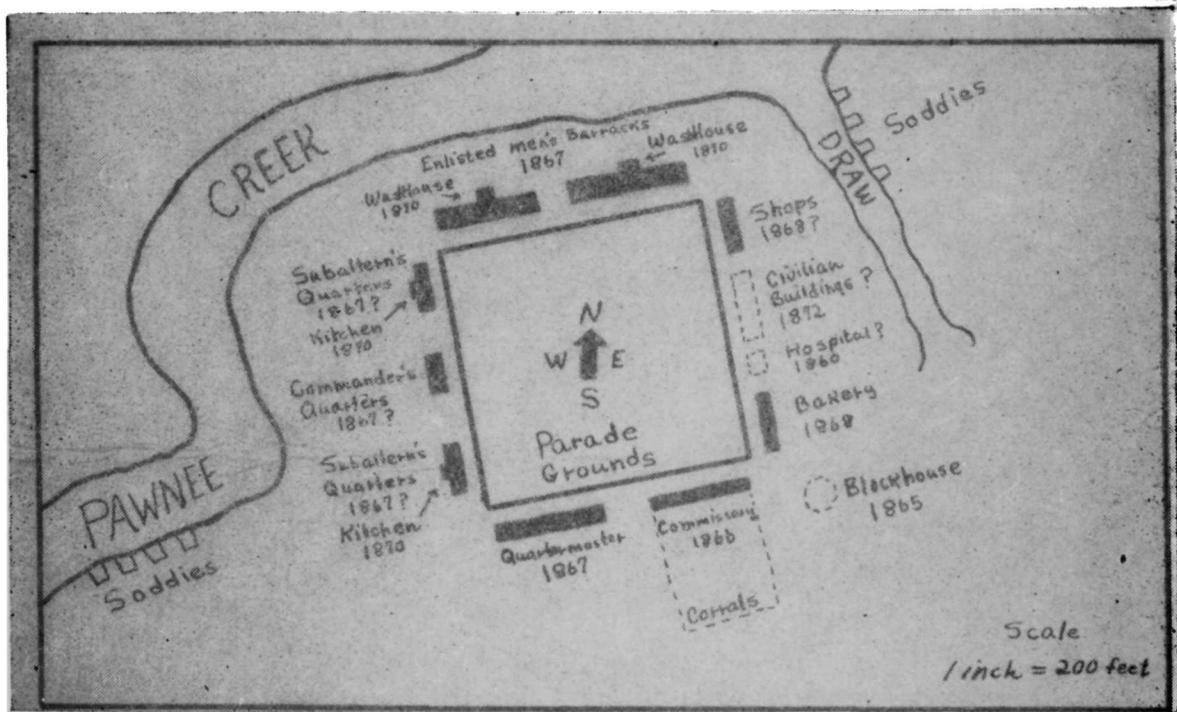
These barracks were built of native sandstone, supported by massive pine timbers. The dimensions of these buildings today are, west barracks, one-hundred and fifty feet long and forty-three feet wide; east barracks, one-hundred seventy-two feet long and forty-three feet wide. It is reasonable to assume that these dimensions are the same as when they were originally constructed, since there is no physical evidence that the masonry has been tampered with.

These two buildings contained, besides the dormitories mess rooms, kitchens, orderly rooms and storage space.

The officers' quarters were also built of sandstone, with shingle roofs and broad porticos in front. These three buildings were probably erected in 1867. They were located on the west side of the quadrangle, facing east, with the banks of the Pawnee forming a convenient means of protection to the rear. The commanding officer's building was the middle building of the three. It had four rooms that were fourteen feet by sixteen feet each, a kitchen, nineteen by sixteen feet and servants' rooms upstairs. This building still stands; however it has been remodeled, although still containing some of the original sandstone.

The remaining two officers' eighty-four feet by thirty-three buildings (each measuring feet) were described in 1870 as follows:

Each contains four sets of



MAP IV.—Physical plan of Fort Larned.

quarters. They are traversed by two halls seven feet wide, each hall being common to two sets of quarters so that each building is supposed to accommodate two captains and four lieutenants. The captain's quarters are in the ends, and consist of two rooms (sixteen by fourteen and one-half feet by twelve feet high) and a kitchen (nineteen by ten feet), from which opens a servant's room. The two rooms communicate by folding doors and the kitchen opens into the back or bedroom. Under the kitchen is a cellar that has been transformed into a kitchen, leaving the kitchen proper for use as a dining room. On the opposite side of the hall two lieutenants live in one room each, without kitchens.

Additions to these subaltern's quarters were made in 1870, to provide them with kitchens, dining rooms and servant's quarters. Today, excluding upkeep and modernization, these two buildings are practically as they were when constructed in 1867.

The hospital at Fort Larned, an adobe building, was erected in 1860. It contained four rooms (each sixteen by sixteen feet), two being used as wards with four beds in each ward. In 1866 a shingle roof was added and in 1867 the bare ground floor was covered with boards. The ceiling was made of canvas. The medical officers made repeated requests for a new, more permanent hospital. The following letter gives an example of one of these requests made to the War Department:

Fort Larned
October, 1868

War Department,
Washington, D. C.

Sir:

I have the honor to request that I may be furnished with one hospital in good order, for use of the sick at this post. The adobe building now used for this purpose is about worn out, and in a condition which renders it liable to fall down on the sick at every storm that comes . . . It was custom in former times to look after the comfort of the sick as one of the first things in building a post, but here it seems to have been left to the

last, and, finally, by some oversight, neglected altogether.

Very respectfully,
Your obedient servant,
W. H. Forwood (signed)
Major and Assistant
Surgeon

This request was not granted. After a storm in 1869 destroyed one of the walls, another request for a new hospital was sent to Washington, but this was turned down also.

By 1874, the Fort had become less important, as reflected by the smaller garrisons stationed there. Since a substantial part of the enlisted men's barracks was empty, the northeastern half of the east barracks was made into a hospital. This new hospital had two wards (thirty-nine and one-half feet by thirty-two and one-half feet), a mess room, dispensary, kitchen, store-room and attendant's room. A portico was added to the front to give this new hospital location a better appearance. The old adobe hospital, which was probably located on the east side of the quadrangular parade grounds, was converted into an ordnance shop, with the cellar as a magazine.

As has previously been stated, the block-house was erected in 1865. This structure was a hexagonal building, built of stone, and located about fifty feet southeast of the southeastern corner of the parade grounds. It had a strategic location, since it protected that side of the Fort which had no natural protection. This block-house has been taken down, sometime since 1886, since a photograph taken that year shows the block-house intact.

In 1866, the commissary building, located on the eastern end of the south side of the parade grounds, was completed. This building, which measures one-hundred sixty feet by twenty-eight feet, was used to store hay and grain and it provided housing for the horses and mules.

Just west of the commissary building is located the quartermaster building. It was also constructed with sand-stone blocks two feet thick. The measurements of this building, completed in 1867, are one-hundred and fifty-eight feet by forty feet. Located in the south wall of this building are gun slits that served as a protective element against

the vast prairie to the south.

Other buildings constructed by the government during the years 1866-1868 were a bakery, 1868, and utility shops which were used by the blacksmith, wheelwright and harness repairmen. Both of the buildings, located on the east side of the parade grounds, measure eighty-four feet by thirty feet and were constructed of sandstone. They are still standing today.

A stone sutler's store was built at Fort Larned in 1861 and it was termed "the first stone building west of Fort Riley" in the state of Kansas. There was either another sutler's store built the following year or an addition to the existing one, since John K. Wright was reported to have built the foundation for a sutler's store at Fort Larned in 1862. The exact location of this building or these buildings is not known.

Other civilian buildings at Fort Larned included a saloon, a dry goods store, a trading post operated by Dane Butterfield, and a corral and some civilian buildings constructed in 1872. The government erected a power sawmill in 1861; it was located about fifteen miles west of the Fort on the banks of the Pawnee. Regular mail service to Fort Larned was instigated in 1863 and as a result, a stage and mail building were erected that year.

Probably the pride of the commander of Fort Larned was a one-hundred foot flagpole that was erected in the exact center of the parade grounds. It had been hauled in sections to Fort Larned from Fort Leavenworth sometime prior to June, 1867. This flagpole was destroyed by lightning in 1878.

The water supply for Fort Larned was obtained by hauling water from Pawnee Creek and then placing it in huge barrels that were located in the yards back of the barracks. Wells were drilled down to forty feet, but the water was too sulphurous for human consumption.

The great importance placed on the water for a military post is exemplified by the construction of a tunnel from the block-house to the creek bed at Fort Larned.

There were, in 1870, no baths or water closets at Fort Larned. Each building that housed men

had a small privy in the yard adjacent to it.

Whiskey consumption seems to have been quite prevalent at Fort Larned. A Santa Fe Trail freighter related how he sold a barrel of whiskey to the director of the stage station at the Fort. Since whiskey was considered contraband at United States military posts, the spirits were smuggled into the Fort under a load of hay. Soldiers were reported selling whiskey to the Indians and demoralizing the young Indian women. H. T. Ketcham, who visited Fort Larned in April, 1864, had this to say concerning the morals of that post, "Dissipation, licentiousness and venereal disease prevail in and around the Fort to an astonishing extent. The officers did not seem to mind, as shown by a letter written in 1863 by Captain A. W. Burton, who jokingly remarked that July 4, 1863 was celebrated by "... drinking a few pints of that seductive fluid denominated rot ..."

Fort Larned experienced a mild cholera epidemic in the summer of 1864. This disease was brought to the Fort by the Thirty-Eighth United States Infantry, which was marching to New Mexico Territory. The commander at Fort Larned knew that this garrison carried the dreaded disease, but contrary to the request of the surgeon there, he allowed these diseased men to stop at the Fort. Consequently, the first cholera case broke out on July 6 and the more cases occurred on the tenth victim died ten hours later. Two and eleventh; one died in six hours and the other recovered.

Diarrhea was a common malady in such places as Fort Larned, where the drinking water was not overly sanitary. Treatment for this disease at Fort Larned was described as, "... large doses of calomel, injections of starch, strong tea, brandy, acetate of lead, sinapisms, frictions and ice sucking."

In October, 1869, the post surgeon recommended to the commander that ventilation in the enlisted men's barracks should be improved by installing shafts from the ceiling to the roof. The commander approved this recommendation, but the quartermaster did not carry out the order.

In the late fall of 1865 a printing press was purchased by the officers at Fort Larned, the purpose being to boost the morale of the men by publishing a weekly newspaper. The press was ordered from St. Louis at a price of two-hundred and thirty-nine dollars and fifty-five cents. First subscription sales brought in three-hundred dollars, so the venture started on a sound financial basis. The first edition was published on November 11, 1865 and a short editorial stated the motive for printing The Plains, as the paper was called:

We are running a paper for our own amusement—for the fun of the thing. That's all and why not, pray tell? Why not run a paper for fun, as well as play billiards or cards, or go to a saloon or a horse-race, or to hear Beecher preach, all for fun?

The paper was published every Saturday and its motto reflected the idea of manifest destiny, "Westward the Star of Empire Takes Its Way." The following are examples of want ads that appeared in the first edition:

Wanted—At this office, a half dozen young ladies to learn the printing business. The foreman of this office will render all the assistance possible. None but good looking ones need apply.

Job Work—We are prepared to print visites, ball tickets, wedding cards, bills of fare, stage, railroad and toll tickets, programmes, posters and show bills; in short, everything in the line of letter press printing from a primer to a Bible.

It is not known how long this paper was published, but since later literature concerning Fort Larned makes no mention of The Plains, it is reasonable to assume that it did not remain in publication for long.

There were several large depots that supplied the dependent military posts. The depot that supplied Fort Larned was Fort Leavenworth, some two-hundred and twenty-five miles to the northeast. The cost for hauling goods between 1867 and 1870 ranged from one to four dollars per one-hundred pounds for one-hundred miles.

Two major freighting firms monopolized the supplying of the military posts on the plains. These two companies were Ir-

win, Jackman and Company and Russels, Majors and Waddell; in 1860 they loaded eight-hundred and sixty-three wagons for Forts Larned, Garland, Wise (Lyon) and Union. One of the major contractors for hauling Indian annuities was Bent and Campbell, who, in one year, sent out fifty-seven wagons.

In August, 1872, the Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe Railroad was completed to Fort Larned and after that date, these freighters were obviously out of business.

During the 1860's, very few of the frontier military posts were supplied with decent food. Dishonest contractors, distance from the main depots and the Civil War brought about this situation. One report in 1867 told of some bacon that was sent to the frontier posts after being stored in dugouts for two years. Official rations for soldiers in 1861, were as follows:

Daily Rations For One Person—12 ounces of pork (or canned beef) or, 1 pound and 4 ounces of fresh beef or, 22 ounces of salt beef. 18 ounces of salt bread or flour or, 1 pound of hard bread or, 1 pound and 4 ounces of corn meal.

Every One-Hundred Rations For One Person—15 pounds of beans or peas or, 10 pounds of rice or hominy, 10 pounds of green beans or coffee or 8 pounds of roasted or, 2 pounds of tea. 15 pound of sugar. 4 quarts of vinegar. 4 pounds of soap. 4 pounds of salt. 4 ounces of pepper. 1 pound and 8 ounces of adamantive or star candles.

Troops In The Field—4 pounds of yeast powder to every 100 rations of flour.

An establishment such as Fort Larned could easily provide fresh meat, since large herds of buffalo roamed that vicinity. Lieutenant C. A. Campbell related how he and two other soldiers brought in, at one time, fifty-two buffalo hind quarters. These quarters were hung to dry on the walls of the enlisted men's barracks.

Albert H. Boyd and Al and George Cox, who were pioneer ranchers near Fort Larned, supplied Forts Larned, Dodge and Hays with beef raised on their ranches.

Fresh vegetables were a luxury at Fort Larned. The Plains stated that, "... the arrival of

TABLE II

	1868	1868	1869
	(White)	(Colored)	(White)
Mean Strength -----	165.5	83.33	112.33
Whole Number Taken Sick -----	259	88	89
Malarial Fevers -----	25	8	6
Diarrhoea and Dysentery -----	71	32	13
Tonsillitis -----	11	4	2
Veneral Disease -----	0	4	4
Scurvy -----	6	2	0
Rheumatism -----	8	0	5
Catarrhal Affections* -----	27	9	7
Number of Deaths -----	1	0	2

*Includes laryngitis, bronchitis, pneumonia and pleurisy.

Fort Larned Sick Report, 1868-1869²²²

²²²"Report on Barracks and Hospitals, **Op. Cit.**, p. 300.

TABLE III

	1870-71	1871-72	1872-73	1873-74
Mean Strength:				
Officers -----	5	7	6	6
Enlisted -----	116	104	110	120
Gen. Disease A				
Remittent Fever -----	13*	1*	0	0
Intermittent Fever -----	30	96	19	32
Other of this group -----	4	4	12	2
Gen. Disease B				
Rheumatism -----	4	32	10	8
Syphilis -----	4	3	3	2
Consumption -----	1	0	2	0
Other of this group -----	1	1	0	0
Local Diseases				
Bronchitis -----	10	65	14	38
Pneumonia -----	0	5*	0	0
Diarrhoea and Dysentery -----	37*	35	26	31
Hernia -----	0	0	0	1
Gonorrhoea -----	1	1	7	4
Alcoholism -----	1	5	29	25
Other of this group -----	40	68*	81	63
Violent Diseases				
Gunshot -----	3*	2*	2	2
Other accidents -----	27*	51	49	38

*Indicates one death from that disease.

Fort Larned Sick Report, 1870-1874²²³

²²³Report of the Surgeon General For 1875, p. 273.

a train loaded with antiscorbutics (potatoes) is a subject of congratulations for everybody . . . Long live Colonel Morgan (quartermaster at that time)." Potatoes were reported to be selling at Fort Larned, in 1870, for \$2.50 per bushel and tomatoes for \$1.00 per peck. Gardens were attempted by the soldiers on several occasions, but their efforts were futile, the causes of failure being, "... deficient rains, intense heat, poor soil, grasshoppers and hail storms."

The frontier military posts were poorly supplied in the quartermaster and commissary stores due to an intricate system of regulations that were badly adapted for posts that were many miles from the main source of supply. There seemed to exist a degree of corruption in these departments of supply.

The supply of hay for Fort Larned was derived from native fields that existed along the bottomlands. Theodore Weichselbaum, who was also the sutler at Fort Larned, arranged a contract for hay supplying in 1860. Hauling the hay from south of the Arkansas River in wagons, he reported profits of twenty dollars a day for a thirty-day period.

The sale of buffalo robes at Fort Larned amounted to big profits for the traders. Bands of six different Indian tribes sold during the season of 1863-1864, fifteen thousand robes worth nine dollars by the bale wholesale (the average bale contained three fifty-pound robes). The Indians, not able to realize the economic value of these goods, traded them for trinkets whose value amounted to seventy-five cents per robe.

Society of the plains centered around the fort. Captain Henry Booth, who was stationed at Fort Larned, described the full dress dinner parties that were given when notables visited there. The Indians enjoyed harassing the guests who were enroute to these celebrations at the Fort. On one occasion, some prospective party-goers were obliged to toss a suitcase containing their best party clothes to the Indians in order to divert their attention.

Dances were frequent occasions, as well as quilting bees and candy making for the entertainment of the women and

children.

In the spring of 1867, when General Hancock's force was at Fort Larned, the life of a soldier stationed there seemed to follow the military code to a strict degree. Henry M. Stanley, who visited the Fort at that time, described the situation as follows:

Fort Larned . . . is a model of neatness. Everything is carried on according to the strict letter of the military code. Guard mounting, inspection, and dress parade are announced by the familiar sounds of the fife and drum, accompanied by all the pomp and circumstances of military form. The officers are affable with their affable equals and gracious toward their subordinates.

This, it should be remembered, was the situation when notables visited at the Fort, and was probably the exception. At any rate, it is quite the opposite of the 4th of July (1863) celebration, which was celebrated by drinking "rot" and running foot races.

Many of the soldiers kept gamecocks and cockfighting became a very popular sport at Fort Larned, before that area came under civil law. Dane Butterfield, of the express company, not only entertained soldiers with "comical pictures," but on one occasion, delighted Satanta, the Kiowa chief, with "parlor scenes."

Horseracing seemed to be one of the most popular forms of interest for not only the soldiers, but for the Indians as well. For their race track, the soldier and Indians dug ditches about four feet apart; then the area between the ditches was built up with a barricade of sod. The ditches in which the horses raced were packed down by the soldiers and Indians on horseback. Betting was heavy on these races. The Indians would put up ponies, buffalo robes and deer skins against the silver dollars of the soldiers.

In 1863, some Comanches and Kiowas from Texas brought a black stallion to Fort Larned. This horse was considered by the Indians to be the best race horse on the plains. People from as far as three-hundred miles came to witness the race which also included a barbecue for the

several thousand spectators. The race was won, of course, by the Indians' horse, which obliged the soldiers to pay off the three-hundred dollar purse. The Indians, in the joy of their victory, spent the money buying candy, canned goods, and whiskey from the sutler, most of which was given away.

On many occasions, Fort Riley soldiers came to Fort Larned to enter the races, and being impressed with the performance of the black stallion, they purchased this animal from the Indians.

The officers at Fort Larned were allowed to bring their wives and children to this military post. The original force which came to take command of Fort Larned included three wives and a total of four children.

The religious wants of the soldiers at Fort Larned were the charge of post chaplains. During the late 1860's, a Catholic missionary, Father Felix P. Swenberg, spent a period of time there, ministering to the soldiers as well as to the Indians.

Among some unusual incidents that took place at Fort Larned, was the terrible snow storm of December, 1863. Nearly fifteen inches of snow fell. A coach enroute for Fort Larned from Fort Riley became stranded in the snow. This coach was rescued by the soldiers at Fort Larned, who spied the vehicle from the watchtower of the blockhouse.

On January 3, 1869, a fire broke out in one of the barns at Fort Larned. Thirty-nine horses, thirty tons of hay, five-hundred bushels of grain, forty saddles and six thousand rounds of ammunition were destroyed by the fire. The Nineteenth Kansas Regiment from Manhattan, under the command of Captain Moody, discovered the fire and they were credited by the Manhattan newspaper for bringing this near disaster under control.

CHAPTER V

The Abandonment of Fort Larned.

As early as 1870, it had become apparent that it was only a matter of time before Fort Larned would be abandoned by the United States Army. It will

be remembered that the Indian annuity distribution station had been moved from Fort Larned to Fort Cobb in the fall of 1868. In 1870, a report from Fort Larned stated that commercial traffic through that area was practically non-existent, due to the completion of the Kansas Pacific Railroad, approximately fifty miles to the north. The Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe Railroad, which reached the Fort in August, 1872 served as an additional factor to lessen the protective responsibilities of Fort Larned, although these troops were a definite asset during the construction of that line.

In 1872 General Sheridan stated that due to lack of reports of Indian engagements in the Fort Larned area, the Fort should be abandoned by the United States Army. He went on to say that the buildings at Fort Larned were frail and temporary, a statement that was obviously mistaken, since the buildings today (1956) are considered quite substantial for their age.

In that same year (1872), General Pope, apparently much better informed, went on record by stating that, "Forts Larned, Dodge and Lyon are substantial, well built posts, and will last a long time."

As a result of General Sheridan's ill-advised statement, Governor Harvey of Kansas made official appeal to keep troops at Fort Larned. The people, especially the workmen constructing the railroad were still in need of protection from sporadic raids of the Indians. Consequently, the military garrisons remained at Fort Larned.

From 1872 till 1878, when the official removal of the military garrisons took place, the Fort served in various capacities.

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

During the winter of 1873-1874, the main body of settlers came to that area to establish farms on the land that had been granted to the Santa Fe Railroad. Many of these people were distinctly destitute that first winter, which resulted in their appeal for supplies that were stored at Fort Larned. Since these supplies were not designed

for that purpose, these requests were turned down.

Parts of the four square mile military reservation were leased as pasture land to local ranchers. In 1876, E. E. Frizell and Archie Ballinger (who later became Taft's Secretary of the Interior) herded cattle on the southern part of the reservation.

Troops from Fort Larned were sent to St. Louis in 1877 to help keep order during the railroad strike there.

On October 3, 1878, General Pope's report to the War Department stated that Forts Larned, Hays and Lyon were no longer needed. He explained that a large centralized force at Fort Wallace would be adequate to protect the settlements.

As has been previously stated, the troops at Fort Larned were removed to Fort Dodge that same year (1878). Since an act of Congress was needed to dispose of this military property, the government left a small detail of men at the Fort, under the command of a Lieutenant Payne.

The military cemetery at Fort Larned was located about three-eighths of a mile northeast of the Fort buildings. On May 28, 1886, the cemetery was officially abandoned. This cemetery contained sixty-eight known graves. The man who removed these bodies to the Fort Leavenworth Military Cemetery received ten dollars for each grave he dug up. These graves were left open and were a spectacle for some time.

Since a prairie fire had destroyed most of the headmarkers, the new graves at Fort Leavenworth were simply labeled "Soldiers From Fort Larned." Among the names of the dead soldiers removed were:

Major James B. McIntyre.
Sergeant James Mahoney.
Corporal John North.
Corporal Mike Gillicuddy.
Private Justin Langley.
Private Patrick Driscoll.
Private James Cox.
Private G. Hyatt.
Private J. F. Schofield.

Upon the evacuation of the soldiers from Fort Larned, the people in that vicinity began to eye the four sections of bottom-land as ideal farmland. As a result, Senator Plumb of Kansas introduced, on March 25,

1879, Senate Bill Number One-Hundred and Ninety-Three, which provided for the return of the Fort to the public domain, so that the land could be purchased by private individuals. The bill was read twice and referred to the Committee on Military Affairs. This bill, however, was allowed to die in the committee room.

On December 8, 1881, Senator Plumb introduced a similar bill (Senate Bill Number Three-Hundred and Forty-Six). After two readings, this bill was referred to the same committee for consideration.

It was not until January 10, 1882, that Senator Sewell (New Jersey), Chairman of the Committee on Military Affairs reported the bill without amendment.

On February 13, 1882, Senate Bill Three-Hundred and Forty-Six was considered in the Committee of the Whole. During the discussion of the bill in this Committee, Senator Plumb proposed an amendment which from eighty acres to one-hundred and sixty acres. He gave as land one person could purchase his argument for this amendment the fact that most of the land laws of the United States provided for the sale of land plots of one quarter section size. This amendment was concurred in.

Senate Bill Three-Hundred and Forty-Six, as amended, read as follows:

Section One—That the Secretary of War 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.

Section Two—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 therefore 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 provision 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 commission may, in its discretion, cause the section of said reservation which improvements are situated to be appraised in a body, together with such improvements, and may there sell the same at public or private sale, as he may deem to be the last advantage of the Government, except that it shall not be sold at less than the appraised price.

The bill was passed by the Senate on August 2, 1882, and by the House that same day. On August 7, 1882, President Arthur signed the bill to make it a law.

Some of the land came under the Federal Land Grant to the Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe Railroad. The section of land which contained the Fort improvements (Section Thirty-Two, Township Twenty-One South, Range Seventeen West, Kansas) was sold to Sage and Jackson representing the Pawnee Valley Stock Breeders Association. The sale took place on March 13, 1884, at a public auction, at the town of Larned. The final bid received was eleven-thousand and fifty-six dollars, but the purchasers defaulted on their payment, after which the property was sold for four-thousand dollars. An investigation was ordered by the sulted in causing the purchasers General Land Office, which re-to make an additional payment of seven-thousand and fifty-six dollars, thus making good the amount bid at the sale.

A portion of the remaining land was sold by direct transaction to the General Land Office. The rest of the land was sold through H. M. Bickel and Henry Booth, who were both appointed federal land receivers, with offices at Larned, Kansas.

The sale of one of the tracts of land resulted in an official appeal to the General Land Office of the United States Department of Interior. This case was known as Cook vs. Wilbur. Cook's contention was that Wilbur was not entitled to his property, since he had not carried out the residence requirement of the pre-emption law. Wilbur's appeal was based on the phrase of the Bill of August 7, 1882,

which stated that ownership of Fort Larned land could be obtained by following a plan "... as nearly as may be in conformity to the provisions of the pre-emption laws of the United States ..."

Wilbur lost his claim to this piece of land, when, on August 4, 1882, Commissioner Vilas upheld Cook's contention. Two laws were cited by the General Land Office to support the decision. They were the Osage Act of May 9, 1872, which stated that pre-emption laws must be followed "... in every respect ..." and Section 2283 of the Revised Statutes, which stated that any land settlement must accord "... with the general provisions of the pre-emption laws ..."

In 1902, E. E. Frizell purchased the Fort Larned Ranch from a man by the name of Fohrer of Illinois. At the time of this purchase, which involved approximately three-thousand acres, there were about two-hundred and fifty acres in cultivation; the rest still remained in native grass. Today, there remains only two-hundred acres in grass, the rest of the land being devoted to alfalfa and row crop production.

The Ranch, still owned by the Frizell family, employs half a dozen families who reside in the old officer's quarters. The two enlisted men's barracks have been connected to form one of the largest barns in the mid-west. The buildings on the east side (old blacksmith and bakery) are used as machine shops, and the commissary and quartermaster buildings serve as barns for storing grain, hay, etc. The quadrangular parade grounds have been fenced in and the native buffalo grass still grows there.

During the early 1900's, the beautiful Ranch along the Pawnee became a favorite picnic ground for the people in that vicinity. According to Charles Welch, early Pawnee County homesteader, a Pennsylvania Picnic was an annual affair at the Ranch. Barn dances were frequent, and on one occasion, the local National Guard Unit held a sham battle there.

As time went by, the people of the surrounding area began to realize the tourist attracting

potential of this historic spot along the Pawnee Creek. The Frizell family erected signs to welcome visitors and the Kansas Historical Society and Kansas Highway Patrol erected a historical marker just north of Fort Larned on United States Highway Fifty-North.

In the early 1950's, the late E. D. Frizell was approached by various organizations who discussed with him the possibilities of selling the Fort buildings and a small tract of land to make the establishment into a type of monument. Frizell stated that he would be glad to move over about a quarter of a mile, so long as he would be provided with a set of improvements that would match the existing ones.

On January 10, 1955, Senator Frank Carlson of Kansas introduced a bill to Congress which would, if passed, make Fort Larned a national monument, similar to the Fort Laramie Monument on the Oregon Trail. The bill was referred to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs. Since the amount of money needed to buy and restore the Fort is quite large, it will no doubt have to be derived from some government agency or philanthropic group.

On September 9, 1955, Merrill J. Mattes, Regional Historian of Region Two, National Park Service, Omaha, Nebraska, made an official tour of inspection of the Fort Larned Ranch. He was impressed with the good condition of the original buildings and stated that factors favorable to designation of the Fort as some type of monument were, that the federal government has established no national monument along the Santa Fe Trail and that the Fort has a potential attraction for tourists, since a federal highway is routed immediately north of the Fort.

Consequently, on January 19, 1956, Representative Clifford R. Hope (Fifth District, Kansas) received a memorandum from Conrad L. Wirth, Director of the Department of Interior's National Park Service, stating that Fort Larned had been one of the two sites chosen for further study (eleven historical sites in Kansas were originally considered). The memorandum went on to state that the National Park Service recommended, along with Fort Larned and the

remains of the Santa Fe Trail between Dodge City and Cimarron; a more comprehensive study of the entire Santa Fe Trail.

At present the National Park Service has no funds for the purchase of sites such as Fort Larned. In some cases, Congress has appropriated the necessary funds for such a project. State legislatures have been known to appropriate the necessary money, as for example, the state of Wyoming, which purchased two-hundred and fourteen acres

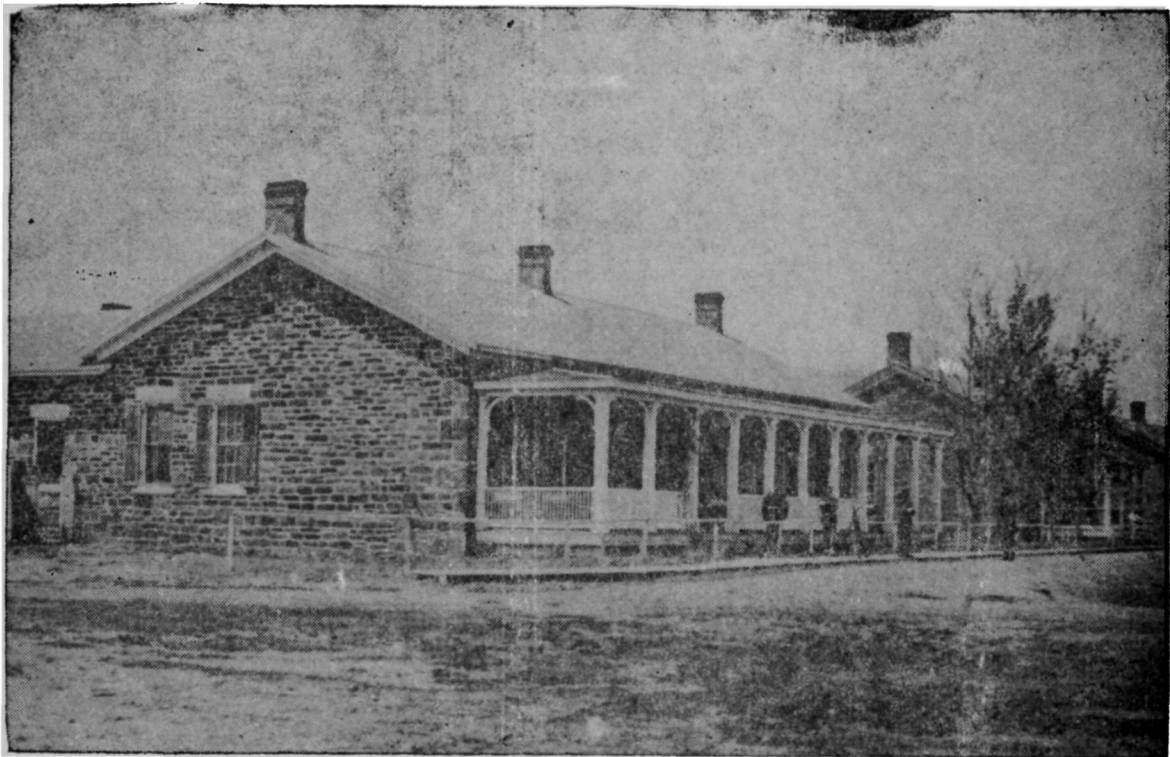
of land and the buildings at Fort Laramie in 1927.

However it should be remembered that western state legislatures are generally conservative and reluctant to authorize the expenditure of state funds for the acquisition of historic sites. It would take several times as much money to purchase Fort Larned as it took to purchase Fort Laramie.

In the meantime, Fort Larned, outside of the hustle and bustle of modern farming operations, remains much as it was in the

1860's. Awaiting the national recognition that it deserves, it stands as a fitting reminder to America of the dominant role played by those people who endured the hardships of the frontier.

To commemorate the one-hundredth birthday of Fort Larned, civic leaders of Larned are planning a Fort Larned Centennial Celebration for 1959, with the hope that the resulting publicity will enhance national recognition.



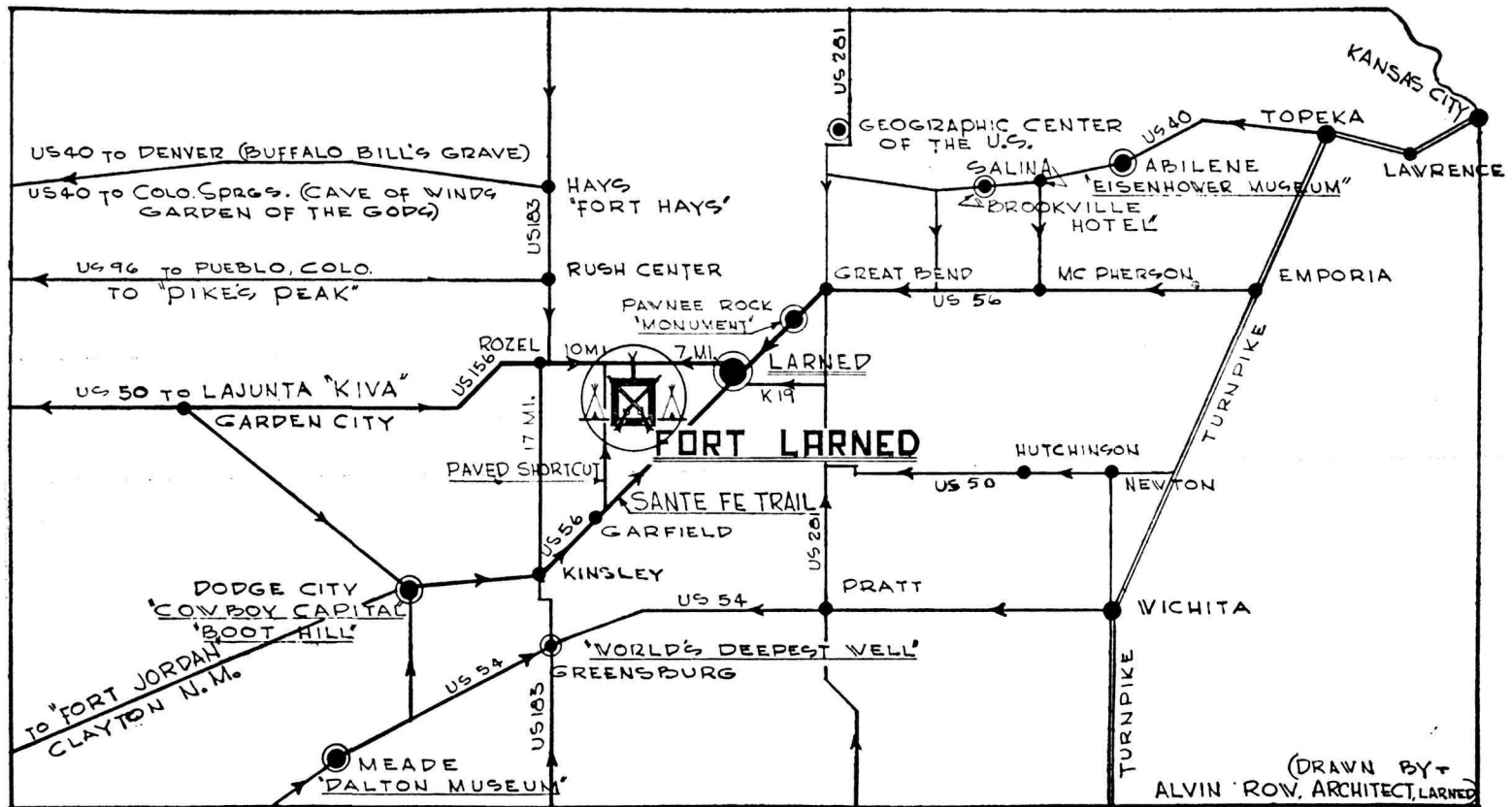
Scene At Old Fort Larned.



Scene At Fort Larned.



Scene At Fort Larned.



Highway Location Of Historic Fort Larned.

