

# OLD BEDLAM



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Midwest Regional Office  
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FURNISHING PLAN FOR OLD BEDLAM  
FORT LARAMIE NATIONAL HISTORIC SITE

by

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## PART I

### OLD BEDLAM

#### General Statement of Background and History of Building

Between June 20, 1849, and July 31, 1849, a giant structural skeleton was lofted in the shadow of turreted old Fort John on the Laramie River. The moment when the raw pine ribs of Old Bedlam first stretched themselves to top the visual crest of the hills surrounding the Laramie bottoms marks the moment of birth for Fort Laramie, frontier garrison for the United States Army. From that summer day to this, the enigmatic visage of Bedlam has maintained its watch on the Plains, a witness to the westering tides of a nation for over one hundred and fourteen years.

Old Bedlam is probably the oldest surviving permanent structure in Wyoming. In its sequential years, it has listened to the locust-creaking quiet presiding over farmers who turned the earth of its valley under the brazen sky of summer; it has heard the wind sparkling in the cottonwoods to mingle with the formalized ennui of military commands shouted to parade ground soldiers by full-dress officers, for all of whom the form itself had become the goal because the enemy was far away and vanquished. But Bedlam heard also the pandemonium of earlier years, when mounted hordes of men poured through the post and eddied about its buildings, when the valley must have been strong with the scent of their effort to conquer at last an enemy of savage inscrutability and shocking lethal effectiveness.

The rattle of field carriages, the yowls of teamsters, the snap of of a breech-loading Carbine, the slap of horse flesh against leather, all magnified one hundred fold, were the sounds of the '70's outside Bedlam's door, and they were directly descended from a sharp and lonely cry of terror carried from afar to its threshold on the night winds of a winter storm a decade earlier. Still earlier, while conflict thundered far in the East, the halls of Bedlam headquarters were clotted with Volunteers, and the air bore the babble of their confusion, at the same time it crackled with news of Indian attacks, harassments of its line of fragile outposts where men were spread far too thin. During these years, Bedlam witnessed the tension of commanders who negotiated treaties to maintain the status quo with an enemy who lounged insolently against its railings, or brazenly stampeded horses from the parade at its very doorstep. The disquiet of the '60's was rooted, too, in earlier days, when Bedlam monitored disorderly floods of Americans whose west-bound caravans flowed endlessly through the valley, and when, on an August afternoon, as the wind blew strong, a young Lieutenant departed from its piazza to die with 28 of his men in an ill-conceived effort to maintain order between the pilgrims and their increasingly skeptical savage hosts. During those early years, Bedlam also knew the nation's effort to secure and maintain a unity of itself when it was literally exploding as a result of its own inherent dynamism. The noisome sounds of the force gathered there to secure Utah reflected this, as did the whining saws that cut the timber for Bedlam's own fabric.





June, 1964

Old Bedlam, after structural restoration, 1964.

From the day, then, when Bedlam's crisp, arching flues first etched themselves against the sky, to the time, years later, when those same chimneys presented a melted silhouette, this building stood at Fort Laramie, and in its presence the whole drama of America's expansion was enacted. Virtually every significant figure in that pageant passed through its halls, together with countless thousands of obscure men whose dreams were no less ideal, whose courage was no less enduring, and whose blood and sweat flowed equally in the service of their nation's destiny.

A massive structure, the architectural heart of Old Bedlam was carpenter Southern Colonial in style. Its branching wings and staircases, however, imparted a strong utilitarian flavor to its appearance. Through the years, it was this utilitarian theme that provided the most significant single clue to the essence of the building. Changing times, needs, and uses were powerfully reflected in Old Bedlam when the exterior staircases moved, coiled themselves in different patterns, and finally vanished altogether; in its wings, porches, and partitions, some of which disappeared totally, while others dissolved to emerge again in different form and position. Thus sensitive to changing human needs, Bedlam seems, over the years, to have contracted both physically and in its psychic domination of the post. The great, branching hulk, with prim lines and confident distinction, melted and shrank until, in 1938, it had become a shrivelled old crone, its visage lax and slack as if death were imminent.

Since 1938, when the National Park Service took Bedlam into its custody, a number of stabilization and restoration projects have attempted to resurrect the structure. The last and most extensive of these was begun in 1960, and is now completed. As a result of this work, storied Bedlam sprawls once more on the west perimeter of Fort Laramie's parade.

#### Summary of Interpretive Purposes

The refurnishing of Old Bedlam to appropriate periods in its history and for the purpose of communicating and interpreting the significance of Fort Laramie and the West has been a part of National Park Service development plans for the area since 1959.

The first general outlines for this refurnishing were contained in Sally A. Johnson's "General Furnishing Plan" of 1960.<sup>1</sup> At that time, structural restoration was just under way, and furnishing recommendations were general in character. They provided that the south quarters (upper and lower) of this quadruplex building should be refurnished to 1863-65, when they were probably occupied by Lt. Colonel and Mrs. William O. Collins, and served at the same time as "the commanding officer's headquarters." The 1960 "General Plan" also recommended that the lower north set of quarters be refurnished to the 1860's, as the residence of a bachelor officer and in the traditional manner for such quarters, as this was reflected in Charles King's famous novel, Laramie, or the Queen of Bedlam.

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1. Sally A. Johnson, "General Furnishing Plan, Fort Laramie National Historic Site" (typewritten MS, Midwest Regional Office, National Park Service, 1960), pp. 16-17.

Since 1960, structural restoration has gone forward to completion. The opportunity to again view this building as it was in the days that etched its fame, together with the accumulation of previously unavailable historic records, seemed to dictate some slight revisions in the original plan for refurnishing. The new guidelines were outlined in the "Revision of 'General Furnishing Plan, 1960'," which was approved in June, 1963.<sup>2</sup>

The furnishing plan here presented is based upon the guidelines established by this report. They are:

1. The south quarters, upper and lower, will be refurnished to 1863-64, as occupied by Lt. Colonel and Mrs. William O. Collins at the height of the Civil War, and as used during that time as "post headquarters." This definition will permit the interpretation of one of the earliest periods in Bedlam's history, as well as presenting a view of Army life and activity in the West during the critical years of the Civil War. Colonel Collins' Volunteer status in the Army allows the presentation of a view of Army life quite different from that of a Regular and his family. Of greatest interpretive significance, however, is the fact that this plan will take advantage of the use of Old Bedlam as "post headquarters,"

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2. Nan V. Carson, "Revision of 'General Furnishing Plan, 1960,'" Fort Laramie National Historic Site" (typewritten MS, Midwest Regional Office, National Park Service, 1963), pp. 14-18.

thus incorporating a vital aspect of military activity into the refurnished structures.

2. The north quarters, lower set, will be refurnished to 1854-57, as a bachelor officer's residence. The decision to refurnish these quarters to the period of the 1850's was derived from the desirability of refurnishing some structure to represent conditions of life during the very earliest decade of Fort Laramie's existence--a decade that is important not only because it is early, but also, and more especially, because it was one of the two most historically significant decades in the life of the post. Bedlam alone, among the surviving structures at the area, affords this opportunity--as it alone affords the opportunity to present a view of a bachelor officer's residence in the legendary historic use associated with the structure.

3. The north quarters, upper set, will remain unfurnished, due to administrative considerations involving security, maintenance, and interpretive management.

## PART II

### THE HISTORIC USES AND OCCUPANCIES OF OLD BEDLAM

The details of the original construction of Old Bedlam, and of many of the changes it underwent during the years of its Army occupancy, all of which have a close relationship to the use of the building at any given time, have been abundantly discussed in the several Historic Structures Reports which have been prepared during the course of its recent restoration.<sup>1</sup> A familiarity with the content of these Reports is presumed in this narrative.

Old Bedlam, as the oldest Army structure surviving at Fort Laramie, has perhaps the most intricate history of use and occupation patterns of any building involved in the current refurnishing program. Indeed, a study of the historic occupations of Old Bedlam brings the conclusion that its traditional designation as a Bachelor Officer's Quarters is but a romantic half-truth. Furthermore, its designation as a Quarters is a use generalization that is not consistently verified in the historic records.

Old Bedlam housed, over the forty-year period of its service, not only bachelor officers, but also (and probably in greater quantities)

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1. David L. Hieb, "Survey Report for Restoration and Rehabilitation of Historic Structure Building No. 1, Old Bedlam" (typewritten MS, Midwest Regional Office, National Park Service, 1957); Robert H. Gann and others, "Historic Structures Report, Restoration and Rehabilitation of Old Bedlam, Building No. 1" (typewritten MS, Midwest Regional Office, National Park Service, 1959).



married officers with their wives, and families of various sizes, as well as Headquarters operations on every level from Post and Regimental to District and Sub-District. As we shall see, the variety of its occupants and uses does not end with these identifications; and, as might be expected, the character of its use at any given time had a bearing on the character of its occupants, and vice versa.

Bedlam, then, can be best characterized as a large, multi-purpose building, having three rather indistinctly-defined phases in the history of Fort Laramie. From the date of its construction until 1868 it was the nerve center, the heart of the post--the symbol of Fort Laramie. From 1868 until 1881, it was primarily a quadruplex quarters, housing probably a wide variety of officer occupants so far as rank was concerned, as well as an enormous quantitative number of same. During this, its "hotel" period, the usual Army definitions for the use and occupation of its buildings applied very little to Bedlam. It was occupied primarily by those who either had to live there simply because no other facilities were momentarily available, or by those who could manage to live there, from the standpoint of pure physical accommodation. In its last, or family, phase, duplex Bedlam housed primarily married officers and their lively offspring--its rate of tenant turnover dropped sharply, and domesticity became its theme.

The rooms in Bedlam responded, chameleon-like, to changes in the character of their occupants. Flexibility and adaptability were their common denominators, to which they sacrificed convenience. For example, one bachelor officer might live in its quarters using one room as a parlor-dining area, another as a sleeping-study chamber, with a servant or striker housed in the small bedroom adjacent to the kitchen and storeroom; another bachelor officer, who messed elsewhere with brother officers, would have put the kitchen to non-culinary uses, while his parlor would probably have taken on a sub-role as a study rather than dining area.

The occupation of Old Bedlam by married officers with families must have produced room use characteristics that were highly adaptive. An Army wife in these quarters, while the structure was still a quadruplex, would have been obliged to accommodate children in the small kitchen bedroom, and perhaps partition halls for the same purpose. It is conceivable that, under these circumstances, the kitchen may have become also the dining room, but some Army wife no doubt incorporated dining activities into the parlor, or perhaps even the hall. After 1881, when the building was converted from a quadruplex into a duplex, Army families undoubtedly used the upstairs rooms (previously parlors and bedrooms) as bedrooms exclusively, while the rear room downstairs became a full-time dining room.<sup>2</sup>

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2. Assistant Surgeon Charles Carvallo, Fort Laramie, July and August, 1881, Monthly Reports, Medical History of Posts, Section Two, Records of the Office of the Adjutant General, War Department, National Archives.

During the fairly substantial period when portions of this building were used for administrative purposes by the Army, bedroom and parlor must have become executive offices, peopled with clerks and orderlys as well as officers, while the halls perhaps served as work space for still other clerks and orderlys. Portions of Bedlam were, from time to time, put to such unexpected uses as school rooms,<sup>3</sup> and Eugene Ware would have us believe that the upper section was once the scene of amateur theatricals. The same gentleman has informed us that other parts of the building contained the post hospital.<sup>4</sup>

Without beginning to be exhaustive, the variety of functions and occupations outlined above suggests that Army people, during the course of their long association with this building, utilized its rooms in a large number of very diverse ways. Furthermore, the identity of all of its occupants would, if knowable, undoubtedly be surprising.

This report, therefore, will not attempt to trace or delineate in a definitive manner all of the historic uses of Old Bedlam. It

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3. Bedlam was used as a school for children at least once during its Army period. In 1864, Major John S. Wood announced that "School will open for the instruction of children in and around this post Monday morning, Nov. 9th, 1864. Room in Hd. Qrs. building. Terms for three months." Major John S. Wood, Fort Laramie, 6 November 1864, Order No. 133, United States Army Commands, Record Group 98, War Department, National Archives (hereinafter referred to as Record Group 98).

4. Eugene F. Ware, The Indian War of 1864 (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1960), p. 203.

will confine itself, rather, to a discussion of the uses and occupants planned for the structure by its designer, and its probable uses and occupants during the periods determined for its refurnishing. (It will attempt to identify as many of its historic occupants as possible.)

#### The Conceptual Uses and Occupancies Intended by the Architect

Old Bedlam, during the date of its construction beginning in 1849, was invariably referred to as an "Officer's Quarters," without a further qualification regarding the rank of officers entitled to shelter within its walls.<sup>5</sup> This general designation, uncharacteristic of the Army which tended to identify quarters more precisely as "Captain's Quarters," "Staff Officer's Quarters," etc., in reference to their size and grandeur, was undoubtedly due to the fact that the Engineers, operating under the pressing necessity of providing quarters for the whole broad spectrum of the command, planned the erection of one large building intended, at the outset, to house all officers, regardless of rank, with a predictable emphasis on providing quarters of the size allowed by the Regulations for company officers (Captains and Lieutenants) who might be expected to make up the bulk of the officer population at the post.

This definition of intended occupancy provides the framework for an understanding of not only the historic descriptive references

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5. Major W. F. Sanderson, Fort Laramie, 18 September 1849, letter to Major D. C. Buell, St. Louis, Record Group 98.

Fort Laramie Photo Research File, No. 2103

Old Bedlam: Lt. Daniel P. Woodbury, Plan Sections and  
Elevation of a Wooden Building for Officer's Quarters,  
Fort Laramie, 1849.

**Photo missing from the print edition.**



to the rooms in this structure, but also the curious flexibility of its plan. Regulations permitted the assignment of one room and one kitchen to a Lieutenant, and two rooms and a kitchen to a Captain.<sup>6</sup> Lieutenant Daniel P. Woodbury, the designer of Bedlam, described the building, at the time construction began in September, 1849, as "One two story double block of Officers quarters - each story containing 4 rooms . . ., two kitchens . . ., and two store rooms . . .".<sup>7</sup>

Armed with this information, a careful study of the original plan for Bedlam drawn by Woodbury at Fort Laramie in July, 1849, results in considerable insight into the varieties of human occupation for which the architect was attempting to provide.<sup>8</sup> The four rooms in the main block of each story, which were never assigned additional use designations, were mirrors of one another and were linked together by a common hall and kitchen. These structural characteristics permitted them to serve a dual role: as quarters assigned singly to Lieutenants or doubly to Captains.

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6. War Department, Regulations for the Army of the United States (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1857), p. 124. The Regulations in force at the time of Bedlam's construction would have been the Revised Regulations of 1847. The 1857 edition, cited here, seems to have been just a reprinting, instead of a revision, and is, therefore, considered valid evidence. See James B. Fry, The Different Editions of Army Regulations (New York: privately printed, 1876).

7. Lt. Daniel P. Woodbury, Fort Kearney, 30 September 1849, letter to General Joseph G. Totten, Washington, D. C., Records of the Office of the Chief of Engineers, Record Group 77, War Department, National Archives (hereinafter referred to as Record Group 77).

8. LAR 2103, Fort Laramie Photo Research File, Midwest Regional Office, National Park Service (hereinafter referred to as Fort Laramie Photo Research File).

The intention of flexible usefulness also explains other elements of Bedlam's arrangement: the lateral positioning of the kitchen wings, which made their use by both units of each block possible, as opposed to a posterior position, which would have been sufficiently efficient and more economical of construction had the structure been intended for occupancy by only one officer in each two rooms; the front and rear exterior staircases and piazzas, the first of which permitted individual access to each of the eight main rooms in the structure and the second of which provided an equal facility for all eight rooms.

As a result of this understanding, the failure of Woodbury to make use of identifications for the main rooms in Bedlam, and his failure to build into them any structural variations which might indicate the nature of their intended use, becomes wholly clear. They were designed as modular units of shelter having little or no relationship to the activities of life which might take place within them, but depending altogether for character of use upon the rank and personality of the individuals assigned to their occupancy.

A Captain, assigned the whole of a single block, might use the front room as a parlor-dining-study area and the back room as a bedroom; while two Lieutenants assigned to one block would probably have used both the front and back rooms as individual and independent bedroom-living areas, messing together most probably in the kitchen. Other alternatives would have been available to Lieutenants, of course; had they been companionable and gregarious, they

might have used a single room for sleeping purposes, reserving the other for dining and social activities.

Woodbury's intended uses for the three rooms in each of the kitchen wings is more self-evident from the plans for this building, from the structure itself, and from the documents relating to its construction. His July, 1849, plan shows the small corner storeroom labelled as such.<sup>9</sup> The kitchens are identifiable from their designated location and dimensions contained in his testimony given the Inspector General on July 6, 1850. He stated then that Bedlam contained " . . . 4 kitchens, 16 ft by 15 ft 4 inches . . . in two wings . . ."<sup>10</sup> The same document, however, poses a problem in regard to identifying the use of the third room shown in these wings in the 1849 plan. Woodbury's 1850 testimony stated that there were, in addition to the kitchens, only " . . . 4 store rooms 9 ft 4 in by 15 ft 4 in . . ." located in the wings.<sup>11</sup> The same identification and dimensions are contained in an 1849 letter to General Joseph G. Totten.<sup>12</sup> Thus, Woodbury seems to say that there was only one room in the kitchen wing, in addition to the kitchen, it being a very large storeroom running the entire depth of the wing. This inference is not borne out by the 1849 plan for the

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9. Ibid.

10. Lieutenant Daniel P. Woodbury, Fort Laramie, 6 July 1850, Appended Testimony to Inspector General, Lt. Colonel G. Loomis, Fort Laramie, 10 August 1850, Inspection Report. Office of the Adjutant General, Record Group 94, War Department, National Archives (hereinafter referred to as Record Group 94).

11. Ibid.

12. Woodbury, Fort Kearney, 30 September 1849, to Totten, Washington, D. C., Record Group 77.

building, however, where the storeroom (clearly labelled) is but a small portion of the 9x15 foot space involved, being partitioned off from a third room which is almost square and wholly unidentified.<sup>13</sup> The question of use for this area is solved in later letter from the architect of Bedlam to General Totten in Washington. Writing on September 30, 1850, to complain of construction difficulties at Fort Laramie, Woodbury described Bedlam as "The frame building . . . containing four sets of officer's quarters - 3 rooms in each set besides a small kitchen bedroom and storeroom . . ."<sup>14</sup> While we may wonder why the kitchen bedroom was omitted from several of Woodbury's reports when it had, apparently, been planned in the building from the outset, the omission need not concern us now. It is enough to be possessed of this documentation for its use, which would be otherwise almost impossible of determination.

It remains, however, for the occupant of this small bedroom to be identified. For this purpose, the location of the room in proximity to the kitchen provides the only clue to Woodbury's intent: the space must have been planned to accommodate a servant-cook of some kind, either an employed civilian or a soldier striker.

Thus, the intentions of Bedlam's designer in regard to the general identity of the officers for whom he planned the building is clear,

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13. LAR 2103, Fort Laramie Photo Research File.

14. Lieutenant Daniel P. Woodbury, Fort Laramie, 30 September 1850, letter to General Joseph G. Totten, Washington, D. C., Record Group 77.

as are his concepts of the uses, both restricted and general, of the various segments of the structure. There exists, however, no documentary evidence to verify his intentions, or lack of same, in regard to the legendary historic use of Bedlam as a bachelor officer's residence. Nevertheless, the building itself speaks eloquently on this subject.

Looking at the plan for Old Bedlam, it is difficult to believe that the quarters were designed to be lived in by anyone except bachelor officers. Two basic elements ordinarily considered necessary or desirable to family living are utterly lacking in it: privacy and even minimum bedroom space. The Army Regulations which assigned only one room and a kitchen to a Lieutenant, or two rooms and a kitchen to a Captain, can be considered the source of the limitation in sleeping accommodations, and indicate that the Army itself viewed its officers as bachelors. Nevertheless, the Army Regulations were not responsible for the arrangement of Bedlam, with its common halls and (worse yet, to any woman) potentially common kitchens, or its broad piazzas fronting the windows of each and every main room. These elements in the structure apparently sprang from the mind of Lieutenant Woodbury, and they speak with vigor to affirm the instinct that Bedlam was conceived by him as a living area for men only.

#### Early Actual Occupancies and Uses

The Army and Lieutenant Woodbury notwithstanding, women (and children) arrived at Fort Laramie only a little behind the troops. A transient

Army officer of 1849 documented their presence when he wrote to his wife that "There are 2 Army ladies here one made a present to her husband of an infant the day we arrived & the other we understand is about to do equal service to her family & the country . . ."<sup>15</sup> While we have no way of knowing the female (or infant) population of Fort Laramie during these first years, nor, in most instances, of knowing which officers managed to bring their families west with them, we do know that women were on hand and, presumably, were assigned to quarters in Bedlam from its earliest days.

It does not take much to imagine the horror with which the average Lieutenant's wife would have contemplated keeping house in Bedlam during the 1850's. Unable to move from her single room for any purpose without being dressed to receive, her children, if she had any, would have had to share her bedchamber, and their presence would have effectively crowded out any furnishings in the room that might have contributed to the family's social hours. Worse yet, her kitchen was not her own unless the other room in the block was occupied by a single officer--in which case she no doubt added a regular boarder to her family. The problems in housekeeping which Bedlam presented to the Captain's wife were substantially diminished. The space, and its arrangement, which still totally unsuited to family use, was at least doubled, and--best of all--it was all her own. Such inconveniences and hardships were the accustomed cross of the Army wife, whose existence during these years was totally ignored by the administration of the Army. Often she

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15. John William Gunnison, Fort Laramie, 13, 14 July 1849, letter to Martha Gunnison, MS, Huntington Library.



was required to live in structures far less inviting and more inconvenient than Bedlam. The fact of Bedlam's inconvenience, however, is testimony to its adaptive actual use while still relatively a new building.

Old Bedlam retained its generalized and flexible character of occupation and use until 1856, when it began to be identified in Army reports as " . . . containing four sets of Captain's Quarters; two rooms and a kitchen to each set . . ."<sup>16</sup> We may infer from this that the structure had been upgraded so far as rank of occupancy was concerned, due, probably, to the enlargement of the post garrison that took place after the Grattan fight,<sup>17</sup> and the resulting construction of other quarters of lesser grandeur, some of which, presumably, were designed for occupation by Lieutenants.<sup>18</sup>

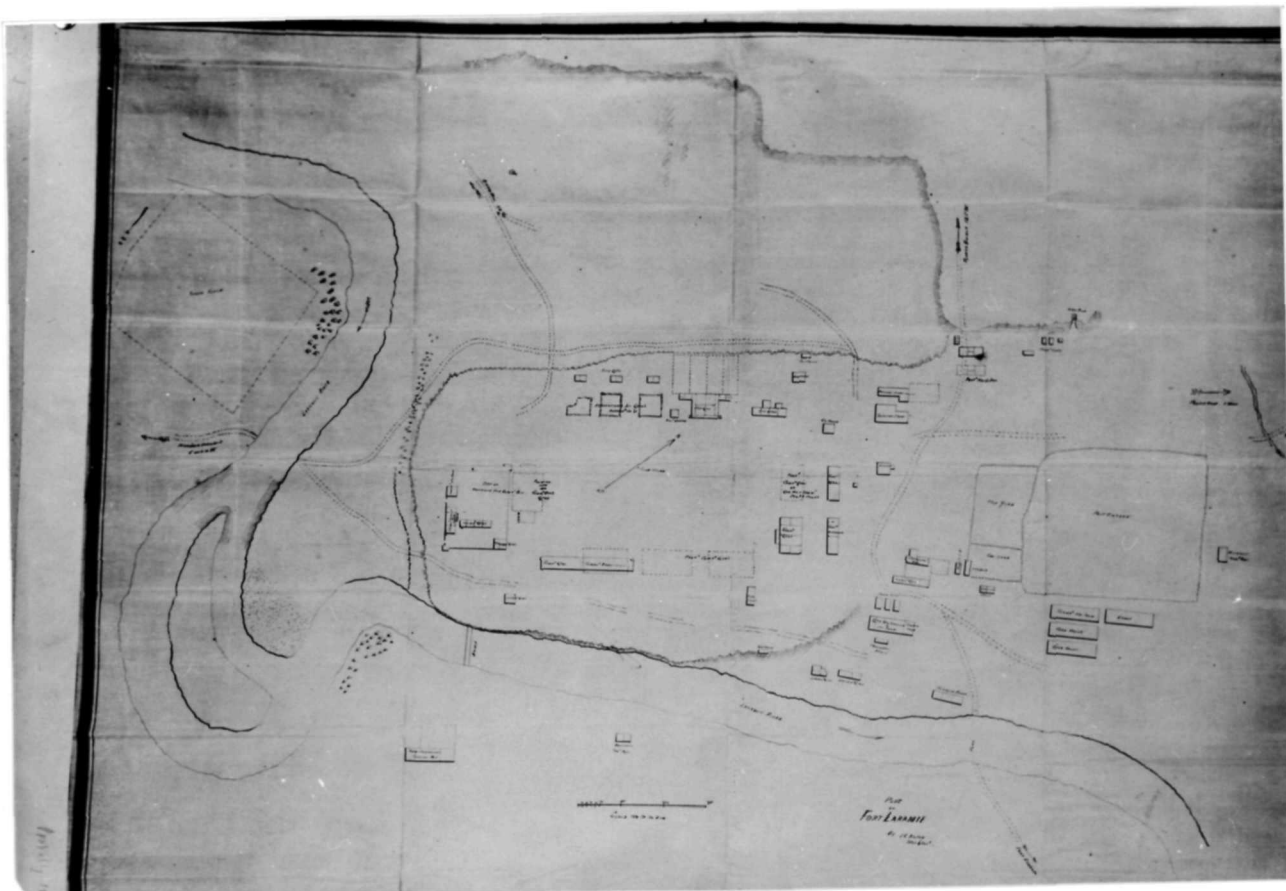
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16. Annual Report of the Inspection of Public Buildings at Fort Laramie, N. T., 30 June 1856, Consolidated Correspondence File, Office of the Quartermaster General, Record Group 92, War Department, National Archives (hereinafter referred to as Record Group 92).

17. In June of 1854, there were 3 officers present at Fort Laramie. Lt. Grattan's death in August that year diminished their ranks to two. The complement was gradually built up during the two ensuing years in response to Indian pressure and the brewing troubles in Utah. January, 1855, saw 8 officers at the post; by July that year, the total had increased to 9; by December, to 19. In January and February of 1856, there were 20 officers at Fort Laramie. Post Returns, Record Group 94.

18. The Inspection Report of 30 June 1856 notes that four adobe buildings with canvas and mud roofs had been erected as "temporary officer's quarters" during the previous year. One of these structures had four rooms and two kitchens (assignable quarters for Captains), while the other three had "two rooms each" (presumably assignable to Lieutenants). These were the first officer's quarters erected at Fort Laramie after Old Bedlam. Annual Report of the Inspection of Public Buildings at Fort Laramie, N. T., 30 June 1856, Record Group 92.

As a result of the designation of Bedlam as quarters assignable to Captains, the character of uses for its rooms would have changed significantly from the multi-purpose functions implied in Daniel Woodbury's original conception of the building. With the departure of Lieutenants, its rooms would no longer be occupied singly or its kitchens shared. The character of the use of its rooms would be determined, instead, wholly by the marital circumstances of the officer assigned to them, rather than by his rank. A Captain, single or bereft of family, had two rooms to do with as he pleased, no doubt sleeping in one and combining dining and social functions in the other. The use of the rooms in the kitchen wing may not have been altered from Woodbury's intentions for them by these circumstances, although, if the officer chose to mess in company with his brother officers, the kitchen wing may have been either the scene of such a mess, or totally deserted. The Captain who brought his wife and children through Bedlam's doors after 1856 would have lived in a manner similar to a predecessor of equal rank and circumstances, with one significant exception: with the possibility of future single-room occupation by Lieutenants eliminated, the Captain and his wife would have had greater freedom to adapt the building to suit their needs. At this point, then, halls could begin to be partitioned semi-permanently for children's rooms or dining, doors could be closed, and the kitchen wing could be adapted to house youngsters instead of servants. As a result, the period from 1856 to 1870 probably spans the time of Bedlam's most intensive adaptive uses. Until the construction of the since-disappeared



Fort Laramie Photo Research File, No. 2109

Lt. John C. Kelton, Plan of Fort Laramie, 1855.

Commanding Officer's house in 1868, and Officer's Quarters A in 1870--the first quarters at Fort Laramie truly designed for use by families<sup>19</sup>--Old Bedlam must have borne the brunt of family occupation. This was a character of use never intended for it by its architect, and one which must have produced special adaptations that would have surprised and pained him.

Mention has been made of the use of Old Bedlam as the Headquarters building, and a word or two regarding its history in this capacity is in order. Although location of the Headquarters in Bedlam is most often associated with the Civil War period at Fort Laramie, due to that designation given it by the Collins family in their letters and maps, it apparently served in this capacity from its earliest days.<sup>20</sup> The records of the post are inconclusive: throughout the decade of the 1850's, the building is consistently referred to as an "Officer's Quarters," or "Captain's Quarters." The same designation is encountered on all historic maps and plans of the post until the Collins map of 1863. We must observe, however, that no other building is designated as Headquarters in any of the earlier post records.

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19. Merrill J. Mattes, "Surviving Army Structures at Fort Laramie National Monument" (typewritten MS, Midwest Regional Office, National Park Service, 1943), Officer's Quarters A.

20. Catherine W. Collins describes Bedlam as the Headquarters in a letter written to her daughter in 1864; her son, Caspar, also labelled it as such on a plan of the post which he drew in 1863. Agnes Wright Spring, "An Army Wife Comes West," The Colorado Magazine, XXXI (October, 1954), 256. LAR-2110, Fort Laramie Photo Research File.

Sometime between 1851 and 1855 a small structure was erected just to the south of Old Bedlam.<sup>21</sup> This building is consistently identified in all of the documents of the 1850's and early 1860's as "Adjutant's Office." Clearly, then, this is the base of operations for that focal functionary of the Army post--the Adjutant who served as the direct agent for the post commander, and over whose desk passed all of the administrative paper of the garrison and the Army. It seems reasonable to assume that the office of this man would be located at least near to the official habitat of the man he served--the post commander--and the 1863 identifications of Old Bedlam as Headquarters bears this out. We may conclude, therefore, that Bedlam was probably the Headquarters for at least eight years prior to the Collins' identification of it as such. In reality, it no doubt served as Headquarters from the day following its completion when Fort Laramie's commanding officer first moved into it. We might add, at the same time, that it undoubtedly continued to be used as Headquarters until the commanding officer removed his residence from the building to a new structure in the southwest sector of the parade ground in 1868 and, presumably, took the Headquarters thither with him.

#### Occupancy and Uses, 1854-1855

Inasmuch as Old Bedlam was the only quarters available for officers at Fort Laramie from the time of its construction until some time

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21. This structure first appears on 1st Lieutenant J. C. Kelton's Plan of Fort Laramie drawn in 1855. LAR 2109, Fort Laramie Photo Research File.

in 1855,<sup>22</sup> we may assume that its walls sheltered all who reported for duty there until October of 1855, when the post complement jumped to a number that is far in excess of Bedlam's accommodations.

From November, 1853, until May, 1854, Fort Laramie was officered by one 1st Lieutenant, one 2nd Lieutenant, and one Brevet 2nd Lieutenant, in addition to the single assigned Assistant Surgeon, also a 1st Lieutenant. In May of 1854, 1st Lieutenant Richard B. Garnett left the post for recruiting service, and the complement was diminished to three officers. The death of Brevet 2nd Lieutenant John L. Grattan in August of that year left two officers at the post, both Lieutenants.<sup>23</sup> These two gentlemen lived on in lonely splendor in Bedlam until November, when reinforcements arrived in the form of one Major, three Captains, and two 2nd Lieutenants. During 1855, the officer corps at Fort Laramie remained fairly stable, being composed of one Major, one or two Assistant Surgeons, two to four Captains, one 1st Lieutenant, and between two and three 2nd Lieutenants. The precise nature of the garrison varied, due to promotions and transfers, but it averaged three Captains, and three Lieutenants of various grades, in addition to the Major and Assistant Surgeon, until October. In that month the group was enlarged to 19--a number much too large to be crowded into Old Bedlam.<sup>24</sup>

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22. See footnote 19, supra.

23. Post Returns, November, 1853-November, 1854, Record Group 94.

24. Post Returns, November, 1854-October, 1855, Record Group 94.



It was this enlargement of the garrison that was responsible for the construction of four "temporary" adobe officer's quarters sometime during the year prior to June 30, 1856.<sup>25</sup> The completion of these quarters marks the moment when all of Fort Laramie's Officers no longer lived in Bedlam and, as a result, when we no longer know who lived where. Some insight into the standards governing the assignment of quarters at Fort Laramie after this date is provided by the altered designation of Old Bedlam which first appears in the 1856 Report of the Condition of Public Buildings. Until then, Bedlam had been designated simply as "Officer's Quarters"; after that, it was defined as a quarters for four "Captains."<sup>26</sup> Lieutenants did not, apparently, live in Old Bedlam after that date.

Since it is our intention to refurnish the north quarters of this building as a bachelor officer's quarters, a consideration of the presence of women and children at the post during the years from 1854 to 1856 now becomes important.

We have already seen that wives and children made an early appearance at Fort Laramie. Two chance references provide all the knowledge we have of the presence or absence of families in the years of our interest. In October, 1854, William Vaux, Fort Laramie's longtime (since 1849) Chaplain, reported to his superiors in the Episcopalian missionary organization that "The fort during this period [the previous year] has been garrisoned but by one company

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25. See footnote 19, supra.

26. See page 18.

of infantry; and, none of the officers having families, there has been little society, either for church or social privileges and enjoyment."<sup>27</sup> Thus are we told that 1st Lieutenant Richard B. Garnett, Assistant Surgeon Charles Page, 2nd Lieutenant Hugh B. Fleming, and Brevet 2nd Lieutenant John L. Grattan lived at Fort Laramie as bachelors and that, during this time, no uxorial foot trod the floors of Bedlam.

This austerity was terminated in June of 1855, at the latest. In that month, Captain J. B. S. Todd, en route from Fort Laramie to Fort Pierre, noted that the mail leaving Fort Laramie was " . . . escorted down by Lieutenant Alden Sargent and twenty men, **Colonel** William Hoffman Fort Laramie's commanding officer with him, who expected to meet his family and was not disappointed . . ."<sup>28</sup> The date of Mrs. Hoffman's arrival marks the time when, without a shadow of a doubt, women once again lived in Old Bedlam. Whether or not she was the first, or perhaps even the only, wife to arrive there as a result of the November, 1854, reinforcement we do not know.

Under these circumstances, it might seem to be advisable to plan the refurnishing of the bachelor officer's quarters to the period from November, 1853, to November, 1854, a time when we know there were no officer's wives at Fort Laramie. Then, Lieutenants Garnett, Page, Fleming, and Grattan lived in Bedlam, each probably occupying one block of the building. Post Commander Garnett and Post Surgeon

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27. William Vaux, "Fort Laramie," Spirit of the Mission, XX (1855), 40.

28. J. B. S. Todd, Entry of 18 June 1855, Topographical Notes and Maps, MS, Minnesota Historical Society.

Page almost certainly occupied the lower blocks as a result of their responsibilities to the garrison and their superior rank. Fleming and Grattan would thus have resided in the upper quarters. When Garnett departed from the post in May, 1854, Fleming became post commander and probably moved into the quarters Garnett had vacated.<sup>29</sup> The death of Grattan in August of that year left the upper story of Bedlam totally vacant, and it must have remained so until November.

The identification of the officer who might have occupied the lower north quarters of Bedlam thus narrows down to Garnett, Fleming, or Page. If we consider the headquarters location of 1863 to reflect the traditional location of this operation, we would assert that Garnett and later Fleming had occupied the lower south quarters, and Assistant Surgeon Page the lower north.<sup>30</sup>

While the known bachelor status of these men and the reasonable certainty with which we may assign them to occupancy of various parts of Old Bedlam tend to tempt us to refurnish this quarters to represent the period of occupancy by one of them, this course has been rejected. Not only were the months prior to the Grattan Fight extremely quiet and uneventful at Fort Laramie (a total of 30 orders were issued in 1853, and only 18 were promulgated in 1854 to the 30th of July), but the severely diminished garrison at the Fort is far from typical for any of its historic periods.<sup>31</sup> The period,

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29. Post Returns, May, 1854, Record Group 94.

30. See pp. 20-21, supra.

31. Orders, 1853-1854, Record Group 98.

then, is appropriate from the standpoint of precise historical authenticity, and its associated individuals, who became well known as a result of later events; but it does not fulfill the interpretive requirements of either maximum historic importance or generalized typical representation.

The later period which is available within the framework of the decision to refurnish this bachelor officer's quarters to a period in the 1850's lies, as we have seen, between November of 1854, when the reinforcements arrived, and October, 1855, when a large group of officers reported for duty, causing the construction of four temporary adobe officer's quarters and the restriction of Bedlam to the use of Captains. We may be reasonably certain that, after October, 1855, Old Bedlam was not likely to be characterized chiefly by the bachelors it housed. This conclusion is based upon a number of insights: the slow promotion policies of the 19th Century Army, which produced middleaged Captains and Majors, plus the increasing likelihood of encountering women and children with officers of more mature years. When Lieutenants, the only young men in the Army and those ~~least~~ likely to be married or accompanied due to financial restrictions, were banished from Bedlam, its occupancy must have been mixed, but strongly influenced by the presence of women and children.

During the eleven-month period from November, 1854, to October, 1855, **Fort Laramie**'s officer corps consisted of, as we have seen, one Major, an Assistant Surgeon, three Captains, and three Lieutenants. Actually,

the arrival of a Major and three Captains might be construed to indicate that the Lieutenants were even then forced out of Bedlam, since these new officers possessed rank sufficient to fill the structure, if compliance with the letter of the quarters allowance were demanded. Bedlam was, however, still the only residence available for officers at the post at this time, and the Regulations governing quarters allotments provided that the commanding officer of a post was to reduce these allotments pro rata " . . . when the number of officers . . . makes it necessary; . . ."<sup>32</sup> Major William Hoffman must have ordered such a reduction when he arrived, simply because there was no alternative. Faced with the necessity of accommodating eight officers, together with at least his own wife after June, Hoffman could have managed to shelter them all by assigning a single room to Captains or married officers, reserving a block of two rooms for himself and the Headquarters and requiring that two bachelor officers share one room. It would be consoling to think that 19th Century gallantry permitted the precise assignment of quarters to depend more upon the presence of wives than upon rank, and that a Captain, at the post without his wife, would have relinquished his claim to a private room in favor of a Lieutenant whose wife was there. On the other hand, if no wives were present save Hoffman's, we may be certain the Lieutenants shared quarters.

One additional point remains to be considered. Assistant Surgeon

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32. Regulations for the Army of the United States, 1857, p. 125.

Charles Page, who had been stationed at Fort Laramie since June of 1852, remained there throughout the period now under consideration.<sup>33</sup> We know that he was wifeless from references during the dark days of 1854, and we have already examined his probable location in Bedlam in the lower north quarters, the result of the practical requirements of his position and the traditional status location assigned to Surgeons. Bachelor Page probably remained in his accustomed room after the arrival of reinforcements, and this circumstance would have inclined Hoffman to assign any other bachelors to the same block. Hoffman himself and his wife, when she came, no doubt occupied the south block of two rooms in the building--the apparently traditional Headquarters location. This left the upstairs room to be assigned at random, singly, to officers, with the determination of who was where again hopefully depending more upon marital circumstances than rank.

By this admittedly somewhat labored deductive process, we may at last arrive at a reasonably accurate identification of the status of those officers who occupied the north quarters in Old Bedlam from November, 1854, until October, 1855, and this is the period upon which the refurnishing will be based. While we cannot name with certainty the officers who lived there, we may be reasonably certain that it is historically accurate to assign bachelor officers to those quarters at this time.

The historic situation presents the additional advantage of being one which was more typical of the use of Bedlam by the Army during

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33. Post Returns, November, 1854-October, 1855, Record Group 94.

the early years, in that its walls then sheltered both married and unmarried officers, and these in numbers sufficient to demonstrate the unique position of the structure in the post complex during the early fifties: the only available residence for officers. As such, it was more often crowded than empty, and this concentration of population made its halls throb with the essential vitality and life of the post. The events which took place in the historic Fort Laramie environment after the Grattan fight add to the lustre of the period for refurnishing purposes: The Indian climate during the winter of 1854-55 was, to understate the case, unsettled. The entire garrison was kept continually on the qui vive by Indian movements and raids, and Hoffman was busy indeed keeping his eye on them, the local traders, the mail, and everybody's horses.<sup>34</sup> The summer of 1855 was occupied with preparations for the arrival and departure of General W. S. Harney's Sioux Expedition, for which Fort Laramie served as a base of operations. There can be no question that the period from late 1854 until the fall of 1855 is high among those of primary historic significance in this decade at Fort Laramie.

The refurnished north block of quarters in Old Bedlam will, thus, present the rooms inhabited by three bachelor officers in the months between November, 1854, and October, 1855. The rank of these officers will be that of Lieutenant. Because we cannot document the

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34. Letters Sent, 1 September 1855-29 October 1855, Record Group 98; Orders, 12 November 1854-30 October 1855, Record Group 98; Letters Received, Department of the West, 2 January 1855-21 February 1855, Record Group 98.

precise location of Assistant Surgeon Page in this building, and because a Post Surgeon's Quarters is to be refurnished elsewhere at the area, we will not assign this function to any of these men, but will consider them to have been company officers of the 6th Infantry, the unit assigned to the post at the time.<sup>35</sup> Use will be made of the fact of Page's long term at the post, however, for we will consider one of these officers to have been assigned there since the days before the Grattan Fight, and to have shared this somewhat eerie experience. This longer residence on the part of one officer will permit his quarters to contain a greater abundance of equipment and furnishings (although even this room must be austere), and will provide a contrast with the totally spartan quarters of the other two officers, arrivals of November, 1854, or later.

It remains, then, to determine precisely how three such men would have used these quarters. Generally speaking, they would probably have lived there essentially in the fashion Lieutenant Woodbury had envisioned. Two officers would have occupied one room, while the third, doubtless the ranking individual in terms of tenure, would have had the second room to himself. Both of these rooms would have been combination living and bed chambers. The shared hall would undoubtedly have served as space in which to store trunks and boxes--overflow from the rooms in which space needed to be conserved for living. We may assume that these three young men messed together, probably in the kitchen, due to the crowded

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35. Post Returns, November, 1854-October, 1855, Record Group 94.



conditions in one room, an understandable desire to maintain some privacy, and simple convenience. They might have set up their mess in the hall, an arrangement which would have permitted dining to take place in more elegant surroundings, but the use of kitchens as dining areas was not uncommon in the 19th Century, and men living alone would have been more inclined to arrange their lines in the interest of convenience than fashion. The shared kitchen, then, would have served the dual role of food preparation center and mess; the small adjacent storeroom would have been just that, with shelves and hooks for supplies and equipment. The small bedroom just off the kitchen would undoubtedly have sheltered a striker taken by this group to look after their quarters and prepare their meals.

Few sources exist in the historic literature of the 19th Century Army which illuminate the lives of bachelor officers. None which describe the life of such a man at a western frontier post in the 1850's have come to our attention. Eugene Ware's valuable account of his experiences at Forts Kearney, McPherson, and Laramie in the 1860's is the most helpful, set, as it is, in the environment of our concern, and near to the time.<sup>36</sup> Charles King, in his Trials of a Staff Officer, provides some information regarding the official life and vicissitudes of young officers, but his picture of bachelors at Fort Laramie in 1876, contained in Laramie, or The Queen of Bedlam, is virtually useless for our purposes because of

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36. Ware, op. cit.

the later, gentler times depicted.<sup>37</sup> Caspar Collins' letters provide a very few insights.<sup>38</sup> These slender resources, coupled with the Army Regulations and post records of the time, must serve to identify the manner in which bachelor officers lived at Fort Laramie in the middle 1850's.

Lieutenants in the 19th Century Army were "low men on the totem pole"; and, as such, it was they who bore the major share of the work that Army did. First among their responsibilities, of course, was the management of their company. Lieutenants were ordinarily in the position of subaltern, so far as company command was concerned, but the needs of the Army often removed the normal company commander, the Captain, from the scene (sometimes temporarily, and sometimes for extended periods), and when this occurred the senior Lieutenant took over.<sup>39</sup> As a result, it was expected that the company Lieutenants be familiar with the role and routine of the company, and as accustomed to its command as their senior officer. The Regulations put it this way: "Each subaltern will be charged with a squad for the supervision of its order and cleanliness;

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37. Charles King, Trials of a Staff Officer (Philadelphia: L. R. Hamersly and Company, 1891); Charles King, Laramie, or The Queen of Bedlam (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Company, 1905).

38. Agnes Wright Spring, Caspar Collins (New York: Columbia University Press, 1927).

39. Recruiting service or a staff appointment, such as aide-de-camp to some General, seem to have been the greatest offenders in depriving units of their company officers for extended periods of time. Officers drawing such duty were frequently absent from their regiments and their companies for years at a time.

and captains will require their Lieutenants to assist them in the performance of all company duties."<sup>40</sup>

Company duties may be divided into those having to do with the performing role of the company in the Army, and those having to do with its internal management and routine.

A company of Infantry was the basic fighting unit of the 19th Century Army, and its role was to serve as an agent of action. While the large, formally organized military expedition provided the most outstanding, and certainly the most familiar, context in which such company organizations played their primary role, they were infrequent occurrences when seen in relation to the whole fabric of Army activity. Most constant, and more significant to the maintenance of organizational balance and effectiveness in the West, were excursions of small groups of men and officers on detached service. The purposes of these tiny expeditions had a variety limited only by the conditions current at the post, but they were as much, if not more, the essential work of the Army, as were the showy, status-changing, power expeditions of the day, and they were far more frequent.

The Lieutenants at Fort Laramie from November, 1854, to October, 1855, had the opportunity to function in their traditional role as leaders of fighting men in a memorable military expedition: Two companies were sent from the 6th Infantry at the post to take part

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40. Regulations for the Army of the United States, 1857, p. 12.

in the Harney Expedition against the Sioux in September, 1855.<sup>41</sup> This event, however momentous to national policy and Indian relations on a broad scale, was at least equaled in importance by the numerous small military expeditions which company officers led out from Fort Laramie that year for the purpose of securing the survival of the post as an effective military entity. During the unsettled days of 1854-55, such small detached parties were dispatched largely to insure the safety of lines of communication and supply to the fort. The mails were continually escorted by small detachments both to and from the post;<sup>42</sup> supply trains required escorts,<sup>43</sup> as did various staff officers who came in and out on business connected with the Sioux expedition.<sup>44</sup> Indian prisoners were escorted East;<sup>45</sup> and, in general, few people left Fort Laramie without being accompanied by a detachment of some kind. The restless Indians also made it necessary that detachments of men and officers be sent out to guard the public animals grazing near the post,<sup>46</sup> while

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41. Post Returns, September, 1855, Record Group 94.

42. Major William Hoffman, Fort Laramie, 11 February 1855, Orders No. 8; 17 February 1855, Orders No. 10; 9 March 1855, Orders No. 15; 24 March 1855, Orders No. 19; 16 April 1855, Orders No. 26; 24 April 1855, Orders No. 27; 18 May 1855, Orders No. 31; 23 May 1855, Orders No. 32; 12 June 1855, Orders No. 35; 23 June 1855, Orders No. 36; 15 July 1855, Orders No. 44; 19 July 1855, Orders No. 46; 15 August 1855, Orders No. 57; 22 August 1855, Orders No. 59; Record Group 98.

43. Major William Hoffman, Fort Laramie, 12 March 1855, Orders No. 16; 6 August 1855, Orders No. 54; Record Group 98.

44. Major William Hoffman, Fort Laramie, 26 September 1855, Orders No. 71, Record Group 98.

45. Major William Hoffman, Fort Laramie, 3 November 1855, Orders No. 82, Record Group 98.

46. Major William Hoffman, Fort Laramie, 23 November 1854, Orders No. 34, Record Group 98.

similar military guards were provided for men cutting hay and wood for post needs.<sup>47</sup> Other expeditions were sent to guard important points along the overland roads--notably, Platte Bridge.<sup>48</sup> Most of these detachments were commanded by an officer of company grade, usually only one, although the press of affairs and the shortage of officers at the time occasionally rendered it necessary to send out some detachments under the command of a non-commissioned man.<sup>49</sup> The bulk of this service, truly military in character and critical to the operations of the Army, fell upon the Lieutenants, and their lives must have been characterized chiefly by frequent and unexpected absences from the post on duty that, during those days, carried with it a high risk element, no matter what its purpose.

The intervals, often brief, which company officers spent in garrison were not, contrary to impressions which may be current, given over to routine or recreational activities. They were, rather, filled with such a wide variety of both regular and irregular duties that one is tempted to wonder how it all got done. Foremost among these duties were those which related to the internal management and conditioning of the company itself. The activities of the company in garrison were, naturally, pointed toward preparing and

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47. Major William Hoffman, Fort Laramie, 8 September 1855, Orders No. 64; 17 September 1855, Orders No. 68; 26 October 1855, Orders No. 79; Record Group 98.

48. Major William Hoffman, Fort Laramie, 27 October 1855, Orders No. 80, Record Group 98.

49. Major William Hoffman, Fort Laramie, 2 December 1854, Orders No. 36; 12 March 1855, Orders No. 16; Record Group 98.

maintaining the fighting field effectiveness of their men. As a result, a good portion of energy and time was given over by company officers to the training of their men in matters purely military; and, in fact, two daily drill periods of one hour each were ordered at Fort Laramie in 1854 for this purpose.<sup>50</sup> At such times, company officers instructed their men in the use of their rifles, how to respond to commands for both battle and parade purposes, while they also communicated to them the multitudinous and rigid forms of military discipline.

Company officers had an abundance of other in-garrison charges relative to the management of their companies, all of which were pointed to buttressing the military functioning of the unit. In general, these concerns related to the physical well-being of the men and their care and use of arms, ammunition, clothing, and equipment. The military effectiveness of each man depended in no small measure upon the cleanliness of his weapons, the serviceability of his ammunition, and the working good order of his dress and equipment.<sup>51</sup> It was the duty of each company officer not only to instruct his men in the proper methods of securing these ends, but also to see to it that the work was done, by maintaining constant inspection and vigilance.

A further subject of concern to the company officer was the garrison environment of his men, considered even at this time to have

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50. In these days of apprehension, Fort Laramie's commanding officer declared that " . . . Particular attention [should] be paid to the loadings and firings." Major William Hoffman, Fort Laramie, 21 December 1854, Orders No. 42, Record Group 98.

51. Regulations for the Army of the United States, 1857, pp. 12-15.

significance to their physical well-being. The company officer was entrusted with the arrangement and upkeep of enlisted quarters and messes, a duty which required that he be continually in touch with the condition of barracks, kitchen, mess, and latrine, and that he both inculcate and require compliance with accepted standards in regard to all of these.<sup>52</sup> It was expected also that the company officer would give his attention to the personal hygiene of his men, which was prescribed in some detail by the Regulations, although non-commissioned officers were placed in immediate charge of these matters.<sup>53</sup>

These duties of the lowly company officer, all relative to the management and leadership of his men, were but a rough one-third of his burden. In addition to them, he bore responsibilities to the administration of the Army, to his unit, and to the post itself.

Chief among the responsibilities of the company officer to the administration of the Army was the keeping of company records. Four books were normally kept for each company: the descriptive book which served as a personnel log for the company and included lists of officers, commissioned and non-commissioned, registers of men transferred, discharged, deserted, died, and of the regular force of the company; the clothing book, in which a record was kept of all clothing and equipment issued to each man; the order book, which registered all orders pertaining to the company; and

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52. Ibid.

53. Ibid., p. 13.

the morning report book, which was the day-by-day record of the men of the company, their activities and status.<sup>54</sup> The matter of keeping these records was a laborious and constant duty which required that company officers not only direct the collection and organization of the data called for, but also that they enter it with regularity.<sup>55</sup> The importance of the company desk to these officers is wholly understandable when one considers the endless amount of paper work which emanated from the company level of the 19th Century Army. Absences from this desk, occasioned when an officer was sent from the post to lead detachments on escort or other field service, consistently backed up paper work and rendered hours of labor by candlelight necessary in order to catch up. We may be certain that the conscientious officer spent as many nights wielding his pen at the company desk in his quarters, working over last month's descriptive rolls, clothing accounts, etc., as he did pouring drinks or shuffling cards in ribald gaiety with his fellow officers.

The list of duties to which the average Lieutenant might fall heir on behalf of the administration of his unit or the post at which he served is formidable, and these must have made substantial inroads on whatever time remained of his normal day. At any given

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54. Ibid., p. 16.

55. While it is true that company officers were not without assistance in the keeping of company records (much of the basic work was done by company non-commissioned officers), the ultimate responsibility was theirs, and the omnipresence of the company desk indicates that the officer himself performed much of the labor involved in the preparation of forms and returns.



time, the post commander could summon his services for Courts Martial (nine were convened at Fort Laramie from November, 1854, to October, 1855);<sup>56</sup> Boards of Survey (nine of these were called in the period of our concern);<sup>57</sup> on the Post Council of Administration (this body was called fourteen times at Fort Laramie in 1854-1855);<sup>58</sup> and on Boards of Inspectors (one was convened during these months).<sup>59</sup> As a member of these bodies, the officer's functions were the dispensation of military justice; the evaluation of condition, or the circumstances surrounding the loss or destruction, of military supplies and equipment; the setting or prices for goods at the Sutler's store, the post bakery, the administration of the post fund; and the acceptance or rejection of recruits. Needless to say, all of these groups produced their own fair share of paper work in the form of verdicts, recommendations

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56. Major William Hoffman, Fort Laramie, 16 November 1854, Orders No. 29; 17 December 1854, Orders No. 39; 23 February 1855, Orders No. 11; 8 April 1855, Orders No. 22; 29 July 1855, Orders No. 49; 9 September 1855, Orders No. 65; 18 October 1855, Orders No. 76; 26 October 1855, Orders No. 78; 11 November 1855, Orders No. 83; Record Group 98.

57. Major William Hoffman, Fort Laramie, 12 November 1854, Orders No. 26; 22 November 1854, Orders No. 32; 9 March 1855, Orders No. 15; 15 March 1855, Orders No. 17; 20 March 1855, Orders No. 18; 25 June 1855, Orders No. 37; 3 August 1855, Orders No. 53; 29 August 1855, Orders No. 61; 4 September 1855, Orders No. 67; Record Group 98.

58. Major William Hoffman, Fort Laramie, 23 November 1854, Orders No. 34; 30 December 1854, Orders No. 45; 27 February 1855, Orders No. 12; 21 March 1855, Orders No. 20; 29 April 1855, Orders No. 29; 1 June 1855, Orders No. 34; 29 June 1855, Orders No. 39; 11 July 1855, Orders No. 43; 20 July 1855, Orders No. 47; 7 August 1855, Orders No. 55; 30 August 1855, Orders No. 62; 23 September 1855, Orders No. 69; 30 October 1855, Orders No. 81; 11 November 1855, Orders No. 83; Record Group 98.

59. Major William Hoffman, Fort Laramie, 21 July 1855, Orders No. 48, Record Group 98.

and condemnations, reports, etc.; and, while the clerical duties were often delegated elsewhere (as in the case of court martial proceedings, when clerks were regularly employed), no doubt many a poor officer from time to time took forms to his quarters from these sessions for further work by candlelight.

Still remaining among the possible in-garrison duties which the average company officer might be expected to shoulder are several which may very well have been the most awesome: the jobs of Acting Assistant Quarter Master, Acting Assistant Commissary of Subsistence, Post Adjutant, Post Treasurer, and Superintendent of the Bake House. At Fort Laramie in 1854-55 three 2nd Lieutenants filled all of these jobs, one man being given the first two listed, another the third, and the last two being assigned to the only other 2nd Lieutenant available.<sup>60</sup> Without going into detail, it is sufficient to say that all of these positions were loaded with responsibility, detail, and paper work. The Acting Assistant Quarter Master had charge of, and was responsible for, the ordering, issuing, and keeping of all clothing, camp and garrison equipment, transportation, public animals, stationery, harnesses, forage, fuel, tools, and medicines at the post. He was, in addition, responsible for maintenance of the public buildings at the post, and such of their furnishings as were authorized. The only dry or hard goods which did not fall within his domain were items of ordnance. The Acting Assistant Commissary of Subsistence was responsible for the keeping, ordering, and issuing of all foodstuffs at the post,

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<sup>60</sup> Major William Hoffman, Fort Laramie, 13 November 1854, Orders No. 25, Record Group 98.

including fresh beef on the hoof, as well as soup and candles. The Post Adjutant served as the executive right hand of the post commander, and through him funnelled all orders and correspondence both received and sent, as well as reports, returns, rolls, and paper ad infinitum. The Post Treasurer was responsible for the keeping and accounting of the Post Fund, moneys which accrued from a head tax on the Sutler and from the saving effected in the flour ration by the operation of the post bakery. This fund was expended for the expenses of the bake house and the expense of soldiers' children at the post or for other benefits to the entire garrison on the resolution and order of the Post Council of Administration and post commander.<sup>61</sup> It was logical that the same man should oversee the post bakery, where the entire pastry supply of the garrison was produced, and the Post Fund, but the combined responsibilities in these two jobs added up to placing one 2nd Lieutenant at the head of a fairly good-sized manufacturing business.

While Army practice often relieved those officers who were assigned the responsibilities cited above of their company duties, the limited officer corps at Fort Laramie in 1854-55 would not permit this relief. Fort Laramie's three 2nd Lieutenants carried these jobs forward at the same time they served their companies in garrison or led detachments out for field duty. Fairness requires the observation that the company captains were on hand during this period, and they no doubt assumed the primary duties relative to the management of the company, but the Lieutenants were still called

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61. Regulations for the Army of the United States, 1857, pp. 26-27.

upon to guard herds and escort mail. When such service absented them from the post, their clerks and extra-duty men no doubt carried on, but we may be certain that much of the work and paper simply backed up to await their return.<sup>62</sup>

For all of this labor the Lieutenant of 1854-55 was paid \$45.00 per month as a 2nd Lieutenant, or \$50.00 per month when he became a 1st Lieutenant. He was entitled to four subsistence rations per day, which were commuted at \$0.30 each. He was allowed one striker, or the equivalent in pay if he employed a private servant, but no forage was authorized for a horse. The fortunate young man who was selected to serve as Adjutant received \$10.00 per month additional for these services.<sup>63</sup>

Emoluments on this scale were small indeed for the man who had a family, but a single officer, particularly one stationed at Fort

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52. The severe shortage of officers at Fort Laramie during this period frequently produced some rather strange realignments of responsibilities. At first, when the Lieutenants who held these administrative positions were required on field service, substitutes were found and the duties reassigned. As the tempo of military activity increased at the post this became more and more difficult to arrange, and the officers seem often to have left their administrative concerns either unattended or in the hands of an officer whose other duties were such that it is impossible to imagine they were able to perform the added functions in anything more than a perfunctory way. During the summer of 1855, for example, Major Hoffman was more than once forced to serve as his own Adjutant, while Post Surgeon Page, at one time, was Post Treasurer, Superintendent of the Bake House, Acting Assistant Quarter Master, and Acting Assistant Commissary of Subsistence! Doubtless all muddled through, but it is difficult to conceive that all of the work involved in all of these jobs was done. A clear picture of the pressures on the officers at Fort Laramie during this period can be gained by simply reading and relating the Orders. Orders, 13 November 1854-16 November 1855, Record Group 98.

63. Regulations for the Army of the United States, 1857, pp. 296-297.



Fort Laramie Photo Research File, No. 157

Fort Laramie and Old Bedlam, 1858.

Laramie in the 1850's, could probably get along quite nicely. His quarters and fuel were furnished, and he could obtain food from the Commissary at reasonable prices. The area, further, offered an abundance of game to augment his table, all of which was free except for the ammunition and the horse necessary to hunt it. Uniforms had to be purchased and maintained, but Fort Laramie was not New York or Washington, and an officer did not have to keep his appearance honed to a fine edge. In reality, material goods were so scarce at Fort Laramie during this period that one might imagine a Lieutenant alone there would have been hard put not to save some of his pay. The area did, however, offer diversions which may often have prevented this virtuous result.

It would be difficult to conceive that society at Fort Laramie was sufficiently developed in the 1850's to provide the variety of entertainments so often associated with western Army posts of a later time. While the appearance of women at the post, even one or two, would have produced a few gentle entertainments such as dinner parties, or perhaps a Christmas hop or New Year's open house, we may be certain that seven officers were not a sufficient number to mount a social season of much brilliance. Recreation for a junior bachelor officer of the day would have depended largely upon the companionship of his fellows, and upon the hospitality of the Sutler and the traders in the immediate neighborhood of the post. Eugene Ware has left, in his account, probably the most accurate picture of a bachelor officer's leisure hours. Free hours during the day were spent astride his horse, hunting or simply riding and explor-

ing.<sup>64</sup> Ware, who was a cavalry officer, gave much time and care to his various horses, which were essential to his official activities. The infantry officers at Fort Laramie were not entitled to keep such animals at government expense, but it would seem reasonable to assume that some of them, the bachelors particularly, would have purchased and maintained a mount for their own personal use and enjoyment, and that they, too, would have found enjoyment in hunting and exploration.

Ware, like so many officers of his own and later times, collected dogs, which were not only his companions in garrison but also important aids in the chase. Ware maintained his dogs in cooperation with a brother officer, and they were selected for their hunting qualities: their speed and their ability to trail by scent or sight.<sup>65</sup> Caspar Collins also added dogs to his frontier gear, and we would be justified in assuming that Fort Laramie's bachelors also shared their quarters and their outdoor runs with canine friends.<sup>66</sup>

Other social diversions for young officers revolved chiefly around masculine dinners with the traders at their establishments. Ware recounts a number of evenings spent dining and drinking with these gentlemen, whom he regarded with considerable interest because of the variety of their experience in the West and the colorful back-

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64. Ware, op. cit., pp. 60-61; pp. 131-132; pp. 240-241; pp. 303-305.

65. Ware, op. cit., pp. 35-36; p. 131; pp. 240-241.

66. Spring, Caspar Collins, p. 121.

grounds of their lives.<sup>67</sup> Drinking seems to have been a major recreational activity for officers in their own quarters as well, if we may judge by bottles in evidence in the photograph on page 96a<sup>68</sup> Often the convivial bottle was brought forth when a group of officers gathered for a game of cards, and poker seems to have been the most favored form of this sport.<sup>69</sup> Ware mentions in his account that poker games were constantly in session at Fort Laramie while he was there,<sup>70</sup> and we may conclude that any bachelor officer could effectively dispose of excess pay weighting his pocket in this manner. He could, perhaps, do better than this: Caspar Collins owed \$1,480.00 to Fort Laramie's Sutler at the time of his death. The explanation of this sizeable debt has traditionally reposed in the fact that the young man had nine months' back pay due him.<sup>71</sup> A bit of simple mathematics computing the pay due this 2nd Lieutenant at \$53.33 per month leaves the strong impression that young Collins was living far beyond his means, and his documented enthusiasm for poker provides a logical, if somewhat hackneyed, explanation of the debt.<sup>72</sup>

67. Ware, op. cit., pp. 70-72; pp. 198-199; p. 288.

68. If we may judge from Eugene Ware's account, alcohol was a fundamental adjunct of Army life on the frontier, and its presence was not restricted to the Sutler's store. Beverages were available in many forms: pilgrim whiskey (a combination of alcohol, water, molasses, and red pepper), champagne (Ware once consumed a bottle of this on the banks of the Platte River after superintending a crossing of that stream), and bitters were all available and enthusiastically consumed. Needless to say, plain whiskey was the standby. Ibid., p. 56; p. 296; pp. 92-94.

69. Ibid., pp. 37-38; pp. 396-397.

70. Ibid., p. 201.

71. Spring, Caspar Collins, p. 52.

72. Ware, op. cit., p. 217.



The valuable photograph of the interior of Surgeon McKay's quarters provides strong evidence that music was a significant form of recreation among bachelor officers. There is no mention of musical instruments or activities in any of the literature depicting the lives of these officers, but the evidence in the historic photograph cited above, together with the interest in personal musical accomplishment so typical of the 19th Century, would seem to indicate that music probably played an important part in the leisure hours of lonely young officers on the frontier.

Reading, too, may have been an important form of recreation for these men, but it was undoubtedly confined to letters from home or newspapers, interlaced with a somewhat ancient periodical or two.<sup>73</sup> The quality of the lives and interests of these officers does not seem to speak very strongly in favor of Scott or Shakespeare (although Ware mentions an incident in which some soldier undertook to read the latter to James Bridger at Fort Laramie, with unexpected results).<sup>74</sup> John L. Grattan's library consisted of a Bible and two volumes of infantry tactics, and this was probably typical of many officers.<sup>75</sup> Evening eyestrain was no doubt reserved for official work or letter writing--and it was easier to play cards by candlelight than to read sonnets.

In general, the lives of bachelor officers at Fort Laramie in the mid-1850's can be characterized chiefly by their military duties,

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73. Ibid., p. 83.

74. Ibid., p. 203.

75. Major William Hoffman, Fort Laramie, 27 February 1855, Orders No. 13, Record Group 98.

by austerity, and by the rugged recreations offered by the predominantly masculine frontier environment. Their official concerns were sufficient to consume most of their hours. Their recreational opportunities were limited, but were no doubt indulged with enthusiasm and vigor. By and large, it was a "nose to the grindstone" kind of existence, unrelieved by gentle influences or material refinements.

#### Occupancy and Uses, 1863-1864

Mrs. William O. Collins has left us documentation testifying to her Old Bedlam residence with her husband in a postscript to a letter written by the Colonel to their daughter in Ohio. Enclosed in this letter was a drawing of Fort Laramie by their son, Caspar, which has, happily, survived.<sup>76</sup> Referring to the picture, Mrs. Collins wrote that it was drawn from a point " . . . just opposite Headquarters which is the large building with the two trees in front, and is the one in which we live. You see it has two outside staircases and ought to have a double stack of chimneys."<sup>77</sup>

In this important sentence or two, Mrs. Collins not only documents her residence in what is beyond question Old Bedlam, but also identifies its continued use as Post Headquarters during the time of her stay at Fort Laramie.

Catherine Wever Collins had arrived at Fort Laramie on November 14, 1863, after a complex journey via train, ferry, omnibus, and stage

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<sup>76</sup>. Spring, "An Army Wife," p. 254.

<sup>77</sup>. Ibid., p. 256.

from Hillsboro, Ohio.<sup>78</sup> She left the post, in company with Brigadier General Robert B. Mitchell, on August 4, 1864, to return to her home in Ohio.<sup>79</sup> The period of her stay corresponded rather precisely with her husband's term there as post commander, a duty he assumed in addition to his position as regimental commander on October 13, 1863, and from which he was relieved on August 2, 1864.<sup>80</sup>

An analysis of other portions of Mrs. Collins' description of her son's drawing permits us, by logic and accumulation of evidence, to identify the section of the structure in which she and her husband lived, as well as to know the other individuals who shared its use. Later in her note she told her daughter that "Dr. [George C.] Underhill and Chaplain [George A.] Adams have the East end of the Headquarters . . ."<sup>81</sup> Mrs. Collins' directional reference might pose some problems of identification were it not for the fact that, farther on in the letter, she refers to the graveyard " . . . stretching over the hill in the East . . . ", and to Laramie Peak, located " . . . West or North West . . . " of the post.<sup>82</sup> Mrs. Collins was turned around in directions. We may, therefore, assign the north sections of Old Bedlam to the Surgeon and the Chaplain during Mrs. Collins' sojourn at the post.

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78. Ibid., pp. 244-247.

79. Ibid., p. 267.

80. Post Returns, October, December, 1863; August, 1864; Record Group 94.

81. Spring, "An Army Wife . . .," p. 256.

82. Ibid.



Fort Laramie Photo Research File, No. 201

Group of Officers on Piazza, Old Bedlam, 1864.

Caspar Collins, standing on ground second from left.

This assignment, then, permits the assignment of the Headquarters operations to the lower south section, close to the small Adjutant's office next door, and easy of access because of its ground floor location. Thus, Lt. Colonel and Mrs. Collins must have lived in the upper south section of Old Bedlam--a conclusion that is somewhat borne out by references in other letters to her use of upstairs facilities.

In addition to these resident identifications, Mrs. Collins' letter also makes it clear that she and her husband did not share their quarters with their son, Caspar, who, having come west with his father as a civilian in 1862, was at this time a 2nd Lieutenant in the 2nd Battalion of the 11th Ohio Volunteer Cavalry.<sup>83</sup> Mrs. Collins told her daughter that the block of quarters just north, or to the right of Headquarters, was occupied by " . . . Lts. Britany [Henry C. Bretney], and Collins and Capt. [Levi M.] Rinehart and [William H.] Evans . . ."<sup>84</sup>

During the period of Mrs. Collins' residence at Fort Laramie, her husband was, as we have seen, post commander and commander of his regiment. In this dual role, he occupied Old Bedlam not only as a resident but also as an administrative officer. As a Lieutenant Colonel, Collins was entitled to occupy three rooms as quarters, with one kitchen; as the commanding officer of the post, he was entitled to one room for use as an office.<sup>85</sup> These allowances

83. Spring, Caspar Collins, p. 32; p. 50.

84. Spring, "An Army Wife . . .," p. 256.

85. War Department, Revised United States Army Regulations of 1861, (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1863), pp. 159-160.

conform precisely with the space available in the south sections of Old Bedlam. It remains only to identify the activities of the couple in each of these rooms.

Mrs. Collins' letters do not reveal how she and her husband used the two upstairs rooms in Old Bedlam, which must have been the major portion of their living quarters. A few chance references provide slender clues. On December 16, 1863, Mrs. Collins wrote a letter to her daughter in which she said, " . . . the old woman who washes for me comes every Tuesday morning, makes up the fire and puts on the water in a little upstairs kitchen, makes some guttural noise every time I speak or sign to her, and washes and starches pretty well, and I do the ironing in my own room . . ."<sup>86</sup>

A thoughtful analysis of this fragmentary evidence reveals, in addition to the obvious fact that the Collins' laundry was done in the upstairs south kitchen, that the same kitchen, in which a fire had to be made up, had not been used earlier in the day for the preparation of breakfast. The reference to this kitchen as "a" kitchen, as opposed to "our" kitchen, would seem to indicate further that this room was not the one in which Mrs. Collins or a servant prepared meals, but was rather a little-used space which was appropriated for the very personal household task of laundering, mostly because it was removed from the public Headquarters area downstairs in Old Bedlam. The same desire for privacy in domestic matters probably accounts for Mrs. Collins ironing in her

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<sup>86</sup>. Spring, "An Army Wife . . .," p. 251.

own room, a room on the second floor probably located near to the kitchen. This room must have been her bedchamber. On this slender evidence, we may conclude that the Collins did not cook on the second floor of Bedlam, but undoubtedly slept there, maintaining the second room in the block as a parlor-sitting room for their leisure hours. Predicated on the customary rear orientation for bedrooms, and on the nearer proximity of that room to the kitchen, it is recommended that the second story rear room in Old Bedlam be refurnished as the Collins' bedchamber, the front room in the same block as the parlor, with the kitchen, storeroom, and kitchen bedroom left primarily unoccupied, containing only stored goods and a minimal laundry facility.

#### Occupancy and Use as Headquarters

Our authority to refurnish at least one room in Bedlam as Post (and Regimental) Headquarters during the period from November, 1863, to August, 1864, is clear from Mrs. Collins' description, cited earlier, as well as from the 1863 Collins map which identifies the continued use of the building as a Headquarters.

Both rooms in the main block downstairs must certainly have been duty as administrative centers for the Army during the period from August through November, 1862, when Brigadier General James Craig maintained the Headquarters of the District of Nebraska at Fort Laramie and the building housed both post and district headquarters.<sup>87</sup> It probably continued to be used as an office after Craig's departure, during the winter of 1862-63, when Collins was at Fort

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<sup>87</sup>. Post Returns, August-November, 1862, Record Group 94.

Laramie with the Headquarters of the 1st Independent Battalion of the 6th Ohio Volunteer Cavalry, and when Captain John A. Thompson of the 4th U. S. Cavalry was post commander.<sup>88</sup> It may have been pressed into service in this capacity again after August of 1864, when Collins was appointed commander of the Western Sub-District of Nebraska, with headquarters at Fort Laramie, and Major John S. Wood of the 7th Iowa Cavalry commanded the post.<sup>89</sup> None of these periods, however, are contemporary with the stay of Catherine Collins at Fort Laramie, nor with her husband's term as post commander there. It is, therefore, not likely that both rooms on the first floor served an office function while Mrs. Collins was at the post. Nor is it likely that Colonel Collins, in his dual role as post and regimental commander, would have kept two offices for himself. Rather, he no doubt performed both functions from the same desk, which was most likely situated in a prominent location--the front room. At the same time, we may be certain that the dual headquarters operation probably spilled clerks and orderlies out into Bedlam's south hall at desks and stations there.

In order to identify the use of the rear first floor room by Colonel and Mrs. Collins, we must first take note of a chance reference

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88. Collins was in and out of Fort Laramie during this winter, but he seems to have maintained whatever headquarters he had for his Battalion at the post. Post Returns, December, 1862-May, 1863, Record Group 94.

89. War Department, The War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies, Series I, Vol. 41, pt. 1 (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1891), pp. 376-377; Ibid., pt. 4, pp. 990-991 (hereinafter cited as WOR); Post Returns, August-October, 1864, Record Group 94.



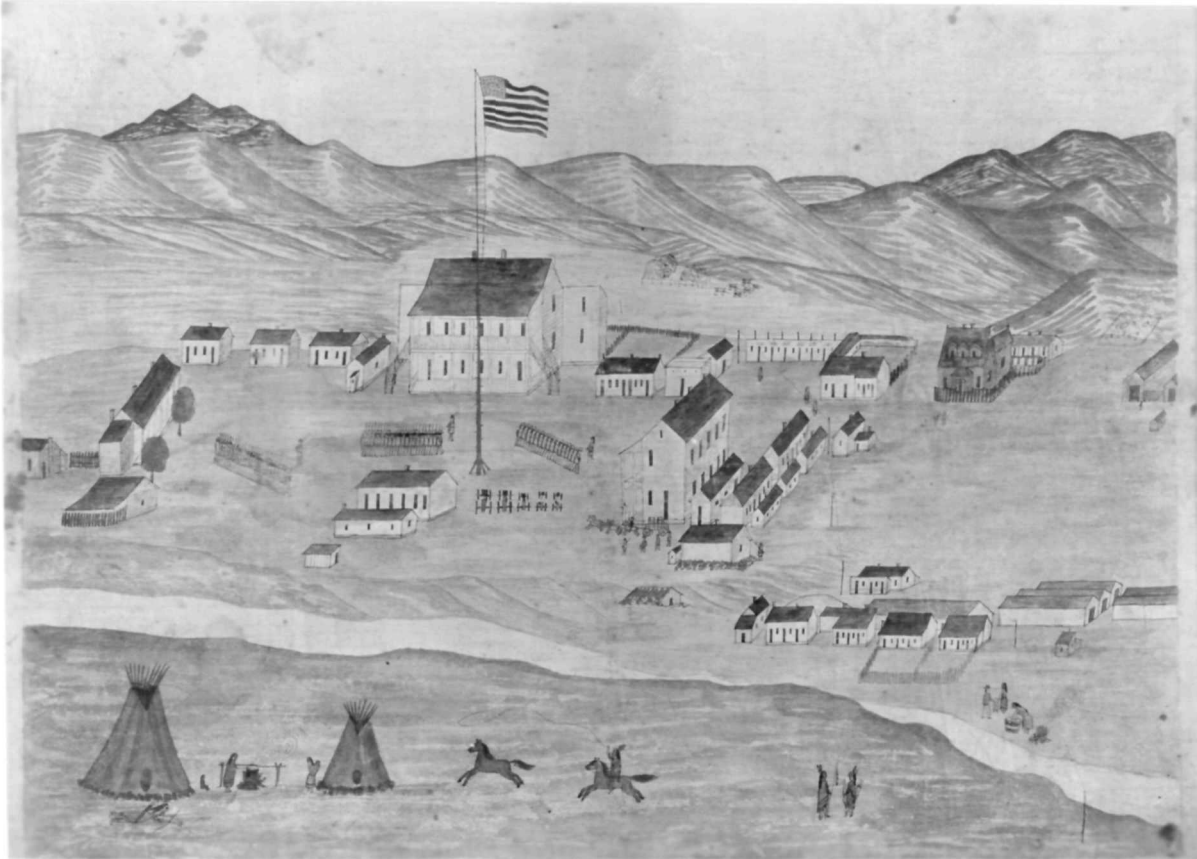
in Mrs. Collins' letters home. Writing to Josie on May 7, she said, "Your father wishes ~~me~~ to see something of this country and has engaged John, who was his servant for six months, to come here and keep the table, and he and other officers will board with him, and so will I for what time I remain. I am very glad of the arrangement . . ."<sup>90</sup> John, the servant referred to, was on hand to cook for the Collins as late as December, 1863, one month after Mrs. Collins arrived at the post.<sup>91</sup> Sometime after that he was apparently discharged in the interest, probably, of economy, and we must assume that from that time Mrs. Collins prepared meals. Beginning on May 7, however, and lasting probably until her departure from the post on August 4, John cooked and served their meals, as well, apparently, as the meals of the other officers--probably Dr. Underhill and Chaplain Adams, who also occupied Bedlam. While we do not know whether or not Mrs. Collins maintained a mess for other officers during the time she did the family cooking, it would not have been unusual. Many an Army wife bravely shouldered this task.

In any event, the indications for use of the other rooms in the upstairs section of Old Bedlam discussed above, the unlikely possibility that the Collins would have opened their private quarters to a group of boarding officers, and the undeniably greater convenience a downstairs kitchen offered for the preparation of food, with its attendant tasks of waste disposal and water carrying, should

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90. Spring, "An Army Wife . . .," p. 266.

91. Ibid., p. 250.



Fort Laramie Photo Research File, No. 155

C. Moellman, Fort Laramie, c. 1863.

Moellman was a bugler with the 11th  
Ohio Volunteer Cavalry.

permit the conclusion that the rear room of the downstairs block may have served as a dining area, while the first floor kitchen housed activities attendant to the preparation of food, and its bedroom, without a doubt, housed John. At the same time, it must be noted that the Collins' use of the rear main block room as a mess may have depended upon the number of officers participating, and upon the presence of guests. It is conceivable that the Collins and one mess-mate might have dined in the kitchen at times, or that the couple, when (and if) alone, might have had their meals carried up to them in their quarters. Their mess arrangement may have been quite flexible, and dependent upon circumstances.

Before concluding, on the basis of this evidence, that the rear room in Bedlam's main block was given over exclusively to an officer's mess during major portions of Catherine Collins' stay at Fort Laramie, it is necessary to acknowledge the existence of other, possibly competitive uses for the room.

In December, 1863, Lt. Colonel Collins issued an order establishing a "school of instruction" for commissioned officers at the post. All officers were required to attend the school unless sick, on special duty, or excused by the commanding officer. The classes were scheduled to meet from 7 to 8 P.M. each Tuesday and Thursday evening "at Headquarters."<sup>92</sup>

It is quite clear that these classes met in the lower south block of Bedlam. They might have met in the commanding officer's office,

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<sup>92</sup>. Lt. Col. William O. Collins, Fort Laramie, 3 December 1863, Orders No. 71, Record Group 94.

but they probably met in the unoccupied rear room of Bedlam; an arrangement that would unquestionably have prevailed as long as the space was more or less available.

Other possible uses for this room are more speculative in character, but are not less reasonable. The administrative operations of the Army were not confined to those of a purely executive nature. A great many official bodies were authorized and empowered with jurisdiction in certain specified circumstances.

Such administrative units as Boards of Survey and Inspection, Post Councils of Administration, Courts of Inquiry, and Courts Martial were regularly called into being, and all must have had a place of meeting.<sup>93</sup> While Boards of Survey and Inspection probably met at locations dictated by their business, Post Councils, Courts of Inquiry, and Courts Martial required a meeting room. No records are available which pinpoint the sites of these official sessions, but it does not seem unwarranted to conclude that they most probably met in the Headquarters.

Fort Laramie's records appear to have been kept sporadically during the years of the Civil War, when Volunteers were at the helm there. As a result, information regarding the frequency with which Courts Martial or Councils of Administration were convened is incomplete. There is sufficient evidence that Courts Martial of all three of the authorized kinds met at the post during the period

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93. These have been discussed earlier in this report, in connection with the responsibilities of bachelor officers.

from November, 1863, to August, 1864. The records indicate that General Courts Martial convened there in November, 1863, after 23 January 1864, and on 5 May 1864;<sup>94</sup> a Regimental Court met on 2 November 1863;<sup>95</sup> and a Garrison Court was called on 22 May 1864.<sup>96</sup> No orders convening a Post Council of Administration or Court of Inquiry have been discovered for this period.

All of these indications for possible uses of the Headquarters area in Bedlam are nothing more than just indications. It is not possible to verify any one of them as constituting the exclusive function for the rear room of the main block section. They are not, however, exclusive of one another. Courts Martial were required to meet between the hours of 8 A.M. and 3 P.M., except in cases of dire emergency;<sup>97</sup> the school for officers was scheduled for 7 P.M. With the exception of a noontime during the sessions of a Court Martial, none of these uses conflict in point of time, and the rear room of Old Bedlam could conceivably have been used for all three purposes on the same day.

It is recommended, therefore, that the rear room be refurnished to suggest its use in these multiple capacities. A room used shortly

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94. Lt. Col. William O. Collins, Fort Laramie, 7 November 1864, Special Order, Record Group 94. Lt. Col. William O. Collins, Fort Laramie, 23 January 1864, Letter to Col. J. M. Chivington, Denver, Record Group 98. Lt. Col. William O. Collins, Fort Laramie, 15 October 1864, Special Order, Record Group 94.

95. Lt. Col. William O. Collins, Fort Laramie, 29 October 1863, Special Order No. 14, Record Group 94.

96. Lt. Col. William O. Collins, Fort Laramie, 22 May 1864, Orders No. 248, Record Group 94.

97. Revised United States Army Regulations of 1861, p. 497.

before as an office, it will be considered to have been used by Lt. Colonel and Mrs. Collins as a dining area--the regularity of this use depending upon circumstances and the composition of their mess on any given day. Its primary use, however, and the one which will be emphasized in the refurnishing, will be that of an accessory administrative area where various official bodies met and other activities of the post took place. To secure this end, it will be refurnished to present its appearance during the sessions of a General Court Martial, retaining at the same time furnishing suggestions of its use as a dining area, and of its previous service as an office.

The Collins family, their background, and their experiences at Fort Laramie have been ably discussed by Agnes Wright Spring in her two publications of their papers, and the interested reader is referred to these works. A definitive examination of the lives of these individuals is not, therefore, contemplated for this report. A brief summary of their background, tastes, and activities while at the Fort will serve to provide an authentic background for refurnishing Old Bedlam.

William O. Collins was born in Somers, Connecticut, in 1809, and attended schools in Massachusetts, graduating from college in 1833. After the death of his first wife, Collins moved to Hillsboro, Ohio, where he read law in a local firm, and received a law degree from Cincinnati Law School in 1835, being admitted to the bar shortly thereafter. After a brief term as Prosecuting Attorney for Highland County, Collins entered private business, engaging in railroad

and turnpike ventures. He later served as a member of the Ohio State Senate, representing Ron and Highland Counties, which activity he left in 1861 when his offer to raise a regiment of cavalry for the civil conflict then just beginning was accepted by the Federal government. In addition to his business and professional interests, Collins was an active supporter and organizer of educational and agricultural institutions in his community.<sup>98</sup> The pattern of his life is classic for this time and place: a lawyer and politician, active in the promotion and development of internal improvements emphasizing transportation, with subsidiary interests in educational and agricultural promotion. This was the career pattern for innumerable Americans of the Middle West during the days just before the Civil War, and its universality sprang from the economic opportunities offered by a vigorously developing land and society.

Collins' second marriage, to Catherine Wever, took place on November 8, 1843. The second Mrs. Collins was the daughter of Caspar Wever of Virginia, an engineer whose life was spent in the construction of turnpikes and railroads. Catherine was born in Maryland in 1818 and was educated there, although the nature of her father's occupation and his tendency to take his family wherever his work took him provided her with a varied experience in making a home in strange places. A visit to an elder sister, married and living in Hillsboro, Ohio, was responsible for her introduction and subsequent marriage to William O. Collins. The couple

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98. Spring, Caspar Collins, pp. 35-36.

settled in Hillsboro and, in 1845, built their home there--a colonial structure on the edge of the community, which they named Dogwood Knob. Three children were born to them: a son, Caspar W., in 1844, and two daughters, Mary, who died at six, and Josephine, born in 1848.<sup>99</sup>

In 1862, when Collins, commissioned a Lieutenant Colonel in command of the 1st Independent Battalion of the 6th Ohio Volunteer Cavalry, was ordered West, the couple's eighteen-year-old son, Caspar, accompanied him as a civilian, serving as a clerk and draftsman in an unofficial capacity.<sup>100</sup> The force arrived at Fort Laramie on May 30, 1862, and was almost immediately sent further west, under orders to guard the route of the Overland Mail.<sup>101</sup> Early in April, 1863, the Colonel returned to Ohio, accompanied by Caspar, to recruit a second battalion for western service.<sup>102</sup> The enlarged unit was reorganized as the 11th Ohio Volunteer Cavalry, and Caspar was commissioned a 2nd Lieutenant in its new battalion.<sup>103</sup> During the course of this leave, Colonel and Mrs. Collins must have planned her subsequent journey to join them when they returned to Fort

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99. Ibid., pp. 53-54.

100. Ibid., p. 32; p. 50.

101. Ibid., p. 37.

102. Lt. Col. William O. Collins, Fort Laramie, 8 April 1863, book telegraph to Brigadier General James Craig, Omaha, Collins Telegraphic Order, MSS, Colorado State University Library; Spring, Caspar Collins, p. 50.

103. Charles W. Hill, Columbus, Ohio, 8 July 1863, Special Order No. 305, Regimental Order Book, 11th Ohio Volunteer Cavalry, Record Group 94; Spring, Caspar Collins, loc. cit.



Laramie. Arrangements were made to see to the care of their house and property, and Josie, their daughter, then fifteen, was sent to life with family and friends while her mother, father, and brother were away in the West.<sup>104</sup>

When he started for Fort Laramie with the new 2nd Battalion, William O. Collins was 54 years old, with dark hair, a full beard, and brilliant dark eyes. The following spring, he encountered Eugene F. Ware in the field. Ware left a contemporary appraisal, observing that Collins was " . . . a very fine old gentleman, rather old for military service, but finely preserved, energetic and soldierly."<sup>105</sup>

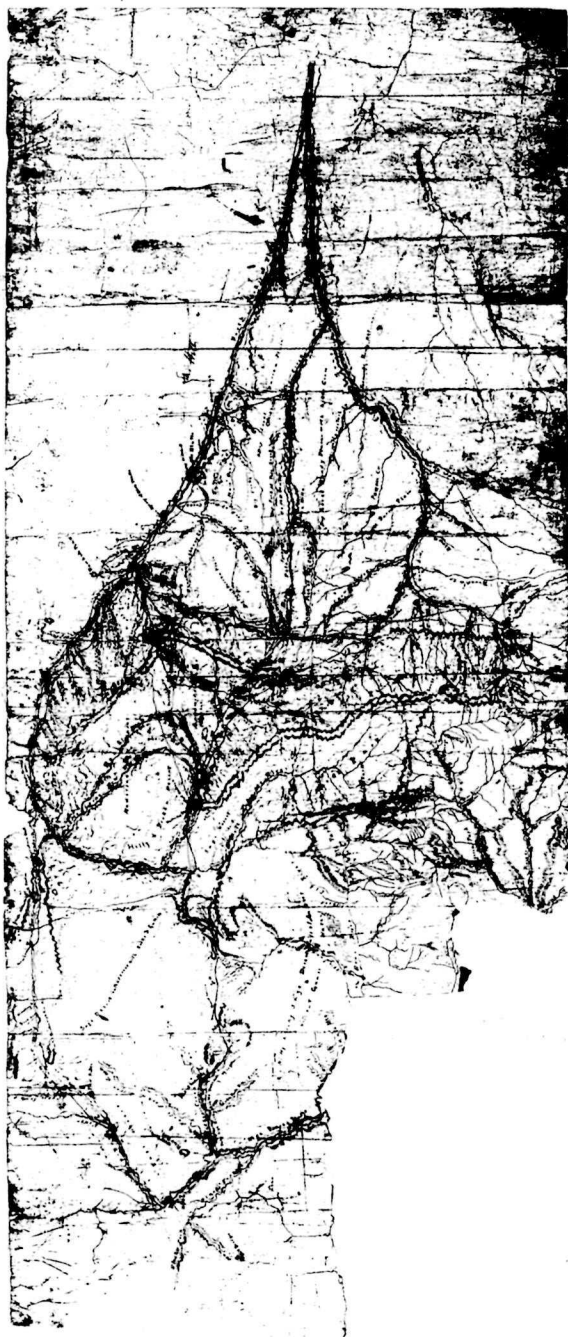
As a soldier, William O. Collins was enthusiastic and courageous. Throughout the entire time of his service in the West, he was never far from the heart of whatever action was taking place.<sup>106</sup> Although he personally participated in only one battle with the Indians, he was consistently involved in planning or supporting retaliatory or

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104. Spring, "An Army Wife . . .," p. 246; p. 252.

105. Ware, op. cit., p. 120.

106. An interesting exchange of telegraphic communications took place between Collins and Col. J. M. Chivington in April, 1864, after Colorado troops had had a sharp encounter with Indians near Fremont's Orchard. Collins had been ordered by Brigadier General Robert B. Mitchell to cooperate with Chivington in tracking down the war party. He wired Chivington for information regarding the identity, general course, and numbers of offenders--clearly eager to jump into the fray. Chivington was, however, either ignorant of the identity of his adversaries and their whereabouts, or unwilling to communicate the necessary information to Collins. His replies broke down into generalizations, and exhortations to "Look out for them [the Indians] and kill them." Collins must have been hard put to know where to look. WOR, Ser. I, Vol. 34, pt. 3, pp. 123-124.



Map from the Collins MSS Collection,  
Colorado State University Library

Map of Fort Laramie Vicinity.

containing actions against a foe relentlessly harassing posts, transportation, and communication facilities on the overland routes to the Pacific Coast<sup>107</sup> In connection with his responsibilities to guard and maintain these transportation and communication routes, Collins made numerous expeditions of exploration and reconnaissance while establishing several sub-posts located along the transcontinental arteries.<sup>108</sup> He was meticulous in recording his observations of the regions he visited and, with his son's help, prepared a number of maps of the areas he investigated.<sup>109</sup> As a result of this activity, Collins, by the time of his muster out of service, was declared to be " . . . as well, if not better, posted than any white man that has not made his home with the Indians . . . " in regard to conditions of the country surrounding Fort Laramie.<sup>110</sup>

Collins was, by temperament, suited to the life required of him as a western military commander. He seems to have enjoyed some physical hardship, as is indicated by his preference for sleeping on the ground, wet or dry, without benefit of cot or mattress, while in

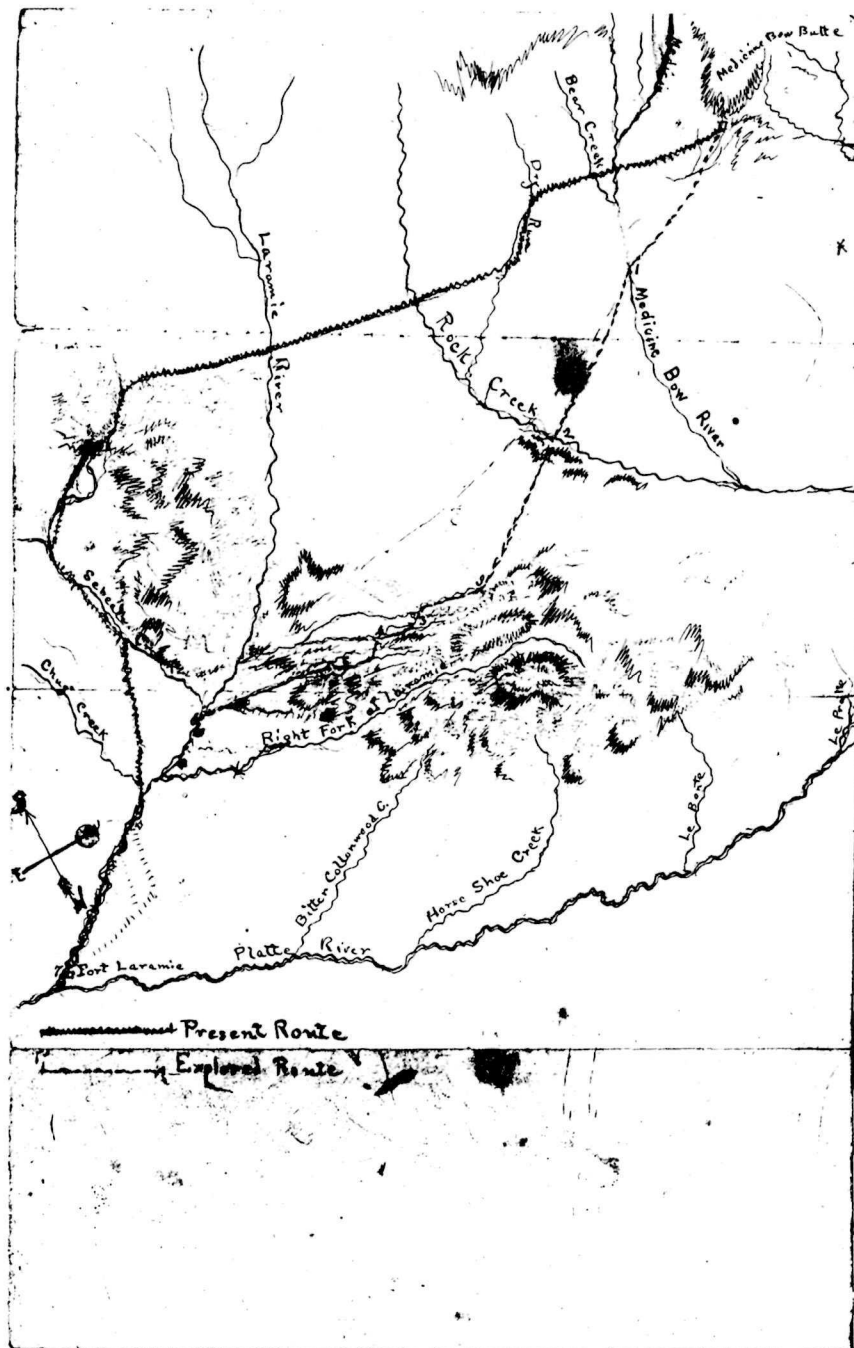
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107. This fight took place at the telegraph station located at Mud Springs, about 105 miles east of Fort Laramie, on February 11, 1865. Spring, Caspar Collins, pp. 61-66.

108. The first of these explorations took place during the summer of 1862. Spring, Caspar Collins, p. 122, p. 124.

109. Ibid., pp. 127-130. After the establishment of Fort Halleck, Collins laid out a short-cut to it from Fort Laramie. The map which delineates this route, and another which, by its scope, indicates the extent of Collins' tours and observations in this region, are thought to have been drawn by Caspar. The originals are held in the collections of the Colorado State University Library. See Illustrations on pages 60a and 61a.

110. Spring, Caspar Collins, p. 68.



Map from the Collins MSS Collection,  
Colorado State University Library

The "Collins Cut-Off" to Fort Halleck.

the field.<sup>111</sup> While his spirit may have been willing, his body seems to have been somewhat weak, for he was afflicted with headaches, boils, and other miscellaneous maladies during his Army service.<sup>112</sup> These may have been his ordinary portion, but they may also have resulted from the stresses of his unaccustomed physical environment. He was amply endowed with personal courage and cool-headedness in situations of extreme danger, as was demonstrated during a harrowing march in late February, 1863, when a column of soldiers he was leading to the relief of Fort Halleck was caught in a wild High Plains blizzard. Despite his own suffering in the intense cold, he managed his men with sympathy and a rationality calculated to save as many of them as possible, ready, at the same time, to sacrifice some in the interests of the many.<sup>113</sup>

As an Army administrator, there are indications that Collins, despite his business background, was not as efficient as might have been desirable. In the early days of his service particularly, his lack of familiarity with Army Regulations and administrative detail caused the routine life of his Battalion to move ahead fitfully.<sup>114</sup> Nevertheless, as post commander at Fort Laramie, Collins was meticulous in maintaining the regular Army regimen and forms

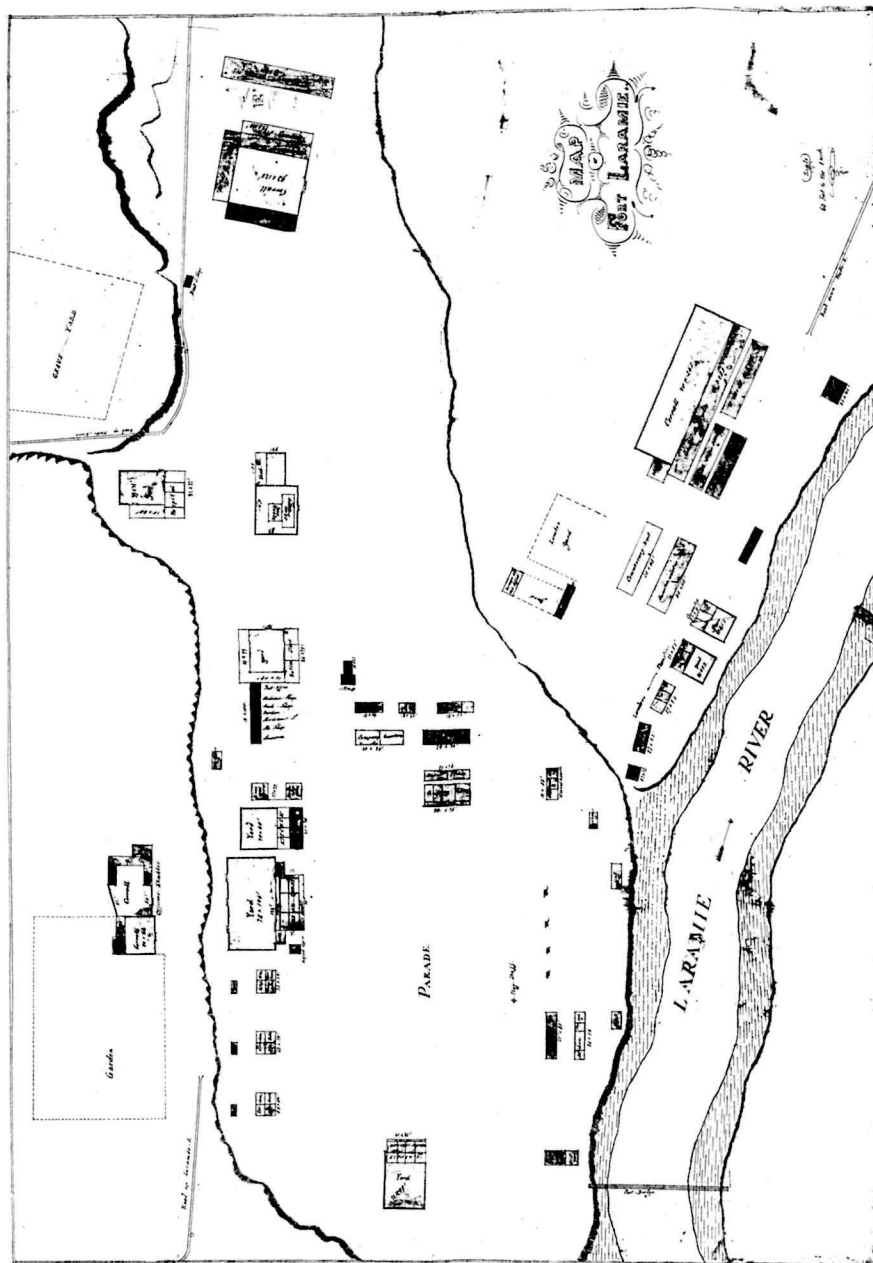
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111. Ibid., p. 111.

112. Ibid., p. 153; p. 122. Spring, "An Army Wife . . .," p. 249.

113. Spring, Caspar Collins, pp. 161-164.

114. Brigadier General James Craig, Fort Laramie, 12 October 1862, Special Order, Regimental Order Book, 11th Ohio Volunteer Cavalry, Record Group 94; Lt. T. W. Sullivan, Fort Laramie, 24 January 1863, letter to Lt. Col. William O. Collins, Fort Laramie, Record Group 98.



Collins MSS Collection,  
Colorado State University Library

Plan of Fort Laramie, 1863.

and, by the end of his service, was fully conversant with Army routine.<sup>115</sup>

As a commander, Collins was attentive to the needs and well-being of his men. He was solicitous about their diet and about their physical comfort and appearance. When the 1st Independent Battalion marched west in 1862, he carried seines along for the purpose of augmenting their diet with fish--an effort made to combat scurvy.<sup>116</sup> Collins, as post commander at Fort Laramie, urged that efforts be made to raise vegetables at the post for the same purpose.<sup>117</sup> On one occasion, having noted the somewhat ragged appearance of his men, he wrote to his wife asking that her Soldier's Aid Society send them buttons, thread, and pins, so that uniforms might be mended and made more comfortable.<sup>118</sup> Collins exhibited a similar sympathetic understanding in regard to the Indians with whom he was engaged in serious struggle: In no instance in his correspondence does he reveal a harsh or judgmental attitude toward them--rather, his references indicate an appreciation of them as a people, and a seeking for justice on their behalf.<sup>119</sup>

As a husband and father, Collins could best be described as affectionate, if detached. He was solicitous and respectful toward his

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115. Ware, op. cit., p. 199.

116. Spring, Caspar Collins, pp. 36-37.

117. Ibid., p. 145.

118. Ibid., p. 114.

119. Ibid., pp. 108-109; pp. 164-168.

wife and her accomplishments, and seems to have been eager to add to her enjoyment of life and the new experiences Fort Laramie offered.<sup>120</sup> Collins exhibited a certain remoteness toward his children, although this attitude may be attributable to the hectic life he led as commander of the Ohio Battalion, and may not have prevailed during peaceful days in Ohio. There are, however, indications that Collins was ambitious for his son, both in terms of status and achievement--and this characteristic seems more than once to have placed the lad in situations beyond his competence.<sup>121</sup>

Collins, as might be expected considering his enthusiastic approach to military life and its outdoor opportunities, was an avid hunter and fisherman.<sup>122</sup> He did not smoke; but, although there is no certain evidence of it, it would appear that he was not averse to drinking.<sup>123</sup> He was inclined to value punctuality and had a somewhat sharp sense of humor, which Eugene Ware recorded when he collected one of Collins' favorite remarks, to the effect that " . . . [he would like] to lose me out on the desert prairie with nothing but a little salt and see how I would get along."<sup>124</sup>

Collins, in summary, seems to have been a sensible and energetic leader of men, capable of totally committing his energies and skills

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120. Spring, "An Army Wife . . .," p. 255; p. 258; p. 266.

121. Ware, op. cit., pp. 216-217; Spring, Caspar Collins, p. 112.

122. Spring, Caspar Collins, p. 116.

123. Ibid., p. 109.

124. Ibid., pp. 110-111; Ware, op. cit., p. 255.



to the problems at hand. It was his fate to occupy a position of responsibility in a situation which precluded effective action. As a result, he was always overburdened with work and details, and seldom experienced the satisfaction of achievement. It is, perhaps, a sufficient accolade to state that he commanded the guardians of the transcontinental roads throughout most of the Civil War. Undermanned, undersupplied, neglected even by the paymaster, his men prevailed in a sharply hostile climatic and social environment.

Catherine Wever Collins was 44 years of age when she undertook the arduous journey to join her husband at Fort Laramie. A Southerner by birth and schooling, she preserved Southern tastes and attitudes throughout her life, although she was loyal to the Union cause during the Civil War.<sup>125</sup> As an individual, she excelled at drawing and painting in watercolor.<sup>126</sup> She was not as accomplished in the other arts so dear to 19th Century ladies. Although interested in music, and desirous that her daughter study it, she seems not to have played any instrument.<sup>127</sup> Her sewing, if we may judge from her references to it during the time she was at Fort Laramie, was more practical than "accomplished."<sup>128</sup> A deep interest in nature provided the subject matter for most of her artistic efforts, flowers.<sup>129</sup> This same interest in matters botanic also spilled

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125. Spring, Caspar Collins, p. 53; p. 55.

126. Ibid., p. 53.

127. Spring, "An Army Wife . . .," p. 255.

128. Ibid., p. 257; p. 264; p. 266.

129. Ibid., p. 266.

over into more useful areas. Mrs. Collins was an ardent gardener, raising fruit and vegetables for profit and flowers for pleasure at home in Ohio, and being keenly interested in the prospects for such gardening activities to benefit ~~the~~ troops at Fort Laramie.<sup>130</sup>

Like her husband, Mrs. Collins was enormously interested in education, and anxious that her children exert themselves to take full advantage of their opportunities in this area.<sup>131</sup> She does not, however, seem to have been possessed of an inquisitive mind herself, for she had not, after five months at Fort Laramie, seen much of the post, its environs, or many of its operations.<sup>132</sup> Her interest in education would thus seem to have sprung from a reverence for it as an accepted asset, rather than a deep concern with it as an enriching or broadening experience.

In matters of culture more specific, Mrs. Collins was particularly zealous about composition, penmanship, and grammar.<sup>133</sup> Her letters to her daughter are filled with reproofs for poor performance and admonitions to **improve** in regard to these matters. This concern over the forms of written communication seems almost to have been a passion with the lady; few of her letters fail to contain some evaluative remark on the quality of her own pen, her paper, the ink available, or some comment on those same instruments used by **her**

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130. Ibid., p. 261; p. 263; p. 264.

131. Ibid., p. 258; p. 261.

132. Ibid., p. 264; p. 266.

133. Ibid., p. 261; p. 266; p. 255.

daughter.<sup>134</sup> Actually, Mrs. Collins seems to have been inordinately preoccupied with pens. It is impossible to restrain the remark that many of the letters in which Mrs. Collins most fervently beseeches her daughter to "do better" in matters of grammar, spelling, etc., themselves contain numerous delightful errors in just these same areas.

It is probably not irrelevant to observe that Catherine Collins was also interested in other subjects emphasized by her time as being indicative of refinement and gentility: She was fashion conscious both for herself and for her daughter;<sup>135</sup> she was a keen observer of manners in others, and the purveyor of high standards in manners to her children.<sup>136</sup>

Like all mothers, Mrs. Collins was, by turns, harshly critical of her children and touchingly tender toward them. Her letters present a delightful juxtaposition of these emotions when, in one, she chides Josie severely for her failures as a letter writer, and in the next two pours out her anxiety and love for the youngster, whom she had just learned had been ill.<sup>137</sup>

Apart from her interests in gardening and flowers, Mrs. Collins seems to have been little concerned with other domestic matters, such as home decoration. This apparent lack of interest may have

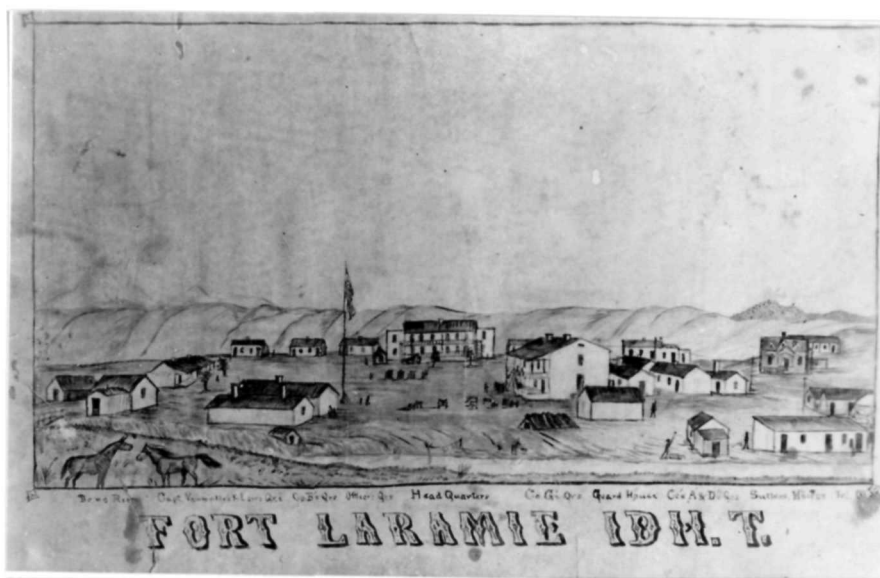
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134. Ibid., p. 246; p. 247; p. 252; p. 260; p. 263.

135. Ibid., pp. 246-247; p. 261; p. 264.

136. Ibid., pp. 235-246; pp. 252-253; p. 258.

137. Ibid., pp. 261-264.



Fort Laramie Photo Research File, No. 154

C. Moellman, Fort Laramie, c. 1863.

Moellman was a bugler in Co. G, 11th

Ohio Volunteer Cavalry.

been due to the circumstances under which she wrote those letters which provide our knowledge of her. She was, after all, a displaced civilian at Fort Laramie, far removed from her own home, making do in temporary, strange, and straitened circumstances. Nevertheless, it is worth noting that in her letters she makes not one reference to the equipment and furnishings of her temporary Army home, or to her permanent home in Ohio, while she comments frequently on the gardening prospects and flowers of both.

Her letters reveal much of the family's financial circumstances, portraying an income that was small, but adequate to their needs if expended with caution. It is quite clear that Mrs. Collins had always had to manage her money; she unfailingly noted the cost of her purchases and directed Josie to economic decisions in matters of clothing and tuition.<sup>138</sup> She was, without question, a woman possessed of understanding of financial matters and not unconcerned by them, but she was also capable of being frivolous with money.<sup>139</sup> Aside from some income from shared crops in Ohio, the family was apparently dependent upon Colonel Collins' salary as an Army officer, which, in 1863-64, was \$95.00 per month, plus subsistence rations for five, forage for five horses, and an allowance of two servants.<sup>140</sup>

Like many of her contemporaries, Mrs. Collins was devoutly religious.<sup>141</sup>

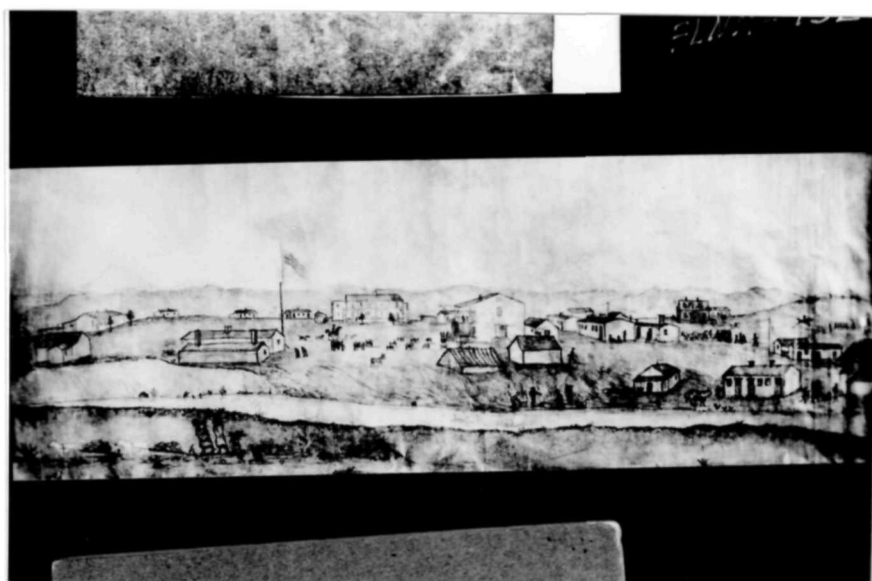
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138. Ibid., p. 246; p. 252; p. 257; p. 261; p. 264; p. 267.

139. Ibid., p. 246.

140. Revised United States Army Regulations of 1861, p. 361.

141. Spring, "An Army Wife . . .," p. 266.



Fort Laramie Photo Research File, No. 132

Caspar Collins, view of Fort Laramie, 1864.

Also, like many of her contemporaries, she did not drink, although at the time she was at Fort Laramie this conviction had not been translated into active support of the temperance movement, as it was later in her life.<sup>142</sup>

In general, Catherine Collins seems to have been typical of women of her time and station. Average of intellect, she was devoted to her family and to their social and economic advancement. She was, apparently, accustomed to performing the tasks attendant to house-keeping in those days, and her responsibilities in connection with everyday matters seem to have prevented her developing a high degree of talent or interest in the more decorative ornaments of 19th Century women such as music, literature, fine handiwork, or interior decoration. She presents to us a face of middle class respectability--a bit dull, perhaps, and sometimes pretentious, but stable.

As post commander, and as commander of the Ohio Regiment, Lt. Colonel and Mrs. Collins occupied an elevated status in the Fort Laramie community from 1863 to 1864. Collins served in the West in company with fellow Ohioans, most of whom he had personally recruited. The status derived from his military rank and position was, as a result, almost certainly enhanced by his position as a political figure in Ohio. Under these circumstances, it is not surprising that Collins was conscious of the welfare and wants of his men--they were neighbors and potential voters, as well as military

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<sup>142</sup>. Ibid., p. 253 and footnote.

personnel for whom he was responsible. We might expect, also, that the men of the Ohio Regiment looked upon him with respect and affection, although perhaps with not as much awe as might be evident in the relationship of Regular Army officers and their men.



### PART III

#### OTHER HISTORIC OCCUPANCIES OF OLD BEDLAM

##### Probable Occupants

The number of individuals whose residence in Old Bedlam is positively documented is small indeed. A consideration of quarters available at Fort Laramie at certain times, coupled with a survey of the officer corps present and an understanding of Army quarters allotment and selection procedures, permits the identification of a wider group of persons who must have lived there.

As has been indicated earlier in this report, it would be safe to conclude that all officers stationed at Fort Laramie from September 30, 1850, until sometime between July 1, 1855, and October 21, 1855, lived in Old Bedlam, simply because it was the only Officer's Quarters existing at the post during this time, and because its accommodations were ample for the number of officers stationed there at any given moment during the period.<sup>1</sup> Included in this group of virtually certain residents, with the date of arrival at the post for each in parenthesis, are: Captain William S. Ketchum, 6th Infantry (1850); Surgeon Samuel P. Moore, Medical Department (1849); 1st Lieutenant Stewart Van Vliet, 3rd Infantry (1849); Captain Thomas Duncan, Regiment of Mounted Rifles (1849); 1st Lieutenant Thomas G. Rhett, Regiment of Mounted Rifles (1849); 1st Lieutenant Washington L. Elliott, Regiment of Mounted Rifles (1849); 2nd Lieutenant Levi C. Bootes, 6th Infantry (1849); Captain Frederick H.

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1. See pp. 21-22, supra.

Masten, Quartermaster Department (1850); Assistant Surgeon George K. Wood, Medical Department (1851); 1st Lieutenant Richard B. Garnett, 6th Infantry (1852); Assistant Surgeon Charles Page, Medical Department (1852); Major William Hoffman, 6th Infantry (1854); Captain Charles S. Lovell, 6th Infantry (1854); Captain Edward Johnson, 6th Infantry (1854); 2nd Lieutenant Alden Sargent, 6th Infantry (1854); 2nd Lieutenant John T. Shaaff, 6th Infantry (1854); Assistant Surgeon Nathaniel S. Crowell, Medical Department (1855); Captain Renssalaer W. Foote, 6th Infantry (1855); 1st Lieutenant William P. Carlin, 6th Infantry (1855); 1st Lieutenant John C. Kelton, 6th Infantry (1855); Assistant Surgeon Thomas M. Getty, Medical Department (1855); 2nd Lieutenant William B. Reynolds, 6th Infantry (1855); and 2nd Lieutenant Aaron B. Hardcastle, 6th Infantry (1855).<sup>2</sup>

The continuing use of Old Bedlam as Post Headquarters until 1868, when a new quarters for the commanding officer was constructed, makes it seem likely, also, that all of Fort Laramie's post commanders were quartered there until that date.<sup>3</sup> Included in this group of almost certain residents after July or October, 1855, are, with the years of their command in parenthesis: Major Isaac Lynde, 7th Infantry (1857-1858); Lt. Colonel John Munroe, 4th Artillery

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2. Post Returns, 1850-1855, Records of the Office of the Adjutant General, Record Group 94, War Department, National Archives (hereinafter referred to as Record Group 94).

3. 1st Lt. G. L. Luhn, Fort Laramie, 30 June 1870, Report of the Condition of Public Buildings at Fort Laramie, Wyoming Territory, Consolidated Correspondence File, Office of the Quartermaster General, Record Group 92, War Department, National Archives (hereinafter referred to as Record Group 92).

(1858-1859); Major Hannibal Day, 2nd Infantry (1859-1860); Colonel Edmund B. Alexander, 10th Infantry (1860-1862); Captain John A. Thompson, 4th Cavalry (1862); Major Thomas L. Mackey, Independent Battalion, Ohio Volunteer Cavalry, and 11th Regiment, Ohio Volunteer Cavalry (1863 and 1864); Major John S. Wood, 7th Iowa Volunteer Cavalry (1864); Colonel Henry E. Maynadier, 5th U. S. Cavalry Volunteers (1865); Major George A. Drew, 6th Michigan Cavalry Volunteers (1856); Major A. J. Hughes, 12th Missouri Cavalry Volunteers (1866); Major William H. Evans, 11th Ohio Volunteer Cavalry (1866); Major James Van Voast, 18th U. S. Infantry (1866); Lt. Colonel Innis N. Palmer, 2nd Cavalry (1866-1867); Major George W. Howland, 2nd Cavalry (1867); Lt. Colonel Adam J. Slemmer, 4th Infantry (1867-1868); and Major William McE. Dye, 4th Infantry (1868).<sup>4</sup>

Fort Laramie had other commanding officers during these years, but their service in this capacity had an inter-regnum character, seeming to consist of holding the reins of power for brief periods of time between the departure of one commander and the arrival of another. It is considerably less likely that these officers lived in Old Bedlam. In all cases, their terms as post commander were less than a month. Nevertheless, since we do not certainly know the custom or peculiarities of circumstance surrounding their commands, they probably should be included in this list as possible residents of the building. Without a doubt, of course, they occupied its headquarters areas. Post commanders at Fort Laramie who fall into this category are: 2nd Lieutenant John McCleary,

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4. Post Returns, 1856-1868, Record Group 94.

6th Infantry (1856); Captain Francis A. Clarke, 4th Infantry (1859); Captain Christopher L. Lovell, 2nd Infantry (1859); Captain Samuel H. Starr, 2nd Dragoons (1860); Captain John Dunovant, 10th Infantry (1860); Captain Barnard E. Bee, 10th Infantry (1860); 1st Lieutenant John McNab, 10th Infantry (1861); Captain Asaph Allen, 9th Kansas Volunteers (1862); Captain Nicholas Harrington, 8th Kansas Volunteers (1862); Captain Thomas J. Majors, 1st Nebraska Veteran Volunteer Cavalry (1865); and Captain Avery B. Cain, 4th Infantry (1868).<sup>5</sup>

An even more speculative list of all of the transient or temporary Army luminaries who probably lived in Old Bedlam, as guests or residents, before the construction of grander quarters in 1868, might become quite endless, as well as pointless. Doubtless, for example, Brigadier General James Craig, Commander of the District of Nebraska, stayed there during the period he kept a headquarters at Fort Laramie, from August until November, 1862.<sup>6</sup> Whether or not they may have slept in Old Bedlam, all of the officers who passed through Fort Laramie prior to 1868 may be safely said to have walked upon its floors, simply because it was the headquarters of the post.

#### Documented Occupants

In the select company of individuals for whom we have documented proof of residence in Old Bedlam are, of course, Lt. Colonel and

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5. Ibid.

6. Post Returns, August-November, 1862, Record Group 94.

Mrs. William O. Collins, Surgeon George C. Underhill, and Chaplain George A. Adams, all of the 11th Ohio Volunteer Cavalry. The literature of Fort Laramie adds but seven additional names to this list of known residents.

Brevet 2nd Lieutenant John L. Grattan, 6th Infantry, arrived at Fort Laramie on November 16, 1853, and departed from it, and this life, on August 19, 1854.<sup>7</sup> 2nd Lieutenant Hugh B. Fleming, 6th Infantry, arrived at the post on November 1, 1852, and left on June 28, 1855, having been transferred from the 6th to the 9th Infantry.<sup>8</sup> We may justifiably assume that these young officers lived in Bedlam, on the same basis that we have assigned quarters there to their fellow officers: There were, at most, four officers stationed at Fort Laramie during the time Grattan and Fleming were on hand, and Bedlam was the only quarters provided. This conclusion has been discussed at length earlier in the report. The residence of Lieutenants Grattan and Fleming in Bedlam is, however, obliquely documented, and is brought up again here for the purpose of recording this documentation.

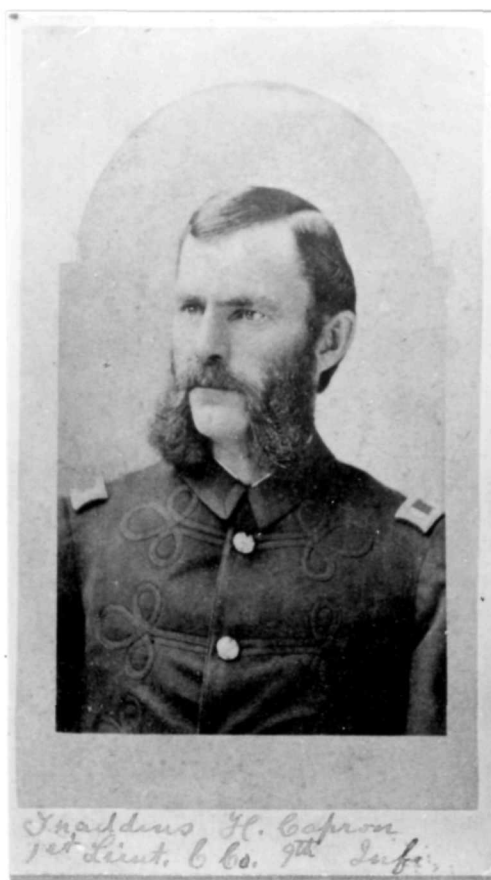
In 1855, a deposition was taken from Man Afraid of His Horses on the subject of the Grattan Fight. Its verbatim transcription is a dazzling picture of the scene:

. . . I went to Bordeaux's with a Crow Indian, the Clerk gave a paper to the Crow to go to the Fort, I went to the Fort with the Crow, we got to the Fort and the Commanding Officer was asleep, we sat in the store sometime

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7. Post Returns, November, 1853-August, 1854, Record Group 94.

8. Post Returns, November, 1852, Record Group 94.



Fort Laramie Photo Research File, No. 447

Thaddeus Hulbert Capron, 9th Infantry.

A reluctant resident of Old Bedlam in 1876.

when he came in and the Crow gave him the paper, . . .  
[while looking at this paper] two men came in in a great hurry and gave him another paper, he read it and I heard him say Minniconjou, the Interpreter asked me if I knew of a Cow having been killed, at first I said no, but then recollected that a Cow had been killed, I then said, yes, I had heard of a cow having been killed by a Minniconjou Indian. The Officer then went out and I saw him go to the big house, he then came back to the Store and talked very loud, . . . . The young Officer [Mr. Grattan] then went to the Soldiers House and the next thing I saw was a wagon go over to the adobe Fort and next saw the Soldiers draw a cannon out of the Fort. I went out of the store and stood by the cannon saw the Soldiers taking a great many things out of the house then saw them clean out the cannon preparing to load it. The Officer then went to the Store and talked very loud, . . . . The two Officers talked a great deal together, the wind was blowing very hard at this time, the Interpreter said to me that he believed he had to die . . . ."<sup>9</sup>

Man Afraid of His Horses was quite precise in identifications of buildings at the post, and the "big house" to which he referred can only have been Old Bedlam. From it, 2nd Lieutenant Hugh B. Fleming came to the Sutler's Store to talk. Fleming seems to have returned to Bedlam, and when he next appeared in view of the Indian, he was apparently accompanied by Bvt. 2nd Lieutenant John L. Grattan. On a windy afternoon in August, these two officers emerged from Old Bedlam to commence the Indian Wars, and the deposition provides documentary evidence of their association with it.

On April 8, 1876, 1st Lieutenant and Mrs. Thaddeus H. Capron accompanied units of the 9th Infantry into Fort Laramie.<sup>10</sup> When they

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9. Deposition of Man Afraid of His Horses, Letters Received, Department of the West, United States Army Commands, Record Group 98, War Department, National Archives (hereinafter referred to as Record Group 98).

10. Cynthia J. Capron, "The Indian War of 1876," Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society, XIII (January, 1921), p. 476.

arrived at the post, "Hospitable doors were opened for the reception of the Lieutenant and family, and old acquaintances welcomed them. In a few days they were domiciled in the best set of available quarters and the officers and ladies of the garrison called."<sup>11</sup> Almost immediately, General George Crook sent orders which commenced the formation of his command for the Big Horn Expedition. Capron, detailed to accompany this expedition, " . . . moved his family from 'Bedlam' to a more desirable set of quarters, which had been vacated, and on May 22 he started for Fetterman with three companies of Infantry . . ."<sup>12</sup>

In this vignette of the domestic arrangements underlying a legendary expedition against the Plains Indians, we are provided not only with a documented residence in Old Bedlam, but also with an eloquent statement of the regard accorded it by contemporary Army families. The Caprons lived there about forty days, at the most. Bedlam was at this time twenty-six years old, and its condition as a dwelling undoubtedly left much to be desired. Three years previously, the Quartermaster had noted in his report that the building needed to be resingled, for " . . . everytime it rains it pours through, at each time loosening more or less of the plastering."<sup>13</sup> While such essential repairs had surely been made before the Caprons moved in, the picture presented by the Quartermaster explains, in a measure, the low estate occupied by Bedlam

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11. Ibid.

12. Ibid., p. 477.

13. Lt. C. H. Warrens, Fort Laramie, 27 June 1873, Letter to Chief Quartermaster, Omaha, Record Group 92.



in the ranks of quarters at Fort Laramie. The Caprons considered it only the "best . . . available", surely damnation by faint praise, and lost no time moving from it as soon as an alternative residence was open.

In chronologic order, the next documented occupancies of Bedlam are contained in the August, 1881, Sanitary Report for the post, prepared by Assistant Surgeon Carlos Carvallo. His July report had detailed extensive remodeling in Bedlam which was designed to convert the structure from a quadruplex quarters into a duplex.<sup>14</sup> In August he noted that 1st Lieutenant William P. Hall had moved into the renovated building on the 23rd, and that 1st Lieutenant Robert London had also occupied it sometime during that month.<sup>15</sup>

Both of these officers were of the same rank, serving with the 5th Cavalry at Fort Laramie. We have no evidence that London was married or accompanied by his family. Hall's wife, however, had been with him at Fort Laramie. She died in July, 1881, in childbirth, and her husband apparently moved into Bedlam upon his return to the post from the East, where her body had been taken for burial.<sup>16</sup>

We have no way, either, of ascertaining the length of time these officers occupied the building. Hall, who arrived at Fort Laramie

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14. Report for July, 1881, Medical History of Posts, Fort Laramie, Section Two, Records of the Office of the Adjutant General, War Department, National Archives (hereinafter referred to as Medical History of Posts).

15. Report for August, 1881, Medical History of Posts.

16. Report for July, 1881, Medical History of Posts.

on May 1, 1880, moved into Bedlam, as we have seen, on August 23, 1881.<sup>17</sup> He was then transferred from the post on August 16, 1882.<sup>18</sup> Carvallo did not note the precise date on which London moved into Bedlam; he had arrived at the post on April 29, 1880.<sup>19</sup> We are told that he occupied Bedlam beginning in August, 1881, and we know that he was transferred from Fort Laramie on April 7, 1883.<sup>20</sup> It may very well be that both of these men and the members of their families who were with them resided at Bedlam from the time of their documented move into it until the dates of their respective transfers. Neither received a promotion which would have entitled him to additional quarters during his term at the post, and the renovation of the venerable old quarters was recorded as having rendered them " . . . very comfortable and desirable."<sup>21</sup> In view of these two circumstances, we might be permitted to conclude, although we may not affirm the fact, that Lieutenants Hall and London inhabited Bedlam from August, 1881, until August, 1882, and April, 1883, respectively.

A photograph held in the research collection of Fort Laramie provides evidence of yet another family which lived in Old Bedlam during its Army period. No. 206 in this file is a front view of the old

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17. George W. Cullum, Biographical Register of the Officers and Graduates of the United States Military Academy (3rd ed., Boston: Houghton Mifflin & Co., 1891), III, p. 117.

18. Ibid.

19. Ibid., p. 214.

20. Ibid.

21. Report for July, 1881, Medical History of Posts.



Fort Laramie Photo Research File, No. 206

Mrs. D. L. Howell and children on Bedlam's piazza, c. 1889.

building, with a lady holding a parasol standing on its piazza in the company of two children.<sup>22</sup> Apparently the mistress of the south section of the duplex, this lady has been identified by Louis Brechemin, Jr., who lived at Fort Laramie in Officer's Quarters E as a youngster, as Mrs. D. L. Howell.<sup>23</sup>

Daniel Lane Howell came to Fort Laramie as a 2nd Lieutenant in the 7th Infantry on April 4, 1883.<sup>24</sup> Howell served at the old fort until May 14, 1889, receiving his promotion to 1st Lieutenant on April 23 of that same year.<sup>25</sup> Stationed elsewhere for four months, he returned to Fort Laramie on September 23, 1889, and left again, this time for Fort Logan, Colorado, the destination of all Fort Laramie's garrison at the time the post was abandoned, on October 16, 1889.<sup>26</sup>

The documentary photograph of Mrs. Howell on Bedlam's piazza is dated about 1889, and thus does not aid in determining whether or

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22. No. 206, Fort Laramie Photo Research File, Midwest Regional Office, National Park Service (hereinafter referred to as Fort Laramie Photo Research File).

23. No. 258, Fort Laramie Photo Research File. This item shows a large group of officers and their ladies in front of the Post Surgeon's Quarters in 1888. The picture was obtained from Louis Brechemin, Jr., whose father was Post Surgeon at the time, and who provided identifications of individuals in the group. Mrs. Howell, shown in both this photograph and No. 206 holding a parasol, was, according to Brechemin, noted for her devotion to this piece of equipment. David L. Hieb, National Park Service, conversation with the author at Midwest Regional Office, National Park Service, 17 January 1964.

24. Cullum, op. cit., p. 324.

25. Ibid.

26. Ibid.

not the family lived in Bedlam for the entire period of their long service at Fort Laramie, from 1883 until 1889. The date of Howell's original transfer to Fort Laramie coordinates sufficiently with the dated departure of Lieutenant Robert London to permit speculation that the Howells may have moved into the London quarters, after a brief term as guests in some other officer's home. On the other hand, inasmuch as Howell had only graduated from the Military Academy in 1879 and was but a 2nd Lieutenant in 1883, we may presume that he did not have much rank or tenure to exercise in the selection of quarters.<sup>27</sup> As one of eighteen officers at the post in April, 1883, he and his family may have had to wait to occupy Old Bedlam until the garrison diminished sufficiently to permit them to select it.<sup>28</sup> We may safely rule out the possibility that the family moved into Bedlam on the occasion of Howell's promotion from 2nd to 1st Lieutenant, since this event was followed by his transfer from the post by only three weeks. Mrs. Howell and the couple's children would have been likely to have left Fort Laramie at the time of this first transfer; and, since his later assignment there was in connection with the abandonment of the post, we may conclude that they did not return to the post with him in the fall of 1889.

In view of these many complexities, it is difficult to fix dates for the Howell occupancy of Old Bedlam, except to say that they lived there for an undetermined length of time in the years between 1883 and 1889.

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27. Ibid.

28. Report for April, 1883, Medical History of Posts.

Even less information can be gleaned from the evidence accompanying a final documented residence for Old Bedlam. On August 20, 1953, Mrs. John Oliger, who had worked as a domestic in the household of Colonel Henry C. Merriam at Fort Laramie between 1887 and 1889, told then-Superintendent David L. Hieb that she " . . . recalled Maime Sandercock as working for Lieutenant Johnson's in Old Bedlam."<sup>29</sup> This reference must have been to 1st Lieutenant Alfred Bainbridge Johnson of the 7th Infantry. Johnson arrived at Fort Laramie in August, 1887, served as Post Adjutant during his last months there, and was transferred to Fort Logan when the bulk of the troops were removed from Laramie, in October, 1889.<sup>30</sup>

We may infer from the plural nature of Mrs. Oliger's reference to the Johnsons that the Lieutenant was accompanied by his wife at Fort Laramie. Since the period of their residence coincides somewhat with that of Lieutenant and Mrs. Howell, we might assume that these two families shared the old structure, at least for a time. They were probably also the last Army residents of Old Bedlam. With their departure, its days of service to the United States Army came to an end.

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29. Superintendent David L. Hieb, personal interview with Mrs. John Oliger at Fort Laramie National Historic Site, 20 August 1953.

30. Post Returns, August, 1887; September-October, 1889; Record Group 94.

#### PART IV

#### FURNISHINGS HISTORICALLY USED IN OLD BEDLAM

The classic statement in regard to the historic furnishings of Fort Laramie is that very little has survived, either in the way of actual pieces having a documented association with the old fort or as evidence in the historic literature of the post. The reasons for this poverty of survival of knowledge have been thoroughly explored a number of times in earlier reports and need not be restated here.<sup>1</sup> The situation is as true of furnishings associated with Old Bedlam as it has been for the other structures which have been refurnished, and is almost certainly due to the same factors.<sup>2</sup>

#### Documented Survivals and Furnishings

One chair that has a traditional association with Old Bedlam has been returned to Fort Laramie. This piece, a turned side chair, having generous dimensions of seat and arm, a caned back, and leather seat, was donated to Fort Laramie by Harold Cook of Agate, Nebraska. Mr. Cook informed Superintendent David L. Hieb, at the time of the donation, that this chair had been secured by his father, Captain James Cook, directly from Old Bedlam.<sup>3</sup> It may,

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1. Nan V. Carson, "Furnishing Plan for the Post Surgeon's Quarters" (mimeographed report, Midwest Regional Office, National Park Service, 1963), p. 126.

2. David L. Hieb, "Survey Report for Restoration and Rehabilitation of Historic Structure Building No. 1, Old Bedlam" (typewritten MS, Midwest Regional Office, National Park Service, 1957), p. 20.

3. David L. Hieb, National Park Service, conversation with the author at Midwest Regional Office, National Park Service, January 15, 1964.

indeed, have been associated with the structure during its late years. The style of the chair, however, does not seem to be appropriate to either of the periods to which the building is being refurnished.

Any consideration of the furniture which may actually have had an historic association with Old Bedlam must necessarily mention the list of such items sold by the Quartermaster at the time the post was abandoned in 1890. Included in this group were writing desks, chairs, dressers, ice boxes, flourbins, wardrobes, washtrays, bureaus, bathtubs, tables, washstands, and sideboards.<sup>4</sup> All of these pieces have, with the notable exception of the ice boxes, long since disappeared from view, and the information is valuable chiefly as an indication of the character of furniture existing at Fort Laramie during its late Army period. We would not be justified in assuming that the items of this sale list had any necessary association with the old post during the years of our concern in refurnishing Old Bedlam. As a matter of fact, we may be certain that some of them, particularly the ice boxes, would have been foreign to the post during the 1850's and 1860's. A minimum of thirty-five years separates this furniture from the times scheduled for the refurnishings of Bedlam, and we would not be warranted in concluding that the 1890's list represented any objects that had been in use in the building during the early Army period.

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4. LeRoy R. Hafen and Francis M. Young, Fort Laramie and the Pageant of the West, 1834-1890 (Glendale: Arthur H. Clark Company, 1938), pp. 407-409.



The archeological excavations on the site of Old Bedlam provide some clues to the character of decorative and utilitarian objects that may have an historic association with the building. While specimens discovered in the course of archeological investigation are valuable as indicators of objects in use during a broad historic period, they are inherently inconclusive as documents testifying to their use in a specific building at a specific time, because of the multitudinous variety of circumstances which could account for their being found in any given archeological context. Date identification through type or design may augment the usefulness of such specimens, but even this does not produce certain knowledge of their use at a specific time or place. Objects recovered through archeological process are, therefore, used with caution as guides only in this refurnishing plan.

Those artifacts which were found inside the historic foundations of Old Bedlam are considered most likely to date from the military period of Fort Laramie.<sup>5</sup> This group may contain some objects which date from the decades of the 1850's and 1860's, but it also, without a doubt, contains many which date from later Army times--the 1870's and 1880's. Items of interest to the refurnishing project found in this location include a sunburst patterned container base of glass, a metal trunk lock escutcheon, a clay pipe fragment, and a sherd of black glazed ceramic that has a grey orange peel interior glaze.<sup>6</sup>

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5. Charles H. McNutt, "Excavations at Old Bedlam, Fort Laramie National Monument" (typewritten MS, Midwest Regional Office, National Park Service, 1959), p. 30.

6. Ibid., plate XI.

Found outside the foundations of Old Bedlam and having, therefore, an even more tenuous association with the historic periods of interest to this report, were several fragments of bone toothbrushes, a ceramic ink bottle, a hand broken from a china doll, and a pressed glass toilet water bottle with deeply faceted corners.<sup>7</sup>

Needless to say, this tiny group of specimens contains nothing that is surprising, and it contributes little to our knowledge of the cultural materials in use at Fort Laramie during its Army period. While some of the objects, notably one toothbrush handle and the toilet water bottle, are lovely, they represent classes of objects that would have been included in the refurnishings whether or not precedential specimens had been found in the archeological excavations.

Having thus disposed of surviving furnishings of known association with Old Bedlam, of furnishings which may be associated with it through archeological techniques, and of Fort Laramie provenience furniture documented in Army records, the task of planning the arrangement of Old Bedlam still remains largely unguided. Recourse to the Collins literature will provide some assistance for their quarters; references in other historic records will illuminate slightly the quarters of more or less contemporary bachelor officers at other frontier posts; and the records of the War Department point out a few other appropriate furnishing characteristics. Beyond this, the historic refurnishing of Old Bedlam must depend

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7. Ibid., plate XII.

upon an understanding of the environmental climate of Fort Laramie at the periods determined for the refurnishing.

Some general observations pertinent to the refurnishing of both sets of quarters in Old Bedlam should be made at the outset. The decades of the 1850's and the early 1860's were marked by true frontier conditions of isolation and austerity at Fort Laramie. Freight and supplies destined for the post were carried exclusively by wagon train as late as 1865, and the costs were high.<sup>8</sup> In 1850 freight was carried from Fort Leavenworth to Fort Laramie at \$7.74 per 100 lbs.,<sup>9</sup> and, by 1856, the charge had increased to \$14.01 per 100 lbs.<sup>10</sup> It is not likely that freight costs were significantly reduced during the intervening years; and it is, in addition, wholly understandable that the Army watched carefully every pound of freight it authorized for shipment to the far post. The priority of official furniture and equipment came low on the list, and funds were expended willingly by the Quartermaster only for such essentials as corn, hay, clothing, subsistence, lumber, " . . . or other necessary . . . " items.<sup>11</sup> This combination of circumstances explains why, when a new post was established in the West, a sawmill became

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8. U. S. House of Representatives, 39th Congress, 1st Session, Executive Document 3, Report of the Secretary of War, No. 1, Pt. 1 (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1866), p. 112 (hereinafter referred to as Report of the Secretary of War, 1866).

9. Lt. W. L. Elliott, Fort Laramie, 7 August 1850, letter to Lt. Col. G. Loomis, Acting Inspector General, Office of the Adjutant General, Record Group 94, War Department, National Archives (hereinafter referred to as Record Group 94).

10. Report of the Secretary of War, 1866, p. 113.

11. Ibid.

the first order of business. Simple economics dictated that such posts should supply their wants as far as possible from the resources of their environment. In the realm of furniture, this probably meant that many posts were equipped in the same manner as was Fort Cottonwood, Nebraska (Fort McPherson), when it was founded by the 7th Iowa Volunteer Cavalry in 1864. Eugene Ware left this account of the furniture at the new post:

Among our men was a fine carpenter who had worked at cabinetmaking, and from the boards which we whip-sawed out, he made lots of chairs, a company desk, tables and furniture as needed. It is strange how simply furniture can be made, and yet equal to the best in comfort and convenience. Our furniture was all made out of beautiful red cedar.<sup>12</sup>

The location of Fort Laramie on the main routes of overland travel and its historic use as a point at which emigrant trains repacked and regrouped has provided the tradition that items of furnishings might have become available to the Army and its personnel at that post from civilian sources. Emigrant cast-offs may, thus, have supplemented furniture made by soldiers from local materials, and this circumstance would have resulted in the appearance of a few pieces of greater finish and elegance of design in private quarters, as well, perhaps, as in areas devoted to official use. Once dropped off at the post, such pieces tended to remain there, being passed from owner to owner through the Quartermaster, the Sutler, or private sale. As the years of Army occupancy mounted, the accumulation of such furniture would have increased. We may,

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12. Eugene F. Ware, The Indian War of 1864 (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1960), p. 61.

thus, conclude that the group available for selection and use would have been larger in the 1860's than it would have been in the 1850's.

Additional items of furniture and decoration also probably appeared at the post, brought as a part of the personal effects of each officer reporting there. Army allowances for the transportation of such personal effects were, however, small in these early years. During the 1850's and 1860's, Lieutenants and Captains were allowed 600 and 700 pounds of cost-free baggage--an allowance which does not go far when applied to chairs, tables, desks, or beds.<sup>13</sup> Without a doubt, most officers provided first for the transportation of their clothing and mess chests, with other personal goods (recreational items such as fishing rods, sporting guns, books, and musical instruments) coming next in order of preference. If, after these necessities were accommodated, anything remained of the allowance, lightweight furniture, rugs, or decorative fabrics may have been tucked in. The quantity of such items cannot have been great, however, and most officers probably depended heavily upon the post carpenter and the community inventory to supply the major items of furniture for their quarters.

The conditions and costs of commercial transportation during these early days must have prevented most officers, even those for whom money was not a major consideration, from shipping much additional furniture to Fort Laramie at their own expense. There have always

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13. War Department, Revised United States Army Regulations of 1861 (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1863), p. 163; War Department, Regulations for the Army of the United States (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1857), p. 127.

been, of course, strong-willed women whose determination not to be parted from a piano, a vital bed, or favorite chair overcame all obstacles, but we must assume that such women were in the minority, and that most reconciled themselves to homes furnished from available local sources.

Certain objects, as necessary to life as health and subsistence, were supplied by the Army without cost to the officer. Chief among these during the two decades after the middle of the 19th Century were cooking and heating stoves and lighting facilities. Old Bedlam had been constructed with fireplaces which, if we may judge by their numbers and location, were intended to provide both heating and cooking facilities. For reasons not immediately apparent, save through conjecture, these fireplaces seem not to have served their purposes very long.<sup>14</sup> In 1856, Fort Laramie's Quartermaster, Lieutenant John C. Kelton, wrote to the Quartermaster in St. Louis that " . . . the number of rooms requiring cooking stoves should this Post continue to be garrisoned by six companies, is twenty seven, and the number, inclusive of them, requiring heating stoves, twenty over. With the exception of two of the cooking stoves those on hand are nearly useless, and the same can be said of the heating stoves."<sup>15</sup> Kelton's report to the Quartermaster on the Condition

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14. The reason most often advanced, and one that is certainly plausible, is that fireplaces failed to draw well on the gusty plains of Wyoming. Another possible explanation may rest in the higher heating efficiency of stoves over fireplaces.

15. Lt. John C. Kelton, Fort Laramie, 21 May 1856, letter to Maj. D. H. Vinton, St. Louis, Consolidated Correspondence File, Office of the Quartermaster General, Record Group 92, War Department, National Archives (hereinafter referred to as Record Group 92). An endorsement on the above letter, dated 7 August 1856, indicates that the Quartermaster ordered these stoves to be furnished.

of Public Buildings at the post, dated June 30 of the same year, lists only eight kitchens, including those in Bedlam.<sup>16</sup> Kelton must have failed to list all of the kitchens at the post, but the number of cooking stoves he requested is large enough so that it almost certainly included some for the kitchens in Old Bedlam. The same thing is true of the heating stoves. In general, then, we may not only conclude that Old Bedlam was heated by stoves and equipped with cooking stoves from at least 1856 or 1857, but also that, judging from Kelton's reference to the stoves on hand, it had been so equipped for at least a long enough time previously to wear out the post supply of such items.

Without question, the Army lit its quarters at Fort Laramie with candles during the decade of the 1850's. The records of the Quartermaster Department contain a letter from Captain T. G. Rhett, stationed at the post, to General George Gibson, which lodged a bitter complaint about the quality of the tallow candles furnished for light and recommended the provision of sperm, star, adamantine, " . . . or other . . . " candles.<sup>17</sup> Candles seem to have been the only light source provided by the Army as late as 1865, since they are listed in the tables of subsistence supplies, and coal oil, the great lighting innovation of 1858, is not.<sup>18</sup>

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16. Lt. John C. Kelton, Fort Laramie, 30 June 1856, Annual Report of the Inspection of Public Buildings at Fort Laramie, N. T., Record Group 92.

17. Lt. Aeneas McKay, St. Louis, Mo., 31 July 1849, letter to Maj. Gen. T. S. Jessup, Washington City, D. C., Record Group 92.

18. Capt. I. L. Paxson, Fort Laramie, 10 June 1856, letter to Capt. S. D. Childs, Fort Laramie, Record Group 92.

Eugene Ware, in listing the Government ration of 1864, provides evidence that the Quartermaster had listened, perhaps, to Captain Rhett, for star candles were authorized for issue at that time. Sperm candles, Ware said, could be purchased from the Quartermaster Department.<sup>19</sup> Throughout the two periods of our interest, individual officers may have brought more sophisticated sources of light with them as a part of their personal effects. Lights, however, were fragile as well as expensive, and the astral, argand, or coal oil lamps which would be typical of these periods probably did not appear in quantity at the fort.

In summary, the historic furnishings at Fort Laramie in 1855 and 1863-1864 could best be characterized as a potpourri of crude, soldier-made objects; some well-worn, average quality designed pieces sacrificed by emigrants; and some small, light-weight, typically folding pieces of ingenious design, much favored by the peripatetic officers of the Army. The quarters were undoubtedly heated by stoves and lit primarily by candles during these decades, while food preparation was also accomplished on wood ranges.

#### The Bachelor Officer's Quarters

Time and the course of events have not seen fit to preserve the papers of any of Fort Laramie's bachelor officers who lived in Old Bedlam during the 1850's. We have but one reference to the effects of these men, and this is contained in the Post Orders. On 27 February 1855, Major William Hoffman convened a Garrison Court

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<sup>19</sup>. Ware, op. cit., p. 65.



Martial to try Private Simeon Covington of Company D, 6th Infantry, on the charge of having stolen " . . . a portion of the effects of the late Bt. 2nd Lt. J. L. Grattan . . . on or about the twentieth of November, 1854."<sup>20</sup> The event itself is thought-provoking, but of special interest is the list of items stolen. These included " . . . Two pairs of Shoes, one Shawl, and two volumes of Infantry Tactics, . . . " which Covington pleaded guilty of taking, and " . . . One Bible . . . ", which he pleaded he was not guilty of stealing.<sup>21</sup> It is clear from the phrasing of the charge that these items were only some of the effects of Lt. Grattan, but they do identify a few objects which one of Fort Laramie's bachelor officers brought with him to the post in the 1850's.

Further insight into the appearance of a bachelor officer's quarters can be gleaned from the writings of other Army people, although in no case is there preserved any description of such quarters that is contemporary with the time period of the refurnished quarters at Fort Laramie.

Perhaps the best of these general descriptions is that of Martha Summerhayes. In 1874, she accompanied her bridegroom to Fort D. A. Russell in Wyoming, the post he had left to return to the East for their marriage. This spirited young woman's first Army home was a quarters in which "Jack had placed his furnishings from his bachelor's

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20. Major William Hoffman, Fort Laramie, 27 February 1855, Orders No. 13, United States Army Commands, Record Group 98, War Department, National Archives.

21. Ibid.

quarters] [some lace curtains, camp chairs, and a carpet] in the living-room, and there was a forlorn-looking bedstead in the bedroom. A pine table in the dining-room and a range in the kitchen completed the outfit. A soldier had scrubbed the rough floors with a straw broom . . ."<sup>22</sup> This apparently complete inventory of a late period bachelor officer's equipment tends to confirm the instinct that such quarters were sparsely furnished and somewhat austere.

Charles King, describing in his novel, Laramie, or The Queen of Bedlam, the bachelor quarters of two Lieutenants living in Old Bedlam at Fort Laramie, buttresses Mrs. Summerhayes' picture. Early in his story, he mentions "Two young cavalry officers [who] were the occupants [of the south quarters in Bedlam] up to the outbreak of the campaign, but all their furniture and 'traps' were summarily moved over to the quartermaster's storehouse by order of the Commanding officer,--and one trip of one wagon did the entire job, . . ."<sup>23</sup> King makes similar descriptive references to such quarters elsewhere in his tale, mentioning, at one point, a front room " . . . with its bare, barrack-like, soldier furnishing . . .",<sup>24</sup> and at another point referring to a parlor as a " . . . simple soldier room, . . ."<sup>25</sup> Laramie, or The Queen of Bedlam has, of course, many other descriptive references to the quarters of a bach-

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22. Milo M. Quaife (ed.), Vanished Arizona (Chicago: The Lakeside Press, 1939), p. 16.

23. Charles King, Laramie, or The Queen of Bedlam (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Company, 1905), p. 18.

24. Ibid., p. 113.

25. Ibid., p. 20.

elior officers, because one such man was a central character in the story. The date of the story is 1876, however, and King's descriptive passages must be used with caution, for the environment of Fort Laramie had changed significantly between 1855 and the Centennial year. In that interval, the transcontinental railroad had been completed, and with its advent urban centers had sprung up across the West. Both of these developments made manufactured goods more available at Fort Laramie with less effort, and at considerably diminished costs. As a result, King's bachelor quarters contain lamps in profusion,<sup>26</sup> desks,<sup>27</sup> Cheyenne newspapers,<sup>28</sup> hat racks,<sup>29</sup> and portieres<sup>30</sup>--all items which would have been either totally unavailable or inappropriately luxurious for an 1850's officer. The tradition of simplicity on such quarters was probably relative as well--simplicity in 1876 being quite different from such a description in 1855--but King's characterization of a bachelor quarters in this vein is useful because it cites a tradition.

Unfortunately, Eugene Ware, who served at Forts Kearney, Cottonwood, and Laramie as a bachelor officer during the Civil War, and who wrote a book about his experiences, consistently neglected to describe his quarters at any of these posts. Ware makes casual references to some items which were part of his "traps": the company

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26. Ibid., p. 20; p. 146; p. 276.

27. Ibid., p. 21.

28. Ibid., p. 276.

29. Ibid., p. 107.

30. Ibid., pp. 20-21.

field-desk<sup>31</sup> from which he was never parted, his dragoon sabre and two revolvers,<sup>32</sup> his field glasses and target rifle,<sup>33</sup> and the many newspapers and poker games which were available for his enjoyment,<sup>34</sup> but nowhere does he describe any portion of the quarters in which he must have lived and slept at these posts.

While at Fort Kearney in 1863, Ware observed and recorded one detail of contemporary interior decoration which has considerable interest. He described it thus:

On the south side of the square was the largest building, and on the second floor of it was a large room which seemed as if it had at one time been used as a sort of officer's club. There was a large brick fireplace, and above it the masonry of the chimney had been plastered with a hard, smooth finish. Upon this white surface of the breast of the chimney were written a large number of names. It looked as if it had been a sort of register of all the officers who from first to last had ever visited the post. Each one had taken a little space and written his name.<sup>35</sup>

The building to which Ware refers is identified on an 1857 plan of Fort Kearney as a two story frame officer's quarters.<sup>36</sup>

Perhaps the most useful historic document for planning the refurnishing of the bachelor officer's quarters is a photograph of the interior of Surgeon McKay's quarters in about 1864-65 which has

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31. Ware, op. cit., p. xviii.

32. Ibid., p. 23.

33. Ibid., pp. 57-58.

34. Ibid., p. 83; p. 201.

35. Ibid., p. 34.

36. Lt. Daniel P. Woodbury, Map of Fort Kearney, Indian Territory, 1851 (?), Office of the Quartermaster General, War Department, National Archives. A copy of this map is held in the collections of the Midwest Regional Office, National Park Service.

Library of Congress Photo

Interior of Surgeon McKay's Quarters

1864-1865



been obtained from the Library of Congress.<sup>37</sup> Here, in visual poetry, is the severity, the barracks-like quality, the barrenness of a soldier room. Here are the Quartermaster's candles, Lt. Grattan's books, Martha Summerhayes' "forlorn-looking bedstead", Eugene Ware's soldier-made furniture, company desks, sabres, revolvers and poker game. Here, at some unknown post, is a mischievous counterpart of Fort Kearney's memorable mantel. Here, in a room no woman would have tolerated for an instant, is the essence of a bachelor officer's quarters in the latter half of the 19th Century.

This photograph does more than verify the concepts of a bachelor officer's quarters which may be derived from historical literature; it adds to them the tobacco container, the liquor bottles and tumblers, the rubber poncho table covering, the guitars, violins, accordions and banjo, and the shotgun. An excellent document, this photograph contributes materially to our knowledge of Army bachelor-style interior decoration.

#### The Collins Quarters

Two pieces of information derived from the letters of Mrs. William O. Collins have primary significance as factors bearing on the historic appearance of the commanding officer's quarters at Fort Laramie in 1863-64. The first of these, negative in character, has been discussed earlier: It is the failure of Mrs. Collins to mention, even in passing, the manner or circumstances in which she lived while at the post. This omission may have been due, in part at

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<sup>37</sup>. Original photograph in collection of Library of Congress, Washington, D. C.

least, to Mrs. Collins' personality: She does not seem to have been a woman for whom the matters of home decoration or furniture were important. It is only reasonable, however, to qualify this judgment by observing that Mrs. Collins, as the wife of a Volunteer officer serving temporarily in the Army, had lived at Fort Laramie in expectation of returning to her permanent home in Ohio. Her letters clearly indicate that Dogwood Knoll was not vacated when three members of its family left for Fort Laramie; rather, it seems to have been only closed.<sup>38</sup> Collins was not a Regular Army officer; his service was temporary, brought about by the Civil War. Both he and his family left Ohio fully intending to return there to live at the close of the war interlude--which, in fact, they did. Under these circumstances, Mrs. Collins would have regarded her Fort Laramie home as a transient residence--one in which she lived much as a boarder or guest. As opposed to ladies of the Regular Army, who had no homes save their Army quarters, Mrs. Collins' home was in Ohio, serene and unchanged by the interruptions of war and Army life. For this reason, her quarters at Fort Laramie may not have held much interest for her. She was just visiting, and not living there.

The second item which has a fundamental bearing on the appearance of the Collins quarters at Fort Laramie is the amount of baggage which Mrs. Collins took with her to that post. On November 15, 1863, she wrote to her sister, Virginia, recounting the adventures of her long journey west. In this letter she described the difficulties she had had obtaining a seat on the stage leaving Atchison, Kansas, as follows:

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<sup>38</sup>. Agnes Wright Spring, "An Army Wife Comes West," The Colorado Magazine, XXXI (October, 1954), 246.



After breakfast Friday morning I walked out to find the stage office, was told it was shut, was determined to see--found a very polite black fellow who was opening it and putting it in order, inquired for the agent--was not up--sent word to him that a lady must see him; after waiting half an hour, did see him, was told I could go on payment of \$60, but could not take my trunk, could not take it even if I waited for another stage, and was assured that I was very fortunate in getting off myself, as every seat was usually engaged for several days in advance. Rushed back, made some vigorous although ineffectual efforts to get a basket or bag to take my 25 lbs. allowed weight, finally locked up my trunk, put it in the agent's care to be forwarded the next Monday, got a receipt on it for the 25 lbs. and took my seat in the stage, . . .<sup>39</sup>

This evocative passage provides us with the clear knowledge that Mrs. Collins arrived at Fort Laramie with 25 lbs. of personal effects, and was followed by one trunk containing the residue of her things. We may, therefore, rule out any thought that she may have taken even a small piece of furniture or two west with her. We may also rule out the possibility that she took fabrics in any quantity from which to make curtains, covers, or other decorative adjuncts of furniture. She would, in fact, have had to plan carefully to squeeze into that trunk a sufficient amount of the very bulky clothing of the day to see her through the length of time anticipated for her stay. The corners of the trunk must have been tucked full of personal items such as combs and brushes, toothbrushes, etc., but it is unlikely that they accommodated even the smallest vase or picture, much less sets of china, albums or books, glassware, or any decorative accessories to a home.

Lt. Colonel Collins travelled to Fort Laramie twice from Ohio, the first time in 1862 and again in the summer of 1863. His baggage

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39. Ibid., p. 248.

allowance for the first trip would have been 1,000 lbs.<sup>40</sup> Collins' second trip East was made on recruiting service; and, since this did not involve a change of station for him, it is not likely that his baggage allowance was as large as it had been in 1862. How Collins used his 1,000 lb. allowance in 1862 is a matter of pure conjecture. Certain items such as a mess chest, a camp chair, some personal arms, and perhaps a piece of carpet, seem almost inevitable components of the Colonel's baggage because they were so standard for other officers of his rank. Beyond this, it is not possible even to speculate, except to observe that it would have been unlikely that Collins would have equipped himself in a grand or elaborate manner considering the moderate financial circumstances of the family.

The letters of Lt. Colonel and Mrs. Collins and Caspar all contain casual mention of other objects they used or had with them on the way to or at Fort Laramie; and it is certain, therefore, that these would have been found in their quarters. En route to the post in 1862 Collins wrote to his wife describing his bed in the field. This consisted of " . . . an India rubber blanket spread upon the ground . . . and the buffalo robe you lined for me and Virginia bound, laid upon it hair upwards . . . a blanket or two and my shawl complete the bedding."<sup>41</sup> Caspar, in a later letter to his mother, amplified the dependence upon buffalo robes for bedding.

<sup>40</sup>. Revised United States Army Regulations of 1861, loc. cit.

<sup>41</sup>. Agnes Wright Spring, Caspar Collins (New York: Columbia University Press, 1927), p. 111.

He then remarked that "When a person first goes to bed in this country he can hardly bear a single blanket over him, but towards morning he can bear two or three large buffalo robes."<sup>42</sup> Lt. Colonel Collins also itemized some of the equipment which it was his custom to wear: spurs, buckskin gauntlets, revolver, cartridge box, cap box, and sword.<sup>43</sup> In Caspar's letters home during the following winter, he spoke often of his own and his father's hunting and fishing sorties, which lead us to the conclusion that the Colonel undoubtedly had with him a hunting rifle or shotgun of some kind, and some fishing rods with the necessary accessories for that sport.<sup>44</sup> The same letters often noted the arrival of the "Highland News," a home newspaper.<sup>45</sup> On September 21, 1862, after Caspar and his father had returned to Fort Laramie for the winter, the young man wrote that, "My father got him a bedstead to sleep in, but was driven out of it the first night by the previous occupants . . ."<sup>46</sup>

Mrs. Collins' letters are only slightly more helpful in identifying objects which were in her possession at the time of her stay at the post. In St. Louis, on her way west, she bought a bottle of cologne, in addition to some rather frivolous items of personal decoration.<sup>47</sup> Her description of laundry arrangements in Old

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<sup>42</sup>. Ibid., p. 140.

<sup>43</sup>. Ibid., p. 111.

<sup>44</sup>. Ibid., p. 138

<sup>45</sup>. Ibid., p. 139.

<sup>46</sup>. Ibid., p. 136.

<sup>47</sup>. Spring, "An Army Wife . . .," p. 246.

Bedlam, which has been discussed earlier, indicates that an iron was present in her quarters there.<sup>48</sup> Throughout the winter of her stay Mrs. Collins was busy sewing chemises, bands, and sleeves for Josie, and drawers and shirts for the Colonel.<sup>49</sup> She must have been fully equipped for sewing by hand. Her preoccupation with pens, so often mentioned, and her interest in writing and receiving letters, dictate that her quarters would have been well supplied with paper, ink, " . . . a lot of good pens . . . " (probably quill, since she was in favor of throwing them in the fire as soon as they failed "in the least"), and some small table or box at which to write.<sup>50</sup>

In May, when she was relieved of cooking duties, Mrs. Collins wrote to Josie that she " . . . hope[d] to make some drawings of the beautiful wild flowers of the sand hills and cliffs of this neighborhood."<sup>51</sup> As a devoted sketcher, Catherine Collins probably brought a pad and perhaps some charcoal, pencils, or brushes with her for that purpose. Mrs. Collins' final mention of cultural goods came in a letter written home after she had left Fort Laramie, when, on a hot day, she wrote that she must terminate the letter to fan herself.<sup>52</sup>

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48. Ibid., p. 251.

49. Ibid., p. 257; p. 264; p. 266.

50. Ibid., p. 260.

51. Ibid., p. 266.

52. Ibid., p. 269.

This slender quantity of evidence will provide a skeletal framework upon which the refurnished Collins quarters will be planned; there are sufficient guidelines to permit us to proceed with assurance of their general character and with conviction in regard to some elements within them. In general, however, the bulk of the planning will rest upon educated instinct.

#### The Post Headquarters

To the best of our knowledge, no 19th Century Army officer saw fit to record or describe the office in which he performed any of the administrative functions required by his organization. Neither have we been fortunate enough to recover a photograph of the interior of any such office that is contemporary to the period determined for Old Bedlam's post headquarters room or compatible with the environment of Fort Laramie in the 1860's. The primary source for our knowledge of the historic furnishings for such an office reposes in the Regulations for the Army of 1863, the Annual Reports of the Secretary of War for the period, and some miscellaneous references in the historical literature of 19th Century Army life. The Regulations define quite clearly certain equipment allowed and provided for offices. Article XLII, Section 1088, states that, "The furniture for each office will be two common desks or tables, six common chairs, one pair common andirons, and shovel and tongs."<sup>53</sup> Section 1132 specifies the equipment of desks: "To each office table is allowed one inkstand, one stamp, one paper folder, one sand-box, one wafer-box, and as many lead-pencils as may be required,

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53. Revised United States Army Regulations of 1861, loc. cit.

not exceeding four per annum."<sup>54</sup> Regimental commanders were issued writing and envelope paper, quills (for which steel pens could be substituted), wafers, sealing-wax, papers of ink powder, and office tape in tightly specified amounts.<sup>55</sup> Regulations governing transportation provide a further insight of interest: "The regimental desk . . . will be transported; also, for staff officers, the books, papers, and instruments necessary to their duties . . ."<sup>56</sup>

These four articles provide the bare outline of furnishings for the post headquarters, and provide also one additional useful piece of information; viz., that Lt. Colonel William O. Collins, as commander of the 11th Ohio Volunteer Regiment, would have had a regimental desk available for his use, which would have been brought with him, in addition to the desk allowed by Regulations for the post headquarters office. It would be hard to conceive that Collins would have used both desks himself, but the situation would have made an extra desk available for use by a clerk or orderly, both of whom seem to have been neglected by the Quartermaster. Desks and tables, in addition to those allowed by the Regulations, would almost certainly have been surplus at the post during Collins' term, due to the fact that the post had served as a district headquarters during previous months and some of the equipment for these offices would probably have remained.

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54. Ibid., p. 167.

55. Ibid.

56. Ibid., p. 164.

Eugene Ware, who served as Fort Laramie's adjutant for a time, left a comment on the stationery supplies that were actually available in the West, from which we can derive a more realistic view of conditions than the Regulations provide. At Fort Sedgwick in 1864, Ware noted that his company was issued " . . . so many quills for pens, and so much sealing-wax, and so much tape . . . No mucilage was issued because that had not yet become a matter of scientific manufacture, . . . we boiled paste from flour. Our muster-rolls used to come in sections, and we boiled the flour, pasted them together, and then with some smooth piece of hot iron, would iron down the junction smooth; we had no difficulty."<sup>57</sup> There was, apparently, a difference between the Regulations and reality.

The paperwork of the Army, even in those days, was formidable. The Report of the Secretary of War for 1863-64 lists a total of twenty different books--forms which were necessary for the administrative functioning of the Army. Included among these were thirteen which would have been kept either at the post or regimental headquarters, on which would have appeared there from time to time:<sup>58</sup> the Post Order, Post Morning Report, Post Letter, Post Guard, Regimental General Order, Regimental Letter, Regimental Descriptive, Regimental Index, Regimental Order, Consolidated Morning Report, Inspection,

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<sup>57</sup> Ware, op. cit., p. 239.

<sup>58</sup> At Fort Laramie, some or most of these would have been prepared and kept in the Adjutant's Office, next door to Bedlam; some or all of them would have been present in the Headquarters from time to time, being worked on by clerks, or for reference.

and Endorsement and Memorandum.<sup>59</sup>

Flags were, of course, prescribed for garrison headquarters by the Regulations of the Army, and the Quartermaster Department supplied "Regimental colors, Camp colors, National colors, Flags and Guidons" in 1863-64.<sup>60</sup> No doubt such colorful accoutrements appeared at Fort Laramie's post headquarters in some profusion during the patriotic and heraldry-conscious days of the Civil War.

The Regulations prescribed that mounted regiments should have

. . . a silken standard . . . The standard to bear the arms of the United States, embroidered in silk, on a blue ground, with the number and name of the regiment, in a scroll underneath the eagle. The flag of the standard to be two feet five inches wide, and two feet three inches on the lance, and to be edged with yellow silk fringe . . . The lance of the standards . . . to be nine feet long, including spear and ferrule.<sup>61</sup>

Such a flag, the Regimental colors of the 11th Ohio Volunteer Cavalry, may have been present in the Headquarters office.

Certainly located there was a silken national flag.<sup>62</sup> Eugene Ware, whose references are uniquely useful, has left us a momentary picture of the national flag of the 11th Ohio Volunteers, which provides

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59. U. S. House of Representatives, 38th Cong., 2d Sess., Executive Document No. 83, Annual Report of the Secretary of War, Vol. 14 (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1856), p. 175 (hereinafter referred to as Annual Report of the Secretary of War, 1865).

60. Ibid., p. 131.

61. Revised United States Army Regulations of 1861, op. cit., p. 462; Milo M. Quaife, Melvin J. Weig, and Roy E. Appleman, The History of the United States Flag (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1961), plate XVIII, No. 42.

62. Standard for the period of our concern is the 35-star flag, in use from July 4, 1863. Ibid., plate XX, No. 46; pp. 152-153.



us with information about both its character and location. At Fort Laramie in 1866, Ware participated in a conference with some Indians, which he described as follows:

In the morning a conference was had at post headquarters, which was decorated with flags; speeches were made, and the evils and misfortunes of the last five years were gone over. Col. Maynadier told of the expected coming of the commissioners, and made a speech. He said: "There is room enough for all of us in this broad country." Pointing to the silk flag of the Eleventh Ohio Cavalry, hanging from the wall, Col. Maynadier said: "My Indian brother, look at those stripes. Some of them are red, and some of them are white. They remain peacefully side by side--the red and the white--for there is room for each.<sup>63</sup>

Maynadier must have been pointing to a national colors in use as a regimental colors, and perhaps having a regimental designation worked upon its stripes in gold.<sup>64</sup> The flag seems to have hung on the wall in Old Bedlam rather than being displayed on a standard.

Charles King, writing of the year 1876 in his novel, Laramie, or The Queen of Bedlam, has left a very fleeting glimpse of the desk of a commanding officer which identifies at least one additional item that might have been associated with the headquarters office. In it, he spoke of the commander seating himself at his desk, and,

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63. Eugene F. Ware, The Indian War of 1864 (Topeka: Crane and Co., 1911), pp. 580-581.

64. The Regulations provided that such national colors might have the names of those battles in which the regiment had seen meritorious service lettered upon them. In some instances, this may have included the regimental designation. This would seem to have been true of the regimental colors of the 11th Ohio described in Ware's account. The Ohio Civil War Centennial Commission has stated that it was the custom for regiments from that state to carry the national colors, as opposed to more unique individual colors. Revised United States Army Regulations of 1861, p. 511; Conrad F. Weitzel, Columbus, Ohio, 24 January 1964, letter to the author.

having invited " . . . the others to draw up their chairs; produced a map of the Platte country and the trails . . ." <sup>65</sup> While the year of King's novel is more than a decade after Colonel Collins' term at Fort Laramie, the presence of maps at his headquarters cannot be disputed, particularly in view of his own map-making activities, and the nature of his service along the far-flung Platte Valley roads.

No other data has become available to indicate the historic furnishings of the post headquarters. The slender evidence cited above can be augmented only by those items of equipment which are recorded in the Report of the Secretary of War for 1865. In this report, for some reason, there is a list of "Contingency expenses for the War Department," which consists of an item-by-item account of each and every object purchased for use in the offices of the War Department in Washington. <sup>66</sup> This one hundred and sixty-seven page list will provide a guide to some of the general types of equipment in use in such offices, as well as the names of some specific items favored by the Army and some of the techniques (mounting maps on muslin, framing some large maps) in contemporary use. The evidence must be used with care, however, with the constant understanding that the supplies itemized in it were purchased for use in Washington, D. C., where sources were abundant and transportation no problem. It will provide information about Army customs in dealing with such matters as floor coverings and window treatment,

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65. King, op. cit., p. 120.

66. Annual Report of the Secretary of War, 1865, pp. 2-169.

but we cannot make a blanket assumption that all, or perhaps even many, of the objects on it ever made their appearance at Fort Laramie.

Sufficient evidence to guide the refurnishing of the rear main block room in headquarters as an area in which a General Court Martial might be taking place is contained in the Army Regulations governing the conduct of such events, and in Eugene Ware's extremely useful and interesting account of a General Court Martial held at Fort Kearney in 1864.

A General Court Martial was empowered to try officers and capital offenses, as opposed to the Regimental or Garrison Courts, which had jurisdiction in neither of these instances. For this reason, the Regulations specified that the General Court should be composed of not less than five nor more than thirteen members, with the larger number to constitute the custom.<sup>67</sup> The appointment of a Judge Advocate to serve as prosecutor was provided for by the Regulations.<sup>68</sup> The appearance of the accused and of witnesses before the Court was acknowledged, and all members of the Court, as well as individuals giving evidence, were required to be sworn.<sup>69</sup> Records of the proceedings and sentences in General Courts were required to be sent to the Secretary of War in the original, and the form and margins of this transcript were tightly specified.<sup>70</sup>

67. Revised United States Army Regulations of 1861, p. 495.

68. Ibid., p. 496.

69. Ibid., pp. 496-497.

70. Ibid., p. 499, p. 125.

This information permits the classification of certain equipment which would be basic to a room in which a General Court was meeting. Sufficient chairs to seat the members of the Court would be present, as well as chairs for the Judge Advocate and a witness. Some facility would have had to be provided for the recorders of these sessions, probably a small desk or table, with chairs. Paper and writing tools would have been much in evidence, and a Bible was undoubtedly present.

Eugene Ware's account fills in some of the interstices in this evidence. Its interest is such that the reader is urged to consult it in its original form.<sup>71</sup> For the purposes at hand, the following excerpts are significant:

It was the rule that the court-martial should have a majority of its members of a higher rank than the accused, and that they should sit around the table in the order of their rank on each side in full uniform. So in this case the Colonel sat at the head of the table, and the officers tapered down in rank right and left until at the end was the junior officer . . . and the Judge Advocate opposite . . . In those days there were no shorthand reporters nor typewriters, and all the evidence and proceedings had to be got up in long-hand, . . . The Judge Advocate was the prosecutor, and in the condition of the art as it then existed, he had a large tab of blank paper in front of him, and began writing down the questions. Every question must be written down, and then the answer must be written down . . .

Then the prosecutor would write out another question, and as fast as these questions and answers were made they were stuck together by paste into a long roll, to be transcribed. Ever and anon some member of the court . . . would object to one of the questions put by the Judge Advocate, and the court would look around to see whether anybody seconded the objection. If nobody seconded it, the presiding officer would say, "Do you insist

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71. Ware, op. cit., pp. 150-154.

upon your objection?" and if the officer said, "Yes," then the court would order the accused to be taken out of the room by the man with a bayonet who had him in charge . . .

. . . Every once in a while some member of the court would want to ask a question. So that a member of the court would write out a question, and hand it to the presiding officer . . . At times every member of the court-martial would be writing questions, and they would be flooded onto the Judge Advocate. . . . When the evidence was all in, it was a great pile of scrap-paper stuck together with paste. . . . Finally the court came to vote, and began at the bottom; the youngest in commission got up and verbally expressed his opinion first, then wrote it, and handed it to the presiding officer. . . . After the verdict came the sentence; then all this quantity of literature that had been formed was copied off and sent to the commanding officer for his approval. This writing was done by hand, and if they wanted three copies, which was sometimes the case when an officer was tried and determined to appeal, one person read aloud the record, sentence by sentence, while three simultaneously copied it.<sup>72</sup>

From these admirably detailed passages, we gain a better picture of the sessions of a Court, with officers positioned formally around a table, each supplied with paper, pen and ink, or pencils, the Judge Advocate seated before a mass of paper containing individual questions, and his own pad and pen; one clerk laboring furiously to transcribe verbal answers to questions; another bending over a pot of paste and an ever-lengthening ribbon of paper which finally spilled off the table and onto the floor--the official transcript. Ultimately this would be recopied in multiples of three, but it does not seem likely that this work was being carried forward at the same time the Court was sitting. Seated, or perhaps standing, at the foot of the table, where all of the Court could view him, was the guarded prisoner, or a witness.

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72. Ibid., pp. 150-153.

The composite picture of a court room that may be constructed from this evidence is sufficiently complete to permit the refurnishing of an evocative setting for a General Court Martial at Fort Laramie.

PART V.

DESCRIPTIVE LIST OF FURNISHINGS RECOMMENDED

The Bachelor Officer's Quarters

Hall

- Walls                    The walls in the hallway of this block should remain unfinished with either paint or whitewash.
- Floors                   No floor covering will be provided in this area.
- Windows                  No treatment will be installed on the window or lights around the doors in this hall.
- Lighting                 No light sources will be provided for the hall.
- Furniture                No furniture will be provided in the hall.
- Accessories              No accessories will be installed. This area contains exposed structural sections of the building, and it will be reserved for this interpretive purpose.

Front Room, Main Block

- Walls                    The walls in this room should remain unpainted. The painted smoke circle on the ceiling surrounding the lamp hook located there should not be replaced. The ceiling hook itself should be whitened in some manner so that it will be as inconspicuous as possible.<sup>1</sup>

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1. These smoke circles are documented by HABS drawings and existed in all of the rooms of the structure at the time those drawings were made. Their purpose, of course, was to diminish the visual effect of smoke stains on the ceilings which resulted from kerosene hanging fixtures. As has been discussed in the body of this report,

**Photo missing from the print edition.**

November, 1963

Old Bedlam (restored), view in hall, entrance door, lower north block.



The plaster wall over the mantel in this room will be "decorated" with signatures of officers who served at Fort Laramie prior to October, 1855. These signatures will be obtained from the microfilm records of the post, which can be projected on the wall for tracing purposes. Originally, such signatures were probably done in charcoal, and this medium will be attempted, combined with a fixative spray to secure permanence. Should charcoal prove to present problems in maintenance, a matte black paint will be used, applied with a relatively stiff brush.

Floors

A very small piece of very worn ingrain carpeting will be tacked down in the center of the floor.

Windows

No treatment will be provided for the windows in this room. The existence of exterior shutters throughout this structure eliminated any urgent need for curtains or roller shades to control light or drafts. Thus, since window treatment was not essential to comfort, we have concluded that bachelor officers would not have been inclined to exert great efforts to drape windows in their quarters for purely decorative or aesthetic reasons.

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the periods to which Old Bedlam is being refurnished predate the use of kerosene, or ceiling fixtures, at Fort Laramie. It is not likely, therefore, that the smoke circles or ceiling hooks would have been found in the building at these times. Historic American Buildings Survey, Fort Laramie National Monument, "Photographs and Narrative Report" (unpublished MS, Midwest Regional Office, National Park Service), 1937-1939, Old Bedlam, p. 3.

Light                    No fixed light sources will be provided in this quarters. Light will be derived exclusively from candles.

Furniture                A low, roughly square pine table will occupy the center of this room. It will be considered to have been soldier-made, and will be utilitarian and totally undecorated. The wood will be aged and sealed so that it will present a somewhat soiled appearance. Its top will be littered with playing cards, poker chips, two or three liquor bottles, four plain pressed glass tumblers, a box of pipe tobacco, a piece of chewing tobacco, and two used clay pipes. A single candle, in a severely plain dull brass holder, will stand to one side on this table.

Pulled up at random around the center table will be a bench, made of pine and patterned after the one on the left in the photograph of Surgeon McKay's quarters; a hogshead used as a stool; and a black walnut camp chair, preferably one having a canvas sling seat. A man's dark wool shawl will be tossed over the back of the camp chair.

In the northeast corner of this room, a pine box will be placed on end, open side out, with one shelf installed midway its height. Used as a washstand, the box will be raw wood, allowed to age, and lacking any closure or drapery over the front. On the

shelf inside will be a disorderly stack of unbleached linen huck towels and a bar or two of yellow commissary soap. A razor strop will be hung from one of Fort Laramie's square-cut nails on the side of this case. The top of the case will have no cloth, but will carry a plain white ironstone wash set, which should be well crazed and a little chipped.<sup>2</sup> Scattered about on the top beside it will be the officer's toilette equipment: a straight razor, shaving mug and brush,<sup>3</sup> a bone toothbrush, ivory or ebony comb and brush, and a tin cup of the type issued by the Army.

Between the two windows in this room which face onto the parade ground will stand a small table of the type known as Pembroke, in black walnut. Serving an adaptive use as a desk in these quarters, it will be displayed with leaves dropped, although the front leaf would have been raised when the officer was working at it. On top of this table will stand a company desk: a case of pigeon holes with a drop leaf front (see illustration on page 96a), and a

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2. Charles F. Ruff, Fort Kearney, Oregon Route, 19 April 1849, letter to Annie Ruff, Liberty, Clay County, Missouri, Charles F. and Annie Ruff MSS, typewritten copies in possession of Merrill J. Mattes, Midwest Regional Office, National Park Service (hereinafter referred to as Ruff MSS).

3. Annie Ruff, Camp near Laramie, 24 June 1849, letter to Mrs. Mary Dougherty, Liberty, Clay County, Missouri, Ruff MSS.

handle for carrying. This piece will be made of walnut, sanded and finished. Its front will be dropped for display, revealing the pigeon holes stuffed with an assortment of forms and blank paper. Also located on this table, arranged in a working sort of disorder, will be a ceramic ink bottle, two or three goose quill pens, some blank paper and morning and clothing report forms, together with a company order book. A disorderly stack of bound volumes on this table-desk will include a copy of the Regulations for the Army of 1847, and several books on Infantry tactics. A personal letter or two, received from the officer's family in the East, will be mixed in with the official papers of his company on this table-desk.

Against the wall east of the fireplace will stand a chest of drawers, transitional in style, of black walnut or mahogany. No scarf will cover the top of this chest, which should show signs of wear. It will contain an Infantry officer's dress hat, sash, a Colt .44 calibre revolver, and a pair of framed daguerreotypes of a middle-aged woman and two or three school-age children: the officer's mother, brothers and sisters at home. Also reposing on top of the chest will be a guitar, lacking a case, and a personal letter box.

A heating stove appropriate to the period should be located in front of the fireplace in this room, standing on a zinc plate. Beside it will be a raw pine woodbox, filled with logs, and an iron poker or tongs. A shallow pine box, filled with sawdust, will stand on the floor near the stove; this will serve as a spittoon.

Standing at the left of the stove will be a second soldier-made bench. A pressed glass tumbler with a brown stain in the bottom will stand on its seat.

A transitional Low-Post three-quarter bed of walnut will be located on the wall to the west of the fireplace. This bed, rope strung, will have a straw-filled (simulated) tick. No linen will be used, nor a pillow. Bedding will consist of an Army issue blanket pulled over the tick, with a buffalo robe roughly folded at the foot. A wolf robe will be hung over the foot of the bed.

Accessories      A very small, plainly framed mirror will be hung on the wall above the wash stand. The mirror may be flaked or cloudy, and the frame of wood should be much nicked.

On the wall above the table-desk, suspended from nails, will be hung a Dragoon sabre and two guns, one a sporting rifle of the period, the other a

shotgun for use in hunting the abundant fowl of the Fort Laramie environment.

The mantel in this room will be littered with a number of miscellaneous items: a second Colt .44 revolver; a pair of field glasses in a case; a candle in a battered pewter holder; a box of wooden phosphorus matches; a stack of current newspapers published in some medium-sized city in Virginia or North Carolina; two books by William M. Thackeray, possibly Vanity Fair and Henry Esmond; and a banjo standing on its side.

On the wooden face of the mantel, at either side of the stove, will be hung a checker board (the playing pieces for which may be scattered on the mantel), and a pair of rowelled spurs. These will be suspended from nails driven into the wood.

Hung on the alcove walls on either side of the fireplace, above the chest of drawers and the bed, will be three Sioux Indian trophies: a pipe bag, a decorated war club, and a coup stick, lance, or war bonnet. These will be considered to have been obtained by this officer, a long-time Fort Laramie resident, from the Indians in the days before the Grattan fight.

The northwest corner of this room, which at some

time may be included in the public access areas, will contain only two trunks, closed and stacked-- used by the officer to store unneeded personal articles.

Back Room, Main Block

Walls	The walls in this room should remain unfinished, and the painted smoke circles should be omitted, with the ceiling hook tinted to obscure it.
Floors	No floor covering will be provided in this room.
Windows	No window treatment is planned for this quarters.
Light	There will be no fixed light sources here. Illumination will be derived exclusively from candles.
Furniture	A pine packing crate, low and roughly square, will occupy the center of the room. Its top will be uncovered, but will be littered with two boxes of pipe tobacco; three or four pipes, both clay and wood; several very worn and tattered New York and Philadelphia newspapers; a stack of much-used periodicals, such as <u>Putnam's</u> , <u>Lippincotts</u> , and <u>Harpers</u> ; a book or two from the post library which should be fairly esoteric and dull in subject; and a single candle stuck into an empty wine bottle.

Pulled up roughly to this table will be a sling-seat folding camp chair, and a rough board chair fashioned

in the curious manner of the chair in the right foreground of the photograph of Surgeon McKay's quarters (see page 96a ). A gun belt with two holsters for Colt .44 revolvers will be dropped over the back of this chair.

Against the south wall, to the left of the fireplace, will stand a soldier-made table of pine, rough finished and soiled. Its top will hold a company desk, made in the same pattern as the one in the front quarters, but displayed closed. A ceramic ink bottle, three goose quill pens, and some blank paper will be scattered about on this desk, but the officer involved with these matters of company management will be considered to be less deeply responsible than the occupant of the front room. A stack of books on military tactics will be placed on this table, together with a copy of the Army Regulations of 1847. Standing at the table will be a hogshead stool.

A wood-burning heating stove appropriate to the period will be located on a zinc plate in front of the fireplace, and a raw pine box, filled with split logs, will stand beside it. A very bent poker will lay on the floor beside the stove.

Against the north and south partitions, on the west



wall, will be two single beds. These may be folding iron or wooden camp beds or may, if items of this type appropriate to the period cannot be located, be emigrant cast-offs of a designed character, but somewhat the worse for wear. One of each type may be used. In any event, the beds should not match. They will be equipped with straw-filled (simulated) ticks, rough twill-woven wool blankets pulled over to cover, and will lack pillows. Two buffalo robes will be scattered as covers on one bed, while the other will have a single buffalo robe and a deer skin laid on it for use as bedding. A pine box will stand on end against the wall between the west windows in this room. It will be open at the front, with a rough shelf installed midway its length. Two soiled unbleached huck towels will lay on the shelf, with a bar of yellow commissary soap, and a leather razor strop. The top of the box will lack a cloth, but will contain a tin basin and pitcher, dull and dented; two shaving mugs and straight razors; and one bone toothbrush stuck in a water spotted pressed glass tumbler.

Two trunks will stand side by side against the east wall of this room, to the left of the door. This area may be included in the public passageways at some time when the desired diagonal barriers can be installed.

Accessories      Hung on three spikes driven into the east wall, to the right of the door, will be two bright and shiny dragoon sabres, in their scabbards, and attached to sabre belts. Two Infantry sashes will hang tangled among the sabres, and a target rifle appropriate to the period will hang from the third spike, with a coiled lariat underneath it.

The mantel will have two candles in unmatching holders, a box of phosphorus matches, two or three bottles of assorted types of liquor, and three unmatched pressed glass tumblers, which will be stacked.

A tin or brass framed mirror will be hung from a nail above the wash stand. This mirror should be quite small, but may be new in appearance.

#### Kitchen

Walls            Walls will remain white unpainted plaster.

Floors           No coverings will be provided for the floor.

Windows        No treatment will be provided for the windows.

Light           No fixed light sources will be installed.

Furniture       A soldier-made raw pine water bench will stand against the south wall, to the right of the entrance doorway to this room. It will have a tin or wooden water bucket standing on it, with a tin basin in

which a bar of commissary soap will be laid. Hanging from nails driven into the side of the bench will be a tin water dipper, and an odd length of huck toweling, which should be quite rumped. Above the bench a small piece of mirror, a broken fragment, perhaps, will be hung with wire from a nail. It should not have any frame.

In the alcove to the left of the fireplace will stand a sturdy pine soldier-made table. A small tin pitcher, a tin baking pan,<sup>4</sup> and a long-necked wine bottle laying on its side for use as a kneading tool-rolling pin will occupy the top of this table.<sup>5</sup>

A small wood-burning cook stove will stand in front of the fireplace, its pipe attached to the thimble in the chimney located there. A raw pine woodbox will stand on the zinc stove plate beside it filled with split logs. The top of the stove will have an iron camp kettle occupying one plate, while a tin coffee pot will stand on another.<sup>6</sup>

A very battered spool-turned drop leaf table of

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4. Annie Ruff, New Orleans, Louisiana, 11 December 1846, letter to Mrs. Mary Dougherty, Liberty, Clay County, Missouri, Ruff MSS.

5. Lydia Spencer Lane, I Married a Soldier, or Old Days in the Old Army (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Co., 1893), p. 17.

6. Charles F. Ruff, Fort Kearney, Oregon Route, 19 April 1849, letter to Annie Ruff, Liberty, Clay County, Missouri. Ruff MSS.

walnut will stand against the east wall of the kitchen. Drawn up to it will be three chairs, generally Windsor in character but unmatching--being either spindle or splay-backed. These should be in various stages of disintegration.<sup>7</sup>

The top of the table here, the site of the mess for the three officers living in this block, will be set with a single candle stuck into a wine bottle, three yellow stoneware plates and coffee mugs, common bone-handled knives and forks, a sugar bowl and salt stand, plus a corked bottle of wine and three pressed glass tumblers.<sup>8</sup>

Accessories      A match safe will be tacked to the wooden mantel, to the left of the cooking stove.

#### Storeroom

Walls            The walls will remain unpainted.

Floors           No floor coverings will be provided.

Light            No light fixtures will be provided.

Furniture        Two sections of raw pine shelving will be installed on the east and west walls of the storeroom.<sup>9</sup>

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7. Annie Ruff, Oregon City, Oregon Territory, 27 November 1849, letter to Major John Dougherty, Liberty, Clay County, Missouri, Ruff MSS.

8. Ruff, Fort Kearney, 19 April 1849, to Annie, Liberty, Ruff MSS.

9. Lane, op. cit., pp. 156-157.

The shelving on the west wall will be somewhat sparsely occupied. Stacked here will be a few more coffee mugs, plates, and soup plates of the yellow stoneware represented on the mess table in the kitchen. Additional cooking equipment will be stored here also: a dutch oven,<sup>10</sup> an iron frying pan, another tin baking tray, a wooden spoon or two, a mortar and pestle of wood, a tin strainer,<sup>11</sup> and a coffee grinder. The shelves on the east wall will contain simulated articles of foodstuffs to indicate the diet of these men. Included may be bottles of pepper sauce, boxes of various spices,<sup>12</sup> jugs of molasses and vinegar, a barrel of flour, sugar in loaves, kraut and pickles in barrels or kegs, and rice, beans, and coffee beans in sacks or boxes.<sup>13</sup> No cans will be in evidence,<sup>14</sup> but a few extra bars of soap should be included, as well as a box of sperm or tallow candles.<sup>15</sup> Two or three plastic replicas of dried buffalo tongues will be laid on

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10. Ibid., p. 17.

11. Ruff, Fort Kearney, 19 April 1849, to Annie, Liberty, Ruff MSS.

12. Ibid.

13. United States War Department, Regulations for the Army of the United States, 1857 (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1857), pp. 214-215.

14. Lane, op. cit., p. 22.

15. Regulations for the Army of the United States, 1857, op. cit., p. 216.

the shelves.<sup>16</sup>

Accessories     A champagne basket will stand on the floor underneath one of the sections of shelving.<sup>17</sup> It may be open to reveal bottles of champagne laying in straw inside it.

Three or four stout iron hooks will be driven into the ceiling of this room, just in front of the louvered open window. Plastic reproductions of a buffalo forequarter and a dressed venison carcass will hang here, together with a slab of bacon and a whole ham.<sup>18</sup>

#### Kitchen Bedroom

Walls            The walls of this room will not be painted.

Floor            No floor covering will be provided.

Window           No window covering will be installed.

Light            No fixed light source will be planned.

Furniture        The only piece of furniture in this room, the bedroom of the striker, will be a small wooden box, a

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16. Annie Ruff, Fort Sanford, Iowa Territory, Des Moines River, 3 April 1843, letter to Mary Dougherty, Liberty, Clay County, Missouri, Ruff MSS.

17. Ruff, Fort Kearney, 19 April 1849, to Annie, Liberty, Ruff MSS.

18. Regulations for the Army of the United States, 1857, op. cit., p. 214.

food shipping crate, which will stand on the floor against the north wall. It will have a candle stuck into a liquor bottle standing on its otherwise bare surface.

Accessories      The striker will sleep on the floor. His bed will consist of a buffalo robe, laid on the floor hair side up, on top of which his straw-filled (simulated) bed sack will be laid. A second buffalo robe will be tumbled on top of the bed sack.

Three stout nails, driven into the east wall of this room, will carry all the worldly goods of this man: a canteen, tin cup, his knapsack and haversack.

**Photo missing from the print edition.**

November, 1963

Old Bedlam (restored), view from kitchen. Storeroom  
on right (note louvered opening), and kitchen bedroom at left.



### The Collins Quarters

#### Hall

- Walls            The walls in the hallway in this block of quarters should remain unpainted or whitewashed.
- Floors           No floor covering will be provided in this hall.
- Windows          No curtains or shades will be installed at the hall window or on the lights around the entrance doors.
- Lighting          No fixed light sources will be provided.
- Furniture        No furniture will be placed in the hall.
- Accessories      No accessories will be provided for the hall.

#### Front Room, Main Block

- Walls            The walls in this room should remain unpainted.  
The smoke circle on the ceiling should not be replaced, and the lamp hook should be tinted to diminish its visibility.
- Floor            A buffalo robe will be the only floor covering located in this room.
- Windows          Curtains made from four red blankets will be hung at the two windows in this room which face onto the parade ground.<sup>19</sup> They will be gathered on rods in

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<sup>19</sup>. Lane, op. cit., p. 201.

the simplest fashion, tied back with rope. They need not cover the full length of the window opening, and the rods, in this case, will be installed part way down from the top of the window.

Lighting      No fixed light sources will be provided in this room. Light will be derived exclusively from candles.

Furniture      The center of the room will be occupied by a pedestal table. This should be derivative of either the Transitional or Empire style, in mahogany or black walnut, and may be a table not strictly designed for use as a center table.<sup>20</sup> Its top will be covered with a rectangular hemmed bleached linen towel, and will have a candle in a turned brass holder standing on it. Several copies of The Highland News, of appropriate date, will lay on the table, along with a pad of drawing paper, some pencils, and a chunk or two of charcoal.

A black scroll-arm rocking chair will be pulled up to this table. This chair will have a caned back and seat, and a dark woolen man's shawl will be folded neatly and hung over one arm.

Pulled up to this table, on the other side, will be Colonel Collins' folding camp chair. This should

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20. Ibid. p. 21.

have a carpet seat and back.<sup>21</sup>

Standing against the west wall of this room, to the right of the door, will be a black walnut writing or library table, small in size, quite plain and battered, having cabriole or turned legs. Pulled up to this will be a spindle or splat-backed Windsor chair, which should show considerable wear.<sup>22</sup> This area will be the site of Mrs. Collins' letter writing activities, and the top of the table should contain a letter box, a quantity of quill pens, some paper and several bottles of ink, a pounce box, and a candle set in a pressed glass holder.

A wood-burning heating stove should be located in front of the fireplace on a zinc plate. A raw pine woodbox, filled with split logs, should stand beside it, together with a poker.

Against the east wall of the Collins parlor will stand a folding field cot of black walnut, serving here as a sofa. The cot will have a straw-filled (simulated) tick laid on it, and this will be covered with a buffalo robe, eked out with a wolf skin if necessary to cover.

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21. Ibid., p. 201.

22. Annie Ruff, Fort Sanford, Des Moines River, 3 March 1843, letter to Mary Dougherty, Liberty, Clay County, Missouri, Ruff MSS.

**Photo missing from the print edition.**

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Old Bedlam (restored), view of typical fireplaces  
and adjacent alcoves in main block rooms.

Accessories      Very few decorative objects will be placed in this room, in order to emphasize the transient and temporary character of the Collins' life at Fort Laramie. No pictures are planned for the walls here, no vases will be in evidence, and none of the multitude of knick-knacks so dear to the 19th Century heart. In addition to those utilitarian objects already defined to be located on table tops, etc., the mantel in this room will contain a third candle, set in a pressed glass holder (not to match the holder located at the writing table), and two or three books selected from the rather old novels and books of verse that have been a part of the post library. Also piled here may be a number of dog-eared periodicals, such as Leslie's Illustrated Weekly. These books and periodicals should be stacked quite neatly, as if they had been there for some time, and had been perhaps little used--selected more from optimism than interest. A box of wooden phosphorus matches will also stand on the mantel.

Rear Room, Main Block

Walls            The walls in this room will remain white, unpainted plaster.

Floor            A quite small and very worn piece of ingrain carpeting will be tacked down to the floor in the center of this room. Brown paper or canvas may be laid under this carpet.

#### Windows

The two windows in this room will be covered with pieces of blue and white coverlets. The patterns of these need not match--in fact, they should not--and the "curtains" will be simply gathered on rods. They should be hung to cover the window openings at the bottom, even if this means the rods from which they hang are located some distance down from the top of the window. As with those in the parlor, privacy will be considered to be the paramount function of these curtains, and an opening at the top of the window would be less objectionable than a gap at the bottom. Tie-backs will be provided in the form of loops on the inner edges of the coverlets and nails driven into the window moldings at the sides over which the loops might hook.

#### Lighting

No lamps will be provided for this room.

#### Furniture

The central object in this room will be a double bedstead. A spool bed would be appropriate, as would either a high or low post transitional style. The bed will be fresh in appearance, well cared for, although old and somewhat nicked. Its furnishings will consist of a hair mattress; bleached muslin linen; pillows; rough, drab-colored, twill-woven blankets; and a grand bound and lined buffalo robe laid on the top as a sort of spread.

To the left of the bed, before the west window, will stand a small sewing table, home-made from a cheese

box and painted red. Already donated to the area, this simple piece of furniture will have a few sewing accessories scattered on its top: hooks and eyes, a small covered basket of miscellaneous buttons, and a scissors.

Pulled up near this table will be a Windsor chair, splat or spindle backed. Laying on the seat of the chair will be a collapsible lap sewing table on which a shirt is in process of manufacture. The fabric being worked on should be drilling, and a pin cushion, needle, thread, and thimble will be included with the fabric, arranged as if in use.

To the right of the bed, against the west wall of this room, will stand a hoghead bed table, its top covered with a piece of bleached muslin toweling.<sup>23</sup> On this "table" will stand a candle in a pewter holder, a Bible marked with a silk bookmark, a bound volume on the diseases of women, a bottle of patent medicine, and a miscellaneous teaspoon.

Against the north wall, to the left of the fireplace, will stand a very small open washstand of walnut. Its top will be covered with a piece of bleached muslin and will have a shaving mug and brush, two bone-handled toothbrushes laid in a miscellaneous

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23. Lane, op. cit., p. 194.

earthenware saucer, a glass tumbler, and a bar of white or Pears soap laid in a second saucer. Nested on the lower shelf of this stand will be a wash set, pitcher and basin, both somewhat chipped, of Queensware. Other toilet articles will be considered to be stored in the drawer of the stand. Two perfectly plain huck towels will hang over the rods of the stand, and a tiny walnut-framed mirror will be hung on the wall above it.

A wood-burning heating stove, complete with a filled wood box, poker, and base plate, will be located in front of the fireplace.

Against the east wall of the room, north of the door to the parlor, will stand a plain and somewhat battered chest of drawers, of mahogany or black walnut, preferably having a recessed top. This will be covered with a piece of linen huck toweling and will be decorated with Mrs. Collins' fan, pressed glass toilet water bottle, a prayer book, and a lady's dressing set, as complete as possible, including a comb, brush, hand mirror, manicure tools, button hook, hair dish, etc., if these can be found in a set. The material may be ebony or ivory, but should not be silver. Completeness, rather than material, will govern selection.



**Photo missing from the print edition.**

November, 1963

Old Bedlam (restored), view of random width flooring which will be exposed in many of the refurnished quarters.

#### Accessories

This room will also be somewhat bare of purely decorative objects. Two native Fort Laramie area cactus plants will stand on the sill of the north window in the room. These will be planted in miscellaneous china containers, such as sugar bowls, which will stand in odd, chipped saucers. They will represent Mrs. Collins' interest in flowers and other growing things.

The fireplace mantel in this room will have another candle standing on it in a plain and dull brass holder, beside which will be laid a pair of simple spurs with small rowells and a pair of men's leather gauntlets. A box of wooden matches will also lay on the mantel.

Stacked in a corner to the right of the fireplace will be two fishing rods of the period, a landing net, and a box for tackle.

On the wall above the mantel, hung at an angle so that the stove pipe will not interfere with the visitor's view, will be the Colonel's guns and sabre. Included among the guns should be a Smith & Wesson .44 calibre target rifle, in addition, perhaps, to an Enfield .44 calibre (.577) or perhaps a Gallagher carbine. On the other side of the stove pipe will hang the Colonel's Dragoon sabre,

a belt with two holsters for Colt .44 calibre pistols, and a cap and cartridge box.

### Kitchen

- Walls            The walls in this area will remain unpainted.
- Floors           No floor covering will be installed here.
- Windows        No curtains will be provided for the kitchen windows.
- Lighting        There will be no lights installed in this room, nor will candles be placed here.
- Furniture       An iron cook stove will be installed on a stove plate in front of the fireplace. Beside it will stand a rough pine woodbox filled with split logs. A large cast-iron pot will stand on top of the stove for heating water.
- Against the east wall of the kitchen will stand a sturdy raw pine table with a plank top. On this two wooden wash tubs will be placed.<sup>24</sup> A bar of rough soap will lay on the table beside a tin basin used for soaking stained articles.
- Accessories    One or two tin buckets for carrying water will stand on the floor underneath the table used for washing.
- A box of phosphorus matches will be located on the fireplace mantel.

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24. Annie, New Orleans, 11 December 1846, to Mary, Ruff MSS.

Kitchen Bedroom and Storeroom

Two stout trunks, stacked in the Kitchen Bedroom for storage, will be the only furnishings installed in these two rooms, unused by the Collins for any living purpose.

## The Headquarters

### Hall

- Walls            The walls in this area will remain unpainted.
- Floors           No floor covering will be installed in the hall or on the staircase leading up to the Collins quarters.
- Windows          No window dressings will be provided for the lights around the doors in the hall. A buff or dark green window shade will be installed on the window behind the staircase here.
- Lighting          No fixed light sources will be provided in the hall. Light will be considered to have been derived exclusively from candles.
- Furniture          A walnut or oak slant-top desk will stand against the south wall of the hallway, the station for a clerk. Pulled up to it will be an oak stool with a revolving seat. The top of this desk will remain bare, because the hallway must be open to the public, and the character of material which should be exhibited does not readily admit of being securely affixed.

The north wall of the hallway, between the two doors to the rooms in the main block, will be occupied by an oak bookcase, which will contain a shelf or

two full of old post and regimental order books,<sup>25</sup> and stacks of paper and envelopes, together with other boxes full of office supplies such as pencils, pens, sealing wax, papers of ink powder, wafers, etc. This bookcase must have enclosed shelves, and doors will be fastened.

Two Windsor chairs, splat or spindle backed and not necessarily matching, will stand on either side of the entrance to the front room in the main block. One such chair will stand before the door to the rear room. These are intended for guards and orderlies who would be stationed there to serve the commanding officer.

Accessories      Four wooden pegs should be installed at coat hook height on the south wall of the hall, just at the foot of the interior staircase, within the east entrance. These may be simple dowels of dark stained wood or large nails. A ceramic spittoon, either white, brown, or black, will stand on the floor to the right of the bookcase on the north wall in the hall. It should stand on a small square of black oil cloth having unfinished edges.

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25. Among the post books which might be located here are the following: Order, Morning Report, Letter, and Guard. Regimental books, confined to the 11th Ohio Volunteers, would have included General Order, Letter, Descriptive, Index, and Order. Books containing Consolidated Morning Reports, Inspection, Endorsement, and Memoranda Notations could also be present.

### Front Room, Main Block

- Walls            The walls in this room should remain unpainted; the smoke circles should not be replaced, and the ceiling hook should be tinted to reduce its visibility.
- Floors           The floor in this room should be covered, very nearly wall to wall, with cocoa matting laid over brown paper. The matting should be natural in color, with perhaps a brown pattern accent, and may be a herringbone or other simple pattern weave. It should be tacked down.
- Windows          The two windows in this room should have buff or dark green window shades.
- Lighting          No fixed light sources will be installed.
- Furniture        The main feature of this room will, of course, be the commanding officer's desk. This will be a fairly large black walnut piece, double pedestal in style, and having either a split calf or black oil cloth top. The desk will stand along the east wall, centered between the two windows located there and facing into the room. The top of the desk will have a copy of the Collins map of the Fort Laramie vicinity laid out on it, and will also contain an ink stand of glass fitted with several quills and pencils, a sand box, a wafer box, some sealing wax, an office bell, a pen knife, and a willow office

basket filled with official mail and papers, on top of which will lay a plain glass paperweight.

A ladder-back arm chair will be drawn up to this desk. It will have a tapestry seat, and will not match the desk.

Angled at the left front of the desk, facing it, will be two unmatching captain's chairs. These may be painted and grained, but should not be of oak.

On the south wall of the room, to the left of the entrance door, will stand a plain walnut office table. A case of walnut office pigeon holes will stand on top of the table, and these will be stuffed at random with various official forms and correspondence. The rest of the top of this table will contain several large sheets of paper for maps, some crow quill pens, a corked ceramic ink bottle, and several sheets of field notes from which a map is being drawn.

The west wall of the office, to the left of the door to the rear room, will have a soldier-made water bench of generous dimensions located against it. This bench should be rather finely made for such a piece, and will be of walnut stained pine, varnished. On top of it will stand a tin bucket and dipper for water, a tin basin with a bar of



commissary soap laying in it, a plain pressed glass pitcher, and two unmatching tumblers, also of pressed glass.

A high desk of black walnut having a slant top will be located on the west wall, to the right of the door to the rear room. This will be a clerk's position, and the top of the desk will be littered with as many of the following objects as possible: a rubber ruler, two ceramic bottles of ink, a glass pen tray filled with a number of quills and four pencils, a glass sponge cup with a sponge, a paper folder, stamp, sand, and wafer boxes, sealing wax, two willow office baskets filled with official work, paperweights made of pieces of wagon tire iron, and a pen knife.

Drawn up in front of this desk will be a high stool, preferably one having a caned seat, which will be made of black walnut.

A walnut bookcase, which may be open, will stand against the north wall, to the right of the fireplace. This case will contain reference books for use by the commanding officer, together with some current periodicals. Books mentioned in the Report of the Secretary of War which might be appropriate here are Conkling's Treatise, Appleton's Annual

Encyclopedia, Webster's Dictionary, Lippincott's Universal Gazeteer, and Scott's Military Dictionary.

Among the periodicals listed by the Report as subscriptions were the Westminster Review, Blackwood's, Atlantic Monthly, and Silliman's Journal. A selection of these titles will be shelved in the bookcase, together with some bound volumes of the Revised United States Army Regulations of 1861, Reports of the Secretary of War, miscellaneous treatises on cavalry tactics, and a volume or two on the techniques of telegraphy--a vital concern at Fort Laramie at the time. Any empty spaces remaining on the shelves will be filled with piles of filed papers.

A wood-burning heating stove appropriate to the period will be located on a stove plate before the fireplace. It will have a pine woodbox filled with split logs and a poker.

Accessories      The chief ornaments of this room will be flags. A silk national standard, having thirty-five stars, will be hung on the wall behind the commanding officer's desk. Hanging from standards located against the east wall, to either side of the national flag, and probably slightly in front of the two windows, will be a blue Regimental flag for the 11th Ohio Volunteer Cavalry and an Ohio State flag.

A large, framed map of the territory encompassed in the Military Department of the Missouri will be hung on the north wall of the room, to the right of the entrance door. This map should not be glazed, but may need to be spray treated to prevent soiling.

A wooden towel roller, of walnut-stained pine, will be attached to the wall to the left of the water bench. Hanging from it will be a cotton huck roller towel.

Hanging on the west wall, to the right of the door to the rear room and above the clerk's desk, will be a large office wall clock. This may be octagonal, or, more specifically, a No. 1 Seth Thomas Regulator.

Four candles in plain brass holders will stand on the mantel, along with a pair of field glasses, which may or may not be encased. A box of phosphorus matches should also lay on the mantel.

Several large maps, mounted on muslin and rolled, will stand leaning against the wall in the northeast corner of the office. Since the maps themselves will not show, their subjects are not important. For the sake of authenticity, however, there should be one of the United States, one of the Eastern theatres of War, and one of the Pacific Coast or California.

**Photo missing from the print edition.**

November, 1963

Old Bedlam (restored), typical window in main block.

Two spittoons will be installed on black oil cloth mats in this room. They should be of black, brown, or white ceramic, and will be located at the left front of the commanding officer's desk, and to the left of the heating stove.

Rear Room, Main Block

Walls	The walls in this room should remain unpainted; the ceiling hook should be tinted out, and the smoke circle should not be replaced.
Floors	The floor of this room should be covered with cocoa matting, in the same manner as the Front Room. The matting need not match that in the front room, but it would be desirable if it did. It will be tacked down over brown paper.
Windows	Buff or dark green shades will be installed on the windows in this room.
Lighting	No fixed light sources will be provided here.
Furniture	The most important item of furniture in this room will be a large table, extended to a length that will accommodate nine officers sitting for a Court Martial. A simple spool-turned dining table would do for this piece, if one can be found that extends to a great enough length. If this is not possible, a soldier-made table of pine, painted black, will

substitute. In either instance, the top will be covered with an unhemmed length of ink-spotted green cotton baize. Nine chairs, all captain in style but not necessarily matching, will be set about the table, one at the head, or west end, and four on each side. The foot of the table will be unoccupied. At the place of each chair, on the table, will be a pad of paper and one pencil. Three ceramic bottles of ink will be set at intervals down the center of the table, with a scattering of quill pens beside each. A pile of paper on which questions have been hurriedly written in pencil and a Bible will be laid first to the left of the foot of the table, in front of the chair reserved for the Judge Advocate.

Spaced out a bit from the foot of the table, and facing the presiding officer's seat, will be another captain's chair, this one reserved for use by the defendant or a witness.

Placed at an angle in the southwest corner of the room, somewhat out from the wall, will be a library or office table of black walnut, its top covered with black oil cloth. Behind this will be located two spindle or splat backed Windsor chairs, seats for clerks. At the place of one will be a pad of paper and a pencil used for transcribing answers to questions. The other clerk will be engaged in

assembling the final transcript, and his tools will be a pot of paste, several loose scraps of paper containing writing, and a long strip of such scraps pasted together. This roll will trail off the table top onto the floor, and will be held in place by a small section of wagon tire iron: a paperweight.

A smaller walnut office or library table will stand against the west wall, between the windows. Its top will be covered with a white linen huck towel, and it will have a large pressed glass water pitcher and about four pressed glass tumblers standing on it.<sup>26</sup> This surface will be considered to have been used as a sideboard during mess times in the room, and as a refreshment table for officers meeting there for official business.

A heating stove will be attached in front of the fireplace and will stand on the customary stove plate, having a pine woodbox, filled with split logs, and a poker beside it.

A walnut bookcase, open or closed, will stand in the alcove to the right of the fireplace. This piece will be considered to have been left in the room from its office days, and will serve as a storage area for the Collins' mess dishes. If a

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26. Ruff, Fort Kearney, 19 April 1849, to Annie, Liberty, Ruff MSS.

mess chest can be found, this will be placed on the floor beside it. Since we are not particularly optimistic about the possibilities of locating such a chest, it will be planned to place dishes on the shelves of the bookcase. These should be in three patterns, in lots of from two to three pieces per pattern--being considered to have been contributed from personal supplies by every member of the Collins mess. Dinner plates, soup plates, cups and saucers, and sauce dishes should all be present, and patterns will be drawn from Ironstone and Queensware varieties. A folded white cotton table cloth will lay on top of this bookcase--ready for the room's dining function.

Accessories      A national flag, of silk, will stand out from the left corner of the fireplace, to the left of the presiding officer's chair, a temporary location for Court Martial purposes. The mantel over the fireplace in this room will have four candles set on it in individual plain brass holders. A box of matches should lay nearby. The mantel will also contain a few items ordinarily present on a dining table: a salt stand and a sugar bowl in one of the china patterns represented in the bookcase.<sup>27</sup>

#### Kitchen

Walls              The walls here will remain unpainted.

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27. Ibid.



Floors            No floor covering will be provided for this area.

Windows           No window curtains of any kind will be installed.

Lighting           No fixed light sources will be provided.

Furniture           A stout soldier-made pine table will stand under the window on the east wall of this room. The top may be covered with a solid-color red oil cloth. It will be sufficiently generous of dimension so that three people could dine at it, but will be displayed in its capacity as a work table. In this connection, its top will have a tin baking tray standing ready to receive some cornbread. A tin can of lard will stand on the table,<sup>28</sup> together with a sack of (simulated) cornmeal, an earthenware mixing bowl, and a wooden spoon.

To the left of the table, standing at an angle, will be a broken Windsor chair of the splat backed variety.

A wood-burning cook stove will be located on a stove plate in front of the fireplace. Its top will be occupied by a tin coffee pot, an iron tea kettle, and an iron stew pot.<sup>29</sup> Beside the stove will be the inevitable poker, wood box, and split fuel.

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28. Lane, op. cit., p. 194.

29. Ruff, Fort Kearney, 19 April 1849, to Annie, Liberty, Ruff MSS.

Against the south wall of the kitchen, to the right of the kitchen bedroom door, will stand a soldier-made water bench of raw unfinished pine. Its top will be covered with red oil cloth, and it will have a tin basin and pitcher and a tin bucket and water dipper placed on its surface. A bar of commissary soap will lay in a heavy saucer at one side, and an unbleached muslin towel will hang from a nail driven into the side of the bench.

A very small mirror in a tin frame will hang from a nail above the water bench.

A large water barrel with a board cover will stand just inside the door of this room.

Accessories	The only accessories in this room will be a single candle standing on the mantel in a plain ceramic holder, and a match safe, tacked to the wooden face of the mantel at the right of the cooking stove.
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#### Storeroom

Walls	The walls in the storeroom will not be painted.
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Floors	No floor coverings will be provided.
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Lighting	No light sources will be provided.
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Furniture	Rough pine shelving will be installed in this storeroom precisely in the same fashion as it will be
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installed in the north quarters storeroom.<sup>30</sup> A narrow set of shelves will stand against the west wall to the right of the door, and a deeper set of shelves will be located on the east wall. These will not run the full length of the room.

The east wall shelves will contain supplementary cooking equipment. Included among the objects here should be several crocks of various sizes, iron fry pans, a camp kettle, dutch oven, coffee grinder, tin strainers, and some additional tin baking and cake pans.<sup>31</sup>

The shelving against the east wall will contain food supplies. Among the items which may be located here, as a result of their appearing on the Commissary supply tables for the period, or being mentioned elsewhere in the historic literature, are: boxes of hardtack, crackers, gingersnaps, salt, sacks of dried peas, dried beans, rice, hominy, green or roasted coffee, dried apples and peaches, kegs of kraut, jugs of molasses, vinegar, golden syrup, jars of tea (green), dessicated potatoes, barrels of flour, loaf sugar, canned oysters and sardines,

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30. Lane, op. cit., pp. 156-157.

31. Lewis F. Crawford, Rekindling Camp Fires (Bismarck, North Dakota: Capitol Book Co., 1926), p. 63; Agnes Wright Spring, "An Army Wife Comes West," The Colorado Magazine, XXXI (October, 1954), p. 253.

pickled onions and cucumbers, French mustard, Worcestershire sauce, pepper sauce, and strawberry preserves. Extra boxes of candles and bars of soap may also be stored here.<sup>32</sup> It is emphasized that virtually all of these items will need to be simulated.

Four stout hooks will hang from the ceiling of this room, in front of the open louvred window, on which the meat supply for the mess will be hung. It consisted in these days of fresh beef and bacon. Barrels of pork in brine and boxes of salt beef will stand on the floor beneath the hooks.<sup>33</sup>

A champagne basket, filled with eggs, will stand on the floor under the supply shelf.<sup>34</sup>

#### Kitchen Bedroom

Walls	The walls of this room will remain unpainted.
Floors	No floor coverings will be planned.
Windows	No window curtains of any kind will be in evidence here.

32. Crawford, op. cit., p. 33, p. 63; Agnes Wright Spring, Caspar Collins (New York: Columbia University Press, 1927), p. 117, p. 120, p. 123; Eugene P. Ware, The Indian War of 1864 (New York: St. Martins Press, 1960), p. 65.

33. Ware, op. cit., p. 65.

34. Ruff, Fort Kearney, 19 April 1849, to Annie, Liberty, Ruff MSS.

Lighting

No fixed light sources will be supplied.

Furniture

The striker's bedroom will have a bunk bed made from rough pieces of unfinished pine. It will be a frame only, and will have no foot or head pieces. On the frame will lay a straw-filled (simulated) tick. The only other bedding will consist of a single army blanket and one buffalo robe.

Three pegs or nails will be driven into the wall beside the bed. On these will hang the soldier's knapsack, canteen, tin cup, and haversack.

A rough and unpainted hinged wooden box will stand against the east wall of the room. It should have rope handles on either end. This will be the soldier's trunk, serving at the moment as a stand. A candle in a very much bent pewter holder will stand on its top.

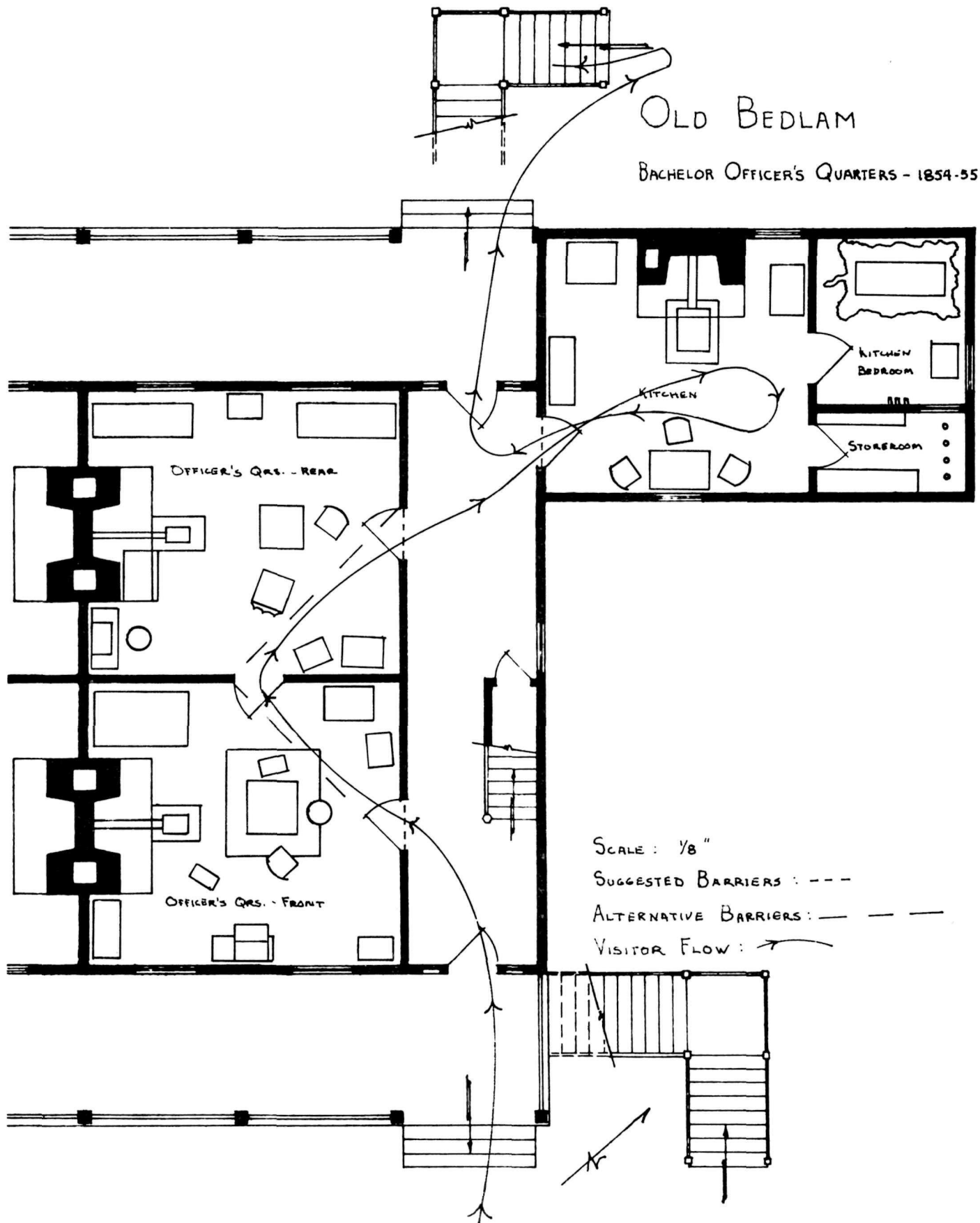
A tin bucket with a board cover will stand in the northwest corner of the room.

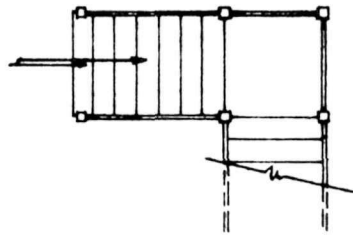
### Exterior

The only furnishings presently planned for the exterior of Old Bedlam consist of three water barrels placed at appropriate locations. One should be located on the rear piazza of the lower South block of quarters. This should be covered with a boulder weighted board. A second should be located on the lower piazza of the North block of quarters. This barrel should not be covered. The third will be placed outside the rear door to the upper South block of quarters, and will be covered.

OLD BEDLAM

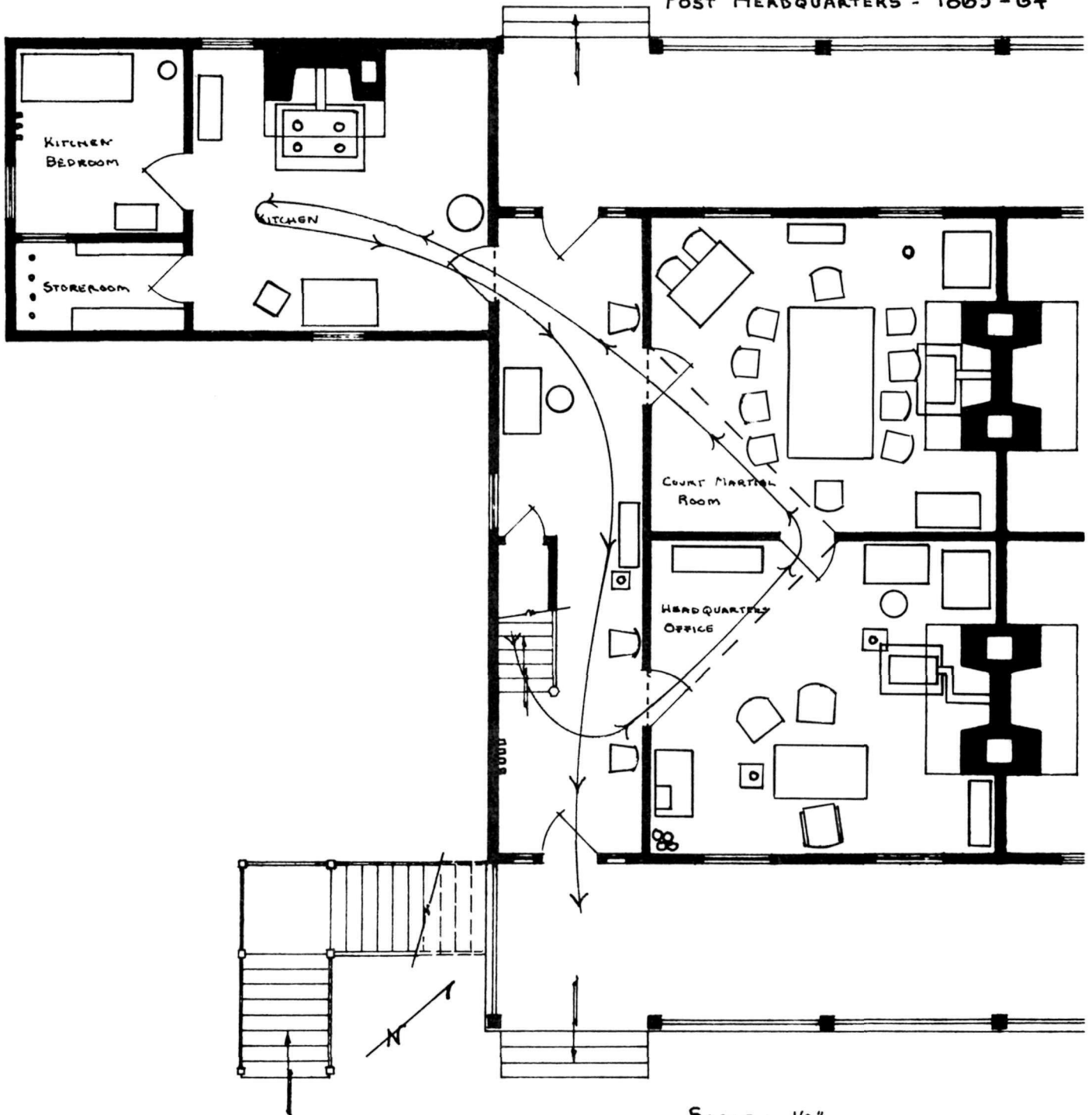
BACHELOR OFFICER'S QUARTERS - 1854-55





# OLD BEDLAM

POST HEADQUARTERS - 1863-64



SCALE : 1/8"

SUGGESTED BARRIERS : - - - -

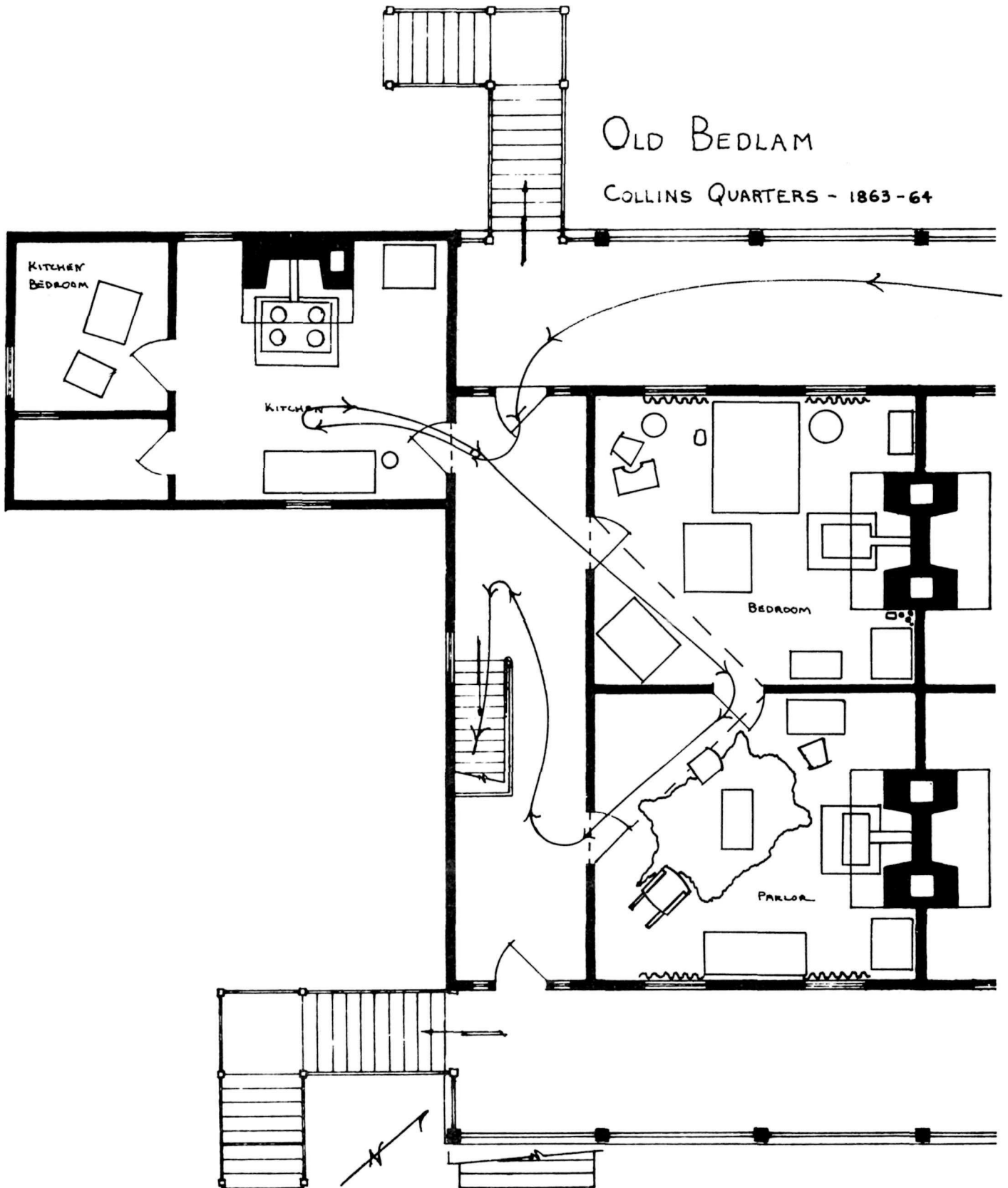
ALTERNATIVE BARRIERS : - - - -

VISITOR FLOW : →



# OLD BEDLAM

COLLINS QUARTERS - 1863-64



SCALE:  $\frac{1}{8}$ "

SUGGESTED BARRIERS: - - - -

ALTERNATIVE BARRIERS: — — — —

VISITOR FLOW: —————>

## PART VI

### PLAN OF PROTECTION AND PUBLIC USE FOR OLD BEDLAM

The furnishing plan presented herewith will permit public use in the same pattern which applies to other furnished historic structures at the area, such as the Post Trader's Store. This pattern includes trained personnel stationed in the structure at all times that it is open to the public, in addition to official personnel who act as guides for special tours. It also includes barriers in most of the refurnished rooms.

Adequate staffing for this structure presents problems somewhat different from other structures at the area, due to the design of the building. Three blocks of Bedlam will be refurnished, all of which are essentially separate from interior access to one another, but all of which are accessible to the public via the exterior staircases which are located at both the front and rear of the building. Ideally, therefore, one staff member should be stationed in each of these three refurnished areas at all times the building is open. Staffing in this quantity does not appear to be possible due to Fort Laramie's present budgetary and staffing status. Barriers become, as a result, very important.

The floor plans for the refurnished blocks of this building indicate barrier arrangements that are considered to be the most desirable, as well as alternative, more restrictive barriers which may need to be used until the area staff can be enlarged. It is

most desirable, from an interpretive and psychological standpoint, to permit visitors to enter refurnished rooms physically--a course which improves their view of the refurnishings and also enables them to experience the "feel" of the room. The diagonal barriers outlined on the floor plans would achieve this result. Difficulties arise in maintaining necessary surveillance with barriers in these locations, and it is presently planned to erect barriers at the entrance doorways of each room.

It will not be possible to erect barriers of any kind in the kitchens of this structure without preventing the visitor from viewing the storerooms and kitchen bedrooms. Barriers can be erected at the kitchen bedroom and storeroom doors, but furnishings in the kitchens will have to be fixed in place.

Visitor flow patterns are indicated on the floor plan drawings for both the contemplated and ideal barrier arrangements.

A self-guiding leaflet to the refurnished buildings at Fort Laramie is being planned. This sale item will augment the interpretive services provided by personnel at the area, and will enlarge the quality of the interpretive experience carried from the area by the average visitor who tours the buildings without a guide.

It will also serve as an appropriate souvenir which may be carried away with the visitor. Present plans call for an expandable format, which may be added to as additional structures are refurnished.

It will be liberally illustrated and will contain, in addition to the narrative descriptive guide, a bibliography of appropriate historic and furnishing literature for the use of interested visitors.

Other protection features of this building are lightning rods, installed during the course of structural restoration, and fire extinguishers which will be located in corridors at points to be designated by the Superintendent.

## A P P E N D I C E S

# APPENDIX A

## FORT LARAMIE COMMANDING OFFICERS, 1850-1865

(Information Drawn from Post Returns, 1849-1865)

Name and Rank of Officer	Unit	Date of Arrival	Dates of Command
Major Winslow F. Sanderson	Mtd. Riflemen	1849	Jan. - Aug. 1850
Captain William Scott Ketchum	6th Infantry	1850	Sept. 1850 - June 1852
1st Lt. Richard B. Garnett	6th Infantry	1852	July 1852 - April 1854
2nd Lt. Hugh B. Fleming	6th Infantry	1854	May - Oct. 1854
Major and Bvt. Lt. Colonel William Hoffman	6th Infantry	1854	Nov. 1854 - Sept. 1857
Major Isaac Lynde	7th Infantry	?	Oct. 1857 - July 1858
Bvt. Colonel John Munroe, Lt. Colonel	4th Artillery	1858	Aug. 1858 - May 1859
Captain Francis A. Clarke	4th Artillery	1859	June - July 1859
Captain Christopher L. Lovell	2nd Infantry	1859	Aug. 1859
Major Hannibal Day	2nd Infantry	1859	Sept. 1859 - April 1860
Captain Samuel H. Starr	2nd Dragoons	1860	May 1860
Captain John Dunovant	10th Infantry	1860	June 1860
Colonel Edmund B. Alexander	10th Infantry	1860	July - Aug. 1860
Captain Barnard E. Bee	10th Infantry	1860	Sept. 1860

Name and Rank of Officer	Unit	Date of Arrival	Dates of Command
Colonel Edmund B. Alexander	10th Infantry	1860	Oct. 1860 - April 1861
1st Lt. John McNab	10th Infantry	1861	May 1861
Colonel Edmund B. Alexander	10th Infantry	1860	June 1861 - May 1862
Captain A. Allen	9th Kansas Volunteers	1862	June 1862
Captain Nicholas Harrington	8th Kansas Volunteers	1862	July 1862
Captain John A. Thompson	4th Cavalry	1862	Aug. 1862 - March 1863
Major Thomas L. Mackey	Independent Battalion Ohio Volunteer Cavalry		April - Sept. 1863
Lt. Colonel William O. Collins	11th Ohio Volunteer Cavalry		Oct. 1863 - July 1864
Major John S. Wood	7th Iowa Cavalry	1864	Aug. - Oct. 1864
No Post Returns for November - December 1864. No Post Return for January 1865.			
Major Thomas L. Mackey	11th Ohio Volunteer Cavalry		Feb. - April 1865
Captain Thomas J. Majors	1st Nebraska V. V. Cavalry	1865	May 1865
Post Returns for June, July, August 1865 illegible.			
Major George A. Drew	6th Michigan Cavalry Vols.	1865	Sept. 1865
Colonel Henry E. Maynadier	5th U. S. Cavalry Vols.	1865	Oct. - Dec. 1865

## APPENDIX B

### ASSIGNMENTS AND ACTIVITIES OF LT. COLONEL WILLIAM O. COLLINS,

1863-1864

(Information Drawn from Post Returns, 1863-1864)

#### 1863

January	<u>Casually at Post</u> , on General Court Martial at Fort Laramie.  <u>Casually at Post</u> , on Special Duty at Fort Laramie.  <u>Joined Post</u> , from Fort Halleck, December 2, 1862.
February	<u>Transferred</u> , left post for Fort Halleck, February 25, 1863, pursuant telegram from General Craig, February 23, 1863.
March	<u>Casually at Post</u> , on Special Duty at post.  <u>Alterations Since Last Return</u> : Joined from Fort Halleck, March 19, 1863.
April	<u>Transferred</u> , from Casually at Post to Leave of Absence (date of order unknown).
May	No record.
June	No record.
July	No record.
August	<u>Absent</u> , en route post with new Battalion, August 10, 1863.
September	No record.
October	Assumed Command of post, October 13, 1863.
November	<u>Joined post</u> , October 10, 1863, assumed Command October 13.
December	Commanding post and regiment.

#### 1864

January thru July	Commanding post and regiment.
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August	<u>Absent</u> , Detached Service on overland mail route. Relieved of Command of post on July 28, 1864.
September	<u>Absent</u> , on Special Duty, etc.
October	<u>Absent</u> , in the field.

## APPENDIX C

The following tables have been extracted from the War of the Rebellion Records. They trace the place of Fort Laramie in the administrative organization of the Army during the Civil War.

November 20, 1862

Department of the Missouri (Headquarters at St. Louis) Commanded by Major General Samuel R. Curtis.

District of Nebraska (Headquarters Omaha?) Commanded by Brigadier General James Craig.

Posts	Commanded by	Companies	Commanders
Fort Laramie, N. T.	Capt. J. A. Thompson	8th Kansas, Co. G 6th Ohio Cav., Co. C 4th U. S. Cav., Cos. F & H	
Fort Halleck, N. T.		6th Ohio Cav., Cos. A & C	
Fort Kearny, N. T.	Col. E. B. Alexander	10th U. S., Cos. D & K	
In detachments on telegraph line		6th Ohio Cav., Cos. B & D	
Camp Collins, C. T.		9th Kansas, Co. B	
<hr/>			
Strength:	26 Officers		
(District of Nebraska)	395 Men	No Artillery	

WAR OF THE REBELLION--OFFICIAL RECORDS OF THE UNION AND CONFEDERATE ARMIES (Series I, Vol. XIII),  
pp. 807-811.

December 31, 1862

Department of the Missouri (Headquarters at St. Louis) Commanded by Major General Samuel R. Curtis.

District of Nebraska (Headquarters Omaha?) Commanded by Brigadier General James Craig.

Posts	Commanded by	Companies	Commanders
Fort Halleck, N. T.	Lt. Henry L. Koehne	9th Kansas Cav., Co. B 6th Ohio Cav., Co. A	Lt. Robert Madden Lt. Henry L. Koehne
Fort Kearny, N. T.		10th U. S., Headquarters and Cos. D & K	Col. Edmund B. Alexander
Fort Laramie, N. T.	Capt. John A. Thompson	8th Kansas, Co. G 6th Ohio Cav., Co. C 4th U. S. Cav., Cos. F & H	Lt. Joseph Randolph Lt. Thomas P. Clark Capt. John A. Thompson
Along Telegraph Line		6th Ohio Cav., Cos. B & D	Lt. Col. William O. Collins

Strength:	26 Officers	
(District of Nebraska)	296 Men	No Artillery

WAR OF THE REBELLION--OFFICIAL RECORDS OF THE UNION AND CONFEDERATE ARMIES (Series I, Vol. XXII, Part I Reports), pp. 888-893.

January 31, 1864

Department of Kansas (Headquarters Fort Leavenworth) Commanded by Major General Samuel R. Curtis.

District of Colorado (Headquarters Denver?) Commanded by Colonel John M. Chivington.

Posts	Commanded by	Companies	Commanders
Camp Weld, C. T.	Maj. Edward W. Wynkoop	1st Colo. Cav., Co. D Colorado Battery	Lt. Eli Dickerson Capt. William D. McLain
Camp Collins, C. T.		1st Colo. Cav., Co. B	Lt. George W. Hawkins
Camp Fillmore, C. T.		1st Colo. Cav., Co. L	Lt. George L. Shoup
Fort Halleck, I. T.		11th Ohio Cav., Cos. C & F	Maj. Thomas L. Mackey
Guadalupe, C. T.		1st Colo. Cav., Co. I	Capt. Charles Kerber
Fort Lyon, C. T.	Maj. Scott J. Anthony	1st Colo. Cav., Cos. F, K, M 9th Wisconsin Vol. Battery	Maj. Scott J. Anthony Capt. James H. Dodge
Camp Curtis, C. T.		1st Colo. Cav., Co. C	Lt. Clark Dunn
Fort Garland, C. T.		1st Colo. Cav., Cos. A & E	Lt. Col. Samuel F. Tappan
Fort Laramie, I. T.		11th Ohio Cav. (6 companies)	Lt. Col. William O. Collins
Fremont's Orchard, C. T.		1st Colo. Cav., Co. H	Capt. George L. Sanborn
Trinidad, C. T.		1st Colo. Cav., Co. G	Lt. George H. Hardin

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Strength:	63 Officers	
(District of Colorado)	1,235 Men	18 Pieces of Field Artillery

June 30, 1864

Department of Kansas (Headquarters Fort Leavenworth) Commanded by Major General Samuel R. Curtis.

District of Nebraska (Headquarters Omaha) Commanded by Brigadier General Robert B. Mitchell.

Posts	Commanded by	Companies	Commanders
Dakota City, N. T.	Capt. Edward B. Murphy	7th Iowa Cav., Co. A 1st Battalion, Neb. Cav., Co. B	Capt. Edward B. Murphy Capt. Zarembo Jackson
Cottonwood Springs, N. T.		7th Iowa Cav., Cos. C & F	Maj. George O'Brien
Fort Kearny, N. T.		7th Iowa Cav., Cos. B & D	Maj. John S. Wood
Pawnee Agency, N. T.		7th Iowa Cav., Co. E	Capt. James B. David
Omaha, N. T.	Col. Samuel W. Summers	1st Battalion, Neb. Cav., Co. A 1st Battalion, Neb. Cav., Co. D	Lt. Charles F. Porter Lt. William R. Bowen
Fort Halleck, I. T.		11th Ohio Cav., Cos. C & F	Maj. Thomas L. Mackey
Fort Laramie, I. T.		11th Ohio Cav., Cos. B, D, G & H	Lt. Col. William O. Collins
Sweetwater Bridge, I. T.		11th Ohio Cav., Co. E	Capt. Levi G. Marshall
En Route		1st Battalion, Neb. Cav., Co. C, to Pawnee Agency 11th Ohio Cav., Co. A, to Deer Creek, I. T.	Capt. Henry Kuhl Capt. Levi M. Rinehart
Strength: (District of Nebraska)	53 Officers 1,146 Men	6 Pieces of Field Artillery	

August 31, 1864

Department of Kansas (Headquarters at Fort Leavenworth) Commanded by Major General Samuel R. Curtis.

District of Nebraska (Headquarters Omaha) Commanded by Brigadier General Robert B. Mitchell.

Posts	Commanded by	Companies	Commanders
Camp Collins, C. T.		11th Ohio Cav., Co. B 11th Ohio Cav., Co. F	Capt. Wesley Love Capt. William H. Evans
Fremont's Orchard, C. T.		11th Ohio Cav., Co. C	Capt. Thomas P. Clark
Post Cottonwood, N. T.		7th Iowa Cav., Co. C 1st Batt., Neb. Cav., Co. A	Lt. Harrison W. Cremer Lt. Charles F. Porter
Dakota City, N. T.		1st Batt., Neb. Cav., Co. B	Capt. Zaremba Jackson
Fort Kearny, N. T.	Lt. Col. William Baumer	1st Neb. Cav., Co. A 1st Neb. Cav., Co. C 1st Neb. Cav., Co. K	Capt. Lee P. Gillette Lt. Thomas H. Griffin Capt. Edward Lawler
Omaha, N. T.		1st Batt., Neb. Cav., Co. D (detachment)	Lt. William R. Bowen
Platte River, N. T.		7th Iowa Cav., Co. F	Lt. John S. Brewer
Plum Creek, N. T.		7th Iowa Cav., Co. A 7th Iowa Cav., Co. B 1st Neb. Cav. (6 companies)	Capt. Edward B. Murphy Capt. John Wilcox Col. Robert R. Livingston
Deer Creek, I. T.		11th Ohio Cav., Co. G	Capt. Levi M. Rinehart
Fort Halleck, I. T.		11th Ohio Cav., Co. D	Capt. Peter W. Van Winkle
La Bonta, I. T.		11th Ohio Cav., Co. E	Capt. Levi G. Marshall
Fort Laramie, I. T.		7th Iowa Cav., Co. D	Capt. William D. Fouts

Posts	Commanded by	Companies	Commanders
Camp Mitchell, I. T.		11th Ohio Cav., Co. H	Capt. Jacob S. Shuman
Sweetwater Bridge, I. T.		11th Ohio Cav., Co. A	Capt. Henry L. Koehne

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Strength:	63 Officers	
(District of Nebraska)	1,171 Men	2 Pieces of Field Artillery

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WAR OF THE REBELLION--OFFICIAL RECORDS OF THE UNION AND CONFEDERATE ARMIES (Series I, Vol. XLI, Part II Correspondence), pp. 980-982.



October 31, 1864

Department of Kansas (Headquarters Fort Leavenworth) Commanded by Major General Samuel R. Curtis.

District of Nebraska (Headquarters Omaha) Commanded by Brigadier General Robert B. Mitchell.

Posts	Commanded by	Companies	Commanders
<u>EASTERN SUB-DISTRICT</u>	Col. Robt. R. Livingston		
Omaha City, N. T.	Lt. Col. William Baumer	1st Batt., Neb. Cav., Co. D	Capt. Henry F. C. Krumme
Alkali Station, N. T.		7th Iowa Cav., Co. A	Capt. Edward B. Murphy
Beauvais Station, N. T.		1st Batt., Neb. Cav., Co. A (detachment)	Lt. Merrill S. Tuttle
Columbus, N. T.		7th Iowa Cav., Co. E	Capt. James B. David
Post Cottonwood, N. T.	Capt. Henry Kuhl	7th Iowa Cav., Co. C (detachment) 1st Batt., Neb. Cav., Co. C	Lt. Harrison W. Cremer Capt. Henry Kuhl
Dakota City, N. T.		1st Batt., Neb. Cav., Co. B	Capt. Zarembo Jackson
Dan Smith's Ranch		7th Iowa Cav., Co. C (detachment)	Lt. Martin B. Cutler
Gillman's Station, N. T.		1st Batt., Neb. Cav., Co. A (detachment)	Capt. Charles F. Porter
Julesburg, C. T.		7th Iowa Cav., Co. F	Capt. Nicholas J. O'Brien
Junction Station, N. T.		1st Neb. Militia, Co. B	Capt. Isaac Wiles
Fort Kearny, N. T.	Capt. Lee P. Gillette	1st Neb. Cav., Co. A 1st Neb. Cav., Co. C 1st Neb. Cav., Co. F 1st Neb. Cav., Co. K	Capt. Lee P. Gillette Lt. Thomas H. Griffin Lt. John P. Murphy Capt. Edward Lawler

Posts	Commanded by	Companies	Commanders
Little Blue Station, N. T.		1st Neb. Militia, Co. C	Capt. Alvin G. White
Mullahla's Station, N. T.		1st Neb. Cav., Co. B 1st Neb. Cav., Co. I	Lt. Morgan A. Hance Capt. Henry H. Ribble
O'Fallon's Bluffs, N. T.		7th Iowa Cav., Co. B	Capt. John Wilcox
Plum Creek, N. T.	Capt. Thomas J. Majors	1st Neb. Cav., Co. E 1st Neb. Cav., Co. G 1st Neb. Cav., Co. H	Capt. Sterrit M. Curran Capt. Thos. J. Weatherwax Capt. William W. Ivory
Pawnee Ranch, N. T.		1st Neb. Militia, Co. A	Capt. Thos. B. Stevenson

<u>WESTERN-SUB DISTRICT</u>			
	Lt. Col. Wm. O. Collins		
Camp Collins, C. T.		11th Ohio Cav., Co. B 11th Ohio Cav., Co. F	Capt. Wesley Love Capt. William H. Evans
Deer Creek, I. T.		11th Ohio Cav., Co. G	Capt. Levi M. Rinehart
Fremont's Orchard, C. T.		11th Ohio Cav., Co. C	Capt. Thomas P. Clark
Fort Halleck, I. T.		11th Ohio Cav., Co. D	Capt. Peter W. Van Winkle
Horseshoe Station, I. T.		11th Ohio Cav., Co. E	Capt. Levi G. Marshall
Fort Laramie, I. T.	Maj. John S. Wood	7th Iowa Cav., Co. D	Capt. William D. Fouts
Scott's Bluff, I. T.		11th Ohio Cav., Co. H	Capt. Jacob S. Shuman
Sweetwater Bridge, I. T.		11th Ohio Cav., Co. A	Capt. Henry L. Koehne

Strength: 60 Officers  
(District of Nebraska) 1,403 Men No Artillery

WAR OF THE REBELLION: OFFICIAL RECORDS OF THE UNION AND CONFEDERATE ARMIES (Series I, Vol. XLI, Part IV Correspondence), pp. 374-377.

December 31, 1864

Department of Kansas (Headquarters Fort Leavenworth) Commanded by Major General Sammuel R. Curtis.

District of Nebraska (Headquarters Omaha) Commanded by Brigadier General Robert B. Mitchell.

Posts	Commanded by	Companies	Commanders
General Headquarters	Maj. Gen. Samuel R. Curtis	11th Kansas Cav., CO. G (escort) Signal Corps (detachment) Wisconsin Light, 9th Battery (detachment)	Capt. Alfred C. Pierce Capt. Edwin I. Meeker
<u>EASTERN SUB-DISTRICT</u> (Nebraska)	Col. Robert R. Livingston		
Alkali Station, N. T.		7th Iowa Cav., Co. A	Capt. Edward B. Murphy
Beauvais Station, N. T.		1st Batt., Neb. Cav., Co. A (detachment)	Lt. Merrill S. Tuttle
Columbus, N. T.		7th Iowa Cav., Co. E	Capt. James B. David
Post Cottonwood, N. T.	Col. Samuel W. Summers	7th Iowa Cav., Co. C (detachment) 7th Iowa Cav., (1 company of recruits) 1st Batt., Nebr. Cav., Co. C	Capt. Harrison W. Cremer Capt. Henry Kuhl
Dan Smith's Ranch		7th Iowa Cav., Co. C (detachment)	Lt. George M. Swain
Gilman's Station, N. T.		1st Batt., Neb. Cav., Co. A (detachment)	Capt. Charles F. Porter
Julesburg, C. T.		7th Iowa Cav., Co. F	Capt. Nicholas J. O'Brien

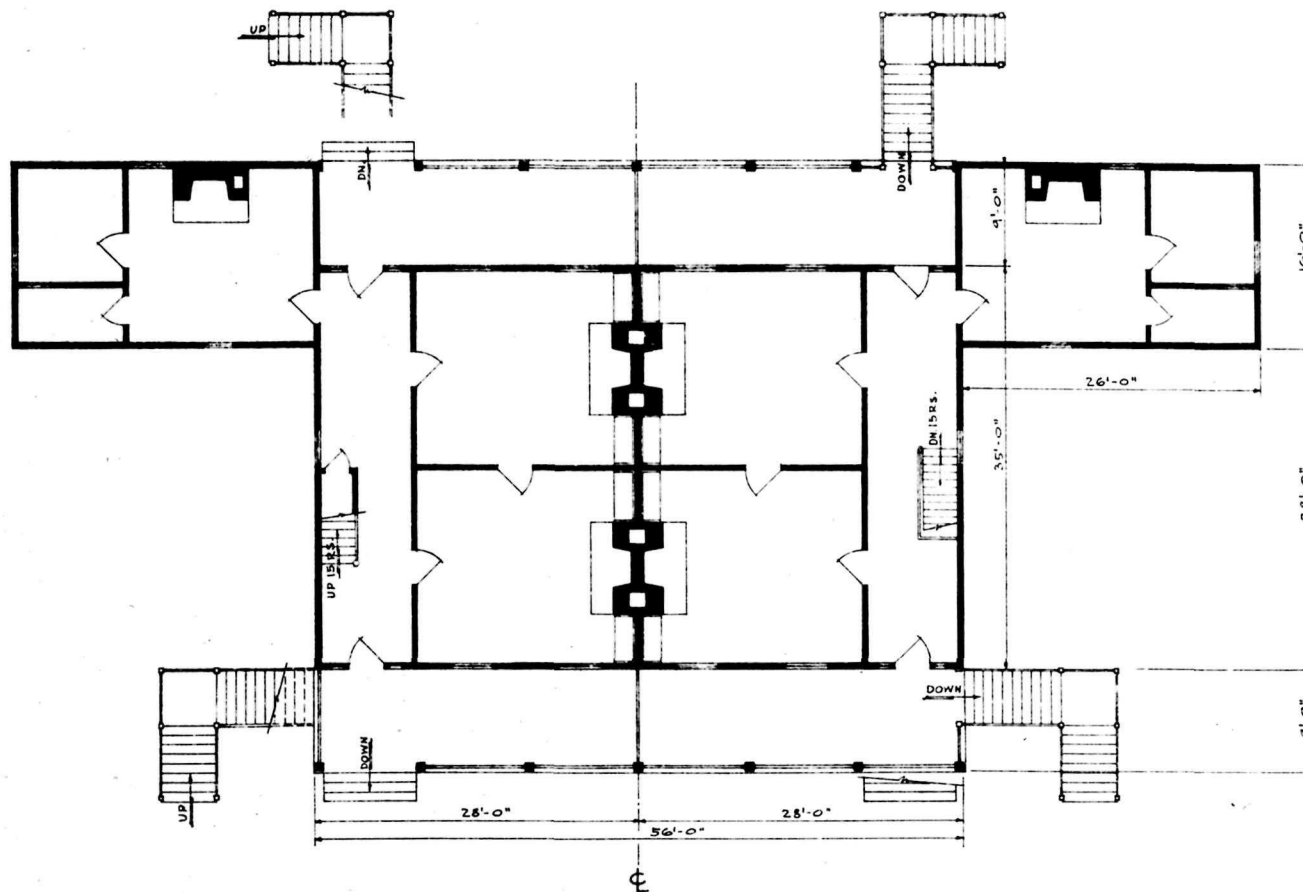
Posts	Commanded by	Companies	Commanders
Fort Kearny, N. T.	Capt. Lee P. Gillette	1st Neb. Cav., Co. A 1st Neb. Cav., Co. C 1st Neb. Cav., Co. F 1st Neb. Cav., Co. K 1st Neb. Militia, Co. B	Capt. Lee P. Gillette Lt. Thomas H. Griffin Lt. John P. Murphy Lt. Edward Donovan Capt. Isaac Wiles
Little Blue Station, N. T.		1st Neb. Militia, Co. C	Capt. Alvin G. White
Mullahla's Station, N. T.		1st Neb. Cav., Co. I	Capt. Henry H. Ribble
O'Fallon's Bluffs, N. T.		7th Iowa Cav., Co. B	Capt. John Wilcox
Plum Creek, N. T.		1st Neb. Cav., Co. E 1st Neb. Cav., Co. G 1st Neb. Cav., Co. H	Capt. Sterrit M. Curran Lt. Morgan A. Hance Capt. William W. Ivory
<u>WESTERN SUB-DISTRICT</u>	Lt. Col. William O. Collins		
Camp Collins, C. T.		11th Ohio Cav., Co. B 11th Ohio Cav., Co. F	Capt. Wesley Love Capt. William H. Evans
Fremont's Orchard, C. T.		11th Ohio Cav., Co. C	Capt. Thomas P. Clark
Fort Halleck, I. T.		11th Ohio Cav., Co. K	Capt. Jacob L. Humfreville
Fort Laramie, I. T.	Lt. Col. William O. Collins	7th Iowa Cav., Co. D 11th Ohio Cav., Co. A 11th Ohio Cav., Co. D 11th Ohio Cav., Co. I 11th Ohio Cav., Co. L	Capt. William D. Fouts Capt. Henry L. Koehne Capt. Jacob F. Apt Capt. Jacob F. Apt
Camp Marshall, I. T.		11th Ohio Cav., Co. E	Capt. Levi G. Marshall

Posts	Commanded by	Companies	Commanders
Camp Mitchell, I. T.		11th Ohio Cav., Co. H	Lt. William Ellsworth
Platte Bridge, I. T.		11th Ohio Cav., Co. G	Lt. Henry C. Bretney
Strength: (District of Nebraska)	54 Officers 1,201 Men	No Artillery	

WAR OF THE REBELLION--OFFICIAL RECORDS OF THE UNION AND CONFEDERATE ARMIES (Series I, Volume XLI, Part IV Correspondence), pp. 988-991.

## APPENDIX D

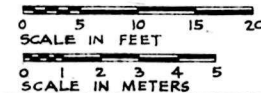
Historic American Buildings Survey (HABS), Old Bedlam, Midwest  
Regional Office, National Park Service.



FIRST FLOOR PLAN      SECOND FLOOR PLAN  
SCALE  $\frac{1}{8}" = 1'-0"$

PLANS  
SYMMETRICAL  
ABOUT "C"

NOTE  
SHEETS 1, 2 & 3 ARE OF ORIGINAL BUILDING  
INFORMATION COMPILED FROM OLD DRAWINGS,  
PHOTOGRAPHS, WRITTEN HISTORIC DATA AND  
MEASUREMENTS AT PRESENT BUILDING.



WILFRED G. HILL & LESLIE E. WILKIE, DEL.

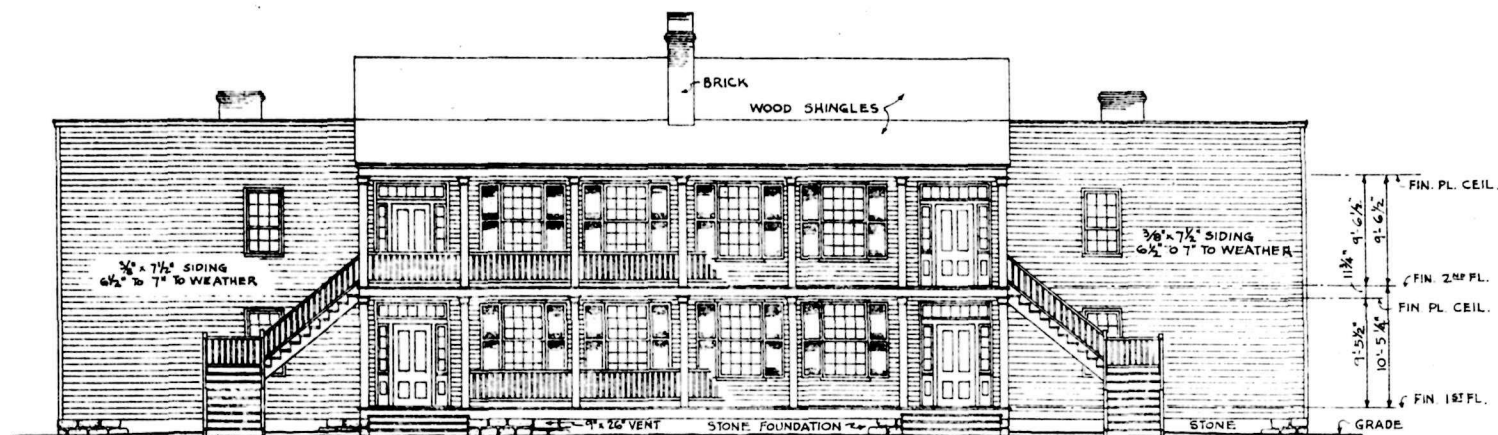
UNDER DIRECTION OF UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR  
NATIONAL PARK SERVICE, BRANCH OF PLANS AND DESIGN

NAME OF STRUCTURE  
**OLD BEDLAM**  
FORT LARAMIE NATIONAL MONUMENT

SURVEY NO.  
WYO-1

HISTORIC AMERICAN  
BUILDINGS SURVEY  
SHEET 1 OF 18 SHEETS

LIBRARY OF CONGRESS  
PHOTO NUMBER



FRONT (SOUTHEAST) ELEVATION



SIDE (SOUTHWEST) ELEVATION  
SCALE  $\frac{1}{8}'' = 1'-0''$



WILFRED G. HILL & LESLIE E. WILKIE, DEL.

UNDER DIRECTION OF UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR  
NATIONAL PARK SERVICE, BRANCH OF PLANS AND DESIGN

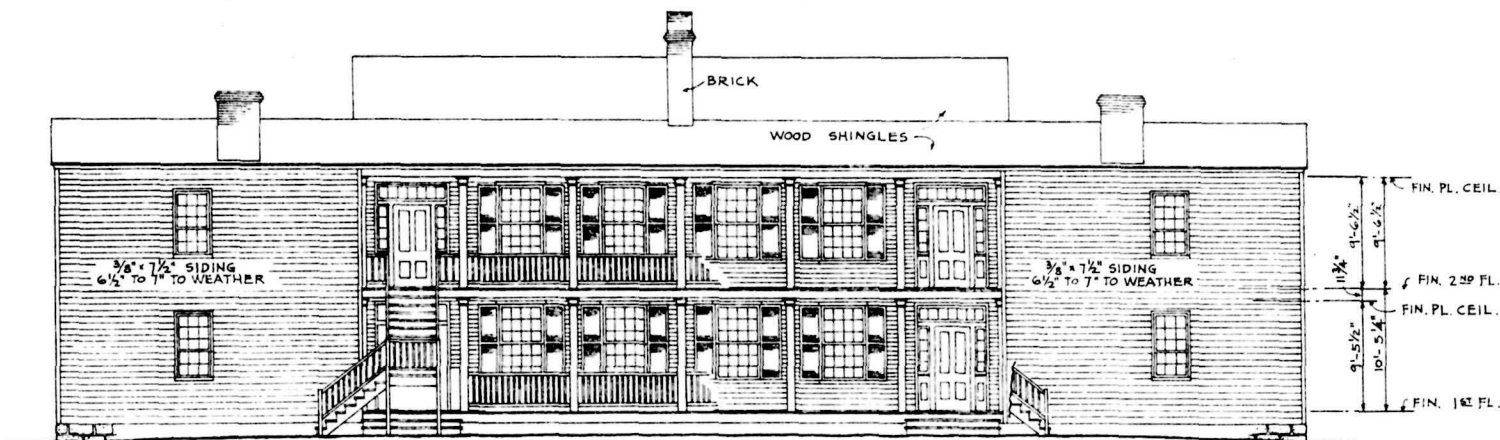
NAME OF STRUCTURE  
**OLD BEDLAM**  
FORT LARAMIE NATIONAL MONUMENT

SURVEY NO.  
WYO-1

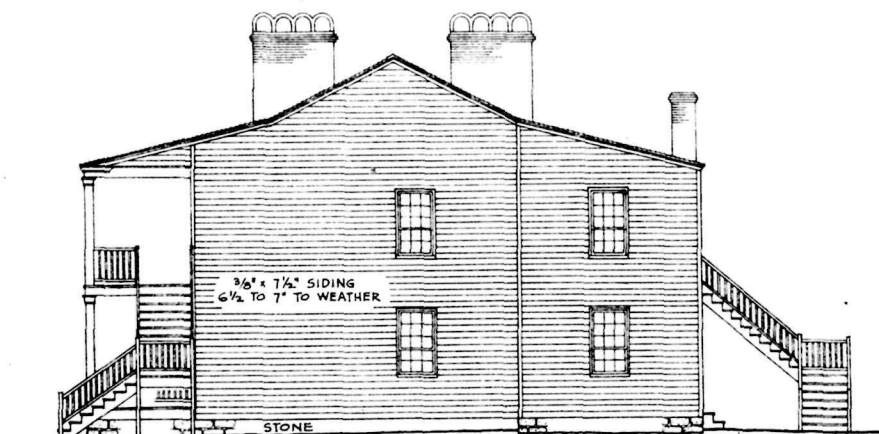
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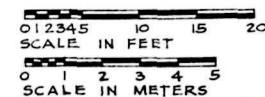


NORTHWEST (REAR) ELEVATION



NORTHEAST (SIDE) ELEVATION

SCALE  $\frac{1}{8}'' = 1'-0''$



WILFRED G. HILL & LESLIE E. WILKIE, DEL.

UNDER DIRECTION OF UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR

NAME OF STRUCTURE  
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HISTORIC AMERICAN  
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