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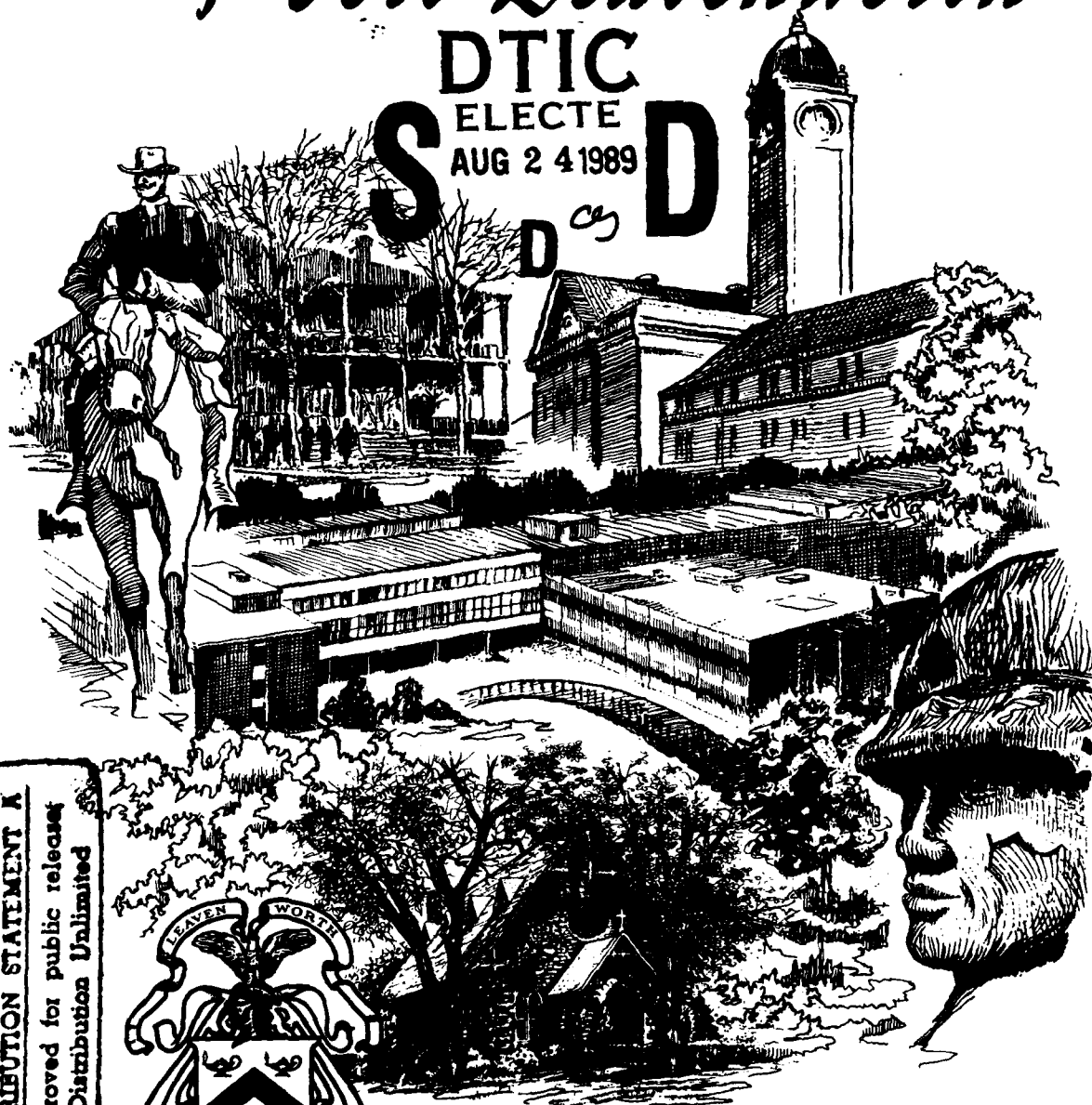
A Brief History of Fort Leavenworth

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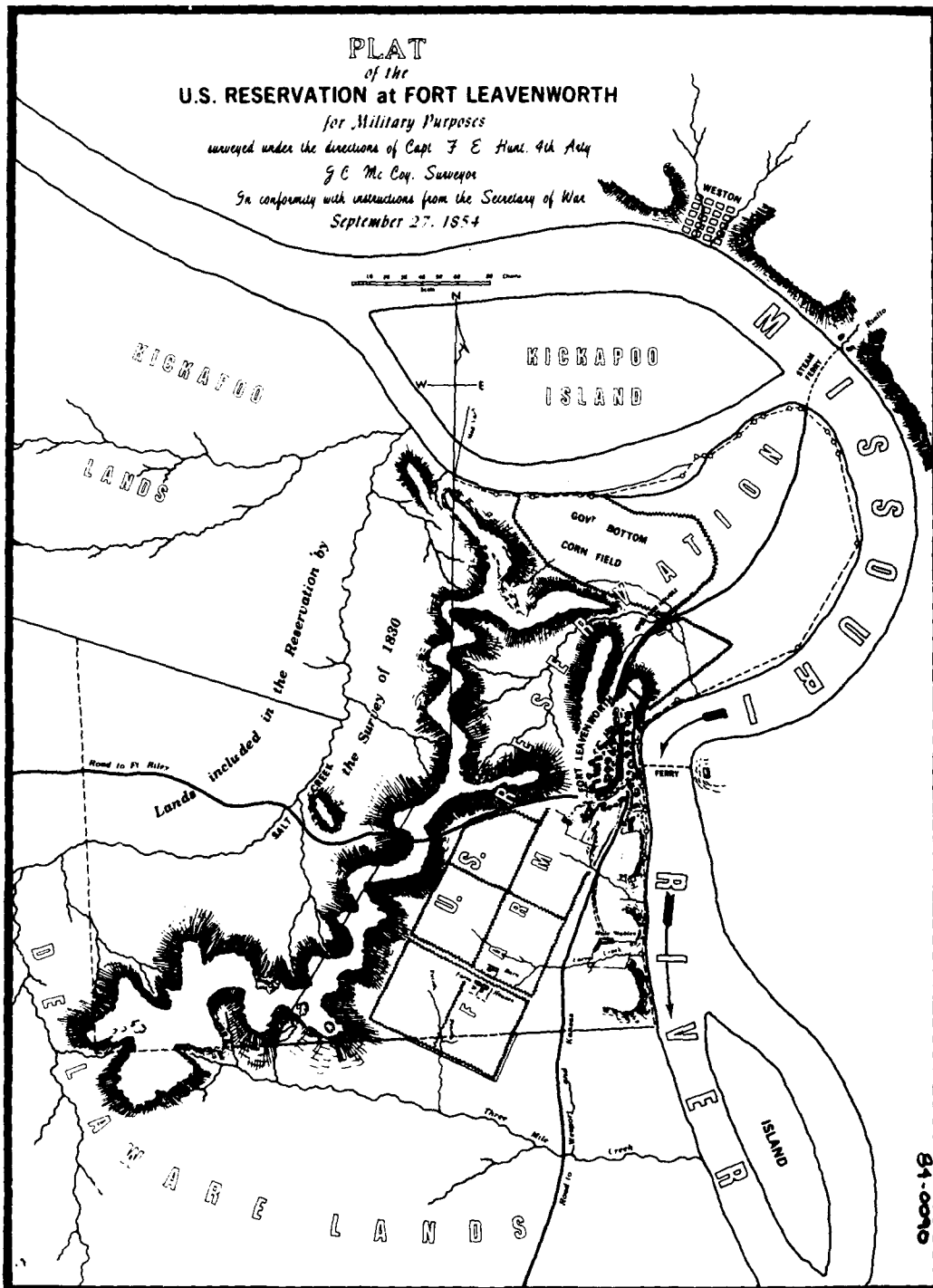
1827-1983

U.S. Army

*Combined Arms Center and
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PLAT
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U.S. RESERVATION at FORT LEAVENWORTH
for Military Purposes
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G. C. Mc Coy, Surveyor
In conformity with instructions from the Secretary of War
September 27, 1854



**A
BRIEF HISTORY
OF
FORT LEAVENWORTH
1827—1983**

**Edited by Dr. John W. Partin
Combined Arms Center Command Historian**

**Combat Studies Institute
U.S. Army Command and General Staff College
Fort Leavenworth, Kansas 66027
1983**

15 June 1983

the *of*
FOREWORD

In *the* spring, 1827 Colonel Henry Leavenworth led an expedition up the Missouri River, past the mouth of the Little Platte, in search of a site for a new fort. He selected a location on the bluffs of the west bank, high above the river. The fort named for Colonel Leavenworth soon had an important role in the settlement and defense of the West. Today, 156 years after its founding, the physical beauty of the fort is undiminished: the bluffs overlooking the river, the rolling grassland surrounded by a ridge line on the west, and the historic buildings are reminders of the post's heritage. More important, Fort Leavenworth has occupied an integral position in the American defense effort over the years. And it continues to do so to this day.

of
The ten essays ~~that follow~~ narrate the history of the fort and illuminate the important contributions made to this country by its peoples, events, and institutions. Each essay was written by a member of the Combat Studies Institute, the history department of the Command and General Staff College. These professional historians have contributed their efforts in the hope that this post's history—the important role it played in times past—will be more accessible. (KR)

Crosbie E. Saint
CROSBIE E. SAINT
MAJOR GENERAL, USA
Acting Commander



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THE FIRST INHABITANTS

By Dr. Roger J. Spiller

Centuries before history began, man first tracked across the Great Plains to find the place today called Fort Leavenworth. Perhaps as many as 15,000 years ago, early man found a well-watered region abundant with game and wild food ready for the gathering. These men did no farming, but lived solely by what nature was pleased to offer them. Very like the animals they hunted for food, the men roamed in small groups throughout the Plains in patterns of migration, pausing at one spot only temporarily. During these early days, the hills overlooking the Missouri stood as mute sentinels while many bands of hunters passed by. The daily dramas of these men, their arts and rituals, even their names, are unknown to us. But they were no less real and their lives were no less complicated than our own. They lived in a different world, but not a simpler one.

More centuries passed before these early rhythms of human life changed. Elsewhere, culturally powerful peoples rose up. In the Ohio and Mississippi river valleys, the culture we call today "the Mound Builders" had evolved. The Mound Builders were less fond of migration than the Plainsmen to the west. They lived together in larger numbers, built extensive settlements, and began to farm for part of their livelihood. Their religious customs demanded that their dead be buried in great mounds of earth, accompanied by ornaments that were to assist them in the spiritual world. A new, more stable tempo of life emerged in these valleys, and gradually the Mound Builders' influence began to spread westward.

On the wooded, eastern rim of the Plains, men began to imitate the culture of the more sophisticated Mound Builders and so created a style of life that we know today as "the Woodland Culture." The people of the new culture also built burial mounds. Although they still hunted for most of their food, they were not so migratory as their ancestors, preferring instead to survive partly by gathering wild foods and raising corn and beans. Small villages began to appear, villages that perhaps were connected to one another by trade. During this era, pottery and tools made their first appearance in the valley. Beginning about five hundred years before the birth of Christ, the Woodland Culture thrived for more than 1,500 years.

While far away in Europe, Charlemagne was about to take the throne of the Holy Roman Empire (800 A. D.), yet another era was beginning in the eastern Plains as peoples from the north and the south began to move toward the lower Missouri Valley. From the north, people speaking Siouan languages migrated into the area, where they were joined by southerners who used the Caddoan style of tongue. The old and new residents of the

eastern Plains had similar interests, however; all were drawn to the plentiful life of the valley. In well-separated communities, a hardy agricultural life evolved that depended upon the farming of corn, beans, squash, and sunflowers. The hunt was never abandoned: these villages sent out hunting parties that ranged against the herds of wild animals that coursed across the central Plains. But these were expeditions; when their work was done, the hunting parties returned to earthen lodges made to last much longer than one season. From this blending of cultures there emerged the tribes whose names are familiar to us today: the Kansa, Osage, Missouri, Oto, Omaha, Iowa, Pawnee, and others.

For many thousands of years, these people had made their way about on foot. Sometime late in the 16th century, before the founding of Jamestown on the east coast, Spanish conquistadors in northern New Mexico introduced the horse to the native peoples of the region. One hundred and fifty years later, the culture of the horse had spread by trade and war from tribe to tribe to the Canadian borderlands. From this time forward, the horse and the natives of the Plains became inseparable. But while some of the Plainsmen forsook the more settled life for the high-speed, far-ranging hunt against animals such as the buffalo, the people of the eastern rim remained more attached to the agricultural life that had served them so well for centuries. Although they too launched mounted hunts over the Plains and conducted their wars and trade from horseback, they still did not become the colorful and extravagant Plains Indian of fact and legend.

Not so long after the arrival of the horse, European explorers and traders began to appear on the Plains. In 1541 the Spaniard Coronado may have taken one of his expeditions from New Mexico as far as central Kansas. His successors ranged closer to the Missouri Valley, hunting and trading with the tribes along the river. In the meantime, from the east came the French, who also meant to lay claim to these vast lands. For nearly a century, France and Spain waged an imperial contest for the overlordship of this region, a contest fought by means of trade, travel, and the establishment of posts at important points in the territory. One of these posts, Fort de Cavagnial, was built by the French near the present-day Fort Leavenworth in 1744. The ruins of the old French fort were reported years later by the American explorers, Lewis and Clark, as they made their way upriver.

From these early explorers and those who followed, we have our first recorded glimpses of the people who called the hills and prairies around Leavenworth their home. One Kansa village, according to Lewis and Clark, contained 128 lodges, each about sixty feet long and twenty-five feet wide. Each lodge sheltered several families, and for each there was a fireplace, bedding of skins and mats, and a simple pantry for the storage of food, cooking utensils and various ornaments. According to Lewis and Clark, the lodges were built close together, "allowing barely space sufficient to admit

a man to pass between them." Beyond these lodges were the fields of corn, beans, and pumpkins, stretching in all directions. Horses, mules, and dogs in great number completed the picture. But because these people lived the life of both the hunter and the farmer, they used another, more temporary dwelling—the tipi—made of poles and animal skins and painted to tell stories to passersby.

The material life of these peoples was rich, but not as elaborate as others. The Kansa and Osage did not know basket work; for storage they often made trunks of buffalo hides, other skins, or wood. For the preparation of their food, they used simple stone or wooden mortars. As with so many tribes, the weapons they used for the hunt were also used for war. The Osage, for instance, preferred a bow of medium length and shorter arrows for greater power at short ranges. War clubs came in several types, of which the most common was the ball-headed club. The Kansa and the Osage used circular shields covered over with buffalo hides that offered protection from other war clubs, arrows, or (it has been claimed) a bullet from a smoothbore musket.

All the tribes on the eastern rim of the Plains enjoyed their religions and devoted much of their time and treasure to worship. These tribes celebrated a Great Spirit known as *Wakanda*. *Wakanda* animated all things and beings in the universe and stood for the many mysteries that punctuated their existence. Thus, religion surrounded the people of this region, and as they went through their daily lives, they often carried along a small, so-called "medicine" bag containing objects that held a particular mystical significance for them. In an age when the turns of life could seem fickle even to the most sophisticated European, such rituals gave a measure of comfort to the original Plainsmen, a way of dealing with the uncertainties in one's existence.

By the time the early explorers arrived in the Missouri Valley, the appearance of the tribesmen had no doubt been affected by the new culture of the horse and the advanced arrival of trade articles from white settlements in the east. Buffalo robes were perhaps more plentiful than they had been before the arrival of the horse, but now, in the early 19th century, they were an established article of dress. To these were added leather leggings and dresses and soft leather moccasins. In time of war, the men wore special shirts of leather, cut their hair to leave only a scalp lock, and if their stature within the tribe allowed it, donned headdresses of feathers.

The European explorers and traders who came to the Leavenworth area foretold a radical change to peoples whose patterns of life for centuries had seemed nearly changeless. The Kansa and their kinsmen had enjoyed an epoch of regularity, comfortable and predictable, before the coming of the white man. They had made their peace with a nature that, if it could not be controlled, could at least be contended with. They had not been forced

to adjust to whimsical alterations in the character and tempo of their surroundings. As the white man began to move among them in ever-increasing numbers, the cultural versatility of the first inhabitants along the Missouri River would be put to its severest test.

EXPLORATION AND TRADE UNDER THREE FLAGS, 1714—1827

By Dr. Robert H. Berlin

The Missouri River is more than a body of water. It is a great and well-traveled road, a highway to adventure. In the 18th and early 19th centuries, French and American explorers and traders, in their quest for new lands and new wealth, traveled up the Missouri River. Invariably, they passed the future site of Fort Leavenworth.

Furs were the currency of the early American West, and two nations struggled over the fur trade and control of the land where it took place. Spain centered her trade in Santa Fe, New Mexico, while France pushed north from Louisiana (which was founded in 1699) and west from the Illinois country. In 1673 French explorers became the first white men to see the Missouri River. Another French expedition was the first of many to travel up the Missouri.

A young French officer, Etienne Veniard de Bourgmont, ascended the Missouri in 1714 to the mouth of the Platte River, thus becoming the first white man to travel past the future site of Fort Leavenworth. Bourgmont observed Indians along its banks and noted the fine fur skins of all kinds that they were willing to trade. Word of French travel on the Missouri reached the Spanish, and they hastened to prevent further incursions. A Spanish expedition left Santa Fe in 1720 and headed for the Missouri. Indians attacked the expedition in western Kansas; few Spaniards survived.

In 1723 Bourgmont and a party of forty Frenchmen left the Illinois country, journeyed along the Missouri, and erected a small fort in present-day western Missouri. Accompanied by over 100 Indians, Bourgmont left the fort in July 1724 to trade with the Kansa Indians. A skilled frontiersman and trader, Bourgmont held councils with Indian chiefs and, through words and gifts, encouraged their loyalty to France. The Kansa Indians lived in a village located in what is now Doniphan County, Kansas, although sometime between 1724 and 1744, they moved downstream to a site in the Salt and Plum Creek valleys, near present-day Fort Leavenworth.

The lure of profits and adventure encouraged others to take the route Bourgmont had pioneered. Some went farther. The Mallet brothers, Pierre and Paul, went up the Missouri in 1739, then headed west along the Platte River and southward until they reached Santa Fe, New Mexico. French frontiersmen were eager to trade with the Spanish, and the Mallet brothers proved the value of such trade, even though the Spanish government offi-

cially forbade it. The French exchanged brandy, guns, and knives for Indian furs and Spanish silver. Desire for trade with both the Spanish and the Indians prompted the French to establish a base along the Missouri. The French governor of Louisiana sent a special envoy to choose the new post's location.

In the spring of 1744, a French engineer, the Chevalier Pierre René Harpin de la Gautrais, traveled up the Missouri and selected the site for a military post. Located on rising ground overlooking the village of the Kansa Indians on Salt Creek, Fort de Cavagnial, as the fortified trading post was called, remained the outpost of imperial France in Kansas for twenty years. Named after the French governor of Louisiana, Francois-Pierre Rigaud, baron de Cavagnial, marquis de Vaudreuil, the fort was constructed in the spring and summer of 1744 and officially chartered on August 8, 1744. De Cavagnial never saw the fort which commemorated his name.

The fort's precise location remains a mystery. Presumably it was northwest of the present Fort Leavenworth. The inscription on a marker, located along Sheridan Drive above the cemetery, states that the site is within view of the visitor. It is difficult to be more specific. Recent archeological explorations have failed to locate remains of the fort. Visitors to the Fort de Cavagnial marker may want to estimate for themselves where Leavenworth's first fort may have been.

What did the fort look like and who lived there are questions that can be answered. The fort was constructed of stout piles, eighty feet on the square, with bastions at each corner. Inside the fort were a commandant's house, a guard house, a powder house—all two stories tall—a trader's house, and a house for employees of the traders. These were log buildings, most covered with mud, and even the chimneys were made of mud-covered logs. The post's garrison consisted of a commandant, eight to ten soldiers, and several traders. If the French wives of a few soldiers, the Indian wives of the traders, and the children were counted, the post's population was close to forty.

The commandants controlled activities at this trading post. The fort's commandant regulated the fur trade between the French traders and the Indians. He also encouraged exploration and trade with the Spanish at Santa Fe. The commandants worked with limited manpower and material. Sometimes their duty could be hazardous—a drunken soldier murdered the post's second commandant, Lieutenant Augustin-Antoine de la Barre.

The next commandant, Louis Robineau de Portneuf, assiduously encouraged fur trade, both to benefit France and to further good relations with the Kansa Indians. But Portneuf and his men did so at some risk. For example, after spending the winter of 1751-1752 at Cavagnial, a ten-man trading expedition left in mid-March for Santa Fe. In Commanche country

eight men turned back. The expedition's two leaders reached New Mexico, only to be arrested for spying. They were sent to Spain after narrowly escaping the death penalty. The Spanish now knew of Fort de Cavagnial's existence.

For the French, 1752 was not a good year at Fort de Cavagnial. The Kansa Indians moved away from the fort, limiting the commandant's authority over both the fur trade and the rowdy French voyageurs who were eager to acquire beaver pelts. The fort fell in disrepair because of age and storm damage. The commandant was ordered to repair the fort and charge the cost to the traders, but this was not feasible. Hostile Indians were also troublesome. In one case, Missouri Indians attempted to steal horses from the fort, but two were killed by soldiers. So far as is known, these were the only shots fired in anger at Fort de Cavagnial. In 1753 Indians killed four French soldiers who deserted from post.

This isolated frontier outpost became a casualty of the widening conflict between France and Great Britain. Commandant Portneuf left his post in 1753 and later led troops against the British during the French and Indian War. His replacement, Captain de Moncharvaux, apparently was unable to rebuild the fort that had been damaged by hostile weather and neglect. By 1758 the fort was nothing more than a circle of piles enclosing some bad cabins and rude huts. By a secret treaty of 1762, France ceded Louisiana west of the Mississippi River to Spain. Two years later the small French garrison abandoned Fort de Cavagnial. The Royal French flag no longer flew at this site along the Missouri. Sometime around 1777 the Kansa Indians abandoned their village near the fort.

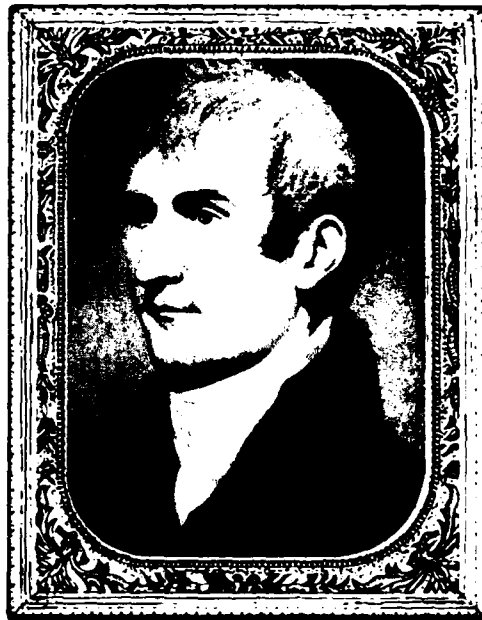
Although the Crown of Spain ruled the future site of Fort Leavenworth, the Spaniards relied on seasoned French frontiersmen, organized in trading companies, to explore and trade among the Indians along the Upper Missouri. In 1794 Jean Baptiste Truteau led an expedition which camped near the site of present-day Leavenworth and observed the former Kansa Indian village site. Several other trading expeditions traveled up the Missouri between 1795 and 1800. By the secret Treaty of San Ildefonso of 1800, Spain transferred Louisiana back to France. When word of the change of ownership reached the United States, there was considerable alarm. Americans feared French control of Louisiana would damage commerce on the Mississippi River. President Thomas Jefferson encouraged negotiations with the French which led to a spectacular deal. The Louisiana Purchase of 1803 gave all of Louisiana to the United States for twelve million dollars!

To explore these vast new lands and to find a route to the Pacific Ocean, Jefferson selected two hardy young frontiersmen, Meriwether Lewis and William Clark. Together they led an expedition of forty-eight men on one of the epic journeys in the history of exploration. Leaving St. Louis in the spring of 1804, the expedition traveled up the Missouri in a keelboat

and two large canoes. On July 1, 1804, the group camped on an island in the river nearly opposite present-day Leavenworth. One of the expedition's members, a Frenchman, had informed the group of the earlier existence of a French fort in the area.



William Clark (1770—1838)



Meriwether Lewis (1774—1809)

Lewis and Clark, leaders of the first American expedition up the Missouri, marveled at the "high and beautiful prairie" of present-day Fort Leavenworth and observed the ruins of Fort de Cavagnial.

On Monday, July 2, 1804, Lewis and Clark camped opposite the old Kansa Indian village. Their journal informs us that "about a mile in the rear of the village was a small fort, built by the French on an elevation. There are now no traces of the village, but the situation of the fort may be recognized by some remains of chimneys, and the general outline of the fortification." The area impressed Lewis and Clark who observed the "high and beautiful prairie," the many pecan trees, and the large numbers of deer and turkeys on the river banks.

Lewis and Clark opened the way for American explorers and fur traders. In 1807 an expedition led by Manuel Lisa journeyed past the future site of Fort Leavenworth on the way up the Missouri. His party returned with a wealth of furs which spurred many other traders and trappers to

retrace the route. In 1811 Henry M. Brackenridge, an American traveler and writer, accompanied Lisa on a voyage up the Missouri. Brackenridge observed that the present site of Leavenworth "would be a delightful situation for a town." Indeed, signs of settlement were approaching.

The first U.S. military post in present Kansas was established in 1818 on an island in the Missouri about equidistant from Atchison and Leavenworth of today. Cantonment Martin, named for its senior officer, was a temporary military outpost designed to support expeditions traveling west. The most notable visitors to the future site of Fort Leavenworth during this period were the members of an Army-sponsored scientific expedition led by Major Stephen H. Long. Imagine the astonishment of Indians along the river when they glimpsed, for the first time, a steamboat. The *Western Engineer*, carrying the Long expedition, was designed to impress the Indians, with its bow painted to resemble a huge black and scaly serpent. The vessel displayed signs of peace—a banner portraying a white man and an Indian shaking hands—and signs of war—three small brass fieldpieces. The symbols were precursors of future visitors to the area whose purpose is to be prepared in peace for war.

The site along the Missouri River now known as Fort Leavenworth was important in the struggle for empire between Britain, Spain, and France in the 18th century. French explorers, businessmen, and soldiers came to this site as visitors, traders, and rulers. France constructed a fort here sixty years before the arrival of the first American visitors, Lewis and Clark. Americans followed the French in pursuit of new land and the fur trade. The Missouri River served both nations as a highway to the West. The opening of a trail to Santa Fe, New Mexico, in the 1820s encouraged trade with newly independent Mexico and brought permanent settlement to this area. However, long before Colonel Henry Leavenworth's name became identified with this location, men of three nations knew its value.

THE FOUNDING OF A FORT: FULFILLING A NEED, 1827—1836

By Lieutenant Colonel Gary Bounds

During the 1820s three circumstances on the frontier of the United States coalesced and created a need to protect American citizens. These included the Mexican Revolution of 1821, the establishment of trade between adventurous frontier businessmen and residents of northern Mexico, and difficulties between the Indian population and the encroaching white man. This interaction led to the founding of Fort Leavenworth by Colonel Henry Leavenworth in 1827. The fort was to protect the traders and to preserve the peace among the various Indian tribes.

Prior to 1821 Mexico had a closed economy and was prohibited from trading with its northern neighbor, the United States. For many years both countries knew the potential benefits that active trade offered. The economies of the two neighbors were complementary: Mexico had the raw material necessary for American expansion, and the United States produced manufactured goods in short supply south of the border. The 1821 Mexican Revolution ended the trade restrictions. Almost immediately, small groups of traders began the long trek through Indian lands to Mexico. Each success nurtured the nascent industry, and by 1824 a number of prominent Missourians had become involved in the trade. By early 1825 the increase in trade had led to a treaty between the U.S. Government and the Great Osage Indian Nation. This treaty, in turn, led to the establishment of the Santa Fe Trail, a development influenced in part by Senator Thomas Hart Benton of Missouri. Benton sought peaceful relations with the Indians to guard the interests of the traders and the welfare of his state. His efforts eventually led to the founding of Fort Leavenworth.

Even though Senator Benton favored peaceful coexistence, the number of incidents involving the Indians and traders increased as more Americans ventured into Mexican territory. The persistent attacks led Benton to demand that a fort be built on the Arkansas River, along the main trade route. As a result of the political pressure applied by Benton, Secretary of War James Barbour, in late 1826, directed the Chief of the United States Army, Major General Jacob Brown, to consider establishing a fort to provide security for the traders.

After due consideration, Army officials determined that a fort on the Arkansas River was impractical. A site nearer the starting point of the Santa Fe Trail, however, was feasible. As a result, the Adjutant General's

Office issued Order Number 14, dated March 7, 1827, which read in part:

2. Colonel Leavenworth of the 3d Infantry, with four companies of his regiment will ascend the Missouri and when he reaches a point on its left bank near the mouth of Little Platte River and within a range of twenty miles above or below its confluence, he will select such position as in his judgment is best calculated for the site of a permanent cantonment. The spot being chosen, he will then construct with the troops of his command comfortable, though temporary quarters sufficient for the accommodation of four companies. This movement will be made as early as the convenience of the service will permit.

In early April 1827 Colonel Henry Leavenworth and a reconnaissance element left Jefferson Barracks, Missouri, for the confluence of the Missouri and Little Platte rivers, where he was to establish the cantonment. Four companies of Colonel Leavenworth's command later departed Jefferson Barracks to join the advance party at the actual site. The initial survey began in the designated area, but the colonel soon ascertained that this location, as well as most locations on the east bank of the river, was frequently flooded and subjected to lowland diseases. On May 8, 1827, Leavenworth reported to the War Department that no adequate sites existed near the designated area, and that he had proceeded up river approximately 20 miles, locating a good site on the west bank of the Missouri River. Colonel Leavenworth justified his decision to place the post on the west bank by stating that the elevated terrain was the healthiest in the area. The site he chose is located on the ridge to the north of the current post headquarters, near Sumner Place.

Colonel Leavenworth did not wait for War Department approval of his site. He directed that a number of shelters be constructed for protection in the coming winter. He also had his men erect a hasty stone fence on the south edge of the encampment. Remnants of this original fence, incorporated into a more sophisticated wall, still remain on the site.

Initially, the soldiers lived in tents that offered little protection from the hordes of insects inhabiting the dense, rotting vegetation along the river's edge. In spite of Colonel Leavenworth's desire to build at a healthy location, many men fell sick during the first summer of the encampment. With the approach of winter, conditions improved somewhat, and by the end of October 1827, newly erected bark and log structures housed the 14 officers and 174 enlisted men at the cantonment, as well as the families of a few soldiers. By the end of 1827, Leavenworth had returned to Jefferson Barracks to resume his duties, but he was to remain influential in the events at Cantonment Leavenworth.



Henry Leavenworth was born in New Haven, Connecticut, on December 10, 1783, to Jesse and Catharine (Conkling) Leavenworth. Commissioned a captain in the 25th Infantry during the War of 1812, he later commanded various posts, including Fort Atkinson and Jefferson Barracks. Noted for his excellent judgment and capable leadership, Leavenworth was selected to lead the expedition to establish the new cantonment along the Missouri River. On July 21, 1834, Brigadier General Leavenworth died of injuries sustained while on an expedition to the Indian Territory. He is buried at Fort Leavenworth.

By 1828 the cantonment contained 26 officers and 291 enlisted men, as additional units of the 3d Infantry Regiment had moved to encampment. As the summer of 1828 progressed, the most deadly enemy of Cantonment Leavenworth was nature. In that year, Secretary of War Peter B. Porter commented in his annual report that "the future of the cantonment was in question." Too many people were sick with malaria. He suggested that "only the introduction of population and herds to destroy the vegetation would help." This bleak forecast notwithstanding, a soldiers' quarters, a hospital, officers' quarters, and a stable had been erected by the end of 1828. The residents planned to stay put, but sickness was rampant as the spring of 1829 approached. There had been several fatal cases of malarial fever. So on March 25, 1829, the Adjutant General's Office issued General Order Number 14 directing that the entire command at Cantonment Leavenworth be withdrawn to Jefferson Barracks. Accordingly, in May 1829 the 3d Infantry left Cantonment Leavenworth, and the post remained empty until the next fall.

As if disease were not enough, during the spring and summer of 1829, a number of Indian attacks occurred along the Santa Fe Trail. As a result, the 6th Infantry was ordered to Cantonment Leavenworth to join a caravan of traders bound for Mexico via the Santa Fe Trail. A force of 180 men from the 6th Infantry Regiment accompanied the traders as far as the Arkansas River, where the soldiers encamped and waited for the party to return. A Mexican Army escort provided security for the traders on the return trip to the Arkansas River. Overall, the venture experienced only minor encounters with the Indians and was considered a success.

After the 6th Infantry reoccupied Cantonment Leavenworth on November 8, 1829, life for the troops settled into a routine of monitoring the activities of the Indian tribes and preparing for escort missions. The nearest "big city" was Liberty, Missouri, and with the exception of an occasional steamboat on the river, life was without incident. Most of the daily necessities were procured locally. According to William Paxton's *Annals of Platte County*, the cantonment quartermaster, during the summer of 1829, paid local merchants the following prices: "Bacon—1½¢ per pound, Salt Pork—75¢ per hundred, Horses—\$15 to \$20 each, Oxen—\$30 a yoke, Large Steers—\$10 each."

In 1830, during the administration of Andrew Jackson, the Indian Removal Act forced a number of the eastern Indian tribes to move west. In the same year, the cantonment became Fort Leavenworth and assumed a larger role in keeping the peace among the various Indian tribes and the increasing white population. During the Pawnee-Delaware War of 1833, for example, representatives from both tribes and the United States Government met at Fort Leavenworth and negotiated a settlement.

Expansion of the post continued in the years that followed. In 1834 a

stone building was erected, and although modified over the years, it still stands as the oldest building on the post. Today Sumner Place, or "The Rookery," stands near the site of the original encampment. Between 1827 and 1836, Cantonment Leavenworth, and later Fort Leavenworth, witnessed a number of military unit changes. Elements of the 3d Infantry Regiment—Colonel Leavenworth's command occupied the post until May 1829—were followed by elements of the 6th Infantry Regiment. After September 1834, the 6th Infantry was replaced by the 1st Dragoons, the first cavalry unit in the U.S. Army. Their creation was, in all likelihood, an indication of the fort's increased role in promoting peace on the Plains. In May 1835 Colonel Henry Dodge, with three companies of the 1st Dragoons, left Fort Leavenworth on an expedition west over the Plains. He reportedly went as far as the Rocky Mountains, via the Platte River, on a course that later became part of the Oregon Trail. He returned by way of the Arkansas River and the Santa Fe Trail. Citizens around the fort greatly disapproved of this action because they felt it left them unprotected, virtually at the mercy of the Indians.



Built in 1834, Sumner Place, known as "The Rookery," is the oldest structure on Fort Leavenworth. This photograph shows what "The Rookery" looked like in 1900.

Fort Leavenworth has always been an active post, but it was especially so during its early years. It served as a jumping off place for traders, its troops were instrumental in maintaining the peace among the Indians, and the escort missions contributed immensely to the development of the economy of the early frontier. The presence of the U.S. Army brought the white man farther west as settlements sprang up in areas near military posts. Fort Leavenworth was founded in response to a specific need—protection of the traders on the Santa Fe Trail. It not only met this need but also many additional challenges of an expanding country.

MANIFEST DESTINY, 1837—1858

By Lieutenant Colonel Phillip W. Childress

During the 1830s and 1840s, Fort Leavenworth worked hard to fulfill the missions for which it was founded. The main tasks assigned to the fort's personnel were keeping the peace between the Indians and frontier settlers, escorting migrants as they followed their hopes and dreams westward, and exploring the new frontiers of the rapidly expanding United States of America.

As greater numbers of Indians were forced westward from their native lands east of the Mississippi River and as more whites migrated westward in search of their promised land, the soldiers at Fort Leavenworth acquired more responsibilities. The expanded mission required improvements in land and waterway lines linking the fort with the East and the vast, unsettled West. In May 1836 Congress appropriated \$100,000 for the construction of a roadway between Fort Snelling, in present-day Minnesota, and Fort Towson, in what later became Oklahoma Territory. By 1844 the section of road completed between Leavenworth and military posts to the south allowed the units at Fort Leavenworth to move troops and supplies rapidly to meet the growing demands of frontier defense.

By 1838 dredging operations had improved the navigability of the Missouri River from St. Louis to Leavenworth. As steamboat traffic increased, the bluffs around Fort Leavenworth became the linkup point for thousands of settlers and their supplies in the journey westward. Fort Leavenworth was quickly becoming the "gateway to the West."

In the 1840s, challenges other than peacekeeping and exploration faced the soldiers garrisoned at Fort Leavenworth. In 1843 Jacob Snively, a store clerk from Nacogdoches, Texas, acquired a commission from the governor of the newly independent Texas Republic to recruit and maintain a group of "soldiers of fortune" to raid, harass, and plunder Mexican supply wagons. The threat from the Texans became so acute that Mexican officials requested that the United States government provide military forces to protect the traders and to control the outlaws.

The War Department honored the Mexican request and directed Colonel Stephen W. Kearny, Commander of Fort Leavenworth, to provide a military force sufficient to patrol the American side of the border. Kearny gave this mission to Captain Philip St. George Cooke, who departed Fort Leavenworth on May 27, 1843, with four companies of Dragoons to protect the Mexican caravans and to subdue the Texas marauders.

Cooke's detachment caught up with Snively's ruffians on the south bank

of the Arkansas River and immediately demanded to know their intentions. After examining Snively's commission, Cooke determined it to be nothing more than a license to steal and ordered Snively to withdraw to Texas. Not willing to engage in a confrontation, Snively obeyed Cooke's demands by surrendering his weapons and returning peacefully to Texas. This resolute action forestalled a possible war between the United States and Mexico. The Mexican dictator, Santa Anna, called Captain Cooke's action "the first act of good faith ever shown by the United States to Mexico."

The peace with Mexico was short-lived. A burning desire by the United States to expand its domain from "sea to shining sea," coupled with Mexico's staunch determination not to recognize Texas' independence and, after 1845, its statehood, made war inevitable. Fort Leavenworth played an important role in the Mexican War, a war that propelled the fort into national prominence. It would never again be an obscure frontier post.

When the war came in 1846, the United States Army was not prepared to support Manifest Destiny. American fighting forces consisted of only eight regiments of infantry, four regiments of artillery, and two companies of cavalry, a total of 8,600 officers and men. Fortunately for the Army and the nation, the Mexican Army was in worse shape.

To prosecute the Mexican War, Congress authorized President James K. Polk to raise a force of 50,000 volunteers to be trained, equipped, and organized into three armies. One of these armies, the Army of the West, under the command of Colonel Kearny, was headquartered at Fort Leavenworth.

Kearny's army consisted of approximately 1,700 soldiers, including 300 regulars of the First Dragoons and 860 Missouri Mounted Volunteers. The volunteers were not expert soldiers, but hearty country boys accustomed to the hardships and rigors of frontier life. Most were expert horsemen and superb marksmen. Historian G. F. Ruxton characterized the troops assembled at Fort Leavenworth as "the dirtiest, rowdiest crew I had ever seen gathered together." Nevertheless, with good leadership by men like Colonels Stephen Kearny, Alexander Doniphan, and Sterling Price, they got the job done.

As the Army of the West gathered at Fort Leavenworth, the post took on a renewed sense of urgency and a visible dedication to its mission: organizing units, training recruits, and stockpiling war supplies. Steamboat traffic increased markedly as war materials arrived on the fort's docks on the Missouri River. The enormous amounts of wagon traffic required seventy-five miles of new roadway west of Independence.

Kearny's wartime mission was to march over the Santa Fe Trail, conquer New Mexico, then continue westward to California and assist military forces fighting there. To do these tasks, Kearny organized three

expeditions. He led the main expeditionary force to conquer Santa Fe. Colonel Doniphan invaded and conquered the Mexican state of Chihuahua. Finally, Colonel Price and his small force followed Kearny to reinforce Santa Fe.



During the Mexican War, Fort Leavenworth served as departure point for three major expeditions. Colonel Stephen W. Kearny, the fort commander, performed an instrumental role in this war by leading an Army of 1,700 men that occupied Santa Fe and captured San Diego and Los Angeles.

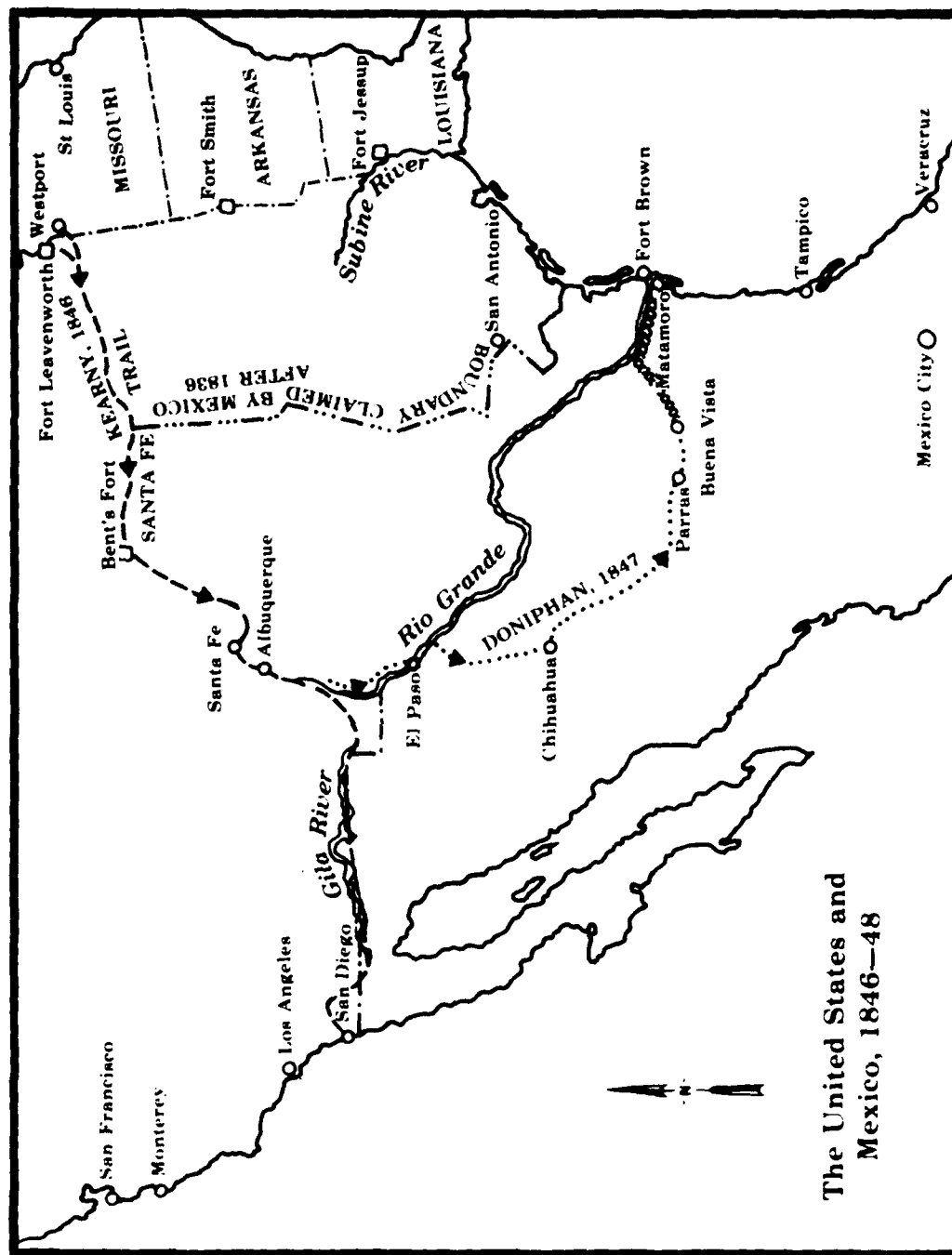
Kearny and his force of Dragoons and Missouri Volunteers departed Fort Leavenworth for New Mexico on June 26, 1846. A huge crowd of Army families and local well-wishers turned out to see the army off. It was an impressive force consisting of more than 100 wagons, 500 pack mules, 1,550 covered wagons, and a large herd of beef cattle. For the first time, soldiers at Fort Leavenworth took up the cudgel of war against a foreign foe.

For the most part, Kearny's "road to war" was uneventful. The main enemy of this army proved to be the oppressive heat, which killed sixty artillery horses and disabled several soldiers. At Fort Bent on the Santa Fe Trail, Kearny met with James W. Magoffin, a trader who knew the Mexican leadership of Santa Fe. Kearny detailed Magoffin, as an advanced scout for his army, to attempt to persuade the Mexicans at Santa Fe to surrender without a fight. Using money and some subtle advice, Magoffin succeeded and Santa Fe fell without bloodshed. The city—a small, filthy village of mud houses—was certainly not the prize envisioned by Kearny's warriors. Its outstanding decorative feature was a string of Indian ears stretched between the pillars of the governor's mansion.

After the conquest of Santa Fe, Kearny left a small garrison to govern the town while he continued to California. He routed the Mexican defenders at San Pasqual Pass and then continued on to San Diego, which was seized in December 1846. There he linked up with Commodore Robert F. Stockton's forces, and their combined armies marched to and secured Los Angeles. With the war in California virtually over, Kearny returned to Fort Leavenworth, arriving on August 22, 1847.

The second and most famous expedition to operate out of Fort Leavenworth during the Mexican War was Colonel Alexander W. Doniphan's. Doniphan, known as the "best criminal lawyer in the West," enlisted as a private in the First Missouri Mounted Volunteers and was later elected colonel of the regiment by his troops. Doniphan organized and trained his 1,000 troops at Fort Leavenworth and departed in December 1846 for the Mexican state of Chihuahua. Although Doniphan knew little about the art of military science, he was a superb leader, and his forces defeated superior Mexican units at Brazito and Sacramento and seized the key towns of Chihuahua and Saltillo, accomplishing his mission. Doniphan returned to Fort Leavenworth when his soldiers' one-year enlistment expired.

At Fort Leavenworth, Doniphan received a hero's welcome. The women of Independence, Missouri, placed a laurel wreath upon his head with the blessings of a "gift of Beauty to Valor." As a military operation, "Doniphan's Expedition" was quite a feat. He had marched a total of 3,600 miles and defeated the enemy in every engagement. Henry Shindler, in his unpublished "History of Fort Leavenworth," praised Doniphan's efforts: "In results, considering numbers in men and cost in money, Doniphan's expedition has no parallel in modern or ancient military history."



Three Mexican War expeditions originated at Fort Leavenworth.

The third and final expedition from Fort Leavenworth during the war was led by Colonel Sterling Price, a congressman from Missouri appointed by President James K. Polk to command the Second Missouri Regiment of Mounted Infantry. He assembled a force of 1,200 men, including a Mormon Battalion from Council Bluffs, and departed Fort Leavenworth on August 12, 1846. Price's force was to serve as an army of occupation in New Mexico. Price faced two major problems: marauding Indians and undisciplined troops who were driven to unsoldierly acts by the boredom of their duties and the Spartan life in New Mexico. Using draconian measures, Price solved both problems rather rapidly.

Fort Leavenworth also played a crucial role throughout the war as a major supply and replacement depot. It outfitted several military expeditions and was generally the hub of activity for forces deploying to California and Mexico. Although the post commander made every effort to accommodate his tenant units, not all logistical support provided by the installation was satisfactory. In October 1847, a battalion of Missouri Mounted Volunteers, commanded by Major William Gilpin, arrived at the post for training and outfitting for war. Gilpin became dissatisfied with what he considered an unnecessary delay in providing supplies and transportation to his forces. So in a fit of anger, he challenged the post commander, Colonel Clifton Wharton, to a duel. Luckily, cooler heads prevailed, and the duel was canceled. Nevertheless, Gilpin got everyone's attention and was soon on his way to the war with 15 wagons of ammunition, 200 wagons of supplies, and 500 head of beef cattle.

A decade after the Mexican War, the soldiers at Fort Leavenworth became involved in another kind of encounter, this one with Brigham Young's Mormons in Utah. As the Mormons pushed westward in search of a land where they could practice their religion free from persecution, certain allegations were leveled against their conduct and their unique—some said unorthodox—way of life. The allegations, few of which were ever substantiated, included charges of debauchery, inciting Indian uprisings, and harassing federal officials in Utah. Some of the charges were called to the attention of President James Buchanan, reinforcing his belief that Brigham Young had to be replaced as territorial governor. Buchanan was especially disturbed by "the incompatibility of Brigham Young's triple role as Governor of the Utah Territory, superintendant of Indian affairs, and head of the Church of Latter Day Saints." Young disagreed with this assessment and emphasized that he would give up his duties as governor of Utah only if God directed it.

In March 1857, President Buchanan brought the situation to a head by selecting Alfred Cummings, the ex-mayor of Augusta, Georgia, to be governor of Utah. To ensure the safe installation of Cummings to the position, the president directed that a military force be organized at Fort Leavenworth to implement his policy. Ultimately, the command of this force went to

Colonel Albert Sidney Johnston, who would later lose his life leading the Confederate Army at Shiloh.

Colonel Johnston departed Fort Leavenworth for Utah with a force of two regiments of infantry and a battery of artillery. After wintering at Fort Bridger, Johnston's forces arrived in Salt Lake City in June, only to find that a peaceful solution to the situation was being worked out. Young relinquished his claim to the governorship of Utah, and Cummings reported to the Army that many of the charges leveled against the Mormons were exaggerated or false.

When Fort Leavenworth was not fighting the Mexicans, dealing with the Mormons, placating the Indians, and protecting the westward movement of settlers, daily life at the post continued in somewhat dull, routine fashion. During their off-duty time, soldiers pitched horseshoes, played poker, and for a few theatrically inclined souls, participated in the Thespian Society. The highlight of the soldiers' social calendar was the annual Enlisted Man's Ball, complete with supplies and decorations from Weston. This evening of gaiety had one major problem, however, and that was the lack of women to serve as dance partners for the soldiers. Consequently, the troops had no choice except to dance with each other, a situation totally unacceptable to the rugged frontiersmen of the day. Any woman lucky, or unlucky, enough to find her way to Fort Leavenworth was soon besieged by a multitude of suitors. White domestics serving the officers' wives provided the prime source of spouses for the soldiers. To retain their hired help, officers' wives often selected the ugliest girls available for employment as maids. Even this stratagem did not always work. An officer's wife at Fort Leavenworth during this period wrote of her servant: "The girl was almost a grenadier in looks and manner, and although not absolutely hideous, was so far from pleasing that we were confident of retaining her services. . . . She had not been at the fort three days before the man who laid our carpets proposed to her."

Occasionally, unusual events temporarily displaced the drudgery of routine post activities. In 1853, for example, two enterprising inventors requested permission to demonstrate the latest in technology to the Army and the surrounding community. Although Fort Leavenworth was then the center for integrating new weaponry and other advanced technology into the Army as it is today, the two contraptions were harbingers of things to come.

The first inventor, a determined genius named "Windwagon" Thomas, offered a wind-powered schooner. The commander of Fort Leavenworth, however, was not particularly interested in Thomas' invention, although some local entrepreneurs were certainly willing to view his wares. Thomas' wagon was twenty-five feet long with four twelve-foot wheels. The power source, a single sail, was attached to a seven-foot mast. Thomas claimed that a fleet of these boats would revolutionize the freight shipping industry

and provide an efficient method of transporting goods along the Sante Fe Trail. After a disastrous demonstration ride, Thomas' prospective partners had quickly become "Doubting Thomases." They called off the deal and ushered Thomas out of town. Windwagon Thomas wandered westward, woefully without a windfall.

The second technological "marvel" more directly involved the Army at Fort Leavenworth. In 1853 an unknown inventor appeared at Fort Leavenworth with a muzzle-loading cannon which, according to his instructions, could be fired from the back of a pack mule. To fire this "self-propelled" artillery piece, the gunner had merely to point the posterior of the mule in the direction of the enemy and light the fuse. Of course, the most astute military mind could readily discern the implications of this new device as a "quantum jump" in mobile artillery.

Amidst considerable skepticism on the post commander's part, an agreement was struck to allow the "ordnance expert" to demonstrate his weapon on the bluff overlooking the Missouri River. An army mule served as the firing platform. The contractor attached the gun to the poor creature's back, positioned his tail toward the Big Muddy, and loaded the cannon. The post commander and his officer watched apprehensively as the fuse was lighted. The mule, aggravated by the sputtering noise emitted by the burning fuse at his rump, spun around for a better look. In so doing, he pointed the muzzle of the cannon in the direction of the spectators. They immediately took a reactive posture of self-defense. When the gun fired, the mule and the cannon crashed down the bluff and into the river. After dusting himself off and regaining his composure, the post commander informed the "ordnance expert" that there were still some "bugs" in the weapon system, and he declared it unsuitable for adoption by the Army. Historical records make no mention of the actions, if any, taken to recover the cannon and its firing platform.

By the mid-1850s, Fort Leavenworth was firmly established as a vital part of the nation's defense establishment. With the Mexicans and Mormons subdued, the Indians temporarily pacified, and the settlers happily traversing the roads westward, the soldiers at Fort Leavenworth turned their attention to exploration and administration of the newly acquired territories. The post depot and cavalry station provided supplies and mounts for many of the more westward military establishments. Mule skinnners, guides, trappers, wagon masters, and frontier drifters passed through the post. The sounds of the steamboats on the Missouri River could be heard around the clock as they discharged their cargoes at the levee. This peaceful life of dedicated service to a growing nation was soon shattered, however, by the clarion call to arms as the Civil War approached.

THE FORT AND THE TOWN

By Dr. Lawrence A. Yates

In the spring of 1854, a group of men met in Weston, Missouri, to select a name for the town they planned to establish on land just south of Fort Leavenworth. One among the group proposed that the town be called Douglas, in tribute to Illinois Senator Stephen A. Douglas, the author of the Kansas-Nebraska Act of 1854 that opened the Kansas Territory to white settlement. Others demurred. If the town hoped to prosper, they countered, it must capitalize on its proximity to Fort Leavenworth, which had the reputation for occupying the "most desirable location" on the Missouri River. Only by identifying the town with the fort could the assembled promoters realistically expect to stimulate the sale of lots and attract large numbers of settlers to the area. In the face of such compelling calculations, sentiment yielded quickly to self-interest. At the close of the discussion, the group reached a unanimous decision: the first town in Kansas would be called Leavenworth City.

The founders of Leavenworth rightly assumed that the military installation nearby would play a prominent role in the development of their town. What they did not foresee were certain circumstances in which the fort would very nearly become the unwilling agent of the town's undoing. At the time the Kansas Territory was opened to white settlement in May 1854, the future site of Leavenworth City belonged by treaty to the Delaware Indians. Until Congress approved ratification of a new treaty relocating the Indians, white men could settle on Delaware land but could not register a legal claim to it. To protect their unregistered claims and to promote settlement of the Leavenworth area, the city fathers formed an association, the Town Company. This was a sound business move, but one that soon aroused Delaware suspicions. Led to believe that the Town Company was plotting a wholesale land grab in violation of their treaty rights, the Indians, through their government agent, protested vigorously to Washington. The federal government proved accommodating and, to the consternation of company promoters and those officers at the fort who held shares in the association, ordered the military to clear white settlers from the land in question. The Town Company appealed to the Army, which, with no small stake in the development of Leavenworth City and the surrounding area, agreed to delay execution of the order until company officials had had sufficient time to convince the Indians of their honest intentions. The matter was then settled with dispatch. The Delaware, once assured that their treaty rights would be respected, relented. Catastrophe for the young town had been averted.

The unpleasantness with the Delaware Indians, however, seemed but a mere distraction when compared with another, more ominous problem that beset not only the Leavenworth area, but all of Kansas. The years following

the opening of the territory saw Kansas plagued by violence and political turmoil from which neither the city nor the fort was immune. The cause of this upheaval was slavery; more precisely, whether Kansas would enter the Union as a slave state or a free state. The outcome was by no means certain in 1854, the year the Kansas-Nebraska Act left determination of this divisive issue to the people of the territory. With the proclamation of "popular sovereignty," both Free Soil and proslavery advocates poured into Kansas, seeking to inundate the territory with enough legitimate (and, in too many cases, bogus) settlers to create a majority for their respective side. Most of the settlers entering Kansas preferred to resolve the issue peacefully, through the ballot box. More radical elements and "border ruffians," however, employed force and intimidation to further their cause. The violence, once begun, could not be controlled, and soon the eyes of an anxious nation focused on the tragedy of "Bleeding" Kansas.



Leavenworth City fortunately escaped the more sanguinary episodes of "Bleeding" Kansas.

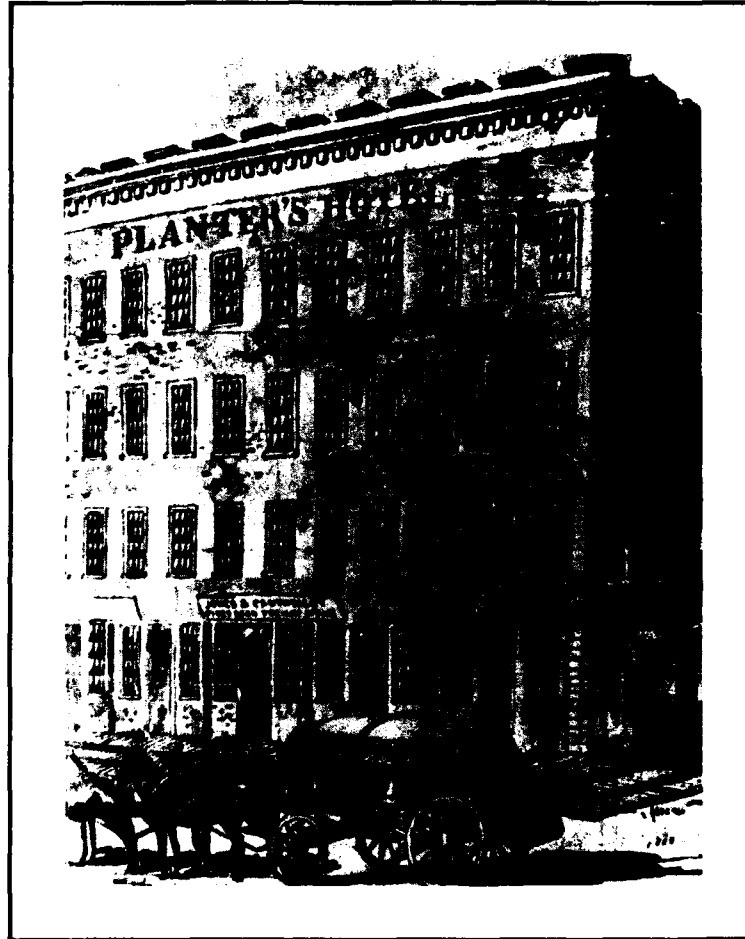
In the midst of hangings, hachetings, and shootings, not to mention routine property destruction and electoral irregularities, Fort Leavenworth stood as the lone haven of peace and order in the territory. The officers in

command, chary of involvement in political affairs, sought to keep their troops aloof from the deepening conflict. The depth of this sentiment was revealed early on when, in 1854, the fort commandant protested Congress' decision to locate the seat of the territorial government on post. (As it turned out, the territorial governor vacated Fort Leavenworth after only fifty days, lured by better accommodations to nearby Shawnee Mission.) When, as it often happened, Washington directed the military to separate the warring factions and to impose law and order, the officers at the fort carried out their orders reluctantly and, in at least one case, with a virtual apology to the offending party. To those in command, some forms of military intervention were clearly more unpalatable than others. Officers were particularly loath to deploy their troops against American citizens. On the other hand, supervising territorial elections, a task the military assumed in the late 1850s, posed a much lower risk of armed confrontation. And always throughout this turbulent period, Fort Leavenworth's gates were open to families from Leavenworth City seeking sanctuary whenever political tension in town reached a dangerous level.

An Englishman visiting western Kansas in 1856 described Leavenworth City as an armed camp in which "riot and savage turmoil" interfered with honest pursuits. (To find civilization, he intimated, one need journey to the Sioux reservation.) There is much evidence to support this unflattering portrait of a violent prairie community. The town certainly had its share of brawls and shootings, usually in or near the Planter's Hotel, the premier hotel in the territory. But other contemporary accounts paint a different picture—a picture of a relatively peaceful community in which Free Soil and proslavery advocates coexisted, striving to separate politics from business and to subordinate the former to the latter. The proximity of the fort certainly served as a restraint on excessive violence. So, too, did the prevailing sentiment, first subscribed to by the town fathers, that politics should not be allowed to undermine the quest to build Leavenworth into the queen city of the prairie; nor should political passions be allowed to disrupt normal social activity, so vital to the health and vigor of the town and its inhabitants. It was not an easy goal to attain. In perhaps the town's most celebrated shooting during this period, a Free Soiler, Cole McCrea, killed a proslavery man, Malcolm Clark, in an argument over a land claim, testimony to the fact that economics and ideology were not always mutually exclusive. Still, Leavenworth City retained a reputation for probity and business opportunity, a fact that played no small part in the town's growth and prosperity in the pre-Civil War years.

Between 1854 and 1860, Leavenworth City survived political turmoil, disease, harsh weather, grasshoppers, fire, and recession to expand from an encampment of four tents, a lumber mill, and a newspaper published under an elm tree, to the largest town between St. Louis and San Francisco, with a population of about 8,000 by the end of the decade. This remarkable record of growth can be attributed to several factors, including a favorable

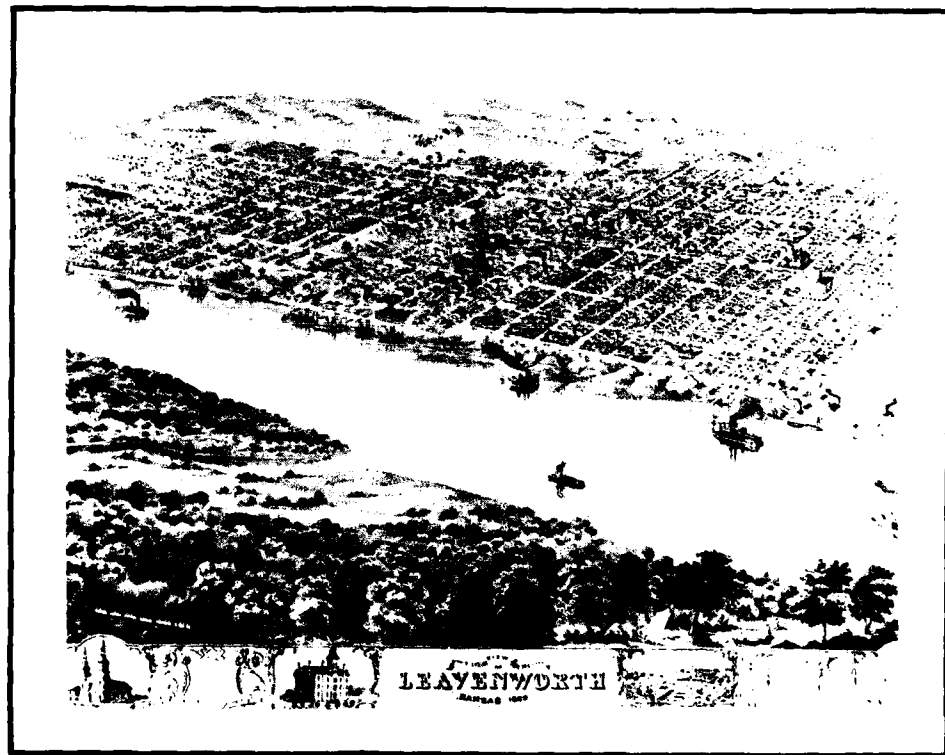
location on the Missouri River and along major transportation routes to the western frontier, and the business acumen and enterprising spirit of the town's inhabitants. But above all else, the town owed its success to the Army post nearby. To an extent not equaled by any other urban community in the area, Leavenworth City depended upon military spending as the key to its prosperity.



Even the Planter's Hotel, the premier hotel in Leavenworth and the surrounding area, was not immune to the violence of "Bleeding" Kansas.

Fort Leavenworth dominated the economic life of Leavenworth City in a variety of ways. Soldiers who before 1854 had spent many an off-duty hour across the Missouri border in Weston proved eager to spend their pay in retail stores, saloons, and brothels closer to post. The fort itself, as the

quartermaster center for all Army installations west of the Missouri, provided a ready market for stock, grain, and goods raised or produced in and around Leavenworth City. The Army also subsidized a local steam ferry company, contracted with the town's housing and construction firms, and relied on local merchants to outfit military expeditions. Most important, the fort played a decisive role in the development of Leavenworth's most lucrative enterprise, freighting. Access to military roads radiating from the fort and the letting of government contracts to local businessmen turned Leavenworth City into a major transshipping point on the prairie. Between 1855 and 1860, Fort Leavenworth granted a virtual monopoly on the hauling of military goods to Russell, Majors, and Waddell, a multimillion-dollar freighting outfit known as the "Empire on Wheels." By employing thousands of teamsters, by stimulating ancillary enterprises, and by investing heavily in the town, Russell, Majors, and Waddell, with its headquarters in Leavenworth, became the single most important, privately owned contributor to the town's economic progress.



Bird's Eye View of the City of Leavenworth, Kansas, 1869

The dream of Leavenworth promoters that their town would one day emerge as the most prominent commercial metropolis west of St. Louis was never realized. Kansas City, Missouri, laid legitimate claim to that status in the decade following the Civil War. Yet, despite this and other setbacks to its hopes and expectations, the town of Leavenworth survived. It stands today a pleasant and enterprising community, although one known less for its very real charm and appeal than for the federal penitentiary and the Army post located at its northern edge. Fort Leavenworth continues to play a vital role in the economic, social, and cultural development of the city. This continuing interaction serves as a reminder that, without the military installation nearby, the town of Leavenworth would have had a history very different from what we know today.

"BLEEDING" KANSAS AND THE CIVIL WAR

By Dr. W. Glenn Robertson

By 1854 Fort Leavenworth was no longer the last outpost of civilization on the way west. The founding of Fort Riley, some 150 miles nearer the Rockies, meant that the post on the Missouri no longer provided immediate response to Indian raids on travelers crossing the Plains. Indeed, a proposal was made to abandon Fort Leavenworth and several other posts in light of the advancing frontier. Secretary of War Jefferson Davis, however, decided that the fort's role as a depot and transportation center justified its continued occupation.

Fort Leavenworth's importance lay in its strategic location on the Missouri River near the eastern terminus of both the Santa Fe and Oregon trails. Throughout the 1850s the fort was the depot where supplies were transferred from steamboats to ox-drawn wagons for the remainder of their journey to such distant southwestern garrisons as those at El Paso, Albuquerque, and Fort Union. Upon completion of a military road to Fort Riley, that garrison also became a regular recipient of freight from the Fort Leavenworth warehouses. The valley of Corral Creek just south of the post provided a lush pasture for the thousands of oxen and mules that furnished the motive power for the contractor's wagon fleets. By 1858 the Leavenworth-based firm of Russell, Majors, and Waddell had absorbed its competitors and had become the recognized leader in transporting Army goods across the Plains.

Although the frontier was no longer just beyond Fort Leavenworth's boundaries, the post continued to be the starting point for several major military expeditions during the years just prior to the Civil War. In the summer of 1855 a large expedition headed by Brevet Brigadier General William S. Harney gathered at Fort Leavenworth before marching northwest to campaign against the Sioux in present-day Nebraska and South Dakota. Several captured Indian leaders were incarcerated on post for a year before their release in 1856. The following year, 1857, Colonel Edwin Vose Sumner departed Fort Leavenworth in the spring with detachments of the 1st Cavalry and 2d Dragoons in an effort to pacify hostile bands of Cheyenne raiding between the Platte and Arkansas rivers. A few months later an even larger force assembled at the post in preparation for a march into Utah to restore the government's authority over its Mormon inhabitants. Ultimately led by Brevet Brigadier General Albert Sidney Johnston, this expedition received both supplies and reinforcements from Fort Leavenworth in 1858. That same year a large troop movement to the Pacific coast staged through the fort.

While troops from Fort Leavenworth ranged across the Plains to the Great Salt Lake and beyond, the fort on the banks of the Missouri played an equally important role in turbulent events taking place much nearer at hand. After passage of the Kansas-Nebraska Act in May 1854, Kansas Territory became the site of a violent struggle between proslavery and antislavery factions. The town of Leavenworth, which sprang up just south of the fort, was initially dominated by proslavery groups, like the nearby river towns of Kickapoo and Atchison. Free staters concentrated to the west, with their headquarters at Lawrence. Proslavery residents of Missouri contributed to the turmoil by entering Kansas to influence local elections. As the nearest outpost of the federal government, Fort Leavenworth frequently was called upon to preserve the peace.

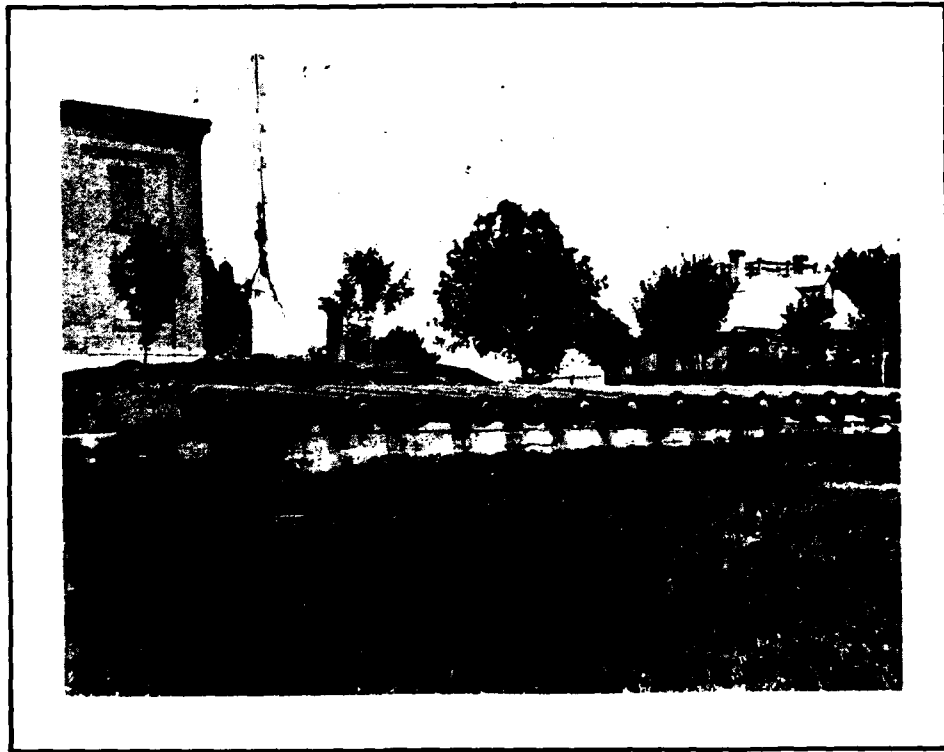
Upon his arrival in Kansas on October 7, 1854, Territorial Governor Andrew H. Reeder opened an office at Fort Leavenworth, making the post the first territorial capital. The fort's tenure as the seat of government was brief, however, as Reeder and his entourage departed for Shawnee Mission on November 24, 1854. During the following year the war of words between the factions escalated into more serious acts of violence, as both sides heavily armed themselves. Fort Leavenworth played little role in the struggle during 1855, since most of its garrison was campaigning on the Plains with General Harney. In October 1855 Colonel Sumner and most of the 1st Cavalry Regiment took up residence at the post and soon became embroiled in the controversy. Territorial Governor Wilson Shannon, who had replaced Reeder, called upon Sumner in December to support him with troops in a confrontation with free staters at Lawrence. Unwilling to become involved without orders from the War Department, Sumner refused Shannon's request, and the governor had to arrange a truce between the contending parties alone.

The violence in "Bleeding" Kansas reached its peak in 1856. Having received orders to support the governor with force if necessary, Sumner used Fort Leavenworth units to assist civil authorities in carrying out their duties. In April 1856 a detail from the post accompanied the sheriff of Douglas County on his unsuccessful attempt to arrest members of the antislavery faction in Lawrence. Two months later Sumner himself led a detachment into the camp of John Brown and freed several proslavery men being held prisoner there. Yet Sumner's garrison at Fort Leavenworth was too small to disarm the thousands of armed men roaming eastern Kansas, and the toll of death and destruction continued to mount. Sumner himself was not in sympathy with the proslavery attitude of most of the civil authorities, but his orders from Secretary of War Jefferson Davis to support them were clear. Those orders required Sumner and troops from Fort Leavenworth to disperse the illegal free-state legislature at Topeka on July 4, 1856, a task that Sumner called "the most disagreeable duty of my whole life."

Sumner's sentiments soon became known in Washington, where it was decided he needed closer supervision. As a result, the headquarters of the

Department of the West temporarily was transferred to Fort Leavenworth from St. Louis in July 1856, with Brevet Major General Persifor F. Smith in command. During Smith's tenure, which lasted until April 1857, the violence in Kansas continued, unchecked by the handful of troops patrolling from Fort Leavenworth. The soldiers could do no more than protect the territorial legislature while it met at Lecompton and provide escort for the newest territorial governor, John W. Geary. By spring 1857 even this minimal service was no longer available from Fort Leavenworth, as Geary discovered when he appealed for protection. Civil strife in Kansas had once again taken second place to campaigning on the Plains.

As the decade of the 1850s came to a close, free-state elements gradually gained control of Kansas, and the turmoil subsided momentarily. Fort Leavenworth continued to be the departure point both for punitive expeditions against the Plains Indians as well as regularly scheduled supply trains destined for Army posts in the distant southwest. The increased activity at the fort led to the construction of additional stables, barracks, and officers' quarters by workmen imported from the East. In 1858 an ordnance depot was established at Fort Leavenworth. Two years later the ordnance depot had become an arsenal covering 138 acres, with its own imposing set of



The Fort Leavenworth Arsenal with a rear view of present-day Sherman Hall.

stone buildings. In somewhat modified form, these buildings are the present-day Sherman and Sheridan halls.

With the outbreak of the Civil War in 1861, Fort Leavenworth's arsenal and large stocks of military supplies made the post a valuable prize to Confederate sympathizers just across the river in Missouri. Fearing that his small command would be insufficient to protect the government property, the post commander, Captain William Steele, in April 1861 accepted the services of three small militia companies from the town of Leavenworth. Steele's plight was recognized by his superiors in St. Louis, who ordered Colonel D. S. Miles to bring several companies of infantry from Fort Kearny to augment the Fort Leavenworth garrison. Upon his arrival on April 29, 1861, Miles assumed command of the post and quickly discharged the local volunteers, believing his force to be sufficient to hold the post "against any rabble or detached secessionists" in the vicinity. Having secured Fort Leavenworth for the Union, Captain Steele resigned his commission in May and joined the Confederate Army, eventually attaining the rank of brigadier general.



Civil War field artillery pieces deployed on Fort Leavenworth parade ground.

The part played by Fort Leavenworth in the Civil War was important but generally unexciting. In June 1861 the post again became the headquarters of the Department of the West, but only for a brief time. More important, the post served as an enrolling center and training camp for Kansas volunteer units. All or part of six cavalry regiments and four infantry regiments were organized and equipped at Fort Leavenworth or nearby Camps Lincoln and Lyon before joining the Union armies in field service. By summer 1862 all units of the Regular Army had departed, and the post was garrisoned by volunteer troops from Kansas, Illinois, Wisconsin, and Colorado until the end of the war. For five months in 1862 and all of 1864, it served as the headquarters of the Department of Kansas, first under Brigadier General James G. Blunt and later under Major General Samuel R. Curtis. Although troops stationed at Fort Leavenworth periodically chased guerrilla bands marauding nearby, they usually arrived too late to punish the raiders. The most famous raid, W. C. Quantrill's assault on Lawrence in August 1863, found the fort's garrison totally without mounted troops, although some Ohio cavalymen temporarily at the post were hastily mounted, armed, and sent in fruitless pursuit.

Large-scale military operations did not occur near Fort Leavenworth until the fall of 1864, when Confederate Major General Sterling Price invaded Missouri with 12,000 men. Forced out of the eastern part of the state by superior federal forces, Price turned westward toward Kansas City and Leavenworth. From his headquarters at Fort Leavenworth, Major General Curtis marshaled his units into the Army of the Border which took position southeast of Kansas City. Earthworks were hastily constructed at both Fort Leavenworth and the nearby town to provide a last-ditch defense, but they proved to be unnecessary as Curtis, aided by troops from the Department of Missouri, defeated Price on October 23, 1864, at the battle of Westport. Fort Leavenworth, which had provided most of the weapons for the Kansas militia that took part in the campaign, was no longer in danger; Price's retreat ended the Confederate threat to the Kansas frontier.

THE EVE OF AWAKENING, 1865—1881

By Major Gary H. Wade

The "sixteen years between the Civil War's end and the founding of the 'School of Application,'" Colonel George C. Reinhardt wrote in the March 1954 *Military Review*, "were utterly without excitement at Fort Leavenworth." Despite Colonel Reinhardt's characterization, Leavenworth in this period served the Army in many ways: as the headquarters for the Department of the Missouri, as an important supply depot, and as the home of the military prison. It further served as a rest and recreation center for the soldiers returning from the Plains.

First and foremost during this period, the fort housed the headquarters of the Department of the Missouri. This department had administrative and supply responsibilities for Illinois, Missouri, Kansas, the territories of Colorado and New Mexico, the Indian Territory, Forts Bliss and Eliot, and the post at San Elizario in Texas. The headquarters itself had shifted for years between St. Louis and Fort Leavenworth. In 1869 Major General J. M. Schofield, Department Commander, moved the headquarters temporarily from Fort Leavenworth to St. Louis to make room at the post for the Seventh Cavalry.

On April 15, 1870, Major General John Pope, the new department commander, returned the headquarters to Fort Leavenworth, where it remained until 1890 when again it was moved to St. Louis. General Pope requested \$350,000 to build additional quarters to meet the increased number of officers and staff personnel. To support this request, General William T. Sherman, Commanding General, U.S. Army, informed the Senate that "Fort Leavenworth is the most valuable military reservation in the west." Because the fort housed a depot and headquarters of a department, General Sherman asserted that it "should have barracks for a battalion of infantry, a regiment of cavalry, and suitable buildings for headquarters." "Though the amount asked for may seem large," General Sherman contended, "it is in fact small as compared to the sums expended on our seacoast forts, which are not half as important for the immediate use of the Army." The Senate appropriated \$200,000, but the House refused any appropriation at all. The War Department, however, did allot \$50,000 for officer quarters. The post remained crowded, and little construction occurred during the 1870s.

The more compact Fort Leavenworth of the 1870s would nevertheless be recognizable to a modern visitor. During this period, some interesting construction did take place; numbers 24 and 26 Sumner, field officers' quarters, were built with bathrooms instead of privies. By 1878 the post had two churches: St. Ignatius Catholic Church was built in 1871 (and

subsequently rebuilt in 1889) and the Memorial Chapel was completed in 1878. Part of what is now the Disciplinary Barracks housed the workshops and the clothing, subsistence and general equipment warehouses of the quartermaster and commissary depots. The depots have been characterized as the "Chief supply depot for the posts on the Plains." In 1866, for example, the Washington Depot shipped over 946 tons of quartermaster stores, 970 Army wagons, and 40 traveling forges to Fort Leavenworth storage facilities. The quartermaster depot was also the site of a Signal Service weather observatory, an element of what later became the United States Weather Service. The United States Arsenal, until 1875, occupied present-day Sherman and Sheridan halls. The railroad and wagon bridges across the Missouri River were completed in 1871.



This was the main entrance to the fort in 1872. The Dragoon barracks, nearest the entrance, were built in 1838. The statue of U.S. Grant now stands in the park to the left of the archway.

In 1871 Fort Leavenworth was also the headquarters of the 5th Infantry Regiment commanded by Colonel Nelson A. Miles (later major general commanding the Department of the Missouri). The regimental strength at the fort was 21 officers and 362 enlisted men. Five out of the ten companies

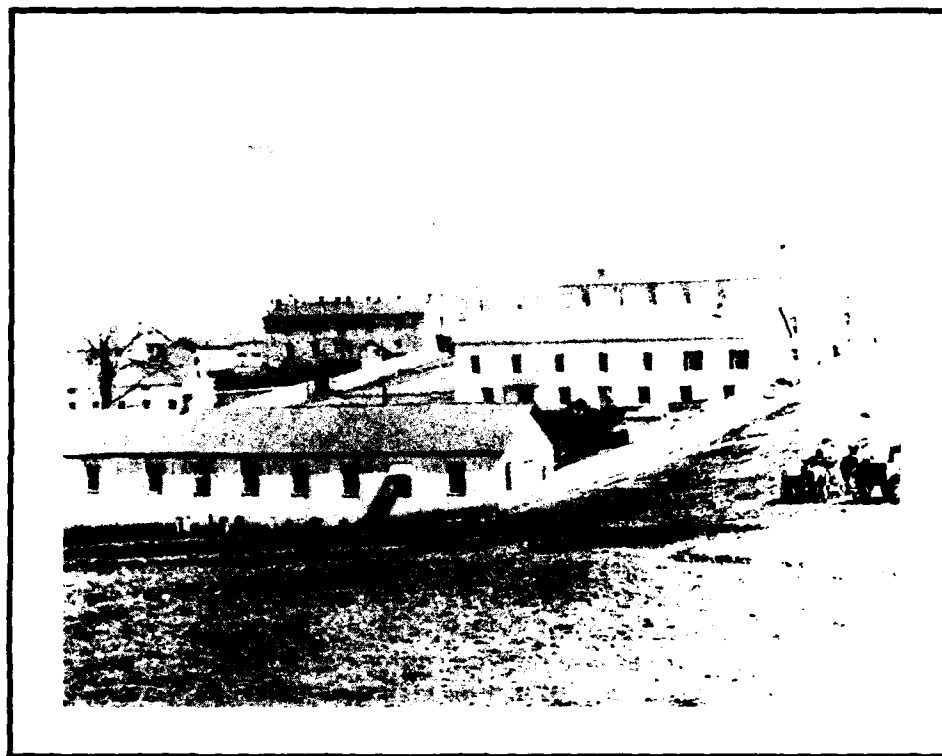
in the regiment were scattered among posts farther west, while one company of the 3d U.S. Infantry was stationed at Fort Leavenworth with the 5th Infantry. The 7th Cavalry continued to spend winters at Fort Leavenworth during much of the 1870s. For the most part, these soldiers spent their time in target practice or routine garrison activities such as transporting water that had to be "hailed in quantity" to tanks outside quarters and barracks.

One famous unit, the Tenth Cavalry, had its origins at Fort Leavenworth shortly after the Civil War. As a result of an 1866 congressional act, General Ulysses S. Grant directed the organization of two cavalry regiments composed of black troops. Accordingly, General William T. Sherman, Commander of the Department of the Missouri, selected Colonel Benjamin H. Grierson to organize the Tenth Cavalry at Fort Leavenworth. By summer 1867 Colonel Grierson had recruited 37 white officers and 702 black soldiers. The Commander of Fort Leavenworth, Brevet Major General William Hoffman, made the unit's stay uncomfortable, so Colonel Grierson moved regimental headquarters to Fort Riley that summer to improve living conditions. Fort Leavenworth would not become home for the Tenth Cavalry headquarters again until 1931.

The establishment of the military prison enlivened the fort's routine in this period. Military offenders had previously been confined in twenty-one different military stockades and eleven civilian penitentiaries in various states. Punishment varied from institution to institution and included flogging, use of ball and chain shackling, tattooing or branding, and solitary confinement. Early in the 1870s these punishments, except solitary confinement, were banned throughout the Army. But the 346 military prisoners in the civilian jails, however, suffered punishments prohibited by the Army. Major Thomas F. Barr (later brigadier general and known as the father of the U.S. Military Prison) advocated reform of the penal system. Based on Major Barr's proposal, a board of officers recommended that the U.S. Army adopt the British military prison system, whereby military prisoners would be consolidated at one location. An 1873 law authorized a military prison to be built at Rock Island Arsenal, Illinois. The Ordnance Department and Secretary of War William W. Belknap objected to the location, citing security reasons and stating that prisoner labor was ill-suited for munitions work. The secretary of war countered with the suggestion of Fort Leavenworth as the site for the military prison.

On May 21, 1872, Congress approved moving the prison site to Fort Leavenworth and subsequently appropriated a total of \$125,900, in June 1874 and March 1875, to establish the prison. A survey of Fort Leavenworth revealed that the prison should be located on the grounds and buildings occupied by the Quartermaster Department on the north side of the post. Accordingly, the Quartermaster Department moved its supply depot to the site of the arsenal, which in turn transferred all its ordnance property to

Rock Island Arsenal. Completion of a wooden fence around the old quartermaster site in summer 1875 enabled the prison to open, and by the next year the guard force numbered 75 and the prison population 332.



These Commissary and Quartermaster buildings became part of the military prison facilities.

The prison supplemented the stores of the Quartermaster Department by making military items. The 1874 law provided for the production of Army shoes by prison labor. Early success had led, after 1877, to the production not only of shoes, boots, and chairs, but eventually of harnesses, kettles, pans, and other articles for Army use. The prison became a vocational training center as well as providing the Army with government-produced as opposed to procured goods.

The establishment of the prison did not detract from the social and domestic lives of the other residents; rather it added to it. The prisoners opened a rock quarry (its stone was used in construction of the prison wall), thus providing new building material and labor to enhance the facilities

and appearance of the post. And life, for the most part, went on as before, with routine garrison duties occupying most of the soldiers' duty hours. Social activities, such as band concerts, hops, church, and other gatherings, were also very much a part of life at Fort Leavenworth, then as now. General Nelson A. Miles, long-time commander of the 5th Infantry Regiment and later post commander, said of this period, "When the larger garrison was gathered at the post it offered an opportunity for social civilities and recreation, as well as the amusements incident to refined society."

One recreational event occurred in 1868 that epitomized the "social civilities" of the period. The officers held a "slow" mule race over a mile-long track, riding old, worn, not to mention stubborn, freight mules for a fifty-dollar purse. The last one to finish was the winner, but none of the officers wanted the distinction so it was a hard-ridden race. General George Armstrong Custer entered a "70 year old" mule named Hyankedank. General Sherman also trained a mule, but decided against riding in the race for fear that a wag might write of the occasion and that this unflattering account might gain wide currency. The name of the winning mule is lost to history, but that such a race took place indicates the sheer variety of the social activities at the fort during this period.



In 1875 these quarters faced the north side of the main parade ground.

Dances, concerts, and amateur theatricals helped to overcome the monotony of garrison life. One historian of the fort, Henry Shindler, has characterized the 1870s as "undoubtedly the gayest and most brilliant in the history of the post." The Shermans, Senator James G. Blaine (later secretary of state and a presidential candidate) and his family, and other personages frequently visited and often remained for months as guests of their friends. Captain Charles H. Hoyt, an officer of the Quartermaster Department and cousin of General Sherman, for example, acted as host for the Shermans when they stayed at the post. Many members of General Pope's staff, and the general himself, entertained lavishly and brought here the social leaders of nearby cities and towns. There was also excitement in 1876 when Chief Joseph and about 300 of his Nez Perce were confined at the race track on the fort until they were resettled a year later in the Indian Territory. But for the most part, according to contemporary diaries, time was spent going to dances, band concerts, and church. The relatively unhurried life at the fort during the 1870s would be challenged by an intellectual awakening in the next decade.

THE FORT AND THE NEW SCHOOL, 1881—1916

By Captain Jonathan M. House

In 1881 the Commanding General of the Army, William T. Sherman, created the institution that eventually established Fort Leavenworth's modern reputation—the School of Application for Infantry and Cavalry, forerunner of the Command and General Staff College.

Thoughtful Army officers had sought such a school for years because of the poor state of professional training in the officer corps. The majority of Army officers had been commissioned directly from civilian life, Civil War volunteer units, or the enlisted ranks. Even graduates of the U.S. Military Academy stagnated intellectually during service in small, isolated posts. Army officers became experts in small unit administration and operations necessary at such posts, but had little grasp of large unit tactics, strategy, or even English composition. Thus, some type of post-commissioning training was necessary to prepare the Army for future wars. Although artillery officers already had a school at Fortress Monroe, Virginia, Leavenworth was selected as the site to train the far more numerous officers of infantry and cavalry.

Establishment of the School of Application also gave purpose to existing plans to concentrate the scattered units of the Army's Department of the Missouri. Four companies of infantry, four troops of cavalry, and a battery of light artillery moved to Fort Leavenworth during 1881—1882 to provide models for instruction in the correct use of all three combat arms—infantry, cavalry, and artillery. Indicative of the disjointed and dispersed nature of the frontier Army, no two of these nine company-sized units belonged to the same regiment. Nor were these troops always available for officer training: in 1885 and again in 1890, the Fort Leavenworth garrison was abruptly dispatched in response to Indian threats. Because many of the school's faculty came from these units, instruction suffered. Finally, in 1894 the headquarters and nine companies of the 20th Infantry Regiment, plus four troops of the 6th Cavalry Regiment, moved to Fort Leavenworth, where they provided a stable garrison until the Spanish-American War in 1898. At the same time, the War Department authorized enough full-time instructors to reduce the school's dependence on the garrison officers. The result was a considerable expansion in the size of Fort Leavenworth.

Meanwhile, the U.S. Infantry and Cavalry School, as the School of Application was renamed in 1886, made slow progress in its mission of educating officers. Every two years, one junior officer from each cavalry and infantry regiment went to the school. Many commanders did not under-

stand the purpose of the school and therefore sent their least motivated and qualified officers. Not only were such officers reluctant to study, but they required a great deal of remedial instruction. Thus, the first year of each two-year course was taken up with the study of geometry, grammar, penmanship, and general history. The remaining year focused upon the rudiments of tactics, communications, field fortifications, and military law.

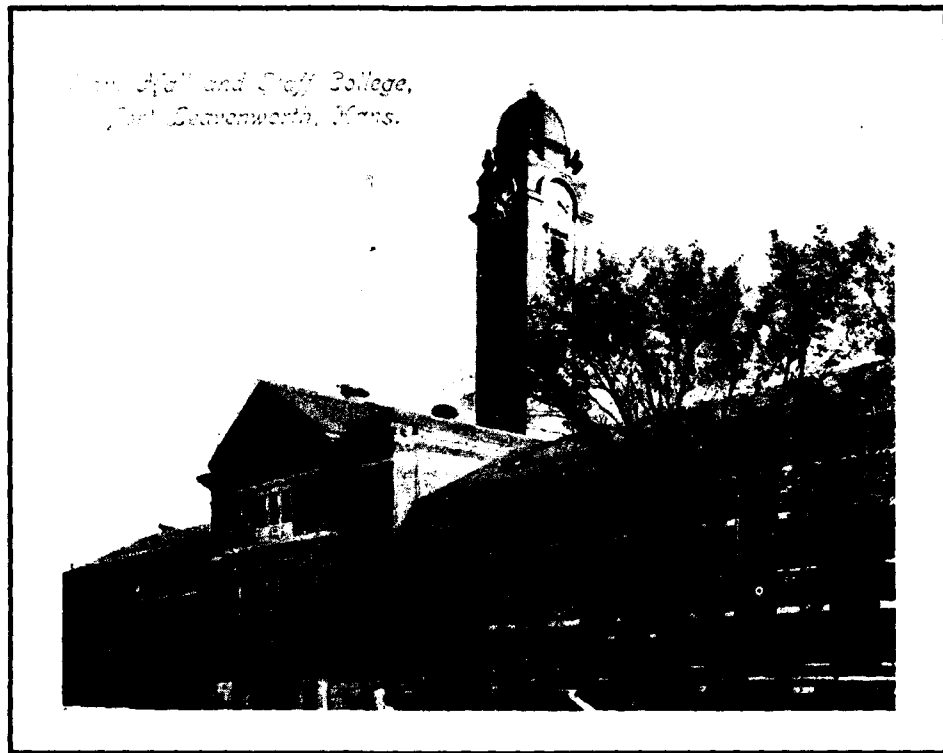
Finally in 1888, the school's third commandant, Colonel Alexander McCook, abolished all remedial studies and reemphasized practical, problem-solving work. During the following decade, Leavenworth developed into a sophisticated school for training junior officers. Two gifted instructors—Arthur L. Wagner and Eben Swift—led the Army in the development of both training techniques and the military doctrine to support that training. Wagner served as an instructor for most of the period from 1886 to 1903.



The old post headquarters building became the first home of the School of Application for Infantry and Cavalry. The Mid-America Recreation Center now occupies this site, on the southwest corner of the main parade ground.

During this time he produced three classic textbooks on tactics, replacing the European texts previously used at the school. Between 1893 and 1897, Eben Swift developed standard formats for officers to use in writing various orders in the field. These formats, which have since become basic to Army operations, ensured that each order was complete and easily understood. Together, Wagner and Swift also developed the flexible map exercises and "war game" simulations that enabled Leavenworth students to solve tactical problems without the great expense of actually moving troops on the ground. The student officers did not spend all their time in the classroom, however. Wagner and Swift emphasized the constant study of actual terrain, and so the students spent long days on horseback, riding about the Leavenworth area, solving various tactical problems.

The facilities of the school developed along with the quality of instruction. During the 1880s, classes were held in a building located on the southwest corner of the main parade ground. This building, which was on the site of



In 1904 the construction of Grant Hall, with its distinctive bell tower, connected Sherman and Sheridan halls, completing the facilities of the Army Service Schools. Today, this historic building houses the Combined Arms Combat Developments Activity.

what is now the Mid-America Recreation Center, had been built to house the post headquarters. In 1890 the headquarters of the Department of the Missouri moved to St. Louis. The U.S. Infantry and Cavalry School inherited the department's headquarters building, a renovated warehouse renamed Sherman Hall in honor of the school's founder. In 1895 the Ordnance Depot Quartermaster vacated the adjacent and matching building, which was taken over by the school and renamed Sheridan Hall. Not until 1904 was Grant Hall, with its distinctive bell tower and sally port, constructed to connect the other two buildings. The post as a whole grew as well; for example, a steam-driven streetcar line was installed in 1888, connecting the town with the fort. This line was electrified in 1914.

By 1898 the Infantry and Cavalry School had become a significant factor in the development of theory and practice within the U.S. Army. Still, the graduates of this school were too few and too junior to have an immediate impact on the rest of the officer corps. The Spanish-American War and the Philippine Insurrection that followed interrupted instruction for four years, 1898—1902. The student officers returned to their regiments, the garrison deployed overseas, and by April 24, 1898, only thirty-nine soldiers remained at Fort Leavenworth. Thereafter, the fort was only a brief stopping point for troops in transit, although two regiments of the expanding U.S. Army (the 32d and 44th U.S. Volunteer Infantry) were organized at Fort Leavenworth during the summer of 1899.

While the school grew in the 1890s, the Fort Leavenworth Military Prison suffered a temporary decline. An act of Congress converted the prison into a civilian penitentiary in 1895, forcing the Army to return to a system of dispersed prisons on different Army posts. It took ten years, 1896—1906, to build a new federal penitentiary building before the old one could be returned to the Army. In turn, the military prison had to be renovated in 1908—1910, practically all the work being done by prisoners. By act of Congress in 1915, the military prison was redesignated the U.S. Disciplinary Barracks.

Although the United States won the Spanish-American War, the conflict demonstrated two major deficiencies in officer education. First, the great expansion of the U.S. Army produced an influx of hundreds of new lieutenants who had little or no military training. More important, however, the United States needed general staff officers, experts who could plan a national mobilization and organize and administer the large units that such a mobilization would require.

Elihu Root became secretary of war in 1899 and rapidly realized the need for both a General Staff and a system of officer education. In 1901 he established a hierarchy of officer schools, with Fort Leavenworth becoming the most important rung in this hierarchy. Between 1902 and 1910, the "Army Service Schools" at Fort Leavenworth expanded to include four

schools for junior officers, based on the pre-1898 model of the Infantry and Cavalry School. That school itself was reestablished as a one-year course in 1902 and renamed the School of the Line in 1907. The other three schools were the Signal and Field Engineer schools and the Army Field Service and Correspondence School for Medical Officers. In addition, the best students from the School of the Line (and occasionally from other such schools) were selected for a second year of study at the Army Staff College, also located at Fort Leavenworth.

The dominant personality in these schools was Major John F. Morrison, who taught at Fort Leavenworth from 1906 to 1912. Morrison completely reorganized the curriculum to teach tactics and staff procedures in a systematic, progressive manner. In addition to Morrison, the Army Service Schools during this period included a galaxy of students and instructors who later shaped the U.S. Army, including George C. Marshall, William Mitchell, and Douglas MacArthur.

In 1916 the Army Service Schools were again closed, as first the Mexican crisis and then the United States entry into World War I required the services of all available officers. Yet by 1916, the high quality of instruction had made these schools the voice of Army doctrine and staff procedures. Although fewer than 700 officers had graduated from the schools between 1904 and 1916, these graduates dominated the staffs of the American Expeditionary Force in France during 1917-1918. Twenty-three out of twenty-six divisions in France had Leavenworth-trained chiefs of staff, while five out of twenty-six had Leavenworth products as commanders. The corps and field army staffs of the AEF were even more heavily under the intellectual influence of Leavenworth. Fort Leavenworth had clearly become a key in the development of Army doctrine and leadership.

While the Army Service Schools flourished, the garrison at Fort Leavenworth was considerably smaller than before 1898. In February 1913 virtually all troop units were ordered out of Leavenworth as part of a war scare on the Mexican border. In 1916 the four remaining troops of the 5th Cavalry Regiment also left to participate in the Mexican expedition against Pancho Villa. These departures not only reduced the size of Fort Leavenworth, but also made practical exercises in the Service Schools more difficult and less realistic.

WORLD WAR I AND THE INTERWAR YEARS, 1916—1939

By Major Charles E. Heller

Fort Leavenworth inhabitants ushered in 1916 with the traditional round of parties, followed the next morning by the formal New Year's Day reception at the homes of the post commander and the commandant of the Leavenworth schools. Although some wives complained, the social life at Fort Leavenworth did not appear as demanding as at other large posts. In fact, the leisurely pace of life at the fort had not changed markedly from the nineteenth century. Much of the flavor of the old Army still existed at this post on a bluff overlooking the Missouri River.

The students attending either the School of the Line or the General Staff School might have had a different opinion of the pace of life at the fort. The officers coming here placed a tremendous amount of pressure on themselves and took their studies very seriously. In the spring of 1916, for example, Fort Leavenworth buzzed with gossip concerning the courts-martial of three School of the Line students. The men were accused of preparing a map sketch for an engineering course prior to the time scheduled for the practical exercise. During the trial, a medical report on one of the students gave a good indication of how the pressure affected individuals both physically and mentally. One student in question developed insomnia and lost weight. He became constipated, nervous, irritable, and extremely depressed. He need not have worried for he stood fifth in engineering and sixteenth overall in class standing. In all likelihood the officer would have been selected to attend the General Staff School.

In 1916 the men selected to attend the General Staff School found their plans abruptly changed. Problems on the border with Mexico led President Woodrow Wilson to order partial mobilization of the Regular Army and selected National Guard units. In May 1916 the Leavenworth schools were closed by a War Department order and most of the officers rejoined their regiments. The schools were to remain closed for the next three years.

A year later, in April 1917, the United States declared war on Germany. With the schools closed, Fort Leavenworth became involved in the frantic efforts to mobilize an Army for the war in Europe. That same April the first three-month course began for provisional second lieutenants. Activity on this Army reservation increased dramatically with the arrival of these ninety-day wonders. In addition to these eager young officer candidates, the Signal School raised to 350 the number of Reserve officers being trained. Fort Leavenworth probably had the best training facilities for men of this branch of service.

Fort Leavenworth also became an induction center for the thousands of selective service inductees and federalized National Guardsmen. The local guardsmen from the city of Leavenworth, Company E, 3d Kansas Infantry, were mustered into federal service at the fort as Company E of the 139th Infantry, 35th Division, prior to being shipped to Fort Sill for training.

Wartime Fort Leavenworth abounded with activity. On the slopes of the main parade grounds, clusters of khaki uniformed men studied the terrain and sketched topographical maps. On the north end of the western parade ground, cavalry troops wheeled and charged again and again, raising thick clouds of pale Kansas dust. Nearby other horsemen practiced the use of sabers on straw enemy infantry. Signal men strung wire, sometimes digging furiously to bury it beneath the sun-baked soil. On the gentle sloping hill to the north of Merritt Lake, student officers engaged in the preparation of trenches behind rows of barbed wire strung on sharpened stakes.

Although many men passed through Fort Leavenworth during the war, the post's most important contributions to the war effort occurred prior to the outbreak of hostilities. As the American Expeditionary Force (AEF) grew in size, the Leavenworth-trained officers were essential to the operational success of the Army in France. Colonel George C. Marshall (later general and Army chief of staff) wrote his wife that all the "Leavenworth men" were in France, former students and instructors alike. The education they received at the post, which seemed so far away in time and place, now paid dividends. In October 1918, Colonel John McAuley Palmer attended a briefing near the front. Later he recalled, "Except for an ominous rumble to the north of us I might have thought that we were back at Leavenworth . . . the technique and the talk were just the same." General of the Armies John J. Pershing, in acknowledgement of the value of the Leavenworth schools, ordered the establishment of a School of the Line and Staff School in France.

At the conclusion of the war in France, Fort Leavenworth became a separation station for thousands of midwestern boys returning home. While for many posts the end of the conflict marked the end of their contribution to the Army, this was not so for Fort Leavenworth. The end of World War I marked a new era for Fort Leavenworth and officer education.

On September 25, 1919, War Department Order 112 reopened the schools under the supervision of the Army's chief of staff. The following year the National Defense Act formally established a progressive Army educational system that included the Fort Leavenworth schools. The Army could now draw on its own experience in modern war to enhance the teaching at Leavenworth. Also because of the experience of the war, students, especially those who served in France, discarded the traditional negative attitude toward classroom instruction.

Several visitors to the fort in the postwar period reinforced the growing admiration for the schools. General Pershing, during a visit in 1920, reflected that a significant number of AEF officers who excelled during the conflict were graduates of Leavenworth. French Marshal Ferdinand Foch, paying a visit a year later, also praised the fort as the "cradle of the Staff of the American Army."

The same year Foch spoke, the post saw perhaps its greatest period of physical growth. In 1921, to accommodate students who were older and had larger families than the prewar classes, the stately brick regimental barracks, built from 1902 to 1903 on Pope and Doniphan avenues, were converted to apartments. The need for family housing was so great that the quarters were occupied prior to the installation of kitchens. For a time families ate in a consolidated mess hall until electric ranges were installed in their quarters.

Other facilities were constructed to enhance the life at Leavenworth. In 1922 an imposing structure on Kearny was dedicated. It housed the post office on the first floor and the local Masonic Lodge on the floors above. The Army YMCA building on the corner of Pope and McClellan avenues had an auditorium and swimming pool. To enhance the beauty of the post, another lake, Smith, was created to the east of Grant Avenue.

In 1923 an airfield was established under the jurisdiction of the Disciplinary Barracks. Several years later, the airfield was expanded under the direction of Major William Sherman. The original 1,800-foot strip was joined by another runway so planes could land or take off in any direction. Corrugated steel hangers were constructed, and the operation was placed under the Command and General Staff School.

Still the main emphasis on the post was on the education of officers. In 1922 the Army War College assumed the functions of the General Staff School. As a result, the School of the Line became the Command and General Staff School. Due to a critical shortage of school-trained officers, the course became one year in duration. The school would train officers in the use of combined arms in the division and corps and the command and staff functions for division and corps as they related to tactics and logistics.

At the same time the Army began to place a greater emphasis on Reserve Components' education. In 1922 a special course began for senior organized Reserve Corps and National Guard officers. The scheduling of the course allowed for the students to participate with the Command and General Staff class in a general terrain exercise. Every summer, teams of Leavenworth instructors visited various Reserve Components' encampments. With the establishment of a Publication Division in 1921, Fort Leavenworth began nonresident correspondence courses, primarily for the Reserve Components.

Students in residence devoted a significant amount of time to their studies. The typical school routine began with a morning of conferences and lectures. After lunch, if there were no map, field, or terrain exercises, students spent their time in individual study. Many of the men continued to study far into the night. One such individual who did so, George S. Patton, Jr., became an honor graduate in the 1923—1924 class.

Competition, which was always keen at Leavenworth, was particularly intense when Patton was a student. He wrote his wife, who had remained in Massachusetts, that despite the commandant's constant rejoinder not to worry, he studied from 2:30 to 6:00 p.m. and then went back to his books from 7:15 to 11:45 p.m. Patton once found himself before an academic board to answer a charge of using an unauthorized study aid. One of his classmates noticed Patton studying under a strange blue light and reported him. Upon questioning, an embarrassed Patton admitted he bought the light because it supposedly restored hair.

Patton did save some time for leisure activities. He and many of his classmates relaxed by riding and playing polo. Fort Leavenworth, especially in the late 1920s and into the 1930s, had a reputation of being a "horsey" post. The indoor riding hall and stables loomed as important buildings at the fort. Headquarters Troop and the 1st Squadron of the famous black 10th Cavalry performed numerous ceremonial duties for visiting dignitaries. Every Sunday polo matches were held on the field to the south of the quarters on Doniphan. The most exciting and colorful of the matches were those between Fort Leavenworth and teams from Fort Riley and Fort Sill.

The Fort Leavenworth Hunt, founded in 1926, added to the color of the post. On Sunday and twice a week "pink"-coated riders rode to the sound of the hounds. Breakfast on Sunday was held at the Hunt Lodge.

There were other activities on post that reflected an interest in horse-flesh. Both the Boy and Girl Scouts had a well-organized mounted troop. Each spring a "Race Meet and Horse Show" drew hundreds of spectators to the post. The Leavenworth community, during the 1930s, participated in the American Royal Livestock Show held annually in Kansas City.

While Kansas City and the surrounding area reeled under the depression and drought, these natural and man-made calamities had little impact on the fort until 1933. In April 1933 the post headquarters became the Headquarters of the Missouri-Kansas District of the Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC), responsible for the administration and supply of CCC companies. Fort Leavenworth also became the site of a reconditioning camp for CCC enrollees. Officers and men from the 17th Infantry stationed at the post were detailed to the camp. Over 30,000 young men passed through Leavenworth during the life of the CCC. The company assigned to the post worked on soil erosion and planted thousands of trees and shrubs through-

out the reservation. The local CCC company also constructed the stone gate at the main entrance and landscaped Grant Avenue.



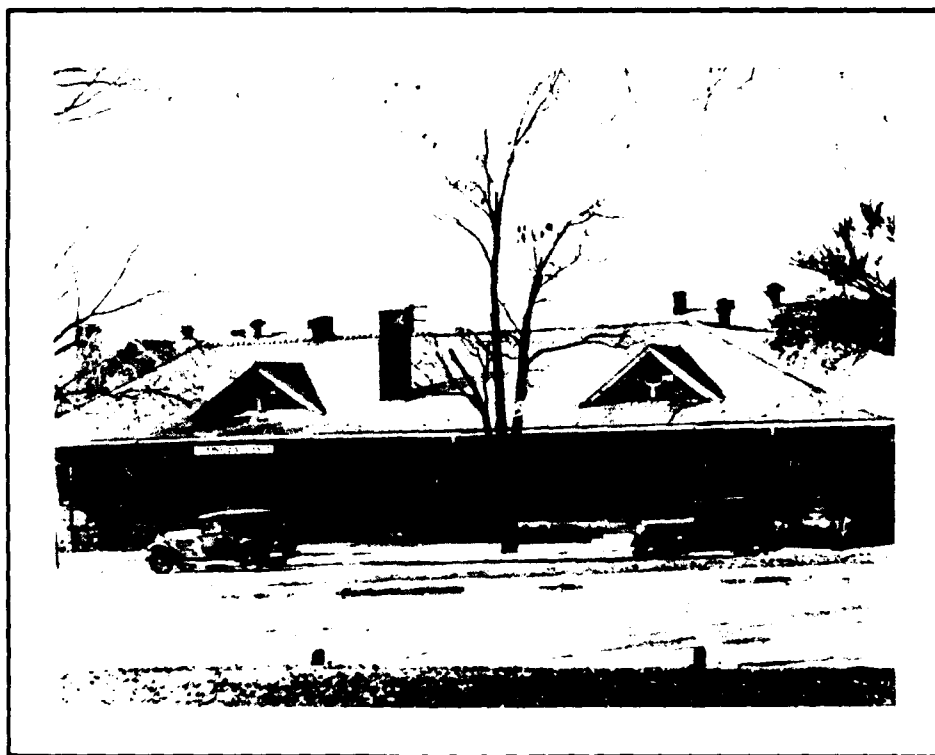
Leavenworth had a reputation of being a "horsey" post. Here, in 1938, Brigadier General (later Lieutenant General) Lesley J. McNair (left) posed with Masters of the Foxhounds Colonel (later Major General) Frederick Gilbreath and Colonel Paul Davison on the north side of the main parade ground.

In September 1929 the U.S. Disciplinary Barracks at the north end of Grant Avenue was leased to the Justice Department. Guards and military prisoners were sent to Alcatraz, Governor's Island, and other posts while 130 civilian prisoners were transferred to Fort Leavenworth.

Still the main emphasis of post activity continued to be the Command and General Staff School. In 1928 a new two-year course began. Conferences and lectures accounted for forty-five percent of the course and the balance in tactical exercises and map problems. The curriculum remained basically unchanged until 1935. That year the possibility of another war, which might require a large number of Leavenworth-trained officers, caused a return to the one-year course. The leading emphasis shifted more toward general staff

duties, because of a lowering of the average rank of students and a realistic assumption that relatively few graduates would be assigned to high command positions.

Little changed on the post in the remaining years of the 1930s. Post construction continued. The post exchange, housed in the former trolley station, had a wing added in 1937. Fuller Hall, formerly a stable, was remodeled that year to accommodate the school bookstore, post exchange offices, and offices for the chaplains. Another remodeled stable, an old stone structure on Hastings Road, became the Girl Scout House. Dedication, in 1938, of the War Department Theater on Grant Avenue brought to the post an excellent facility for movies and also a stage for performances by the post theater group and glee club. Graduation ceremonies from the Command and General Staff School were held that year at the theater.



In the interwar period the post exchange was housed in the former waiting room of the railway company on Grant Avenue. To keep up with the expansion of the post, north and south wings were added, in 1930 and 1937 respectively, to the building, which now houses the post library.

The following year not only marked the final year of the decade but the end of another chapter in the history of Fort Leavenworth. A new commandant, Brigadier General Lesley J. McNair, who became a key architect in structuring the Army for World War II, assumed his duties at Fort Leavenworth in March 1939. Two hundred and twenty-eight students graduated that June, the last class of the peacetime Army. On September 12, 1939, a garden party reception for the new class opened the academic year. Only three days later President Franklin D. Roosevelt declared a state of national emergency. As a result, the War Department ordered the course compressed and graduation advanced to February 1940. General McNair, with war clouds gathering, looked for ways, even with the shortened class year, to increase the scope of the instruction at the school to prepare these men for war. Once more Leavenworth men would be tested in battle.

WARS AND NEW CHALLENGES, 1939—1983

By Dr. John W. Partin

From 1939 to the present, the United States has fought three major wars. In these crises, as well as during the heightened tension of the Cold War years, Fort Leavenworth has had a central role in the American defense effort. The fort, still primarily known as the home of the Command and General Staff College, has played an important part in devising combat and training developments, concepts and doctrine, and force structures. Moreover, Fort Leavenworth continues as the home of the United States Disciplinary Barracks, the maximum security prison for the Army, Air Force, and Marine Corps.

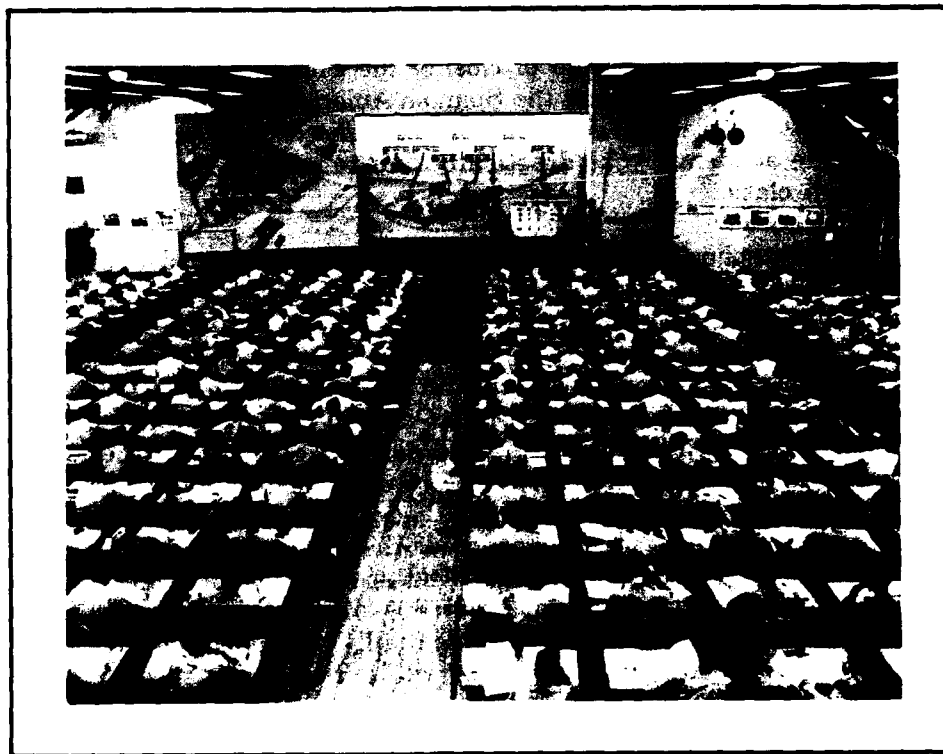
The increasing international tension of the late 1930s, culminating in the outbreak of World War II in September 1939, affected the pace at the fort, which had been described just two years earlier as a "quiet, leisurely post of the old Army." The rapid expansion of the Army in 1939 meant that the War Department desperately needed trained officers to assume staff and command positions. Instead of closing the Command and General Staff School as had been done during the Spanish-American War and World War I, the Army directed the school commandant, Brigadier General Lesley J. McNair, to shorten the academic year drastically and to expand the number of students in each class.

Accordingly, school leaders graduated the 1939—1940 academic class four months early on February 1. The next class did not start until December 1940, following ten months of discussions among War Department and Fort Leavenworth officials that resulted in a curriculum revision and in the initiation of a ten-week special wartime course. These officials reasoned that the majority of officers needed to be trained for staff work and not for command positions, thus facilitating the drastic reduction in the length of the course. Besides increasing the hours of daily instruction, school leaders streamlined courses by including only the most essential materials. Moreover, student officers arrived with knowledge of their next assignment; therefore, they took only classes pertaining to their specialty. The shift to wartime classes was successfully made in late 1940, one year before the attack on Pearl Harbor. The size of the classes eventually expanded over tenfold—the first in December 1940 had 97 students, while the twelfth special class had 1,080 officer students.

The March 1942 reorganization of the Army compelled school officials to adjust the wartime curriculum to meet the needs of the three new commands, the Army Ground Forces, the Services of Supply (later renamed Army Service Forces), and the Army Air Forces. By early 1943, the school

awarded diplomas for one of three fields of specialization—ground, air, or service. Later during the war, the school authorities further divided the curriculum so that officer students obtained ever greater specialization. The Army Ground Forces course, for example, was divided into such specialties as infantry, armor, and antiaircraft. In the new service courses, those students who would be assigned to the Army Service Forces concentrated on logistics and supply problems.

In addition to these changes, school officials developed new courses to meet the demands of total war. The New Division Course was a four-week class for commanders and their staff officers prior to being assigned to newly organized divisions. It facilitated staff cohesion in the new divisions because these officers attended classes designed to acquaint them with the latest War Department policy and doctrine. Other new offerings included a civilian orientation course for national defense workers, a special Army-Navy Staff College course to improve interservice cooperation, and courses for Latin American military officers. Finally, in November 1944 the school commandant, Major General Karl Truesdell, established an advanced general



To accommodate the large number of students in the World War II classes, Andrews Hall, a former gymnasium, and other buildings were converted for classroom use.

staff class for lieutenant colonels and higher grade officers; this course provided select officers with more demanding work in staff procedures at the corps and higher levels.

To accommodate the students in the special wartime classes and other courses, classroom facilities were expanded considerably. Gruber Hall, a former riding arena; Muir Hall, one-time stable; Andrews Hall, a gymnasium; and Pope Hall, a recreation building, all were converted for classroom use during the war. And the school authorities put these and other facilities to good use—by the time that the students in the twenty-seventh, and last, General Staff Course graduated on May 31, 1946, more than 19,000 officers had earned diplomas for the special wartime course.

Other installations on the fort also contributed to the war effort. The induction station processed 318,000 soldiers from 1940 to 1946; over 400,000 men went through the fort's reception station; and the separation center discharged 147,000 soldiers.

During the war the United States Disciplinary Barracks greatly expanded its inmate capacity to meet the spate of prisoners, a consequence of the huge increase in the size of the armed forces. The Army initially had to regain control of the facility from the Department of Justice, which had operated it as a civilian prison since 1929. On December 16, 1940, the Justice Department completed the transfer of the last civilian inmates to federal penitentiaries, thus relinquishing full control of the prison to Fort Leavenworth officials. By mid-1944 the Disciplinary Barracks regularly housed 3,000 inmates, far exceeding its 1,600-prisoner capacity; the overcrowding necessitated the opening of three branch prisons in July of that year. By October 1945 the military prisoner population had soared to 34,766, the most ever, and to keep pace the Disciplinary Barracks had ten branches scattered throughout the country. Thousands of prisoners were also incarcerated in overseas detention centers. To reduce the number of inmates, the Disciplinary Barracks system established nine rehabilitation centers, and from 1942 through 1946, 17,450 men, guilty of minor offenses, were returned to duty. The Disciplinary Barracks had one other wartime responsibility: in July and August 1945, fourteen Germans, who had murdered fellow prisoners of war in detention camps, were executed at the fort.

In all, Fort Leavenworth had made many adjustments during the war years. Not only had the fort helped to mold the military leaders of World War II—Generals Dwight D. Eisenhower, George C. Marshall, Omar N. Bradley, Henry H. Arnold, Matthew B. Ridgway, Mark Clark, and many others had graduated from the staff school before the war—but the special wartime courses trained thousands of officers for responsible staff positions.

Although these special classes provided the expertise needed in war, Army leaders knew that the postwar officer corps required richer educational

opportunities. Three separate review boards met during the years between World War II and the Korean War, resulting in a fundamental reorganization of the Army education system. Collectively, the 1946 War Department Military Education Board, the 1948 Wood Board (named for its chairman, Colonel Stuart Wood), and the 1949 Department of the Army Board on the Educational System for Officers reordered the goals of the Fort Leavenworth school, whose name was officially changed to the Command and General Staff College in May 1947. College officials raised educational standards and expanded course offerings so that officer graduates now were able to perform in a variety of staff positions. One area that received special attention was atomic warfare. Another new departure for college instructors involved writing doctrine; the Department of Analysis and Research, created in November 1946, wrote new editions of Army field manuals.

Besides the changes in curriculum, the college developed a sizable foreign officers program. Ever since 1894, when Henri C. LeCompte of the Swiss Army matriculated at Fort Leavenworth, the schools have had foreign officers as students. By 1951 ten percent of the class, about 60 students, came from foreign countries.

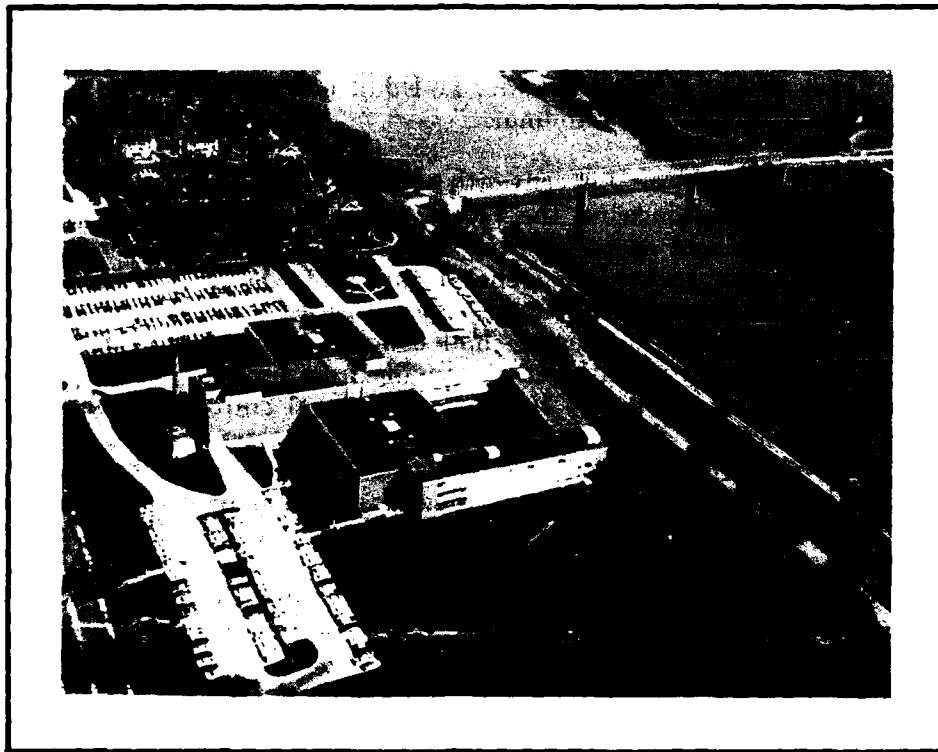
The years before the Korean War also witnessed reversal of the policy for race relations. The increasing demands by blacks for civil rights and equal treatment exploded at the fort on May 2-3, 1947, when a riot erupted in the Disciplinary Barracks. About 8:00 p.m. on May 2, the trouble started over segregated facilities in the prison's mess hall. Prison guards used fire hoses and tear gas to quell the rioters. Because of demands by blacks for equal treatment, as well as for other reasons, President Harry S. Truman issued an executive order in 1948 that ended segregation in the armed forces.

During the Korean War, college officials inaugurated significant changes in curriculum, though there were no substantial organizational revisions as in World War II. The number of students increased only slightly during the war. New regular course offerings, such as psychological warfare, the subversive nature of communism, and the tactical use of nuclear weapons, reflected the war's influence.

From the Korean War to the present, the Command and General Staff College has entered a period of continual reappraisal. Indeed, change has become one of the few constants at the college, as revisions to the curriculum, educational philosophy, and instructional methods have become commonplace. Because the Eisenhower administration adopted the doctrine of massive retaliation as a cornerstone of its defense policy, Major General Garrison Davidson, the college commandant, significantly increased classroom time spent on nuclear warfare. While the number of classroom hours devoted to nuclear warfare increased throughout the decade, Major General Lionel McGarr, commandant from 1956 to 1960, also gave prominence to

limited warfare, a reflection of the views of Army Chief of Staff General Maxwell D. Taylor.

General McGarr likewise reformed the college's educational philosophy and instructional methods. Eschewing what he considered the too limited goals of post-World War II instruction, General McGarr sought to go beyond merely training students in doctrine and set out to make Leavenworth graduates "military problem solvers." To do this, he changed the teaching methods—expanding the number of courses and placing more emphasis upon applying principles and doctrine. In short, Fort Leavenworth leaders hoped to graduate Army officers who were capable of performing well in any circumstance. The modern facilities of the new academic building, J. Franklin Bell Hall, which was dedicated in January 1959, afforded the instructors greater opportunity to implement General McGarr's reforms. Located on historic Arsenal Hill, overlooking the Missouri River Valley, Bell Hall offered a picturesque setting as well.



Bell Hall, located on historic Arsenal Hill overlooking the Missouri River Valley, offers modern facilities for students in the Command and General Staff College. The bridge across the Missouri has since been demolished.

The decade after the Korean War saw great change for other installations on the post. The Disciplinary Barracks expanded its efforts to rehabilitate military inmates. In 1954 the prison obtained the use of barracks outside its walls and converted them into the Local Parolee Unit. In addition to sports and recreational activities, prison officials stressed educational and vocational training programs as a means of rehabilitating prisoners. This goal of rehabilitation has been carried forward to the present day. Since 1960 the Disciplinary Barracks has, for instance, offered an Associate in Arts degree in conjunction with Highland (Kansas) Junior College.

In December 1957 the Army established at the fort the Midwest Relay Center. Its automatic switching equipment was capable of transmitting messages worldwide, a service performed today by the U.S. Army Communications Command at Fort Leavenworth. Almost one hundred years after construction of Fort Sully (defensive earthworks erected during the Civil War), the Army placed a Nike Hercules Delta Battery on the same hill in April 1960. Designed to defend Kansas City from aerial attack, the battery was declared obsolete by the Army in 1969. In addition to these developments, Fort Leavenworth officials declared the new Munson Army Hospital fully operational on February 27, 1961. Seven months later, on September 26, Secretary of the Interior Stewart L. Udall officially designated the fort as a "Registered National Landmark."

During the 1960s Fort Leavenworth officials reoriented the school system as a result of revised doctrine, the Vietnam War, and new educational goals. By the late 1950s and early 1960s, many Army leaders—including General Maxwell D. Taylor, Lieutenant General James M. Gavin, the Army's Chief of Research and Development, and General Bruce C. Clarke, commander of the Continental Army Command—had concluded that the Army must be prepared to fight in any contingency, ranging from limited counterinsurgency campaigns to nuclear war. In 1961 Major General Harold K. Johnson, the college commandant, directed a significant reorientation of the curriculum to reflect new emphasis on "flexible response." While America became deeply involved in the Vietnam War, classroom instruction in counterinsurgency and "flexible response" received greater attention. As the size of the Army grew in response to the war so did the number of students attending the college. The number of Regular officers graduating from CGSC rose from 703 in 1967 to 1,268 in 1972.

During the Vietnam War years, the college embarked on a new era, reversing the post-World War II trend that had stressed "training" rather than "education" of the officer students. For the most part during the two decades following World War II, college leaders had given more weight to "training" officers. This meant instructing students in staff procedures, functions, and techniques, along with the role of the combined combat arms. "Education" of students, the development of analytical prowess, was generally a secondary goal. Major General McGarr had tried to swing the

pendulum back to the "educational" side of the spectrum in the late 1950s, but not until the 1966 report of the Department of the Army Board to Review Army Officer Schools did the college radically change its curriculum and philosophical underpinnings.

This board—known as the Haines Board for its president, Lieutenant General Ralph E. Haines, Jr.—advocated revision of the college's mission and curriculum so that Fort Leavenworth graduates would be conversant with staff procedures and operational concepts far beyond brigade and corps levels. Accordingly, college authorities initiated a professional electives program that consisted of courses designed to broaden the officers' understanding of defense policies, domestic politics, and international affairs.

The impetus for change accelerated during the 1970s. In fall 1971 a Special Ad Hoc Committee, with Deputy Commandant Brigadier General James M. Gibson and Dr. Ivan J. Birrer, the college's educational advisor, as members, recommended a new curriculum program. Based on the committee's report, the first half of the academic year consisted of a "core" curriculum, stressing such traditional fields of study as staff orders and procedures and the fundamentals of tactics and logistics. The second half was comprised of a wide selection of electives. These electives, which built upon the core curriculum, offered the students the opportunity for advanced study in such topics as military intelligence, high-level staff procedures, management, tactics, logistics, and security assistance.

At this juncture in 1973, when the curriculum had already been changed to meet new circumstances, several factors coalesced to cause yet another reorientation of the post's mission. The end of the Vietnam War, the lessons of the 1973 Yom Kippur War, and the advent of the volunteer Army, all had an effect on the fort as did Operation STEADFAST and the Officer Personnel Management System. A fundamental reorganization of the Army, Operation STEADFAST created the Training and Doctrine Command (TRADOC) and the Forces Command from the old Combat Developments Command and the Continental Army Command. The same year, the Combined Arms Center (CAC) was also established at Fort Leavenworth as a principal element of TRADOC. CAC had the college and the Combined Arms Combat Developments Agency (CACDA) as its two subordinate units. CACDA performed an integral role in the combat developments process—the development of new equipment and organizational structures needed to execute Army doctrine. To do this, CACDA produced the studies and concepts that were the basis of new doctrine and field manuals. Fortunately, the CACDA staff could build upon the efforts of the Combined Arms Group, which had been created at Fort Leavenworth in 1962. Subordinate to the old Combat Developments Command, the Combined Arms Group had determined future requirements for materiel and force structures. It was essentially a forerunner of CACDA.

Operation STEADFAST lodged additional responsibilities in the college. Reversing the 1962 decision to remove doctrine and the writing of field manuals from the Army school system, STEADFAST again made the college a major participant in this area. Army officials reasoned that college instructors were the most conversant with the latest developments in their fields of expertise and were, therefore, the best qualified to write doctrinal literature. By January 1976 college instructors were busy writing twenty field manuals, one Army training program publication, seven training circulars, and two TRADOC bulletins. At the same time, the staff reviewed manuals written by other TRADOC schools and agencies.

The end of American involvement in the Vietnam War coincided with renewed interest in conventional warfare, especially in Europe and Southwest Asia. The October 1973 Arab-Israeli War demonstrated the extraordinary violence and voracious appetite of sophisticated weaponry in modern battle. The war emphasized again the importance of combined arms warfare, because no single branch could succeed alone in battle.

More electives in the college curriculum meshed nicely with the newly revised Officer Personnel Management System. The choice of electives permitted the students to expand on the material in the core curriculum and to improve their primary and secondary specialties. Likewise, in 1974 Congress finally approved the Master of Military Art and Science (MMAS) program, which the college had begun some twelve years earlier. Formal approval of the MMAS degree meant that the North Central Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools could grant accreditation to the graduate program. As of June 1983 the college had awarded 611 MMAS degrees to both U.S. and Allied officers.

Another important responsibility of CAC was training developments activities, which consisted of instruction in how to use and integrate new or improved doctrine, techniques, devices, and equipment. In 1976 TRADOC directed Major General (later Lieutenant General) J. R. Thurman, CAC Commander, to enhance the training developments process at Fort Leavenworth. Major General Thurman created a separate organization responsible for such activities in December 1976. The Combined Arms Training Developments Activity (CATRADA) developed and monitored training devices, battle simulations, training and doctrinal literature, and the Army Training and Evaluation Programs. In essence, this activity formulated all training requirements necessary for incorporating latest doctrine, organizations, materiel, and concepts into the Army school system and field units.

For a time, CATRADA also managed the CAC portion of the Army Training Literature Program, to include writing and reviewing doctrine, field manuals, and training circulars. In 1978 Lieutenant General Thurman shifted the doctrinal literature program to the Combined Arms Combat Developments Activity. Two years later the college again assumed responsibility

for doctrinal literature, because the new CAC Commander, Lieutenant General William R. Richardson, decided that writing doctrine belonged in the college, where the exchange between the faculty and students might best benefit revision of field manuals and other training literature.

The Combined Arms Center at Fort Leavenworth underwent another major reorganization in 1982. In August General Glenn K. Otis, Commander of the Training and Doctrine Command, took steps to improve the quality of analytical support provided the Army. As a consequence, the Combined Arms Operations Research Activity (CAORA) was created at Fort Leavenworth on October 1, 1982. The upshot of this reorganization was the consolidation of all systems analysis expertise in CAORA. Thus, CAORA designs and develops TRADOC battle scenarios and makes software modifications for battlefield simulations used by combined arms staffs from platoon through corps levels.

At the same time, Lieutenant General Jack N. Merritt, CAC Commander, directed the consolidation of CATRADA with CGSC. The three training directorates were assigned to the college on December 1, 1982. Lieutenant General Merritt thereby enhanced the college's capability to influence the direction and development of curriculum at the combined arms branch schools and to evaluate training programs used by field units. The college also became responsible for developing and monitoring training at the National Training Center, Fort Irwin, California, and became the "proponent" for Specialty Code 54, which included officers educated for operations, plans, training, and force development staff positions.

In addition to the training responsibilities, the college inaugurated two new programs in the early 1980s that had far-reaching implications for its educational philosophy. On April 6, 1981, the pilot class of the Combined Arms and Services Staff School (CAS³) course met at the fort. This course was designed to train officers, primarily captains, in how to function effectively as staff officers in the field. The pilot program was completed successfully in 1982. Following the 1985 completion of the planned addition to Bell Hall, the Combined Arms and Service Staff School will teach 4,500 students each year. From that time on, all officers selected for CGSC will have already had staff training, reducing the need for such instruction at the college. Accordingly, college authorities have begun to revise the curriculum so that students have more time available for advanced instruction in tactics, logistics, corps operations, battle exercises, and their individual areas of concentration.

On December 28, 1982, General Otis approved a one-year extension to the Command and General Staff College course for select students. The purpose of this Advanced Military Studies Program was to provide a more substantive education for superior students in the art of war, especially at the tactical and operational levels. The pilot course, with fourteen students,

began in June 1983. Participants in the program are officers with specialties in operations, logistics, or military intelligence, who have shown extraordinary potential for future leadership in command or staff positions.

The Command and General Staff College has matured considerably in its 102-year existence. The goal of the college, however, has remained the same—to educate officers for any duty they might be called upon to perform. Likewise, the fort has grown remarkably in its 156 years of service to the United States. Known first and foremost as the home of the college, Fort Leavenworth also continues to have very important responsibilities for Army doctrine, for combat developments, for housing and rehabilitating military prisoners, and for designing and modifying battlefield simulations and other war-gaming models. Today, the fort stands at the center of the Army, and its influence and authority reach far beyond the banks of the Missouri River, a testimony to the dedicated people who have served here so well.

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