UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA SAN DIEGO

Tallgrass Empire:
Aspirational Citizenship, Martial Service,
and the Creation of Subjects in the Northern Great Plains – 1876-1898

A dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction of the
requirements for the degree Doctor of Philosophy

in

History

by

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The Dissertation of Geoffrey Scott West is approved, and it is acceptable in quality and form for publication on microfilm and electronically:

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Chair

University of California San Diego

2019

DEDICATION

I would like to dedicate this dissertation to the most important person in my life, my partner Rick. Without his patience and constancy in helping me see this project through to completion, I cannot imagine it ever being finished.

EPIGRAPH

E battery of the 1st stood by and did their duty well,
For every time the Hotchkiss barked they say a hostile fell.
Some Indian soldiers chipped in too and helped to quell the fray,
And now the campaign's ended and the soldiers marched away.
So all have done their share, you see, whether it was thick or thin,
And all helped break the ghost dance up and drive the hostiles in.
The settlers in that region now can breathe with better grace;
They only ask and pray to God to make John hold his base.

W. H. Prather, a Black soldier in the 9th Cavalry
from his poem "The Indian Ghost Dance and War."
Army and Navy Journal, March 7, 1891.

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to begin by thanking my advisor and dissertation committee chair, Rebecca Plant for her guidance through the often-Byzantine processes and procedures of graduate school. It has given me the resolve to see this project through to completion. Rebecca was supportive as I turned the project away from its initial focus on the Philippines and towards the Great Plains as an antecedent to developments across the Pacific. I was able to work closely with other members of my committee either within seminars or as a teaching assistant, and the knowledge and passion for their respective topics they displayed in those contexts inspired me. Specifically, Nancy Kwak's excellent "History of the American City" course for undergraduates was a revelation for me; it pushed me to embrace the idea of urbanization as a powerful way to examine nineteenth-century phenomenon. Similarly, Rachel Klein's survey courses in American cultural history helped me overcome my aversion to cultural history. While my project isn't quite a cultural history, I do feel her ideas figure prominently in my analysis. Finally, Jeremy Prestholdt's seminar on theories of transnationalism served as the bedrock for one of my primary arguments in this project. Identifying transnational flows, realizing the limits of those connections, and being willing to trace them even if it meant learning enough German to navigate the *Bundesarchiv* were all products of that seminar.

Outside of my committee members, there are several other faculty members at the University of California San Diego I would like to mention by name. Frank Biess' first year seminar on historical theory was probably the most important and difficult class I completed throughout my college career. He forced students into the proverbial deep end of the pool. His texts were demanding but he taught me to use theory when appropriate, always aware of when it helped and when it hindered my work. Mark Hanna's historiography class on Colonial America was another high point of my course work. His fresh take and close contact with many of the

preeminent scholars working on that period have given me ample material to use in my own teaching. Additionally, he was always a helpful voice when I was confused about some peculiarity of graduate school, the dissertation process, or even the broader study of history. He provides a model of how sound scholarship can be presented to the public as both educational and entertaining while retaining its historiographical significance. Stephen Cox, Director of the Revelle Humanities Program, has also been a steady voice of reason in the stormy world of finishing a dissertation. Antony Lyon, assistant director of the program, was always ready with his stoic appraisal of why my perceived crises were in fact manageable. Their guidance as I learned classical humanist texts and then taught them in Revelle's program has been a true joy.

In many ways I felt like my time in Revelle as a teaching assistant was a parallel graduate school experience alongside the one I had in the history department. There's a camaraderie in Revelle born out of teaching works in the humanities and writing to incoming freshmen. That feeling carried over to a culture where each other's intellectual pursuits are valued, and everyone encourages success from their peers. In particular, my Revelle family including Carolin, Frances, Kailey, and Waverly have been incredible sources of inspiration and readily available sounding boards for my often-times unconventional ideas. I'd also like to recognize a couple of members from my history cohort who were part of my first reading group. Stephanie and Russell both saw this project in a prenatal stage. I'm sure they're almost as glad to see this project to completion as I am as it means they won't have to read any more drafts!

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Finally, I'd like to thank a group of three people who deserve equal credit or perhaps culpability for this project. Deciding to join a writing group to finish my dissertation was the single most useful decision of my graduate school career. Graeme Mack engineered the creation of our writing group and for that I owe him a debt I can never repay. Graeme, the beer will always be on me. Graeme is a gifted scholar and his work on the Early Republic will truly change the way historians view that period. Graeme was my big thinker who always pushed me

to detail connections and bolster observations with evidence and clear logic. That didn't mean he was unwilling to point out too much passive voice, though. Kalliopi Kefalas was like the outside committee member of our writing group. Three of us are Americanists and Kalli does Ottoman and Greek history in the nineteenth century. She helped keep the entire group intellectually honest. We had to explain things we generally take for granted in American Historiography. The demand for clear explanations made my work stronger. Kalli and I knew each other even before our time at UCSD, I think fate pushed us together much as the thunderstorm drove *pius* Aeneas and Queen Dido into the cave. But I promise I will not weep when you leave Carthage. I don't think I have ever seen someone so dedicated to her students' success. She is a great role model for what teaching really looks like. Kalli, Loyola is lucky to have you. Finally, Kelly Silva and I discovered over the course of the last two years an odd, yet fascinating, interplay between our respective projects. Her analysis of federal medical practices in relation to Native Americans is a potentially key intervention in the history of Reconstruction. Her focus on the body and its connections with nascent imperial bureaucracies has greatly influenced my own work. How you managed three children, a husband, pets, teaching, and a dissertation is beyond me. The tears we shed over Oscar and Betty is a bittersweet memory I will carry close to my heart the rest of my life.

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ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION

Tallgrass Empire: Aspirational Citizenship, Martial Service,
and the Creation of Subjects in the Northern Great Plains – 1876-1898

by

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Doctor of Philosophy in History

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Scholars have typically characterized the conquest of the Trans-Mississippi West as a contiguous, internal, and non-imperial project. *Tallgrass Empire* portrays the conquest and incorporation of the Northern Great Plains by the United States as an imperial project shaped by global ideologies concerning subjects, citizenship, and military service. In the aftermath of Reconstruction, from 1876 until 1898, the United States Army formulated, deployed, and often

retracted policies aimed at marginalized groups operating within the military. When first enacted, policies like the U.S. Colored Troops and the Indian Regulars programs promised to expand the boundaries of citizenship, incorporating subjected or marginalized people into the body politic. As the remote outposts of the Northern Great Plains were integrated into growing civilian settlements, however, Army policymakers and civilian officials rapidly shifted away from the idea that the ascribed status of "subject" was inherently anti-American. Instead, they increasingly adopted an outlook much more in line with those of European imperial powers, one in which the presence of subjects, dependents, or wards bolstered claims of those classed as full citizens, creating an insurmountable gulf between the subject and citizenship. By 1898 the distance between subjects and citizens had been reconceived and redeployed through army policy as something inherent to one's birth and nigh impossible to achieve through service to the state. The reluctance to allow Filipinos, Cubans, and Puerto Ricans to claim citizenship in the wake of the Spanish American War, something legally codified in the Insular Cases of 1901, was therefore not a new imperial turn but an expansion of extant ideologies about race, class, and gender and their connections with service to the state that had been formulated on the Northern Great Plains decades prior.

INTRODUCTION

"*When the government needed him he was supremely loyal, against the wishes of his own people." – Hugh Lenox Scott writing about I-See-O, a Kiowa sergeant in the Army*

Figure 1 - I-See-O, center, visits the White House to meet Pres. Calvin Coolidge, Jan/Feb 1925. LC-DIG-hec-44789

In the winter of 1925 I-see-o, a 79-year-old Kiowa man, visited the White House and met President Calvin Coolidge. I-See-O's visit was both a celebration of the passage of the previous year's *Indian Citizenship Act* and a more immediate recognition of how I-See-O's military service and subsequent inability to make pension claims had necessitated several interventions including a Congressional Act in 1920.[1] I-See-O had served as both an Indian Scout and an Indian Regular for decades in the Great Plains. While his initial decision to serve as an Indian scout in the 1870s was an immediate response to issues like government regulation of traditional inter-tribal warfare, his enlistment in the Indian Regulars program in 1890-91 was done with an understanding that martial service, official enlistment within the army, meant several things. I-

[1] The *Indian Citizenship Act* was also known as the *Snyder Act*.

see-o understood that he could claim citizenship through naturalization, and his claims could be accelerated through his service. I-see-o also saw service as a long-term solution to the persistent problem of a lack of opportunity for Indian men as far as employment went. For most of his military career I-See-O had served under Major General Hugh Lenox Scott; in many ways the two matured together as Scott was a 2nd Lieutenant and I-See-O a rather middling member of his tribe when they first met. Neither had any real possibility of a senior leadership in either the army or tribal government. But the two served together for over two decades. When Scott retired, he enjoyed all of the benefits of a lifetime of military service. I-See-O, conversely, was not granted US citizenship until the 1924 Act and he consistently encountered issues with pensions and compensation for disabilities gained during service.

By 1920 I-See-O saw no other path out of constant financial troubles and his never-ending physical ailments other than writing to his old commanding officer. Scott immediately intervened and proposed a novel solution; I-See-O would be placed in a permanent NCO position with virtually no duties. As he explained,

> I would like to have you let him live on the reservation or out among his people, as he elects, and see that he gets pay, clothing, and rations from your Quartermaster, and that when his time expires he be re-enlisted as a sergeant until he dies. He is old and mediaeval, his mind is back in the middle ages, and he has simply been stunned by civilization. I do not see how he survived this long. When the government needed him he was supremely loyal, against the wishes of his own people.[2]

While the intervention was remarkable in its swiftness and recognition of the sacrifices I-See-O had made over his lifetime, the fact that white allies had to intercede on his behalf pointed to a

[2] Hugh Lenox Scott to AG, RG 94, NARA. NCO (Non-commissioned officer). I-See-O would have a title and duties, but they were strictly ceremonial. No further work was demanded in exchange for the pay (not pension) that he would receive.

bigger problem. How had his years of service gone unrecognized for so long and why had the been unable to achieve the promise of citizenship and security?

Hugh Lenox Scott spent a good deal of his professional life lobbying for equal application of laws to Indians. He argued that Indians could be good citizens if they were given the chance and if they were provided the same protections the law extended to whites. Military service was, according to Scott and many of his fellow graduates of West Point, the most appropriate path for incorporation into American society. Military service already had a lengthy history as a pathway to citizenship and many Indian Scouts, I-See-O among them, viewed it as an avenue to a whole host of benefits, including citizenship. When pension and injury claims by Indian soldiers were denied it was a break with long-standing precedents.[3] Just two years after I-See-O's discharge from the Army, the United States engaged in a war with Spain and acquired colonial possessions in the Philippines, Puerto Rico, and Cuba and was soon faced with an ever-growing number of non-whites seeking citizenship through military service. Just as Indians' claims to citizenship had eventually been rebuffed or delayed in the post-Civil War period, those of Filipinos, Puerto Ricans, and Cubans were initially rejected. The experience of Indians soldiers claiming citizenship through military service led to an immediate restriction on new subjects of the United States in 1898; military roles no longer carried a possibility for citizenship. Within two years, what had been growing precedent was legally enshrined in a series of immigration decisions known as the *Insular Cases*.[4] All of the work performed by Scott and

[3] Prior Indian Scout claims on citizenship.

[4] In these cases, the US Supreme Court overwhelmingly restricted who could claim citizenship in a series of decisions collectively referred to as the Insular Cases. The rulings emerged from the legally ambiguous positions occupied by residents of the Philippines, Cuba, and Puerto Rico after the Spanish American War. Prior to the 1901 decisions, the US generally operated under the legal concept of *jus solis* up until the 1901 decisions, the idea that citizenship was tied to the place of one's birth, which meant most people living in the recently acquired territories could theoretically claim citizenship. For a thorough explanation of the two completing forms of citizenship claims see Cara Wong and Grace Cho, "Jus Meritum: Citizenship for Service," in *Transforming Politics, Transforming America*, ed. Taeku Lee, S. Karthick Ramakrishnan, and Ricardo Ramírez, The Political and Civic Incorporation of

army officers like him, as well as the service of men like I-See-O, seemed for naught when the prospect of incorporation of new subject populations within the body politic of the United States vanished with the Insular Cases.

While it is tempting the conceptualize the experiences of I-See-O and other Native Americans as distinct from those of Filipino, Cuban, and Puerto Rican subjects in the wake of the 1898 war, it is critical to understand how similar the two situations were, and how the former helped to pave the way for the latter. The conquest of the American West by the United States was an inherently and explicitly imperial project. Understanding the decisions and regulations created by the Army and the Federal government in the wake of the Spanish-American War requires an examination of earlier imperial policies enacted in the Trans-Mississippi West in the years after the Civil War, specifically in the Northern Great Plains. Throughout the nineteenth century federal, state, and local governments used legal, economic, and military tools to subjugate the region and bring the peoples and resources, as well as the land itself, under the full control of the United States. Just as other global empires were confronted with how democratic government and citizenship both conflicted with and were supported by the imperial project, so too was the United States. The American imperial project in the Northern Great Plains was not

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Immigrants in the United States (University of Virginia Press, 2006), 71–88. Summarizing the major points, *jus solis* and *jus sanguinis* are the two broad categories used to define citizenship. *Jus solis*, Latin Law of the Soil, or birthright citizenship, means that a person can claim citizenship based on the location of one's birth. *Jus sanguinis*, Latin Law of Blood, means that citizenship is claimed through one's ancestors. Thus, if a person's parents are American, that person can claim US citizenship. *Jus sanguinis* means that the location of one's birth is irrelevant. The Supreme Court's virtually unanimous repudiation of that concept in the Insular Cases appears to be the result of the sudden accumulation of an American empire at the end of the nineteenth century. All of the Insular Cases of 1901 were decided with 8-1 majorities. For the purposes of this project, the *Insular Cases of 1901* are defined as nine specific Supreme Court rulings: *De Lima v. Bidwell* 182 US 1, *Goetze v. United States* 182 US 221, *Dooley v. United States* 182 US 222, *Armstrong v. United States* 182, US 243, *Downes v. Bidwell* 182 US 244, *Huus v. New York and Porto Rico Steamship Co.* 182 US 392, *Dooley v. United States* 183 US 151, *Fourteen Diamond Rings v. United States* 183 US 176, and *Crossman v. United States* 182 US 221. That is only partially correct. Shifting legal definitions of citizenship that emerged at the end of nineteenth century were indeed the byproducts of empire, as scholars have suggested, but not only the one acquired during the Spanish American War; more fundamentally, they were a product of continental imperialism and expansionism in the final decades of the nineteenth century.

exceptional but was instead representative of broader global trends. The relationship between the imperial state, the citizenry, and subjects in British India, French Algeria, and even German East Africa were startling similar to those within the United States' emergent empire. Debates over the roles of men like I-See-O in the imperial project echoed those surrounding the service of French Zouves, British Sepoys, and German Schutzetruppe.

Even as service to the imperial state became intimately tied to claims of citizenship and it was hotly contested on the Great Plains during the Indian Wars from the 1860s through the 1890s, the experience of the United States did diverge from that of other global empires. Citizenship and its relationship with the imperial state was initially more fluid in the American context. While US officials, both in the civilian government and the military, drew on emergent ideas of citizenship and its relationship with the state from the more developed imperial projects of the British and French; they borrowed policies and regulations from Algeria, India, and East Africa, adapted in Washington, D.C., and in classrooms at West Point, and deployed across the Great Plains at various military outposts. At the same time, they also incorporated particular American definitions of citizenship and how it could be "earned" through service to the state. But in the closing years of the century, as armed conflict in the Northern Great Plains appeared to approach a decisive conclusion, and as race science crystalized and captured the attention of policy makers, the reciprocal relationship of military service and citizenship began to be decoupled.

Ultimately, administrators, first in the Great Plains and later in the Philippines and other colonial spaces, decided the imperial state's demands for service did not require an equitable exchange of rights and privileges. While citizenship had been an ostensible reward for military service for almost a century, military policy makers in the United States began to incorporate

explicitly racialized ideas of who could and could not be a member of the citizenry. Imperial subjects were almost entirely outside the new racial boundaries of citizenship. Non-whites residing within the metropole were often able to continue to claim citizenship, but it was no longer an explicit function of military service. Those outside the metropole did not enjoy the constitutional protections, however tenuous, enjoyed by black soldiers for example. For soldiers in the Philippines, Cuba, and Puerto Rico service to a larger global project was imagined as an ample enough reward by policy makers at the end of the nineteenth century. Indian soldiers were increasingly viewed, at least for a time, in the second category. According to this philosophy, men like I-See-O should have been grateful for the opportunity to serve within in the US Army. To expect compensation or rights as a result of that service was to fundamentally challenge the boundaries between ruler and subject.

This project's primary goal is to delineate how military service and its connection with citizenship transformed in the decades immediately following the Civil. Linking the nascent imperial policies enacted in spaces like the Great Plains with both later projects in the Philippines and the Caribbean and contemporaneous phenomenon in the British, French, and German empires is one way to accomplish this goal. I argue the language of citizenship and service to the state via the military was initially divergent from European models but by the end of the century was much more aligned to global conceptions of citizenship and martial service. Examining this change provides a window into how a more coherent American empire emerged by the end of the nineteenth century. For a short period, from the 1860s until the late 1870s, the United States seemed amenable to opening citizenship to all who would serve the state, no matter their previous status. But, by the end of the nineteenth century governmental administrators created new guidelines much more in line with those of their Trans-Atlantic counterparts in

London, Paris, and Berlin: military service was not automatically a pathway to citizenship. Understanding how policymakers decoupled martial service from citizenship, a break with almost a century of precedent, demonstrates the radical reconfiguration of individual/state relations underway in the years between the Civil War and the Spanish-American War.

This project focuses on a brief moment of possibility for formal full citizenship through military service, in the context of US imperial expansion on the Northern Great Plains. This focus requires a reconfiguration of how historians have traditionally envisioned the divides between who the state classified as a citizen and a subject. Citizenship has all-too-often been viewed as something monolithic. In the context of martial service in the Northern Great Plains; however, there were multiple rationales present as to who could claim citizenship and how. Indian soldiers sought to achieve a form of citizenship most recognizable to contemporary historians, but Black soldiers, who enjoyed legal citizenship, sought a type of citizenship that moved from the theoretical and symbolic to the actual. They wanted the ability to put their rights, like voting, into action. And while the laundresses' claims seem far outside the formal bounds of citizenship, one of this project's major goals is to reconfigure how, when, and to whom historians apply the rhetoric of suffrage. The working women of the nineteenth-century army were wholly different from the standard narrative of women's suffrage in the years immediately following the Civil War.[5] Their class was inextricably linked to their gender and this put them at odds with both those who sought to protect what was feared as an ever-watering-down of elite male citizenship and others who, while ostensibly sharing a similar perspective on the status of women, nonetheless arrived at differing solutions, at least during this moment. The laundresses

[5] See Laura E. Free, *Suffrage Reconstructed: Gender, Race, and Voting Rights in the Civil War Era* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2015); Faye E. Dudden, *Fighting Chance: The Struggle over Woman Suffrage and Black Suffrage in Reconstruction America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011).

exercised something that can best be classed as economic citizenship. They were able to use their financial stability to make increased claims on the state. This connection between money and political participation put them at odds with the wives of officers at forts across the Northern Great Plains. Those wives, at least a substantial portion, reiterated what had become the dominant middle-class view of women and society in America: women were best suited to pursuing social reform through moral and religious education, direct economic and political participation was unwomanly. But as broader societal expectations of women's economic and political roles in America changed, so too did the availability of opportunities for the laundresses.

Coinciding with increased claims on citizenship by those serving the military was a re-envisioning of how martial duty did or did not reflect full membership within the body politic. These policy changes were driven both from within and outside of the formal military bureaucracy. They reflected ideological shifts in how gender and race as well as empire and subject were envisioned. In the decades following the Civil War the US enacted various policies addressing citizenship, military service, and employment by the state in its most controllable environment, the military. The army redefined the relationship between military service and citizenship. It delineated new boundaries between employment within the army and by it, a distinction that had never been clearly demarcated. Army policy officials eventually caved to shifting national discourses over how citizenship and race could or should be connected. Simultaneously, military reformers, like Hugh Lenox Scott, took advantage of the relative freedom offered by the remoteness of Northern Great Plains outposts and initiated policies aimed at bolstering the ability of soldiers to claim citizenship via naturalization, this was particularly true with Indian soldiers who became members of All-Indian units. By shifting the status of

Indians serving the military from "scouts," a term intentionally meant to distance them from white citizen-soldiers, to "regulars" the desire to make Indian soldiers full citizens was clear.

Army reformers also offered Black soldiers, only recently admitted as regular soldiers, the opportunity to exercise their constitutional status as freedmen and citizens. Martial service offered a chance for these soldiers to demonstrate their commitment to American ideals and their remote stationing in posts across the Northern Plains meant they enjoyed a less fettered ability to professionally, economically, and politically engage with their local, state or territorial, and federal governments. Promotion within the Army held the possibility of real social and economic success for many of those men. The increased opportunities for Black soldiers from the 1870s through the mid-1890s ran afoul of changing ideas of what the army's responsibilities to its soldiers were and how Black Americans could or should live and work alongside whites. Thus, hardening racial lines in the form of Jim Crow meant an end to the possibilities of military success for Black men by the mid-1890s.

Finally, the labor women had traditionally performed for the Army became an increasingly contentious point. Women working for the Army as laundresses had enjoyed legal recognition since the earliest decades of the nineteenth century and they had a much longer history with antecedent colonial militias. Many of the same reformers who championed the rights of Indian and Black soldiers took aim at how women who performed labor for the military could contaminate the connections between martial service and citizenship. If military service could carve a path to citizenship what was to be made of laundresses in long-term service to the army? Could they make similar claims? Many of those laundresses enjoyed economic prosperity under the system in place after the Civil War; they were paid directly by the paymaster at each fort for labor performed for soldiers. Reformers questioned that economic success and insisted it was

inconsistent with emergent ideals of women as necessary moral lodestars. Those reformers eventually pushed the laundresses out in favor of wholly civilian or internalized male laundry services, most of whom were non-white. The decision to exclude laundresses from official positions within the army was driven, in no small part, by broader cultural debates over how women could or should partake in wage labor. If women received wages for their labor within the army they could not, definitionally, provide an ameliorating feminine presence mandated by late nineteenth century mores. Thus, each group provides a window into a different form of the claimed connection between martial service and citizenship and the broader relationship with legal and societal requirements: Indian soldiers enjoyed no legal status but hoped martial service led inextricably to citizenship, Black soldiers had legal standing but often found it difficult to put that into practice, and laundresses found themselves legally deprived of full citizenship by virtue of their gender even as their service was seen as an important constitutive element of the imperial state.

Connecting the experiences of Black soldiers, Indian soldiers, and laundresses was a fourth group, junior Army officers like High Lenox Scott who championed policies aimed at redefining the relationship of the state and those who served it. While reform-minded junior officers enjoyed initial success in reshaping the relationship between martial service and citizenship, most of their policy initiatives were eventually abandoned or significantly altered, generally to the detriment of those who were the intended beneficiaries. Indian soldiers, like I-See-O, did not receive the imagined benefits of service until late in their lives, and only when citizenship was more broadly extended to most Native Americans, regardless of military service. Black soldiers, who had initially envisioned martial service as a respite from an increasingly hostile culture, soon found the military replicating Jim Crow within the army. And finally,

women, who's work for the Army had been seen as essential, were soon forced out of the army as the labor they performed was devalued and handed off to outside groups officials viewed as unambiguously incapable of citizenship claims, like Chinses immigrants, and then later to men serving within then army, like Black soldiers, who were similarly cast as incapable of dutiful martial service. While the initial proposals of the junior officers seemed to cast the American military and its relationship with subjects of those in its service as something oppositional to the military empires of Britain and France, by the end of the century, the lives of soldiers and subjects in the Northern Great Plains as well as in the Philippines and Cuba seemed to have far more in common with those same empires.

The American Empire's embrace of European imperial models seemed to have come to fruition with the Spanish-American War in 1898 and the subsequent Insular Cases, but a more complete chronology is only possible by understanding the ways the military engaged with questions of citizenship and military service requires an examination of the experiments of junior officers, with the full support of senior military and governmental officials, undertook in the Northern Great Plains. The status of Filipino sailors, Puerto Rican soldiers, and Cuban employees of the military were all dependent upon precedents established on the Northern Great Plains from 1876 to 1897. The *Insular Cases* may seem to be the moment when connections between military service and citizenship were finally decided in the United States; but they were not. The *Insular Cases of 1901* merely codified and clarified conclusions reformers had drawn through their experiences in places like Forts Keogh and Assiniboine, Montana and Fort Washakie, Wyoming. The decisions officers made on the Northern Great Plains first sought to reify and eventually disconnect military service from citizenship. Thus, the seemingly

irreconcilable nature of democracy and citizenship with empire and subjugation was satisfied as service to the state no longer automatically meant full participatory membership within state.

Historiography

One of the primary goals of this project is to re-situate the northern Great Plains as an imperial space. It is my contention that the U.S. government, operating primarily through the army, envisioned the region north of Kansas and bounded by the Rocky Mountains to the west and the Missouri/Mississippi Rovers to the east as an imperial space much like Great Britain and France imagined India and southeast Asia, respectively. State agents employed an imperial language gleaned from competing imperial powers like Britain and France to formulate policies in the region, but they also drew on the experiences of the state in the American South during Reconstruction. As imperial policies were modified, possibly even Americanized, they were eventually redeployed from places like the Dakotas and Montana across the Pacific Ocean to Hawaii and the Philippines, as well as into the Caribbean Sea and onto Cuba and Puerto Rico. Thus, this project brings the scholarship of global imperialism, the history of American foreign policy, American settler-colonial patterns, the American West, and the late nineteenth century expansion of state institutions into conversation.[6] By bringing these divergent fields together, it becomes clear that the American imperial project of the late nineteenth century should be viewed as part of a broader global push for empire and not as an "accidental" creation nor as an

[6] Foundational works in the history of American Foreign Policy include Andrew J. Bacevich, *American Empire: The Realities and Consequences of U.S. Diplomacy* (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 2002); Wayne S. Cole, *An Interpretive History of American Foreign Relations* (Dorsey Press, 1974); David Healy, *US Expansionism: The Imperialist Urge in the 1890s* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1970); Amy Kaplan and Donald E. Pease, eds., *Cultures of United States Imperialism*, New Americanists (Durham: Duke University Press, 1993); Walter LaFeber, *The New Empire: An Interpretation of American Expansion,1860-1898*, 35th anniversary ed, Cornell Paperbacks (Ithaca, N.Y: Cornell University Press, 1998); William Appleman Williams, *The Tragedy of American Diplomacy*, New ed (New York: W.W. Norton & Co, 1972). See Alyosha Goldstein, ed., *Formations of United States Colonialism* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2014). for a broad overview of Settler-Colonialism in the United States.

aberration of the general trajectory of American foreign policy. Understanding the military, colonial, and imperial engagements of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries necessitates a careful consideration of the continuities present in American policies.

Focusing on military policy changes is central to this work but so is a parallel question: how did these military policy changes impact civil laws and the lives of those outside the military? Also, and perhaps more importantly, how did broader societal changes impact military policy? Thus, one of the key components of this project is an engagement with the scholarship surrounding changes in civilian/military relations at the end of the nineteenth century. Extant works in the fields of military history, sociology, political science, and strategic studies all factor into contemporary thinking regarding this relationship. While several early works provide critical conceptualizations and methodological frameworks, more recent works, although not immediately centered upon the late-nineteenth century, nonetheless provide innovative approaches to projects center upon the civilian/military binary.

The landmark work in discussions of civilian/military relations in the United States is Samuel Huntington's *The Soldier and the State: The Theory and Politics of Civil-Military Relations* (1957). Huntington argues there has always been a fundamental tension in civilian/military relations in the United States. He contends the civilian government has been driven by liberalism, while the military has been dominated by conservatism. Huntington is clear that the conservatism he discusses is not the Cold War, John Birch-variety, but rather derived from Edmund Burke's ideas about the necessity of force and the need for strong leaders to rule the masses, not as mere delegates but as republican representatives. Huntington expands on this argument and notes that this ideological separation permitted a strong military and civilian government to coexist without fear of a military coup or civilian usurping of military authority.

This is critical to understanding how nascent local governments operated alongside U.S. Military forces in places like the northern Great Plains.

While Huntington sees the Civil War as a transformational moment, he rejects claims that it had an immediate, large-scale impact on the military in the United States. Rather, he points to events during and after the Indian Wars as critical points in the construction of a newly professionalized military. Most importantly, he argues that the consolidation of the army in the western United States after the wars, along with the development of advanced training programs at Leavenworth, Kansas, were key moments in the professionalization process. For Huntington, the process of military professionalization was not a byproduct of the traumatic Civil War but was rather a series of policy changes necessitated by the Indian Wars and their aftermath. It can be argued that Huntington therefore locates military professionalization within quasi-imperial engagements, though he did not define them as such.

Russell Weigley's *Towards an American Army* (1962), as well as his later synthetic *History of the United States Army* (1967/1984), both expand upon ideas first presented by Huntington concerning the move towards military professionalization and changes in the civilian/military dynamic. While Weigley agrees with Huntington's primary assertion that professionalization occurred after the Civil War and was not a direct result of that conflict, he refutes the notion it was the work of an insular movement within the army. Weigley sees the emergence of military professionalism as part of a broader societal discourse on modernity and expertise. While he draws on concepts of liberalism versus conservatism as defined by Huntington, he sees these tensions running across American social groups.

Edward Coffman agrees with many of Weigley's and Huntington's assertions. In his two social histories of the U.S. Army, *The Old Army* (1986) and *The Regulars* (2004), Coffman uses

a social history approach to trace institutional changes within the army over a large swathe of time., Coffman agrees with both Weigley and Huntington that the policy changes reflected cultural shifts apparent in the U.S. throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries but he rejects a top-down approach to recreating the past. Instead he argues these changes can only be properly understood when viewed through the eyes of those outside formal policy-making bodies. Junior staff, NCOs, and enlisted men form the bulk of the experiences he details in his books, although it is important to remember prominent military reformers are never completely outside his considerations. Coffman moves even closer than Weigley as he asserts the professionalization movement within the American military was embedded in broader societal shifts towards professional reforms. However, he seems to avoid directly engaging with social reform movements and their place within the framework of institutional change.

While there are numerous subsequent studies of how army professionalization reshaped the relationship between soldier and civilian, few of these works have sought to directly link broader social reforms movements to military professionalization. Some works have hinted at a sustained influence by these broader movements, but have failed to detail the influence social reformers had on military professionalizers in the U.S. Army.[7] A recent book detailing modernization in the U.S. and German navies at the end of the nineteenth century does offer a compelling model for considering the impact of broader social movements on military ideology. Dirk Bönker's *Militarism in a Global Age* (2012) compares the experiences of high-level naval strategists in Germany and the United States after 1860. He argues the increased focus by naval strategists on capital ship construction was a studied application of modernity. The battleship became a symbol of the marriage of the nation-state, industrialization, empire, and modernity,

[7] Huntington, Weigley, and Coffman all discuss professionalization to varying degrees, but none make explicit connections between broader social movements and how they related to changes in army policy.

infused with the all-encompassing expertise of elites who had a monopoly over nautical decision-making. Bönker's succinct definition of professionalism as a commitment "to the cause of expertise and managerial proficiency in an industrial world" as applicable to the military is particularly useful.

Bönker's use of a transnational framework helps demonstrate the circuits of knowledge and ideology characteristic of the late-nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. His focus on the capital warship as a key symbol of modernity within the navy can be usefully considered in relation to my own contention that the U.S. Army, lacking large-scale capital expenditures, instead focused its attention on creating a "modern" soldier. Thus, the discourses on professionalization and modernity meet in the physical person of the enlisted army regular, much as Bönker argues battleships occupied a similar functional space in the navy. Just as imperialism is critical for Bönker's argument, so it is a key component in understanding how the US Army soldier is reconceptualized as modern. The modernity of the soldier was a key element in the transformation of military service and its relationship with citizenship. Modernity meant an industrialized soldier not a citizen soldier.

One of the key interventions made in the history of American imperialism has been the shift from the metropole to the periphery; a conscious decision to highlight and detail the effects of and responses to imperialism in colonial spaces by both colonizers and subject peoples. There is perhaps no better starting place when considering the literature on American imperialism than Paul Kramer's formative historiographical essay in the *American Historical Review* from 2011, "Power and Connection: Imperial Histories of the United States in the World."[8] In his essay

[8] Paul Kramer has generated an impressive body of work over the last two decades and has established his reputation as perhaps the foremost authority on the language of empire in the late nineteenth century United States. His historiographical essay from 2011 is by no means his only important contribution to the field. His 2006 monograph, *The Blood of Government: Race, Empire, the United States and the Philippines*, makes a critical

Kramer identifies five components useful in defining imperial history. They are worth restating here succinctly as they provide a guiding methodological framework for this project. Kramer defines the first three aspects as "scalar power," "spatial ordering," and "modes of exceptionalizing." These first three aspects deal with envisioning what is to be studied. They also assist in defining similar processes that can be brought under the rubric of imperial history. "Scalar power" denotes a broadening of scope for historical analyses.[9] No longer can history of British, French, or American empire focus solely on those state-bound entities. They must each be considered in a border regional and global context. "Spatial ordering" is the way space, both geographic and imaginative, is conceptualized. Specifically, Kramer calls for an increased examination of non-territorial loci of imperialism.[10] While freeing the history of empire from its

intervention in the consideration of American empire. Kramer connects shifting notions of race in the metropole, primarily the American South, with a strikingly similar language deployed during and after the Spanish American War. While *Blood of Government* focuses on the internal creation of imperial ideologies within the United States, Kramer has other works that demonstrate how the American imperial project was intimately connected with other global powers, see "Making Concessions: Race and Empire Revisited art the Philippine Exposition, St. Louis, 1901-1905," *Radical History Review* (Winter 1999), "Pairing Empire: Britain and the United States, 1857-1947," *Journal of Colonialism and Colonial History* (Spring 2001), "Empire, Exceptions, and Anglo-Saxons: Race and Rule between the British and United States Empires, 1880-1910," *Journal of American History* (March 2002), "Race, Empire and Transnational History," *Colonial Crucible: Empire in the Making of the Modern American State* (2009), "Historias transimperiales: Raíces españolas del estado colonial estadounidense en Filipinas," *Filipinas, Un País Entre Dos Imperios* (2011), "Reflex Actions: Colonialism, Corruption and the Politics of Technocracy in the Early Twentieth Century United States," *Challenging US Foreign Policy: America and the World in the Long Twentieth Century* (2011). Additionally, Kramer has revisited some of the terrain of his 2011 essay and created a new historiographic essay based on the ways radicalized ideas were critical to the creation of an American Empire, "Shades of Sovereignty: Racialized Power, the United States and the World," *Explaining the History of American Foreign Relations* (2016). Recently, Kramer has moved to engage the emergent field of the history of capitalism and incorporate it within broader works on U.S. imperialism, see "Embedding Capital: Political-Economic History, the United States, and the World," *The Journal of the Gilded Age and Progressive Era* (2016). Each of Kramer's works push the boundaries of how American imperialism and its usually attendant exceptionalism have been considered by historians.

[9] Here Kramer draws heavily on Foucaldian notions of power and centers it on a geographical work, *Geographies of Power: Placing Scale* (2002). *Contested Spaces of Early America* (2014), an edited volume by Juliana Barr and Edward Countryman, applies the notion of "geographies of power" and expands the definitional space of "early America" and forwards a hemispherical approach to what the editors contend has been an artificially constrained view fragmented into histories of Anglo-America, the Borderlands, Latin America, or even pre-contact territorial entities. Barr and Countryman use David Weber's work on the Spanish Borderlands and the Caribbean and combine it with recent work on the history of the slave trade and specifically Trans-Atlantic histories and argue a more complete picture of the history of places like Jamestown, Santiago de Cuba, and El Paso must engage in hemispheric histories.

[10] Kramer accesses ideas from the emergent "spatial turn" to create this aspect but he also argues for a move beyond the strictly physical. Stephen Kern's *The Culture of Time and Space, 1880-1918* (1983) presaged what

own borders contributes to a globally centered approach, Kramer adds this second aspect as a reminder to move beyond the strictly physical. Kramer here points to the new focus on networks and flows, mainly within global histories, as central to a new imperial framework.[11] "Modes of exceptionalizing" draws most heavily from Kramer's own work on empire and posits the primacy of difference in imperial history. This is a combination of the subaltern, the "other," the subject, the citizen, and even the metropole and the periphery.[12]

Kramer's last two aspects are decidedly more methodological. He rejects previous imperial histories' obsession with "logics" and motivations and instead argues for a primary focus on the effects of empire. Here my own work diverges from Kramer's broad outline of

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could be termed the post-spatial turn and his work is critical in stepping outside the bounds of strictly physical landscapes. A relatively recent work incorporating the spatial turn but also focusing on networks or circuits of power and knowledge is Timothy Mitchell's *Carbon Democracy: Political Power in the Age of Oil* (2011). Mitchel embraces the spatial turn and its focus on quantitative/spatial analysis, but he rejects it as an endpoint and instead places it within a broader "non-territorial" work. There are lingering issues with the spatial turn and how the combination of historical records and GIS have created a perceived "objective" history. Mitchell's work stands apart as an active rejection of data-driven history as the inevitable goal of all scholarship. He recognizes the necessity of Kramer's non-territorial loci when constructing truly trans-national histories.

[11] There is no better work on the exchange of imperial ideas, even if they weren't labelled as such, than Daniel T. Rodger's *Atlantic Crossings: Social Politics in a Progressive Age* (2000).

[12] Antonio Gramsci is widely credited with creating the concept of studying subalterns, or the lowest members of a society, often excluded in multiple ways. See Gramsci's *Quaderni del Carcere*. While the exact meaning of subaltern has since been highly contested, including a Marxist interpretation that contends Gramsci meant "proletariat," the phrase subaltern has subsequently found fertile ground in post-colonial studies. The Subaltern Studies Group took Gramsci's ideas and began to construct imperial histories as told by those outside of formal imperial institutions. Gayatri Chakravoty Spivak is perhaps the single most important figure in the construction of a new post-colonial approach to history. Her extended essay, "Can the Subaltern Speak?" (1988), provides an examination of Gramsci's ideas of hegemony and the subaltern and it seeks to outline a new approach to the history of empire after empire, a post-colonial history told from below. Kramer's "modes of exceptionalizing" engages directly with Spivak's call to tell the history of empire through the voices of those upon whom it was inflicted. Gyan Prakesh's *Bonded Histories: Genealogies of Labor Servitude in Colonial India* (1990), Partha Chatterjee's *The Black Hole of Empire: History of a Global Practice of Power* (2012), and Dipesh Chakrabarty's *Provincializing Europe: Postcolonial Thought and Historical Difference* (2000) and his historiographical essay, "A Small History of Subaltern Studies," in the *Companion to Postcolonial Studies* (2005) are essential works engaged in the subaltern and focused, primarily, on the history of empire in the Indian subcontinent. The subaltern is not limited to India as Dipesh Chakrabarty notes in his historiographical essay on Subaltern Studies when he remarks how the subaltern has "both global and even regional locations in the circuits of scholarship that it traverse," and historians like José Rabasa has taken the subaltern lens and turned it to the history of Mexico, see *Without History: Subaltern Studies, the Zapatista Insurgency, and the Specter of History* (2010). More broadly, the language of the subaltern has been cast wide across the field of post-colonial history. Even if the term fails to appear in a work, it is difficult to imagine histories of empire created after the rise of the Subaltern Studies Group ignoring the experiences of those excluded form empire's formal structures.

imperial history slightly. While effects are critical aspects of imperial history, pieces which have often been ignored or minimized, this does not mean the processes and policies of empire have no place in a new imperial history.[13] Finally, and this may be Kramer's most important contribution in the essay, he draws on Joan Scott's "Gender: A Useful Category of Historical Analysis" and considers "imperial" as merely a lens instead of a clearly defined thing.[14] This new lens, Kramer argues, helps counter notions of imperial coherence or uniformity and instead opens an avenue for conceptualizing and describing a myriad of historical processes each readily identifiable as "imperial."

Paul Kramer's *Blood of Government* (2006), while pushing towards the broader imperial engagement he details in his 2011 essay, is ultimately a product of an American historiography of empire. Kramer pushes against one hundred plus years of an exceptionalist narrative, but the contours of American historiography may preclude the formulation of a critical imperial history already present in the British and French academies. Kristin Hoganson's *Fighting for American Manhood* (2000), Mary Renda's *Taking Haiti* (2001), and Matthew Frye Jacobson's *Barbarian Virtues* (2001) are similarly formative works and, just like Kramer's monograph, draw deeply from the extant theoretical/methodological approach to empire within the American academy. In his 2011 essay Kramer points to more fully developed imperial historiographies in Britain and

[13] Key works on the logic of empire include Susan E. Alcock, ed., *Empires: Perspectives from Archaeology and History* (Cambridge, UK ; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2001); Michael W. Doyle, *Empires*, Cornell Studies in Comparative History (Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 1986); J. A. Hobson, *Imperialism: A Study* (New York: Cosimo, 2005); Stephen Howe, *Empire: A Very Short Introduction*, Very Short Introductions 76 (Oxford ; New York: Oxford University Press, 2002); Vladimir Il′ich Lenin, *On Imperialism and Imperialists*, Scientific Socialism Series (Moscow: Progress Publishers, 1973); Bernard Semmel, *The Liberal Ideal and the Demons of Empire: Theories of Imperialism from Adam Smith to Lenin* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1993); Alexander J. Motyl, *Imperial Ends: The Decay, Collapse, and Revival of Empires* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2001); Jürgen Osterhammel, *Colonialism: A Theoretical Overview*, 2nd Markus Wiener Publishers ed (Princeton: Markus Wiener Publishers, 2005); Edward W. Said, *Orientalism* (New York: Vintage Books, 1994); Edward W. Said, *Culture and Imperialism*, 1st Vintage Books ed (New York: Vintage Books, 1994)..

[14] Joan W. Scott, "Gender: A Useful Category of Historical Analysis," *American Historical Review* 91, np. 5 (December 1986): 1053-1075.

France as decidedly non-ideal models but with more comprehensive engagements in the meanings of empire. Perhaps the French and British historiographies of empire are more fully formed because the debate about the presence or absence of an empire has been settled for some time and scholars have instead focused on detailing and describing imperial processes. For well over twenty years works within both the British and French imperial historiographies have imperfectly followed some of Kramer's five criteria for a sounder imperial scholarship. They serve as models, however imperfectly, for future directions of histories of American imperialism.

Finally, works incorporating spatial theory provide an overarching theoretical framework for this project.[15] Drawing on Stephen Kern's ideas of time and space as presented *in Culture of Time and Space* (2003), a fairly new field of inquiry has emerged in the history of the American military over the last decade—the importance of physical space in the creation of a military infrastructure/empire. Few works have directly engaged with questions surrounding how military advocates envisioned space and how those conceptualizations changed after the Civil War. Alison Hoagland's *Army Architecture in the West: Forts Laramie, Bridger, and D.A. Russell, 1849-1912* (2004) is the notable exception. Hoagland, an architectural historian, contends the development of militarized space went through three distinct periods: the outpost era (prior to and during the Civil War), the village era (during the Indian Wars), and the institutional era (after 1890). For Hoagland, each of these eras was represented by distinct settlement patterns and

[15] Jo Guldi's "What if the Spatial Turn?" (2012) is an article hosted by the University of Virginia Library's Scholars' Lab initiative, *spatial.scholarslab.org/spatial-turn/.* Guldi's historiography and state-of-the-field for the spatial turn are foundational and provide an excellent argument as to what does and does not constitute the spatial turn. Guldi argues history was started as a spatially-focused discipline with the works of Michelet, Macaulay, and Ranke. Landscapes have always been central to the project of historians according to Guldi. Recent technological developments like GIS have ushered in a new era of spatially aware histories. Timothy Mitchell, Patrick Joyce, and Gwendolyn Wright have all contributed to what Guldi views as a recovery of history's initial focus on the landscape and its renewed focus, see Timothy Mitchell, *Carbon Democracy: Political Power in the Age of Oil* (London ; New York: Verso Books, 2011); Patrick Joyce, *The State of Freedom: A Social History of the British State since 1800* (Cambridge ; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2013); Gwendolyn Wright, *The Politics of Design in French Colonial Urbanism* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991).

demographic realities within frontier forts. The shifts across eras were largely accomplished through changes in governmental priorities. The institutional era was a result of professionalization and the formalizing of martial space. Impromptu structures, non-standardized plans, and camp followers were banished from this conceptualized space of complete institutional control.

Hoagland's work offers a standardization hypothesis in the modernization of US Army forts. While I would agree there was a strong move to standardize those spaces, I would also argue there was a powerful localized force at most of the forts, reform-minded officers for example, who instead of deploying a top-down set of policies responded to broader societal changes contextualized by local conditions. I contend that although the changes in forts appear as evidence of an ascendant centralized military authority embracing one of the key tenants of modernity, uniformity, the standardization was more a cultural byproduct and was perhaps much more a function of increased global engagements, particularly in the discourse of empire.

Theory and Methodology

Understanding the ways imperial technology was formulated and deployed across the northern Great Plains requires several readjustments to prior approaches to the history of empire. First, many imperial histories have privileged the metropole as the primary wellspring of policies across the nation and empire. This approach minimizes the ability of historians to recognize those outside the metropole as critical to the formulation of imperial policies. It also creates a false dichotomy between the metropole and the periphery. Recent historical approaches have highlighted the multiple ways the periphery impacted the metropole, but there is still a tendency to view the dichotomy as received wisdom. Bifurcating the metropole and the periphery contributes to a false homogeneity within both spaces, while obscuring liminal points where

neither term seems entirely satisfactory. Additionally, the very nature of the metropole/periphery dynamic is predicated on an assumed power dynamic. To be sure, many historical actors understood their world in precisely this way and that understanding must be accounted for in any history of imperialism. However, an imperial history must balance that recognition of the truth with the uneven and impartial ways policies and ideologies seemed to flow over those same spaces.[16]

Emerging from the metropole and periphery binary is a tendency to view local actors, when they have even been mentioned in imperial histories, as either direct and uncritical agents of metropolitan institutions or as resistors to similarly hegemonic imperial processes.[17] Again, this type of approach creates an artificial binary. Every historical actor who can be cast as an agent of the empire becomes far more than that. They become a proxy. This creates an issue when trying to understand why historical actors envisioned the world as they did. Agents of the imperial state must be understood as both carriers and enactors of state-level policies, but they must also be imagined as individuals whose own priorities oftentimes did not fully align with those of the imperial state. Local actors must also be viewed through the various lenses made available over the last fifty years of historical scholarship, namely as gendered, racialized, class-bound, and religiously motivated actors to name just a few salient categories.[18] Thus, an Indian

[16] See Alan Lester, *Imperial Networks: Creating Identities in Nineteenth-Century South Africa and Britain* (London ; New York: Routledge, 2001); Alison Games, *The Web of Empire: English Cosmopolitans in an Age of Expansion, 1560-1660* (Oxford ; New York: Oxford University Press, 2008). for two examples of histories where the metropole and periphery are viewed as mutually constitutive.

[17] See Malte Rolf, "Einführung: Imperiale Biographien. Lebenswege Imperialer Akteure in Groß- Und Kolonialreichen (1850-1918)," *Geschichte Und Gesellschaft* 40, no. 1 (2014): 5–21. for a good overview of the recent biographical turn in imperial histories and a new focus on imperial actors.

[18] Several key works in conceptualizing a framework for the analysis of imperial actors are Ann Laura Stoler, Carole McGranahan, and Peter C. Perdue, eds., *Imperial Formations*, 1st ed, School for Advanced Research Advanced Seminar Series (Santa Fe, N.M. : Oxford [U.K.]: School for Advanced Research Press ; James Currey, 2007); Timothy J. Coates, *Convicts and Orphans: Forced and State-Sponsored Colonizers in the Portuguese Empire, 1550-1755* (Stanford, Calif: Stanford University Press, 2001); Richard Price, *The Convict and the Colonel* (Boston, Mass: Beacon Press, 1998); Peter Redfield, *Space in the Tropics: From Convicts to Rockets in French Guiana* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000).

agent could be conceptualized not only as a proponent of a nebulous state-level imperial project but also as an upper-middle class white Protestant male. When examining the history of imperial policies, it is tempting to assume membership in an imperial bureaucracy automatically implies alignment with imperial priorities and policies. Viewing imperial actors through multiple lenses means we cannot privilege the actor's maleness or Protestantism any more than we can argue their embedding within the imperial power structure necessitates a privileging of that characteristic. Shifting the focus to local actors allows a fuller examination of how imperial practices both coincided and conflicted with other ideas related to gender and race, for example.

The converse of the imperial agent is the local actor represented as an active resister to imperial hegemony. This is, on the surface, the antithesis of the imperial actor as previously mentioned, since local actors are often represented as an outsider to the imperial project. Oftentimes they are the subaltern or the colonized bourgeoisie, depending upon whether their actions are presented as noble resistance or cowardly accommodation. Again, this approach reifies notions of a dichotomy; actors were either within the empire or without. But if the subaltern's gender, class, religion, or race is viewed as the driving characteristic that created a barrier to entry into the imperial metropole, it becomes difficult to see the ways in which each of these characteristics could also provide privileged access to nodes of power within the empire, even when that access was incomplete. Restated, historical actors often cast as outsiders must be viewed on their own terms whether that was as an active resister to empire or a willing participant. Even those seemingly outside empire's formal structures must be examined as potential beneficiaries based on their membership in perceived categories of gender, race, class, or religion. For this project the most obvious local actors were the enlisted soldiers, particularly those who were either viewed as non-white and/or non-Protestant. Similarly, women present at

the frontier outposts as well as dependent families also seem to occupy the dual status of local actor and potential outsider. While it is tempting to write a history where those outside the officer class actively resisted the broader themes of empire all while they carried out its ground work, it is essential to understand how these local actors were also active and willing participants in the imperial project.

Here the extant terminology within the history of empire and colonization might be insufficient. Assimilation, accommodation, and cooperation all seem to be imperfect labels for people who subsumed categories viewed as critical in contemporary works, like gender and race, to the imperial project. These local actors viewed membership within the imperial state as more important, or at the very least equally important, to the multiple ways empire functioned both to their benefit and to their detriment, the work of empire. That work was undoubtedly performed with at least a partial expectation of membership within the empire, i.e. citizenship, or some other concrete benefit. But the willingness to work within the strictures of empire must also be viewed for many of these local actors as an endorsement of that project. The fault lines between imperial agent, collaborator, and resister were shifting and nebulous at best. A single local actor could occupy all three categories simultaneously.

Each of the previously noted deficiencies embeds ideas about the preeminence of the metropole, the uniformity of imperial policies, and most importantly the overarching dominance of the nation-state within imperial history. The end of the nation-state has been a much-debated topic both within and outside the academy and this work does not aim to engage in that debate as a primary issue. However, the nation-state's continued preeminence within imperial histories can foreclose global approaches where the imperial is cast as an extra-national ideology. By moving outside national boundaries connections between imperial states can reveal broader global flows.

If British, French, and American imperial projects all share common policies those may reveal not just an exchange if imperial technologies but a collaboration on their creation. This is not to say the nation-state was absent from late-nineteenth century ideas of empire in the United States. It is merely an attempt to broaden the focus of imperial history to account for a global flow of ideas uniting French Algeria, the British Raj, German Southwest Africa, and the American Great Plains. This shift may allow for the identification for ideological flows that have previously been occluded by the omnipresent nation-state.

Tallgrass Empire combines a quantitative analysis of institutional records from the US Army, Department of the Interior, and more localized entities with a spatial analysis of what separation and proximity to the imperial metropole meant not only to marginalized groups but also how officers imagined them in the context of the late-nineteenth century Northern Great Plains. Creating a qualitative component in my work, I also access personal experiences with imperial policy, both by those enacting said policies and those most intimately affected by them, through the letters and journals of junior Army officers, their wives, Black and Indian soldiers, and laundresses. Finally, I place the experiences of these actors in the Northern Great Plains in a global context. Where available, I compare these sources with similar documents from British, French, and German imperial projects in Africa and India to provide evidence of the global nature of America's Trans-Mississippi project.

Chapter Summaries

Spatializing Modernity - Reimagining the Late-Nineteenth Century Great Plains as a place of Empire

Chapter One aims to define the Northern Great Plains as a cohesive space, one imagined by those within and outside it as unified geographically, culturally, and ideologically. To do this

I examine the geological, biological, and anthropological connections across the space. The natural environment and the built environment united the space into a conceptual whole. This conceptualization allowed imperial administrators and agents to summarily impose policies across a geographically broad space while simultaneous assuming that application was in direct response to specific needs in the region.

Developments after the Civil War are then highlighted to demonstrate how time and changes wrought by warfare, economic disruption, and the influx of new people rapidly transformed the space. This rapid transformation and the still pervasive isolation of the space meant imperial agents in the Northern Great Plains could create, implement, and discard imperial policies at their leisure. This was while the space was also imagined as an imperial space akin to French Algeria, British India, and German East Africa.

Citizens or Subjects - The Creation of Indian Regular Units in the Army, 1890-1895

Chapter Two focuses on the formulation, implementation, and eventual failure of an 1891 initiative to transition Indian scouts from units associated with the army into fully formalized members of the US Army as soldiers. The aftermath of the Battle of Little Bighorn in 1876 elicited a rapid deployment of new policy initiatives within the US Army aimed at addressing the persistent problems the government had with Indian tribes outside the reservation system. Perhaps no other policy proposal was as radical as that of the creation of regular Indian soldiers within the US Army. Indians had long served as scouts within the army. That status permitted them certain freedoms denied regular enlistees, like the ability to return home periodically as well as to live with their families outside the bounds of frontier forts. But the secondary status of scout also cost them the ability to claim citizenship as a reward for military service. By the early 1890s some junior officers stationed in the Northern Great Plains began to call for a new

program to fully integrate Indians within the army. The program satisfied multiple requirements as it was seen as a simultaneous solution to both the persistent "Indian Problem" and a way to reduce government dependents on reservations.

While the program enjoyed initial success, the experiences of Indian soldiers within the army and their increased claims on membership within the body politic of the nation complicated reformers' ideas concerning the future status of Indians as dependents or subjects. Within three years of the program's full implementation it was summarily abandoned with little fanfare and deemed a failure contrary to the praises the program had drawn from promoters, participants, and observers. Why it was cancelled and why data contrary to the idea of failure had been ignored is ambiguous but both point to a fundamental tension within imperial systems: how do agents of the state manage subject populations and access their labor without permitting full entry into the body politic of the nation/metropole. Despite its supposed failure the adoption of Indian regular units points to how the military hierarchy experimented with alternative imperial technologies, namely the integration of colonized peoples within the armed forces under the auspices of the dual rubric of Americanization and global imperial competition.

Modeling the Metropole

Chapter Two posits dramatic changes in the format, construction, and ultimate purpose of frontier forts in the last decades of the nineteenth century reflected the growing influence of multiple ideologies including global imperialism, modernity, and class and race theories. While the wooden stockades of the Great Plains did exist, in the years after the Civil War they were increasingly replaced by open forts. These newly imagined imperial spaces featured broad tree-lined avenues, wide park-like spaces, and idealized middle-class domestic environments. Frontier outposts moved from rough-and-tumble homosocial environments to models of imperial

management. Policy makers within the army drew on British hill towns in India and French outposts in North Africa, as well as emergent German forms in southwest and east Africa to shape their new urban vision.

Linking the emergence of standardized and idealized spaces in the Northern Great Plains to broader trends within urban policy is critical to understanding how the frontier was inextricably linked to the metropole and how, as has been argued in multiple works, ideas were multi-directional and multi-nodal. While the notion of the frontier/colony as experimental space is not new, the changes in urban planning in the forts of the Great Plains were one of the first and most purposeful deployments of a governmental vision for domestic spaces as a method to forward newly minted ideas about race, class, gender as well as citizenship.

From the Parlor to Soapsud's Row—Gender and moral authority on Western U.S. Army posts: 1880-1895

The fourth chapter of my dissertation engages with gender as a critical analytical category in the consideration of US Army policy in the decades after the Civil War. Dispelling the idea of frontier forts as homosocial spaces, this chapter highlights the presence of women on those forts and the subsequent policy debates surrounding their presence. By 1877 the status of women on frontier forts was directly challenged as army officials explicitly banned laundresses. This challenge to the long-standing and officially sanctioned practice of employing female laundresses can be viewed in two complementary perspectives: growing imperial anxieties about subjecting white/metropolitan women to the vagaries of the frontier and the simultaneous reliance upon women to forward the civilizing mission. Both perspectives were important not only in the United States but in other imperial powers in the last decades of the nineteenth century. Specifically, Britain, France, and Germany were all wrestling with the status of white women in imperial outposts and each questioned the necessity of their presence. In this way U.S.

policy was consistent with European forms and demonstrates a continuing policy engagement across the Atlantic in regard to imperial technologies.

In this chapter I argue the dismissal of army laundresses and the rising prominence of officers' wives mirrored similar imperial movements in British India, French Indochina, and German East Africa. Gender performance, sexuality, and the moral influence of women all played increasingly prominent roles in US imperial policy in the west. Officers' wives were acceptable fonts of morality as they operated under the authority of their husbands. Army laundresses, the wives of enlisted men, were conversely seen as operating without a strong male moral authority. Using correspondence and journals alongside official testimony, I trace the rise and fall of the push to ban army laundresses. I then endeavor to place the discussion within broader transnational conversations regarding imperial administration. In this way I argue inter-class conflicts over the status of women critically influenced US imperial policy by the end of the nineteenth century.

"Spielen sie baseball oder tun sie singen?" (Do you play baseball or do you sing?) - Leisure time and cultural identity on US Army frontier forts in the late-nineteenth century.

Leisure time on US Army frontier forts became increasingly regulated during the second-half of the nineteenth century. Enlistees engaged in a myriad of cultural activities, some of which were antithetical to the long process of military professionalization and standardization. Certain activities were emphasized as beneficial, i.e. baseball, while others which seemed contrary to Americanization, i.e. German singing clubs, were either ignored or tacitly endorsed. The process of categorizing leisure actives as either acceptable or prohibited mirrored broader societal shifts as to what constituted American culture and reflected a deeper engagement by the state in the private lives of those in its service.

The desire of state officials to enmesh themselves in the daily lives of soldiers, outside routine military duties, was a substantial shift from the Civil War when army officers turned a blind eye to soldiers' past time activities. While the primary reasons for standardizing leisure activities stemmed from late nineteenth century notions of efficiency and military readiness, there were also strong cultural rationale for the focus. Indian and Black soldiers were the two most obvious targets for Americanization, but in the decades after the Civil War the army's rolls were increasingly composed of recent immigrants from across Europe, notably Prussia (later Germany), Austria-Hungary, as well as France and Belgium. The western frontier fort became a melting pot, perhaps even more so than cities like New York. The diverse array of cultures necessitated, at least in the minds of some army reformers, a standardization of virtually every aspect of soldiers' lives. Racialized notions of cleanliness, temperance, and lasciviousness all figured prominently in the move to regulate the private lives of enlistees. In those processes some activities were prohibited or suppressed, while others were officially sanctioned and celebrated. The creation of "proper" leisure activities was both a product of Protestant white middle-class hegemony and an imperially-inflected push to mitigate the worst tendencies of those characterized as socially, ethnically, and racially inferior.

Deploying the Industrial Army: Race, Empire, and the Limits of Martial Authority

This chapter focuses on another racialized group of soldiers within the U.S. Army: Black enlistees. During the Civil War segregated all-black units were created within the army. After the war four of these units persisted and, while they were re-organized, they remained relatively unchanged for the remainder of the nineteenth century. The American West in general and the Great Plains in particular were the primary sites of deployment for all of the segregated black units. As in the Civil War, the all-black units in the 1870s, 1880s, and 1890s were commanded

by white officers. This similarity with the all-Indian units of the early 1890s is a key point of inquiry for the chapter. Both leadership decisions were indicative of nascent ideas about race, civilization, and authority. The existence of subject-soldiers created tensions within the army. As ideas about white paternalism persisted and even expanded, the presence of these men created a paradox, one I introduce in the chapter on Indian soldiers: can the process of Americanization ever truly succeed? If subjects are inherently incapable of understanding what it means to be civilized and thus Americanized, so much so that they need the constant presence of white superiors, can the process of civilizing them ever truly be deemed a success?

The reality of deployment to the frontier necessitated de facto integrated units in places like Fort Niobrara and Fort Assiniboine. While the color-line was solidifying across the country in the years after the Civil War, in remote army outposts the ability of local commanders to implement their own agenda often ran counter to broader Jim Crow ideas. The other frontier reality, one I argue is distinctly imperial, was the decision to deploy Buffalo soldiers, the term used to refer to any all-black unit, to quell not only Indian unrest by growing labor conflict in the last decades of the nineteenth century. Army officers in concert with state officials in Montana thus deployed black soldiers into towns viewed as simultaneously labor-friendly and anti-government. Unsurprisingly, the soldiers were met with strong resistance by the local white communities. The black soldiers were presented with a conundrum, the labor protestors seemed to be outside the purview of military oversight but absolute service to the state meant transgressing that boundary came with some form of official sanction.

In many ways the deployment of the Buffalo soldiers into places like Missoula had a great deal in common with earlier deployments of both black and Indian soldiers to the Black Hills in the Dakota Territory where the army confronted what the state deemed recalcitrant Sioux

leaders and their followers. The ensuing massacre at Wounded Knee became a key imperial deployment of subject soldiers into contested space.

The broader goal of this project is to explain how the state and the citizen and subject interfaced at one of its most contentious points in the last decades of nineteenth century, America's imperial frontier. The Northern Great Plains should not be viewed as an anomalous space outside the main processes of American and global imperial history; rather, it should be reconceptualized as both a testing ground for the most radical re-envisioning of citizenship emerging from the discourse of Reconstruction and the burial ground for many of those same ideas.

Chapter 1: Spatializing Modernity:
Reimagining the Late-Nineteenth Century Great Plains as a Site of Empire

His great service to the
country was shown in the
remarkable control and influence
which he exercised in dealings
with Moros, Mexicans and Indians
which was invariably used
in promoting peace.
By personal effort he prevented
many hostile outbreaks
on the part of Indians.
– Gravestone, Hugh Lenox Scott[19]

In late July 1876 Second Lieutenant Hugh Lenox Scott arrived at Fort Abraham Lincoln in the Dakota Territory after having taken an arduous journey which included a three-day ride on the still incomplete Northern Pacific Railway from St. Paul, Minnesota to its terminus at Bismarck, Dakota Territory, a distance of just over 400 miles. Scott's rail journey, while functional, could hardly be described as luxurious or refined, even by 1870s standards; meals were served in a freight-car, seats lacked cushioning, windows opened onto the dusty summer prairie, and the train moved surprisingly slowly across the plains. Once in Bismarck, Scott's duty station was still a ferry ride away on the other side of the seasonally unpredictable Missouri River. For most Americans Fort Abraham Lincoln was at the very edge of civilization.[20] It was a place full of possibilities but was yet untouched by the steady machines of progress and modernity. A decade after the Civil War, as the nation moved on from Reconstruction,

[19] Hugh Lenox Scott gravestone, erected 1934, Arlington National Cemetery, Arlington, VA.

[20] In his autobiography, *Some Memories of a Soldier* (1927), Scott recounted how his arrival in St. Paul, while startling to his eastern sensibilities, was not the frontier. "I… saw tall, straight Chippewa Indians, wrapped in their blue and scarlet blankets, striding about in a very dignified way, giving me the feeling of proximity to the frontier which, however, was still far to the West." (p.27). Fort Abraham Lincoln was established in 1872 explicitly to protect workers during the construction of the Northern Pacific Railway. Since the proposed northern route passed through Sioux territory. The fort was so connected with feared attacks by the Sioux that it was abandoned in July of 1891, just seven months after the events at Wounded Knee.

"civilizing" the vast prairies of the northern Great Plains seemed a logical next step for many reformers within the army. Reconstruction had ushered in an era of new possibilities for many in the United States. Nation building occurred not just in the reincorporated south or the north or even the far west of California but even remote regions like the northern Great Plains. The railroad Scott rode was only the most obvious sign of a new phase of the nation-state's presence in the region. Incorporating the frontier and its peoples into the broader nation became one of the country's primary projects in the final decades of the nineteenth century, and Hugh Lenox Scott was a prototypical agent of the state in this endeavor. The northern Great plains became a primary site of imperial engagement in the years after the Civil War, exercised through agents of the state like Scott. That imperial engagement affected the region, but the particularities of the region, the characteristics of the northern Great Plains, indelibly influenced the trajectory of American imperial policy. Understanding what defined the late-nineteenth century northern Great Plains and how it transitioned from a space, an abstract idea, to a place, an imagined thing imbued with meanings both internal and external, is a critical part of this project.

The American nation-state's experiences in the northern Great Plains in the decades after the Civil War were part of a brief but formative moment in the history of American empire. It was a period when the ideologies of the American nation-state, recently tested in the crucible of war clashed with emergent notions of empire, civilization, and race. This moment mirrored the experiences of other imperial powers, but it also was contiguous with long established American patterns of colonialism and settlement. The extension of the nation-state into the Dakotas and Montana unfolded differently than in places like Kansas, Nebraska, and Colorado, where settlement was fueled by the *Homestead Act of 1862* and the *Pacific Railway Act of 1864*.

Through a process readily identifiable as settler colonialism, all three achieved statehood by 1876.[21]

The northern Great Plains also differed from the Oklahoma Territory, a legally ambiguous space where agents of the state quarantined subject Native American populations. The mere presence of people now explicitly cast as subjects contradicted longstanding ideas within the American political system; while Native American populations had challenged to notions of citizenship throughout the nineteenth century, as the nation turned to more imperial ideas of political membership, their presence within the bounds of the state exposed contradictions between the United States' idealized democratic space and the exigencies of imperial populations management.[22] The boundaries of "Indian Territory" rapidly diminished in the decades after the Civil War and land originally guaranteed in perpetuity to relocated Indians was systematically expropriated and privatized by official policies like the Dawes Act in 1887 and the Curtis Act in 1898 as well as persistent salutary neglect by the state as white settlers violated extant treaties and persistently encroached into the region.[23]

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[21] The *Homestead Act* had opened up vast tracts of land to settlement and initiated, at least in theory, a shift in ownership from the state to individuals. Although the real boom in homesteader settlement did not occur until after the Civil War, a surge in migration began with the enactment of the law. 160 acre parcels in eastern Nebraska and in Kansas, the mandated size in the original act, could be cultivated and could support a family. Land north and west of that area presented such problems that the original act had to be amended with the Kinkaid Amendment of 1904 which expanded homestead size to 640 acres. Similarly, the Pacific Railway Act created a conduit for people, goods, and ideas across the central plains. Although a transcontinental line was not fully functional until 1869, the ability to move west, via rail, from places like St. Louis and Chicago, contributed to the relatively rapid settlement of the central plains. Additionally, formal incorporation into the state was swift in the central plains. Kansas became a state during the Civil War in 1861. Nebraska followed after the war in 1867, and Colorado was proclaimed a state as part of the nation's centennial in the summer of 1876. Conversely, the Northern Pacific and Great Northern Railways were not completed until 1883 and 1893 respectively and the Dakotas and Montana did not become states until thirteen years later with the passage of the *Enabling Act of 1889*.

[22] See William G. McLoughlin, *After the Trail of Tears: The Cherokees' Struggle for Sovereignty, 1839-1880* (UNC Press Books, 2014) for a thorough examination of the legality of land and usage laws in the Oklahoma territory in the years after the Civil War, particularly chapters 9-13.

[23] See Jason Edward Black, *American Indians and the Rhetoric of Removal and Allotment*, Race, Rhetoric, and Media Series (Jackson [Mississippi]: University Press of Mississippi, 2015) for a recent work on both the *Dawes Act* and the *Curtis Act.*

Finally, the northern Great Plains was unlike the desert southwest region of the Arizona Territory and New Mexico where a triadic, or sometimes quadradic, system of power arrangements persisted in that area even into the twentieth century.[24] The northern Great Plains--Dakota, Montana and parts of Wyoming--conversely, were not subject to exertions of influence from the northern side of the Canadian/US border; in the 1870s and early 1880s neither the Americans south of the border nor the Canadians north of it seemed determined to police the 49th Parallel. The desert southwest, conversely, was characterized by persistent issues about sovereignty and trans-border control of populations. At the end of the nineteenth century and well into the twentieth, the US Army was willing to ignore Mexican sovereignty in the pursuit of

[24] The concept of the borderlands emerged from studies centered on Desert Southwest and modified Richard White's ideas about a "middle ground" and expanded it to include a multiplicity of state and local-level actors, many with multiple allegiances. Familial, tribal, religious, and state identity all are considered factors in the view of the region as a borderland. Brian DeLay succinctly announces the arrival of a borderlands approach in War of a Thousand Deserts when he argues "historians…who have written about westward expansion, Manifest Destiny, and the U.S.-Mexican War have ignored Indian raids in northern Mexico and say almost nothing about the native peoples that so preoccupied the architects of article 11."(DeLay xiv) Article 11 of the Treaty of Hidalgo mandated the US government do everything in its power to halt Indian raids across the US/Mexican border. Formative works in the field include: Herbert Eugene Bolton and Thomas Maitland Marshall, *The Colonization of North America, 1492-1783* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1920); James Brooks, *Captives & Cousins: Slavery, Kinship, and Community in the Southwest Borderlands* (Chapel Hill [N.C.]: Published for the Omohundro Institute of Early American History and Culture, Williamsburg, Virginia, by the University of North Carolina Press, 2002); Deborah Cohen, *Braceros: Migrant Citizens and Transnational Subjects Inthe Postwar United States and Mexico* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2011); Brian DeLay, *War of a Thousand Deserts: Indian Raids and the U.S.-Mexican War*, The Lamar Series in Western History (New Haven : [Dallas, TX]: Yale University Press ; Published in association with the William P. Clements Center for Southwest Studies, Southern Methodist University, 2008); Linda Gordon, *The Great Arizona Orphan Abduction* (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1999); Pekka Hämäläinen, *The Comanche Empire*, The Lamar Series in Western History (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2008); Anne Farrar Hyde, *Empires, Nations, and Families: A History of the North American West, 1800-1860*, History of the American West (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2011); Karl Jacoby and Patricia Nelson Limerick, *Shadows at Dawn: An Apache Massacre and the Violence of History*, Reprint edition (New York: Penguin Books, 2009); Andrés Reséndez, *Changing National Identities at the Frontier: Texas and New Mexico, 1800-1850* (Cambridge, U.K. ; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2005); Samuel Truett and Elliott Young, eds., *Continental Crossroads: Remapping U.S.-Mexico Borderlands History*, American Encounters/Global Interactions (Durham: Duke University Press, 2004); Frederick Jackson Turner and John Mack Faragher, *Rereading Frederick Jackson Turner: The Significance of the Frontier in American History, and Other Essays*, 1st ed (New York, N.Y: H. Holt, 1994); Tisa Joy Wenger, *We Have a Religion: The 1920s Pueblo Indian Dance Controversy and American Religious Freedom* (Chapel Hill: Published in association with the William P. Clements Center for Southwest Studies, Southern Methodist University by the University of North Carolina Press, 2009); Richard White, *The Middle Ground Indians, Empires, and Republics in the Great Lakes Region, 1650-1815*, Twentieth anniversary edition, Studies in North American Indian History (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2011), http://hdl.handle.net/2027/heb.00334.

perceived enemies of the state, namely recalcitrant Apache and Comanche as well as Mexican revolutionaries. In the case of the border at the northern Great Plains, neither the US nor the Canadian government seemed willing to exert control north or south. This benefitted the Sioux, as they could often escape US army forces and flee north, thus earning the northern border the nickname of the Medicine Line.[25]

From 1876 until 1894, the northern Great Plains was a primary site for the formulation and deployment of a series of governmental policies and military actions aimed at civilizing both the land and the people of the region. These policies and actions reflected engagements with broader global movements in imperialism. Young military officers like Hugh Lenox Scott drew on European models and worked in tandem with missionaries, local-level political officials, nascent industrial interests, and allied Indians as they conceptualized an American empire. Junior officers within the army sought to create a place which drew upon the lessons of the British and French imperial projects, but which also rejected the separation of the metropole and periphery, both ideologically and practically, and instead sought to incorporate imperial subjects and places within the broader nation-state.

Defining the Great Plains as a Space

While the term "Great Plains" was not in widespread use until well into the twentieth century, there is strong evidence the region was viewed by white settlers and governmental

[25] For a thorough examination of the how the northern border was envisioned see Tony Rees, *Arc of the Medicine Line: Mapping the World's Longest Undefended Border across the Western Plains* (Lincoln : Vancouver: University of Nebraska Press ; Douglas & McIntyre, 2007); Beth LaDow, *The Medicine Line: Life and Death on a North American Borderland* (New York: Routledge, 2001); John M. Findlay and Kenneth Coates, eds., *Parallel Destinies: Canadian-American Relations West of the Rockies*, The Emil and Kathleen Sick Lecture-Book Series in Western History and Biography (Seattle : Montreal: Center for the Study of the Pacific Northwest in association with University of Washington Press ; McGill-Queen's University Press, 2002); Michel Hogue, *Metis and the Medicine Line: Creating a Border and Dividing a People*, First edition, The David J. Weber Series in the New Borderlands History (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2015).

officials as a cohesive and coherent space prior to that time. Prior to Nevin Fenneman's coinage of the term "Great Plains" in *Physiographic Subdivision of the United States* (1917), the "High Plains" was a term used to denote the entire prairie/tallgrass region from Texas and Louisiana, north across the Canadian border into southern Manitoba and Saskatchewan and bounded by the Rocky Mountains to the west and the Mississippi River to the east.[26] After Fenneman' intervention, the High Plains came to refer almost exclusively used to reference the northern third of the Great Plains. Fenneman relied on geologic data as well as plants, animals, and climate to define the Great Plains region, and he generally ignored tribal groups or other cultural traits as a unifying feature.

Even though the region defined as the Great Plains was a linguistically diverse space, a strong sense of cultural cohesion existed and persists to this day. The diversity and cohesive culture are even present in the more narrowly defined northern Great Plains.[27] Siouan and Algonquian are the two primary linguistic groups present within the western half of the Dakotas as well as Montana east of the Rockies and northern Wyoming. The Lakota Sioux and the Crow serve as both appropriate and convenient representatives of the diversity and cohesion which defined the region. The Sun Dance, *Wi-wanyang-wa-c'i-pi* in Lakota Sioux, was a religious ceremony practiced by multiple tribal groups across the Great Plains. Essential characteristics common to virtually all tribal variations were a sense of sacrifice by the dancers for the good of the tribe. This often took the form of dancers being tethered to a central pillar by leather strips pierced through the dancers' chests. The dance also involved extended periods of dancing

[26] Fenneman defined the Great Plains as an area encompassing the Missouri Plateau (both glaciated and unglaciated), the Black Hills, the High Plains, the Plains Border, the Colorado Piedmont, the Raton, the Pecos Valley, the Edwars Plateau, and the Texas Hills. Nevin Fenneman, "Physiographic Subdivision of the United States," *Proceeedings of the National Academy of Science of the United States of America*, January 1917, p.21.

[27] Linguistically, the region is quite diverse and includes Algonquian, Athapascan-Apachean, Caddoan, Kiowa-Tanoan, Salish, Siouan, Tonkawan, and Uto-Aztecan. This list does not include linguistic groups forcefully relocated by the United States into Oklahoma.

without food or water. Power was also believed to have been located in a connection between the dancers and a sacred image (*ta'ime* in Kiowa).[28] Sacrifice through pain, hunger, and thirst as well as the movement of power into a sacred item facilitated by a dance were hallmarks of the Sun Dance.

Similarly, the trickster (*Awakkule* in Crow or *Iktomi* in Lakota Sioux) was a prominent figure in oral traditions.[29] While the trickster was often depicted as a coyote that was not always the case; the Lakota Sioux had a spider trickster that seemed to fulfill a similar role to the coyote. The trickster, at its core, was a personification of entropy, disorder, and the unexpected. It was also a creator and a facilitator of change, both good and bad, for people. Finally, the trickster possessed an expansion knowledge of the world's true functioning and held closely guarded secrets which it was willing to share from time-to-time. Recent analyses of the trickster stories have focused on the intersection of secret knowledge and gender and sexual fluidity of the trickster. Most, if not all, of these traits were present across the various tribal groups of the Great Plains. The vision quest (*Bilisshíissanne* in Crow) and the sweat lodge (*Oinikiga* in Lakota Sioux) were also ubiquitous throughout most of the Great Plains, so despite the linguistic variation, there was a general cultural continuity throughout the region.[30]

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[28] For a thorough explanation of the sun dance and comparative notes across the Great Plains see George Dorsey *The Arapaho Sun Dance* (1903) and *The Ponca Sun Dance* (1905), Robert Lowie *The Sun Dance of the Crow Indians* (1915) and *The Sun Dance of the Shoshoni, Ute, and Hidatsa* (1919), J.R. Walker *The Sun Dance and Other Ceremonies of the Oglala Division of the Teton Dakota* (1917), Clark Wissler *The Sun Dance of the Blackfoot Indians* (1918), Leslie Spier *Notes on the Kiowa Sun Dance* (1921) and *The Sun Dance of the Plains Indians* (1921), Richard Erdoes *The Sun Dance People* (1972), *Yellowtail, Crow Medicine Man and Sun Dance Chief* (1991), and *The Native American Sun Dance Religion and Ceremony*, ed. Phillip White (1998). The previous works were mostly the product of a surge in anthropological works predicated on a continuance of the extinction thesis and a desire to preserve the rapidly vanishing folkways of plains peoples. For more contemporary treatments of the Sun Dance see Benjamin Kracht *Kiowa Belief and Ritual* (2017), Mark Hollabaugh *The Spirit and the Sky* (2017), and Larissa Petrillo *Being Lakota* (2007).

[29] See *Sky Loom* ed by Brian Swann (2014) as well as William Bright *A Coyote Reader* (1993), *American Indian Trickster Tales* ed by Richard Erdoes and Alfonso Ortiz (1998), and Roger Welsch *Omaha Tribal Myths and Trickster Tales* (1981).

[30] Works throughout the twentieth century have focused on the connections between the peoples of the Great Plains and have each presented, at least in part, an argument of how the region was a cohesive space. Alfred

Driving many of the cultural similarities across the Great Plains was the primacy of the bison in the daily lives of Indians. At the end of the eighteenth century the American Bison (*Bison bison*) ranged across the Great Plains of North America, from south of the Rio Grande well beyond the 49th parallel as far as the Arctic Circle. While the bison was not endemic west of the Rockies, it was widely encountered east of the Mississippi River into the Ohio River Valley. Prior to the nineteenth century there could have been upwards of 60,000,000 bison in North America.[31] By 1900 the population had plummeted to under 500. The reasons for the bison's disappearance has been debated ever since. One line of argument contends the bison was over-predated by humans, both Indians and European immigrants, once horses and rifles were introduced into the hunting equation. While the bison had long been a source of food and workable materials for Great Plains Indians, the process of hunting the large mammals before firearms was dangerous as bulls can regularly exceed 11 feet in length, 6 feet tall, and over 2,000 pounds. Once horses and rifles were available to Plains Indians, the impact humans had on bison populations rapidly outpaced natural reproduction. While the availability of rifles undoubtedly had an impact on the numbers of bison Indians were able to kill, a more likely suspect for the near extinction of the bison has been espoused by critics of US Army policy in the Great Plains. Richard White argues the bison were systematically targeted by military officials as a way to pacify restless Indian populations.[32] Other historians have countered that the army did not pursue an intentional policy of extermination but rather happened upon it; Army officers saw immediate benefits to encouraging overhunting by both Indians and people from outside the region. The

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Bowers, *Mandan Social and Ceremonial Organization* (1950), Alice Fletcher, *The Omaha Tribe* (1911), Robert Lowie, *The Crow Indians* (1935), James Mooney, *The Ghost Dance Religion and the Sioux Outbreak of 1890* (1965), William Powers, *Indians of the Northern Plains* (1969), Shirley Silver, *American Indian Languages* (1997), W. Raymond Wood, *Anthropology on the Great Plains* (1980).

[31] Dale Lott *American Bison: A Natural History* (2002).

[32] Richard White *"It's Your Misfortune and None of My Own": A History of the American West* (1991), p219.

extermination of the bison was seen as an expedient solution to what was viewed as the persistent "Indian Problem." More recent scholarship has triangulated the reasons for the near extinction and point to a near perfect storm for the disappearance of the bison as increased hunting pressures and governmental policies combined with a lengthy drought in the mid-nineteenth century to imperil the bison.[33] For the northern Great Plains, the disappearance of the bison did not occur until after 1880 and it is the lengthier regional presence of these creatures that contributes to a cohesive space.

Despite the prevalence of bison and their importance in the livelihoods of Indians, the generally arid climate and overall lack of other available food sources have historically contributed to low population densities, a phenomenon that persisted throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Even today, the northern Great Plains has the lowest population density of any region within the contiguous United States. While the land area of the Great Plains accounts for almost 20% of the area of the contiguous United States, fewer than 3% of the nation's population resides there.[34] Ascertaining the population of places like the Northern Great Plains both before contact and in the centuries after is a critical step in understanding the similarities and differences of interactions in that space with parallel processes in other regions of the United States and North America.[35] Anthropologists and archaeologists have reconstructed

[33] See *Stones, Bones, and Profiles: Exploring Archaeological Context, early American hunter-gatherers, and bison*, ed. Marcel Kornfield and Bruce Huc (2016), Kevin Sweeney *Prelude to the Dust Bowl: Drought in the Nineteenth-Century Southern Plains* (2016), *Bison and People on the North American Great Plains: A Deep Environmental History*, ed by Geoff Cunfer and Bill Wasier (2016), and Theodore Binnema *Common and Contested Ground: A Human and Environmental History of the Northwestern Plains* (2001).

[34] Steven Wilson, *Population Dynamics of the Great Plains: 1950 to 2007*, U.S. Department of Commerce, Economics and Statistics Administration, U.S. Census Bureau, July 2009.

[35] A useful starting point when considering population estimates, particularly pre-contact is the edited volume *The Native Population of the Americas in 1492* (1992). Of particular use is the section by Douglas Ubelaker "The Sources and Methodology for Mooney's Estimates of North American Indian Populations." As the name suggests, Ubelaker's piece uses James Mooney's work from the early nineteenth century as a springboard to a discussion of the pitfalls of estimating populations pre-contact. Ubelaker scrutinizes Mooney's notes and helps reveal how population estimates were created up until the 1960s. His deep description of Mooney's work and that of later ethnographers reveals the tenuous nature of population estimates. If Mooney's work was based on spurious

population data for the period prior to sustained contact with Europeans and have shown the population of linguistic groups like the Sioux rarely exceeded 25,000 people for the entire High Plains/northern Great Plains region.[36] Once the period of contact was fully underway that population initially plummeted to under 15,000 by the first half of the nineteenth century. This number stands in stark contrast with the estimates for populations in places like the Ohio Valley, Lower Missouri, and Great Lakes Regions. The relatively sparse population of the region was critical in the ways native peoples as well as the U.S. government conceptualized the region.

In addition to or perhaps as a result of the geological, climatological, biological, linguistic, cultural, and demographic connections across the northern Great Plains, the United States government's view of the region as a logically coherent space, for both administrative and military policies, was a formative idea and may have acted as a mutually reinforcing concept; the federal government considered the space a relatively homogenous region and therefore it appeared to policymakers as a homogenous space. Even before the Civil War the US government, acting through the Department of War, had divided the nation into vast military departments. A system in place since the American Revolution was changed after the Mexican-

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numbers, like those of Lewis and Clarke, then later numerical data gleaned from Mooney must be suspect. Ultimately, Ubelaker concedes Mooney was conscientious in his collection and analysis of data but that Mooney almost always provided the most conservative population estimates his research could support. So although Mooney and ethnographers provided valuable information, Ubelaker and others in the volume agree the numbers generated by the Smithsonian Institution and the Bureau of Indian Affairs at the turn of the nineteenth century must be cautiously deployed and carefully contextualized. Other useful works in considering the reconstruction of demographic data for indigenous populations particularly Native Americans see A. L. Kroeber. "Native American Population." *American Anthropologist 36*, no. 1 (1934): 1–25. C. Matthew Snipp, ed. "American Indian Demography In Historic Perspective." In *American Indians, 1–25. The First of This Land*. Douglas H. Ubelaker. "Patterns of Demographic Change in the Americas." *Human Biology 64*, no. 3 (1992): 361–79. George R. Milner. "Mississippian Period Population Density in a Segment of the Central Mississippi River Valley." *American Antiquity 51*, no. 2 (1986): 227–38. George R. Milner, and George Chaplin. "Eastern North American Population At Ca. A.D. 1500." *American Antiquity 75*, no. 4 (2010): 707–26. John F. Taylor. "Counting: The Utility Of Historic Population Estimates In The Northwestern Plains 1800-1880." *Plains Anthropologist 34*, no. 124 (1989): 17–30. Russell Thornton, Tim Miller, and Jonathan Warren. "American Indian Population Recovery Following Smallpox Epidemics." *American Anthropologist 93*, no. 1 (1991): 28–45. William M. Denevan. "Carl Sauer and Native American Population Size." *Geographical Review 86*, no. 3 (1996): 385–97.

[36] Kinglsey M Bray, "Teton Sioux: Population History, 1655-1881," *Nebraska History* 75 (1994): 165-188.

American War as a remedy for a drastically enlarged territory as well as a growing permanent military.[37] Each department was managed by a Major General who was generally left to decide substantial portions of administrative and military policy. Most of the departmental commanders enjoyed lengthy tenures in power; from 1866 to 1891 there were only four commanders of the Department of the Dakota. Created in 1866, the Department of Dakota was a military subdivision of the larger Department of the Missouri and the leaders were tasked with overseeing military operations in what would become North and South Dakota, as well as Minnesota and Montana, and parts of Wyoming.[38] During the Civil War, the federal government organized most of Montana, Wyoming, and the Dakotas into the Dakota Territory, a civilian designation, including lands ceded by the Sioux in the *Yankton Treaty of 1858*.[39] Both a military departmental system and a civilian territorial system operated over the region in the second half of the nineteenth century. While each system had primacy in certain matters, there was significant overlap in

[37] Prior to 1800 there were two military districts: one encompassing all of the states including and south of Virginia, and the other including the northern states as well as new western territories in the Ohio Valley. By the War of 1812, the nation's military was divided into nine numbered districts. After years of occulting between numbered districts and named departments, the Department of War adopted a named department system by 1853. There was a Department of the East and four western departments, Texas, New Mexico, the West, and the Pacific. During the Civil War, the Department of the East was expanded into many districts as a response to the conflict. After the Civil War, the Department of the West was further divided into the Military Division of the Missouri which was further divided into the departments of the Missouri, Dakota, and the Platte. By 1891 the War Department once again consolidated and eliminated departments and districts. While this is a necessarily brief and somewhat simplified overview of the department/district creation process, it provides a sense of the flux the command chain experienced throughout the nineteenth century. What is essential to understand is that commanders in charge of a department/district were given official and *de facto* powers to enact policy as they saw fit. For a thorough history of the system see Russell Weigley. *History of the United States Army* (1984).

[38] For more information of the formulation and chronology of military departments see Raphael Prosper Thian, and John M. Carroll. *Notes illustrating the military geography of the United States, 1813-1880*.(1979).

[39] The Yankton Treaty ceded the eastern half of South Dakota to the United States government and created the Yankton Sioux Reservation. Terms of the treaty included over 400,000 acres set aside for a Yankton Sioux reservation and the remainder of the land theoretically opened up for settlement. While a tentative local government was established, it was declared illegal and the future of the region was in flux for several years. Only after the Civil War had ended in 1865 did a substantial number of settlers move into the newly vacated land. For more information see Barbara T. Newcombe. "'A Portion of the American People': The Sioux Sign a Treaty in Washington in 1858." *Minnesota History* 45, no. 3 (1976): 82–96., Everett W. Sterling. "Temporizing, Transitional Compromise: The Indian Reservation System on the North Central Plains." *Montana: The Magazine of Western History* 14, no. 2 (1964): 92–100., Loretta Fowler. *The Columbia Guide to American Indians of the Great Plains*, 2005, and Robert W. Galler,. "Sustaining the Sioux Confederation: Yanktonai Initiatives and Influence on the Northern Plains, 1680-1880." *The Western Historical Quarterly* 39, no. 4 (December 1, 2008): 467.

authority. Still, the centralized military and civilian governmental leadership helped create a region where cohesive and coordinated policies could be implemented.

1876: A Watershed Moment for the Northern Great Plains

The summer of 1876 provided clear catalysts for the changes in the northern Great Plains formulated and experienced by men like Hugh Scott. The United States celebrated its centennial in 1876 with a monumental exposition in Philadelphia from May to November of that year. Over 10,000,000 people visited Philadelphia to view exhibits ranging from demonstrations of Edison's telegraph and Bell's telephone to electric lights, elevators, and a mammoth 1,400 horsepower Corliss steam engine. Less technological exhibits featured national displays from 37 countries as well as a Women's pavilion and a Horticulture Hall featuring the introduction of an erosion control specimen from Japan – kudzu. Recent triumphs in railroad technology were featured including several railroad depots adjacent to the fairgrounds; visitors to the exposition could theoretically ride the nation's interconnected rail network and travel from Sacramento to Philadelphia. The exhibition was designed to demonstrate the prowess of American ingenuity and usher in the nation's arrival on the global stage as a major world power.[40]

[40] See Robert W. Rydell, *All the World's a Fair: Visions of Empire at American International Expositions, 1876-1916* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1984) for an example of world's fairs and expos as conveyors of imperial ideologies.

Figure 2 - "Centennial Exposition, Indian Exhibits," 90-7266, Smithsonian Institution Archives Record Unit 95 Box 61 Folder 5, 1876

The technological marvels on display were also the tools of continental conquest that had fomented the growing tensions between the US Army and an alliance of Indian tribes almost 2,000 miles to the west near the Little Bighorn River in the Montana Territory. The volatile mix included recalcitrant white settlers who ignored distinctions between public and tribal lands, the desire of some Indian leaders to abandon the reservation system, and recent scouting forays into the region as part of the planning for a northern transcontinental railroad. The recently completed Union Pacific and Central Pacific lines cutting across the nation's midsection were rapidly transforming the states and territories along its route and Sitting Bull as well as other leaders of the Indian alliance would have known how the lives of subject peoples to the south in the central plains, along the UPRR/CPRR line, were increasingly hemmed in by railroads, urbanization, and reservations. The railroads so prominently featured at the exposition were an omnipresent source of tension between Indians and the US government by the mid-1870s. They represented the triumph of industrialism over the natural environment. They were also part of a larger discourse about progress and the inevitability of defeat for those who resisted it. The industrial displays

were contrasted by a vast space devoted to encapsulating the lives and histories of the continent's indigenous population, all of which could be viewed in an afternoon (see Figure 2).

While the industrial exhibits at the exposition were overt displays of how the Machine Age could be equated with an American ascendance, continentally if not globally, less technological displays lauded "American" characteristics of liberty and freedom. The exhibition was designed to demonstrate the prowess of American ingenuity and usher in the nation's arrival on the global stage as a major world power. One of the most prominent displays was the arm of the Statue of Liberty, a symbol of friendship with France but also a powerful symbol of American exceptionalism and the nation's dedication to liberty and freedom for all. The centennial rhetoric was a potent antidote to the still lingering effects of the Civil War as well as a seemingly never-ending series of financial crises.

Shortly after its inauguration, the self-congratulating nature of the centennial was jolted from idealism to stark reality when news of the massacre at Little Bighorn in late June 1876 trickled in from the frontier. The Battle of Little Bighorn, or Battle of the Greasy Grass to the Lakota Sioux, was an armed engagement between the US Army, specifically the 7th Cavalry led by George Armstrong Custer, and a combined force of Indians including Lakota Sioux, Cheyenne, and Arapaho led by Crazy Horse and Chief Gall. The battle was an overwhelming victory for the Indian forces, resulting in the devastation of the 7th Cavalry was massacred. Custer as well as 52% of the army forces, or around 275 men, were killed or later died of wounds received in the battle. In comparison, Indian forces lost somewhere between 30 and 300 soldiers. The numbers have varied widely largely because of the sources used to ascertain them. Even if Indian casualties were numerically greater than those of the US forces, the Indians were able to claim victory – their greatest one of the Sioux War of 1876. While the casualty data may not

seem to indicate the devastating nature of the loss, the Indian victory itself was viewed as a symptom of the unresolved frontier to many within the government, military, and broader society. When news of the U.S. defeat reached places like Philadelphia, the harsh reality of the frontier collided with the idealized America on display at the exhibition.[41]

Fighting on the Great Plains

In the 1870s Scott would have embraced the widely held view that outside the boundaries of white Protestant settlements, towns, and cities, lay a United States composed of vast, open, and as-yet unconquered frontier regions. For Scott and his contemporaries, the frontier was a fundamental part of the American experience. His excitement as he traveled west to the Dakota Territory was informed by this dominant idea. Scores of officers and enlisted soldiers carried notions of what the frontier was and exactly what it meant as they moved west. The impact of the idealization of the frontier and the ways people were pulled by them found voice in Frederick Jackson Turner's speech at the Annual Meeting of the American Historical Association in Chicago at the World's Columbian Exposition in 1893. Turner argued the United States had thrived by an ever-present abundance of wild and open spaces available for both new arrivals and restless young men. This frontier, Turner argued, helped a foster a unique American spirit and a national lust for exploration, expansion, and settlement. But, as Turner lamented in his 1893 speech, the frontier had all but disappeared by the early 1890s as evidenced by the 1890 Federal Census. In the census Turner noted there were no more open tracts of unexplored or unincorporated lands within the continental United States. He pondered the ramifications of this "closing of the frontier" and posited disaster unless the restless American spirit could be

[41] James Mueller (2014) *Shooting Arrows and Slinging Mud: Custer, the Press, and the Little Bighorn* for a thorough examination of the American public's reaction to the massacre.

redirected to new lands or endeavors. Scott's tenure in the northern Great Plains had encompassed fairly conventional military operations but it had also become an increasingly pronounced project in nation-building or perhaps empire-building. Scott saw the frontier as a formative space for his own career and ideas as evidenced by his autobiographical works as well as the projects in which he was engaged after 1893. After twenty years in the army, by 1893 Scott would probably have had similar feelings as to the future of the army of its soldiers. While his father's generation had been tested by the Civil War, the Indian Wars had been foundational for his own views. With the closing of the frontier, Scott must have wondered what would happen to the younger generation.

Scott would have been an anomalous individual if he had not embraced the idea of a frontier and, similarly, not been disturbed by Turner's 1893 pronouncement later in his life. His youth and his maturity were bookended by anxiety about America's frontier. His excitement at the prospect of traveling west revealed his view of the frontier as a place full of possibilities. The arduous journey from Minneapolis to Bismarck would only have served as an affirmation that he was leaving civilization and arriving "someplace else." Understanding widely held ideals like the frontier and its disappearance is critical if historical subjects are to be considered on their own terms. Placing Scott within a broader intellectual framework of the late-nineteenth century can yield a more nuanced portrait of how and why he formulated specific military policies. While Turner's ideas waned in the twentieth century and were eventually replaced by the embracing of the borderlands as a more fluid and comprehensive analytical framework, for Scott and his army contemporaries the frontier was a palpable place and its disappearance would have been alarming.

Scott's arrival at Fort Lincoln, a product of Reconstruction, the Centennial Expo, and the massacre at Little Bighorn, reveals Scott's views not only about the frontier but the Great Plains and his prospects for martial valor in remote places like the southern Arizona and Texas borders. When Scott graduated from West Point in early June, 1876 he was originally attached to the 9th Cavalry in Arizona near the Mexican border; however, Scott was reassigned to the 7th cavalry by the beginning of July.[42] While his reasoning for applying for transfer can never be fully known, there are several circumstances worth noting. Being stationed on the US/Mexican border in the mid-1870s was seen as a dull and routine station of duty. The northern Great Plains, conversely, would have been seen as the primary interface between the US army and the Indians who seemed so focused on curtailing American expansion and forestalling inevitability. Scott applied for a transfer to the Great Plains after hearing of the defeat of George A. Custer and much of the 7th Cavalry in Montana.[43] Scott, like most Americans, read about the massacre at Little Bighorn via newspapers. On July 2, 1876, the *Bozeman Times* was the first newspaper to report the massacre as it reprinted an army report verbatim, "High Level Confusion…It is my painful duty to report…a great disaster overtook General Custer."[44] While news seemed to flow across the

[42] Scott graduated thirty-sixth out of a class of forty-eight. This, evidently, was enough to allow him to enter the cavalry but he had to give up his lieutenancy and accept appointment as a Second Lieutenant. This type of trade, rank for duty station, was quite common.

[43] See Joseph Marshall, *The Day the World Ended at Little Bighorn: A Lakota History* (New York: Viking, 2007); Tim Lehman, *Bloodshed at Little Bighorn: Sitting Bull, Custer, and the Destinies of Nations*, Witness to History (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2010); Frederic C Wagner, *Participants in the Battle of the Little Big Horn: A Biographical Dictionary of Sioux, Cheyenne and United States Military Personnel* (Jefferson, N.C.: McFarland & Co., 2011); James S. Hutchins, *The Army and Navy Journal on the Battle of the Little Bighorn and Related Matters, 1876-1881*, 1st ed., Custer Trails Series 8 (El Segundo, Calif.: Upton, 2003) for recent works on the Battle of Little Bighorn.

[44] *Bozeman Times*, July 2, 1876. *The New York Times'* story from Friday July 1, 1876 captured the magnitude of the event, "Soon an officer came rushing into camp and related that he had found Custer, dead, stripped naked, but not mutilated, and near him his two brothers, Col. Tom and Boston Custer. His brother-in-law, Col. Calhoun, and his nephew Col. Yates. Col. Keogh, Capt. Smith, Lieut. Crittenden, Lieut. Sturgis, Col. Cooke, Lieut. Porter, Lieut. Harrington, Dr. Lord, Mack Kellogg, the Bismarck Tribune correspondent, and 190 men and scouts. Custer went into battle with Companies C, L, I, F, and E, of the Seventh Cavalry, and the staff and non-commissioned staff of his regiment and a number of scouts, and only one Crow scout remained to tell the tale. All are dead. - New York Times story, Friday July 1, 1876."

nation at a near instantaneous pace, Scott noted how news of the June 25, 1876 battle had "taken over ten days for the news to get to the nearest telegraph station, Bismarck, Dakota, first coming down-stream on a steamboat on the June rise, the fastest possible way for it to travel."[45] The delayed arrival of information from the frontier frustrated Scott. Much like the Northern Pacific Railway's abrupt terminus in Bismarck, the miracle machine of telegraphy's failure to fully penetrate the frontier was symptomatic of the incomplete project of civilization. Similarly, the US Army's failure against the Sioux was a signal that a great project lay unfinished in the open and, to Scott's mind virtually empty expanse of the northern Great Plains.[46] The weeks before and during his deployment north were confirmations as to where the real chance for heroic military action resided.

Scott's destination Fort Abraham Lincoln sat near the terminus of the Northern Pacific Railway; in 1876 the railroad was incomplete due to not only to the 1873 financial crisis but the persistent threat of attacks by Indians along the upper Missouri River and into Montana. For over two years the 7th Cavalry, led by Custer, had been protecting railway survey teams working in Montana on the expansion of the Northern Pacific. The survey work and the presence of soldiers contributed to the confrontation which eventually killed Custer and many of his men.[47] The railway, both as a mode of transportation and a civilizing project, the threat of conflict with Indians, and emerging communications networks in the Great Plains all occupied prominent positions within Scott's work with the army in Dakota and Montana from 1876 until the early 1890s.

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[45] *Service on the Plains*, p. 25-26.

[46] Bismarck, DT was connected to St. Paul, Minnesota by direct telegraph line but the lines running to the east were physically separated. This meant when news of Little Bighorn arrived from Bismarck, the news had to be physically walked across town to those lines.

[47] Note of work by 7th Cavalry with NPR on surveying Bighorn, etc.

Scott, and others from his graduating class at West Point, had missed the Civil War by a decade. While Scott's martial education had focused on the lessons gleaned from that war, by the summer of 1876 the paramount struggle the army faced was in the Great Plains. With the 7th Cavalry's demise at Little Bighorn the much older struggle between the United States and the various Indian nations of the Great Plains reemerged as the primary military concern in the decades after the Civil War.[48] Hugh Lenox Scott and the other junior officers of his class were products of the Indian Wars. Scott, and other junior officers like him, gleaned their experience from the twenty-plus year conflict in the 1870s and 1880s as the US Army sought to subjugate and control the Great Plains.[49] Scott revealed that the promise of service in Indian Country was what had initially attracted him to West Point: "That country was the home of the buffalo and the wild Indian, a land of romance, adventure, and mystery; and I had carried it in mind during those five long years at West Point, fitting myself for service within its borders."[50] Scott viewed the American West as an idealized space where he could prove his martial prowess and experience a life removed from civilization.[51] While the Civil War can be considered the culmination of a much broader political, economic, and social struggle between the regions of the United States, the Indian Wars represent a shift to a more overt form of American imperialism and the explicit

[48] See James L. McDonough, *William Tecumseh Sherman: In the Service of My Country :A Life*, First Edition (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 2016) and Paul Magid, *The Gray Fox: George Crook and the Indian Wars* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2015) for recent biographical works on two key administrators in the Indian Wars.

[49] For a closer examination of the long-term effects of the Indian Wars on US Army policy see Clayton Chun, "US Army in the Plains Indian Wars, 1865-1891," 2014; Bruce Vandervort, *Indian Wars of Mexico, Canada and the United States, 1812-1900*, Warfare and History (New York ; London: Routledge, 2006); Tore T. Petersen, *The Military Conquest of the Prairie: Native American Resistance, Evasion and Survival, 1865-1890* (Eastbourne ; Chicago, IL: Sussex Academic Press, 2016); Robert Allen Wooster, *The Military and United States Indian Policy, 1865-1903*, Yale Western Americana Series 34 (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1988); Robert Wooster, *The American Military Frontiers : The United States Army in the West, 1783-1900*, Histories of the American Frontier (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2009)..

[50] *Service on the Plains*, p26.

[51] See Gail Bederman, *Manliness & Civilization a Cultural History of Gender and Race in the United States, 1880-1917*, Women in Culture and Society (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996) for a broad overview of the frontier as a reformative space for masculinity.

creation of new subject populations. Hugh Lenox Scott and his contemporaries represent a break from American martial tradition. Fresh out of West Point, his philosophy on managing soldiers and subjects was a product of the Trans-Mississippi West.

One of Scott's first responsibilities upon his arrival at Fort Abraham Lincoln was to participate in a series of retributive actions against various tribes who stood accused of attacking Custer at Little Bighorn.[52] A key tactic was to deprive Crazy Horse and Sitting Bull of their weapons and horses, so Scott's men were ordered to move not towards those leaders' positions but rather down the Missouri to various Sioux tribes who were suspected of supplying guns, ammunition, and fresh horses for resisting Indian tribes in the mountains. The Army saw this series of actions as an opportunity to advance a new phase in American Indian relations. It meant a more aggressive and less conciliatory policy. While the Sioux downriver had not attacked American forces, they were Indians, and the shifting Army policies of the mid-1870s viewed that as cause enough for suspicion at the least.[53]

Hugh Lenox Scott represented a new type of military officer whose responsibilities were not simply to secure territory but to solidify America's control over a vast region acquired over the previous sixty years. While the southern portion of the Trans-Mississippi West had experienced relatively rapid settlement in the wake of the Mexican-American War, the areas north of Texas, particularly the Northern Great Plains, remained sparsely settled by both Americans and Indians even after the Civil War.[54] The "Indian Problem" had been identified by

[52] See Peter Cozzens, *The Earth Is Weeping: The Epic Story of the Indian Wars for the American West*, (2016) for a more recent account of Little Bighorn reimagined as a conspiracy within the US Army designed to end of the "Indian Problem."

[53] *Service on the Plains*, p34-38.

[54] See Donald Worster, *Under Western Skies: Nature and History in the American West* (New York ; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992) for a classic work on the human impact on the Great Plains and the growth of urban spaces across the region.

military strategists before the war but it was only in the 1870s and 1880s that the Army had the resources and the political-backing to confront it head-on.[55]

Scott and his contemporaries turned to new models of military organization, population control, and subject creation to cement American hegemony over vast prairies of Kansas, Nebraska, the Dakotas, Wyoming, and Montana. In the process, the American military entered into a continuous and purposeful exchange of ideas with other imperial powers. Some, like Germany, were relative newcomers to the imperial stage, just like the United States.[56] Others, like Britain and France, had maintained and expanded their imperial holdings for centuries.[57] The idea of America's empire beginning with the subjugation of Indians is nothing new.[58] While the accumulation of territory and circumscribing of Indian populations by a paternalistic state seem to mirror similar activities in the empires of Britain and France, the American experience in the Great Plains has been classified, at least over the last two decades, as a settler colonial movement. A more European style formulation of empire is usually reserved from American forays outside the contiguous bounds of the nation. Hawaii, Haiti, Cuba, Puerto Rico, Panama, the Philippines, the Dominican Republic are each viewed as distinct from the interaction of the state and Indian populations within the continental boundaries of the United States.

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[55] Charles M. Robinson, *General Crook and the Western Frontier* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2001).Sherman and Crook on the Indian Problem.

[56] Germany's empire, or the *Kaiserreich*, is generally dated to the nation's unification in 1871. The *Kaisereich* is not the same as Germany's overseas holdings which it acquired through a concerted effort beginning with Bismarck in 1884. The expansion of German overseas holdings was ostensibly designed to protect German trading interests. Bismarck's' expansion in West Africa, East Africa, Southwest Africa, and the South Pacific were contiguous with the actions of private colonizers, *Privatkolonisatoren*, since the 1850s. Private trading houses engaged in negotiations with autochthonous populations throughout what would later become the foundation of Germany's overseas empire.

[57] See H. L. Wesseling, *The European Colonial Empires, 1815-1919*, 1st ed, Studies in Modern History (Harlow, England ; New York: Pearson/Longman, 2004) for a recent summary of the long history of European global empires, particularly those of Britain and France.

[58] LaFeber, *The New Empire*.

Changes on the Great Plains

Scott was stationed in the Great Plains for much of the next twenty years. He gained a reputation for facilitating relatively peaceful dialog with Indians. Much of this seemed to stem from his peculiar fascination with Indian languages. Scott had not been a particularly adept student at West Point. He had finished in the bottom half of his class and it had taken him a full extra year to graduate. But Scott notes in his memoirs how the moment he first came into contact with the Indians of the Great Plains he was fascinated by their languages. In the summer of 1876, he began learning Sioux. He makes no further distinction as to what specific dialect he focused on as Scott felt it was most likely "the court language of that section[The Great Plains], especially as the Arikara scours all spoke it."[59] Mastering the *lingua franca* of the Great Plains was a key endeavor in Scott's mind. He admitted his primary goal for learning the language was so that he could assume command of the Indian scouts on Fort Abraham Lincoln. His connections with Indian languages and with the employment of Indian scouts ended up being the two defining characteristics of his tenure on the Great Plains. Shortly after his initial investigation into the language of the Sioux, he discovered the existence of a sign language used across tribal groups. Scott claimed it was in widespread use "everywhere in the buffalo country from the Saskatchewan River of British America to Mexico, east of the Rocky Mountains and west of the Missouri."[60] He credits his relative freedom to pursue what to many outsiders must have appeared as his own agenda owing to his rapidly acquired knowledge of this language. Eventually Scott was invited to bring his knowledge of Indian languages to Washington D.C. and to place it at the disposal of both the Bureau of Indian Affairs and the Smithsonian Institution.

[59] *Service on the Plains*, p31.
[60] *Service on the Plains*, p.32.

When Hugh Lenox Scott departed the Great Plains for his assignment in Washington D.C. in 1897, he left a drastically transformed landscape. Four transcontinental railroads spanning the nation had spawned hundreds of subordinate railroads all connecting the Trans-Mississippi West in ways unimaginable before the Civil War. Steady and sustained movement of people and goods was now possible throughout the plains. Telegraph wires were spun across the prairies connecting the eastern metropoles with the vast resources of the West. And miles of barbed wire divided the plains into discrete parcels with clearly bound notions of property ownership and resource rights. The bison, the foundation of most Plains Indians ways of life, had been driven to virtual extinction and a rapid agricultural expansion had begun. While the Great Plains were lightly populated compared to other areas of the nation, towns had taken hold and expanded.

The US Army's own position within the Great Plains was transformed over the two decades of Scott's deployment. When he and other junior officers arrived in the frontier forts of the mid-1870s, they would have encountered few fortifications constructed using the ubiquitous wooden stockades with an elevated block house to warn of approaching bands of marauding Indians. The army forts constructed from the 1830s until shortly after the Civil War were tentative statements of American authority and control. All of those forts can collectively be considered pre-Civil War as they were constructed or at least planned before that conflict. By the time of Scott's arrival, a new type of outpost was envisioned. The wooden stockades disappeared on these more modern and bolder statements of American military authority. While the block house remained in several of these later forts, they were generally vestigial and served no substantive purpose. While the pre-war forts were turned inward for defense, the new outposts featured tree-lined avenues, park-like squares, and model single-family homes, as well as a

building dedicated to social activities, a school, a library, a gymnasium, a hospital and oftentimes, a church. The new forts were model communities and were envisioned and constructed as ideals for the nation in the closing decades of the nineteenth century. The ideal was also intended to demonstrate the superiority of Anglo-American civilization to subject populations across the Great Plains.

Chapter 2: Citizens or Subjects?:
The Creation and Dissolution of Indian Regular Units in the Army, 1890-1895

Figure 3 - World's Fair dedication / J.W. Taylor, Chicago. LC-USZ62-99660

In October of 1892, a grand parade took place where indigenous units of soldiers from over a dozen different tribes were placed on display. Dressed in navy blue woolen jackets with golden epaulets and Prussian-style helmets replete with horse-hair plumes, over one thousand soldiers marched through the crowded city park. This martial parade was aimed at demonstrating both the modernity of the army as well as its mastery over conquered peoples. The procession could have taken place in London, Paris, or Berlin as each of those places were the metropolitan centers of empires that enlisted non-white soldiers as both subordinates and participants in the project of empire. In those European imperial capitals, the soldiers would have been segregated from regular members of their respective imperial armies and they would have special names attached to them such as *Zouaves* from French Algeria, Sepoys of British India, or *Askari Schutztruppe* from German East or Southwest Africa. Yet, the men parading through Chicago's Washington Park on October 21, 1892, were soldiers in the US Army who came from the Great

Plains and desert Southwest. Unlike their imperial counterparts from Britain, France, and German, the Indian soldiers represented a bold experiment in the simultaneous subjugation and integration of indigenous peoples. The Indians who marched that autumn served in all-Indian regiments, but they were regular members of the US Army. There was the possibility that they were no longer subject peoples serving in separate or parallel forces, rather they held identical positions to those of enlisted white men in army.

Marshaled to celebrate the beginning of the World's Columbian Exposition, an endeavor itself designed to announce the nation's arrival on the global stage, the Indian soldiers represented both America's membership within the burgeoning fraternity of empire and a seemingly separate path to power and control that simultaneously embraced and rejected notions of race, empire, and military service as promulgated by the European empires. While those nations had established a precedent of deploying indigenous subjects as soldiers in the service of the state, something the United States had done with Indian scout units since its independence, by 1891 the US Army initiated a new policy aimed at allowing Indians to enlist as full and equal members of the military. This membership entailed unquestioning duty and loyalty to the state, but it also held the promise of full citizenship. This American experiment lasted less than five years but it had a tremendous impact on future projects with indigenous soldiers carried out in the Philippines and in other spaces subsequently occupied by the United States. The creation and dismantling of the All-Indian units tested the limits of martial service in the United States. Their employment came at a moment of possibility for citizenship through martial service. By the time Filipinos, Cubans, and Puerto Ricans could similarly serve the United States, the question of citizenship as a reward for duty had already been settled. Martial service, as envisioned in the decades after the Civil War, was no longer linked with the citizen soldier. It was a vocation, and

just as other industrial employers of the era rejected calls for greater compensation for their employees so too did the American imperial state reject anything other than basic compensation for enlisted soldiers. While the Indian regulars program can be viewed as an exceptionally American adaptation of global imperial technology, it is better viewed as demonstrative of a willingness on the part of American military policy makers to adapt existing forms of subject control to the exigencies of places like the northern Great Plains. It is also an ample demonstration of the way emergent imperial ideologies within the United States collided head-on with Jim Crow notions of race and segregation. White enlistees, and those who belong to ethnic groups viewed as "potentially" white, no longer had to rely on martial service to accelerate their naturalization as US citizens, their membership in a broader group of white immigrants meant their naturalization was all but inevitable, regardless of service in the army. Indians, and other subject populations, were conversely viewed as racially incapable of citizenship, even with martial service. Hardening racial divisions combined with imperial notions of subjectivity to create an atmosphere hostile to the concept of citizenship through martial service. Ultimately it was this combination, in part, that contributed to the program's collapse.

Among the soldiers gathered for the Chicago parade were the men of Troop L, Sixth United States Cavalry. They were elements of the newly constituted group of All-Indian regiments within the army.[61] Their presence in the parade sent several powerful messages, among them the prowess of the United States' military apparatus and its ability to vanquish and subsequently incorporate people who were portrayed and widely perceived as more primitive. As 1st Lt. C.D. Rhodes recounted in the *Chicago Daily Tribune* "They [Indian soldiers] were enlisted soon after the Pine Ridge outbreak and some of them were in the hostile camp at the

[61] "Fine Looking Troops", *Chicago Tribune* Oct 20, 1892 p3

time of the famous Wounded Knee fight that distinguished that campaign."[62] Less than two years after the US Army massacre at Wounded Knee, fifty-five men of the Brulé Sioux[63] were now members of the same military body. A full year before Frederick Jackson Turner's famous pronouncement of the "closing of the frontier" this military parade trumpeted the cessation of hostilities on the Great Plains.[64] It also helped reinforce the idea that the Indian Wars, America's lengthiest series of military conflicts, were now over. The assembled soldiers were walking evidence of how the once resistant Indians of the western United States had been conquered and assimilated within American civilization. 1st Lt. Rhodes made a point of contrasting "his" Indian Regulars with previous Indian scouts units affiliated with the army, "The scouts and runners had a sort of mixed uniform, half savage and half soldier, but these men in Troop L are uniformed like regular cavalrymen in every way."[65] The Brulé Sioux men arrayed at Washington Park were not just subjugated peoples but were imperial soldiers ready to turn their talents towards expanding the nation outside the bounds of North America. In other words, the culmination of the Indian Wars and the subsequent creation of Indian units signaled the completion of a long-imagined continental American empire. The well-disciplined and resplendently dressed units also heralded the arrival of the United States on the global stage of imperial powers. While the men of "L" Troop were just one manifestation of a multitude of imperial technologies Americans

[62] "Red Men in Blue: Sioux Indian Troops at the World's Fair Grounds," *Chicago Daily Tribune*, Oct 18, 1892, p.1.

[63] The Brulé Sioux (Sicangu Oyate) are one of the bands of the Lakota Indian nation (Titonwan).

[64] Specifically, Turner argued "In a recent bulletin of the Superintendent of the Census for 1890 appear these significant words: 'Up to and including 1880 the country had a frontier of settlement, but at present the unsettled area has been so broken into by isolated bodies of settlement that there can hardly be said to be a frontier line. In the discussion of its extent, its westward movement, etc., it can not, therefore, any longer have a place in the census reports.' This brief official statement marks the closing of a great historic movement. Up to our own day American history has been in a large degree the history of the colonization of the Great West. The existence of an area of free land, its continuous recession, and the advance of American settlement westward, explain American development." Frederick Jackson Turner, *The Frontier in American History*, 1893.

[65] "Red Men in Blue", *Chicago Tribune* Oct 18, 1892 p1.

deployed at the end of the nineteenth century in imitation of European powers they were perhaps the most compelling and the most comparable to British, French, and German forms. If the United States' activities at the end of the nineteenth century are to be understood as having an imperial underpinning, the All Indian Regular units are an excellent starting point for analysis.[66]

While those who formulated the Indian Regulars program sometimes had conflicting goals in mind, for the men of L Troop, enlistment represented a distinct alternative to the previously roles that whites accorded to Indian men as adversaries, scouts, or "blanket Indians."[67] Enlistment as a regular soldier could lead to citizenship in a much more straightforward manner than the circuitous routes available via other governmental policies like the *Dawes Act*.[68] It also

[66] The Indian Regular Units created within the US Army in the early 1890s have received little scholarly attention. Notable exceptions include Don Rickey, *Forty Miles a Day on Beans and Hay; the Enlisted Soldier Fighting the Indian Wars*. (Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press, 1963), although this work only briefly mentions the Indian Regulars. Several articles in journals have appeared but have generally been focused on descriptions of how the units were constituted or how specific individuals, namely Edward Casey, played a prominent role in their creation. Notable examples of these articles include: Eric Feaver, *Indian Soldiers, 1891-95: An Experiment on the Closing Frontier* (Washington, D.C.: National Archives Trust Fund, in cooperation with the General Services Administration, 1975); Katherine M. Weist, "Ned Casey and His Cheyenne Scouts a Noble Experiment in an Atmosphere of Tension," *Montana: The Magazine of Western History* 27, no. 1 (January 1, 1977): 26–39. While several of these works provide a general outline of the experiences of officers during the program or, more rarely, the experiences of indians enlisted in the army, the creation of these units has never been connected to a broader American or international imperial moment. Work on the Indian Scouts, both before and after the creation of Indian Regulars, has recived quite a bit of attention. Notable works on that topic include: Robert M Utley, *Bluecoats and Redskins: The United States Army and the Indian, 1866-1891* (London: Cassell, 1975); Robert M. Utley, *Frontier Regulars: The United States Army and the Indian,1866-1891*, The Wars of the United States (New York: Macmillan, 1974); Robert M Utley, *Frontiersmen in Blue: The United States Army and the Indian, 1848-1865* (New York: Macmillan, 1967); Kevin Eugene Moeller, "Skirikikururi: The Pawnee Scouts and the U.S. Army" 2005; Edward Herbert Howes, *The Employment of Indian Scouts by the United States Army in Arizona, 1865-1886*, 1947, http://catalog.hathitrust.org/api/volumes/oclc/82548706.html; Donald F Danker, *The Pawnee Scouts and the North Brothers* (Kansas City, Mo.: Kansas City Posse, 1966); Carol Conley Nance, "United States Army Scouts the Southwestern Experience, 1886-1890" 1975; Mark Van de Logt, *War Party in Blue: Pawnee Scouts in the U.S. Army* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2010); Thomas W. Dunlay, *Wolves for the Blue Soldiers: Indian Scouts and Auxiliaries with the United States Army, 1860-90* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1982).

[67] "Blanket Indian" was a derogatory term used for Indians relied on US government-supplied blankets.

[68] The Dawes Act of 1887 included a provision in Sec. 6 whereby "Every Indian born within the territorial limits of the United States to whom allotments shall have been made under the provisions of this act, or under any law or treaty, and every Indian born within the territorial limits of the United States who has voluntarily taken up, within said limits, his residence separate and apart from any tribe of Indians therein, and has adopted the habits of civilized life, [and every Indian in Indian Territory,] is hereby declared to be a citizen of the United States, and is entitled to all the rights, privileges, and immunities of such citizens, whether said Indian has been or not, by birth or otherwise, a member of any tribe of Indians within the territorial limits of the United States without in any manner impairing or otherwise affecting the right of any such Indian to tribal or other property."

meant they didn't have to reject tribal affiliation or separate from their families, although military service itself often necessitated this separation. While citizenship was not the only concern for Indian men considering enlistment in 1891, it was to many an appealing promise held out by the army that was viewed as a solution to a multitude of problems within indigenous communities including land rights and local and federal representation. There was a history within the army of alien enlistees having been assured citizenship upon their successful completion of duty with an honorable discharge.[69]

Inconsistencies as to how military service would provide a link with citizenship was one of the primary points of contention in both the creation and the eventual dissolution on Indian regular units.[70] The US Army's prior use of Indian scouts and other indigenous auxiliary units avoided the issue of citizenship as the men who served in those capacities were viewed as outside the formal military establishment and thus could make no claims to citizenship via military service. This was similar to the use of indigenous soldiers in other imperial contexts, for example the Sepoys in British India and the French Algerian Zouaves in North Africa. Both groups were explicitly denied claims to citizenship via their parallel status. While the structuring of those units was far more formalized than that of the Indian Scouts, there was never any contemplation of offering citizenship for military service for either the Sepoys or the Zouaves: their categorization as outsiders bolstered their exclusion from citizenship.[71] The inability of the Zouaves and Sepoy units to claim citizenship did begin to change in the twentieth century as a

[69] See AGO Circulars 82 and 91, 1862, RG 94, NARA.

[70] For a more complete analysis of the history of citizenship and its connections to military service see Cara Wong, "Jus Meritum: Citizenship for Service (with Grace Cho)." 2006. In Taeku Lee, Karthick Ramakrishnan, and Ricardo Ramirez, eds. *Transforming Politics, Transforming America: The Political and Civic Incorporation of Immigrants in the United States.* Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press.

[71] Members of the British Gurkhas were eventually offered the right to claim citizenship in September 2004, almost 200 years after the first units were formed. Zouaves were able to claim citizenship during the war for Algerian Independence in from 1954-1962 if they fought for French forces.

result of the world wars and decolonization, but in the second half of the nineteenth century military service in units outside the formal boundaries of the imperial state did not assure citizenship. In contrast, for the men of L Troop their membership in formally recognized units with the US Army must have seemed a sure sign of impending citizenship.

The creation of a program designed to usher in a whole new group of non-white citizens just as Jim Crow and ideas of inherent racially superiority were becoming further embedded in American cultural, social, and political institutions seems counterintuitive.[72] However, when the units were envisioned there were much greater concerns within the military. Conflict between the United States and various tribes in the Trans-Mississippi West had been going on for over fifty years and showed no signs of ending. Indian Regular units were therefore envisioned as the final chapter in the US government's struggle with the "Indian Problem."[73] Full military service and assimilation must have seemed like a means of resolving the endless warfare from Arizona to Montana and the Dakotas. It would also fully incorporate Indians within the body politic of the United States. Washington policy makers, military strategists, white settlers in the northern Great Plains, and even missionaries agreed the plan was the best possible solution to the greatest

[72] Marek Steedman examines the links between Jim Crow and limitations to citizenship, albeit for former slaves, in *Jim Crow Citizenship: Liberalism and the Southern Defense of Racial Hierarchy*, Routledge Series on Identity Politics (New York: Routledge, 2012).. While his argument of how liberal ideals of democracy combined with deeply entrenched racism combined to form a country legally permissive of Black citizenship but fundamentally opposed to virtually all expressions of that citizenship seems remote from the more overtly imperial issues surrounding the ability of Indian soldiers to claim citizenship, Steedman's work provides an ample framework for understanding how policies could simultaneously promote and restrict membership within the state. Edlie Wong's *Racial Reconstruction: Black Inclusion, Chinese Exclusion, and the Fictions of Citizenship*, *America and the Long 19th Century* (New York: New York University Press, 2015) as well as Joshua Paddison's *American Heathens: Religion, Race, and Reconstruction In California*, (Berkeley, Calif., 2012).both provide a more explicit comparison of the ways differing groups experienced inclusion and/or exclusion in the American body politic.

[73] This term was commonly used throughout most of the nineteenth century. While its meaning shifted over that period, after the Civil War it generally meant a tension between conquest and subjugation and simultaneous, often religiously inflected, notions of paternalism and state responsibility. In 1879, Nelson Miles, then a colonel, summarized the Indian problem as "Whether we shall continue the vacillating and expensive policy that has marred our fair name as a nation and a Christian people, or devise some practical and judicious system by which we can govern one quarter of a million of our population, securing and maintaining their loyalty, raising them from the darkness of barbarism to the light of civilization, and put an end to these interminable and expensive Indian wars." Nelson Miles, "The Indian Problem," *The North American Review*, Vol 128, No 268 March 1879.

strategic challenge the military faced after the Civil War, how to solidify state control of the Trans-Mississippi West.

By the fall of 1892, the program to enlist Indians into regular army units was in progress and seemed destined for unequivocal success. Early reports from commanders at western posts, where the overwhelming majority of these units were stationed, praised Indian regulars as among the best soldiers they had ever commanded. Even recruitment numbers for many of the units exceeded expectations. But for all its promise, the Indian Regular program was declared a failure by 1895 and the units were systematically disbanded. How and why the program failed is a critical question that can serve to highlight American struggles with imperialism. The Indian Regular program shone a spotlight on how subject people were simultaneously within and outside the state. Their labor, including martial service, was increasingly essential to the industrial imperial nation-state. But convincing those subject people to explicitly serve the state via the military required enticements, including local autonomy, prestige, and authority. The imperial governments of Britain, France, and Germany had all extended these benefits, to varying degrees, to the indigenous units each employed. The proximity of the Indian Regulars to the American metropole, however, meant apart from prestige, the other enticements could not be offered. This left citizenship as a powerful and potentially attractive benefit of martial service. But that promise was fundamentally incompatible with the parsing of citizens from subjects. Citizens were almost exclusively white, while subjects were non-white. Allowing Indian soldiers to claim citizenship through service therefore meant, on some level, a tacit recognition of their whiteness.[74]

[74] The history of Black soldiers in the army is particularly salient here, as is a broader discussion of the limits placed on Black citizenship in the years after the Civil War. I cover the experiences of Black men serving in the Great Plains later in the dissertation.

Conceptualizing the All-Indian Units

The Indian Regular Units did not emerge from a void. Indians had served as scouts in the employ of the U.S. Army since its independence. Their status as exemplary scouts was predicated on the possession of what contemporaries viewed as inherently Indian qualities: namely an animal-like ability to survive and navigate places untouched by civilization and a war-like disposition. By 1880s, several voices both within and outside the army started to call for the creation of Indian Regular Units. One of the earliest known advocates of All-Indian Regular units was, curiously enough, former Confederate Brigadier General Frank C. Armstrong who by the late 1880s was employed as a United States Indian Inspector. He urged the Secretary of the Interior to work with the War Department and facilitate the creation of All-Indian units within the regular army structure.[75] He believed enlistment would "get them civilized and broken into regular habits of life and work."[76] Armstrong and other supporters of the creation of Indian Regulars drew on models already established in other imperial militaries including the British use of Sepoys and the French enlistment of Zouaves. Several of the programs earliest advocates had visited various military facilities in Europe and undoubtedly drew inspiration from what the saw.[77] And for those who did not make the trip across the Atlantic to experience the power of the British, French, and burgeoning German imperial apparatus, there was always a constant flow of information disseminated across the US Army via weekly and monthly periodicals like the *Army*

[75] Frank C. Armstrong, U.S. Indian Inspector, to Secretary of the Interior, January 22, 1890, AGO, 1839-PRD-1890, RG 94, NARA.

[76] Armstrong, January 22, 1890.

[77] Emory Upton was an early reformer in the US Army who advocated professionalization and the employment of European practices. He was particularly vocal about using Prussian, later German, models. His 1878 work, *The Armies of Asia and Europe, embracing official reports on the armies of Japan, China, India, Persia, Italy, Russia, Austria, Germany, France, and England* (New York: Appleton, 1878) was widely read. Upton taught at West Point from 1870 until 1875. His ideas were thus inculcated into most, if not all, of the junior officers who were instrumental in the Indian Regulars program's initiation.

Magazine.[78]

Imperial Inspirations

The two most explicit sources of inspiration for the creation of the Indian Regular units within the US Army were the British Sepoys of India and the French Algerian Zouaves. While a detailed description of the creation of both these groups is outside the bounds of this project, a brief summary of how they were both originally envisioned and the status both groups held by the late 1880s/early 1890s is useful in contextualizing how the Indian Regulars were constructed within a global imperial framework.

Figure 4 - Group of Native Officers and Men, 20th Punjab Infantry, 1868, British National Army Museum NAM. 1965-04-89-10

While English merchants had been present in India since the seventeenth century, it was only when they were drawn into a series of conflicts with the local princes and the French that they began to recruit large numbers of indigenous soldiers. By the end of the eighteenth century, the

[78] Professionalization within the army after the Civil War manifested itself in a multitude of ways. One of the most widespread was the emergence of professional journals geared towards officers, both junior and senior, within the US Army.

British had over 100,000 Indian soldiers employed in racially segregated units. After a bloody mutiny by the Sepoys, Indian soldiers, in 1857 and 1858, British officials reconceptualized how indigenous soldiers would be used in the maintenance of a now permanent imperial garrison in India.[79] A decision was made to create a unique identity for the Sepoy. They would undoubtedly be Indian, but they would also be something more. Sepoy would by Indian and imperial. They were understood as having a wholly alien religion and worldview, but they were also viewed as skilled soldiers essential to the empire.

A key difference between the Sepoy and Anglo soldiers was that the Anglo soldiers were citizens. While few of them enjoyed the vote back in England, Wales, and Scotland, they did view themselves as part of the body politic of Great Britain.[80] The inability of most British soldiers to vote was a product of their class not of their race. While it could be argued the Sepoy soldiers lacked explicit political rights owing to their perceived class, it was their race and status as subjects that ultimately meant their service to Britain via the military could ever result in expanded participation within the state.[81]

[79] G.J. Bryant, "Indigenous Mercenaries in the Service of European Imperialists: The Case of the Sepoys in the Early British Indian Army, 1750-1800", *War in History,* (7: 2-28, 2000).

[80] Universal male suffrage didn't come to Great Britain until 1918 in the wake of the Great War. Martial service by working class soldiers during that war was an instrumental part of the move to expand suffrage. For more information see Angela V. John and Claire Eustance (1997) *The Men's Share?: Masculinities, Male Support, and Women's Suffrage in Britain, 1890-1920*.

[81] See Jeffrey Greenhut, Jeffrey, 1984, "Sahib and Sepoy: An Inquiry into the Relationship between the British Officers and Native Soldiers of the British Indian Army", *Military Affairs*,(volume 48, number 1, 1984), David Omissi, *Indian Voices of the Great War: Soldiers' Letters, 1914-1919* (1999), Gakendra Singh, *The Testimonies of Indian Soldiers and the Two World Wars: Between Self and Sepoy* (2014).

Figure 5 - Fenton, Roger, photographer. Zouaves & Soldiers of the Line. Crimea Ukraine, 1855. Photograph. Retrieved from the Library of Congress, https://www.loc.gov/item/2001700602/

The Zouaves, derived from *Zouaoua* or *Zwawa* a tribal designation in Algeria, date back to the initial French conquest of Algeria in 1830. Initially, recruits were exclusively Berber and Muslim. The Zouaves were drawn from an elite group of soldiers who served the Bey of Algiers. The decision of French commanders to co-opt the Zouaves in the service of imperial expansion is critical but it is also important to note how the elite Zouaves almost immediately became mixed units; that is Berber Muslims were joined by French Christians. Over the course of the nineteenth century the Zouves shifted from mixed units to almost exclusively French Christian. By the 1870s most of the recruits were French Algerians, Christian white settlers and their descendants, who served in the Zouaves to satisfy compulsory military service laws.[82] Even as the units shifted to an exclusively non-indigenous composition, the uniforms and naming conventions surrounding the Zouaves persisted. The reputation of the Zoauves as an elite

[82] See *Tirailleurs algériens et tunisiens 1830/1964*, Anthony Clayton (1994) *Histoire de l'Armée française en Afrique 1830-1962*, Robert Huré (1977) *L'Armée d'Afrique: 1830-1962*, Dominique Lornier (2006) *C'est nous les Africains*, Razik Alex Menidjel (2007) *Les Tirailleurs algériens*, Batist Tarek, Yasmina Khadra and Kamel Mouellef (2011) *Turcos, le jasmin et la boue*.

fighting force was so pervasive, and global, that similar units, albeit almost exclusively non-indigenous, were constituted in the United States, Poland, the Papal States, and even Brazil.[83] These units all incorporated the symbols and uniforms of the initial Zouaves but re-signified their meaning by transferring those symbols to citizens of their respective empires. The Zouaves, as initially envisioned, could be seen as indigenous resistance or accommodation to French incursions into Algeria; but the later forms shifted to more overt meanings of imperial domination of subject peoples.

However, Berber Muslim soldiers did not disappear but were instead incorporated into yet another set of new units, the *Tirailleurs Algeriens*. Tirailleurs originally designated any light infantry unit but quickly became synonymous with units of indigenous soldiers. These all-indigenous units were first constituted in the mid-1850s, almost contemporaneous with the Christianization of the Zouaves. *Tirailleurs indigenes*, or indigenous light infantry, became a standard fixture in almost every French colonial possession through the end of the nineteenth century and until decolonization after World War II. *Tirailleurs Sénégalais*, recruits drawn from throughout West Africa, as well as *tirailleurs Annamites*, *tirailleurs Tonkinois*, and *tirailleur Cambodgiens*, all drawn from French Indochina, were deployed not just in the specific colonial region in which they were recruited but in broader global conflicts including the Crimean War, the Franco-Prussian War, and both World Wars in the twentieth century.[84]

While the *tirailleurs* were allowed to maintain distinctive indigenous identities, they were not extended full membership within the imperial state. While French commanders demonstrated

[83] The Zouaves served as inspiration during the Civil War for a volunteer unit from New York, the 11th Volunteer regiment. While these units adopted a colorful uniform inspired by the *tirailleurs Algeriens*, they were segregated and exclusively white.

[84] The English-language historiography on the tirailleurs indigenes is virtually non-existent but there is a growing interest in the subject within France. Notable titles include Myron Echenberg, *Les tirailleurs sénégalais en Afrique occidentale française, 1857-1960* (2009), Razik Menidjel, *Les tirailleurs algériens* (2007), and Ahmed Bahaddou, *Citoyens visibles: quand l'histoire de France affiche ses couleurs* (2009).

a willingness to deploy the tirailleurs against other imperial forces, including those composed of Christian whites, that willingness did not directly translate to increased opportunities within the empire for the indigenous recruits. The largely voluntary units were able to achieve increased status within their own communities, but they were unable to claim French citizenship and the attendant host of rights that guaranteed. The inability of the *tirailleurs indigenes* to claim membership within the imperial state may have been the primary reason those units persisted until the mid-twentieth century.[85]

Both the Zouaves and the subsequent *tirailleurs indigenes* undoubtedly influenced early ideas of creating all Indian regiments in the United States. Many of the primary proponents of that program were Francophiles, at least militarily, and many had spent several years in France on military exchange programs.[86] While most of these advocates referenced the Zouaves as successful indigenous units in other empires, they most likely viewed the Zouaves and *tirailleurs indigenes* as synonymous.

Moving Towards a Formal Proposal

Drawing on the same imperial antecedents as Frank Armstrong, Major William H. Powell was the first army official to propose the creation of regular Indians units in the pages of *United Service*, a professional military journal, in 1889/1890. Powell published a series of essays first explaining the "Indian problem" as he understood it and subsequently offering a novel solution. In 1889 Powell argued settled farming was antithetical to the culture of Plains Indians.[87] He went on to address the problem of how Indian school graduates—those who had attended Carlisle or

[85] See Lorelle D. Semley, *To Be Free and French: Citizenship in France's Atlantic Empire*, Critical Perspectives on Empire (New York, NY: Cambridge University Press, 2017).

[86] S.C. Robertson and Edward W. Casey both spent time in France at the Ecole de Cavalerie.

[87] William H. Powell, "Soldier or Granger?," *United Service*, Nov. 1889.

Hampton, for example—were expected to reintegrate into Indian society. Powell argued these graduates were left with nothing to do on the reservations and any progress made in civilizing them would be quickly erased. By 1890 Powell proposed the creation of all-Indian troops as a logical solution to a multitude of problems. Powell saw Army enlistment as a privilege to be extended to Indian school graduates first. He saw these men as natural enlistees and prime candidates for US citizenship; their attendance at Indian schools followed by enlistment would make them the most likely of anyone in their respective tribes to be "ready" for citizenship.. He also argued their knowledge of English would facilitate the induction of non-school Indians thus bolstering assimilation efforts.[88]

It is important to note that Powell did not place the burden of language acquisition on Indian enlistees alone. He further clarified the requirement that officers seeking assignment with the Indian units would be required to either possess or acquire working knowledge of the various languages spoken by the men under their command. While Powell saw this bi-lingual approach as necessary to unit success he also argued it would ultimately lead, within three years, to a majority of enlistees being able to speak and perhaps read and write English. For Powell, language acquisition was just as crucial a component in the civilizing project as religion and marriage.

While most of Powell's and Armstrong's rhetoric centered upon army enlistment as an uplifting project, Armstrong in particular saw another and perhaps more powerful incentive to create all-Indian units: the intentional removal of fighting men and materials from a potentially hostile group. Towards the end of his recommendation Armstrong detailed his own experiences in 1885. He recounted how he had, while at the Cheyenne and Arapahoe Agency, enlisted 120

[88] Powell, William H., "The Indian as a Soldier," *United Service*, Mar. 1890.

men from the Cheyenne Dog Soldiers. He detailed the requirement that each man provide his own gun, saddle, and two acceptable horses. The Secretary of the Interior, John W. Noble, supported Armstrong's proposal and added it would help "remove from amidst of the Indians a most undesirable class of men, who can be neither educated nor restrained."[89] He did not repeat Armstrong's ideas about depriving Indians of their best men, weapons, and horses.

Powell was an active duty senior officer and Armstrong held a senior position during the Civil War, but junior officers fresh out of West Point proposed a similar project with vastly different goals. Lieutenant Edward Wanton Casey was allowed to create an experimental Indian unit at Fort Keogh, Montana Territory in 1889. While Casey's unit was referred to as scouts, they were in every substantive sense the same as regular army units. Casey's Scouts were recruited from Crow men, some of whom had previously served as scouts with the army. Casey was the son of a prominent officer of the Mexican-American War as well as the Civil War, Major-General Silas Casey., who had authored a well-known volume on tactics during the Civil War: Infantry Tactics for Colored Troops.[90] Edward Casey had also served as an infantry instructor at West Point in 1880 and his experiences there as well as those of his father influenced his desire to create Indian regular units.[91]

Lt. Samuel C. Robertson became one of Casey's biggest supporters. Robertson graduated from West Point in 1879 and prior to his involvement with the creation of Indian regular units, studied at the French Cavalry School in 1882. He had also served as an instructor at the Infantry

[89] John W. Noble to Secretary of War, January 24, 1890, RG 94, NARA.

[90] Edward Casey's two brothers were also active in the military and gained notoriety as officers. Silas Casey III was Rear Admiral of the Pacific Squadron while Thomas Lincoln Casey was Chief of Engineers of the Army and oversaw the completion of the Washington Monument.

[91] *Gen. Cullum's Biographical Register of the Officers and Graduates of the United States Military Academy*. 1891. Vol. 3. p219-220.

and Cavalry School at Fort Leavenworth in 1888.[92] Robertson created his own unit at Fort Custer, Montana Territory in 1890 and patterned it after Casey's Scouts. He even went so far as to dub his unit "B" troop to link it to Casey's "A" troop. While Casey initiated the plan, Robertson clearly enunciated what he and Casey saw as the program's primary goals: to civilize Indians and create modern US cavalry units.[93] Robertson even clarified the future of these units "These levies were to be known as 'scouts,' but in arms, equipments, uniform, and drill they were to be assimilated as rapidly as possible to the condition of regulars." Robertson saw the creation of Indian regular units as both a viable alternative for marginalized tribes and as the future of a more modern US Army; for many within the army modern meant imperial.

Casey and Robertson, as well as other junior officer stationed across the Great Plains attended West Point at a pivotal moment when the curriculum at that institution was in flux. The U.S. Military Academy had undergone a rapid series of reforms after the Civil War. Chief among them was the diversification of subjects taught at West Point. Emory Upton, one of the Army's premier reformers of the nineteenth century made a grand tour of Europe after the Civil War and published a watershed work, *The Armies of Europe and Asia*. In the book Upton described and debated the various successes of European military powers, he concluded the preeminence of European forces, specifically the Prussian Army, and argued the U.S. Army had to modernize or face a marginal future, militarily.[94] Part of the "Prussian Model" Upton advocated was an expanded military education system. In this vein, anthropology and other traditionally non-militaristic subjects were added to West Point's curriculum. The experiences of other military

[92] *Gen. Cullum's Biographical Register of the Officers and Graduates of the United States Military Academy*. 1891. Vol. 3. p319-320.

[93] Robertson, S.C., "Our Indian Contingent," *Harper's Weekly,* Feb. 13, 1892, p. 156.

[94] Emory Upton, *The Armies of Europe and Asia, Embracing Official Reports On the Armies of Japan, China, India, Persia, Italy, Russia, Austria, Germany, France, and England. Accompanied by Letters Descriptive of A Journey from Japan to the Caucasus*. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1878.

forces after the Napoleonic Wars also took preeminence in cadets' studies.

Casey and Robertson were undoubtedly affected by these changes. Their interests in the creation of Indian Regular units were tied to the colonial experiences of Britain and France. S.C. Robertson mentioned the experiences of France and England every time he spoke of the creation of Indian units to non-military audiences. In a *Harper's Weekly* article from 1892, for instance, Robertson noted "England and France, learning by bloody experience the prowess of the native races of the provinces they conquered, were quick to see how they could pluck the flower of safety from the nettles of danger, and to-day *Sikh* and *Spahi*[95] form no mean portions of their respective military establishments."[96] Clearly Robertson saw native enlistment as a solution to longstanding frontier issues as well as a method to bolster an undersized military apparatus. Not only Casey and Robertson but possibly all of the supporters of the Indian Regular plan consciously compared this new plan with those of the French and British. Robertson explicitly tied the process of incorporating subjected populations as a key feature of imperial conquest, "From enemies they were transformed into allies by the simple process of enlistment under the victor's flag."[97] He had an answer to the "Indian Problem" that had hounded the US Army for over fifty years, and the solution had been pioneered by the very imperial powers the United States increasingly competed with at the end of the nineteenth century.

In the second half of the nineteenth century, the use of subjugated populations against those forces beyond the metropole's reach was envisioned as a modern and even progressive policy in imperial management. This use of subjects drew heavily on essentialized notions of the

[95] *Spahis* were French colonial mounted units recruited in North Africa. They were primarily Algerian, Tunisian, and Moroccan men. In the second-half of the nineteenth century, the concept spread to other French colonial possessions including Senegal.

[96] Robertson, 1892, p. 157.

[97] Robertson, 1892, p. 157.

"uncivilized." One observer summarized the martial identity of Indians as both instinctual and animal-like, "As a scout the Indian, when subjected to discipline, must be the most effective of soldiers. None possesses in higher degree the instincts of the sleuth-hound."[98] Similar to the Zouaves and the Sepoy, Indian soldiers needed the steady hand of a white officer to cool their "primitive" passions.

What differentiated Armstrong's and Powell's plans from the colonial military schemes of France and Britain was how these new soldiers were envisioned within the empire. While perceptions of race and physical distance created nearly impenetrable separations between the metropole and colonial soldiers, the plan for Indian Regulars was envisioned, at least in part, as a project of assimilation. Army service and the discipline it would entail was viewed as a means of simultaneously undermining resistance as well as bolstering Americanization schemes aimed at Indians. While there was some fluidity within limited groups of Sepoys and Zouaves, their military deployments were not viewed as pathways to French or British citizenship. Even though the Indian Regular units bore striking similarities to colonial forces employed by Britain and France, as well as other European powers, their differential access to claims of citizenship provide a critical point of departure.[99]

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[98] "Cheyenne Scouts in Oklahoma," *Harper's Weekly,* April 4, 1889, p267.

[99] There were two groups of soldiers recruited after the Indian Regulars program that do mirror the Sepoy and Zouave units of France and Britain. A group of Puerto Rican soldiers were enlisted in 1898 and detailed to garrison duty in San Juan. Similarly, a group of Filipino scouts were created as the Philippine Insurrection took hold in 1901. Both units saw combat action through World War II. See Brian McAllister Linn, *Guardians of Empire: The U.S. Army and the Pacific, 1902-1940* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1997) for a thorough examination of military/local cooperation and resistance including the creation of the Philippines Scouts, often touted as the first colonial soldiers employed by the United States. See *Soldiers of the Nation: Military Service and Modern Puerto Rico, 1868-1952*, Studies in War, Society and the Military (Lincoln, NB: University of Nebraska Press, 2018) for the most complete history of the Puerto Rican units. Both works provide exceptional details about the respective units but they do not place them in the broader context of US policy in other colonial/imperial spaces.

Resistance to the Program

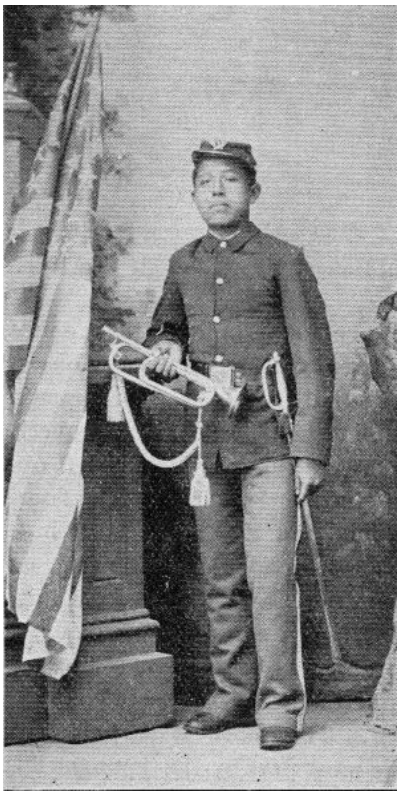

Figure 6 - Musician Joe Bush, Co. I, 2d Infantry, Fort Omaha, Neb., Army News 1893

The creation of the new Indian Regular units as well as how they would be supervised and where they would be located became major points of contention within army circles. Major General John Schofield, the Adjutant General, solicited the opinions of officers in the matter of Indian Regular units. Overwhelmingly, senior officers rejected the program. Some even recanted earlier views on assimilation in their critique of Powell and Armstrong's proposals. Regarded as a seasoned "Indian Fighter," General Nelson A. Miles pointed to both the congressional limits on the total number of enlistees as well as "the necessity for having them (soldiers) of that character and discipline that they could be used for any service at any time" as primary reasons for his objections to the program.[100] Other high ranking officers including Civil War veterans Generals

[100] Miles Response to Schofield, February 21, 1890, AGO, 1839-AGO-1890, RG 94, NARA. Congress had increasingly curtailed military spending in the decades after the Civil War. In 1866 they capped the total strength of

O.O. Howard and George Crook agreed the plan was destined for failure. Howard directly critiqued one of the primary goals of Indian Regular program and argued he "Would never put a premium upon mischievous behavior for Indians, negroes or white men"[101] Crook pointed to essentialized notions of Indians and noted "It is their individuality which makes them efficient…Indians can never be the equals of the Whites as machine soldiers."[102] Crook reversed an opinion he had expressed in the mid-1880s when he had compared the experiences of Indians with those of white "forefathers." While he characterized Indians as "cruel in war, treacherous at times, and not overcleanly" he also argued "It is not impossible that, with a fair and square system of dealing with him, the American Indian would make a better citizen than many who neglect the duties and abuse the privileges of that proud title."[103] Another Civil War Veteran, Colonel B.H. Grierson explicitly tied the creation of all-Indian units with his experiences leading the Tenth Cavalry, an all-black unit, "The Negroes to whom reference has been made, citing the fact as to their reliability and worth as soldiers, whose rapid progress in industry and intelligence has astonished the world, are a very different race of people from the Indians. The former have well known characteristics, embracing cheerfulness, kindness, generosity, obedience and other elements of the orderly citizen."[104] The language of citizenship and the potential for various groups to achieve full membership within the body politic of the United States figured prominently in the rhetoric of detractors and supporters.

While senior officers' views may have given Schofield pause in his endorsement of the program, the opinions held by Armstrong and Powell as well as junior officers like Robertson

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the army at 45,000 and then lowered that number to 27,442 in 1876. This meant recruitment usually only took place to replace men mustering out or deserting. Even then there was increased pressure to limit enlistments.

[101] AGO Brief March 22, 1891, RG 94, NARA.

[102] AGO Brief March 22, 1891, RG 94, NARA.

[103] "General Crook and the Indians," *Harper's Weekly*, July 5, 1884, p427.

[104] AGO Brief March 22, 1891, RG 94, NARA.

and Casey evidently prevailed. Schofield saw the program not as a stop-gap measure intended to forestall the immediate threat of Indian uprisings, rather he argued it was “a permanent system, by which a proper contingent of Indians shall be permanently incorporated into the Army, and the Indian tribes transformed from enemies into a reliable part of the military force of the United States, as well as peaceful citizens.”[105] Incorporating many of the junior officers' views Gen. Schofield authorized the Adjutant General to issue General Order No. 28 (March 9, 1891). The General Order mandated that "Troop L of each of the cavalry regiments (except the 9th and 10th) and Co. I of each infantry regiment (except the 6, 11, 15, 19, 24, and 25) will be recruited by the enlistment of Indians to the number of 55 for each troop and company."[106] What is notable about the order is the decision to create Indian Regular units within virtually every regiment, except for those east of the Mississippi River and the four all-black regiments formed in the wake of the Civil War. The decision to segregate Black and Indian soldiers is telling as to racial attitudes in the army hierarchy in the early 1890s and in a subsequent chapter I return to the contradictory language of race and segregation within the US Army after 1876.

Returning to Schofield's specific orders, the new Indian Regular Units would all be stationed in the Trans-Mississippi West and would "Whenever practicable...the enlistments for each regiment will be made within the department in which the regimental headquarters are located, by officers to be nominated by and under the immediate supervision of the regimental commander."[107] Here Schofield made explicit the notion that the All Indian Regulars would require special and direct supervision by the upper echelons of each regiment. Additionally, and perhaps more telling, since enlistment was to be carried out in the immediate vicinity of

[105] John Schofield to AGO, April 2, 1891, RG 94, NARA.
[106] G.O. No. 28, Headquarters of the Army Adj. General’s Office, March 9, 1891. AGO RG 94, NARA.
[107] G.O. 28, RG 94, NARA.

regimental headquarters, there would be a de facto creation of All Indian Units composed entirely of members with the same tribal affiliations. Schofield was conscious of Powell and Armstrong's argument about how the units could be used to undermine resistant tribes and here is clear evidence he incorporated that idea in General Order 28. While there was an air of cynicism in the language of G.O. 28 there was also the possibility of real advancement for Indian soldiers as the regulation specified "Ultimately, non-commissioned officers for these companies will be supplied by the appointment of Indians, in the manner indicated by regulations."[108] Thus the order incorporated the language of uplift and progress alongside a more utilitarian approach to solving the "Indian Problem."

Recruitment for the All-Indian Units

Once the order was issued recruitment proceeded rather swiftly and most of the L Troops reached initial goals much faster than expected. The 6th Cavalry's "L" Company attracted forty-two enlistees in the first week of the program, largely owing to the skills of Lt. Edward Dravo. He lived among the Brûle Sioux for a week and detailed the benefits of enlistment to the men.[109] By the end of 1892 over 1,000 Indians had enlisted in the All-Indian Regular Units. There were eleven fully constituted companies by that time and the recruiters had enticed key members of eight tribes to enlist. Most of the men had been either served as scouts or as warriors fighting against the US Army before the program's start. Powell's dream had seemingly been fulfilled.

Recruiting was not without its problems. There were numerous reports of Indians being deceived into enlisting. The problem was apparently so bad at one point that the War Department had to issue explicit instructions to recruiters to explain the realities of enlistment while it

[108] G.O. 28, RG 94, NARA.
[109] *Army and Navy Journal*, May 30, 1891.

warned recruiters to avoid deceptive enticements.[110] By April 1892, Captain J. M. Lee of the Ninth Infantry, stationed near the Rosebud Agency, similarly warned that recruiters should "Not make promises to the Indians which it may not be found convenient to fulfill."[111] The original act authorizing the creation of the units allowed 2,000 Indian regulars, but at its height in 1892, the program enlisted only around 1,100 enlistees, probably the highest number ever in the program. Critics argued that many "L" companies and "I" troops were empty, and Indians generally showed a lack of interest in the program. The selectivity of the program meant those numbers could never be easily reached. Roberston had previously noted that the transition to the Regular program had pushed many of the most willing men out as "Many of the scouts elected to out at once. They had learnt to like their scout service thoroughly; but to come down from $25 to $13 a month; have only one horse, and an American one; to do guard and "fatigue"--all these were naturally changes that did not inspire delight."[112] The lack of enlistees may have been due to the experiences of Indian scouts, which led to an exodus from the army. Less money and more service were hard pills to swallow.

One of the staunchest advocates during the initial enlistment period was George Allen Beecher. He was an Episcopal minister based in Kearney, Nebraska. He worked on various social issues, including the needs of orphan children, Japanese immigrants, and Sioux families living in and around Fort Kearney. He saw enlistment as one way to safeguard Indian interests. Beecher argued all Indians needed was a chance as "He is proud of his uniform, and is more than willing to give up his striped blanket and bear the flag."[113] Beecher envisioned enlistment as a means for Indian men to escape the status of ward of the state. Not only that, but he saw it as a

[110] Robertson 160.
[111] 4629 AGO 1891 with 1222 AGO 1891, RG 94, NARA.
[112] Robertson, 159.
[113] "Indians as Soldier Boys," *Omaha Daily Bee*, August 23, 1893, p5.

way for them to prove their worth as to full membership within the body politic of the United States. “I have learned that he can become a good man, a good citizen, a good Christian,” he wrote, “if the proper steps are taken to aid him to this plane of living.” Creating the All-Indian Regulars program was merely the first step for Casey, Roberston, Dravos, and Beecher. As Jesse M. Lee, a captain in the 9th Infantry and the officer placed in charge of recruiting Indians throughout the Dakota territory argued “It is the entering wedge to reform.”[114]

The Problem with Histories of the Army in the American West

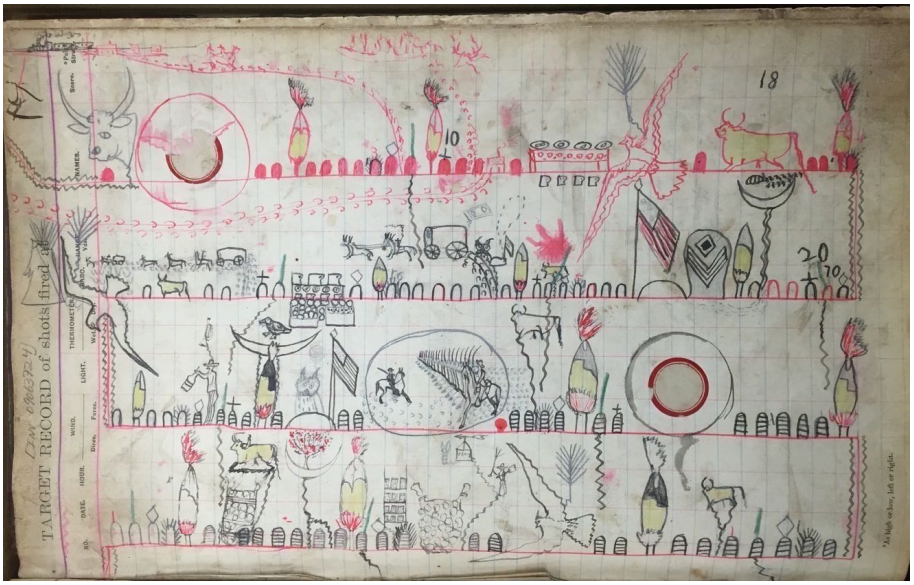

Figure 7 - Silverhorn Journal (November 1893 to February 1894), Manuscript 4252, National Anthropological Archives, Smithsonian Institution

The view of individual Indian soldiers within the All-Indian Regular units has received virtually no attention in discussions of the army in the American West.[115] Indian soldiers generally did not write journals. This was not necessarily tied to their perceived membership

[114] JM Lee to Assistant AG Department of the Platte, March 24, 1891, RG 94, NARA.

[115] See Devon Mihesuah. "Voices, Interpretations, and the 'New Indian History': Comment on the "American Indian Quarterly's" Special Issue on Writing about American Indians." *American Indian Quarterly* 20, no. 1 (1996): 91-108, for a classic essay on the emergence of “new” Indian history in the late 1990s. Although dated in many ways it still makes a powerful statement as to the lack of Indian voices in many historical works.

within a tribe or any type of ethnically-inflected hierarchy, but rather something they had in common with all soldiers from poor and working-class backgrounds. Journals from frontier forts tend to have been written by elites: Army officers and their wives. The apparent lack of sources renders the task of discerning the attitudes of Indian soldiers within the units nearly impossible. Oral histories conducted later in the twentieth century as well as biographical works offer a better view of Indians as they experienced army life, but they have limitations owing to the significant distance between the time of their creation and the events they detail. There are, however, extant accounts of daily life in the army during this period, created by an Indian soldier, that were produced contemporaneously with the All-Indian Units. The ledger drawings of Silverhorn offers a window onto how one soldier, Silverhorn, experienced army service in a particular time and place, the central and southern Great Plains.

Silverhorn (Huangooah) was a Kiowa from western Oklahoma who enlisted in the 7th Cavalry's L Troop at the start of the Indian-Units program. He was given an old target practice ledger by his commanding officer, Lieutenant Hugh Lenox Scott. Silver horn did not write a lexical journal but kept a pictographic record of the events at Fort Sill throughout his enlistment. While these journals have garnered little attention outside of artistic analysis, they offer the best opportunity to examine the daily experiences of men like Silverhorn.[116] His pictographic journals differed substantially form those generated by his official superiors, like H.L. Scott, in that Silverhorn relied upon images and symbols to convey his experiences and opinions as to military service. The particularities of Silverhorn's journal necessitate a different methodology when

[116] Notable works on Silverhorn include Robert G. Donnelley, *Transforming Images: The Art of Silver Horn and his Successors.* Chicago: University of Chicago, 2000, and Candace S. Greene, *Silver Horn: Master Illustrator of the Kiowas*. Norman: University of Oklahoma, 2001. William C. Meadows' *Through Indian Sign Language: The Fort Sill Ledgers of Hugh Lenox Scott and Iseeo, 1889-1897* is a sociological text tracing Scott's interest in Indian Sign Language although it briefly discusses his time with Silverhorn and the possible meanings of symbols found in his ledger journals.

analyzing the images but the end result is a substantively richer narrative of army life in the 1890s.

Silverhorn's journals have no words but are rather replete with colorful illustrations.[117] It therefore cannot be read like a written diary but must be deciphered. His use of pictographs usually relies upon broadly available Kiowa symbols but occasionally Silverhorn deployed an unexpected drawing whose meaning is ambiguous. The arrangement of Silverhorn's journal—a snaking top to bottom array of pictographs or *boustrophedon*—helps with correlating of his writings to official army records related to soldiers at Fort Sill from 1894 to 1894.[118] Focusing on just one page within his much longer journal, in this case the November 1893 to February 1894 entries, reveals much about Silverhorn's varied experiences within the army. Also present are clues to his attitudes toward army enlistment and the meanings of military service.

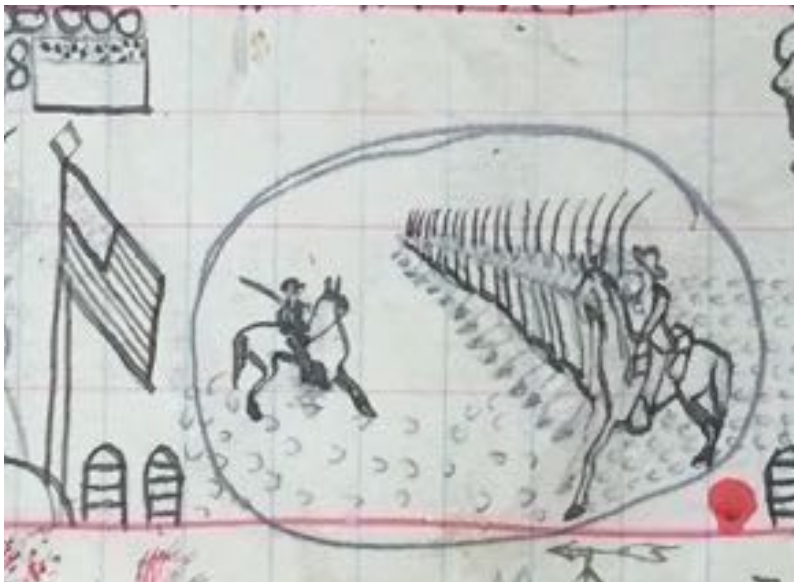

Figure 8 - Detail from Silverhorn Journal (November 1893 to February 1894), Manuscript 4252, National Anthropological Archives, Smithsonian Institution.

[117] The stones equal days in Silverhorn's journal, while feathers equal weeks, and cattle equal fortnights, this may have been connected to bi-weekly issuance of rations and beef to reservation Indians. The crescent moon is one month, although a more generic bird is also used. Once he was discharged the stone was replaced with a star to denote days. See Donnelley and Greene on deciphering the pictographs.

[118] Greene, *Silverhorn*, p175-176.

Silverhorn's journal reveals his strong connection to the symbols of army life. Immediately noticeable in his entries for this period are several American flags.[119] The flag ceremony was a prominent aspect of daily life of the frontier soldier but was also embed with rich symbols linking military service and membership within the United States' body politic. This connection was no less present in the life of a soldier like Silverhorn as demonstrated in his journal. For Indians outside the army the flag may have represented an adversary or, at best, a paternalistic keeper; however, for Silverhorn and other enlisted Indian soldiers the flag represented a possible source of respectability, authority, and even a continuity with ways-of-life rapidly changing for many Plains Indians by the 1890s. With the imposition of government bans on open warfare between tribes, service in the army and the adoption of its attendant martial symbols were newly available means to reassert identity—both as tribal members and as men. The chevrons on the sleeve of an army uniform represent a promotion and may have been a reference to Silverhorn's own promotion within the L Troop. Similarly, the vivid depiction of a mounted dress review in the center of the journal page supports the assertion that Silverhorn enjoyed service in the army and viewed it as a source of pride. Furthermore, the precision he depicts in the line of Indian cavalrymen could be his assertion that the Kiowa soldiers had mastered the art of the modern American military drill.

Silverhorn's work also highlights the oftentimes mundane realities of daily-life in the frontier army. While several military and western historians have amply described the daily lives of enlisted men on frontier posts, Silverhorn's journal provides a unique window into how Indian soldiers experienced the daily duties of the late-nineteenth century army. Prominently centered on the journal page is a pictograph representing paymaster duty. Essentially, armed mounted

[119] See Figure 7.

soldiers would escort the paymaster from fort to fort. For most soldiers drawing paymaster duty was not likely viewed as an onerous task; it may have been seen as a way to escape the daily drudgery of life on the fort. For Silverhorn though, paymaster duty was yet another sign of authority and prestige. On a symbolic level, the irony of Silverhorn protecting the financial interests of Uncle Sam were clearly not lost. He viewed himself, and likely other Indian soldiers, as model army cavalrymen. He even challenged a widely held assumption concerning alcohol and the Indians by depicting the company bugler, a white man, being disciplined for drunkenness. Alcohol consumption was a reality on frontier outposts, but Indians were generally denied the freer access white soldiers enjoyed. Silverhorn's drawing therefore undermined the claim to white moral superiority while simultaneously recognizing the daily presence of alcohol and other prohibited temptations. Taken as a whole, Silverhorn's journal seems to confirm his satisfaction with army service.

Silverhorn's journal is not the only extant work revealing Indian attitudes towards enlistment. During the Great Depression the Works Progress Administration (WPA) conducted extensive oral interviews. Notably the lives of former slaves as well as people intimately involved in the process of settling the American West were targeted by interviewers. While the oral histories did not focus on service with the army, for those men who had served the subject inevitably came up. One Cheyenne soldier, Tangles Yellow Hair, recounted his experience in Edward Casey's famous Indian Scout unit, the predecessor the broader Indian Regular program: "The white chief of it was Red Hump Nose [Edward Casey]. By that time all of the old buffalo-skin lodges were gone, so we had soldier tents to live in. There were fifty-six of us. Our families came and lived with us. Our pay was $25.30 per month."[120] The Indian veteran described the

[120] Marquis, Thomas B. and R.H. Limbaugh, *Cheyenne and Sioux: the reminiscences of four Indians and a white soldier*, Stockton, CA: Pacific Center for Western Historical Studies, University of the Pacific, 1973, p. 39.

process of enlistment and service as a natural response to the declining prospects of hunting buffalo on the Great Plains. Just like Silverhorn's journal, the Cheyenne veteran felt compelled to comment on alcohol on the frontier outposts. But unlike Silverhorn, he complicated the issue by recognizing drunkenness within Indian units: "The whiskey made the Cheyennes go crazy, and sometimes there were fights among them. The fighters were put in jail. But they were not kept there long, because whoever might be in jail could not be taught how to shoot the guns and how to drill like soldiers."[121] Even though he recognized the problem of drunkenness within his own units, he described the matter-of-fact attitude his commanding officers seemed to have. Punishment for minor infractions hampered lessons intended to create modern soldiers.

Indian Soldiers as Class-Bound Actors

Parallel to the lack of Indian sources within the broader histories of the army in the American West is a minimal amount of material generated by enlisted men. Very few enlisted men seemed to have kept diaries. The few sources that shed light on the attitudes of enlisted men were recorded as oral histories decades later; sometimes they were secondary interviews with wives or children. While officers' attitudes towards the Indian Regular project are fairly easy to reveal through the copious documents generated by elites within an expanding bureaucracy, the views of enlisted men outside the Indian units is more difficult to ascertain. One source that does reveal, in quite startling detail, the experiences of one enlisted man is the diary of Hartford G. Clark. He was stationed at Fort Niobrara, Nebraska in the early 1890s and he kept a fairly regular diary during the initial months of the Indian Regular project. Over the course of several months Clark developed a close friendship with a local Brûle chief's son—Yellow Hand.

[121] Marquis, p. 39.

Clark's initial contact with the newly enlisted men of Troop L, Sixth Cavalry may have revealed a skepticism about the ability, but not the enthusiasm, of the Indians to assimilate into the regimented life of a soldier. He noted how on their first payday weekend celebrated: "quite a number of the indians are drunk to night[*sic*] and are having war dances, songs, etc. in their quarters."[122] Payday had occurred only three days before the celebration and, while rowdiness on bases was expected after the arrival of the Paymaster, Clark inserted a reference to war dances in his assessment of the Indians. Whether he viewed this performance as a problem is unclear, but Clark included no negative references to Indians in his journal. While some animosity between US Army soldiers and Indians they had fought as recently as 18 months previously could have been expected; perhaps Clark was an anomaly. The payday celebration was consistent with Clark's previous description of the Indian soldiers' enthusiastic response to enlistment: "L Troop of 6th Cavalry composed of indians came in to night[*sic*] from Rosebud agency. They have got on their buckskin suits, as they have not been issued the blues yet. They came in on teams [drawings wagons] which went after them from this post. They were feeling very jolly and kept singing while going through the post."[123] He concluded his assessment of the process of enlistment and the issuance of equipment by noting how "they [Indians] feel very proud when dressed in Uncle Sam's clothes."[124]

Clark was a married man during his enlistment, but he was separated by a considerable distance form his family. His friendship with a member of the All-Indian company at his fort, Yellow Hand, may have led to an invitation by Yellow Hand to meet his wife and child. Befriending Yellow Hand was one thing but the intimacy required between Clark and Yellow

[122] *Hartford Clark Diary*, May 7, 1891 entry.
[123] Hartford Clark Diary, April 25, 1891 entry.
[124] Hartford Clark Diary, April 28, 1891 entry.

Hand to go off-base and visit his family was something truly extraordinary for the time. Yellow Hand had given Clark gifts prior to the invitation to his home, moccasins which Clark sent to his son and a smoking pipe. The day after the incident with the dirk-wielding cowboy, Yellow Hand invited Clark to meet his wife and eight-month-old baby. Clark provided no details on the visit itself, but the incidents afterwards are quite revealing. After the visit the two stopped at the pump house, whether this was the pump house for the fort or some other location is unstated, and enjoyed listening to clarinet music performed by Fred Bloom.[125] While the possibility of Clark and Yellow Hand listening to a German immigrant play the clarinet is in itself interesting, what the encounter demonstrates was the way Clark and Yellow Hand did not feel compelled to hide their friendship.[126] While it is improbable friendships like Clark's and Yellow Hand's were commonplace in the Northern Great Plains, they were possible.

Serving at forts in the Northern Great Plains meant men of varying ethnicities and backgrounds were forced to live cheek-to-jowl. Even though the All-Indian units were created as segregated companies within broader regiments, those soldiers were not confined to similarly segregated forts. The daily lives of Indian soldiers were brought into direct and sustained contact with those of white and black soldiers. Facilities constructed at the forts were thus usable by all, at least in theory. The reality of daily life at a place like Fort Keogh necessitated a de facto equally between black, white, and Indian soldiers but it did not mean there weren't regulations targeted at specific regiments. Indian soldiers were initially banned from purchasing alcohol at post sutlers.[127] This ban was quickly discarded or at the very least ignored, but the timing of the

[125] Bloom may have been an immigrant from Prussia. He doesn't appear on company rosters but there is a Fred Bloom, born in 1836, who was in the same part for Nebraska during this period.

[126] Hartford Clark Diary, May 31, 1891 entry.

[127] Post sutlers were generally privately-owned and operated stores within the confines of a fort. They offered food and clothing, as well as liquor, beer, and even games of chance. Post canteens were the army-owned solutions to persistent issues around sutlers, but they operated along similar lines.

all-Indian units coincided with an increased push for prohibition within the US military more generally. By 1890 Congress supported a limited form of prohibition with the armed forces.[128] This prohibition was indeed limited as it only banned "intoxicating" substances from forts located within states or territories with extant prohibition laws. Beer and wine were excluded. While the army seemed to entertain the possibility of having separate laws concerning alcohol for white and Indian soldiers, congress began to decide the matter for them by 1890.[129]

While sutler's posts and the fort canteen were places white and Indian soldiers could associate, each unit was assigned to separate barracks. Enlisted barracks were generally placed together on one side of the vast, park-like parade field of the frontier fort, usually opposite the houses of the officers. Thus, the barracks for the Indian units would have been amongst other units of white and/or black enlisted soldiers. This proximity to models of "hygienic" living was one of the initial purposes of the program: to bring a subset of the Indian population, a group most often viewed as the primary source of recurrent problems, into direct and sustained contact with "civilizing" whites. Yellow Hand's friendship with Hartford Clark is therefore not surprising as the two could have lived in neighboring barracks and would have had numerous opportunities to become acquainted with one another. The barracks of soldier's like Yellow Hand, while outwardly identical to those of white soldiers like Clarke, became a pointed source of conflict for officers. Repeatedly after the introduction of the all Indian units, sanitary conditions in the living quarters for Indian soldiers were criticized and held up as clear evidence of the need for a steady white paternalizing presence. In the *Annual Report of the US Surgeon*

[128] June 1890 prohibition details.

[129] Congressional attempts to limit drunkenness on base culminated in the *Canteen Act of 1901*. By 1890 the decision had been made to align fort regulations with local conditions, thus if a town, county, or state forbade the sale of intoxicating drinks, Army regulations required the same rules be instituted at forts located within those places. Beer and wine were universally excluded, however. By 1901 though the law was clarified and expanded "the sale of, or dealing in, beer, wine or any intoxicating liquors by any person in any post exchange or canteen or army transport or upon any premises used for military purposes by the United States."

General of the Army, 1891-1895, post surgeons noted how living conditions for Indian soldiers were generally inferior to those of white soldiers. Interestingly, many made the same argument in regard to black soldiers. According to some of these reports deficiencies in barracks conditions were not the fault of the soldiers but rather inherent in the lodgings they had been provided. "No chemical examination of the air in these close barracks has been made, but to one coming from the outer world the atmosphere in those crowded rooms is intolerable. What the ultimate effect may be on the I Company people (Indians), susceptible as they are to crowd poisoning, can be imagined."[130] The broader Surgeon General's summaries, however, made clear the connection between unclean habits and the race of individual soldiers. Even when improvements in living conditions were made, the praise was often feinting:

> Some remarks were made in my last annual report concerning the dissipated and unclean habits of the Indian companies. I am gratified this year to be able to cite Col. Irwin's commendation of the company stationed at Fort Sill: "Camp of Troop L, Seventh Cavalry, Indian, with some 40 families, in admirable police. Never saw better, especially when it is remembered that the command has been on this site for more than two years."[131]

The seemingly forgone conclusion that any report on the Indian soldiers' living conditions would be negative was just one piece of evidence that no matter how well the men in the "L" companies served, that service would never lead to acceptance within white society, including membership in local communities and citizenship in the state.

Problems with the Program

One of the primary points of concern that arose with the program was how to reconcile standard service within the army with the broader push for the project as a manifestation of the

[130] *Annual Report of the United States Surgeon General 1892*, p 36.
[131] *Annual Report of the United States Surgeon General 1893*, p 75.

government's commitment to Christianizing, civilizing, and eventually assimilating Indians across the trans-Mississippi west. This tension figured most prominently in the issue of Indian soldier's wives. In the years after the Civil War the army had increasingly moved towards a model of single enlisted soldiers, with marriage reserved for officers and higher-ranking NCO's. While the creation of All-Indian regulars seemed to necessitate the recruitment of only single men, there were rhetorically powerful reasons why the new Indian recruits should be exempt from the marriage prohibition. The argument that Indian soldiers should be able to ignore certain army regulations struck some as counterproductive to the project of assimilation within the army specifically. In a biting article in *Harper's Weekly*, one observer noted "The government refuses to enlist married white men, and there is not reason why the same rule should not be applied to the Indians, unless barracks should be built upon the reservations for the recruits from single tribes to be quartered among their own people, where the family tie can be maintained."[132] The writer's primary point was that marriage could not be maintained through separation. If husband and wife could not live in close proximity, the marriage would fail. In this way the article highlights not only a primary reason to ban marriages amongst Indian enlistees but to maintain a similar prohibition on other Army regulars. It is unclear whether the article's author was, in some ways, pointing to a need for family housing on military forts but the words could be interpreted that way. Certainly, the second statement about the creation of separate barracks could be interpreted as a call for family housing.

More clearly, the writer's reference to "their own people" also points to one of the ultimate reasons behind the program's subsequent failure and it highlights how the Indian Regular program fundamentally differed from seemingly similar projects like the Zouaves,

[132] "Indian Recruits for the Army," *Harper's Weekly*, March 26, 1892, p291.

Sepoys, and Askaris. While uplift and civilizing notions surrounded the formation of those units, the indigenous soldiers of Algeria, India, and East Africa were both spatially separated from their respective metropoles and segregated from all-white colonial forces. It was far simpler in those circumstances to maintain a prohibition on white enlistee marriage and simultaneously permit indigenous forces to have wives. This seeming double-standard could both bolster the ability of local commanders to control soldiers without fear of "meddlesome" wives and enforce European notions of familial relations onto colonial subjects. The marriage of white soldiers was not specifically banned in most European armies, but commanders were almost always given the ability to approve or deny requests by enlistees to marry. While this power extended over indigenous soldiers it was almost never applied to them. Local commanders occupied a *de facto* head-of-household position in forts across Algeria, East Africa, and India, there was, on some level, a conscious decision made to permit the marriage of indigenous soldiers. The physical separation of indigenous units like the *Schutzetruppe Askari* from concentrated white communities meant there was an absence of tension between large numbers of married indigenous soldiers and white enlistees prohibited to marry. The subject of marriage regarding enlistees within the US army is examined in closer detail in a later chapter of this project but it is critical to consider it a primary point of conflict within the creation of Indian regulars.

S.C. Robertson's Indian soldiers were neither separated from the metropole nor were they segregated from white units. In the early 1890s the Indian Regular regiments were created within the midst of the "mother country." While the Zouaves, Sepoys, and Askaris served as mobile outposts of empire, the land and people of the Indian regular soldiers were, by the mid-1890s already subsumed within the larger American continental empire. Sustained urbanization was rapidly approaching the Northern Great Plains from cities along the Great Lakes while forts like

Keogh, Missoula, and Washakie, initially established to project US power across the region, were spawning numerous smaller towns and cities, each of them overwhelmingly white.[133] This westward movement of towns and cities increasingly brought Indian communities into close and sustained contact with white settlers and the institutions they brought with them. Outside the reservations there was a tremendous amount of pressure for Indians to assimilate and adopt white Christian values and family patterns. This was not necessarily the case in places like Algeria, India, and East Africa were oftentimes indigenous soldiers could skirt a line between assimilation and the maintenance of their own cultural forms.[134]

The tensions caused by urbanization and the expansion of a white presence across the Northern Great Plains was succinctly stated by the same writer who warned of prohibiting marriage for white soldiers while simultaneously encouraging Indians to do the same:

> "Indians marry at a very early age, and great efforts have been made to dignify marriage, to abolish polygamy, and induce the men to work with the squaws. But enlistment as soldiers, and removal to military posts for three or five years, will necessarily break up many families, and the wives and daughters will be thrown upon their own resources among the half-breeds and loose frontier population, with results which are not without experience in cases of families with Indian scouts who are away for six months only."[135]

Here the writer clarified his position, he was not calling for a ban on Indian marriages but was

[133] One of the most formative works in both establishing the Great Plains as a distinctive space and tracing its place in the American imagination is Walter Prescott Webb's *The Great Plains* (1931). The volume has received periodic updates over the years but is still notable for its primary thesis: new forms (cultural, economic, social) had to be created to contend with the drastically different environment of the Great Plains. This included the American city.

[134] Examples of the ability of men in these circumstances to shift between the world of the colonizer and their own cultures include the Kamba of Kenya as detailed in Myles Osborne's *Ethnicity and Empire in Kenya: Loyalty and Martial Race Among the Kamba, c. 1800 to the Present* (2014) and the Askari of East Africa in Michelle Moyd's *Violent Intermediaries: African Soldiers, Conquest, and Everyday Colonialism in German East Africa* (2014). Both Moyd and Osborne highlight the multitude of ways indigenous soldiers operated within and outside strict imperial cultural boundaries. They were able to enjoy an elevated status within their own communities and were also able to place themselves within the broader imperial authority as essential components of continued colonial success. Moyd's use of the term "intermediaries" is particularly compelling as it helps illuminate the ways these men operated neither as complete assimilationists nor as dogged resisters to empire.

[135] "Indian Recruits for the Army," *Harper's Weekly*, March 26, 1892, p290.

instead arguing they should be supported with government action. In this way the article's author may have been calling for a broader loosening of the enlisted soldier marriage prohibition. For Indians specifically, though, the writer argued supporting marriage of enlisted soldiers helped end older practices of polygamy and an apparent lack of spousal support. It would also prevent Indian women and other dependents from the depredations of scrupulous whites entering the region to take advantage of the vulnerable. The language of the article, specifically "loose frontier population" demonstrates a reconfiguration of the army's relationship with Indians as it was increasingly viewed as protective and decidedly paternalistic but was no longer characterized as antagonistic. This was representative of the opinions of many junior officers within the army by 1892 who contended they were the only thing standing between Indians, envisioned as wards of the state, and annihilation at the hands of increasingly land-hungry and "loose" migrants into the Northern Great Plains.

Figure 9 - First Sergeant Frank C. Gonigs and Wife. Private Chas. Marrivall and wife. Army News 1893

Another component that represents a broader theme within a multitude of state projects at the end of the nineteenth century was something akin to Jim Crow assimilation. That is, a simultaneous push for non-whites to adopt white Christian cultural and social values as well as a rejection of non-white forms, but also an increasingly clear distinction that there was an inherent difference between the races and that those differences were insurmountable. The usage of the term "half-breed" as well as the earlier call for Indians to quarter amongst their own people is revealing of the tensions between assimilation and empire and the nascent language of Jim Crow and Social Darwinism. Nowhere was this most apparent than in widely circulated images of seemingly assimilated Indian soldiers and their families, specifically their wives. *The Army News* featured an extended article on Indian Regulars in 1893 and included images of Indian soldiers, replete in regulation uniforms, and accompanied by wives dressed appropriately for any white

woman of a similar socio-economic status. Even though the Indian regulars were partially excluded from the marriage ban, the mixed messages of encouraging monogamous marriages while simultaneously banning the enlistment of married men exposed the seemingly intrinsic inconsistencies in the Indian unit program. Junior officers like S.C. Robertson recognized the inconsistencies almost immediately and appealed from further policy exclusions going so far as to argue over half of his men should be allowed to be married. Robertson argued increasing the married limit would encourage more enlistments.[136] Remedies to deficiencies or failures to meet Indian soldiers' expectation were ultimately fruitless as the program itself increasingly appeared doomed, perhaps even before its formal creation.

Deep is the Grave - The Unexpected Conclusion of the Indian Wars and the Sudden End of the All-Indian Regulars Program

For all the language of civilization and Americanization embedded within Casey's original idea, the Indian Regulars program was almost certainly discontinued not because it had failed to achieve those objectives, as it had hardly been given time to succeed or fail, but rather because the immediate necessity for such a program suddenly disappeared in 1891. The Indian Wars consumed to full attention of the US Army after the Civil War, and in the late 1880s, there was no indication the conflicts would soon end. Going back to the initial proponents of the program like Armstrong and Casey, the Indian Regulars were conceived, at least in part, as a solution to the Indian problem, in other words a conclusion to the seemingly endless conflict between the United States and various Indian groups in the Trans-Mississippi West. When the program was formally initiated in 1891 there was no indication Wounded Knee, which had occurred in late December of 1890, would be the last major armed conflict in the Northern Great

[136] Robertson, 159.

Plains.[137] Proponents of the program envisioned a system that would simultaneously deprive hostile Indians of fighting men, use those coopted soldiers to fight other hostile Indians, and perhaps Americanize them along the way as a well-reasoned proposal potentially capable of solving many of the army's most persistent problems. The Indian Regulars program was thus designed as a long-term solution to the Indian problem, a problem that seemed suddenly resolved by the winter of 1890.

The unexpected end of the Indian Wars, at least on the Northern Great Plains, eliminated any sense of urgency in resolving lingering issues regarding the Indians and laid bare most of the program's potential problems and the troublesome precedents the creation of Indian Regulars seemed to establish. Prior to Wounded Knee the US Army had engaged with hostile Indian forces hundreds of times from the mid-1820s to the winter of 1890.[138] Upwards of 100,000 US soldiers participated in the conflict over its seventy-plus year history with casualties, despite sensational accounts of routs of US forces, remaining at around 1%. If the casualties from Battle of Little Bighorn, for contemporaries of the Indian Regular Program the most important confrontation, are separated from the statistics the casualty rate drops by 25%; while approximately 1,000 soldiers died during the entire Indian War period, over 250 of those deaths

[137] Wounded Knee is covered in greater detail in the Buffalo Soldier's chapter.

[138] For the purposes of this project I am defining the Indian Wars as the period of conflict in the Trans-Mississippi West between the United States and various Indian groups. While an exact starting date is difficult to discern, a sustained series of confrontations was underway by the time of Blackhawk's War in 1832. While the end date for these conflicts is similarly nebulous, it can be argued the massacre at Wounded Knee was the last major confrontation between US Army soldiers and Indians. While the Ute and Apache Wars did encompass confrontations well into the twentieth century, the scale of conflict was much smaller than that at Wounded Knee. An analysis of specific battles and their accompanying casualty rates is outside the bounds of this work but Peter Cozzens three-volume history of the Indian Wars, *Eyewitness to the Indian Wars, 1965-1890.*(2001) provides an excellent and quite detailed analysis of major points of conflict during the Indian Wars as well as a thorough coverage of previous works on most aspects of the war. Cozzens more recent *The Earth Is Weeping: The Epic Story of the Indian Wars for the American West* (2016) condenses his work and provides a more accessible entrée for those unfamiliar with the war.

occurred from June 25-26, 1876 at Little Bighorn.[139] While the casualty rate for the Indian Wars was low compared to the Civil War's 7% the seemingly endless news of US soldier's dying at the hands of Indians created a nagging feeling both within the War Department as well as broader American society that something had to be done. While the Indian Regular program was still being formulated, army strategists feared another Little Bighorn could occur at any moment. The inability of the army to fully pacify the Northern Great Plains and the desert southwest, the two most persistent points of conflict, underscored how tenuous the United States' control of the frontier really was. When the December 29, 1890 confrontation between elements of the 7th Cavalry and members of the Lakota Sioux occurred near Wound Knee, it probably seemed like merely another in long series of bloody if not pointless battles. Unlike other battles, however, the confrontation at Wounded Knee was different. Out of approximately 500 US soldiers, 25 were killed (0.5%) while between 150-300 Indians, most civilians, were killed in the initial conflict.[140] The massacre at Wounded Knee and the subsequent fighting at Drexel Mission the following day were decidedly one-sided affairs. Much has been made of the US Army's willingness to deploy Hotchkiss guns against unarmed or at least lightly armed civilians in December of 1890, but the confrontation represents a willingness, on the part of military officials, to fully engage the Indian problem by the end of the 1880s. The same motives that drove the army to consider the creation Indian Regular units also drove an institutional desire to bring the full force of the US military apparatus to bear in the Northern Great Plains.

[139] Casualty data, in general, is collated from the Department of Veteran's Affairs, while casualty information for the Battle of Little Bighorn is gleaned from the 1879 U.S. Army Court of Inquiry convened in Chicago to analyze the defeat and decide why the US Army had lost.

[140] A detailed consideration of Wounded Knee is outside the bounds of this project. It is an important consideration for the Indian Regulars program as I argue it was an existential threat to the viability of the project. Casualty data for Wounded Knee is derived from eyewitness accounts as well as government testimony. Notable recent works of the conflict and its place in a broader history of Indian Wars see Rani-Hanrik Andersson, *The Lakota Ghost Dance of 1890* (2009), and Jerome Greene, *American Carnage: Wounded Knee, 1890* (2014).

Even though the formal introduction of the Indian Regulars program did not occur until 1891, the violent confrontation at Wounded Knee coupled with failure of subsequent large-scale Indian resistance may have created a stillborn project. There is some measure of irony in the conflict at Wounded Knee as one of the program's primary architects and one of its fiercest proponents was a casualty of the events surrounding the 1890 massacre. Lt. Edward Casey was at the Pine Ridge Agency near Wounded Knee with the 22nd Infantry and his Indian Scouts in December 1890 as part of a much broader response to the Ghost Dance movement of that year. Several days after the events at Wounded Knee and Drexel Mission, Casey was riding out north of Pine Ridge with several of his scouts and other potential recruits when he was unexpectedly shot in the back by a young Indian named Plenty Horses. Plenty Horses had been at Drexel Mission and saw the opportunity to kill a US Army officer as some measure of revenge. Interestingly, government officials seemed to agree with this perspective because when the case against Plenty Horses was heard, he was found not guilty as Casey was categorized a casualty of war.

> Lieut. E. W. Casey, of the Twenty-second Infantry, was killed by Plenty Horses. The death of this gallant young officer was much lamented. He was deeply interested in the welfare of the Indians and was zealous in enlisting and drilling them as soldiers. All the facts in the case clearly show that the killing was without provocation, premeditated, and deliberate. Plenty Horses was arrested and tried in the United States court on the charge of murder but was released by the court on the ground that at the time of the killing "a state of war" existed between his tribe and the United States, and that the killing of Lieut. Casey was an incident of the war and not murder under the law.[141]

Plenty Horses had been educated at the Carlisle School and seemed to be the type of young man for whom the Casey's program was tailor-made. But the killing of Casey by Plenty Horses revealed much deeper issues within the US Army/Indian relationship and his trial offered an

[141] *Report of the Secretary of the Interior 1891* US Congressional Serial Set, Volume 2934 (1891-92), p.132.

opportunity for the army to distance itself from immediate wrong-doing at Wounded Knee and Drexel Mission and broader wrongs perpetrated over the seventy-year war. Plenty Horses was acquitted in large part because the army needed to argue the encounter at Wounded Knee had been between combatants. If Lt. Casey's killing had to be offered at the altar of military rationale, so be it. In many ways the young, sick, and elderly at Wounded Knee were not the only victims of empire that winter.

Returning to the All-Indian Program specifically, the failure of the army to attract soldiers like Plenty Horses coupled with the loss of vocal supporters of the program like Casey most likely doomed the program from the start. Despite exceptional reports of success in the first two years of the program it was summarily cancelled by 1894 and by 1897 all of the All-Indian Regular units had been mustered out. Hugh Lenox Scott argued the program's cancellation was a direct attack on the legacies of General Schofield and former Secretary of War Red Proctor, "The truth was that the Army was angry at General Schofield for mustering out the white men in two troops in each regiment (L&M in spring 1890) and did not want the experiment to succeed."[142] When the program had been created the white soldiers already serving in the "L" companies and "I" troops were summarily mustered out or given a chance to transfer. Company loyalty was something the army worked to instill in its soldiers and the decision to displace white men in favor of people who looked strikingly like those the army was ostensibly fighting may have been too far of a reform move for many. When Redfield Proctor left the Department of War in late 1891, his successor lacked many of the former secretary's zeal for reform, particularly when it was perceived to come at the expense of white men, men who could vote. Ultimately the inability of Indian soldiers to claim citizenship and the vote through military service may have

[142] *Some Memories of a Soldier*, p. 170.

contributed to the demise of All-Indians Regular program.

"The Red Man's Load"

No more are sun and cloud his banners,
The Stars and Stripes above him wave,
And he hath drunk the White Man's Burden
Deep as is the grave.[143]

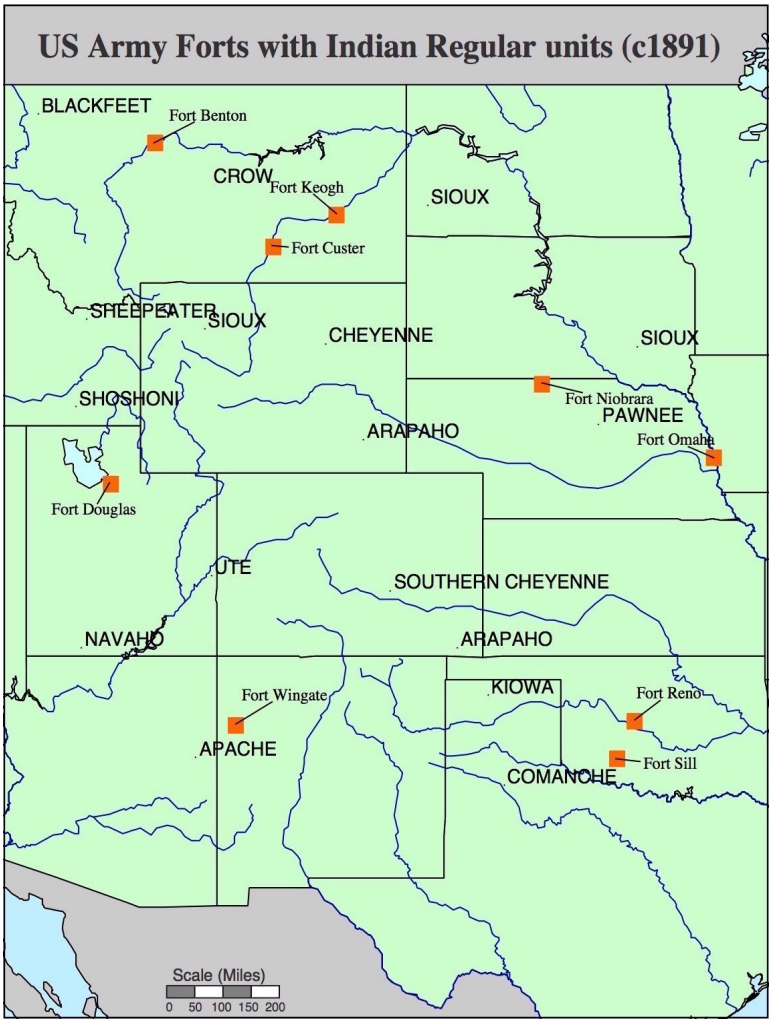

Figure 10 - Map of US Forts with All Indian Regulars in 1891.

[143] Remington, Frederic, and Owen Wister. 1904. *Done in the open: drawings*. New York: P.F. Collier & Son, Publishers.

Table 1 - Forts with All-Indian Regulars Units

Fort	Regiment	Tribe(s)	Commanding Officer
Fort Custer, MT	*First Cavalry, Troop L*	*Crow*	*S.C. Robertson*
Fort Wingate, NM	*Second Cavalry, Troop L*	*Navajo*	
Fort Benton	*Third Cavalry, Troop L*	*Sioux*	
Fort Reno, IT	*Fifth Cavalry, Troop L*	*Southern Cheyenne, Arapahoe*	*Homer W. Wheeler*
Fort Niobrara, NE	*Sixth Cavalry, Troop L*	*Brulé Sioux*	*Edward Dravo*
Fort Sill, IT	*Seventh Cavalry, Troop L*	*Kiowa, Comanche*	*Hugh L. Scott*
Fort Keogh, MT	*Eight Cavalry, Troop L*	*Cheyenne*	*Edward C. Casey*
Fort Omaha, NE	*Second Infantry, Company I*	*Ogalala Sioux*	*Abner Pickering*
Arizona Territory	*Ninth Infantry, Company I*	*Apache*	
Fort Whipple, AT	*Eleventh Infantry, Company I*	*Apache*	
Unknown, Southwest	*Twelfth Infantry, Company I*	*Apache*	*David Baker*
Fort Douglas, UT	*Sixteenth Infantry, Company I*	*Brulé Sioux*	

Chapter 3: Modeling the Metropole:
Urban Planning and the Creation of Democratic Public Spaces on the Frontier

> The word fort doubtless brings to the mind of our eastern readers a picture of earthworks and ditches, bastions, magazines and sally ports.[144] A western fort has nothing of the sort to show. It resembles a small town built of wood and very orderly and neat in arrangement. There are no walls, not even a stockade. The barracks, store houses and officers' quarters face upon a big quadrangle of level ground covered with green turf, in the middle of which stands a flag staff. The buildings with their brown walls, red hoodlike roofs and broad piazzas fronting upon the wide expanse of greensward, make a pretty picture brightened up by the blue uniforms and shining gun barrels of the soldiers and the epaulettes and gold lace of the officers. - "A Visit to Fort Keogh in 1885," *The Northwest Magazine*, August 1885

Less than ten years after the military disaster at Little Bighorn in 1876, military outposts across the Northern Great Plains were no longer viewed as key fortifications shielding the civilized east from vast hordes of roving Indians. The forts were instead reimagined as outposts of civilization; each a nexus for the promulgation of idealized white middle-class Protestant behaviors and social relationships. They became new democratic public spaces inflected with imperial rhetoric of citizen and subject.[145] The brief description given of Fort Keogh in *The Northwest Magazine's* August 1885 article emphasized a conspicuous lack of protective

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[144] "Sally Ports" were small, easily controllable exit points from a fortification, etc.

[145] Luke Goode, *Jürgen Habermas: Democracy and the Public Sphere*, Modern European Thinkers (London ; Ann Arbor, MI: Pluto Press, 2005) offers an excellent introduction Jurgen Habermas' notion of the public sphere. Democratic public spaces are not exactly the same as the public sphere but there is significant overlap. Goode's book approaches what he admits is well-worn territory because " when a key concept or intellectual figure is declared passé, the time is ripe for a reappraisal."(Goode 1) Furthermore, Goode's approach remains focused on democracy and citizenship, something essential when considering Habermas' concepts and the idea of the democratic public space. Habermas, himself, conceptualizes the *Öffentlichkeit* (public sphere) as society engaging in critical issues, issues defined as such through public discourse, i.e. the coffeehouse or salon. The democratic public space created by the parade grounds at places like Fort Keogh were not exactly this type of discursive space. There were explicit discussions about issues at the fort or problems that needed addressing; rather the parade ground was a space were class, gender, and even racial relations were mediated. Appropriate social interaction was modeled and sometimes contested, generally in a covert manner as shown in the following chapter on Army laundresses and the custom of promenading. Where the democratic public space theory emerges in the context of Keogh is how everyone at the fort had generally equal access to the space, the parade ground, the piazza. I would argue even if explicit Habermasian discourse did not occur on the green space, there was an exchange and a negotiation about social relations. Another excellent summary and critical engagement with Habermas' idea of the public sphere is in Fraser, Nancy. (2018) "The Theory of The Public Sphere: The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere (1962)." In *The Habermas Handbook*, edited by Brunkhorst Hauke, Kreide Regina, and Lafont Cristina, 245-55.

measures; the fort was distinctly un-fort-like. Not only were the soldiers stationed at Fort Keogh seemingly unafraid of Indians attacks, they were confident enough in their own safety to reside alongside a considerable number of women and children, "On the piazzas are groups of women and children and of the officers off duty, and the routine and red tape of the military does not interfere with an active and agreeably social life."[146] The heterosocial nature of Fort Keogh led to the construction of non-essential civil buildings and structures, not only the piazza but a post hall, a chapel, a school, and a library.[147] These new structures were designed to provide an antidote to what many viewed as the inherently "rough and tumble" life of men unmoored from their families and transplanted to the Northern Great Plains. Middle-class reformers eyed the military with suspicion and the frontier as a hotbed of debauchery.[148] The remote nature of places

[146] *The Northwest Magazine*, August 1885.

[147] Some of these new structures were reactions to shifting demographics at forts on the Northern Great Plains, but some were also a signal as the army's renewed interest in the well-being of soldiers, both physical and moral. Much like the green space was a pace to model appropriate middle-class behavior, so too were the chapels, schools, and libraries points of social uplift. In Chapter 5, I expand this idea to include an increased administrative involvement in regulating and directing the leisure time of soldiers, not only in these places, but in gymnasiums, respectable alternatives to the saloon and post canteen, and even the formation of organized sporting teams.

[148] The inherent nature of the American frontier as a debauched space was generally uncontested by historians until the 1970s. Since that time there have been several notable works that call in to question that reality. W. Eugene Hollon's *Frontier Violence, Another Look* (1974) provided substantive case studies refuting the idea that the frontier and/or American West was more violent than the rest of the country. Roger McGrath's *Gunfighters, highwaymen, & vigilantes: violence on the frontier* (1984), Clare McKanna's *Homicide, race, and justice in the American West, 1880-1920* (1997), and David Peterson Del Mar's *Beaten down : a history of interpersonal violence in the West* (2002) have all challenged that narrative. While each of those works documents violence in the American West, it is generally shown as something exceptional, isolated, unexpected, or in McKenna's case driven by broader national issues over race and justice. Violence, though, was only one part of the moral reformers' equating the frontier with degeneracy; sexuality was another key component and on that topic the academy has yet to arrive at a consensus. Peter Boag's *Re-Dressing America's Frontier Past* (2011) recasts the lonely or decidedly heteronormative lives of those in spaces like the Northern Great Plains as inherently unconventional and potentially homosexual, gender fluid, transgendered, or queer. Boag's queering of the American West is compelling, but it isn't a new concept nor is it driven by a compelling body of evidence. That is not to say the things Boag details did not occur in the American West, nor am I arguing same-sex relationships, for example, did not occur with a greater frequency in places like the Great Plains, there was a space created for those who did not conform to societal conventions in the American West. Moral reformers knew that and this created a certain level of anxiety. Combined with the perceived, if not actual, lawlessness of the frontier places like Fort Keogh must have seemed to be desperately in need of reform and moral guidance. It is therefore unimportant if the frontier was a debauched space; more critical was how it was conceptualized by the public. William Benneman's *Men in Eden: William Drummond Stewart and same-sex desire in the Rocky Mountain fur trade* (2012) makes a similar if less totalizing argument to Boag.

like Keogh combined with military service and exposed the men of the army and those around them to the dual contaminating influences of no established moral institutions and a paucity of appropriate familial relations.

Figure 11 - Officers and Indian Scouts at Fort Keogh, Bartelmess 1890/91 DPL Z-2591

Fort Keogh, as observed in the 1885 article, was a departure from almost one hundred years of state-sponsored military construction. While the ostensible role of a frontier fort in the years immediately after the Civil War had been the control and eventual subjugation of "restless" native populations, by 1885 the function of outposts like Fort Keogh was instead characterized as providing "an active and agreeable social life" to soldiers and their families. This in turn served as a model to those outside the fort: Indians, farmers, traders, and trappers. The presence of soldiers in a well-planned space like Fort Keogh conveyed a message of self-assurance. While the blue uniforms, sparkling guns, and golden epaulettes were as much a part of the message as the structures themselves, the buildings of Keogh and similar forts across the Northern Great Plains were key components in the government's shift to a more globally informed version of imperialism. This new version of frontier fort construction mandated the presence of respectable

white middle-class models; communities that subject populations could use as aspirational templates.

Fort Keogh was constructed during the transition from the fortification model to one more akin to the democratic public spaces modeled by Frederick Law Olmstead and Calvert Vaux in their plan for New York's Central Park in the 1850's.[149] Olmstead's and Vaux's reimagining of the role of parks and other shared spaces in the United States saw widespread adoption in cities and towns throughout the nation, even in environments seemingly antithetical to urban reform like the frontier fort. When Fort Keogh was established in the Montana Territory in 1876, it was almost 300 miles from Bismarck, Dakota Territory, the nearest railhead.[150] The location chosen for the new cantonment[151] was along the Yellowstone River and was positioned within a day's ride of the infamous battleground at Little Bighorn. The site was situated between the Crow and Brulé Sioux and was chosen, at least in part, to provide a barrier between the Army's erstwhile allies, the Crow, and the perennially restless Sioux. Additionally, the fort was strategically positioned to protect a proposed rail route across Montana, the Northern Pacific Railroad (see Figure 12). The Northern Pacific Railway continued to rely upon the US Army's presence to satisfy customers' anxiety about crossing the Northern Great Plains even after much of the route was completed (see Figure 13). Fort Keogh's location was therefore consistent with fortification decisions made from the 1830s through the 1860s; key trade routes, important allies, and suspected enemies had to be protected or challenged with military power in the form of the frontier fort.

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[149] Roy Rosenzweig and Elizabeth Blackmar, *The Park and the People: A History of Central Park* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1992); Setha M Low and Neil Smith, eds., *The Politics of Public Space* (New York: Routledge, 2006); John Parkinson, *Democracy and Public Space: The Physical Sites of Democratic Performance* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012).

[150] Report on location of new post April 1879. RG 393, NARA.

[151] "Cantonment" is a synonym for fort, but it also carries the connotation of something more temporary or less established.

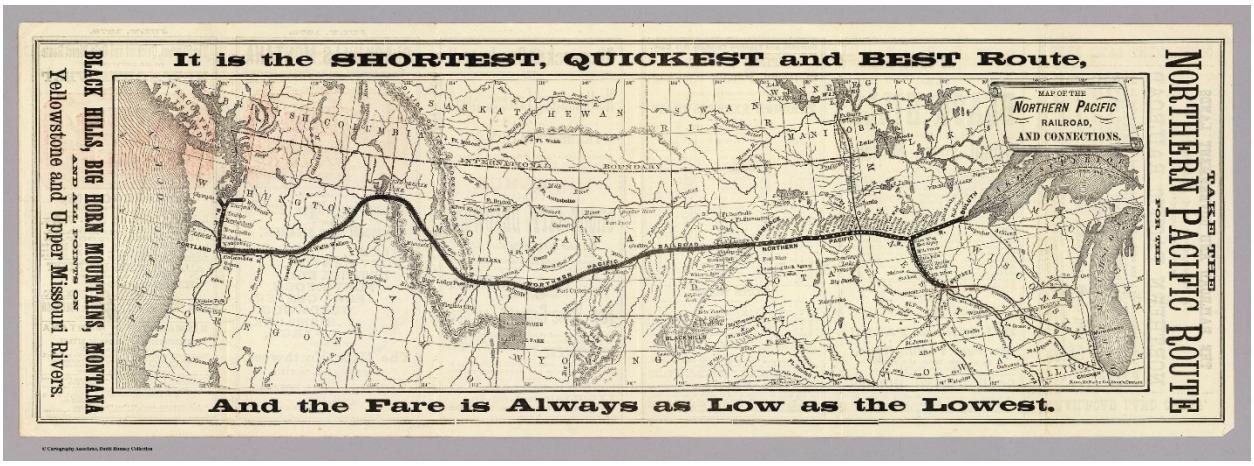

Figure 12 - Map of the Northern Pacific Railroad and connections 1879. David Rumsey Historical Map Collection.


"The Custer Route"

—TO THE—

BLACK HILLS

IS THE ONLY ROUTE HAVING

United States Military

PROTECTION.

The United States Government, recognizing the importance of this, the only first-class route to the Hills, have established a military post near the Foot Hills to protect the line from Bismarck to the Black Hills, thus making it as safe and free from danger in traveling as in any part of the States.

In addition to the protection given by United States troops, the Company have established a system of Outriders, two of whom accompany each coach. They have also adopted a plan to further protect passengers from raids by Road Agents. Passengers before starting can deposit all moneys not required for expenses of meals, etc., on the road, with their agent, and secure a draft for the amount on their agent at the other end of the line, thus obviating all danger of loss.

Elegant Palace Sleeping Cars

—BETWEEN—

ST. PAUL AND FARGO,

ALSO

DULUTH and FARGO

ON

Northern Pacific Road,

On all Night Trains, also between CHICAGO and ST. PAUL.

GOOD EATING HOUSES

Are located at convenient points along the Line, between Chicago and Bismarck, and ample time always allowed passengers FOR MEALS.

Figure 13 - Northern Pacific Railway timetable 1879. Granger Collection, New York.

The democratic public space model intuitively felt inappropriate in such a remote and potentially hazardous location, but the model was adopted, nonetheless. While the initial decisions surrounding the fort's location were focused on security, the plans for the actual

construction, as laid out in government instructions, were devoid of obvious defensive measures including a stockade and a blockhouse. The lack of obvious defensive measures was contrary to at least one of the fort's original objectives, securing a northern rail route. The plans for Fort Keogh were an idealized yet incomplete implementation of Olmstead's and Vaux's Central Park plan. The new fort's buildings would be united by a vast park-like green space at its very heart. The physical and social isolation of the fort would be mediated by the sense-of-community instilled by the green space ringed by a post hall for communal entertainment, a chapel and school for the inculcation of proper values and moralities, and it would all be surrounded by idealized middle-class housing. Fort Keogh served as a bridge between the older fortification model and the emergent idea of democratic public spaces. While it had originally been envisioned as a protective installation, safeguarding transportation across the Northern Great Plains, it was constructed as a bold new experiment in state-sponsored social modeling and reform.

Fort Keogh incorporated changes based on the experiences of army officials across almost fifty years of state-sponsored building in the Northern Great Plains. Fort Keogh was constructed without ancillary defensive structures; there was never a blockhouse or a stockade at the fort. Fort Keogh's physical form reflected the changing role of fortifications not only in the Northern Great Plains but across an expanding American empire. The powerful imperial state no longer feared conquest, rather it projected self-confidence. By the mid-1870s army forts were no longer defensive structures designed to mitigate attacks by Indians or protect the lives and property of white settlers, rather they were way-stations along imperial conduits of peoples, goods, and ideas connecting the eastern metropolises with the emerging west coast. Forts like Keogh embodied utopian ideals about how urbanization could be directed for the betterment of

those most in need of reform including the working class, recent European immigrants, and Indians most of who were increasingly pressured to Americanize. Each of these groups were present at these forts. The urge to model appropriate middle-class behavior influenced the move from a defensive-oriented statement of power to a bold self-assured declaration of empire designed to Americanize subjects. While most of the changes at US Army forts were ideological or conceptual, almost all of them were made manifest in drastically reconfigured physical spaces.

Tearing Down the Walls

Wooden stockades, the prototypical defensive feature of nineteenth century forts, disappeared in the years after the Civil War. Although this was never part of an official change in policy, statistical analysis of forts construction in the Northern Great Plains reveals the trend away from stockade and blockhouse[152] construction at forts during the Civil War and accelerating after 1870. Out of 67 forts constructed across the Dakotas, Montana, Wyoming, and Nebraska between 1819 and 1892, 29 had stockades and 30 had blockhouses of some type. Breaking construction data down into periods reveals a change during and after the Civil War as fifteen out of thirty-five, or 43%, had stockades. The same percentage had blockhouses. Prior to the war thirteen out of fourteen forts constructed prior to 1861 had stockades, 93%, with the same percentage for blockhouses. After 1870 the trends is overwhelmingly a rejection of stockades and blockhouses as only two out of eighteen forts, 11%, constructed during that period had stockades. Similarly, four out of eighteen were built with blockhouses, 22%. (See Tables 1, 2, and 3.) This was perhaps the most visible break with previous models of fort construction. The

[152] Blockhouses were the most defensible point of any fort. They were elevated and had narrow windows offering an excellent field-of-view for those inside. This was the place where soldiers could withstand assaults. Blockhouses remained at many forts even once the stockades had long been torn down. The blockhouse by the end of the 1870s may have been more symbolic than functional, a vestige of the fort's original perceived function in places like the Northern Great Plains.

physical changes at trading posts in the 1840s and their subsequent renovations reveal a general trend away from fortified walls and blockhouses. There's no better model for this change than Fort Laramie, Wyoming. Laramie was originally established as a trading post in 1834 and was known as Fort William and served to supply people traveling west along the North Platte and Laramie Rivers. It also took advantage of the burgeoning beaver fur trade.[153]

A wooden stockade was the most prominent feature of Fort Laramie when it was first built. It was considered a critical defensive element; even though stockades generally disappeared after the Civil War they did persist in places geographically and economically similar to Fort Laramie, vital trading posts and way-stations for settlers. Fort Laramie experienced a change in ownership and name several times before the army eventually purchased it in 1849.[154] The decision to purchase the commercial fur trading post was driven, in no small part, by the veritable flood of people moving westward by the late 1840s. The influx of people necessitated a continued focus on security, the stockade being the most prominent feature. The civilian presence and the continued importance of the post for both commerce and transportation meant Fort Laramie retained the stockade a bit longer than other locales but the usage of the

[153] See Leroy R. Hafen's *Fort Laramie and the Pageant of the West, 1834-1890* (1984) for a fairly exhaustive account of the fort's establishment. Additionally, Paul Hedren's *Fort Laramie and the Great Sioux War* (1998) places the fort within the broader context of region-wide conflicts between the United States and nominally subject populations. Hafen's *Mountain Men and Fur Traders of the Far West: Eighteen Biographical Sketches* (1982) and *Fur Traders, Trappers, and Mountain Men of the Upper Missouri* (1995) both provide a background on the fur-trading origins of many encampments along the western edges of the Great Plains.

[154] Fort Laramie was originally known as Fort William the it was established by William Sublette and Robert Campbell. The fort changed hands several times over the next decade, first to Fontenelle, Fitzpatrick & Co in 1835, and the to the American Fur Company in 1836. The AFC eventually rebuilt the fort with new adobe walls and dubbed it Fort John to distinguish it from the wooden-walled Fort William. The name, Fort Laramie, was eventually adopted when the army purchase was completed in 1849. In numerous primary sources the Fort is inconsistently referred to as any and all of the above names. For more on the American Fur Company including the history of Fort William/John as well as the construction of the new adobe walls refer to Eric Jay Dolin (2010) *Fur, Fortune, and Empire: The Epic History of the Fur Trade in America*, Barbara Belyea (2007) *Dark Storm Moving West*, James Hanson (2005) *When Skins Were Money: A History of the Fur Trade*, and Anderson, William Marshall, Dale L. Morgan, and Eleanor Towles Harris. (1967) *The Rocky Mountain journals of William Marshall Anderson:The West in 1834*.

stockade as well as its eventual disappearance from Fort Laramie does provide a chronology relevant to later forts like Keogh.

Drawings by western travelers recorded the appearance of places like Fort Laramie from the early 1840s until the end of the nineteenth century and these drawings and paintings contribute to a visual chronology of changes in fort construction, one where the stockade's evolution and elimination is on full display. Alfred Jacob Miller, a portraiture artist from Baltimore, travelled across the Great Plains to the Rocky Mountains in the first half of the nineteenth century and, along the way, he sketched scenes of life both amongst his fellow travelers and the fur traders he encountered, as well as various tribes of Plains Indians. His drawings, later turned into watercolors, provide one of the few visual records of what life was like in places like Wyoming in the years before the Civil War. While much of the material in his drawings is useful when reconstructing life in the Great Plains, his depiction of frontier forts are of primary importance for this project.[155]

[155] See Clyde Hollman's *Five artists of the Old West: George Catlin, Karl Bodmer, Alfred Jacob Miller, Charles M. Russell and Frederic Remington* (1965) for a broad overview of Miller's journeys contextualized with accounts of other prominent artists who toured and memorialized the American West. Miller's works are summarized in Marvin C. Ross's *The West of Alfred Jacob Miller* (1951). It draws on Miller's own writings about his watercolors. Finally, Lisa Strong's *Sentimental Journey: The Art of Alfred Jacob Miller* (2008) provides a general summary of his artistic work and his life.

Figure 14 - Fort Laramie, Alfred Jacob Miller (1857) The Walters Museum, Baltimore, 37.1940.49.

Alfred Jacob Miller described Fort Laramie, then Fort William, as having a:

> "quadrangular form, with block houses at diagonal corners to sweep the fronts in case of attack. Over the front entrance is a large blockhouse in which is placed a cannon. The interior of the fort is about 150 feet square, surrounded by small cabins whose roofs reach within 3 feet of the top of the palisades[156] against which they abut. The Indians encamp in great numbers here 3 or 4 times a year, bringing peltries to be exchanged for dry goods, tobacco, beads and alcohol. The Indians have a mortal horror of the 'big gun' which rests in the blockhouse, as they have had experience of its prowess and witnessed the havoc produced by its loud 'talk'. They conceive it to be only asleep and have a wholesome dread of its being waked up."[157]

[156] Palisades were also known as stockades.

[157] Alfred Jacob Miller, *The West of Alfred Jacob Miller* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1951): text for plate 49.

Figure 15 - Interior of Fort Laramie, Alfred Jacob Miller (1857) The Walters Museum, Baltimore, 37.1940.150.

His painting (Figure 14 - Fort Laramie, Alfred Jacob Miller (1857) The Walters Museum, Baltimore, 37.1940.49.) focuses on the defensive and offensive nature of the fort and his written description confirms the defensible nature of the fort and how it was understood, both by Miller and Indians, as a potential source of violence. Although the paintings were created from memory once Jacobs had returned to Baltimore, they were based on now lost sketches he had drawn in the late 1830s. Ironically the wooden palisade/stockade featured so prominently in Jacobs' painting was gone by the time he transformed his rough sketches into completed watercolors in 1857. The wooden-stockaded fort Jacobs' paintings celebrated had long since changed by the time he completed them. For Jacobs, the army's lack of involvement in the fortification he encountered, one privately owned by Sublette and Campbell, was irrelevant, as his drawing of the fort's exterior (Figure 14 - Fort Laramie, Alfred Jacob Miller (1857) The Walters Museum, Baltimore, 37.1940.49.) features the American flag prominently; Miller may have been confused as to the ownership of Fort Laramie and he may have seen little distinction between a privately held fort

and one managed by the army. The fort was a symbolic projection of America's power across the Great Plains and towards the Rocky Mountains. Additionally, his written account of the Indians' fears of the "big gun" was another example of Jacobs', and most of his contemporaries', views of the function of places like Fort William/Laramie. It was meant to project authority and power.

James Wilkins' drawing from 1849 (Figure 16 - Fort Laramie, James F. Wilkins, pencil drawing, 1849.) also depicts a stockade, but this one was made of adobe. This change was the result of the American Fur Company's acquisition of Fort William and its subsequent renovations. While the fort's primary role was defensive, it also served as a central location for commercial activities. The Indians present were there to exchange "peltries"[158] for products they could neither easily obtain nor manufacture. This secondary function, one where interaction was more critical than protection, became the overarching function of not only Fort Laramie but most army fortifications across the Great Plains, particularly after the Civil War.

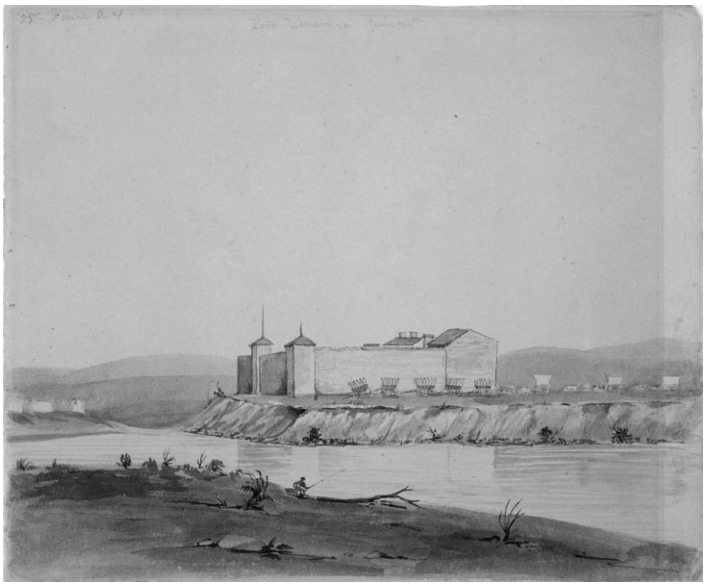

Figure 16 - Fort Laramie, James F. Wilkins, pencil drawing, 1849.[159]

[158] *Peltries* is the collective form for animal pelts.

[159] Fort Laramie, James F. Wilkins, pencil drawing, 1849, James F. Wilkins Overland Trail drawings, image 3935, Wisconsin Historical Society.

When the US Army purchased Fort William/John in 1849, it would have appeared much as Wilkins drew it (Figure 16 - Fort Laramie, James F. Wilkins, pencil drawing, 1849.). The adobe stockade, however, was in ill repair and one of the first actions Lt. Daniel Woodbury of the Army Corp of Engineers took was to access the practicability of retaining or repair the crumbling infrastructure of the fort. He quickly decided against any future stockade. Although this was not a function of some broader military change, it reflected the shifting role of forts in the Great Plains. To be sure Woodbury did include defensive features, namely several blockhouses at the corners of the now open-air fort. The blockhouses incorporated wood and adobe and were clearly designed to house army personnel should an assault against Fort Laramie occur.[160]

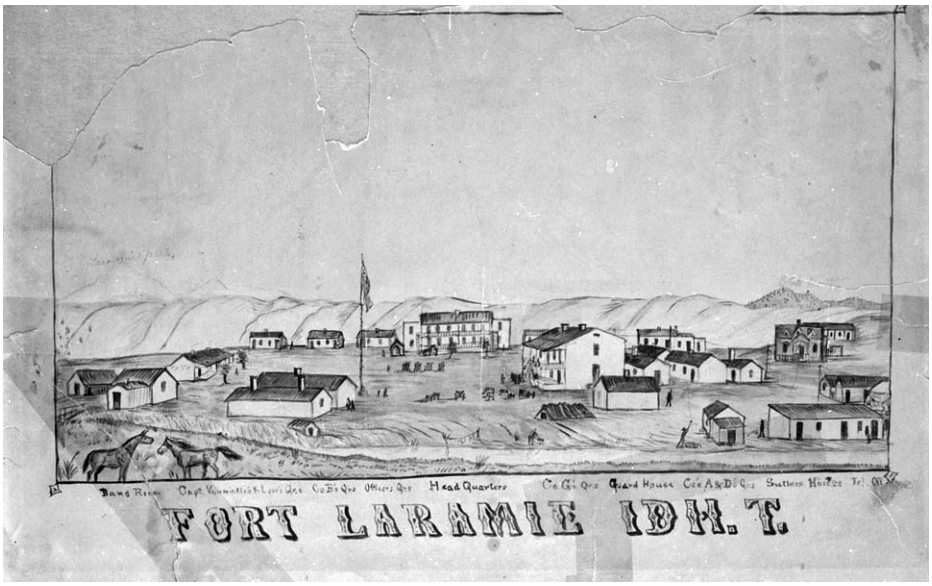

Figure 17 - Fort Laramie, artist unknown, drawing, 1863, Drawing American Heritage Center[161]

[160] Alison Hoagland's *Army Architecture in the West: Forts Laramie, Bridger, and D.A. Russell, 1849-1912* (2004) includes an exhaustive treatment of Fort Laramie's construction and the decision-making process deployed by army officials during its renovations.

[161] Drawing of Fort Laramie, Idaho Territory, University of Wyoming, American Heritage Center, Pete W. Van Winkle Collection, Accession Number 00186, Box 1, Folder 7, Negative Number 27963

The number of Indians gathered outside Fort Laramie (Figure 14 - Fort Laramie, Alfred Jacob Miller (1857) The Walters Museum, Baltimore, 37.1940.49.) and inside its grounds, (Figure 15 - Interior of Fort Laramie, Alfred Jacob Miller (1857) The Walters Museum, Baltimore, 37.1940.150.) was notable as forts were often established at points-of-friction between competing tribes. While Sublette and Campbell's original fort was primarily trade-oriented, as the army acquired forts like Laramie, they often privileged those outposts conveniently located near contemporary points of inter-tribal conflict, i.e. near between the Comanche to the south, the Sioux to the north and northeast, and the Cheyenne to the west. The function of the fort as a place for negotiation, while prominent before the Civil War was critical. The first Treaty of Fort Laramie (1851) provided a broad foundation for theoretically peaceful relations between the United States and various Indian tribes including the Assiniboine, the Three Tribes (the Arikara, the Hidatsa, and the Mandan), the Crow, the Lakota Sioux, and the Arapaho and Cheyenne. The treaty was intended to bring peace to the Great Plains and prohibited military actions between the tribes.[162] That treaty eventually failed and was replaced after the Civil War with the Second Treaty of Fort Laramie (1868). While the fort was critical in the second treaty, that function of the fort, one where it was a point of negotiation, waned during the 1860s and eventually disappeared in the 1870s.

By the mid-1860s, Fort Laramie looked less like an outpost fearful of Indian attacks or one where local tribes could trade and conduct negotiations, rather it seemed more an American town. The anonymous drawing from 1863 (Figure 17 - Fort Laramie, artist unknown, drawing, 1863, Drawing American Heritage Center) shows no apparent defensive structures as stockades

[162] For more information on the Treaty of Fort Laramie (both the 1851 one and the 1868 one) see Charles E. Wright *Law at Little Big Horn: due process denied* (2016) and Paul Van Develder *Savages and scoundrels: the untold story of America's road to empire through Indian Territory* (2009).

became an increasingly rare phenomenon.[163] Even Woodbury's blockhouses were absent. The three most prominent features of the fort were the American flag[164], the large two-storied buildings, and a broad expanse of grass at the center of the fort, the parade ground. The parade ground became a focal point for activities at forts across the Great Plains during and after the Civil War.

A Park-Like Atmosphere

The reconfiguration of the fort's parade grounds from a site of military preparation to one of martial and social performance was a direct function of the stockade's disappearance. This park-life environment was a democratic public space and served not only the role of the traditional parade ground, one of martial preparation, but more importantly an emergent nineteenth century role of social bridge between the classes. It was a place where officers and their families could mingle with enlisted men and their families, allaying fears of a growing and inseparable divide between the classes. It was a space similar to that envisioned by Frederick Law Olmstead in New York's Central Park, it was meant to sooth growing class tensions:

> "It is not simply to give the people of the city an opportunity for getting fresh air and exercise; if it were it could have been maintained by other means than those to be provided on the park at much less cost. It is not simply to make a place of amusement or for the gratification of curiosity or for gaining knowledge. The main object and justification is simply to produce a certain influence on the minds of people and through this to make life in the city healthier and happier. The

[163] Stockades did not completely disappear. Frank Burke, in an 1882 letter about Ft. Maginnis, Montana Territory, a fort constructed in 1881, "The outward appearance of the post is not particularly warlike. There are no heavy walls of masonry and frowning batteries of big guns, such as you have been accustomed to see, but in their stead are long stockades entirely surrounding the garrison. They are composed of heavy logs sharply pointed and firmly set in the ground and pierced at intervals for rifle shooting." Burke wrote of a change, the obvious lack of a stockade with blockhouses, like those of Forts William and John, but the stockade he describes, "sharply pointed" was never a component of most Great Plains forts built after the Civil War. The reasons for the stockade at Fort McGinnis aren't entirely clear but there is some indication it may have been more as a defensive measure aimed at cattle rustlers and other criminal elements, all white, roving the remote plains of Montana. Burke 1882 Letter

[164] Great Plains forts often featured enormously tall flagpoles, this increased visibility of the flag over the rolling plains.

> character of this influence is a poetic one and it is to be produced by means of scenes through observation of which the mind may be more or less lifted out of moods and habits into which it is, under the ordinary conditions of life in the city, likely to fall."[165]

The influence was the process of inculcating white middle-class protestant values into those.[166] Officers and their families modeled appropriate public behavior including dress, general comportment, and even familial relations. Although this modeling carried remnants of the performative middle class, something Halttunen (1982) argued was displaced by a distrust of empty social rituals, the connection between consumerism, public appearance, and public behavior were all inextricably linked to those aspiring to enter or remain in the middle class at the end of the nineteenth century. How officers, their wives, and their children were dressed when they entered the green space was just as important as what they did once they were there. Olmstead envisioned park-like spaces as respites from the increasingly competitive public life of nineteenth century urban life. He saw the park as a place "of coming together, all classes largely represented, with a common purpose, not at all intellectual, competitive with none," a democratic space. He argued all classes had to be respected in the public space as "each individual adding by his mere presence to the pleasure of all others, all helping to the greater happiness of each."[167] As the forts of the Northern Great Plains were being reconfigured in the years after the Civil War,

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[165] Frederick Law Olmstead, *Instructions to Central Park Gardeners* (1872)

[166] Sven Beckert and Julia B. Rosenbaum, eds., *The American Bourgeoisie: Distinction and Identity in the Nineteenth Century*, 1st ed, Palgrave Studies in Cultural and Intellectual History (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010); Peter Gay, *The Bourgeois Experience: Victoria to Freud* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1984); Thomas Augst, *The Clerk's Tale: Young Men and Moral Life in Nineteenth-Century America* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2003); Karen Halttunen, *Confidence Men and Painted Women: A Study of Middle-Class Culture in America, 1830-1870*, Yale Historical Publications. Miscellany 129 (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1982); Stuart M. Blumin, *The Emergence of the Middle Class: Social Experience in the American City, 1760-1900*, Interdisciplinary Perspectives on Modern History (Cambridge [England] ; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1989); Linda Young, *Middle Class Culture in the Nineteenth Century: America,Australia, and Britain* (Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire ; New York: Palgrave, 2003); Burton J. Bledstein and Robert D. Johnston, eds., *The Middling Sorts: Explorations in the History of the American Middle Class* (New York: Routledge, 2001); Daniel T. Rodgers, *The Work Ethic in Industrial America, 1850-1920* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1978).

[167] Olmstead, *Public parks and the enlargement of towns: read before the American Social Science Association at the Lowell Institute, Boston, Feb. 25, 1870*, page 15-16

Olmstead's vision of the greensward as a democratic public space offered a template for the future of forts. No longer would frontier forts be defined and constrained by stockades, rather they would become communities united around a democratic public space, the repurposed parade ground or greensward.

Essential to the newly present greensward were attendant ideas of how that space should be used. Much as Olmstead and Vaux had carefully considered how their projects at Central Park and Prospect Park would be utilized by the public, the presence of the greensward on frontier forts with no explicit direction as their usage meant the space had to be mediated by the men and women of places like Forts Keogh, Laramie, and Assiniboine. The greenswards became a space of public performance. How the officer interacted with his wife and children and vice versa were key aspects of that performative nature.[168] While the strolling or promenading of families around and across the greensward mimicked the formations of soldiers on the parade ground, the space was resignified as one of potential social conflict. Familial interactions, modeled by the middle class, served to satisfy nascent reform impulses while simultaneously marking the increasingly broad gulf separating the officerial class from the enlisted men and the laundresses.[169] Even as the greensward reinforced and soothed class divisions, it united the fort around an idea of democratic participation. Anyone at the fort could access the park-like grassy fields ringed by trees. Neither the houses of the officers nor the barracks of the enlisted men were privileged in

[168] Habermas first formulated his idea of a bourgeois public sphere in *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere*, German original *Strukturwandel der Öffentlichkeit. Untersuchungen zu einer Kategorie der bürgerlichen Gesellschaft* (1962), while Habermas' theory was originally related to politics and the ability of the bourgeois to check the power of rulers, it later took on broader meanings as a place where societal and cultural ideals could be tested, and if found wanting, ridiculed.

[169] Richard Hofstadter, *The Age of Reform: From Bryan to F. D. R* (New York: Knopf, 1977); James W. Trent, *The Manliest Man: Samuel G. Howe and the Contours of Nineteenth-Century American Reform* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2012); James L. Machor, *Pastoral Cities: Urban Ideals and the Symbolic Landscapeof America*, History of American Thought and Culture (Madison, Wis: University of Wisconsin Press, 1987); Lorien Foote, *Seeking the One Great Remedy: Francis George Shaw and Nineteenth-Century Reform* (Athens: Ohio University Press, 2003).

their placement around the parade ground. In a multitude of ways, the parade ground became a space much more akin to the village greens of eighteenth-century New England, it was a nexus of urban interaction.[170]

Figure 18 - Hermann Stieffel (1826-1886) Fort Keogh, Montana T.

As the parade ground was transformed into the greensward, there was still a need for a space dedicated to military preparedness. Northern Great Plains forts reconciled the new uses of the parade ground/greensward and still extant defensive needs of the army by constructing a parallel space. Fort Keogh's parade grounds were mirrored by a broad field located amongst the stables to the south (Figure 20 - Fort Keogh Map 1878). In Hermann Steiffel's 1880s painting for Fort Keogh (Figure 18 - Hermann Stieffel (1826-1886) Fort Keogh, Montana T., he clearly contrasted the park-like nature of the parade ground with the bare-farther practice field of the fort. The presence of the space and the contrasting ways it was presented offer clear evidence of

[170] See John Frederick Martin, *Profits in Wilderness: Entrepreneurship and the founding of New England towns in the seventeenth century* (1991) for more information on the role of the village green in early American civic life.

the often-contradictory purposes of frontier forts and the ways the needs of the army were balanced with those of the officers, soldiers, and their dependents.

The American City in Miniature

If the disappearance of the stockade and the reconfiguration of the parade ground as a democratic public space were radical, the re-imagining of the fort as a model urban space was the most important shift in re-conceptualizing the fort and its role in society as simultaneously imperial and American. It also created a template for forts in more overtly imperial spaces like the Philippines constructed at the end of the nineteenth century. Within a year of Fort Keogh's construction, it included everything a self-contained community needed to survive in the remote frontier of the Montana Territory, including a bakery, granary, hospital, a post library, and even a billiard hall. Within a decade the fort was expanded to include an elaborate post hall, meant for important gatherings as well as entertainments like plays and dances, as well as new officers' quarters to accommodate the growing number of families young lieutenants usually had when arriving at the fort. The re-imagining of the fort as the American city in miniature meant each of its constitutive components bolstered a new middle-class conceptualization of what it meant to be American. There was some irony that the frontier fort would model itself explicitly by the late nineteenth century as most of them had been catalyst for towns either adjacent to or within several miles of the forts, i.e Fort Keogh and Miles City, Fort Assiniboine and Havre, and Fort Niobrara and Valentine. The development of parallel urban facilities within each of these forts was a repudiation of the unplanned, haphazard, a potentially dangerous growth of those cities. Forts across the Northern Great Plains spurred localized urban development in the years after the Civil War. While forts like Keogh were initially constructed to safeguard railroad workers and the broader project of transport across the Rocky Mountains, those forts became epicenters first

for goods and materials necessary in those projects and later as points of protection for suppliers, merchants, builders, as well as attendant service workers. As numbers grew and the stockades disappeared, most civilian workers relocated to adjacent communities. Fort Keogh spawned Miles City, Montana even before its completion in 1878. Fort Keogh was preceded by the Tongue River Cantonment in 1877 and Miles City grew up adjacent to that encampment as a response to Gen. Nelson Miles' eviction of sutlers (post traders) who accused of supply liquor to soldiers and disturbing the order of the camp. The sutlers simply moved away from the camp but not so far as to make the trek for soldiers arduous or time consuming and established Milestown. When Fort Keogh replaced Tongue River the following year, the citizens of Milestown similarly moved their city so it would convenient to the new fort and established Miles City.[171]

Miles City grew rapidly after 1878. It soon had a post office, money order office, at least four hotels, a train station connected to the Northern Pacific Railroad, as well as numerous saloons, a hospital, and various merchants.[172] The city seemed poised to provide everything needed by officers, soldiers, and their families stationed at Fort Keogh, but Miles City's growth spurred a new development phase at Keogh. The bars and saloons in Miles City became and increasingly troublesome problem for discipline amongst the enlisted soldiers. While post traders and sutlers had previously been able to sell beer and liquor to the soldiers, a commanding officer could, with little recourse by the inhabitants of the fort, prohibit those sales.[173] Even when beer and whiskey were prohibited at places like Keogh, adjacent towns like Miles City were all too willing to step in and offer drink.

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[171] Butler, *Daughters of Joy, Sisters of Misery : Prostitutes in the American West, 1865-90*. *Knights Directory of Miles City* (1882).

[172] *Knights Directory* (1882).

[173] The previous chapter argued how this could be explicitly tied to race as officers at several forts with Indian soldier continents routinely banned liquor sales, at least to Indian soldiers.

Drunkenness, gambling, and fornication were not simply middle-class fascinations but rather they were viewed as detrimental to a well-functioning unit. Attempts to remove temptations, particularly alcohol and gambling, were often met with new establishments springing up in adjoining towns. Where once soldiers would have used post sutlers or canteens to buy drinks, they now accessed a panoply of "resorts" catering to their every whim. Middle-class officers would have lamented the reality that now those corruptible soldiers lacked the steady, moralizing hand of their superiors. Even attempts to enact punishment on perennial drunkards seemed futile as evidenced in an interview with Private Walter John Potter, who was stationed at Fort Keogh, Montana at the end of the nineteenth century: "One old fellow, what was his name Jack…He liked his whiskey. He'd be so drunk he couldn't get off his bunk…He was a sgt. Everytime they'd demote him, but then he'd get the stripes back a few days later."[174] The sergeant was merely a symptom of how corruptible off-base establishments became in the decades after the Civil War. Buying alcohol at post sutlers and canteens could always be regulated by commanding officers, but saloons and bars in neighboring towns were much more difficult to police. Added to the inability to monitor soldiers' activities in these locations were the multiple ways the saloons competed for soldiers' business. The alcohol flowed and soldiers spent as rapidly as the bartenders poured:

> "On the remaining corner of Main and Fifth, where the Leighton block now stands, was located another very popular resort, the Cottage saloon, John Smith proprietor, and "Jimmy" Coleman managing director. It was housed in a very ornate two story building something on the style of a Siwash chalet, and was the chief resort of the "swaddies" on pay day. On these occasions the patronage was so large and so urgent that there was no time wasted on drawing beer. It was emptied into a couple of wash-tubs behind the bar, and dipped up in the beer glasses in a continuous service; one shift filling the tubs and another, emptying

[174] Walter John Potter interview, 1961 June. Montana Historical Society Collections.

them. Such a thing as "a quiet drink" was impossible in the Cottage saloon while pay day lasted."[175]

The saloons not only provided unfettered access to drinking, they increasingly served as gambling dens, "Gambling was as open as selling popcorn is now. Every saloon had its games of stud, faro and roulette, with black-jack or chuck-a-luck and such like to tempt those who hadn't the nerve to go against the real thing."[176] Similar to how saloons catered to soldiers' insatiable thirst for whiskey and other drinks, they also offered a variety of gambling options designed to attract as many soldiers as possible.

The third "sin" associated with the off-base establishments was prostitution and this, according to post surgeons, was perhaps the most insidious of all the vices. Data from post returns and the Surgeon General's report in the *Annual Report of the War Department* confirms the source of much of the anxiety about soldiers and the dangers of illicit sex. Venereal disease was cataloged at length in the *1885 Secretary of War's Annual Report* and 7.8% of all soldiers were reported to have a venereal disease of some type. Many of the forts in the Northern Great Plains far exceeded this number. For example, Fort Assiniboine, in northern Montana, had a venereal infection rate almost twice the average. 13.6% of soldiers had gonorrhea while 3.4% were reported to have syphilis.[177] Post surgeons knew this was a perturbation as did commanders and critics of the frontier army. While raw numbers were reported, the Surgeon General, and post

[175] *Recollections of Old Milestown*, (1918) Samuel Gordon, Miles City, Montana

[176] *Recollections of Old Milestown*, 1918 Samuel Gordon, Miles City, Montana

[177] *Sec War Annual Report 1885*. Venereal disease excluding Constitutional Syphilis was a catch-all term in Appendix 1 of the report. The aggregate percentage of soldiers affected 6.5% There is also the category of Constitutional Syphilis, that is syphilis that had progressed beyond the chancre phase. This could indicate those suffering long-term effects of the disease. This category accounted for another 1.3% of soldiers. Taken together, the S.G.'s report indicated just under 8% of soldiers, both enlisted and commissioned, suffered some type of venereal disease during the year. Fort reports were further separated into Gonorrhea, Syphilis, and Other Venereal Diseases. For Assiniboine, the raw number of cases were 74 Gon., 26 Syph., and 2 Other VD. 1885 post returns indicate there were 543 soldiers, both officers and enlisted men, present at the fort in October 1885. This would result in a startling percentage of 17% for all three categories.

surgeons hesitated to provide much of an accounting for the startlingly high numbers. For many though, the data confirmed their suspicion that sexual activity, particularly with prostitutes had a deleterious effect on the army's readiness.[178]

Contrary to previous histories of the Northern Great Plains, and women's shifting roles in that place, most women were not de facto prostitutes nor were the omnipresent laundresses at frontier forts code for prostitution.[179] Ladies of the evening were often explicitly listed in government documents, even within census records under the category of occupation.[180] While soldiers at remote frontier forts had more restricted access to prostitutes there were inevitably "chicken ranches" near virtually every fort. Additionally, if a town of almost any size grew near a fort, there were usually a multitude of options for soldiers:

> "We would go downtown after retreat in the evening, we'd speak to the sergeant in charge and tell him we'd back in time for taps. Miles City at that time was made of up of houses, well, houses that entertained men, ladies that entertained men you might say. They'd chase us. We weren't looking for that…They'd come up to the post. We didn't want that kind anyway."[181]

Potter's words are compelling as he demonstrates a general disdain for "that kind" but clearly men at places like Fort Keogh were having sex with prostitutes. The rate of venereal diseases as well as the documented proof of self-avowed ladies of the evening residing near forts attest to this. Commanding officers were not blind to this and while there may have been some resignation that these types of activities would take place in more homosocial environments, namely forts before the arrival of families, the presence of officers' wives and children meant

[178] For a more exhaustive treatment of venereal disease and its connection with gender and class see Allan Brandt's *No Magic Bullet* (1985).

[179] See Anne M. Butler, *Daughters of Joy, Sisters of Misery : Prostitutes in the American West, 1865-90* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1985).

[180] See 1880 US Census Report, particularly Fort Niobrara, Neb. In that record six women are identified as "Ladies of the Evening."

[181] Walter John Potter interview, 1961 June. Montana Historical Society Collections.

morally repugnant behavior had to be eliminated or at least pushed out of sight. Military oversight of adjacent cities was absent and many communities who profited off the presence of forts were resistant to control by moralizing captains and lieutenants.

Constructing a Utopian Middle-Class Community

The perceived sinful nature of towns like Miles City combined with a new demographic reality at forts; the arrival of not only wives but nieces, cousins, aunts, and children meant the junior officers and their wives had to look within the military establishment to protect their most vulnerable members from corruption. Most of these families viewed themselves as part of an ascendant officerial class and they began to demand a space reflective of that reality. The greensward was the first step, but the entire fort had to reflect middle-class virtue:

> "Buildings were of brick, mansard roofs of shingles. Officers's [*sic*] quarters were very large and comfortable, 35 sets of officers' quarters and 12 sets of barracks, a large hospital, post chapel, gymnasium, bowling alley, theatre, headquarters office, officers' club, reading rooms in one end of the garrison; post traders' store in the other. Stables, warehouses, commissary and quartermaster's building outside of the post a total of 59 buildings."[182]

Mary Doane's recollections of her childhood at Fort Assiniboine, in the northern third of Montana, seemed a world away from the images of Miller, Wilkins, and even Steiffel. Doane's description of the mid-1890s fort was an encapsulation of virtually every feature needed by the military at a remote outpost combined with buildings designed to allay the isolation the harsh Montana winters could elicit particularly in newcomers. While the gymnasium could be viewed as a proactive measure to keep soldiers fit through the long winter, the bowling alley seemed superfluous in its specificity. The theatre was also difficult to imagine in the context of Miller or Wilkin's Fort Laramie.

[182] Doane Collection 1:3 "History of Montana Forts" Mary L. Doane, given to Daughters of the American Revolution

Figure 19 - Fort Keogh Post Hall, late 1880s/early 1890s, Z-2586 Denver Public Library.

The theatre was symbolic, just as the stockades had been and as the greensward had become, of a shifting purpose for frontier forts. There was no defensive purpose for such a urban and urbane feature. Similarly, an argument that the theatre could inculcate American ideals into ostensibly barbarous Indians is unfounded as there is not a single instance of performances being held for Indians residing near the forts. There is a possibility Indian soldiers attended plays and concerts, but in those cases any Americanization from the theatre was merely one of a whole host of cultural models meant to overwhelm young men separated from home. The theatre, in the context of late-nineteenth century forts, was a nexus of middle-class virtues and values.[183] Theatres had long been seen as rowdy places unsuitable for respectable women and men but in the years after the Civil War this changed. They were increasingly genteel spaces where

[183] See Bruce A. McConachie, *Melodramatic Formations: American Theatre and Society, 1820-1870*, 1st ed, Studies in Theatre History and Culture (Iowa City: University of Iowa Press, 1992); David Grimsted, *Melodrama Unveiled: American Theater and Culture, 1800-1850*, 1st pbk. ed, Approaches to American Culture (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1987); Rosemarie K. Bank, *Theatre Culture in America, 1825-1860*, Cambridge Studies in American Theatre and Drama (Cambridge ; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1997); Amy Hughes, *Spectacles of Reform: Theater and Activism in Nineteenth-Century America* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2012).

bourgeois men and women could model proper etiquette and cultural appreciation. The isolation of frontier forts combined with a lack of overtly exclusive spaces for the rising officerial class, save the officers' club, meant those spaces had to be recreated across the Northern Great Plains. For some forts the theatre was a formalized affair, even in its construction. At Keogh, for example, it was a separate building, the post hall. At other forts, particularly those established later in the 1880s, the theatre was most often a multi-use space like Fort Assiniboine's:

> Colonel Lee soon caused to be erected a large Assembly Hall, a framework covered with canvas. The floorboards were covered with canvas and waxed. Everyone was enthusiastic and soon festivities began. Dances, dinners, lunches, followed despite the fact that we were hampered by the lack of the usual so-called essentials, or at least we would think now that we could not possibly entertain without them…We had plenty to drink-of course I mean water. No one hears of such a thing as claret in those days. Colonel Lee always supplied the dances with a pail of claret punch.[184]

When the theatre occupied a shared space, it could provide a venue for another key component of frontier post life in the late nineteenth century, dances and accompanying dinners.

The pre-occupation many officers and their wives had on these affairs should not be surprising. Particularly in the years after Wounded Knee, the military demands on soldiers at frontier forts were few. Combined with isolation, particularly in winter, and the still ascendant aspirations of the officerial class, the ability to throw lavish dances accompanied by equally ostentatious meals was evidence of the distance between the officers' families and the enlisted mens'. The Northwest Magazine article from 1885 made the connection between the presence of so many officers and a vibrant social life clear, "With thirty or forty officers at a post, all of them educated gentlemen and many of them of high family connections in the East, and with numerous ladies and children (for most officers are married and many have married young), it will be seen that a large military post presents exceptionally good opportunities for

[184] Undated address by Mary L. Doane, Doane Collection 1:2

sociability."[185] The isolation of places like Keogh and Assiniboine may have worked in the officers' favor, as they were able to construct their own urban space and an accompanying urban hierarchy with them at the top. While there were few elites, in an eastern seaboard sense, there were notable individuals within the military establishment whose presence was welcomed and recounted to others as evidence of social respectability:

> Socially, Fort Keogh was extremely gay, with Mrs. Miles, a daughter of Judge Sherman of Washington D.C. and a niece of General Sherman, and her sister, Miss Elizabeth Sherman, afterward Mrs. Don Cameron, wife of Senator Cameron of Pennsylvania, as hostesses. Luncheons, dinners, dances, cards and all other forms of social activities were continuous. I know of no other place where is such a round of social functions as in a military post.[186]

By the late 1880s the fort had fully been transformed from a hybrid defensive and commercial space to one designed to present socially acceptable behaviors and reinforce increasingly stark divisions between the classes. As the function of places like Assiniboine changed so too did those who determined the nature of cross-class contact. The middle-class women who enjoyed the genteel spaces of the theatre and the organized sociability of dances were increasingly powerful moral presences on frontier forts. They viewed their suffering on the Great Plains as proof of their own worth and they showcased the ways they did not allow the environment to overcome their inherently genteel natures, "We dressed at these balls in our very best, although some of us had a mile to walk through the grass, and fight mosquitoes all the way."[187] The harsh Montana winters and the sweltering summers in the Dakotas were a challenge these women faced with determination. Just as their husbands endured the hardships of military so did they. But, and this was key to the type of performative middle-class identity they were practicing, they

[185] *Northwest Magazine* 1885.

[186] Doane Collection 1:3 "History of Montana Forts" Mary L. Doane, given to Daughters of the American Revolution.

[187] Undated address by Mary L. Doane, Doane Collection 1:2.

did it with a smile and only recalled "We danced, dined, lunched, rode horseback, had concerts afternoon and evening, serenades, indeed every form of social activity was indulged in."[188] The frontier fort, by the end of the nineteenth century, was not an outpost against the enemies of empire, rather it was an outpost of American middle-class culture. The one thing the officers' wives could not abide was the presence of crass working-class women; women who could provide oppositional models of what it meant to be successful in an imperial context.

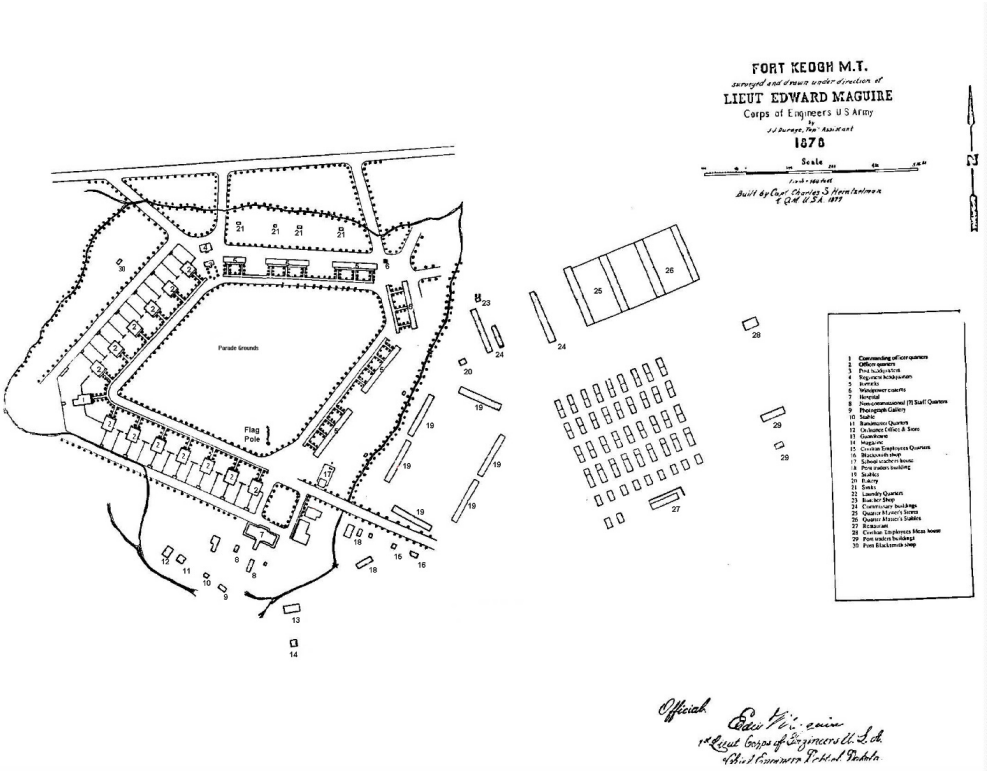

Figure 20 - Fort Keogh Map 1878

[188] Doane Collection 1:3 "History of Montana Forts" Mary L. Doane, given to Daughters of the American Revolution

Table 2 - Northern Great Plains Constructed Prior to 1861

Fort	**Year Est.**	**Terr./State**	**Stockade?**	**Blockhouse?**
Fort Atkinson/Camp Missouri	1819	Neb	y	y
Fort Union	1828	DT	y	y
Fort Pierre	1831	DT	y	y
Fort Laramie	1834	WT	y	y
Fort Bridger	1842	WT	y	y
Fort Benton	1845	MT	y	y
Fort Kearny I	1846	Neb	y	y
Fort Kearny II	1848	Neb	y	y
Fort Grattan	1855	Neb	y	y
Fort Lookout/Kiowa	1856	DT	y	y
Fort Randall	1856	DT	y	y
Fort Abercrombie	1857	DT	y	y
Camp Walbach	1858	WT	n	n
Fort Berthold/Atkinson	1858	DT	y	y

Table 3 - Northern Great Plains forts constructed 1861 to 1870

Fort	**Year Est.**	**Terr./State**	**Stockade?**	**Blockhouse?**
Fort Halleck	1862	WT	n	n
Fort Caspar	1862	WT	y	y
Fort McPherson/Camp McKean	1863	Neb	n	n
Fort Sully	1863	DT	y	y
Plum Creek Station	1864	Neb	n	n
Fort Thompson	1864	DT	n	n
Camp Mitchell/Camp Shuman	1864	Neb	y	y
Fort Rice	1864	DT	y	y
Fort Sisseton	1864	DT	y	y
Fort Dakota	1865	DT	n	n
Fort James	1865	DT	n	n
Fort Reno/Connor	1865	WT	y	y
Fort Buford	1866	DT	n	n
Fort Sanders	1866	WT	n	n
Camp Cooke	1866	MT	y	y
Fort C.F. Smith	1866	MT	y	y
Fort Phil Kearny	1866	WT	y	y
Fort D.A. Russell	1867	WT	n	n
Fort Sidney	1867	Neb	n	n
Fort Stevenson	1867	DT	n	n
Camp Reynolds/Fort Shaw	1867	MT	n	n
Fort Ransom	1867	DT	n	n
Fort Elizabeth Meagher	1867	MT	y	y
Fort Ellis	1867	MT	y	y
Fort Fetterman	1867	WT	y	y
Fort Totten	1867	DT	y	y
Fort Omaha	1868	Neb	y	y
Camp Auger	1869	WT	n	n
Camp Baker/Fort Logan	1869	MT	n	y
Fort Fred Steele	1869	WT	n	n
Camp Stambaugh	1870	WT	n	n
Fort Bennett	1870	DT	n	n
Whetstone Agency	1870	DT	n	n
Fort Hale	1870	DT	n	n
Fort Pembina	1870	DT	y	y

Table 4 - Northern Forts constructed after 1870

Fort	**Year Est.**	**Terr./State**	**Stockade?**	**Blockhouse?**
Fort Washakie	1871	WT	n	n
Fort Abraham Lincoln	1872	DT	n	y
Fort Seward	1872	DT	y	y
Fort Hartsuff	1874	Neb	n	n
Fort Robinson	1874	Neb	n	n
Fort Yates	1874	DT	n	y
Fort Keogh	1876	MT	n	n
Fort McKinney	1876	WT	n	n
Fort Custer	1877	MT	n	n
Fort Missoula	1877	MT	n	n
Fort Fizzle	1877	MT	n	y
Fort Meade/Camp Ruhlen	1878	DT	n	n
Fort Assiniboine	1879	MT	n	y
Fort Maginnis	1880	MT	n	n
Fort Niobrara	1880	Neb	n	n
Fort Yellowstone	1886	WT	n	n
Fort Crook	1891	Neb	n	n
Fort William Henry Harrison	1892	MT	n	n

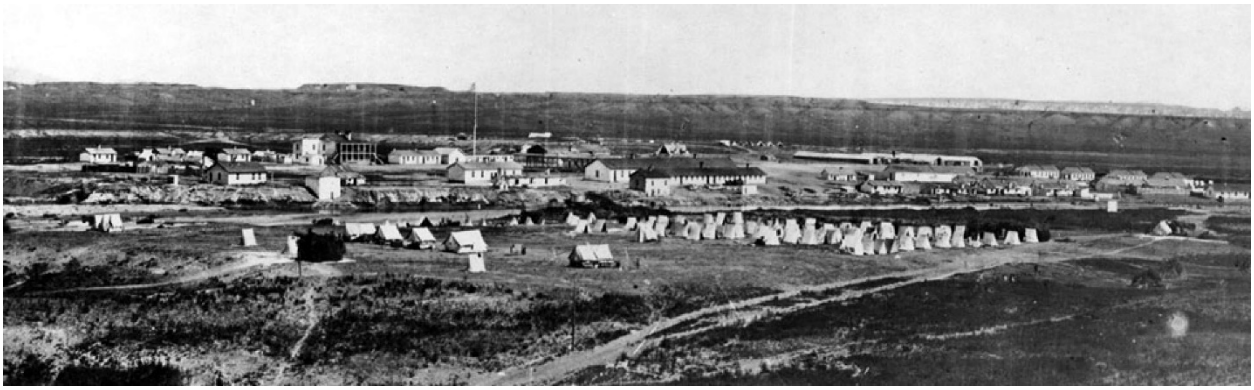

Figure 21 - Jackson Photo Fort Laramie 1870 USGS Photo Library

Chapter 4: From the Parlor to Soap Suds Row: Gender, Class, and Moral Authority on Western U.S. Army Outposts in the Late-Nineteenth Century

> I seek for one as fair and gay
> But find none to remind me
> How sweet the hours I passed away
> With the girl I left behind me[189]

Private Ami Frank Mulford [190], a trumpeter in the 7th Cavalry stationed in Dakota Territory, humorously recounted a peculiar incident on the parade grounds of Fort Rice in his 1878 memoir:

> There he [a colleague of Mulford's] saw one of the company laundresses and the wife of an officer approach and pass each other, coming from opposite sides of the parade. Both ladies were togged in their finest fixings, were equally proud and dignified, and they passed each other with eyes front and nose up, as if each thought she owned the whole reservation, with the troops thrown in. It was evident that both ladies just ached to look back and see what the other had on. The Laundress controlled her curiosity. Not so the other lady. She looked back, continuing her grand march as she did so, and disastrous was the result. She encountered a plebian[sic] wheelbarrow, which had no respect of class or caste. The wheelborrow[sic] reared up and knocked her hat off, and the lady sat down on the parade with the wheel end of the wheelbarrow on her lap. Then there was a mix-up, with striped hose much in evidence, until the lady got the barrow to lie quiet for a moment, when she sprang to her feet, recaptured her hat, and headed for her quarters." [191]

Mulford's anecdote challenges long-standing narratives characterizing US Army outposts in the years after the Civil War as essentially homosocial spaces with few females present. This perception concedes that there were a handful of women in the vicinity of frontier forts, but they were exclusively Colonels' wives, school "marms," Indian women, or prostitutes. Their numbers and presence were inconsequential. While Mulford's story can be viewed as a demonstration of

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[189]"The Girl I Left Behind Me." Popular Folk Tune in wide use by the US Army throughout the 19th century. It was traditionally played when the men went on maneuvers during which their wives were prohibited from accompanying them.

[190]Ami Frank Mulford was the trumpeter for Co. M of the 7th, US Cavalry. He survived the massacre of June 1876 but with both legs paralyzed. His account of army life on the frontier was written less than two years after his service ended.

[191] Ami Frank Mulford, *Fighting Indians. In the Seventh United States Cavalry, Custer's Favorite Regiment*, 1st ed. (Corning, NY: Paul Lindsley Mulford, 1878), 52.

how women and their engagement with the well-worn nineteenth century custom of promenading was a peculiarity at places like Fort Rice, it also reveals how social tensions were transposed from the metropole to the periphery. The disparity in class and social status in the imperial context of the frontier outpost between the two women is of primary importance. The promenade was a symptom of a growing conflict between two models of appropriate womanly behavior and the relationship between those oppositional modes of behavior with broader ideas of imperialism and political participation. The laundress occupied a self-assured space, as demonstrated by her decision not to look at the other woman. She was neither the wife of an officer nor was she a prostitute as has been suggested by other historians.[192] Rather, she represented the liminality of spaces like late-nineteenth century forts and the ways women could carve out careers and lives often denied them in urban spaces owing to class, religion, ethnicity, or race. The ability of the laundress to control her own future naturally extended beyond the boundaries of the fort and delineated a new path for economically engaged women to influence American society. The other woman, characterized by Mumford as insecure and unsure of her place, was the wife of a junior officer. Unlike the laundress, the junior officer's wife was simultaneously the epitome of late Victorian ideals and a statement on the incongruous presence of women who served no practical purpose at outposts of empire like Fort Rice.

While both women actively participated in the creation and maintenance of empire, their roles were fundamentally at odds. The junior officer's wife provided the steady womanly influence required by men like her husband. The laundress, conversely, was a necessary

[192] See Alexy Simmons, *Red Light Ladies: Settlement Patterns and Material Culture on the Mining Frontier*, Anthropology Northwest, no. 4 (Corvallis, Or: Dept. of Anthropology, Oregon State University, 1989); J. M. Moynahan, *Pioneer Prostitutes: Soiled Angels on the American Frontier* (Spokane, Wash: Chickadee Pub. Co, 1999); Lael Morgan, *Good Time Girls of the Alaska-Yukon Gold Rush* (Fairbanks [Alaska]: Epicenter Press, 1998); Anne Seagraves, *Soiled Doves: Prostitution in the Early West* (Hayden, Idaho: Wesanne Publications, 1994); Max Evans, *Madam Millie: Bordellos from Silver City to Ketchikan*, 1st ed (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2002) for more on prostitution in a frontier context.

component of the actual machine of empire, the army. She provided crucial domestic services. Unlike the junior officer's wife, her presence at Fort Rice was not mediated through a man. She was needed whether or not she was married. The economic independence of the laundress was at the heart of the confrontation Mulford witnessed. She represented one path for women in the years after the Civil War, one predicated on their own economic success and independence. For women like the laundress, self-sufficiency meant predictability in a time of great economic flux. It also meant growing consumer and political power, both in the immediate vicinity of places like Fort Rice, and more broadly at a territorial, regional, and national level. The Dakota Territory granted "School Suffrage" to women in 1883.[193] This allowed women to vote on local school issues. Six years later, when North Dakota was admitted as a state, School Suffrage was expanded to include the right to vote for state-wide education offices. School suffrage was thus a pathway to greater political participation and could directly translate into women gaining the franchise. Laundresses were able to directly translate their financial success into political capital.

Mulford's story most obviously shows how the laundresses and officers' wives participated in a well-rehearsed and developed form of social intercourse - promenading. "Promenading culture" was a well-established form of social interaction in late-nineteenth century America. While both families and single people partook in the practice of strolling down urbanized avenues and streets bedecked in their finest clothing, the custom was primarily a mode for women to represent themselves as acceptable members of their respective class. Promenading was an increasingly important means for establishing and maintaining one's membership within the burgeoning middle class. It was also a critical guard against class interlopers. Wearing the

[193] See Corrine M. McConnaughy, *The Woman Suffrage Movement in America: A Reassessment* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2013) for a more recent analysis of school suffrage in the context of the broader push for woman suffrage in the nineteenth century.

correct dress, hat, shoes, and gloves as well as keeping appropriate company all helped women claim membership within society's upper and middle classes. Those same things also served as powerful gatekeepers to those seeking membership outside their own class. Women dressed in the latest fashions walking down New York's Fifth Avenue or Philadelphia's Market Street were thus not only representational models of appropriate feminine virtues but powerful symbols of how gender was used to bolster class-based claims. While the humorous interlude Mulford noted was specifically a manifestation of promenading, it was also, and more importantly, a sign of class and gender tensions wracking the nation even in the remote army outposts of the northern Great Plains. Embedded within conflicts over gender and class was a growing anxiety as to what types of labor women should engage in. Was the wage labor of women like the laundresses appropriate for ostensibly white women? Or were the charitable works of middle- and upper-class women more appropriate for women? As working-class women clashed with their middle- and upper-class counterparts over who represented authentic feminine virtues they also took part in a broader discourse as to where the real moral heart of the nation lay: within the materially abundant single-family homes of elites or the humbler and oftentimes cheek-to-jowl surroundings of the working class. Thus, Mulford's observations were not only inflected by the gender of the observer and the participants; they were a statement on class relations and on how conflicts in the urban east had been transported to the frontier.

In the 1870s, Fort Rice would have been about as far as one could get from the gentrified avenues of New York and Philadelphia. But here was promenading culture being carried out with decidedly comedic effect, at least from Mulford's perspective. Perhaps Mulford saw humor in the incident because it exposed, both literally and figuratively, the officer's wife's social aspirations and the incongruity between women of her class and the realities of life at Fort Rice.

His characterization of the officer's wife as absurdly out-of-place betrayed his own class-bound ideas about proper womanliness and its place within the context of military service. Officers were a military necessity, but their wives seemed to occupy an ambiguous social space at best. Mulford summarized the presence of women on western forts by detailing the stark contrast between officers' wives and laundresses:

> "There were but a few women attached to our command two laundresses to each company and they were ladies in every sense of the word, and were respected by the common herd more then [sic] were the wives of the officers. Officers wives in the army seem to act just as though they had a right to give orders to the privates, but they are the only ones that the rules do not recognize and provide for. When a command is on the move, there is transportation furnished for the laundresses, but their places at that time are nearly always usurped by painted dolls."[194]

Officers' wives served no apparent purpose on remote army outposts, according to Mulford, but they we able to exert some measure of authority owing to their elevated status. Conversely, laundresses performed essential work for the soldiers, and by extension, the army. Men like Mulford relied on the services and the domestic labor performed by the laundresses and the ability of the "painted dolls" to literally take the laundresses' places on government-provided transportation while providing no discernible benefits was antithetical to a functional military.

Army frontier outposts in the decades after the Civil War represent a unique space in which not only the promenade, but virtually all aspects of daily life mirrored broader societal conflicts regarding gender and the differences between women of various classes.[195] Contrary to contemporary representations of army forts during the Indian Wars, these outposts were not homosocial spaces. Women occupied visible positions on the far-flung posts in the Dakota,

[194]Mulford, p60.

[195] In *On Foot: A History of Walking* (2004), Joseph Amato argues the act of promenading has its origins in early modern Europe, specifically in France, amongst the nobility. The act of publicly strolling was a way to establish one's position within the ruling hierarchy.

Wyoming, Oklahoma, and Montana Territories.[196] The promenade, in this context, was a manifestation of the tensions between army laundresses and the wives of army officers. Gender and class were equally critical considerations as both groups vied for preeminence at these forts. Unlike officers' wives, laundresses benefitted from long-standing governmental recognition. Furthermore, they performed essential labor in the context of frontier spaces; providing not only laundry services but serving as tempering presences on the enlisted men. Laundresses were critical to the military's functioning and the laundresses knew it as demonstrated by the ways they responded to affronts to their work and personal virtue. The self-assured status of laundresses was perhaps the greatest source of contention with the officers' wives as the working women of places like Fort Rice represented a working-class alternative to the home-bound and economically disconnected portrayal middle-class women often envisioned for themselves.

Laundresses enjoyed official sanction and they were regarded as essential to successful military operations but by the 1870s their very presence on army forts was being questioned. In 1878, the Banning Committee in the US House of Representatives recommend that the Army Reorganization Act include a provision phasing out laundresses from the US Army.[197] A critical question emerges from Congress' seemingly sudden decision to phase out a program that had been in place since the beginning of the nineteenth century and that had much deeper roots in the military culture of the United States Army and its British antecedents. The primary driver for excluding laundresses from the army was the class and gender conflict present in Mulford's account. Just as working-class women clashed with elites in the urban east over who would

[196]About 16-20% of the population at most frontier outposts were female according to 1880 US Census data. This number includes adults as well as children and the percentage was generally closer to 20% when there were a significantly large number of children present.

[197]The 1878 report of the Banning Committee included the following provision: "Sec. 31. That hereafter women shall not be allowed to accompany troops as laundresses: Provided, That any such laundress, being the wife of a soldier, as is now allowed to accompany troops, may, in the discretion of the regimental commander, be retained until the expiration of such soldier's present term of enlistment."

occupy the moral nexus of society so too did they confront one another in the northern Great Plains. While the laundresses enjoyed a lengthy history in the army, the officers' wives, particularly junior officers, drew upon late-nineteenth century class identities as well as broader global discourses on women and their civilizing presence to push the laundresses off the forts. The decision was simultaneously a product of societal disputes over gender and class and a response to shifting imperial forms overseas.

This chapter focuses on the nature of the class and gender conflict present at US Army forts in the Great Plains from 1875 to 1895. Concentrating on how both the women and men of Fort Rice and similar spaces across the Northern Great Plains envisioned the combination of gender and class as embodied by officers' wives and their seemingly antithetical counterparts, the laundresses, helps to illuminate not only the specifics of daily life, but also to highlight the ways local patterns both reflected and helped to shape broader institutional and national discourses and governmental policies related to gender and class as well as their place in a burgeoning American empire. Women have received comparatively little attention in broader treatments of army life in the American West.[198] What few works exist have focused almost exclusively on the lives of elites. This work aims to reincorporate the experiences of women, both working class and elites, within the specific history of the army in the American West as well as broader global histories of gender and empire.

Prior works' almost exclusive focus on elites is a reflection of the archival materials available and not necessarily an indictment of historical subject choice. While the nineteenth century was a fantastic era of letter writing, and more importantly for the historian, letter saving,

[198]Sandra Myres' *Romance and Reality on the American Frontier* (1982), Patricia Stallard's *Glittering Misery: Dependents of the Indian Fighting Army* (1978) and Anne Eales' *Army Wives on the American Frontier* (1996) are several notable exceptions. However, each of these works focuses almost exclusively on the experiences of officers' wives.

few non-elite women seemed to have had the time or inclination to keep these types of documents. Furthermore, the practice of journal keeping was a middle-class preoccupation and is reflected in the available archival sources. Simply stated, officers' wives were far more likely to write and receive letters and preserve them than laundresses. They were also far more likely to keep journals detailing their experiences in the American West and, in fact, many of them later published those journals.[199]

The paucity of extant primary sources generated by laundresses has led to their minimization in treatments of the American West, in general, and works on the US Army in the late-nineteenth century more specifically.[200] Arriving at a satisfactory history of laundresses and their lives and creating a framework whereby those experiences can be compared with those of officers' wives like Elizabeth Bacon Custer presents distinct methodological challenges but there is, in fact, quite a bit of data embedded within works that seem to exclude their lives. Reading journals, letters, and memoirs generated by officers and their wives is one piece but it must be combined with a close examination of institutional documents. While this approach largely fails

[199]The list of published journals by "Wives of the Indian Wars," as many of them liked to be called, is quite extensive but a list of notable works must necessarily start with the three books published by George A. Custer's widow, Elizabeth Bacon Custer: *Boots and Saddles* (1885), *Tenting on the Plains* (1889), and *Following the Guidon* (1890). Additionally, numerous officers from the period published their journals or wrote memoirs detailing the life in the frontier army. While the accounts of officers generally focused on war, virtually all of these works included hints as to what life would have been like for dependents on the frontier. Association figures prominently in these works and only the thinnest of references to women outside the officers' own social class exist. When laundresses are mentioned in these books it is almost always, as Laurel Thatcher Ulrich argued, a "woman behaving badly."

[200]The mid-late 1980s generated a profusion of new works related to women in all aspects of American life but more specifically the notion of the American West as a homosocial was dispelled by numerous histories demonstrating the presence of women across the west. Anne Butler wrote the controversial *Daughters of Joy, Sisters of Misery* in 1985 and garnered a backlash as she highlighted the prevalence of prostitution across the American West. While summarizing her work as a history of prostitution in the American West is a gross simplification, Butler does create an argument rife with generalities. Her view on laundresses can be summarized in the following excerpt: "The multiplicity of terms used in military regulations between 1802 and 1869) was not a minor point. Overlapping terminology–"matrons," "nurses," "female attendants," "campwomen," "followers of the army," and "laundresses"–has served to keep identification of female roles confused, and permitted officials to avoid any direct acknowledgement of prostitution on military grounds." (p140) While the goal of Butler's work was to highlight the ways women made lives for themselves across the American West, in effect she flattens the experiences of laundresses and views their work as temporary, at best, and as a cover for sexual labor, at the worst.

to recover the complete experiences of laundresses in the late-nineteenth century it does offer a triangulation that allows a more detailed accounting of their lives than has been previously generated.

The Emergence of Army Laundresses

Army laundresses are almost as old as the US Army itself and their official recognition can be traced to the Military Peace Establishment Act of 1802. That set of laws created the framework for the army as it existed throughout most of the nineteenth century. In it specific guidelines were given as to how the government would compensate them "to the women who may be allowed to any particular corps not exceeding the proportion of four to a company, one ration each."[201] Laundresses were allowed one ration plus they were permitted to collect money from the individual soldiers based upon an agreed schedule of charges. Laundresses performed the essential work of cleaning the clothing of soldiers, work both gendered female and viewed as critical to a well-functioning army. While the morally positive presence of women was not stressed in the 1802 law, this became an additional component of their presence later in the nineteenth century. Laundresses were essential components of the military and they received commensurate treatment and compensation. The revised General Regulations for the Army of 1841 further clarified that status of laundresses:

> Article XL of the General Regulations for the Army – 1841
> 200….Four women will be allowed to each company as washerwomen, and will receive one ration per day each.
> 201….The price of washing soldiers' clothing, by the month, or by the piece, will be determined by the Council of Administration.
> 202….Debts due the Laundress by soldiers, for washing, will be paid or collected in the same way as is prescribed for those due the Sutler, the Laundress having the

[201] Military Peace Establishment Act (March 1802).

preference.[202]

The law was notable because it placed the task of debt collection on paymasters and not on the laundresses. This was official recognition of the important task with which these women were charged. The army bureaucracy even went so far as to specify laundry debts as "having the preference" over other monies owed by soldiers. This allowed laundresses to occupy a "first-in-line" position as the soldiers' pay was disbursed. They were able to collect their monies before the solider received anything. Furthermore, they were able to collect debts owed to them before others affiliated with the fort, including post sutlers and the post canteen. While it can be argued 1802 was the beginning of official recognition for laundresses, the 1841 regulations crystalized their status as essential components of the army. The system codified in 1802 and 1841 persisted through the Civil War and it was only when a series of financial crisis as well as social reform questions caught the attention of legislators was the necessity of laundresses questioned.

The Officers' Wives Move West

By the 1870s, the wives of officers increasingly accompanied their husbands west. They were most often the families of recent West Point graduates headed to their first duty posts. While they initially journeyed to the Great Plains as newlyweds, they quickly proceeded to create families. There were no official means to accommodate or provide for these army dependents as the wives and families of officers occupied an ambiguous space in the army hierarchy. Junior officers were paid $1,400/year prior to the Reorganization Act of 1878 and

[202] "Sutler" is another name for Post Trader. This group enjoyed a virtual monopoly, thanks to the army, on the selling of finished goods at forts. The sutlers were eventually excluded from forts just as laundresses were in the years after the Civil War.

received housing at their posting.[203] While the provided housing could accommodate a growing family, there was no guarantee and the hierarchical system of the frontier forts meant that a 2nd Lieutenant with a wife and several children could soon find themselves booted out of a relatively comfortable home to make way for a more senior officer and his family. The eviction could occur even if the senior officer was single or accompanied only by his wife. Even when a family found themselves in a relatively stable housing situation, they were seldom ideal. Dirt floors, no windows, and inadequate plumbing and sanitation challenged their notions of acceptable housing.

Housing was not the only source of anxiety for the newly arrived families. Junior officers had to stretch their pay to provide not only for themselves but for their wives and a growing number of children. The army made no provisions for increased rations or allowances for dependents. This was in stark contrast to the laundresses who drew their own rations. Added to that was the financial strain created on the junior officers' families as they strived to emulate emergent middle-class forms from the East. While the officers' wives may have imagined themselves at the vanguard of a new American imperial order, the realities of frontier life were quite different. These women viewed themselves as upper middle-class, at the least, and this required they dress and live the part. Something akin to conspicuous consumption was a sure sign of middle-classness and the wives of the junior officers were aware of the requirements to not only dress the part but eat the correct food, decorate their houses in the appropriate fashion, and enjoy correct entertainments. Demonstrating refinement was expensive as it required access

[203] Junior officers, namely 1st and 2nd Lieutenants were at the very bottom of the officerial pecking ordering. Any ranking officer could force these young men and their families out of their quarters and oftentimes two to four of these lieutenants' families would end up sharing quarters designed for one family.

to magazines, newspapers, books, and music from the eastern United States. These items would have been a substantial burden on the junior officers' already relatively small pay.

Another key component of middle-class identity was the ability to employ domestic labor within the household. It was essential middle-class matrons be absolved of as much labor as possible, so households were required to employ outsiders to cook, clean, care for children, and perform other assumedly mundane tasks. A middle-class wife's primary responsibilities by the 1870s were to bolster their husband's and families social and moral status and to provide a model to which other women could aspire. The problem with this model when it was applied in the northern Great Plains was the general lack of available domestic servants. When young women were available for hiring, their labor was in such demand that it meant most of these young families could not afford to employ even one. Some families resorted to importing labor from Chicago and further east but their ability to remain in control of their maids was sorely tested as the realities of the frontier meant those young women could easily trade up to more financially profitable situations. This lack of domestic help forced the families of junior officers in particular to utilize the services of the army laundresses already present at the frontier forts. Domestic labor was professionalized by the laundresses and this would have been a sore point for the young wife of a lieutenant trying to live a middle-class life in Great Plains. Her frustration would have only increased when she became aware how much better the financial situation for those laundresses' families would have been.

The economic tension caused by the rising fortunes of laundresses and a seemingly equal diminishment of those of junior officers' families cannot be underestimated as a cause for resentment between officers' wives and laundresses. While a junior officer would have made $1,400 a year at most prior to the reorganization act of 1878, a laundress' family could make

almost the same amount. Laundresses charged $1-$2 per soldier per month to wash basic clothing items. They could collect more money from these soldiers by washing non-essential items. Additionally, laundresses could make $3/month per member of officers' families. She could even negotiate higher fees for these services. Added to that was the laundress' other work: midwifery, cooking, baking, child care, and tailoring. A sergeant and his laundress wife could make upwards of $50-$100/month. While this still would put their household income at about $200 below that of a 2nd lieutenant the provision of rations has to be included as a real form of compensation. Both the sergeant and the laundress would have received daily rations. Granted, their children did not receive this perk; however, officers did not receive rations for themselves nor anyone else in their families. Finally, housing was provided for laundresses.

"Of course these women cost money—most women do!"

Questions regarding the presence of laundresses at army forts were one of the primary points of inquiry for the Banning Committee, a sub-committee of the House Committee on Military Affairs. The committee was organized in 1876 to consider the reorganization of the US Army and how unnecessary expenditures could be curtailed or eliminated. While these cuts were partially a response to an economic crisis, they were also part of a broader push to modernize the army and remove vestiges of both the pre-Civil War military. This older military system was increasingly viewed as ineffectual in the persistent and seemingly increasing Indian Wars. While the presence of laundresses had been virtually indisputable in the years before and during the Civil War, their continued existence within and official sanction by the army was held up to new scrutiny. The Banning Committee created a series of questions and posed them to officers throughout the army on a variety of subjects including one directly related to the issue of laundresses was Question #5, "Would it be detrimental to the service to dispense with

laundresses, and what amount would be saved thereby?"[204] While the responses varied and there was general consensus that the laundresses should be retained. Major General Edward Otho Cresap Ord wrote in a letter to the committee summarizing a position held by many senior officers:

> I think they[laundresses] tend to make the men more cheerful, honest, and comfortable. At our frontier posts they have little family-firesides where, in the laundresses' quarters, the men can visit socially. Their influence is very civilizing. I would recommend in some cases to double their present number, especially with the colored troops, who are domestic in their attachments and miss the society of their women…They are honest, married women, and their husbands apt to be our best soldiers…Some of our best non-commissioned officers are also married to laundresses, and the discharge of the laundresses would necessitate the discharge from service of their husbands, whom we could not easily replace.[205]

Ord saw the laundresses as an essential part of the army not just because of their labor but because of their effects on the soldiers. In the remote northern plains, women were seen as ameliorating the isolation of the frontier. They sustained white, protestant civilization and probably minimized the desire of white soldiers to marry non-whites, namely Indians. Additionally, Ord feared many non-commissioned officers would leave the service if the laundresses were officially denied governmental recognition and support. Sergeants and their continued presence were tied to the future of laundresses because were many married to these women. Sergeants occupied a critical position in the frontier military as they provided continuity within units; junior officers could come and go but older NCOs, namely sergeants, were ever present. While other senior officers generally shared Ord's views on the civilizing effect of women, some expressed doubts as to how necessary the laundresses' presence on army outposts was.

[204] Banning, Reduction of Army Officers' Pay, Reorganization of the Army, and Transfer of the Indian Bureau, 44th Congress, 1st Session, Report 354, March 9, 1876, p1.

[205] Banning 1876, p46.

General Innis Newton Palmer countered Ord's view of the laundresses as a frontier necessity: "On the subject of laundresses I wish to give it as my opinion that there are only two classes of persons so useless as these. These two classes are the judges-advocate and the post-chaplains."[206] Clearly Palmer took the questionnaire as an opportunity to add his opinion on two more recent additions to the army, but his views on laundresses was later clarified when he noted "The 'old-soldier' laundress is a terror to the camp, wherever she finds herself."[207] The same women Ord characterized as essential to the army's mission were, for Palmer, a major source of conflict on frontier outposts. The 'old soldier' laundresses had years of experience in the US Army compared to newly minted junior officers. For men like Palmer, he most likely feared the ways the more experienced laundresses could contest changes initiated by 1st and 2nd lieutenants and serve as foils to officerial authority. While it could be argued the sergeants could do the same things, they, at least, occupied an official space within the military hierarchy. The laundresses were in an ambiguous space, simultaneously within and outside the army.

Still many of the respondents recognized the necessity of women and either alluded to or outright stated the connections between civilization and the presence of women. Granted, the compliments directed towards women were often accompanied by a begrudging acceptance of their increased presence in places like the Great Plains. Major General Irwin McDonnell admitted the presence of laundresses on US forts was an anomaly within broader global military forms,

> The United States prohibits marriage to cadets, recognizes but four married soldiers in companies of ordinary size, and places no restriction on the marriage of officers. The presence of women within the army is, in most European countries, discouraged, and in many prohibited, except to a few officers, and to these only on their showing their ability to meet the increased expense and

[206] Banning 1876, p51.
[207] Banning 1876, p52.

> provide against their widows coming on the state for support, or being left destitute, to the reproach of the service.[208]

McDonnell didn't necessarily criticize the lack of women in other militaries as anything other than a pragmatic solution to the exigencies of military life and the possibility of how army widows would support themselves. However, he went on the clarify wives could be a hindrance to officers and a "drawback to his efficiency." McDonnell balanced the drawbacks with the claim that officers' wives provided indirect good and to the laundresses "who do some direct good to the service." Interestingly, McDonnell went on to argue more support needed to be provided to women associated with the army. He pointed to insufficient housing allowances and argued "it is repugnant to the feelings of any man of any grade in the Army to restrict them[women] to the allowance fixed by the regulations." While McDonnell seemed enthusiastic in his support for women at army forts, he couched his entire argument with a resignation that increasing housing and other amenities directed at women would cost an unknown amount of money but that was to be expected as "Of course these women cost money—most women do!"

Colonel C. Grover, stationed in Nebraska, sided with the families of officers and voiced an opinion that the laundresses should be expelled or severely restricted unless directly of use to officers:

> There are at present many military posts so remote that it is, as a rule, impossible to get women servants there at wages which an officer can pay; at such posts the washing for officers' families is done by laundresses. I here they are a necessity. But I would limit them to such places, and permit commanding officers to give the present allowances for laundresses to women, not to exceed one to each company and regimental band at the post. No Government transportation to be allowed them to or from posts.[209]

[208] Banning 1876, p31.
[209] Banning, 1876, p49.

Grover seemed to understand the laundresses were necessary for a functional fort, but he also did so grudgingly. His stipulation that transportation should be denied was perhaps his way of forcing as many laundresses out as possible. Grover was right to pinpoint the transportation costs as a key issue as this was usually quite high. Moving laundress and her equipment could be expensive, particularly compared to enlisted men who would often carry everything they needed to a new posting.

While most responses to the Banning Committee's questions came down to a simple yes, they should remain or no, they should go, some testimony questioned the entire notion of women as essential to post operations. Some officers argued not only laundresses, but officers' wives should be equally excluded from military outposts. One officer argued, "Hospital Matrons should be the only women allowed at posts."[210] While he did not clarify exactly who would perform the domestic duties once the women were gone, several of his colleagues did. General William T. Sherman proposed a rather pragmatic and characteristic solution, "Soldiers can do their own washing."[211] Sherman's solution aside, others included creating special details through which men would rotate, enlisting men specifically for the purpose of laundry, or focusing on black soldiers or "chinamen" to perform the vital task. This shift from a gendered view of the domestic labor on a frontier fort to one based on race proved particularly compelling to some particularly when the shifting demographics of the fort were taken into account.

Sherman's pragmatic pronouncement ignored the new realities at many frontier posts in the mid-1870s. Therese were no longer homosocial spaces where women were rarely encountered; rather, women constituted a notable minority at most forts. They were the wives and daughters of enlisted men of all ranks including non-commissioned officers; they were

[210] Banning 1876, p98-99.
[211] Banning 1876, p7.

traditionally the source for laundresses. But they were also the owners or wives of owners of various retail concerns both within the confines of the posts and in its immediate vicinity, most notably restaurants, canteens, and post stores. Finally, they were the families and domestic servants of the officers corps on which the post-Civil War army increasingly relied.[212] While Sherman's sartorial response could have worked in the 1840s in a place like Minnesota, the demographic shift of the post-Civil War frontier army meant there was no future in excluding women from these places.

When Forts Became Towns

For most army forts in the Greats Plains, the percentage of women present during the 1880 census hovered at around 15-20%.[213] While this was markedly different from the demographics of most of the eastern United States, where it was closer to a 50/50 demographic split, it was important because it points to the increasingly heterosocial nature of these frontier spaces. Demographics had shifted drastically from even the previous decade. In 1870, Fort Buford, Dakota Territory, located in the northwest corner of the region, had a female population of slightly more than 8%.[214] Fort Rice, DT and Fort Shaw, Montana Territory had similar percentages. The shift from 8% to 15 or 20% was a seismic reordering of frontier forts and elicited great strains upon the extant systems, many in place since before the Civil War.

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[212] See Russell Frank Weigley, *History of the United States Army*, Enl. ed, Midland Book (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1984) for an extended discussion on the US Army's shifting focus to officers after the Civil War.

[213] In the 1880 Census Fort Robinson, NE and Fort Washakie, WT both had a female population of about 16%, Fort Keogh's(MT) percentage was closer to 20% but that encampment was almost twice the size of Fort Robinson and three times that of Fort Washakie. Fort Keogh also seemed to have many women still in service as laundresses far in excess of the numbers at Washakie and Robinson.

[214] In the 1870 Federal Census, 454 persons were listed as residing within and immediately surrounding Fort Buford. 37 of them were listed as female, almost half of them were under the age of 17, with three families accounting for 12 of the girls.

While the pre-war army had needed the ameliorating presence of the laundresses, the post-war army, at least in the northern Great Plains, had many more women present in and around the forts. While many of these women included the laundresses and their daughters, the numbers also included officers' wives as well as their burgeoning families. Additionally, women in support positions such as teachers, hospital matrons, and servants became increasingly common in the decades immediately following the war. Thus, the laundress was no longer the sole representative of feminine morality or gentility.

Rank was everything in the nineteenth century army. Laundresses and officers' wives accessed privileges and prerogatives by way of their husband's rank. However, Laundresses also enjoyed official recognition apart from the husbands' rank and thus viewed themselves as an almost intermediary class between the enlisted ranks and the officers. This independence often led to behavior some officers' wives viewed as insolent when the issues of laundresses performing extra labor as servants arose. Caroline Winne, the wife of an army surgeon, was frustrated during her time at Fort McPherson, Nebraska Territory by the task of finding appropriately deferential servants:

> "I took Hester. and she was a very nice laundress but a miserable cook very wasteful & extravagant and decidedly opposed to having any directions given or suggestions made. Last Monday morning I told her to do something and she was very saucy & more over did not do it…So after breakfast Charlie went out to the kitchen & told her she could either obey my orders when I told her to do anything or she could, as I told her, leave. Which she did! Much to my satisfaction."[215]

Winne expected the same type of deference domestic servants back east would have been required to display if they wished to remain employed. For Hester, there was a choice as to whether temporary employment as a servant was worth the time and the ostensible degradation. With laundresses and their husbands making as much or more than junior officers, Hester

[215] Caroline Winne, June 6, 1879 Letter from Ludlow, New York Historical Society.

probably determined the hassle of maintaining deference was incommensurate with the meager pay officer's wives like Caroline would be willing or even could pay. However, for Caroline the employment of a servant was not entirely optional. An essential part of maintaining middle-class identity was the ability to employ those of lower classes as domestics. The ability to use the labor of servants as well as parade them in front of other officers' wives was a critical component of maintaining clear class divisions and of solidifying an often-tenuous membership within said class.

Caroline Winne and virtually every other officer's wife would have relied heavily upon the domestic labor of laundresses, particularly when they practiced the middle-class custom of entertaining. Laundresses fulfilled the role of servant in the highly ritualized world of late-nineteenth century entertaining. Caroline Winne's plans for an elaborate New Year's party necessitated her employment of a laundress as she sought to provide a memorable evening of food and entertainment to her guests. "The Steward's wife helped me with the cake and I made the salad dressing and pickeled[sic] the oysters. But Gussie roasted the turkey and did all the rest & waited on the table beautifully. And after we were through she had her party the Sergeant - and the Steward & his wife. They enjoyed it."[216] The steward's wife was the antithesis of Hester in that not only was her labor useful and reliable, but she demonstrated the deference requisite to a good servant. Caroline even went so far as to point out how the steward's wife benefited not only financially, but that she was able to literally enjoy the fruits of her labor with those of her own social class after the New Year's party. The steward's wife Winne spoke of was almost certainly a laundress and taking time away from the wash basin to provide domestic labor for a party would not have been as attractive without the added boon of taking food back to her

[216] Caroline Winne, January 2, 1880 Letter from Ludlow, New York Historical Society.

family. Laundresses facilitated the social customs upon which many officers' wives turned for a semblance of normalcy within the world of the frontier fort.

The officers' wives also relied on parties like Winne's to stake out a distinct social space within the forts. Maintaining membership in the middle class was expensive. Even with food and furniture transported from Minneapolis, Chicago, and St. Louis, officers' wives ultimately relied upon the labor of the laundresses to complete the task of solidifying their class credentials. The tenuous situation these middle-class women often found themselves in was made worse by the perception that laundresses not only enjoyed official recognition but that their financial positions were more stable and could, theoretically, provide them with the means to begin emulating their own form of middle-class domesticity. The possibility of the servant gaining equal social status with the master was predicated on a rise in the servant's fortunes. One junior officer stationed in Kansas compared his own bleak financial position with that of his family's servant, "Our woman of all work has just struck for higher wages and we now pay her $25.00 per month."[217] The audacity of a servant to demand and increase came in tandem with increased pushes within the army for overall budget reductions and a forced wage reduction on junior officers of almost 50%. To have their servants demand increased wages at the exact same time smacked of insolence. Junior officers and their wives undoubtedly felt pinched between the financial realities of military service in the 1870s and the increased demands of laundresses, generally their only source for domestic labor on the Great Plains.

Laundresses were essential, and they knew it. Officers oftentimes used their status to demand that laundresses perform domestic duties for their families. Attempts to force laundresses to engage in the types of work Winne required only strained class relations and the

[217] Calvin D. Cowles and Weymouth T. Jordan, *A Soldier's Life on the Indian Frontier, 1876-1878 : Letters of 2lt. C.D. Cowles*, Letter June 23, 1878 p. 148. Custer, *Following the Guidon*, 227-28.

resulting conflict usually engulfed the entire outpost in turmoil. After 1878, laundresses served at the leisure of each fort's captain and he could dismiss them as he saw fit. This shift in status would have given junior officers a new tool to use in their ongoing conflict with laundresses. If a laundress failed to make herself useful, the junior officers were confident they could argue for her dismissal. But with this newfound prerogative came an increased sense of choice amongst laundresses. Since they no longer benefitted from official recognition, many of them reasoned they could pick and choose the duties and tasks they performed. One Arizona cavalryman complained to General George Crook that a junior officer within his company was pressuring his wife to take on the added duties of washing the families clothing – the family was not particularly large, but it included a 16-month old son and another infant was expected within a month. The officer's wife clearly did not like the prospect of washing that many diapers, nor did the cavalryman's wife, a laundress, who was tasked by the junior officer with the duty of washing for the growing family.[218] When the cavalryman's wife refused, the officer moved to have her expelled from the fort. Here the sordid tale of the dirty diapers took a bureaucratically ironic turn for when the young soldier complained about the officer's request and the subsequent order for his wife to vacant the fort his letter had to pass through the Post Adjutant: the same officer who's laundry his wife had refused to wash. The conflict persisted for some time but eventually the Department Adjutant, Major Merritt Barber, noted the cavalryman's wife had as much right to live within the fort as did the officer's, despite her unwillingness to wash the diapers. In effect, Barber had clarified that as of the 1878 decision women had no officially recognizable reason to enjoy privileges like housing within the confines of military outposts.[219]

[218] October 3, 1884 Letter to Adjutant General, Whipple Barracks, Arizona Territory, Letter 4199, RG 393, NARA.

[219] Third Endorsement, October 16, 1884, Letter 4199, RG 393, NARA.

Many officers' wives increasingly turned to other sources of domestic labor on the frontier forts. With increased railways it was a relatively simple, if expensive, option to recruit a maid or other servant in a large city like Chicago or New York and then pay for the young woman's, usually Irish, transportation west. The problem though, was that as soon as these young women arrived in the Dakota Territory or similarly demographically skewed spaces, they almost immediately either married or saw more opportunities in taking up the ways basin and making their own way as a laundress. Elizabeth Custer noted the persistent problem of domestic labor "I remember well the disheartened eyes of one of our pretty young friends when she told me it was of no manner of use to try and keep a white servant. Even the ugly old female that we had brought her, and that cooked so well, was already beginning to primp and powder."[220] As towns burgeoned around the forts there were a multitude of opportunities available to a young woman from the East. Added to this was a general trend by the end of the nineteenth century away from domestic employment for many women.

Elizabeth Custer casually noted "Army people like the negroes and find a quality of devotion in them that is most grateful when one is so dependent on servants, as everyone is in military life."[221] Of course Elizabeth Custer meant the officerial class when she talked of "everyone" in the army. But why did officers' wives prefer black servants? Conflict between classes undermined the imperial project – white superiority was complicated by the presence of "insolent" white women of a lower class. Laundresses and other women from outside the officerial class performed essential labor on frontier outposts and as their work became more critical to the functioning of each fort, they began to demand better wages and the respect they

[220] Elizabeth Bacon Custer, *"Boots and Saddles"; or, Life in Dakota with General Custer* (New York and London: Harper & brothers, 1885), 187.

[221] Elizabeth Bacon Custer, *Following the Guidon* (New York: Harper & brothers, 1890), 227-28.

felt owed them. Both officers and their wives received these demands as impertinent. Custer pointed to an alternative to the employment of the cantankerous laundresses and the fickle young Irish women riding the rails west. The wives of soldiers in all-black units were a more fitting source for domestic labor in Custer's estimation. Class was an increasingly permeable barrier in the northern Great Plains by the late 1870s, but race was increasingly an insurmountable obstacle to the eager.

White Women in British India

I dragged my little husband's name
Through heaps of social mire,
And joined him in October
As good as you'd desire.
- Rudyard Kipling,
Nursery Rhymes for Little Anglo-Indians (1884)

Women, of a certain class, occupied a prominent position within the British imperial project in India. Unlike the US Army, soldiers and junior officers within the British Army were generally prohibited from marrying and thus the number of wives as well as children associated with those men was relatively small. The de facto rule in the British Army in India was "subalterns cannot marry, captains may marry, majors should marry, colonels must marry."[222] Marriage was customarily, if not legally, prohibited for enlisted men in the British Army. This custom persisted for the entirety of the nineteenth century and had much older precedents. Enlisted men could petition their commanding officers to marry but it was generally denied, particularly in imperial spaces like India. Lack of permission, however, did not dissuade some men although their new wives were prohibited from utilizing the infrastructure of the colonial

[222] Ronald Hyam, *Empire and Sexuality: The British Experience* (1990), p121.

outposts and lacked official recognition excepting widow's benefits. Even younger junior officers, the subalterns, were prohibited from marrying until they were 26 years old or achieved the rank of captain.[223] Senior officers as well as older non-commissioned officers were, however, except from this custom. The net effect was an absence of junior officers' wives in the British urban fortifications of India as well as more remote hill towns. This meant that many of the class-based tensions present in US Army forts in places like Dakota Territory were missing in the social relations of British forts. The wives of senior officers as well as those of sergeants each occupied uncontested moral positions, albeit strictly delimited by class.

Much like their American analogs, the wives of senior officers in the British army were at the apex of the social and moral hierarchy of the imperial project. When US Army officers' wives in places like Dakota Territory began to construct feminized spaces within forts--like libraries, hospitals, and auditoriums--they drew on established British models. One of the primary functions of the elite body of British officers' wives was to provide a constant reminder of the benefits of the British Empire and English civilization. While colonized peoples were perhaps partially the intended audience of these reminders, they were largely intended for the men stationed within the forts. British entertainment was an antidote to the deteriorating effects of colonial outposts. A Gilbert and Sullivan operetta performed in an Indian fortified town was a powerful magnet away from the omnipresent contaminating effects of indigenous culture. Thus, replicating an elite metropolitan existence in the wilds of empire occupied most of an officer's wife's time.

There was a difference for these British Women. While domestic labor was a constant point of contention on American forts, the British in places like India were surrounded by

[223] *Women of the Regiment* (1984).

countless imperial subjects all presumably willing to be employed as domestic labor. When Elizabeth Custer suggested a shift away from a reliance upon white domestic labor and explicitly towards a more racialized domestic labor system, she was undoubtedly drawing on British imperial forms. The image of the Victorian grand dame of the British imperial fort, accompanied by a retinue of willing, dark-skinned servants was already well established by the 1870s. While the junior officer's wife in the United States might struggle to have a laundress wash her new born baby's diapers, the situation for officers' wives in India was vastly different. A senior officer's wife often oversaw the daily duties of a myriad of colonial servants including butlers, footmen, cooks, valets, *amahs* and *ayahs*[224], wet nurses, tailors, *dhobies*[225], *bhistie*[226], and various cleaners. *The Complete Indian Housekeeper and Cookery* (1888), a manual aimed at British women married to officers made clear the special circumstances of life in India:

> Housekeeping in India, when once the first strangeness has worn off, is a far easier task in many ways than it is in England, though it none the less requires time, and, in this present transitional period, an almost phenomenal patience ; for, while one mistress enforces cleanliness according to European methods, the next may belong to the opposite faction, who, so long as the dinner is nicely served, thinks nothing of it being cooked in a kitchen which is also used as a latrine; the result being that the servants who serve one and then the other stamp of mistress, look on the desire for decency as a mere personal and distinctly disagreeable attribute of their employer, which, like a bad temper or stinginess, may be resented or evaded.[227]

No matter how little pay was offered to these domestics, the supply never seemed to wane. In many ways this abundance of domestic labor allowed the families of senior officers to tentatively join the ranks of Britain’s upper classes.

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[224] Maids.
[225] Washermen - launderers.
[226] Water carriers.
[227] F.A. Steel and G. Gardiner, *The Complete Indian Housekeeper and Cook: Giving the Duties of Mistress and Servants The General Management of the House and Practical Recipes for Cooking in all its Branches*. (1888), p. 1.

While the imperial matron could solidify her position as a member of the British upper class she could just as easily become the Memsahib, a white woman divorced from the realities of the colonized space in which she operated. Memsahibs were often characterized as "Dull, incurious eyes of the memsahib...moping and sickly, narrowly intolerant, vindictive to the locals, despotic and abusive to their servants, usually bored, invariably gossiping viciously, prone to extra-marital affairs, cruelly insensitive to Indian women and hopelessly insulated from them."[228] It is important to note there are substantive issues with embracing a wholly negative view of the memsahibs too readily. Hyam's work, along with others in the 1980s and 1990s, contributed to a shift in responsibilities for colonial failures and accompanying violence away from men and onto women. Thus, the *memsahibs* became the source of British troubles in India. Margaret Stobhel and others have adequately responded to the problems inherent in demonizing memsahibs.[229]

What makes the memsahib compelling in this context was the way she was viewed, contemporaneously, as an increasingly negative prospect for British women who emigrated to India to marry up-and-coming officers. This may have resulted in tension between the established officers' wives and their newly arrived inferiors. From an elite perspective, the newly arrived British women were expected to model their behavior on their superiors. In effect they could enjoy the benefits of endless domestic labor but had to temper those perks with an heightened awareness as to how a white woman should comport herself in an alien land surrounded by hordes of social and racial inferiors. The solution to this problem was the civilizing mission, a growing movement in the later half of the nineteenth century that focused on instructing colonized peoples in how to work, live, love, play, govern, and even worship.

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[228] Hyam, p. 119.

[229] Margaret Strobel, *European Women and the Second British Empire* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1991).

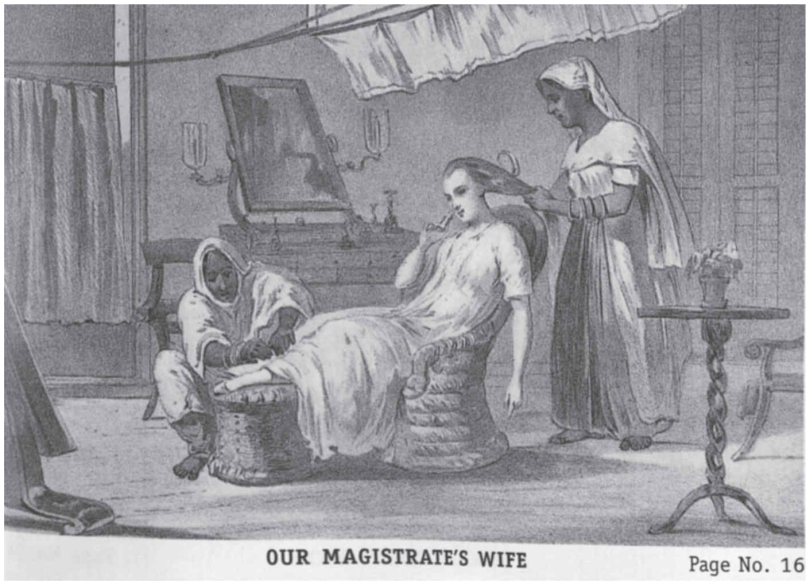

Figure 22 - "Our Magistrate's Wife." Illustration from George Francklin Atkinson, Curry & Rice (on Forty Plates); or, The Ingredients of Social Life at "Our" Station in India (London: Day and Son, 1859).

The End of the Laundresses

There are several explanations for the army's re-examination of laundresses in the years after the Civil War. The first possibility is that as the army scrambled for money in the wake of both post-war budget cuts and the 1873 Financial Panic, employment of the laundresses seemed an easy cost-cutting measure. If junior officers' pronouncements of much laundresses cost the army were believable, then the decision to deprive them official employment would have resulted in substantial savings. Another likely factor in the push to remove the laundresses was the move to professionalize the military after the war. Professionalization movements incorporated new notions of gender and army laundresses' independence and critical functions within the military challenged those ideas. While both explanations can account for the enthusiasm exhibited by those opposed to the laundresses, another and far more likely cause is concomitant with the United States' status as an ascendant imperial power: army laundresses' class more than their gender ran afoul of both army goals and shifts in American social values.

The civilizing mission, as reconfigured at the end of the nineteenth century, of which women were essential to the imperial project. Laundresses, however, were not acceptable for the new phase of imperialism. They lacked the social standing and attendant ethos of the officer's wives. By the late-nineteenth century, there was not enough room, ideologically, on the frontier forts of the Northern Great Plains for both the laundresses and the officers' wives.

In September 1873 American banks collapsed as European markets failed and the burgeoning but fragile railroad industry experienced its largest sell-off in history. The railroad industry had expanded rapidly during and in the aftermath of the Civil War and speculators viewed it as a "can't fail" investment. As railroad companies and banks failed throughout the fall of 1873 unemployment across the nation spread. The panic caused double-digit unemployment, a near total collapse in railroad construction projects, and a decline in average wages of almost 25%. Cash was suddenly a scarce commodity and only when President Grant intervened and released almost $30 million in gold reserves did currency begin to flow through the nation's economy. The lasting impact of the Panic of 1873 cannot be understated, and it lasted, according to most economic historians, until the end of the decade. Because of the broader economic collapse, the budget for all federal programs declined in the panic's wake, the War Department included. When combined with the already extant push to decrease military spending from Civil War highs, the result was a drastic reduction in funds available to the army.

As army officials sought to decrease appropriations while still maintaining a frontier army focused on the "Indian Problem," the laundresses were one area where spending seemed disconnected from the army's primary mission. Laundresses, at least according to their critics, were not only sources of discontent on frontier forts, they were also constant drains on the resources of the army. Even though the initial question as the laundresses' necessity within the

army was not posed until 1878, we should consider the query a part of the Panic of 1873 and its fallout. Army officers, asked to respond as to the laundresses' status, were quick to note how expensive laundresses could be for forts. While the actual financial repercussions of dismantling the army would most likely not have resulted in substantially fewer expenditures for the army, the highly visible nature of the laundresses made them a readily available if not entirely appropriate target for trimming appropriations.

Contemporaneous with the Panic of 1873 was an increased push in the years after the Civil War to professionalize the US Army. Professionalization was a trans-Atlantic phenomenon and militaries in both Europe and the United States pushed to reformulate those institutions as instruments of modernity. The push to professionalize was envisioned as inherently modern and necessarily male. The gendered nature of the movement meant the expertise of women, particularly in fields closely associated with domesticity, had to be challenged. Female laundresses had no place in a re-imagined professional all-male army. Just as financial considerations had opened the door to disbanding the laundresses so too did shifting trans-Atlantic discourses over the future of military institutions undermine the ability of women employed by the army to continue their work.

While both the Panic of 1873 and professionalization contribute towards an understanding of why the call to disband the laundresses arose in 1878, a final, and most likely more critical component in the call to end the laundresses was situated in a shifting discourse over imperialism and the role of women in imperial projects. In a multitude of ways, connections between gender and imperial rule in British India and French Algeria were formulated in ways disparate from that on the American Great Plains in the years following the Civil War. The morally unassailable figure of the white imperial matron was inseparable from the

misión civilatrice. The white woman, in an imperial context, was required to serve as a moral compass for white males whose very presence amongst the uncivilized endangered their well-being. The women were also constant reminders what those men protected, the future of genteel white civilization. The laundresses lacked the requisite characteristics of the proper white imperial matron. While some of their deficiencies were probably envisioned as products of their ethnicity, as many laundresses were of Irish descent, their primary sin was one of class membership: laundresses were working class and thus lacked the moral upbringing of their social betters, the officers' wives. They also actively took part in the cash economy, something no morally respectable woman did in the nineteenth century. The laundresses' moral failings combined with their prominence on frontier forts to create a situation where they could not continue to occupy the same space as the officers' wives, the white imperial matrons.

While many laundresses may have envisioned their participation in the army's imperial project as an avenue towards financial independence and economic citizenship, but it was those economic aspirations that ultimately cost the laundresses their privileged status. Questions about citizenship and how their participation in the army could bolster women's, specifically the laundresses', claims to full membership were subsumed into broader shifts as to the proper role of women in society and the imperial project. Furtherance of the empire necessitated an unblemished woman as an object of protection and as an aspirational model. Perhaps no laundress ran afoul of the new imperial matron model more than the infamous Mrs. Nash.

Say nothing but good of the dead

Few figures in the history of the US Army in the American West better represent the complicated nature of gender and class relationships than Mrs. Nash, a long-time laundress who served on the Great Plains in the years after the Civil War. Nash lived a seemingly ubiquitous if

somewhat tragic life in the Northern Great Plains serving as a laundress at various army forts for over thirty years. Along the way she married three army soldiers and garnered a good deal of respect at the various forts in which she lived. But Nash's life as a laundress was complicated by a revelation at the time of her death as to her "true" sex. Upon performing a postmortem, the Post Surgeon at Fort Lincoln, Dakota Territory, made the startling revelation that Nash was actually a man and had lived as a woman the entire time she had served as a laundress. The doctor's revelation impugned Nash's marriages with both her former husbands as well as her present husband. Thus, Nash's simultaneous status as a working-class woman, a Mexican woman, and, possibly, not a biological woman served as the perfect critique of versions of femininity emerging from outside the boundaries of the white middle-class and the refined homes of the officers' wives.

While Nash seemed to occupy a nebulous space between the respectable lives of the Officers' wives and the hard-scrabble existence of the working-class laundresses, Nash's story was further complicated by her ambiguous gender. The ambiguity of her gender was not just centered on the biological revelation made at the time of her death, but it was also tied to the flawed version of femininity working class and non-white women were often accused of portraying. The initial ambiguity surrounding Nash's status as a woman was centered on Elizabeth Custer's description of Mrs. Mash as "a Mexican, and like the rest of that hairy tribe she had so coarse and stubborn a beard that her chin had a blue look after shaving, in marked contrast to her swarthy face."[230] For Custer, Nash was neither outwardly feminine nor did she seem likely to exhibit the virtues assigned to respectable women in the late-nineteenth century. This was very much contiguous with other elite views on working class women. The driving

[230] Custer, *"Boots and Saddles"; or, Life in Dakota with General Custer*, 188.

force for reform movements created by middle class women and aimed at the working class was the assumption that working class women were incapable of "true" femininity. Even the outward literal possession of the tools of appropriate womanhood could never fully mitigate the gulf created by class differences. Custer noted how Mrs. Nash demonstrated the requisite feminine skills and sensibilities generally demanded of successful laundresses, in particular, and of a working-class woman in a place like Fort Lincoln, Dakota Territory more generally. Custer was so impressed by Nash's skills as a midwife that she encouraged a newly arrived junior officer's wife who was in the last month of pregnancy to enlist Nash's services and reject the Post Surgeon's offer to deliver the baby. The ability of Nash to occupy the role of midwife, a position increasingly at odds with the now omni-present post surgeons in the years after the Civil War would re-emerge as a point of contention later in Nash's story and furthered the class-based tension present in her life.

When Custer and the greenhorn wife, Annie, arrived at Mrs. Nash's house for a consultation before the birth, Custer noted Nash's house demonstrated a clear, if flawed, feminine sensibility: "The bed was hung with pink cambric, and on some shelves she showed us silk and woolen stuffs for gowns; bits of carpet were on the floor, and the dresser, improvised out of a packing-box, shone with polished tins."[231] Whatever fears Nash's countenance may have elicited in Mrs. Custer and Annie were immediately alleviated by Nash's gentile, if imperfect, surroundings. For Custer and Annie, Nash represented the inherent inconsistencies present in the lives of laundresses and the newly emergent class of working women nationally: they were women and were required to demonstrate feminine traits, but they were also wage workers and thus everything they did, no matter how gentile, was necessarily flawed. Nash's simultaneous

[231] Custer, *"Boots and Saddles"; or, Life in Dakota with General Custer*, 190.

status as both a laundress and a Mexican woman and the tensions over how a woman should comport herself in the work of wage labor intensified the tensions over how gender should be portrayed. The seemingly contradictory nature of Nash's gender and her race nevertheless comforted Custer and Annie and alleviated anxieties over who was a proper source of feminine gentility in a place like Fort Lincoln.

Mrs. Nash performed woman's work and embraced womanly sensibilities from her dress to the arrangement of her living space. For the officers' wives Mrs. Nash represented the good laundress who knew her place in society, she represented a distinct alternative to the rank-and-file laundresses so often accused of failing to behave as proper women and even of having the audacity to try and ascend the social structure of the frontier fort. Nash was attentive, obedient, and seemed to know her place in the military hierarchy. But Mrs. Nash's status as a model laundress was complicated after her death by the revelation of her secret life as a biological man. Years after Nash's service as a midwife to Annie, Mrs. Custer recounted the circumstances surrounding Nash's death in her autobiography. Before she died, Mrs. Nash had left clear instructions to the other women at Fort Lincoln, ostensibly laundresses like her, to make sure her body was quickly buried without pomp and ceremony. She wanted neither an open viewing of her body nor did she desire any type of autopsy from the Post Surgeon. For reasons that remain unclear, the Post Surgeon performed the forbidden autopsy and uncovered Mrs. Nash's secret– she was biologically a man. Or so the Post Surgeon claimed. Unlike most mundane medical issues and daily events that would have found their way into post records, the doctor's revelation of Nash's true sex is absent in official documents. When Custer recounted Nash's secret in her own memoirs she was quite matter-of-fact about the entire situation. While her lack of surprise may have been the result of recounting the events at Fort Lincoln seven years after they

occurred, there is a sly knowingness in Custer's tone that implies she knew Nash's secret long before her death. Custer had previously noted, perhaps seeing prescience in her own words, how "She told me that she had lived a rough life before coming to the 7th, even dressing as a man in order to support herself by driving the ox-teams over the plains to New Mexico."[232]

Little is known of Nash's life other than through scattered accounts through works like Custer's *Boots and Saddles* as well as later newspaper accounts of her death. What is known is that late in her life Nash found herself in the remote Northern Great Plains at Fort Lincoln just outside of Bismarck, Dakota Territory. In 1878 Fort Lincoln was still a fairly remote locale uncomfortably close to the still "restless" Sioux. 1878 was also the year the proposal to phase out the laundresses as official members of the army was put into practice as a simultaneous solution to financial pressures and the ongoing conflict between laundresses and the families of junior officers. Nash's status as a Mexican woman and a laundress placed her somewhat outside that conflict but the revelation of her biological sex, even posthumously, called in to question lingering fears over having the wrong types of women associating with enlisted soldiers. Although Nash's age and her status as a married woman would have, again, partially isolated her from those fears the Post Surgeon's revelations could have worsened fears as to how working-class women could easily corrupt the enlisted soldiers now viewed as under the direct legal control of officers and under the unofficial yet equally powerful moral control of officers' wives. Added to that could have been an anxiety generated over Nash, someone Custer assumed to be of Mexican descent, and her relationship with a young aspiring white sergeant.

At the time of her death, Nash was married to Sergeant John Noonan, a promising sergeant who by all accounts was intelligent and quite handsome. Custer herself later remarked

[232] *Custer, "Boots and Saddles"; or, Life in Dakota with General Custer*, 188-89.

on the fine figure he cut riding through Foot Lincoln. Noonan had quickly risen from the enlisted ranks to become a sergeant as well as Nash's third husband. Nash had previously been married to two other sergeants in the cavalry and had subsequently been deserted by one while the other had died. Over the years she had accumulated a sizable fortune, some estimates put it at $10,000 at the time of her death. While her fortune would have been even greater if her previous husbands had not absconded with her savings, Nash's resourcefulness was notable and the question of whether the money figured into Noonan's marriage to Nash is unclear but by all accounts, the two did seem happy.

When Nash died, Noonan had been out in the field. Upon hearing the news of her death and the doctor's revelations as to her biological sex, Noonan was flabbergasted and told a reporter from nearby Bismarck "When I married her, sir, I believed her to be a woman, and I never knew to the contrary until I heard of the post-mortem."[233] The reporter, exhibiting a skepticism no doubt shared by his readers persisted, "You were a husband to her, were you not? A husband with all that the name implies?" The Tribune reporter broached the obvious yet still delicate topic of how Noonan could not have known if he and Nash had sexually consummated their marriage. Noonan's response was an empathic yes and he even went on to detail how Nash had previously been pregnant and had a miscarriage. He also redoubled his protestations as to Nash's sex and boldly claimed "She at one time had an abortion procured upon her. In her early life she was in the habit of carrying heavy burdens. The effort of this was to relax her muscles that she could not carry a child. Three or four hard sicknesses resulted, and I myself was party to one abortion to save her the pain of another." Not only did Noonan reject the notion that he could

[233] *Bismarck Tribune* 1878

have been deceived by Nash as to her true sex, but he went on to claim she must biological have been a woman or the abortion would not have been possible.

Noonan's words were so perplexing that the story, initially limited to the Dakota Territory, quickly found a national audience, particularly once *The National Police Gazette* picked up the story. Two separate stories were published in the newspaper over the course of the winter of 1878. *The National Police Gazette* was a widely disseminated periodical by the second half of the nineteenth century. It was a publication that cut across class lines and instead united its almost exclusively male readership along what were viewed as mutually interesting topics including sports, primarily boxing and baseball, and stories of true crime. Nash's death fell into the latter category and joined similar stories featuring licentious women, usually, working class, battling over a man. Whether one of the women ended up killing the other via gunshot or a knife wound, or in one case via an oven, only contributed to the lascivious nature of the journal. Illustrations usually accompanied the stories and many combined violence with titillating details. Nudity was not depicted but the questionable illustrations and stories meant the *National Police Gazette* was not the type of periodical an upstanding member of the middle class would have read, at least at home.

In one of the few works on the publication, *The National Police Gazette and the Making of the Modern American Man, 1879-1906* (2006), Guy Reel notes the paper "warned [men] against deviance of women as well as the deviance of criminal activity while that very behavior was sensationalized."[234] It is not surprising Nash and Noonan's story would have appeared in its pages as Nash represented an extreme version of the "deviant woman" while Noonan conversely appeared to be a respectable man. *The National Police Gazette* found a natural home in

[234] Reel p9

barbershops, a post-Civil War replacement for boisterous taverns in many locations, as there was generally a great deal of sitting and waiting involved in trips to get a haircut or a shave. The decision by that journal to feature the Nash story is somewhat curious but I would argue it was presented as a cautionary tale. After Nash's revelation, Noonan was mercilessly mocked at Fort Lincoln and eventually deserted the army. One month after his wife's death, on November 30, 1878, Noonan's body was found. He had died of a self-inflicted pistol shot to the heart. Clearly the message was to know who your wife was and to make sure class and racial transgressions weren't compounded by even more serious sins.

Army laundresses and officers' wives occupied a peculiar space in the history of the US Army, the creation of an American Empire, and shifting notions of gender. The remote frontier forts scattered across the Montana, Wyoming, Nebraska, and Dakota Territories created tensions between the two groups of women together through the exigencies of a large demographic slant towards men. The necessity of maintaining rigid class boundaries both pulled them together and pushed them apart. One group enjoyed, for a time at least, official recognition while the other was able to influence the formulation of new military policies.

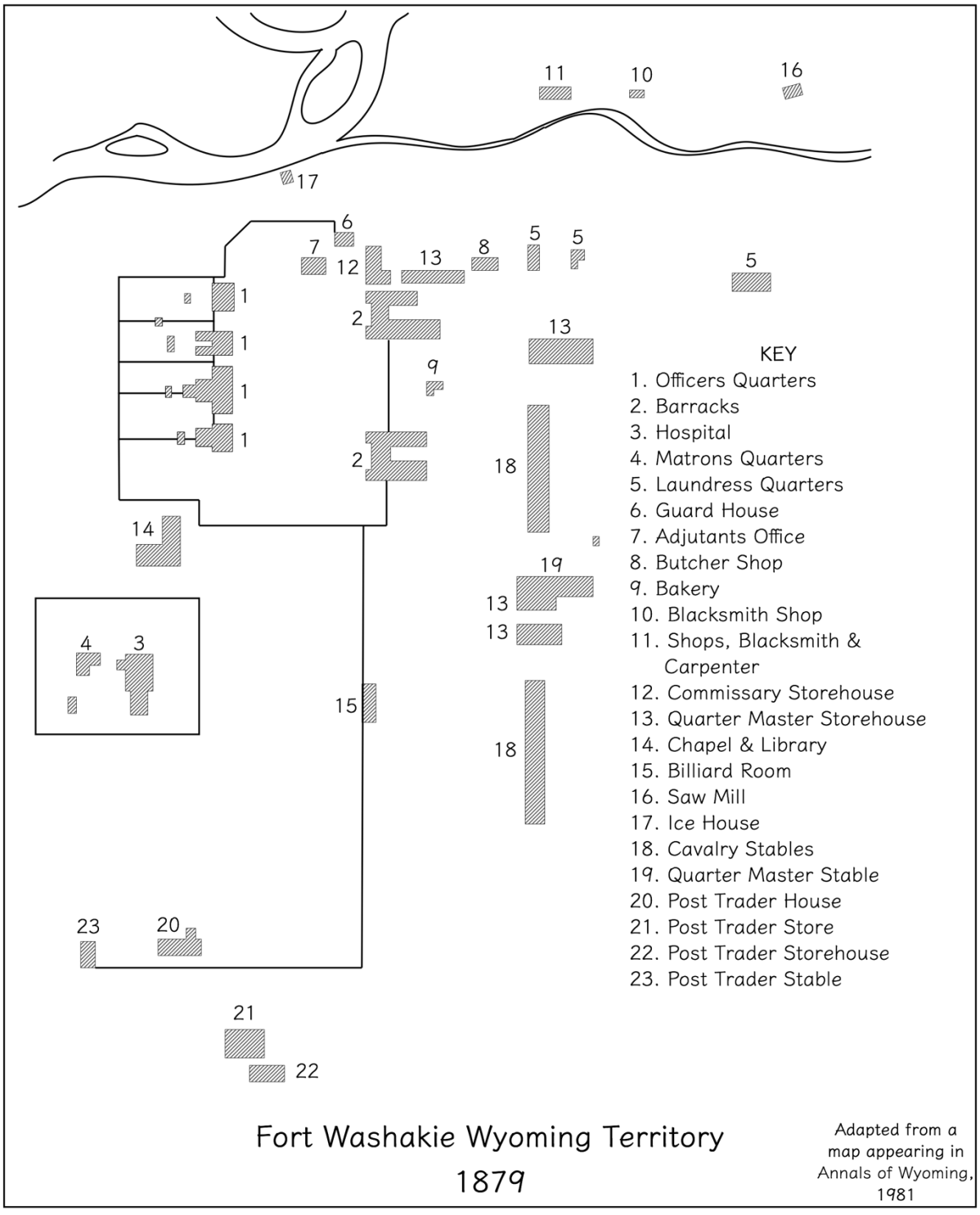

Figure 23 - Fort Washakie Map showing relative locations of facilities including Laundress's quarters and Officer's houses.

Chapter 5: “Spielen sie baseball oder tun sie singen?” (Do you play baseball or do you sing?) - Leisure time and cultural identity on US Army frontier forts in the late-nineteenth century.

Figure 24 - German Singing Society Fort Keogh, Sunday May 13, 1894 NARA 531105

A faithful soldier, without fear,
He loved his girl for one whole year,
For one whole year and longer yet,
His love for her, he'd ne'er forget.

This youth to foreign land did roam,
While his true love, fell ill at home.
Sick unto death, she no one heard.
Three days and nights she spoke no word.

And when the youth received the news,
That his dear love, her life may lose,
He left his place and all he had,
To see his love, went this young lad...
- English translation, The Faithful Hussar
(Der treue Husar), mid-nineteenth century
German song[235]

[235] German original: “Es war einmal ein treuer Husar, / Der liebt' sein Mädchen ein ganzes Jahr, / Ein ganzes Jahr und noch viel mehr, / Die Liebe nahm kein Ende mehr. / Der Knab' der fuhr ins fremde Land, / Derweil ward ihm sein Mädchen krank, / Sie ward so krank bis auf den Tod, / Drei Tag, drei Nacht sprach sie kein Wort / Und als der Knab' die Botschaft kriegt, / Daß sein Herzlieb am Sterben liegt, / Verließ er gleich sein Hab und Gut, / Wollt seh'n, was sein Herzliebchen tut.” Hussar(German *Husar*) refers to cavalry units broadly but prior to eighteen century it was used almost exclusively to Slavic and Hungarian mounted units. Prussian generals adopted the designation in the early eighteenth century and by the nineteenth century Hussar would not have carried an explicit connection with any single nationality or ethnic group. There is compelling evidence that the song originally used

From the late 1870s to the 1890s, officials in the US Army moved from a longstanding tradition of turning a blind eye to the leisure activities of soldiers towards a more comprehensive policing of how soldiers spent their free time. Drinking, gambling, and fornicating had long been viewed as typical activities for enlisted men, but in the decades after the Civil War reformers began to curtail problematic behaviors and steer enlisted men towards pursuits deemed acceptable. Visits to the saloon and brothel were replaced with singing clubs, baseball, and organized physical exercise as well as theatrical productions, hunting parties, and even competitive gardening.

Army officials' decisions to intrude on what had traditionally been the only private time allowed enlistees also signal the growth of the state in the years after the Civil War. While early nineteenth century citizen-soldiers served only when necessary, thus retaining a modicum of autonomy, the increasingly industrialized soldier was indicative of the omni-present state. The desire to control every aspects of soldiers' lives was not only a product of industrialization, including standardization, but was also a response to global imperial ideologies. The modern imperial military had to embody the virtues of America. While controlling how soldiers conducted themselves during wartime was an obvious point of inquiry for how far that embodiment went, the personal lives of enlistees was an equally important and often fraught battleground.

Leisure time on US Army frontier forts became increasingly regulated during the second-half of the nineteenth century because of the contested language about masculinity. Enlistees engaged in a myriad of physical and cultural activities, some of which seemed antithetical to the

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the word *knabe* or *edelknabe* instead of *husar*. *Knabe* refers to a boy, possibly a very young soldier and *edelknabe* refers to a squire, almost a junior knight. For more information see Heinz Rölleke(ed.): *Des Knaben Wunderhorn. Lesarten und Erläuterungen*, Teil 3. Kohlhammer, Stuttgart 1978, p. 63-71.

long process of military professionalization and standardization. Some activities were emphasized as beneficial, i.e. baseball, while others which seemed contrary to Americanization, i.e. German singing clubs, were either ignored or tacitly endorsed. The decision to declare an activity as prohibited or to endorse it was often tied to the perceive immediate utility of each past time. Baseball, for example, promoted team work, gentility, and uniformity. Gambling, conversely, was depicted as selfish, unnecessarily competitive, and wasteful. The process of categorizing leisure actives as either acceptable or prohibited mirrored broader societal shifts as to what constituted proper American culture and reflected a deeper engagement by the state in the private lives of those in its service.

Understanding changes in leisure time for soldiers necessitates an examination of how shifting notions of masculinity played into whether or not an activity was acceptable. Proper masculinity meant aspects of manhood tied to the middle-class while improper masculinity almost always incorporated working class tropes. Gail Bederman's *Manliness and Civilization* is considered the landmark work dealing with the often-conflicting notions about masculinity circulating at the end of the nineteenth century. Men were simultaneously expected to engage in a rigorous, or as Theodore Roosevelt put it in his 1899 speech, a "strenuous" pursuit of appropriately masculine behaviors.[236] Appropriate simultaneously meant activities modelled by the middle class as well those increasingly viewed by the medical profession as beneficial to one's health. While the 1880s and early 1890s are generally not considered formative for connections between proper manliness and physical activity, the dominant discourse of the reimaging of how frontier forts would be constructed and what roles they would play in the daily

[236] Theodore Roosevelt, "The Strenuous Life," 1899, speech, Chicago, Ill. "We admire the man who embodies victorious effort; the man who never wrongs his neighbor, who is prompt to help a friend, but who has those virile qualities necessary to win in the stern strife of actual life."

lives of soldiers was very much in agreement with the broader contours of medical views on the correlations between rigorous, wholesome physical activity and proper manliness. Additionally, it was received wisdom in the years after the Civil War that soldiers needed tasks to occupy their time and that free time often equaled drunkenness, gambling, and fornication. All these activities were considered deleterious to unit cohesion. The restructuring of the soldier/institution relationship as well as physical changes made manifest at frontier forts consciously placed acceptable activities easily within soldiers' grasps while simultaneously replacing or at least distancing temptations.

The creation and control of leisure spaces by the US Army was a new phenomenon after the Civil War. Organized recreational activities were a rarity in many Civil War units and although they lacked any clear and consistent official recognition, they did highlight points of conflict that played out after the war. As Lorien Foote argues in *The Gentlemen and the Roughs*, leisure time simultaneously offered a way for enlisted men to unite over common activities and for middle-class officers to delineate their differences with the men in their charge. The working-class men who had enlisted and fought in the war were proof positive, for middle-class officers, of the ways urbanization, alcohol, and a lack of womanly influence degraded men. The rough culture embodied by the enlisted men was at odds with Victorian-era notions of masculinity and gentility. Foote also examines the ways some officers crossed the class line and united with enlisted soldiers in morally peril-some activities like drinking, gambling, and brawling. These officers were by no means a majority, but they did represent both potential conflicts and commonalities between middle-class and working-class ideals of manhood. They also represented the military camp as a place where class could break down without the influence of proper leisure activities.

Figure 25 - Fort Keogh 25th Infantry, NARA.

Baseball as a Tool for Cultural Inculcation

One antidote to rough culture that emerged during the Civil War was semi-organized baseball organizations tied to units. Warren Goldstein's landmark work on baseball, *Playing for Keeps*, examines the emergence of baseball as a national pastime over the course of the nineteenth century. Goldstein argues baseball grew alongside volunteer militia units and fire brigades as quasi-fraternal organizations meant to unite men. He places baseball as contiguous with previous working-class leisure activities but clarifies it as "considerably less violent, less drunken, and on the whole less raucous than its cultural predecessors."[237] After the war these organization persisted to some extent and as volunteer units were disbanded or incorporated into

[237] See Richard Briggs Stott, *Jolly Fellows: Male Milieus in Nineteenth-Century America*, Gender Relations in the American Experience (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2009) for a thorough treatment of the "rough" leisure alternatives in which men engaged in the nineteenth century. Stott argues the tavern was the primary venue for male leisure activities at the start of the nineteenth century but over the course of the century, and accelerating after the Civil War, that venue shifted to the parlor, the playing field, the barber shop, and the business world. Men who persisted in using the tavern as a social outlet were systematically categorized as degenerate, alcohol-sodden, and criminal.

the regular army the Civil War baseball clubs evolved into local sporting clubs. Moving to the Great Plains after the Civil War, many of the officers at newly formed outposts in places like Montana and the Dakotas had experienced the "genteel sportsmanship" of baseball and sought organized athletics to create proper soldiers out of an ethnically, socially, and racially diverse body of recruits.

While the Great Plains was critical in the inculcation of an army-based baseball sporting culture, one of the earliest baseball clubs organized after the Civil War actually emerged in the South during Reconstruction. Members of Company H of the 7th Cavalry under the command of Frederick Benteen formed the *Benteen Base Ball and Gymnasium Club* in March of 1873 in Nashville, Tennessee. The company soon found themselves shipped to the northern Great Plains as the nation's military priorities shifted from Reconstruction to dealing with the "Indian Problem." It is useful to note that the organization was not formed at the direction of senior officers but rather by NCOs. While it is unclear who financed the early equipment purchases of teams like the *Benteen Base Ball Club*, later unit-specific organizations relied upon at least some funds from senior officers and official army disbursements.[238]

The *Benteen Base Ball Club* and others like it across the Great Plains served to create esprit-de-corps within units as the exigencies of conflicts like the Civil War receded into the past. Constant combat could instill unit cohesion, but the monotonous routine of frontier fort life lacked that impetus. Daily life for frontier soldiers was predictable and only occasionally did conflict with Indians interrupt the routine (see Table 5). Each company seemed to form its own baseball club and those teams would travel to neighboring forts to compete. The sporting

[238] See Harry H. Anderson, "The Benteen Base Ball Club: Sports Enthusiasts of the Seventh Cavalry," *Montana: The Magazine of Western History* 20, no. 3 (1970): 82–87 for the only extant historical treatment of the Benteen Club.

contests united soldiers within units but also created connections across a vast space by fostering friendly competition. These inter-fort competitions also fostered connections between communities across the region. Baseball was considered a civilized pastime and its prevalence by the late-1870s across virtually all frontier outposts attests to its desirability as a proper recreational activity. Allen Guttmann's *Games and Empires* as well as other works have thoroughly examined the ways sporting organizations like baseball were used to promote imperial ideologies in places like Cuba, Puerto Rico, Hawaii, and the Philippines at the end of the nineteenth century.[239] Even before those more overtly imperial deployments of baseball, the movement to use baseball as a tool of imperial inculcation was already present in places like Montana and the Dakotas by the 1880s.

Table 5 - Daily Schedule Fort Baker March 9th, 1870[240]

Reveille – Daybreak
Breakfast Call – 6:30am
Sick Call – 7:30am
Fatigue Call – 8:-am
Guard Mount – 8:30am
Drill Call – 10:-am
Recall from Drill – 11:-am
1st Sergeants' Call – 11:30am
Recall from Fatigue – 12:00pm
Dinner Call Immediately thereafter
Fatigue Call – 1:-pm
Drill Call – 3:-pm
Recall from Drill – 4:-pm
Recall from Fatigue – 5:-pm
Retreat – Sunset
Tattoo – 8:-pm
Taps – 8:30pm
*Sunday Inspection – 8:30am

[239] Allen Guttmann, *Games and Empires: Modern Sports and Cultural Imperialism* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1994); Gerald R. Gems, *The Athletic Crusade: Sport and American Cultural Imperialism* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2006).

[240] Fort Baker Papers, MSHS.

While one of the primary goals of the baseball clubs was to foster unity, they could also reveal deep divisions within and between units. One particularly compelling example of the collision of imperialism and racism within sporting culture was an incident record by Private Hartford Clarke in May of 1891. The baseball club at Fort Niobrara was playing a local team from Valentine, Nebraska. Clarke explained the Valentine team was short of players and so a novel solution was proposed. One of the members of "L" Company would play with the Valentines. The only problem was that the "L" Company was an all-Indian unit. These units were another in the series of military experiments conducted in the Great Plains after their Civil War. I analyze the formation of those units and their eventual demise in another section of my dissertation, but it would have been surprising to see an Indian playing amongst the Valentine locals. In his journal, Hartford Clarke recounted how he had scored the closing homerun of a contest that ended 30-1. What's interesting is that the only run by the Valentines was scored by the Indian soldier. His name was Yellow Hand and he was a friend of Hartford Clarke. Clarke also notes how the contest drew "Quite a crowd of soldiers, indians, officers, and citizens."[241] Yellow Hand was married, and his wife and child resided not far from Fort Niobrara. While it is not definite, there is the possibility she, and other Indian civilians, witnessed the game. This was exactly the type of sporting activity as imperial tool Guttmann and others have noted as prevalent later in the 1890s.

The story of Yellow Hand does not end there. Later that evening one of the local residents took umbrage at the Indian's skill in baseball…he probably bristled at the notion of a "red man" mastering a white man's game. As Clarke recounts in his journal:

> Yellow Hand, my indian friend, came near getting out pretty bad with a dirk in the hands of a drunken cow boy. The cow boy came up to Yellow Hand and told him he was no good, or any of his race, and that he could lick him - I told this

[241] Hartford Clarke Diary May 31, 1891.

> fellow to go about his business, or he would surely suffer by fooling with Y.H.; and at the same time he pulled a dirk out of his sheath and said he would cut the heart out of him anyway. But Y.H. was to shrewed[*sic*] for him; he grabbed him by the arm and I pulled the knife out of his hand, and then Y.H. gave him a good thrashing. To see a fight like that out here is simply sport. Little they care about the killing of a man in these parts.[242]

The single run by the Valentines was scored by Yellow Hand and Clarke seems to sense the inherent issues with an Indian mastering baseball, thus he adds that Yellow Hand's run was only possible because of an error on his team's part. The movement towards official permission if not promotion to play baseball can be found through numerous records generated at places like Niobrara, Custer, Keogh, Assiniboine, Washakie, and Missoula through the 1880s and into the early 1890s. The push towards athletic teams as appropriate recreation coincided with a national movement industrializing leisure time.

On frontier forts, athletic activities and facilities were soon seen as antidotes to the dubious entertainments available in adjacent communities. Saloons, gambling halls, and houses of ill repute all beckoned the enlisted soldiers far from the moralizing influences of their mothers, wives, and sisters. By the late 1880s, as communities surrounding forts grew, and the available entertainments with them, officers at various forts began to propose solutions to the problem of leisure time.

[242] Hartford Clark Diary, May 31, 1891.

The End of the Sutler

Figure 26 - The Good Ole Days at Fort Keogh, Mont., no.531104, NARA.

The primary target for reforming enlisted soldiers' behavior was the post sutler store which increasingly grew out of favor after the 1870s. The sutler's or post trader's store often served as the nexus for nascent communities in the far-flung plains. These stores were often built with private funds and thus did not deplete already strapped military budgets. Soldiers could buy personal items at the store and could indulge in a game of billiards or cards while having a beer or some whiskey. Fort commanders and officers also utilized the services of the post trader but, just as Foote argued had occurred in the Civil War, the officers doubted the enlisted men's abilities to temper their behavior. By 1889, a general consensus had emerged within the army that post traders should be banished from forts and replaced with army run stores and canteens. The post stores and canteens were initially created with military moneys, but company officers reinvested the profits gleaned from soldiers' purchases back into the stores. Thus, the establishments were soon able to turn a small profit and provide suitable amusements for soldiers. Billiards and similar games had initially cost anywhere from a penny to a nickel a game,

but as profits from the sale of manageable alcoholic drinks like beer and cider grew, the post canteens were able to offer them gratis. Necessities were also eventually sold at cost. While the post canteen was an imperfect solution, it was considered better than the saloons of adjacent towns.[243] C.B. Ewing, the Assistant Post Surgeon at Fort Lewis, Colorado reported to the Surgeon General "The formation of a canteen has been beneficial to the men. The sale of beverages has been limited to that of the mildest, viz, beer, which contains from 3 to 5 per cent. Of alcohol; hence, I think drunkenness will continue to decrease."[244] Direct government involvement, in Lewis' estimation, meant a recognition that men needed some freedom regarding leisure activities but he also saw the oversight of what the men during their free time meant the worst excesses of the saloon and the former post sutlers' store could be mitigated. But managing the drinking spaces could only go so far in relation to reclaiming "men from dissipated habits or prevent the ennui which leads to their formation."

Friedrich Jahn on the Great Plains

C.E. Woodruff was one of the first post doctors to report on the positive effects that would result should the gymnasium become standard army practice, particularly in the "snow-bound" section of the country.

> The experience gained during the past winter shows forcibly the advantages to be gained by having a gymnasium, where the men can take appropriate exercise during the long and severe winter…During about five months the chief duties are shoveling snow, drill, and guard; the snow is too deep to allow outdoor

[243] See W. N. Davis, "The Sutler at Fort Bridger," *The Western Historical Quarterly* 2 (1971): 37–54; David Michael Delo, *Peddlers and Post Traders: The Army Sutler on the Frontier* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1992); Jerome A. Greene, "Sutlers, Post Traders, and the Fort Laramie Experience, 1850s –1860s," *Journal of the West* 41 (Summer2002): 17–25; Robert Wooster, *Soldiers, Sutlers, and Settlers: Garrison Life on the Texas Frontier* (College Station: Texas A & M University Press, 1987) for more information on the transition from the post sutler to the canteen.

[244] *Surgeon General's Annual Report 1887.* p. 91.

> exercise…The beaten paths in the snow lead him very naturally to the village saloon.[245]

While Woodruff advocated for a gymnasium, Lt. Charles F. Mason reported how beneficial the gymnasium at Fort Washakie, Wyoming had proven the previous winter, "During this winter systematic exercise in the gymnasium has been at times compulsory, and though the course was not maintained for a sufficient length of time to show any very marked change in the physique of the men, yet I am confident that during these periods there was much less willingness shown in appearing upon sick report."[246] Mason linked the presence of a gymnasium with increased military readiness. This may have been why Woodruff still didn't have the gymnasium he desired, he hadn't linked it explicitly to military preparedness and had instead portrayed it as an antidote to rough culture. In the *1889 Surgeon General's Report* Captain J. Van R. Hoff connected the presence of a gymnasium with military preparedness, a lowering of the incidence of drunkenness, and a decrease in men affected by venereal diseases.[247] In the same report Woodruff once again called for the construction of a gymnasium at Fort Missoula, Montana, "Having no amusement rooms, and caring little for reading, the men spend much time among the adjacent rum shops. Their habits might be improved by the construction of a gymnasium and proper lounging or amusement rooms, the latter to be as addition to barracks."[248] Woodruff persisted in the moral benefits of the gymnasium but by 1889 he clearly had the support of the Surgeon General George M. Sternberg. The summary of the 1889 report included a call to model facilities on the gymnasium at West Point and use the "German system, with such modifications and additions from other systems as seem advisable."[249] Sternberg's report did not go so far as to

[245] *Surgeon General's Annual Report 1887*, p. 91.
[246] *Surgeon General's Annual Report 1887*, p. 72.
[247] *Surgeon General's Annual Report 1889*, p. 79.
[248] *Surgeon General's Annual Report 1889*, p. 91.
[249] *Surgeon General's Annual Report 1889*, p. 140.

mandate the construction of gymnasiums and he may have been leaving that decision up to the Secretary of War.

Post gymnasiums were established in order to curtail rough culture, but they were also constructed to promote vigorous manliness often inflected with nationalism. Many of the young soldiers stationed at Great Plains outposts were German immigrants and had experience with Friedrich Jahn's gymnastic system, these were the so-called Turners.[250] Jahn combined physical conditioning with the inculcation of national ideologies. Although some historians have questioned exactly where Jahn's ideas may have ultimately led, the similarity of what he taught to accomplish in Germany with what was happening on frontier outposts is compelling. Officers in frontier forts saw gymnasiums as places for physical and moral education.[251]

They also may have viewed those spaces as points of Americanization. The literature on the rise of Americanization is vast and most scholars point to the early years of the twentieth century particularly just before World War as the pinnacle of indoctrination efforts but prior initiatives like the introduction of baseball into frontier forts and the establishment of collective spaces for recreation must be viewed in a similar vein.[252] Athletic clubs, post canteens, and gymnasiums all seem contiguous in the ways they directed soldiers' leisure time towards acceptable or at the least fewer corrupting outlets. There is a cohesive nature to their promotion. But another introduction by German immigrants seems to run counter to those policy shifts.

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[250] See Oliver Ohmann, *Turnvater Jahn Und Die Deutschen Turnfeste* (Erfurt: Sutton Verlag, 2008); Svenja Goltermann, *Körper Der Nation: Habitusformierung Und Die Politik DesTurnens 1860-1890*, Kritische Studien Zur Geschichtswissenschaft, Bd. 126 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1998); Wolfgang Eichel, *Geschichte Der Körperkultur in Deutschland*, 2. Aufl.] (Berlin: Sportverlag, 1969); Roland Naul and Ken Hardman, eds., *Sport and Physical Education in Germany*, International Society for Comparative Physical Education and Sport Series (London ; New York: Routledge : ISCPES, 2002) for more information on the emergence of the gymnasium as a physical embodiment of vigorous nationalism.

[251] See *Surgeon General's Annual Reports* 1891-1894.

[252] See Lynne Tatlock and Matt Erlin, eds., *German Culture in Nineteenth-Century America: Reception,Adaptation, Transformation*, Studies in German Literature, Linguistics, and Culture (Rochester, NY: Camden House, 2005).

German Singing Clubs and the Limits of Americanization

German singing clubs grew in popularity across the United States in the years after the Civil War. Texas and the Upper Midwest experienced the rapid growth of German Singing Societies. One of the earliest singing societies in Texas, the *Gesangverein Germania*, was established in New Braunfels in 1850. These societies held festivals, *Saengerfests*, and helped preserve German folkways. It is interesting to note that many of the societies were later instrumental not vocal…and helped form civic symphonies in the early twentieth century. The growth of these clubs affected frontier outposts as well. At most northern Great Plains forts, German immigrants were the largest ethnic group present. Sometimes upwards of half the enlisted men had either been born in greater Germany or were the sons of German immigrants. It is not surprising that these societies grew on frontier forts however it is interesting that something seemingly counter to the nascent Americanization impulses of baseball and the gymnastics movement would not only exist but receive official sanction.

Musicians had been considered important components of military units for some time, but after the Civil War there was a push to professionalize military bands and assure that each fort had a satisfactory performance group. These new military bands moved beyond assisting in marching and drilling and were explicitly tasked with performing for the pleasure of soldiers, both enlisted and officers, as well as others tied to the fort. At several forts virtually every member of these new bands was German. Furthermore, they were also active participants in German singing societies. That leads to the question of how their simultaneous participation in two seemingly antithetical groups was allowed to persist. If the military band was meant to promote American middle-class values and the German Singing Societies were designed to further German traditions weren't the two at odds?

Not necessarily. Changes in leisure time and its regulation within the army after 1870 were undertaken as imitations of European forms. While the British and French militaries had served as the primary points of reference for the army, in the later decades of the nineteenth century the Prussian and later the German armies became the only acceptable models. This imitation only grew after the Franco-Prussian War of 1870-71. Critics of French forms looked at the French military's failures in that conflict and argued the United States should instead pattern itself on the innovative policies emerging in the new German army. Dirk Bönker's *Militarism in a Global Age* makes a powerful claim that the origins of the naval buildup prior to World War I lay not in a strictly European competition but in a trans-Atlantic contest between the United States and Germany. He contends the navies of those countries were most eager to embrace novel ideas and move towards modern navies and both institutions viewed themselves as distinct from those of Britain and France. Changes in army posts like those in the Great Plains were not part of a competition with Germany; however, policy changes in those spaces were reactions to and imitations of German forms as well as broader engagements with shifting imperial agendas.

The question of why German Singing Societies enjoyed quasi-official recognition may reside in the imitation of competing imperial forms. Those German musicians were also veterans of the Prussian, German, and Austro-Hungarian armies. Many of them had participated in the Franco-Prussian War, the conflict that may have precipitated shifts in American military policies.[253] While the push to Americanize immigrants grew, the desire adopt German military forms was also increasing. Balancing the domestic desire to Americanize while maintain a global imperial presence was, perhaps, the distinguishing feature of the United States' imperial engagements in the last decades of the nineteenth century.

[253] See 1870 and 1880 Census Data in Appendix.

This balancing act is poignantly represented in the confrontation surrounding Yellow Hand and his participation in the baseball Memorial Day Baseball Game. The baseball uniform was as much symbol of imperialism as the soldier's blue coat, and the incorporation of Americanizing pastimes into an imperial project makes an early and somewhat unexpected appearance on the Northern Great Plains. Popular representations of the imperial project, if it is even referred to as such, in the Dakotas and Montana often revolve around a settler-colonial narrative where the Army is characterized as protector of white European migrants moving across the Mississippi and the Missouri Rivers. That type of analysis misses compelling aspects of daily life in places like Forts Keogh and Assiniboine. White European migrants confronting Indigenous peoples is part of the story but not all of it. Indians, like Yellow Hand found a simultaneous advocate and adversary in the Army. Similarly, soldiers like Hartford Clarke transformed the physical boundaries of the United States while they themselves were transformed by emerging ideas of the regulation of leisure.

Figure 27 - Baseball team, Troop L, 9th Cavalry, Fort Wingate, New Mexico, Imperial Photo Gallery, 1899. Neg No. 098374, Palace of the Governors Photo Archives, New Mexico History Museum, Santa Fe, New Mexico.

"Rational pleasures take the place of idleness and vice"

Contextualizing baseball within the broader push for an American empire is fairly straightforward. The efficiency, uniformity, and cooperation required in the game coupled with the subsuming of potentially violent confrontations in a genteel or gentlemanly pursuit are easily connected to middle-class values being promulgated by reformers by the end of the nineteenth century. Similarly, the expediency of allowing former Prussian soldiers to maintain cultural vestiges, i.e. the *gesangverein* and gymnasiums, while serving in the US Army privileged the presence of those men. They were given exceptions because of their perceived martial skills. The mere fact that these men were Prussian was interpreted, by reformers at least, as clear evidence of military wisdom. The German victory over France in 1871 was directly translated, via those singing clubs, into an increased likelihood of American military success through the German-speaking soldiers. Racialized and ethnically inflected notions of inherent martial abilities were thus incorporated into official decisions to allow the singing clubs to persist.

Unlike the relatively straightforward past times of baseball and the *gesangverein* was the odd yet seemingly pervasive push for other competitive yet genteel pursuits, including competitive gardening. The evidence is scant for this activity, but it is present. Soldiers, almost universally enlisted men, were encouraged to grow gardens, both to supplement monotonous rations as to provide an outlet for idealized masculine competitiveness. The post gardens were initially established to prevent scurvy and post surgeons often lamented their absence from some forts.[254] The climate at many frontier forts made the regular production of vegetables, something not provided in the army ration, unpredictable at best. Growing seasons were generally brief, and the pervasive lack of water often meant sewage and water runoff from adjacent post buildings

[254] See *Report of the Surgeon General of the Army, 1891*, particularly the post reports Also, see P.H. Sheridan, *Outline of the Posts in the Military Division of the Missouri,* (Washington: US Government, 1876).

were used to water those gardens. But the regular production of vegetables was something increasingly viewed as essential to well-functioning units. In a letter to the *Army and Navy Journal*, Major Brisbin argued productive post gardens meant fewer desertions:

> My battery was once stationed as a post for three years where their labors were *very* great; they were kept at work from morning till night, but a post garden was practicable, five or six cows kept, fresh beef cheap, and the sales of ration pork at good prices. The result was sufficiency of food, and, so far as I remember, but two desertions in the three years, and these two men—great ragamuffins—were fairly driven out of the battery by their comrades.[255]

Utility aside, the post gardens would have been a welcome respite from the predominant grassland of most Great Plains forts. But tending those gardens would have been time consuming. There's no clear record of soldiers being detailed to cultivate the garden, but since soldiers were often detailed to seemingly ancillary duties, putting a group on quasi-permanent garden duty does not seem outside the bounds of possibility.

Why soldiers would compete or at the least parade the literal fruits of their past time, cabbages and squash, is still perplexing. Did army reformers really believe having enlisted men grow gardens would prevent debauchery? Surprisingly, the answer is yes. Burnet Landreth, a proponent of post gardens, opined in the *United Service Magazine*:

> Such gardens would have to conform to circumstances, and the more difficult these circumstances may be to surmount, the more pleasure in the results, both in a gastronomic and intellectual view. The labor costs nothing; enlisted men will be well employed in the garden, and they will themselves feel an interest in its perfect culture, if they see their officers and the ladies of the Post earnest students of plant-life, whether the object be a Cabbage in its homeliness, or a bed of Petunias or Portulaca in dazzling brilliancy.[256]

Landreth connected the leisure activity of gardening with the mimicry of middle-class forms by enlisted soldiers. Through gardening those men would begin to understand, however imperfectly,

[255] Major Brisbin, *Army and Navy Journal*, February 2, 1878.
[256] Burnet Landreth, "On Gardening," *United Service Magazine* (1881, p371-381).

"perfect culture." The soldiers posing with their produce (Figure 28 - Enlisted Men with Vegetables from Fort Assiniboine, 1880s, Raymond Mentzer Papers, Montana State University Collection, at Fort Assiniboine seem remote from the photographs of soldiers dressed in baseball uniforms (see Figure 25 and Figure 27). But both the participation in baseball and the perhaps reticent involvement in gardening were both products of a rising middle-class movement to reform those viewed as morally inferior, namely Indian and Black soldiers and recent immigrants, as well as urban working-class men. Drinking, gambling, and utilizing prostitutes were deleterious not only to army regiments and their readiness but also to the individual soldier. Physical and psychological problems arising from each of those vices were often provided as rationale for limiting or prohibiting those activities. Gardening was not. It was an appropriate physical activity for men who, for many reformers, were conceptualized as one pay day or leave away from venereal infection and moral decrepitude. It was a moral and practical solution to the problem of too much leisure time at frontier forts.

Returning to Landreth's article, he connects gardening with both the project of western expansion and nascent ideas of proper middle-class urbanization and the inculcation of attendant values:

> A well-arranged and cultivated Post-Garden would soon have a wide reputation in the vicinity; settlers would view the capabilities of the soil, see successful methods of culture, labor-saving garden implements, and be thus induced to establish gardens which would minister to their comfort, making life more enjoyable, and, if flowers be introduced, elevating the thoughts and refining all who look upon them. The children of the garrison and vicinity would become lovers of nature,—the friends of trees, fruits, and flowers,—and be put on the road to be better men and women than they otherwise would. New and practical thoughts would be diffused among the people, and rational pleasures take the place of idleness and vice.[257]

[257] Landreth 380.

Figure 28 - Enlisted Men with Vegetables from Fort Assiniboine, 1880s, Raymond Mentzer Papers, Montana State University Collection,

Chapter 6: "With Splendid Cheer": The Buffalo Soldiers and the Limits of Political Mobility in the Post-Civil War Army

The Indian Ghost Dance and War

The 9th marched out with splendid cheer the Bad Lands to explo'e-
With Col. Henry at their head they never fear the foe;
So on they rode from Xmas eve 'till dawn of Xmas day;
The Red Skins heard the 9th was near and fled in great dismay[258]

Figure 29 - 9th Cavalry camp at Wounded Knee, SD. 1890/91. DPL ZZR710031418.

On the morning of December 29, 1890, near Wounded Knee Creek in the Dakota Territory, army troops including Black soldiers serving in the 9th Cavalry surrounded an encampment of Lakota Sioux. What happened next is not entirely clear, but what is certain is that when soldiers sought to confiscate weapons from the Lakota, shots were fired.[259] The ensuing

[258] James Mooney, *The Ghost-dance Religion and the Sioux Outbreak of 1890*, 14th Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology, Part 2

[259] Starting with Dee Brown, *Bury My Heart at Wounded Knee: An Indian History of the American West*, (New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston, 1971), the encounter at Wounded Knee in December 1890 has been re-examined and understood as a massacre. It is important to note that immediately after the massacre, observers outside the army as well as soldiers and officers began to publicly question what had occurred that day. General Nelson Miles dismissed James Forsythe, who had ordered the Hotchkiss guns aimed at the encampment, of duty but a court of inquiry later absolved him of responsibility, while noting that he showed poor judgement. A later investigation by the Secretary of War upheld Forsythe's innocence. Nelson Miles continued to cast Forsythe as exceeding orders and using the massacre to end the "Indian problem" once and for all. See Jeffrey Ostler, *The Plains*

chaos resulted in over 150 Lakota deaths, including numerous unarmed women and children. Many of the Lakota were killed by soldiers employing Hotchkiss guns – new rudimentary machine guns.[260] The next day elements of the 9th Cavalry rescued Company K of the 7th Cavalry, an all-white unit, from Brulé Sioux near Drexel Mission. William Othello Wilson, a corporal in the 9th Cavalry, received the Medal of Honor for his actions at Drexel Mission becoming one of a total of fourteen Buffalo Soldiers to receive the Medal of Honor for actions during the Indian Wars.[261] Just as the Hotchkiss gun was a new weapon in the nation's arsenal, so too were the industrialized services rendered by men like Wilson. The Black soldiers in the 9th Cavalry were an instrumental part of the military machine trained on hostile Indians in the Northern Great Plains in the last decades of the nineteenth century and they were conceptualized as wholly different from the citizen soldiers of the Civil War and the Antebellum period. They helped end the threat of Indian uprisings and consolidated state control of the Trans-Mississippi West. They exchanged martial service for an increased stake in the nation's future. Martial service, for men like Wallace, represented an opportunity to make good on the promises of the Reconstruction Amendments and claim the full citizenship they had previously been promised over two decades prior. But claiming citizenship via martial service meant Wilson and most of the men of the Buffalo Soldier units had to do the dirty work of empire. In the winter of 1890-1891 that meant shooting Indians on the Northern Great Plains.

Sioux and U.S. Colonialism from Lewis and Clark to Wounded Knee, (Cambridge ; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2004).

[260] See Jerome A Greene, *American Carnage: Wounded Knee, 1890* (Norman, Oklahoma: University of Oklahoma Press, 2014) for a thorough examination of how the massacre began and the role the Hotchkiss gun and its misuse were one of the central reasons for the large number of civilian casualties.

[261] See Frank N. Schubert, *Black Valor: Buffalo Soldiers and the Medal of Honor, 1870-1898* (Wilmington, Del: Scholarly Resources, 1997) for more on Wilson's service and for Black soldiers and the Medal of Honor in Nineteenth Century

While military planners could not have imagined it at the time, the confrontations at Wounded Knee and Drexel Mission were not sudden, inevitable upticks of violence between the United States and "restless" Indians leading to yet another protracted round of confrontations; rather, they were in many ways the last desperate attempts by the Lakota to carve out a space for themselves in the rapidly transforming Great Plains. The massacre of winter 1890-1891 was the last major conflict between Indians and the US Army. Ironically for men like William Othello Wilson and other Buffalo soldiers, the conflict also represented a high-water mark for how fully Black soldiers were "allowed" to participate in America's imperial project.

In the years immediately following the Civil War, four all-Black units created during that conflict were transformed into regular components of the US Army. While some were initially deployed in the occupied South, all were eventually reassigned to the Great Plains and the desert southwest, regions far removed from sizable white populations. In the remote frontier, Black soldiers were able to establish themselves as valuable members of the military and they repeatedly proved their utility in the ongoing conflict with Indians across both regions. At the same time, young Black men were able to enter West Point, the military academy for the army, for the first time. The initial plan was to place these men, who would graduate as commissioned officers, in control of the segregated Black units. But the experiment at West Point was short-lived, with only a handful of Black cadets graduating during this period. The initial promise of social and political mobility offered by martial service evaporated as the enthusiasm for Radical Reconstruction receded into the past. The rise in violent conflict between Indians and the army in 1876 offered a momentary pause in the deterioration of possibilities for Black men within the army as their martial service was suddenly seen as instrumental to military success.

Just twenty years later in the 1890s the Buffalo soldiers, men who had helped establish American hegemony across the Great Plains, were increasingly assigned mundane duties akin to labor details. They were placed into increasingly fraught confrontations between the army and organized labor, positions from which there was no possibility for martial valor and accompanying social and political prestige. They were also assigned duties far outside the bounds of what was normally asked of enlisted men, namely an experimental bicycle program. When the United States declared war on Spain in 1898, the military once again turned to the Buffalo soldiers and demanded their martial service, but the contours of that service had changed and any real possibility of progress through martial service had shut down. Most Black men who volunteered for military service during that war, unless they served in the 24th or 25th infantry or the 9th and 10th cavalry, were assigned labor duties. Their martial service was devalued, and their labor was of utmost importance. The Buffalo soldiers who performed martial service became the exception, whereas the enlisted Black men who served as stevedores, performing the heavy labor of loading and unloading ships, became the rule.[262]

The Emergence of the Buffalo Soldiers

Detailing the emergence of the Buffalo Soldiers out of all-Black units in the years after the Civil War is critical to understanding how their presence increasingly became a source of race and class tension on frontier outposts. While Black soldiers were initially employed in response to the Civil War, a crisis in which all available resources had to be marshaled in the service of the Union, these units persisted after the war and were eventually reconfigured to

[262] Stevedore refers to people, almost always men, who loaded and unloaded ships. Upwards of ninety percent of Black men who served during that war did so as stevedores, in officially designated units, or in similar labor-oriented duties. See Emmett J. Scott, *The American Negro in the World War*, (New York: Underwood, 1919) for an exhaustive report generated about the service of Black men in the Great War immediately after its conclusion.

address pressing martial needs like the persistent conflict with Indians on the Great Plains. The Buffalo Soldiers were contiguous with prior organizations of Black soldiers in that many of the men had served in Civil War units, but they were also something new in the American military as they represented an explicitly racialized deployment of soldiers in the service of the state; there was a difference between them and their Civil War antecedents. Those units had been formed out of the exigencies of a national crisis, public perception had been there was simply no way to avoid using Black men in the service of a conflict, particularly after President Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation, that seemed expressly focused on their bodies. By the late-nineteenth century those pressing concerns had receded, but now the bodies of Black men were reimagined as useful in the final subjugation of Indians on the Great Plains.

The all-Black units were similar to the all-Indian units of the early 1890s; both were racially segregated, and both were envisioned as requiring white guidance. But the all-Black units were also distinct from the Indian units; they were not viewed as uncivilized and barbaric in the same way as were the Indian soldiers, nor were they portrayed as part of a dying race. The legacy of chattel slavery followed many of those soldiers, and army officials routinely deployed the language implying that African Americans were passive and lazy to justify both a strong disciplinary hand within units and a general unwillingness to employ those same soldiers in potentially critical military engagements. They were simultaneously portrayed as the best soldiers— they were said to readily followed orders and lacked the intellect to question their superiors—and the worst —for they allegedly lacked the ability to make spontaneous decisions, which hindered their decision-making on the battlefield and disqualified them from serving as officers. From their initial creation as separate and segregated units, Black regiments were quickly marked as distinct in terms of who would lead them and how they would be deployed.

These stereotypes dogged the Black units through the Civil War, into the Great Plains, and even into the Caribbean and across the Pacific at the end of the century.

In the early days of the Civil War, Black soldiers fought exclusively in state volunteer militias. Most of the state militias and the later federal units were relegated to non-combat roles. There were notable exceptions including the renowned Massachusetts 54th. The story of the 54th has been told in both popular and historical works, almost entirely from the perspective of Colonel Robert Shaw, the white officer in command.[263] While this may represent the limitations of the historical record—Shaw left a much larger body of written records than most of his soldiers—it plays into the perception that Black soldiers could succeed in combat only with the guidance of white officers. This was how racists reconciled the undeniable success of Black combat units during the Civil War with their ideas of about how African American inferiority. Among white military leaders, that general view of Black troops was considered received wisdom from the Civil War until World War II. By the end of the nineteenth century, the idea that non-whites could only succeed with the steady guidance of white superiors had given rise to the ideology of "the white man's burden," which rationalized imperial conquest under the guise of benevolence.[264]

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[263] See George H. Junne, *A History of the Fifty-Fourth Regiment of Massachusetts Volunteer Colored Infantry of the Civil War: The Real Story behind the Movie Glory* (Lewiston, NY: Edwin Mellen Press, 2012); Douglas R. Egerton, *Thunder at the Gates: The Black Civil War Regiments That Redeemed America* (New York: Basic Books, 2016) for more on the Black enlisted men who fought during the Civil War.

[264] For works on the idea of the white man's burden see Willard B. Gatewood, *Black Americans and the White Man's Burden, 1898-1903* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1975); William Easterly, *The White Man's Burden: Why the West's Efforts to Aid the Rest Have Done so Much Ill and so Little Good* (New York: Penguin Press, 2006); Gretchen Murphy, *Shadowing the White Man's Burden: U.S. Imperialism and the Problem of the Color Line* (New York: New York University Press, 2010); Jeremy Wells, *Romances of the White Man's Burden: Race, Empire, and the Plantation in American Literature 1880-1936* (Nashville: Vanderbilt University Press, 2011); Tommy J. Curry, *Another White Man's Burden: Josiah Royce's Quest for a Philosophy of White Racial Empire*, (Albany, NY: State University of New York, 2018).

After the Civil War, Congress moved to permanently establish six all-Black units officially in 1866. The 9th and 10th Cavalry regiments and the 38th, 39th, 40th, and 41st Infantry regiments were created as segregated all-Black units to be commanded by white officers but with the idea that NCOs would be derived from the body of enlisted Black soldiers. Within several years the segregated infantry regiments were consolidated into the 24th and 25th as the Army trimmed its budget in the post-Civil War era. What's particularly interesting is that while Congress' 1866 act mandated the units be all-Black, the 1869 revision did not. While the practice of having segregated units continued, they were not explicitly mandated by any law of Congress.

The end of the Civil War witnessed the creation of the constituent parts of the Buffalo Soldiers, but they were not yet known by that name. The emergence of the term "Buffalo Soldier" is a bit of a mystery. While it is generally accepted that the term was applied to the soldiers because they wore thick buffalo-hide coats to survive the brutal winters of the Great Plains, there is no clear evidence for this claim. Similarly, the term has often been portrayed as an honorific given them by Native Americans, but this is also unsubstantiated. What is known is that the earliest known written reference to the Buffalo Soldiers was in an 1872 letter written by Francis Roe from Camp Supply, Indian Territory:

> There are more troops here than at Fort Lyon, and of course the post is very much larger. There are two troops of colored cavalry, one of white cavalry, and three companies of infantry. … The officers say that the negroes make good soldiers and fight like fiends… The Indians call them "buffalo soldiers," because their woolly heads are so much like the matted cushion that is between the horns of the buffalo.[265]

While Roe continued to write and use the term "Buffalo Soldiers," the phrase did not attain wide-spread usage until the 1890s. There's evidence competing terms, some quite derogatory,

[265] Francis Roe, May 1872, Camp Supply Indian Territory, *Army Letters from an Officer's Wife*, 1871-1888 (New York: Appleton, 1909)

saw widespread publication. *The Army and Navy Journal* helped popularize the phrase by the early 1890s with assistance from Frederic Remington. His illustrations of the Indian Wars and the soldiers who participated in them have influenced our modern perceptions of those times. Not until 1929, when a former black soldier wrote his memoirs, do we have the first usage of the phrase "Buffalo Soldier" by someone to whom the term was applied. Despite the issues with the term's origins, I use the phrase Buffalo Soldiers for the people who served in the 24th and 25th Infantry Regiments or the 9th or 10th Cavalry Regiments from the 1870s until the eve of the Great War. While there is continuity after this period, I would argue the term applies to soldiers within that limited time frame because it represents a particular moment for the United States and for the soldiers within those units.

Buffalo Soldiers on the Northern Great Plains

By the end of Reconstruction, the all-Black regiments were geographically limited to the Trans-Mississippi West and their labor was redirected to solidifying the nation's hold over the Great Plains. Their presence on the frontier was an application of emergent imperial ideologies of deploying the bodies of subjects to control populations within the state.[266] The frontier forts of the American West were a liminal space for both state-building and citizen-building and the Black soldiers' presence in those spaces was simultaneously considered less troublesome than

[266] The British, French, and German armies all used similar tactics in that members of one ethnic or religious group were often assigned to police a much larger subject population. In exchange for this service the enlistees were given benefits including increased wages over what could be earned by other subjects outside the military. There was also an attendant prestige often displayed through ostentatious uniforms that combined indigenous and metropolitan symbols. They were visible markers of difference. Historians working on Southeast Asian history have led the way in analyzing the use of competing ethnic groups by imperial powers. See Karl Hack and Tobias Rettig, *Colonial Armies in Southeast Asia* (London; New York: Routledge, 2006) for the classic work on analyzing this phenomenon.

deploying them in more heavily populated regions of the nation like the Eastern Seaboard, the Reconstruction South, or even California and beneficial to the state as a whole.

Junior officers, all white, where often placed in charge of distant outposts where they were generally left to their own devices. Together with the enlisted soldiers over whom they were given authority, surprisingly bold and innovative policies were possible. Some of these innovative plans included racially diverse moments like a color guard from Fort Niobrara, Nebraska in the early 1880s (see Figure 30). While many of the forts across the Great Plains had strictly segregated regiments, it was left to the discretion of local commanders. The decision to hold integrated guard mounts would have been unthinkable in the south, the east, or even the Pacific coast. Far from those who might question innovative military policies, the local captain could exercise authority to reshape society only imagined by administrators in the Freedmen's Bureau. That autonomy was short-lived, however, as the War Department soon found new ways to utilize the labor of soldiers.

Figure 30 - Integrated guard mount at Fort Niobrara, Nebraska (8th and 9th Cavalry), c.1880. LOC 11460.

The Industrial Army as Defender of Capitalism

The Panic of 1893 is critical to understanding the American mindset in the 1890s, particularly as a root cause of the massive labor uprisings. The economic crisis was one of the worst the United States has ever endured and featured unemployment rates that on average approached or exceeded 12%, dependent upon which region you examined. That is a national average, and like more recent economic crises, it is important to note there were significant deviations from this figure in some urban areas. Specifically, Philadelphia, New York, and Detroit all had unemployment rates in excess of 25%. The government's previous experience during the Great Railway Strike of 1877 probably contributed to a willingness on army officials' part to deploy soldiers should signs of trouble and unrest emerge.[267]

Figure 31 - Coxey's Army at railroad tracks, Forsyth, Montana, MHS 981-801.

In response to the Panic of 1893, a group of unemployed protestors joined together under the leadership of Jacob Coxey and began marching from Ohio to Washington D.C. in the early

[267] See David O. Stowell, *Streets, Railroads, and the Great Strike of 1877*, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1999); Michael A. Bellesiles, *1877: America's Year of Living Violently* (New York: New Press, 2010); Philip Sheldon Foner, *The Great Labor Uprising of 1877* (New York: Monad Press, 1977) for more information on the legacy of the strikes of 1877.

spring of 1894.[268] Coxey's actions inspired others across the country to take up the Coxeyite cause and they similarly proceeded to Washington D.C. In Montana, one group of protestors commandeered a Northern Pacific Railway train. They intended to drive the train all the way to Washington D.C. but they were stopped by Federal forces, including the 22nd Infantry and an all-Indian company of soldier's from the 8th Cavalry (see Figure 31). The experiences of Black and Indian soldiers are similar in that both groups saw military service as an avenue to full citizenship or at least more complete membership in the body politic. But this exchange meant willingness to serve the state, whether in the cause of empire or that of suppressing labor dissent. For an increasingly property-aware ruling class in the United States at the end of the nineteenth century, the project of empire and to project to protect capital investments were intertwined.

By April of 1894, a strike began in Helena, Montana against James J. Hill, the Empire Builder, and his Great Northern Railway. Eugene Debs and the newly formed American Railway Union (ARU) were able to bring Hill to the negotiating table and the strike for better wages ended relatively quickly without the need for federal intervention.[269] This swift resolution and the perceived strength of organized labor swelled the rolls of unions not only in the Northern Great Plains but across the nation. Debs and the labor movement seemed like a sustainable and successful alternative to Coxey's more militaristic vision.

But the Pullman Strike later that year proved organized labor could not withstand a combined assault by industrial and federal forces. Just one month after success against the Great Northern, The Pullman Works outside Chicago, Illinois cut wages to workers by as much as

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[268] See Carlos A. Schwantes, *Coxey's Army: An American Odyssey* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1985) for a complete narrative of Jacob Coxey's movement. Benjamin F Alexander, *Coxey's Army: Popular Protest in the Gilded Age*, (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 2015) for more on the broader social importance of Coxey's movement and its connections with societal changes in the 1890s.

[269] See Eugene V. Debs. "Testimony of Eugene V Debs," in United States Strike Commission, *Report on the Chicago Strike of June-July 1894*. (Washington D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1895) for Debs' appraisal of how they had successful pressed the GNR to reinstate wage cuts.

25%. These workers lived in a town created by the company's founder and owner, George Pullman. The company manufactured luxury sleeper and lounge cars that were in widespread use across the United States. While their wages were cut, the rent they owned on their company owned apartments was not cut a similar amount. In response, the Pullman workers voted to join Debs' American Railway Union. By May 11, 1894 a strike by Pullman workers was underway. By early June, the ARU had agreed no union members would handle Pullman Palace cars. In effect there was a strike and a boycott in tandem. As the strike spread in late June, railway owners looked to the government for assistance. Finally, on July 2, 1894, a Federal injunction was issued. The ARU was banned from "compelling or inducing by threats, intimidation, persuasion, force or violence, railway employees to refuse or fail to perform their duties." To enforce the injunction, federal troops entered the dispute the next day.

The Pullman Strike was not the first-time federal soldiers were called on to quell labor unrest in the United States, but it was a powerful intervention in the public imagination. As Buffalo Soldiers were federal soldiers, it should not be surprising that they were called upon to help put down the strike. What is surprising, however, is the way their presence was received in some parts of the country. Montana itself was a bastion of labor support. The Great Northern Strike had started in Helena and the Western Coxeyites had commandeered a train in Montana. Virtually every army regiment in the nation was put on alert and the Buffalo Soldiers were no different. The 25th infantry regiment was deployed into perceived anti-government territory. What is surprising is that while there was something of a verbal conflict between the citizens of Missoula, Montana concerning the notion of being policed by armed black soldiers, it is notable that after the strike collapsed by the beginning of August, the *Anaconda Standard*, a pro-union

newspaper in the heart of pro-labor Montana made a special point of commending the soldiers of the 25th for their exemplary service during the conflict:

> The prejudice against the colored soldiers seems to be without foundation for, if the 25th is an example of the colored regiments, there is no exaggeration in the statement that there are no better troops in the service. During the strike opportunity was afforded to compare them with the white soldiers and in no instance did the 25th suffer by the comparison…It is a splendid regiment and worthy of unstinted praise.[270]

The newspaper's words were powerful, and they were contrasted with news of white soldiers attacking protesters elsewhere in the country. In exchange for the 25th Infantry's exemplary service in Missoula, they were redeployed to an even more dangerous location, the epicenter of labor activism in Montana, Livingston.

At Livingston, the Buffalo Soldiers were able to further establish themselves as a peaceful and stabilizing presence during the strike. In what later became known as the Lockwood Incident, the men of the 25th were able to mitigate the rash actions of a drunken white commanding officer who almost caused a riot when he struck a protester. Two trains met in Lockwood on July 10, 1894. One had Companies B and D from the 10th Infantry and the other had Black soldiers from Companies A and D from the 25th Infantry. While the Anaconda Standard and other accounts of the incident claim the protesters waited at a respectful distance, at one point Captain Lockwood, of the 10th Infantry, drew his sword and yelled "Club the God damned sons of bitches."[271] Lockwood then proceeded to strike an elderly striker, switchman Frank Toland. The confrontation worsened before Lt. O'Neill, commanding Company D of the 25th Infantry, realized Lockwood was drunk and he intervened, "Lieutenant O'Neill, a very gentlemanly fellow, then addressed the crowd and said he had just been informed that a hold

[270] "Did Their Work Well," *The Anaconda Standard*. (Anaconda, Mont.) 1889-1970, August 7, 1894, p. 6.
[271] *Anaconda Standard*, July 11, 1894, page 1.

dozen train crew were being murdered by the strikers. The situation was soon explained, and the lieutenant ordered the soldiers to unload and return to the train."[272] Buffalo Soldiers were purposely sent into hostile areas because they were perceived as expendable and white enlisted men would be resistant to the orders. Unexpectedly, the black soldiers maintained the peace but did not exceed their orders like federal soldiers and the state militias did in other locales.[273]

The All Bicycle Company

Figure 32 - Buffalo Soldiers passing through Livingston, Montana. June 25, 1897. Sax and Fryer Collection, Yellowstone Gateway Museum id 20110100362.

Perhaps as a result of the success the Buffalo Soldiers experienced during the Pullman Strike, they were increasingly given mundane assignments devoid of any potential for martial

[272] *Anaconda Standard*, July 11, 1894, page 1.

[273] See several broader works on the Pullman Strike for more on military deployments outside the Great Plains, including Colston E. Warne, ed., *The Pullman Boycott of 1894: The Problem of Federal Intervention*, (Boston: D. C. Heath and Company, 1955); Carl S. Smith, *Urban Disorder and the Shape of Belief: The Great Chicago Fire, the Haymarket Bomb, and the Model Town of Pullman* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1995); Priscilla Murolo, "Wars of Civilization: The US Army Contemplates Wounded Knee, the Pullman Strike, and the Philippine Insurrection," *International Labor and Working-Class History* 80, no. 01 (September 2011): 77–102, https://doi.org/10.1017/S0147547911000081; Susan E. Hirsch, *After the Strike: A Century of Labor Struggle at Pullman* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2003).

valor. After Wounded Knee military officials found themselves with a well-trained and modernized army with no perceivable enemy. In the vein of modernization, the army undertook multiple schemes to test new technologies and tactics. One of the most curious was the development of an all-bicycle company within the 25th Infantry Regiment. The bicycle was a new machine and a symbol of modernity in the early 1890s.[274] While antecedents had appeared as early as the 1810s, the chain-driven model with air-filled tires did not emerge until the 1890s. Bicycles were symbols of modernity by 1895. They represented an alternative to expensive and unwieldy horses that required food and often seemed to have minds of their own. Montana was home to the largest cavalry remount depot in the world by 1895, Fort Keogh and the cavalry was the backbone of the American army, but modernizers wanted to move away from the inherent vulnerabilities inherent in using horses. Many of the problems with horses had been exposed during the later years of the Indian Wars as well as during the labor unrest of the previous years.[275]

Lt. James Moss, who commanded the 25th, undertook a bold experiment to outfit his soldiers with bicycles and prove they had a place within the army. Moss was an avid cyclist, so his judgement may have been a bit clouded. In the process of creating the units, for which no specific funding was provided, the Spaulding Bicycle Company exchanged equipment for the rights to use the soldiers in advertisements. They also had a provision that if the experiment was a success, Spaulding would have the exclusive rights to sell bicycles to the army. Eight men were then chosen from the 25th and together with Moss embarked on a training regimen. Moss was

[274] Notable works dealing with the emergence of the bicycle and its reception as a modern invention include Arthur Judson Palmer, *Riding High: The Story of the Bicycle* (New York: Dutton, 1956); Frederick Alderson, *Bicycling: A History* (New York: Praeger, 1972); David V. Herlihy, *Bicycle: The History* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2004).

[275] Transporting cavalry units via train was difficult and army reformers looked for new ways to expedite troop deployments.

anxious to demonstrate the superiority of his bicycle corps, so he organized a trip from Fort Missoula to nearby Fort MacDonald. The corps was able to complete the roundtrip in four days.

They navigated difficult terrain but covered less than 30 miles a day. Moss doubled down on the next expedition as he set Yellowstone Park, 325 miles away, as the corps' destination. Moss may have expressed too much enthusiasm for the bicycle as a tool for practical military use as his own journal entry during the Yellowstone trip reveals:

> Sept. 2 - After breakfast wheels taken to a ditch near by and mud washed off. Chains and balls removed, soaked in kerosene oil and oiled. At 2:30 P.M. left for Bozeman. Roads very muddy. Weather threatening all morning—sun during afternoon. Had to walk first 2 miles on account of mud and grade. Reached summit of Gallatin Range 3 P.M. Comparatively good roads going down on other side of range, but had to dismount again and again on account of mud puddles and ruts.[276]

While the Buffalo Soldiers of the bicycle corps had fast become expert cyclists, they now became expert bicycle mechanics and engineers. The expedition was a success as the corps was able to cover an average of 45 miles a day and arrived in Yellowstone a little over 8 days later (see Figure 33).

[276] Moss to AG Oct 10, 1896, RG 94 NARA.

Figure 33 - Party of bicyclists climbing the terraces at Mammoth Hot Springs, Yellowstone National Park James A. Moss, party, Ft. Missoula, Montana October 7, 1896. MHS H-3615.

Emboldened by the corps' prior successes, Moss now set his aim at Saint Louis, Missouri, almost 2,000 miles away (see Figure 36 - Lt. Moss' map of the 1897 Missoula to St. Louis Bicycle Expedition undertaken by the 25th Infantry, Fort Missoula Collection, University of Montana. For this new expedition, the most critical of the experiment, Moss selected 20 soldiers. 5 men from the original group joined 15 other Buffalo Soldiers. The trip was seen as wildly successful by Moss and the men of the Bicycle Corp:

> The trip has proven beyond [a doubt] my contention that the bicycle has a place in modern warfare. In every kind of weather, over all sorts of roads, we averaged fifty miles a day…The practical result of the trip shows that an Army Bicycle Corps can travel twice as fast as cavalry or infantry under any condition, and at one third the cost and effort.[277]

In addition to his glowing review of the experiment, Moss proposed alterations to the standard bicycle, many of which have found their way into contemporary trail bike designs including front shock absorbers, reinforced frames, and puncture-proof tires. It seems highly unlikely that Moss came up with all these proposals; one or more of the Buffalo Soldiers were probably

[277] Moss 1896.

instrumental in creating the designs for which Moss took credit. More importantly for Moss and his superior, Col. Andrew Burt, the bicycle experiment demonstrated not only the need to modernize the army's equipment but to modernize the nation's ideas regarding race, military service, and citizenship. When Burt appealed for further expeditions, he argued:

> It is well known there is prejudice against the colored man and when he appears in uniform it is like shaking a red flag against a bull. It is a wise policy to educate the people to become familiar with the colored man as a soldier...Is it not better--is it not fairer to the colored soldier as well as to the people that the masses should be familiarized with the sight of a 'nigger' in uniform? The expedition proposed by Lieutenant Moss would be a fine educator. The one he made last year to St. Louis (think of it--a 'nigger' soldier in 'secesh' Missouri!!) had a very happy effect. The men by their behavior won the respect of everybody.[278]

The success of the Buffalo Soldiers in this endeavor was predicated on the guidance and influence of white officers. Moss and Burt were seen as necessary components in the uplift of lesser races. It is important that we understand Moss and Burt as willing participants in broader American ideologies, both good and bad. African American men who joined the Buffalo Soldiers also became willing participants, to various degrees, in the United States' broader projects including the creation of an American empire. These men envisioned this as a path to claim broader rights within the nation. Military service was seen as pathway to unassailable citizenship. But just as Burt used a derogatory term to draw attention to the need for greater visibility of the "well-behaved" Black soldier so too did his use of that term represent an increasingly racialized nation, one not fully formed when he and Moss first came to the Great Plains. The sight of a Black soldier on bicycle represented modernity and service to the state but to many it would also have represented a transgression of increasingly insurmountable racial divisions.

[278] Letter from Col. Andrew S. Burt to Secretary of War George Meiklejohn, 1896, File 2166, RG 94, NARA. Burt made a point of wrote that he only used "that word" to "more clearly illustrate my meaning."

Figure 34 - Group of African American soldiers from Fort Missoula posed in uniform. Probably members of the 25th Infantry. Library note: The photograph probably was not taken at Fort Missoula. 1897? Morton J. Elrod Papers; MSS 486, UMT B.I.j-3

The Buffalo Soldiers on the Great Plains as a Precursor to the Philippines

Less than a year after the Bicycle Troop's expedition to Saint Louis, the United States was embroiled in war explicit in its imperial tone. Even before that conflict started the language of racial superiority and of white men needing to protect and guide non-white subject populations was prevalent. The men of the 24th and 25th Infantry and 9th and 10th Cavalry regiments all participated in that conflict, but unlike the plans that had been laid out with their creation, those units were not guided by white senior officers overseeing Black junior officers. Rather, enough army officials appear to have balked at the possibility of Black men as commissioned officers that these plans were discarded. Almost thirty years after the Civil War, the promise of success and promotion within the army for work well done remained elusive for the Black soldier.

A letter written by a soldier in either the 24th or 25th Infantry Regiment while stationed in Fort Stockton, Texas amply demonstrates the ways Black men could, as Buffalo Soldiers, navigate the increasingly complicated world of gender, race, class, and citizenship-status of the

late-nineteenth century. But it also reveals a deep anxiety over why the promise of recognition had not been forthcoming. The letter, signed by "Knife," was published in the *Army Navy Journal*:

> Sir: Allow me, through the columns of your paper, to speak a few words with regard to the appointment of colored men on the General Staff of the Army. I myself am not possessed of much solid information on the subject as I should like, and yet my feelings prompt me to the penning of this article. I believe it to be a well known fact of long standing that not more than two or three colored soldiers have ever been rewarded for "their meritorious conduct, soldierly bearing, unceasing endurance, and eternal faithfulness to the United States government," with an appointment as either ordinance sergeant, commissary sergeant or hospital steward…The four regiments of colored troops now in the field have been, I think, very unjustly treated in regard to this subject. According to the Revised Statutes of the United States, sections 1103 and 1107, there are supposed to be about 1,700 enlisted men in the 9th and 10th Regiments of Cavalry and the 24th and 25the Regiments of Infantry, inclusive, and out of this number I believe there are only two who have been put on the General Staff—Commissary Sergeants D.B. Jeffers and Sullivant. I must say that there is either too much prejudice against the colored man in the Army, or else his officers are not sufficiently interested in him to see that the men are justly rewarded. In the four colored regiments there are many more such men as Sullivant and Jeffers.[279]

The Buffalo soldiers had worked tirelessly since they had first been deployed to the American West to dispel racial stereotypes through an embodiment of martial virtue. They were willing to subsume their own safety, and in many instances insults to their dignity, in the service of the state. Their service at Wounded Knee and Drexel Mission in 1890 and 1891 represented some level of commitment to the American project on the Northern Great Plains. Still the had not been able to expand their participation in the state's project.

One of the promises made to Black soldiers during Reconstruction had been the opening up of West Point to Black cadets. Only three Black cadets successfully graduated from West Point during the nineteenth century.[280] That may seem small but there were only seven accepted

[279] Letter Signed Knife, Fort Stockton, Texas, *Army Navy Journal*, July 17, 1879
[280] Flipper O. Williams, John H. Alexander, and Charles Young.

from 1873 until 1932. There was at least one cadet whose career was cut short by a scandal that first appeared to be a self-inflicted attempt to curry sympathy as a Black cadet in an overwhelmingly white environment, but was ultimately revealed to be a cover-up of an attack by white cadets.[281] For the three men who did graduate their futures in the army were not much better. Henry O. Flipper, the first cadet to graduate, served as a second lieutenant for only four years before he was accused of embezzlement. While he was found innocent on the charge of embezzlement, he was convicted of conduct unbecoming an officer and dismissed.[282] John H. Alexander did serve for a brief period as the commanding officer of the B Troop of the 9th Cavalry from 1889 until the early 1890s but he was soon transferred to an all-Black institution to serve as a military science instructor. He died shortly after his arrival there.[283] Of the three, Charles Young had the most success. He graduated from West Point in 1889 and served with both the 9th and 10th Cavalry regiments from 1889 until 1894 when, like Alexander, he was assigned to Wilberforce College to teach military science. He did return to command a volunteer unit during the Spanish American War, but his time as a commanding officer in the regular army was fleetingly brief, particularly as there was never a hint of impropriety about Young.[284]

Each of these cadets entered the military at a moment of possibility for Black men in America. The promises of Reconstruction had yet to be fully betrayed. Martial service seemed a

[281] Johnson Chestnut Whittaker was appointed to West Point in 1876 only to lose his appointment in after he received a threatening letter and was found unconscious in his room. He had been bludgeoned on the head, but it was later decided his wounds had been self-inflicted, allegedly because he was struggling to adapt to the rigor of West Point. Unsurprisingly, the validity of that charge has since been questioned. See John F Marszalek, *Assault at West Point: The Court-Martial of Johnson Whittaker* (New York; Toronto; New York: Collier Books, 1994) for a more detailed account of the case. Whittaker was posthumously commissioned in the US Army in 1992.

[282] Henry Ossian Flipper and Theodore D Harris, *Black Frontiersman: The Memoirs of Henry O. Flipper, First Black Graduate of West Point* (Fort Worth: Texas Christian University Press, 1997); Don Cusic, *The Trials of Henry Flipper, First Black Graduate of West Point (New York: Mcfarland 2008).*

[283] See Frank N. Schubert, *Voices of the Buffalo Soldier : Records, Reports, and Recollections of Military Life and Service in the West*, (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2003).

[284] See Brian Shellum, *Black Officer in a Buffalo Soldier Regiment: The Military Career of Charles Young* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2010).

sure pathway to full membership in the body politic. But as the Indian Wars receded and as the remoteness of the frontier waned so too did those possibilities for men like Young and Alexander. The army had struggled to find a place for Black men within the army for years. The exigencies of the Indian Wars combined with the success of the 24th and 25th Infantries and the 9th and 10th Cavalries to maintain a nominally less racially segregated space in the Great Plains than was possible in the rest of the nation. But by the 1890s the differences between Forts Keogh and Niobrara from St. Louis and Nashville were rapidly disappearing. It wasn't a failure to serve admirably in the Indian Wars. Nor was it an unwillingness to participate in actions against labor. Even when assigned odd duties like riding a bicycle from Missoula to St. Louis, the Buffalo Soldiers did their duty. Ultimately that was not enough, as an increasingly racialized nation decided the connections between race and citizen or subject status were inviable – a trend that Supreme Court validated with Plessy v Ferguson just two years after Young and Alexander were transferred from active duty. To be white was to be a citizen and to be anything else was to be a subject. Military duty, while admirable, simply could not compensate for the handicap of race.

Figure 35 - Buffalo Soldiers at Ft. McKinney, 10th Cavalry, University of Wyoming, American Heritage Center, neg. 0175, Misc AHC Collections.

Table 6 - Soldiers who participated in the 25th Infantry Bicycle Experiment

Sgt. Mingo Sanders	Co. B
Lance Corporal William Haynes	Co. F
Lance Corporal Abram Martin	Co. B
Musician Elias Johnson	Co. F
Private John Findley	Co. F
Private George Scott	Co. F
Private Hiram L.B. Dingman	Co. F
Private Travis Bridges	Co. F
Private John Cook	Co. B
Private Frank L. Johnson	Co. B
Private William Proctor	Co. B
Private Elwood Forman	Co. H
Private Richard Rout	Co. H
Private Eugene Jones	Co. H
Private Sam Johnson	Co. G
Private William Williamson	Co. G
Private Sam Williamson	Co. G
Private John H. Wilson	Co. G
Private Samuel Reid	Co. G
Private Francis Button	Co. G

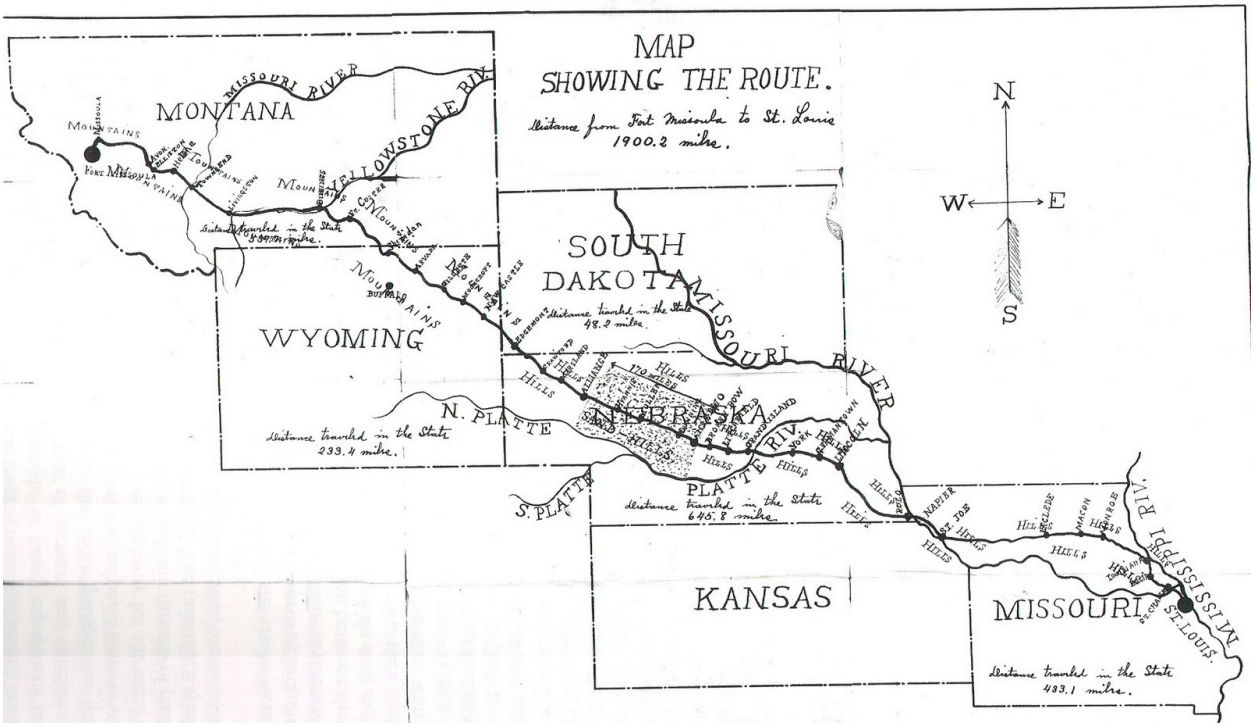

Figure 36 - Lt. Moss' map of the 1897 Missoula to St. Louis Bicycle Expedition undertaken by the 25th Infantry, Fort Missoula Collection, University of Montana.

CONCLUSION

The years between the Civil War and the Spanish American War have often been depicted as a time of retrenchment within the US Army. An examination of enlistment numbers and budgets does confirm a drastic downsizing of the army, particularly after 1873. Upwards of 2,000,000 men served in both regular and volunteer Union forces during the Civil War and by the end of the 1870s that number had dwindled to less than 25,000. Reconstruction and policing the South, defending expanding rail networks, and resuming the seemingly endless wars with Indians in the Great Plains and Southwest replaced the valorous duties of fighting in the Civil War. Faded glory, mundane duty, and the redeployment of soldiers away from the public eye all contributed to a perception of irrelevance or inconsequentiality at the least.

Historians have generally agreed with the narrative of post-Civil War languor in the army. They have pointed to the incorporation of Black soldiers during the Civil War as one of the last innovations emanating from that conflict. The years after the war, when considered, have been characterized as one of declining prospects for virtually everyone affiliated with the army, including Black soldiers. Policies have either been presented as reactionary at worst or as attempts self-preservation at best. Similarly, military technology and techniques have been seen as lacking in innovation, often times stemming from a lack of adequate funding.

These characterizations have been contrasted with the United States' experiences in the Spanish American War in 1898. While the three decades between that conflict and the Civil War have been cast as one devoid of progress, the army's involvement in the 1898 war has been conceptualized as the arrival of a modern imperial state with an attendant, if tentative, martial apparatus. The United States, according to the vast majority of previous histories, arrived on the global stage in 1898. While previous colonial engagements were formative, the deployment of

American soldiers to Cuba, Puerto Rico, and the Philippines was actual empire building. There is even a tendency in the historiography to view that conflict as a final resolution of lingering sectional resentment. Soldiers from the North and South could find common enemies in the Spanish and later recalcitrant Filipino insurgents. Granted, there was certainly an element of unity in the "splendid little war."[285] The overt imperialism of the war was something new, but the push to coherent and consistent imperial policies within the US Army were not.

In the decades after the Civil War, junior army officers capitalized on the remoteness of frontier forts, particularly in the Northern Great Plains, and created innovative policies aimed at modernizing the army. One of the chief mechanisms of modernization was the utilization of all the state's resources, this included placing men from previously marginalized groups with the military establishment. Experimental All-Indian Regular units and segregated Black units, ostensibly with Black officers, were the most visible forms of this project. Women too figured in the decision to modernize the army. Long present as laundresses and camp followers, the roles typically ascribed to working class women, many of whom were married to enlisted men, were circumscribed in the same period. Their labor was denigrated, and their presence was increasingly viewed as counterproductive to sound military discipline and preparedness.

These changes in status were accompanied by increased attempts by all three groups to capitalize on their martial service and bolster their own claims to full membership within the state. Ultimately the moves by all three groups to claim full citizenship were curtailed by the United States' adoption of more overt imperial ideologies. Previously conceptualized notions of wards and dependents were subsumed under an imperial rubric of subjugation. Whether the status of subject was derived from race, ethnicity, or gender became irrelevant. By the 1890s

[285] Ambassador to England and later Secretary of State John Hay used the phrase when writing the Theodore Roosevelt after Spanish forces in Cuba capitulated only four weeks after the wars start.

imperial masters were white males, and in an American context Protestant. “Respectable” women, namely the wives of those same white men, could claim a role in the American project of empire, but it was always subservient to the role of men.

Indian membership in the state became an impossibility even before Hawaiians, Cubans, Puerto Ricans, and Filipinos tried to claim citizenship. The status of subject was immutable. While the civilizing mission could uplift subject populations, the gulf between imperial masters and subjects was impossible to bridge. Black men serving in the army found their opportunities for advancement within the military curtailed because of their race. As Jim Crow expanded out of the South and was inculcated into virtually every American institution, the possibility for African American men to enjoy even a modicum of success via martial service evaporated. And laundresses, who had enjoyed official recognition within the army for decades, were replaced by both racialized alternatives, namely Chinese men, and a conscious decision by army officials to exclude women from service.

In the early 1890s the army, in places like Montana and the Dakotas, was visibly different from the more explicitly imperial forces of Britain in India and France in Algeria. Forts like Abraham Lincoln had integrated color guards, Indians serving as regular enlisted soldiers and NCOs, and vibrant communities of working-class women performing essential domestic labor for the military. By the end of that decade, the army was more similar to those of Britain and France. Integrated color guards, if they had ever been anything other than an anomaly, were a thing of the past. Indians had been relegated to the racialized role of scout. And women, save officers’ wives and hospital matrons, were deprived official sanction. When the United States declared war on Spain in June 1898, the army had changed from its Civil War form, but that change preceded the Spanish American War; it was not a product of it.

EPILOGUE

When war erupted between the United States and Spain in 1898, the lives of soldiers like Flipper Othello Williams, I-See-O, Hugh Lenox Scott, as well as those of officers' wives and former laundresses had been fundamentally transformed from one focused on a democratically yet racially inflected creation of an exceptional American state to one of imperial stewardship. The nascent imperial reordering present in the Northern Great Plains in the decades after the Civil War seemed complete and white Protestant men, particularly those from the middle and upper classes, found themselves with a virtual monopoly on valorous martial service and authority. Indian soldiers and women had no place in the reformulated American army. Even Black soldiers' ability to serve in virtually every martial role white soldiers had was transformed and became even more overtly racialized than their service in the 1870s and 1880s.

Women were not wholly excluded from service in the Spanish American War-era army; they were no longer laundresses, but rather hospital matrons and nurses. That war was the first time nurses were systematically employed by the army, albeit in a quasi-official capacity. The nurses operated under an affiliated yet separate entity, the Army Nurse Corps. The relatively new role of army nurse ameliorated many of the issues surrounding both laundresses and the wives of officers, namely they were conceptualized as single, chaste, and wholly dedicated to the well-being of soldiers. There was no better embodiment of these ideas than the predominance of Catholic nurses both within the Army Nurse Corps and affiliated organizations in Cuba and the Philippines. The religious membership coupled with official sanctioning of these sisters made them an ideal feminine presence in a martial context. Unlike the laundresses, their reputations were beyond reproach. And, unlike the wives of officers, the nurses served a visible and increasingly critical role in the conduct of modern warfare.

Indian soldiers, while still present after the disbanding of the Indian Regulars program as scouts, were absent from any official presence in the war. However, their experiences undoubtedly influenced the decision to employ Filipino soldiers in affiliated units. Unlike the Indian Regulars, those soldiers enjoyed no prospect of citizenship through service. It was not until the Great War that Indian soldiers once again experienced an opportunity for formal service as full members of the US Army. Indian men had served even during the Spanish American War; however, they served as isolated individuals, not as part of a broader Indian community.

Unlike the laundresses and Indian soldiers, Black soldiers, particularly the Buffalo Soldiers, served to great public acclaim. One of the initial deciding factors in their deployment was their perceived status as "immune;" never mind mounting evidence that they were no more resistant to malaria, yellow fever, and other tropical diseases than white soldiers. The Black soldiers were considered naturally resistant to tropical diseases. There were numerous incidents in urban areas with sizeable African American populations of large groups of "immune" volunteers being raised. There were even several groups of "immune" sisters who volunteered to serve as nurses although they generally got no closer to the battles in Cuba than Tampa, Florida. The notoriety Black soldiers received in Cuba and the Philippines was profound yet short-lived. While they embraced the worst excesses of American Imperialism during the Philippine Insurrection, adopting a racialized language in reference to Filipino combatants, their service in the Philippines ultimately ended and it was the last time they enjoyed relatively unfettered access to valorous martial duty until the US entered World War II.

Even Hugh Lenox Scott was fundamentally transformed in the years during and after the Spanish American War. His views in the Northern Great Plains prior to the war represented a fairly optimistic approach to American expansionism and imperialism; one where the imperial

project was envisioned as a means to uplift subject populations and Americanize them. He was deployed to Cuba early in the war and afterwards served first as Adjutant General of Cuba, and later, after the Philippine Insurrection, as Military Governor of the Sulu Archipelago in the Philippines. Less than ten years after his service with the Indian Regulars program, Scott found himself overseeing an explicitly imperial project devoid of the rhetoric of Americanization and uplift. Eventually Scott served as an interim Secretary of War in the lead up to the Great War. His affiliation with the Smithsonian Institution and the Bureau of Indian Affairs lasted until his death.

Figure 37 - Major Hugh Scott, Military Governor of the Sulu Archipelago, Philippines and Sultan Jamalul Kiram II. Philippines Sulu Archipelago, 1905. Photograph. Library of Congress, Lot 7594, Item 4.

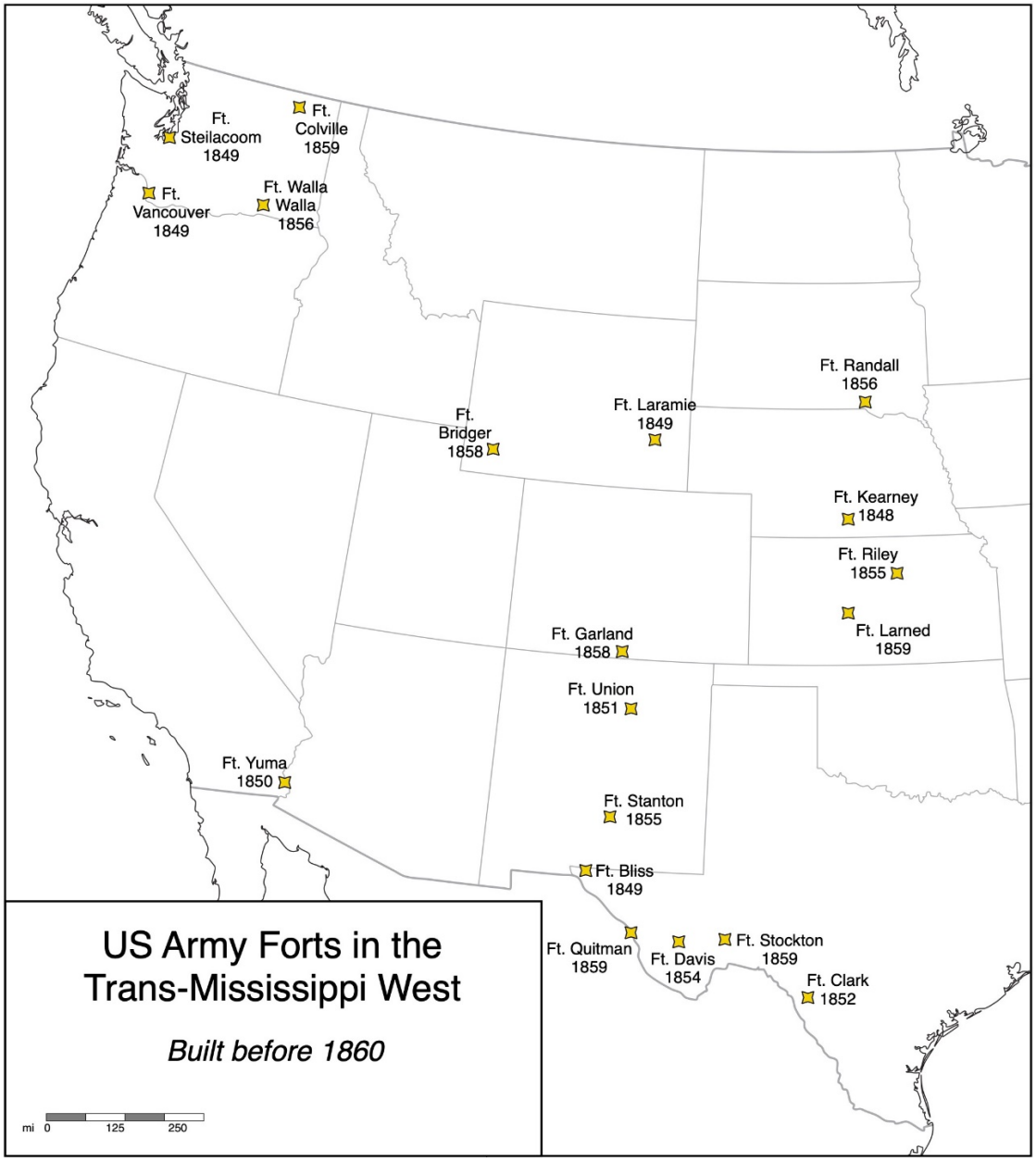

Figure 38 - US Forts in the Trans-Mississippi West Built Before 1860

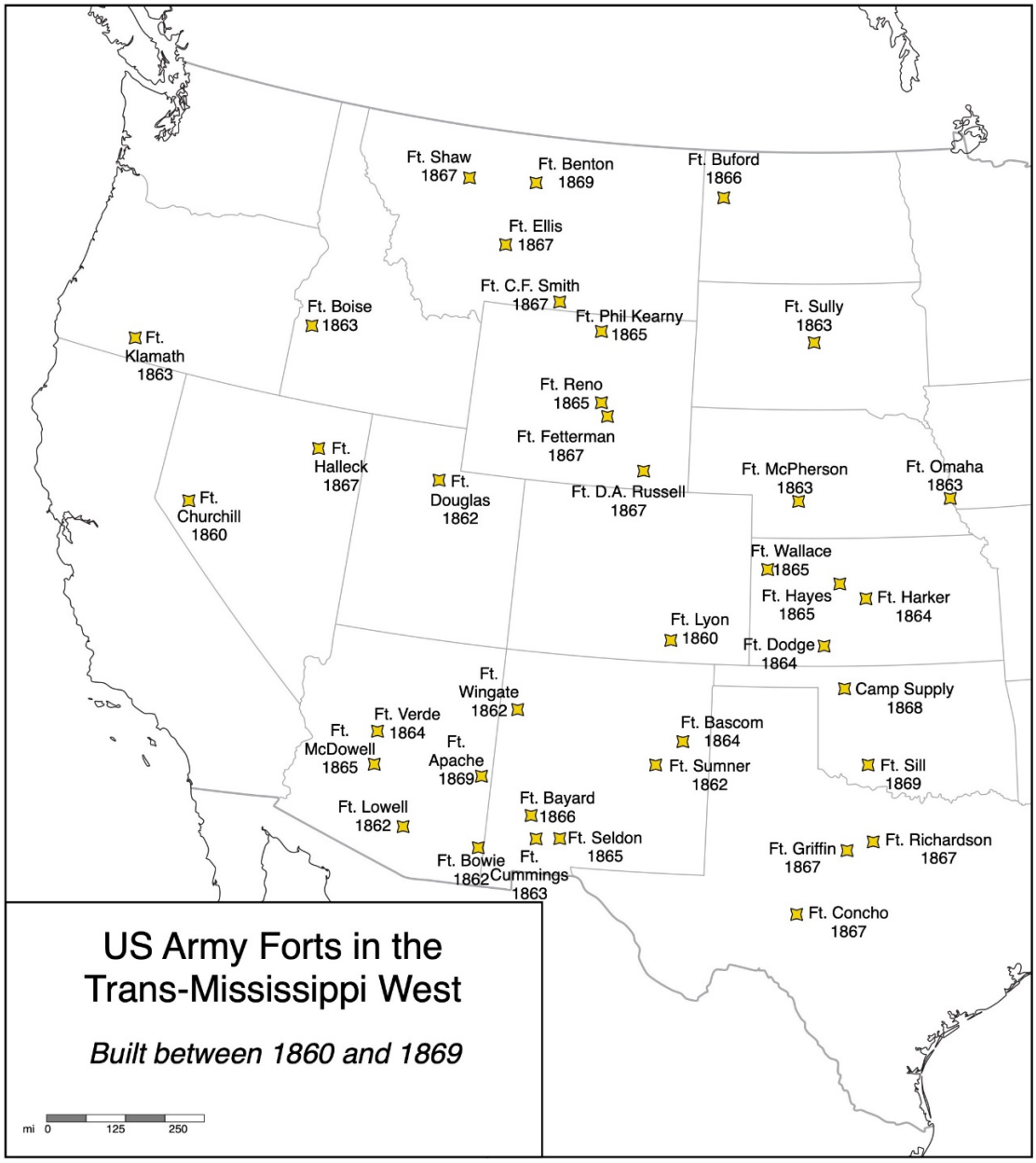

Figure 39 - US Forts in the Trans-Mississippi West Built Between 1860 and 1869

Figure 40 - US Forts in the Trans-Mississippi West Built After 1869

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