

"NO PRETENSIONS OF PIETY:" THE ARMY  
POST CHAPLAIN IN THE  
AMERICAN WEST,  
1866-1895

By  
STACY WEBB REAVES

Bachelor of Science  
Southeast Missouri State University  
Cape Girardeau, MO.  
1995

Master of Arts  
Oklahoma State University  
Stillwater, OK.  
1998

Submitted to the Faculty of the  
Graduate College of the  
Oklahoma State University  
in partial fulfillment of  
the requirements for  
the Degree of  
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY  
May, 2004

COPYRIGHT

By

Stacy Webb Reaves

May 2004

"NO PRETENSIONS OF PIETY:" THE ARMY  
POST CHAPLAIN IN THE  
AMERICAN WEST,  
1866-1895

Dissertation Approved:

*Joseph A. Stout, Jr.*  
Dissertation Advisor

*Ronald A. Petrin*

*Elizabeth A. Uitt*

*George O. Carney*

Dean of the Graduate College

## PREFACE

Military posts in the Trans-Mississippi West after the Civil War had many different types of occupants. Officers, enlisted men, families, civilian craftsmen, traders, scouts, laundresses, doctors, and chaplains all called a military post home. Historians have written much about the lives of officers, their families, the scouts, and traders at frontier military posts. Don Rickey, Jr's, Forty Miles a Day on Beans and Hay is the only study of the lives of enlisted men serving in the army after the Civil War.<sup>1</sup> There is no similar study of post chaplains, who played important roles in the usually isolated posts of the late nineteenth century.

This study will attempt to correct this oversight by examining the lives of the frontier post chaplains, who served between 1866 and 1895. The chaplains' duties, attitudes, missionary work, and impact on the military posts are parts of the study. Analyzing the contributions of the post chaplains will provide a better understanding of the role of religion in the frontier army. It is my argument that religion was an important part of the lives of officers and men at frontier military posts. During the period of this study Congress provided funding for professional chaplains at thirty frontier army posts including assignment to each of the four African American regiments each year.

The funding did not provide the military with enough chaplains to assign to every isolated post in the West. To meet the need for religious leaders, the Adjutant General removed a post's chaplain as communities developed near the military installation and the need for a minister at the post decreased. Posts with large nearby civilian communities often lost their designation as a chaplain post. (For a partial listing of chaplain posts and chaplains assigned to them, see Appendix D.) The ministers worked to improve the spirituality of the troopers and officers with varying results.

Historians have written about the United States Army chaplains, but few of the studies have focused on the period, 1866-1895. Existing work focuses on chaplains in the colonial militia and the revolutionary war.<sup>2</sup> Several chaplains, who served during the Civil War, published their memoirs and reminiscences. Historians have written of volunteer and regular army chaplains, who served during the Civil War. In For Courageous Fighting and Confident Dying: Union Chaplains in the Civil War, Warren B. Armstrong examined the lives of chaplains who served the Union Army. Gardner H. Shattuck, Jr., studied the lives of the chaplains and religion for both the North and South during the Civil War in A Shield and a Hiding Place: The Religious Life of the Civil War Armies.<sup>3</sup>

There are a few works about army chaplains that focus upon the period after 1895. These are chaplain's manuals or memoirs. In 1897, Theophilus Gould Steward edited several of the contributions of these chaplains in Active Service or Religious Work Among the U.S. Soldiers.<sup>4</sup> This work contains, along with some personal experience, advice on how best to perform the duties of the chaplain or what needs to be done to make the job more effective and gain the respect of the army. Government agencies also have produced a few studies about chaplains that mention briefly work of late-nineteenth-century chaplains. Up From Handyman: The United States Chaplaincy: 1865-1920, by Earl F. Stover, devotes only a chapter to the period.<sup>5</sup> Stover was aware of the shortcomings in his work, and admitted that his effort was only a starting point.

Historians have studied the lives of the African American chaplains serving in the West during the late nineteenth century. Stover also wrote an article about the African American chaplain Henry V. Plummer. Similarly, Alan K. Lamm's, Five Black Preachers in Army Blue, 1884-1901 is the most recent and comprehensive study of the first African American army chaplains.<sup>6</sup>

Studies of late nineteenth century chaplains that have not focused on the African American chaplains have been limited to articles dealing with a particular individual or

post.<sup>7</sup> The only exception is Richard M. Budd's, "Serving Two Masters: The Professionalization and Bureaucratization of American Military Chaplaincy, 1860-1920."<sup>8</sup> Budd did not examine the lives, duties, and missionary work of post chaplains, but focused on the process of professionalization and the development of a chaplain corps within the army and the navy during the turn-of-the-century. My study; therefore, fills a void in the scholarship of the late nineteenth century army generally and of army chaplains specifically.

To obtain information about post chaplains, I investigated the military service records of thirty-five chaplains. The appointment, commission, and promotion files of the chaplains include the monthly reports that the chaplains submitted, and the officer fitness reports for chaplains after 1890. These records, along with the few available diaries, letters, and memoirs help reconstruct the daily life and attitudes of the army post chaplains. While these sources are limited, the personal papers of officers, officers' families, and enlisted men offer a broader view of the ministers. This study focuses on only those chaplains who served between 1866 and 1895, owing to the fact that the majority of the major campaigns of the late nineteenth century Indian wars began in 1866 and ended in 1895.

While researching and writing this study, I received

valuable assistance from many people. First, I want to thank my graduate advisor, Dr. Joseph A. Stout Jr., for his support, patience, and meticulous attention to detail. I would also like to thank the members of my committee, Dr. Elizabeth A. Williams, Dr. Ronald A. Petrin, and Dr. George O. Carney for their support and assistance. This study would not have been possible without the assistance of many archivists and historians at many research centers. I want especially to thank the following people: Evelyn Lemons and Cory Robinson at Fort Concho National Historic Landmark, and Bob Munson at Camp Verde State Historic Site. I want to thank Sandra Lowery at Fort Laramie National Historic Site for assistance in finding material and suggestions for other sources.

Phil R. Parker and the interlibrary loan staff at Oklahoma State University - Tulsa deserves a special thanks for assisting me in obtaining hard to find books and microfilm. I would also like to thank Timothy Meagher and Heather Morgan at the archives of the Catholic University of America, Washington, D.C. Furthermore, I want to acknowledge Carol Marshall at Greensdale Special Collections, Kenyon College, and the archivist at the Archives of the Ohio United Methodism, and Deanne Blanton, Michael Knight and Timothy Ninnenger at the National Archives, Washington, D.C. for their research assistance.



Last I would like to especially to thank George Elmore at Fort Larned National Historic Site for his assistance in finding information, sources, and encouragement.

I especially want to thank my husband, George Reaves, IV, for his many hours of proofreading, computer assistance, patience, support, and child care. I also thank my parents, grandparents, and mother-in-law for their support. Finally, I would like to thank Stacy D. Allen and the late George A. Reaves III of Shiloh National Military Park for sharing their passion of history, challenging me, and encouraging me to study history.

## NOTES TO THE PREFACE

1. Don Rickey, Jr., Forty Miles a Day on Beans and Hay (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1963).
2. Parker C. Thompson, The United States Army Chaplaincy From its European Antecedents to 1791 Vol. 1 (Office of the Chief of Chaplains, Department of the Army, Washington, DC: 1978); Eugene Franklin Williams, "Soldiers of God: The Chaplains of the Revolutionary War" (Ph.D. Diss., Texas Christian University, 1972).
3. Warren B. Armstrong, For Courageous Fighting and Confident Dying: Union Chaplains in the Civil War (Lawrence: University of Kansas Press, 1998); Gardiner H. Shattuck, Jr., A Shield and A Hiding Place: The Religious Life of the Civil War Armies (Macon, GA: Mercer University Press, 1987).
4. Theophilus Gould Steward, ed., Active Service Or Religious Work Among the U.S. Soldiers (New York: United States Army Aid Association, 1897).
5. Earl F. Stover, Up From Handyman: The United States Chaplaincy, 1865-1920 (Washington, DC: Office of the Chief of Chaplains, Department of the Army, 1978).
6. William Seraile, "Theophilus Gould Steward: Intellectual Chaplain, 25<sup>th</sup> US Colored Infantry," Nebraska History 66(Fall 1985): 272-293; Earl F. Stover, "Chaplain Henry V. Plummer, His Ministry and His Court-Martial," Nebraska History 56(Spring 1975), 1-16; Alan K. Lamm, Five Black Preachers in Army Blue, 1884-1901 (Lewiston, NY: Edward Mellon Press, 1998).
7. Jean Dougherty, "Army Chaplains at Fort Huachuca, Arizona," The Chaplain (December 1970), 15-20; Louis L. Pfaller, "Eli Washington John Lindesmith: Fort Keogh's Chaplain in Buckskin," Montana: The Magazine of Western History 27 (January 1977), 14-25; Richard K. Smith, "For God. . . For Country. . . For Territory," Arizona Highways (April 1973): 7-13; James T. Mathews, "Using the Deity's Name in Reverence: The Chaplains at Fort Concho," Panhandle-Plains Historical Review 137 (1995), 37-44.

8. Richard M. Budd, "Serving Two Masters: The Professionalization and Bureaucratization of the American Military Chaplaincy, 1860-1920," (Ph.D. diss., Ohio State University, 1994). Richard M. Budd Serving Two Masters: The Development of the American Military Chaplaincy, 1860-1920. (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2002). Because Richard Budd's dissertation was initially used for research of this study, it will be cited in all references.

## TABLE OF CONTENTS

Chapter	Page
PREFACE.....	iii
I. CHAPLAINS IN THE ARMY, 1607-1865.....	1
II. "MORE FAITH THAN ST. PAUL:" THOSE WHO SERVED AND WHY.....	21
III. NOT A LIFE OF LUXURIOUS IDLENESS: DUTIES OF A CHAPLAIN.....	43
IV. CHAPLAINS AS MORAL REFORMERS.....	77
V. USING THE NAME OF THE DEITY IN REVERENCE: CHAPLAINS AS MISSIONARIES.....	100
VI. UPLIFTING SOULS: CHAPLAINS TO THE AFRICAN-AMERICAN REGIMENTS.....	118
CONCLUSION.....	136
BIBLIOGRAPHY.....	146
APPENDIXES.....	156
APPENDIX A-CHAPLAINS RESEARCHED FOR THIS STUDY.....	157
APPENDIX B-RELIGIOUS AFFILIATION AT FORT KEOGH, MONTANA.....	160
APPENDIX C-CHAPLAIN ASSIGNMENTS.....	162
APPENDIX D-MAP OF CHAPLAIN POSTS.....	165

CHAPTER ONE:  
CHAPLAINS IN THE ARMY, 1607-1865

*"To understand the role of the chaplain-Jewish, Catholic, or Protestant- is to understand that we try to remind others, and perhaps ourselves as well, to cling to our humanity, even in the worst of times."* Navy Chaplain Arnold Resnicoff, 23 October 1983.<sup>1</sup>

The employment of chaplains in the United States Army dates from the colonial period. During the colonial wars, American commanders attached chaplains to their commands in order to meet the soldiers' spiritual needs. Eventually military leaders used these clerics hoping to improve discipline among the ranks. They hoped that, by instilling a sense of morality, the soldiers' behavior would improve, and infractions of military law would diminish. Late nineteenth century chaplains carried on this long tradition of army chaplains in the United States Army.

Most colonial militias in America included a clergyman. The first official use of a military chaplain in the American colonies occurred in the spring of 1637, during the Pequot-Indian war, when Samuel Stone served as an advisor and chaplain to Captain John Mason. In 1676, during King Phillip's war, Hope Atherton served as a chaplain to colonial militia troops. Ten additional chaplains served with the militia during King George's war. Colonial military leaders requested that the Virginia House of

Burgesses provide chaplains for the Virginia regiments. These military leaders believed that the assignment of a chaplain was "evidence of the fact that the troops were not without the substance of godliness."<sup>2</sup> During the Seven Years' War clergy also served as either post or unit chaplains. Most of these men volunteered for their position or received a gubernatorial appointment.<sup>3</sup>

The American Revolution introduced chaplains in a recognized, official capacity to the new American army. In the early stages of the war local ministers accompanied state militias when they took up arms. Later in the war states established procedures for the selection of chaplains. Under these state regulations state militias appointed clergymen as commissioned officers. As a consequence of a congressional act on 29 July 1775, chaplains were subject to specific federal regulations. With this act the Continental Congress authorized one chaplain per regiment in the Continental Army. This gave chaplains rank equal to a captain with a monthly pay of twenty dollars. The following year, Congress changed the assignment of chaplains from one regiment to two regiments. It was the responsibility of the colonel or commanding officer of the regiment to find a minister. In February 1777, Congress reorganized the system by appointing chaplains to garrisons, hospitals, infantry, cavalry, and

artillery brigades. Within the next three months Congress increased the pay of chaplains to forty dollars a month and organized a system of brigade chaplains. The new organization called for one chaplain per brigade and required congressional appointment.<sup>4</sup>

The chaplains were to hold divine services, obey superior officers and Congress, and to act as a "representative of God." By October of 1777, most chaplains found that circumstances did not always allow for frequent divine services on Sunday. Several chaplains met and agreed on a method for fulfilling their duties at other times. In May 1778, General George Washington, Commander-in-Chief, ordered religious services to be held every Sunday at eleven o'clock. He also ordered all officers to attend.<sup>5</sup>

In August 1778, Washington appointed John Hurt to be the first commissioned chaplain to serve with the Sixth Virginia Infantry. A congressional act of 3 March 1791 provided for one chaplain on the General Staff at the rank of major. Washington appointed Hurt to this position.<sup>6</sup>

The permanent employment of chaplains in the army continued after the American Revolution. In 1798, when the United States appeared on the verge of war again, Congress authorized 4,000 regular troops and attached four chaplains to the army. Congress later reduced the size of the army to less than 3,000 men, and provided for no chaplains. Despite

federal activities excluding clerics, clergy continued to serve in the state militia units. In March 1803, Congress provided for state militias nationwide in order to provide a more effective defense of the country. Congress required each state to have a military unit that the citizens of the state supplied with arms and ammunition. It also required that each regiment have a chaplain.<sup>7</sup>

As the army manned frontier posts, it realized the need for discipline, moral education, and clerics among the troops. In April 1806, to improve the morals and discipline of soldiers in the army, Congress required all officers and soldiers to attend divine worship services. The regulations also stipulated that no sutler could open his post stores on Sunday during the time of worship service. Furthermore, they called for punishment of soldiers for profanity, gambling, and drinking.<sup>8</sup>

The War of 1812 brought an increase in army troop strength, and changes in the regulations concerning chaplains. On paper the army increased in size from 10,000 troops to 35,000. In April 1812, Congress authorized each militia regiment to have a chaplain with the pay and allowance of an infantry captain. Early the following year, Congress reorganized the military and the chaplaincy again. The changes divided the army into nine military districts with a chaplain assigned to the headquarters of each



district. Because they were no longer assigned to tactical units, the clerics posted at district headquarters were responsible for providing ministerial services to all regular forces in their district. Due to the expense of maintaining a standing army, Congress again soon reduced the size of the army and abolished all brigade chaplains. Only one chaplain remained in the regular army, and he was stationed at the United States Military Academy at West Point, New York. Despite federal action, 210 chaplains continued to serve with the state militias.<sup>9</sup>

As the country expanded, and the army manned more posts, the need for discipline and moral influence on the enlisted men increased. Although the tradition of assigning a chaplain to a military post dates back to the colonial period, the government did not always assign a minister to these new posts. One alternative to placing commissioned clergy at isolated frontier posts was to contract with a civilian for the services. Often local missionaries and circuit-riding preachers provided ministerial services to the troops on the frontier. Eventually the post administrative councils began to take voluntary contributions from officers and men to pay the civilian ministers who served their posts. In 1831, Secretary of War Lewis Cass joined army officers and civilians who called for the adoption of paid military chaplains at army posts.

Officers wanted the chaplains as a "religious remedy" for the drunkenness, desertion, and low morale they found among the enlisted men. The officers argued that a paid chaplain would bring some degree of morality, and thus improve life at the posts. Despite the recommendations, Congress took no action. Six years later Secretary of War Benjamin F. Butler called for individual posts to hire civilian clergy. He believed that this would grant some degree of local control and evaluation of chaplains. Finally, on 5 July 1838, Congress provided the money for posts to employ clergy. The legislation allowed for the hiring of twenty chaplains nation-wide. War Department Orders Twenty-Nine required these chaplains to tend to the spiritual and educational needs of the troops and children of the post. It also authorized payment of forty dollars a month, four daily ration allowances, and quarters equal to those of a captain for each chaplain.<sup>10</sup>

With the mobilization of troops and the increase in the size of the army for the war with Mexico, Congress again revised regulations regarding chaplains. In 1847, it authorized chaplains to accompany regular troops to combat areas. The Secretary of War never posted the orders. As a result, only civilian and militia clergy entered into combat with troops during the Mexican War.<sup>11</sup> In 1847, army regulations required that all officers and soldiers attend

religious services, although this did not always happen. At posts where the army assigned no chaplain, troops were required to attend religious services at a nearby civilian church. When the men attended services off the post, army regulations required the men to attend with their side arms and to march in formation to and from church. The army also encouraged the wives and families of officers and enlisted men to attend religious services. Occasionally, the ministers reserved seats for the officers and their families; enlisted men often stood throughout the service. These requirements continued until the army changed its regulations in 1861, when mandatory attendance at divine services was dropped.<sup>12</sup>

The onset of the American Civil War brought a need for more chaplains to be added to the regular army and to volunteer units. In 1859, Congressional regulations provided for thirty chaplains for nineteen regiments and 198 companies of the regular army. At the start of the war in 1861, there were only twenty-six chaplains on duty. As communities organized volunteer regiments and sent them off to war, northern political leaders became convinced that these units needed the influence of religion. They believed that if the soldiers were religious they would also be better disciplined and more willing to accept the hardships of army life and campaigns. Therefore, on 15 November 1862,

President Abraham Lincoln signed a general order requiring all military personnel to observe the Sabbath by ceasing labor on that day. President Lincoln and the War Department apparently believed that the general order on religion was a unifying force in the army, and thus urged chaplains to make troops as happy with their situation as possible and to improve their moral behavior. Besides social improvement, Union army leaders believed that by assigning a chaplain to the regiments the war against the South in some way would appear more legitimate. The same attitude prevailed in the Confederate army. Both sides promoted religion among the armies with the idea that God favored their cause.<sup>13</sup>

The War Department sought to meet the increased demand for chaplains. On 4 May 1861, it issued two orders pertaining to religion. One stipulated that the colonels of volunteer units must appoint a chaplain. Regimental officers were asked to approve the appointment. The other order established the same requirement of all new units of the regular army. Army regulations further stipulated that these chaplains were to be paid \$1,700 a year, an amount equal to the pay of a cavalry captain.<sup>14</sup>

Despite the call for clerics to serve in the army, finding willing ministers to fill the need was difficult. Most clergy in the nation were already serving parishes, and

they felt a strong need to care for their congregations. Despite conflicting pressures, many preachers did leave their churches to serve in the army, although not always as clerics. In 1863, one hundred clergymen served the Confederate Army of Tennessee as enlisted men or officers.<sup>15</sup>

Besides the sense of duty, there was not much incentive for a minister to serve as a chaplain in either army. As neither army appointed chaplains as commissioned officers, the status of the chaplain was ambiguous. Initially for a cleric to become a chaplain in the Union army, a regimental officer had to invite him to serve. Candidates then visited the troops, and finally were subjected to a vote of the officers. This practice continued throughout the war among volunteer troops. A few clerics in the regular Union army were commissioned officers. In July 1862, Congress required that commissioned chaplains be ordained ministers of a religious denomination, and that they present recommendations from five accredited ministers of their denomination. The army offered little to make the position appealing to civilian ministers. Chaplains could keep and ride a horse, but they received no government forage for the horse. To make the position even more unappealing, chaplains drew only a private's ration. For a chaplain to receive pay, the colonel of the regiment had to certify to the war department that the he had performed his duties, and

therefore was entitled to his pay. Eventually the U. S. government provided the ministers officer's rations and forage for their horses, but cut the pay of chaplains from \$1,700 to \$1,200 a year. Congress also agreed to provide government pensions to the families of chaplains killed in action.<sup>16</sup>

The duties of Civil War chaplains were varied. Other than providing moral training and maintaining troop morale, the army did not specify any duties for them. Most conducted religious services, talked individually to soldiers about religious matters, and distributed religious literature. They also comforted the sick and wounded, conducted funerals, wrote letters to inform the next-of-kin of deaths of soldiers, and functioned as the regimental paymasters, banker, and librarian.<sup>17</sup>

Civil War chaplains experienced a religious revival among the troops in both armies. Early in 1862, in the large training encampments in St. Louis, Washington, and Chicago large religious revivals developed. As the war continued and the soldiers saw more combat, they became more interested in religion. By the winter of 1863, religious revivals were a part of camp life for both armies. The revivals supplied the soldiers with optimism and strengthened their resolve to live a life that was pleasing to God.<sup>18</sup> As the revivals reached their peak in 1864, many

soldiers had converted. This was especially true in the Confederate army. Officers noticed that the revivals changed the soldiers behavior. Many were trying harder to live their life in a "Godly manner."<sup>19</sup>

After the Civil War, the army sought to control American Indians resisting the westward flow of whites. The army established military posts in the isolated areas of the West, and the troops functioned as a constabulary or police force, keeping peace between the tribes and white settlers. The army also sought to enforce treaty agreements. The army's mission in the West often led to violent acts and atrocities on the part of both Indians and the soldiers. For example, in the summer of 1868, a Pawnee raiding party, angry at the government's broken promise to give them weapons, killed fifteen white men and raped five women in Kansas. Later that fall General George Armstrong Custer sought to punish the tribes on the central plains and to force them onto reservations. As a consequence, Custer and his men attacked a Cheyenne village along the Washita River in Indian Territory. During the attack Custer's men killed more than 103 Cheyenne. Chaplains working with the Indian-fighting army had to remind themselves and the soldiers to remember their humanity, even if they held the same views as the army.<sup>20</sup>

Congress reduced the size of the army after the Civil

War, and with it the number of chaplains. In 1874, Congress limited the army size to 25,000 men. The army scattered troops among the various military posts across the country. The limited size of the army created severe problems for military commanders in the Trans-Mississippi West. The army had a vast amount of territory to defend, relatively few troops, and approximately 300,000 Indians to contain. General Philip Sheridan, commanding the frontier army constabulary force after 1883, had only one soldier for every seventy-five square miles of territory. In Texas, this plethora of personnel amounted to one soldier for every 120 square miles, a situation that taxed the troops west of the Mississippi River and challenged the commanders. The number of troops was very small, and they were scattered across the territory ranging west from Missouri and Arkansas to the Pacific Ocean. There were more posts for which to provide religious services than there were chaplains available.<sup>21</sup>

In 1864, to meet the needs of soldiers stationed in the West, Congress provided for thirty-four chaplains with the rank equivalent to that of a captain, but with the normal salary, retirement, and other rewards of a commissioned officer directly appointed by the president. Post-war army regulations called for thirty post chaplains, four regimental chaplains, and one chaplain at the United States



Military Academy. This was not a sufficient number to meet the needs of the army. However, it was hoped that the chaplains could serve those troops stationed the farthest from the more densely settled areas.<sup>22</sup>

The isolation, harsh climate, and monotony of life on the frontier did little to entice a person to join or stay in the military, nor did it attract men of high morals. Volunteers made up the regular army serving in the West after the Civil War. Army recruits came from a variety of backgrounds. Many were recent immigrants from Ireland, Germany, or England, and had held diverse jobs such as book keepers, farmers, blacksmiths, and salesmen in the civilian world. Financial troubles and economic downturns of the economy sent many men to seek regular employment in the United States army. The army also provided employment for petty criminals and shady characters. Many of these men had been too young to serve in the Civil War, although veterans were present in all units. The age for a soldier's first enlistment was twenty-one, and at re-enlistment thirty-two. These men volunteered for either three or five years of service.<sup>23</sup>

Recruits found army life disappointing and not at all what they had expected. Disenchantment led to approximately twenty percent of all enlisted men deserting. A few regiments lost more than fifty percent of their men in a

year. Between 1866 and 1882, Fort Dodge, Kansas, 429 soldiers deserted, an average of more than twelve percent per year. Captain Albert Barnitz of the Seventh Cavalry reported that during the first three years of the unit's existence almost 1,200 men deserted. Part of the desertion probably occurred because of the living conditions in the army. In 1874, General William T. Sherman wrote that most posts were collections of log or adobe huts. Isadore Douglas, wife of commanding officer Henry Douglas at Fort Dodge, Kansas, described her quarters as being "three feet below the ground or four above. The floor is mud, or rather we have no floors at all."<sup>24</sup>

Enlisted recruits, upon arriving at their assigned posts, found their personal space limited to a shared bunk with a hay-filled mattress and a small wooden foot-locker. The clothing the army issued to them was poor in quality and often inappropriate for the western climate. The army gave the men a blue wool sack coat, two pairs of wool trousers, two pairs of gray or flannel shirts, a couple suits of long underwear, a wool overcoat, boots and brogans, and a hat.<sup>25</sup>

The soldiers quickly realized that the romantic image of the Indian fighting army portrayed in newspapers was a myth. They spent more time at guard duty, escort duty, and manual labor than fighting Indians. Daily duties included policing stables, kitchen detail, digging latrines, and

hauling garbage and water. Other tasks officers assigned to enlisted men included building roads, erecting and maintaining buildings, serving as teamsters, and doing other maintenance work. The soldiers' schedule varied little from day to day. These jobs were essential to the post, and frequently the men were the only available manpower in the area. Often soldiers believed the army was exploiting them as cheap labor.<sup>26</sup>

A soldier's diet was as monotonous as his daily routine. With disease as the main cause of death in the frontier army, the army struggled to provide troops with fresh fruits and vegetables. The menu for enlisted men often consisted of salt pork, fried mush, or a thin stew, and coffee for breakfast. Dry bread and coffee with the occasional treat of three dried prunes made up the dinner menu. Because the company's rations did not include vegetables, the army encouraged the men to maintain post gardens. Due to the harsh weather conditions of the West, these gardens usually failed. Posts officers and men could add to their diets through purchases made at the sutler's store (a private business operating on the post) or the commissary.<sup>27</sup>

Pay added greatly to the soldier's discontent. Until 1870, privates earned sixteen dollars a month. Every soldier gave one dollar from his pay towards retirement, and

another fifty cents to the laundress. Before the soldier's received their pay, the paymaster also deducted what the soldiers owed the quartermasters and the post sutler. Often after paying debts, soldiers had little spending money. In 1870, making matters worse, Congress reduced the pay of the soldiers to thirteen dollars a month. Reacting to this cut, approximately one-third of the enlisted men deserted in 1872.<sup>28</sup>

With what money soldiers had left after paying their debts, they gambled, hired prostitutes, and engaged in drinking binges. Drunkenness was a constant problem on frontier army posts. At many posts more than twenty-five percent of the officers and enlisted men were alcoholics. In the 1880's almost forty-one of every thousand men, including officers, were hospitalized for alcoholism. Captain Albert Barnitz often complained that his fellow officers were frequently intoxicated. He told his wife that "there appears to be a premium offered for drunkenness in the army! Almost all the old officers drink a great deal."<sup>29</sup> This heavy use of alcohol often created disciplinary problems among the enlisted men. Soldiers fought and brawled, and occasionally killed one another. Private William Bald of the First Cavalry, telling of one fight, noted that a soldier used an axe on another during a fight in a saloon. Post commanders recognized the problems

alcohol created, and they sought to eliminate the amount of alcohol a soldier purchased from the post sutler or post trader. To assist in eliminating the alcohol abuse and to improve discipline problems, officers often asked for the assistance of the post chaplain.<sup>30</sup>

Between 1866 and 1896, approximately thirty-four chaplains served at each year at the numerous isolated posts in the West. (See appendices, A, C, and D). Many army leaders believed that the men's abuse of alcohol, and the numerous violations of army regulations, could be decreased with moral guidance and instruction from chaplains. As a result of this belief, Congress provided for chaplains at military posts and with military units, but offered minimal support for them. When they were present chaplains proved their worth, fought for recognition and greater support from the army, and improved the army's goal of improving the morals, morale and discipline of the soldiers stationed on the frontier.

## NOTES TO CHAPTER ONE

1. Quoted in Albert Isaac Slomovitz, The Fighting Rabbis: Jewish Military Chaplains and American History (New York: University Press, 1999), 146. Rabbi Resnicoff made this statement in a presentation about his experience as a Navy chaplain at the 1983 bombing of Marine barracks in Lebanon.
2. Eugene Franklin Williams, "Soldiers of God: The Chaplains of the Revolutionary War," (Ph.D., diss., Texas Christian University, 1972), 28-33, 35.
3. Ibid.
4. Williams, "Soldiers of God," 95-101, Richard M. Budd, "Serving Two Masters: The Professionalization and Bureaucratization of the American Military Chaplaincy, 1860-1920," (Ph.D. diss., Ohio State University, 1994), 35; Herman A. Norton, Struggling for Recognition: The United States Chaplaincy, 1791-1865 (Washington, DC: Office of the Chief of Chaplains, Department of the Army, 1977), 1; John T. Axton, Brief History of the Chaplains of the U. S. Army (Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institute, n.d.), 4-6.
5. Norton, Struggling for Recognition, 6-7.
6. Norton, Struggling for Recognition, 1-3; Williams, "Soldiers of God," 99-101.
7. Norton, Struggling for Recognition, 6.
8. Ibid., 9.
9. Budd, "Serving Two Masters," 36-37; Norton, Struggling for Recognition, 14-15.
10. Budd, "Serving Two Masters," 36-37; Michael L. Tate, The Frontier Army in the Settlement of the West (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1999), 194; Richard D. Gamble, "Army Chaplains at Frontier Posts, 1830-1860," Historical Magazine of the Protestant Episcopal Church 27(1958), 285, 293-294.
11. Budd, "Serving Two Masters," 40.
12. Axton, Brief History, 9; David H. Stratton, "The Army and the Gospel in the West," Western Humanities Review 8 (Summer 1954): 256.

13. Steven E. Woodworth, While God is Marching On: The Religious World of the Civil War Soldier (Lawrence: University of Kansas Press, 2001), 146-147.
14. Woodworth, While God is Marching On, 146; Alan K. Lamm, Five Black Preachers in Army Blue, 1884-1901 (Lewiston, NY: Edward Mellon Press, 1998), 60; Rollin W. Quimby, "Congress and the Civil War Chaplaincy," Civil War History 10(1964), 247; Gardiner H. Shattuck, Jr., A Shield and A Hiding Place: The Religious Life of the Civil War Armies (Macon, GA: Mercer University Press, 1987), 53.
15. Woodworth, While God is Marching On, 154; Lamm, Five Black Preachers, 66.
16. Budd, "Serving Two Masters," 96-98; Woodworth, While God is Marching On, 147-150; Shattuck, A Shield and A Hiding Place, 53.
17. Budd, "Serving Two Masters," 122-123; Woodworth, While God is Marching On, 147-150; Shattuck, A Shield and a Hiding Place, 62.
18. Woodworth, While God is Marching On, 195, 218; Shattuck, A Shield and A Hiding Place, 79.
19. Shattuck, A Shield and A Hiding Place, 79; Woodworth, While God is Marching On, 230.
20. Richard White, It's Your Misfortune and None of my Own (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1997), 97; Robert M. Utley, Frontier Regulars; The United States Army and the Indian, 1866-1891, (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1973), 152; Lawrence Hart, "Washita Past," in Washita Symposium: Past, Present, and Future (Cheyenne, OK: National Park Service, 2001), 12-13.
21. Russell F. Weigley, The American Way of War (Bloomington: University of Indiana Press, 1973), 153, 159; Paul A. Hutton, ed., Phil Sheridan and His Army (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1985), 332; Utley, Frontier Regulars, 5, 152.
22. Earl F. Stover, Up From Handyman: The United States Chaplaincy (Washington, DC: Office of the Chief of Chaplains, Department of the Army, 1978), 32; Budd, "Serving Two Masters," 161-163; Richard K. Smith, "For God. . . For Country. . . For Territory," Arizona Highways (April 1973), 9.

23. Utley, Frontier Regulars, 6-7; Don Rickey, Forty Miles a Day on Beans and Hay (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1963), 17-21.
24. Utley, Frontier Regulars, 23, 82; Leo Oliva, Fort Dodge: Sentry of the Western Plains (Topeka: Kansas State Historical Society, 1998), 87; Isadore Douglas, letter to her mother, 25 December 1866, Lola Crum Collection, Ksnas Cultural Heritage and Arts Center, Dodge City, Kansas; Robert M. Utley, ed., Life in Custer's Cavalry: Diaries and Letters of Albert and Jennie Barnitz, 1867-1868 (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1977), 161.
25. Douglas C. McChristian, The United States Army in the West, 1870-1880: Uniforms, Weapons, and Equipment (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1995), 3-4; Rickey, Forty Miles a Day, 34-35.
26. Rickey, Forty Miles A Day, 39-40; S. E. Whitman, The Troopers: An Informal History of the Plains Cavalry, 1865-1890 (New York: Hastings House Publishers, 1962), 79; Oliva, Fort Dodge, 97.
27. Rickey, Forty Miles a Day, 389-390; Whitman, The Troopers, 126; Stacy W. Reaves, "A Necessary Evil: The Post Sutler at Fort Larned and Fort Dodge, Kansas," (M.A. Thesis; Oklahoma State University, 1998), 105.
28. Rickey, Forty Miles A Day, 126; Whitman, The Troopers, 147, Reaves, "A Necessary Evil," 14.
29. Utley, Life in Custer's Cavalry, 203; Leo Oliva, Fort Wallace: Sentinel on the Smokey Hill (Topeka: Kansas State Historical Society, 1998), 105; Oliva, Fort Dodge, 95; Rickey, Forty Miles a Day, 158-159.
30. Rickey, Forty Miles a Day, 159; Utley, Life in Custer's Cavalry, 203.



CHAPTER TWO  
"MORE FAITH THAN ST. PAUL:"  
THOSE WHO SERVED AND WHY

Between 1865 and 1895, while the frontier constabulary army pursued American Indians across the plains and through the mountain west, chaplains stationed at various outpost served the spiritual needs of officers and men. These ministers came from a variety of backgrounds throughout the United States. Those with previous military experience joined because they wished to continue their service, or for some other reason. Whatever their reasons for joining the army, chaplains acted on their faith, and they answered the army's call for religious leaders. This chapter examines the backgrounds, education, and reasons why ministers left their civilian pulpits to become army post chaplains.

At most frontier posts, religious activity often existed, regardless of the presence of a chaplain. Officers and their families initiated, conducted, and encouraged religious services. In 1867, Major Elisha G. Marshall suggested the construction of a chapel at Fort Union, New Mexico, in order to expand Protestantism in a predominately Catholic New Mexico. Officers' wives often had the greatest influence in promoting religion. For them religion was a source of comfort, brought some resemblance of life in the eastern United States, and offered a diversion from the everyday monotony of garrison life. While traveling to her

husband's new assignment at Fort Union, Eveline Alexander observed the Sabbath as much as possible. She and her husband read Genesis and studied a sermon book her parents had given her.<sup>1</sup> When a chaplain was present at Fort Union, the women assisted him in services by providing music. The officers' wives at Fort Riley, Kansas, frequently arranged with civilian clergy nearby to conduct services on the post. The wife of Lt. J.P. Martin often asked local clerics to hold services at Fort Bayard, New Mexico, while her husband was stationed there. When a clergyman was not available, officers themselves held religious services. In 1871, at Fort Shaw, Montana Territory, the post surgeon held weekly religious services, assisted by the women of the post.<sup>2</sup>

Requirements for the position of chaplain were vague, and few changes occurred after the Civil War. The hopeful submitted a letter of application, had to be ordained by a religious denomination, and had to be recommended by that denomination. In addition, regulations required applicants to submit five letters of recommendation. The President of the United States officially made the appointments, with the approval of the Senate. Each appointee received the rank and pay of a second lieutenant in the infantry, equivalent quarters to those of an officer, an allowance for a servant, and four rations a day. The army provided no clothing or uniform, and offered the chaplains no opportunities for

promotion. In an article about the chaplaincy, chaplain George W. Simpson suggested that the position required a minister to "be a man of much prudence and tact in order to gain access to the hearts of all."<sup>3</sup>

The army used chaplains after the Civil War in the same manner as before the war, and for the same reasons. As with the posts on the pre-Civil War frontier, desertion, alcoholism, and low morale plagued the army. Military officials and congressmen hoped that the influence of a cleric teaching morals and religion to the enlisted men would boost morale and assist in curbing disciplinary problems at posts. Officials also believed that the chaplains could educate enlisted men and post children. Due to the lack of funding and the small number of chaplains Congress authorized, only the most isolated posts had a chaplain. The majority of chaplains served in the Trans-Mississippi West, although there were no set number of chaplains for each department. Departmental commanders could refuse the appointment of a chaplain to their department on the grounds of having enough chaplains to fulfill departmental needs. In 1875, there were seven chaplains in the Department of Missouri, two in the Department of the Atlantic, four in the Department of the Dakota, two in the Department of Texas, four in the Department of the Platte, four in the Department of the

Columbia, one in the Department of Arizona, one in the Department of the South and one chaplain was unassigned. At that time there were two vacancies. The army stationed the chaplains assigned to the four African American regiments at regimental headquarters. As communities developed near the forts, and civilian ministers organized churches, a post could lose its designation as a chaplain post.<sup>4</sup> (See appendix D).

Those who responded to the call for military chaplains came from various parts of the country. The majority of the applicants came from the East and the Midwest. The South had little representation owing to the demands and economic hardships of reconstruction. Only three southerners served as chaplains. Two of these were from Kentucky, and Louisiana.<sup>5</sup>

Although religious denominations had maintained an interest in ministering to troops during the Civil War, they did not continue this desire after the war. Many religious organizations provided chaplains with reading material, song sheets, and items for religious services, but they did not actively encourage the ministers to join the army. Many chaplains were chagrined that churches expressed such little interest in the army as a missionary field. Orville Nave, an army chaplain, complained that "the churches seem to care very little, if at all, for the moral welfare of the men

under the flag. No institution in civil communities except saloons and other degrading places welcome the soldier."<sup>6</sup> Chaplain John Macomber reasoned that churches overlooked the troops because the army supplied moral instruction and ministrations through the appointment of chaplains. Thus churches did not regard the army as a missionary field. What little assistance or interest the denominations provided usually was in the way of periodicals and tracts. The Young Men's Christian Association, and the U. S. Army Aid Society, were the primary sources of both secular and religious reading materials. James LaTourette reported that, while he was stationed at Fort Union, New Mexico, the Catholic Publication Society donated tracts and periodicals to the post. He also received eight other church periodicals. These were not always sent automatically. The chaplains had to request these donations from the churches or societies. Many were refused donations. Chaplain John Macomber complained that when he appealed to a religious organization for donations of hymnals and reading materials, the group informed him that "no provision by the church had been made for such a donation," and that he could have copies at a discounted rate for ministers.<sup>7</sup>

As chaplains organized and professionalized, they began appealing to the churches for more support, and the churches took more interest in missionary work in the army. In 1887,

chaplain Orville Nave began a movement to organize the chaplains and gain them more recognition from the army. By 1890, as a result of this movement, various churches had become involved in Nave's effort to reform the moral conditions of the army. In 1890, House Bill 3668 reached Congress. The bill called for the creation of a corps of chaplains, and an increase in the number of clergy in the army. Although the bill did not pass, several denominations wrote letters of support and interest in the moral welfare of the troops. The American Baptist Home Mission Society issued a statement that it realized that a "religious destitution exists in the Army of the United States."<sup>8</sup> The Methodist Episcopal Church echoed the Baptist sentiments and commented that it was the duty of the government to promote morality and religion in the army and that the church endorsed improving the moral religious behavior of soldiers. Leaders of both churches noted that there were approximately one hundred garrisons without a chaplain, and they argued for the appointment of additional clergy. Spokesmen for the Nebraska State Association of the Congregational Church claimed that most American citizens believed that too little was being done for the moral welfare of the regular army. It gave an example of a mother who stated that she would rather see her son to the grave than see him go into the army, an organization that she believed encouraged sin and

degradation. Church leaders of this organization also argued that few military officers were qualified to "shape the moral policy of a post, especially one who drinks and gambles."<sup>9</sup>

Despite many religious organizations having little interest in sending clerics to work with the army, chaplains came from several denominations. Army regulations did not specify the number of representatives from the different denominations, nor did it survey the religious preferences of troops. (For religious affiliation of chaplains at Fort Keogh, Montana, see appendix B; for religious affiliation of chaplains see appendix A). In another study of nineteenth century chaplains, Richard Budd found that between 1838 and 1857 most chaplains represented the Episcopalian, Congregationalist, Unitarian, and Presbyterian denominations. During the pre-Civil War period twenty-five of forty-two post chaplains were Episcopalian. Between 1866 and 1895 the majority of the chaplains were Episcopalian, but many also were Methodist, Presbyterians, and Baptists.<sup>10</sup>

There is no apparent explanation as to why a disproportionate number of chaplains were Episcopalian. The canons and constitution of the Episcopalian church did not promote or even mention the army as a missionary field. It is possible that the churches' association with the upper class, and with many officers before the Civil War, had some

influence. Episcopalian traditions and formality were also more compatible with the formality and traditions of the army. It is also possible that some diocese bishops encouraged clergy to serve the army, and thus had some political influence on the number of clerics who volunteered to serve. Because most Episcopalian ministers stayed at their parishes until retirement, and there were few preaching opportunities, many clergymen may have seen the army as an opportunity to earn a living.<sup>11</sup>

Despite the large numbers of Catholic soldiers in the army, only six Catholics served as chaplains between 1866 and 1895.<sup>12</sup> Before the Civil War army regulations specified that chaplains had to be Protestant. The Mexican War brought this policy into question and as a result Congress changed the rules and allowed Catholic priests to become chaplains. Nonetheless, only a relatively few Catholic clerics served in the army. This lack of representation and appointment was possibly due in part to American society's anti-Catholic sentiment. To aid Catholic soldiers, priests from nearby communities held mass at forts, and periodically soldiers traveled to nearby Catholic churches.<sup>13</sup>

Many people, army and civilian, believed that chaplains did not proportionately represent the religious preferences of the enlisted men. Testifying before Congress in 1875, an army captain testified that the army needed more priests,



for most enlisted men were Catholic. A contributor to the Army-Navy Journal a few years later commented that it was unknown how many Catholics served in the army, but that more Catholic priests were needed. In 1878, Congress sought to establish an annual survey of religious affiliation of the soldiers, and then assign chaplains in proportion to the army's needs. Opponents defeated the bill. Chaplain Eli W. J. Lindesmith took a survey of the religious affiliation of the soldiers stationed at Fort Keogh, Montana, sometime during the 1880s. His survey revealed that the majority of the soldiers were Catholic and Episcopalian. This seems to agree with the complaints filed by officers and others interested in the religious well-being of the army. (See Appendix B). Between 1866 and 1895 only six of all chaplains were Catholic; there were no Jewish rabbis. The lack of Jewish rabbis might have been due to the small Jewish population in the United States, and the anti-Semitic attitudes in American society. Because the army did not record religious preferences, the number of Jewish soldiers serving in the army is unknown. However, Lindesmith's survey revealed that two men of the Fifth Infantry were Jewish.<sup>14</sup>

To meet the needs of all soldiers, chaplains had to be open and flexible and to have their spiritual needs met, soldiers had to be resourceful and tolerant. Officers often lodged complaints against chaplains. The most common charge

was that the ministers were old and in ill-health. These charges contained some truth. Over half of the thirty-five chaplains in this study were over the age of forty, and several were beyond fifty-five. Army regulations contained no requirements on the age of chaplains; therefore, the position was open to young and old alike.<sup>15</sup>

Often the applicants for chaplain positions were politically well connected. Hopeful applicants asked their important friends to write letters of recommendations to the president for them. Hiram Stone asked James Harlan, who had served in Abraham Lincoln's presidential campaign of 1864, and who served as the treasurer to the Union Executive Congressional Committee, to write one of his letters of recommendation. Stone also used his connections through his wife's uncle, who was a former Iowa governor. Charles Pierce obtained a military endorsement from General Oliver O. Howard. Edward Vattman from Fulton, Ohio, had the prominent Ohioan and future president William McKinley submit a letter of recommendation on his behalf. Frederick Douglas wrote a letter of recommendation on behalf of African American chaplain, Henry V. Plummer.<sup>16</sup>

Once a chaplain obtained a position in the army, he realized that frontier posts required men of strong health and constitution. The hardships of army life were many and severe. While most chaplains had the ability to endure the

hardships, several quickly realized that physically and mentally they could not deal with the stress and strains. Jeremiah Porter received his appointment when he was sixty-five. Ten years later he requested to be retired due to his age and poor health.<sup>17</sup> In 1869, fifty-year-old Manuel Gonzales accepted an appointment as the chaplain of the African American Ninth Cavalry. Twelve years later, General Edward M. Hatch complained that Gonzales had been on sick leave for eight of the twelve years he had been assigned to the regiment. Gonzales suffered from hemorrhoids, according to the surgeon's disability certificate, and the general recommended his retirement.<sup>18</sup> Thaddeus McFalls served as a hospital chaplain during the Civil War, and left the army after contracting typhoid fever. After the war, he appealed to the president for an appointment as a chaplain, even though he still suffered from the lingering effects of typhoid.<sup>19</sup>

Chaplains were often the most educated members of the garrison, despite the fact that the only educational requirements for the position were those needed for ordination in their denomination. Many denominations, such as Episcopalians, Congregationalists, and Presbyterians, however, valued education. These groups maintained educational requirements that ministers had to meet to be ordained. Consequently, most chaplains from these groups had

post-secondary training. More than one-half of the chaplains in this study held a degree from a seminary. One half of this group held graduate degrees, specifically in divinity. This included the two African American chaplains. Some chaplains had other college or formal training. George W. Simpson had a medical degree from the University of Pennsylvania, and from the College of Physicians and Surgeons of Baltimore. Several men, such as Charles Pierce and George Mullins, held college degrees and teaching certificates.<sup>20</sup>

For many chaplains the appointment gave them official status with the army and served as a continuation of the service they started during the Civil War. Francis Weaver, assigned to the Tenth Cavalry, served three years with the Thirty-Third Pennsylvania volunteers, and was wounded five times during the war. In August of 1862, David White enlisted in Company I of the Illinois Volunteers and served in that regiment until the end of the war. Eight of the chaplains, Edward Tuttle, Thaddeus McFalls, Manuel Gonzales, Charles A. Blake, Norman Badger, Allen Allensworth, George W. Simpson, and John Woart, served as hospital chaplains during the Civil War. Prior to assignment with the African American regiments, many of the white chaplains worked with the Bureau of Refugees and Freedmen, or with African American units. For example, David Barr served as the

chaplain of the Eighty-First United States Colored Troops regiment until he was captured by the Confederates during the war. Despite having previously been slaves, two of the African American chaplains had military experience. Allen Allensworth and Henry V. Plummer served in the Union army during the Civil War.<sup>21</sup>

The poor U. S. economic conditions of the late nineteenth century motivated many ministers to apply for a chaplain's position in the army. Most of these men left ministries behind in the East to accept such a position. Despite the harsh living conditions and isolation, the benefits and income of the army made the job appealing to some men. Chaplains in the army after the Civil War earned the same pay and benefits as a second lieutenant. Along with \$1,500 a year, this included housing and rations. Depending on the size of the congregation and the location, civilian ministers earned more or less than the chaplains in the army. In 1875, the Episcopalian minister at Christ Church in Allentown, New Jersey, made only \$300 a year, not including housing or any other benefits. In 1882, the ministers at St. John's Episcopal church in Toledo, Ohio, earned \$1,578.69 a year. This also did not include a housing allowance. In 1870, the Methodist Episcopal minister in Bloomington, Illinois, earned only \$1,700 a year. Ten years later, Methodist Episcopal ministers in

Peoria, Illinois, were still earning between \$700.00 and \$1,200 a year.<sup>22</sup>

Another aspect of the army that made the job appealing to many ministers was the stability of the position. Civilian minister could easily be dismissed by congregations or bishops, and salaries could vary according to the economic ability or willingness of parishioners to contribute to the clergy's pay. Most churches did not provide any retirement fund, health care, or housing, while the army provided the chaplains these benefits. In their applications to the army, several ministers listed economics as their motivation for applying for the position. For example, David White, at the age of forty-five, applied for an appointment in order to obtain a regular salary working for the army. One individual who wrote a letter of recommendation for White mentioned his age and the fact that he had a family to support.<sup>23</sup> Winfield Scott, also about forty-five years of age, stated that he wanted the position because it "would help greatly make the balance of my days pleasant and comfortable for myself and family."<sup>24</sup> Applicant George Mullins told the Secretary of War that he was willing to work faithfully where the army could best use his education and experience. His willingness to go wherever the army wished, and his willingness to give up what he called his "slavish life as a city pastor," came

from his need for money. He argued that because he was very poor he "must go at something that will bring at least a moderate support for my family."<sup>25</sup>

The youngest applicant, Charles Pierce, thirty years old, did not give economic reasons for applying. He suggested that he was a prime candidate for appointment because of his age; he stated that due to his youthfulness he could give the army at least thirty-seven years of service before he retired. General Oliver O. Howard recommended Pierce, stating that President Chester A. Arthur's administration had appointed only old chaplains, and that he would like to see a young chaplain such as Pierce appointed.<sup>26</sup>

Many ministers who joined the army did so because it offered them the opportunity to work in an overlooked missionary field. For some aspiring army chaplains, the position was simply a continuation of their previous work in churches or past service in the army during the Civil War. Those chaplains not already familiar with the army soon learned that the men in this organization needed moral instruction.

Army chaplaincy attracted men from all walks of life and social status. For most clerics the army provided them with the opportunity to support their families, serve their country, and to fulfill what they believed was their duty to

God. The frontier army also provided them with challenges. Some embraced the challenges whole-heartedly and enjoyed life in the army, while others found life on the frontier to be miserable and the work in the army to be overwhelming.



## NOTES TO CHAPTER TWO

1. Anne Bruner Eales, Army Wives on the American Frontier: Living by the Bugle (Boulder, CO: Johnson Books, 1996), 82; Sandra L. Myres, ed., Cavalry Wife: The Diary of Eveline M. Alexander, 1866-1867 (College Station, TX: Texas A & M Press, 1997), 40.
2. Eales, Army Wives, 82; David H. Stratton, "The Army and the Gospel in the West," Western Humanities Review 8 (Summer 1954), 248; D. B., "Correspondence - Fort Shaw, Montana Territory," Army-Navy Journal Gazette of the Regular and Volunteer Forces, 11 February 1871, 411; Boots and Bibles: The Spiritual Heritage of Fort Riley, Kansas (n.p.: n.p., n.d.), 10; Lydia Lane Spencer, Old Days in the Old Army (Albuquerque: Horn and Wallace Publishers, 1964), 149; Leo Oliva, Fort Union and the Frontier Army in the Southwest (Santa Fe, NM: National Park Service, 1993), 339; Oliver Knight, Life and Manners in the Frontier Army (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1978), 171. Don Rickey, Jr., Forty Miles a Day on Beans and Hay, (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1963), 192-193.
3. Stratton, "The Army and the Gospel in the West," 248; George W. Simpson, "Qualifications and Duties of Chaplains," in Active Service or Religious Work Among U.S. Soldiers by Theophilus Gould Steward, ed. (New York: United States Army Aid Association, 1897), 53.
4. Adjutant General's office, "General Orders No. 10," 8 October 1875, Norman Badger File, Appointment, Commission, and Promotions File (hereafter cited as ACP) Record Group 94, 3046 ACP 1876, National Archives and Records Administration, Washington D.C. (Hereafter cited as NARA); Richard M. Budd, "Serving Two Masters: The Professionalization and Bureaucratization of the American Military Chaplaincy, 1860-1920," (Ph.D. diss., Ohio State University, 1994), 31-34; Richard D. Gamble, "Army Chaplains at Frontier Posts, 1830-1860," Historical Magazine of the Protestant Episcopal Church 27 (1958): 285; Oliver Knight, Life and Manners, 171.
5. The statistics for the place of permanent residence for the chaplains were compiled from the following documents: Everett Isaac, letter to President of the United States, December 1874, George Mullins File, 5053 ACP 1874, NARA; Elijah Guion, Pension Card, No date, Elijah Guion File, 296 ACP 1872, NARA; Alan K. Lamm, Five Black Preachers in Army Blue, 1884-1901 (Lewiston, NY: Edward Mellon Press, 1998),

202, 161, 193; Carol Schmidt, "The Chaplains of Fort Concho," Fort Concho Report 16 (Spring 1984), 27, 30-31; Barbara Fisher, "Forrestine Cooper Hooker's Notes and Memoirs of Life in the West, 1871-1876," (M.A. thesis, University of Arizona, 1963), 128; Francis B. Heitman, Historical Register and Dictionary of the U.S. Army Vol. 1 (Washington, DC: Government Printing Press, 1903), 929, 825, 462, 317, 223, 480, 1027; Manuel Gonzales, letter to James A. Hardee, 6 May 1918, Manuel Gonzales 4167 ACP 74, NARA; Charles Blake, letter to Adjutant General, 8 March 1881, Charles Blake File 2712 ACP 1881, NARA; Hiram Stone, letter to General Kelton, 30 April 1867, Hiram Stone File, 3683 ACP 1873, NARA; Francis Weaver, letter to President, 8 June 1876, Francis Weaver File, 1198 ACP, 1880, Alpha Wright, letter to Secretary of War, 6 June 1864, Alpha Wright File, 5246 ACP 1879, NARA; Alpha Wright, letter to President, 17 August 1870, Alpha Wright; A. T. Andreas, "Alpha Wright," History of Nebraska (Chicago: n.p., 1882), 508; John Schultz, letter to Adjutant General, 11 December 1866, John Schultz File, 2038 ACP 1871, NARA; Richard Lynch, Winfield Scott: A Biography of Scottsdale's Founder (Scottsdale, AZ: City of Scottsdale, 1978), 3-10; Don Aidan Henry Germain, "Catholic Military and Naval Chaplains, 1776-1917," (Ph.D. diss., Catholic University of America, 1929), 135; John Woart, letter to Major General Hancock, 22 January 1866, John Woart File, 2293 ACP 1880, NARA; George Dunbar, Family Bible, No Date, Pence Family Papers, Military History Institute, Carlisle Barracks, PA. (hereafter cited as MHI); Ope Absisle, letter to President, 30 June 1882, Orville Nave File, 988 ACP 1880, NARA; Adjutant General's Office, Case of Charles Campbell Pierce, 1880, Charles Pierce File, 1242 ACP 1880, NARA; Henry V. Plummer, letter to Adjutant General, 12 July 1884, Henry Plummer File, 6474 ACP 1881, NARA.

6. Orville J. Nave, Nave's Handbook on the Army Chaplaincy (Los Angeles: n. p., 1917), 26.

7. Stratton, "The Army and the Gospel in the West," 255; James LaTourette, Monthly Report, 1 May 1881, LaTourette File, Fort Union National Historic Site, Fort Union, NM. (Hereafter cited as FUHS); John A. Macomber, "The Army and the Chaplaincy," in Active Service or Religious Work Among U. S. Soldiers, 21.

8. Jacob Fawcett, letter to Alexander Gilmore, 3 May 1890, Alexander Gilmore File, 141 ACP 1872, NARA; "Chaplains in the Army," 51<sup>st</sup> Congress, 1<sup>st</sup> Session, House Report no. 2761, Serial no. 2814 (Washington, DC: Government Printing Press, 1890), 5.

9. "Chaplains in the Army Report," 51<sup>st</sup> Cong., 1<sup>st</sup> Session, House Report no. 2761, Serial no. 2814 (Washington, DC: Government Printing Press, 1890), 3-17.
10. Michael L. Tate, The Frontier Army in the Settlement of the West (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1999), 197; Earl F. Stover, Up From Handyman: The United States Chaplaincy (Washington, DC: Office of the Chief of Chaplains, Department of the Army, 1978), 257-271; Richard H. Budd, Serving Two Masters: The Development of American Military Chaplaincy, 1860-1920 (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2002), 17. The backgrounds of the chaplains were also compiled from the following documents: Everett Isaac, letter to the President of the United States, 9 December 1874, George Mullins File, 5053 ACP 1874, NARA; Carol Schmidt, "The Chaplains of Fort Concho," 27, 29, 31; Manuel Gonzales, letter to Adjutant General, 16 March 1872, Manuel Gonzales File, 4167 ACP 74, NARA; Edmund B. Tuttle, letter to Andrew Johnson, 16 September 1867, Edmund B. Tuttle File, 3167 ACP 1871, NARA; Francis Weaver, letter to the President, 8 June 1876, Francis Weaver File, 1198 ACP 1880, NARA; Isaac Everett, letter to General Belknap, 11 December 1874, George Mullins File, 5053 ACP 1874, NARA; Ope Absisle, letter to the President, 30 June 1882, Orville Nave File, 988 ACP 1880, NARA; Adjutant General's Office, Case of Charles Campbell Pierce, 1880, Charles Pierce File, 1242 ACP 1880, NARA.
11. Edward M. Coffman, The Old Army: A Portrait of the American Army in Peacetime, 1784-1898 (New York: Oxford University Press, 1986), 78; Journal of the Proceedings of the Bishops, Clergy, and Laity of the Protestant Episcopal General Convention (Hartford, CT: Church Press Co., 1869), 134; Journal of the Proceedings of the Bishops, Clergy and Laity of the Protestant Episcopal General Convention (Hartford, CT: Church Press Co., 1884), 90.
12. Germain, "Catholic Military and Naval Chaplains," 4; Stover, Up From Handyman, 257-271. Although there were six Catholic chaplains who served in the army between 1866 and 1895, this study focuses only on three.
13. Tate, The Frontier Army, 197; Rollin K. Quimby, "Congress and the Civil War Chaplaincy," Civil War History 10 (1964), 247.
14. Coffman, The Old Army, 391-392; Eli W. J. Lindesmith, "List of different Religious Persuasions at Fort Keogh, Montana," no date, Correspondence File, Eli W. J. Lindesmith

File, CUA; Albert Isaac Slomovitz, The Fighting Rabbis: Jewish Military Chaplains and American History (New York: New York University Press, 1999), 26.

15. Lamm, Five Black Preachers, 161, 193; Barbara Fisher, "Forrestine Cooper Hooker's Notes," 128; Lynch, Winfield Scott, 3-10; the ages of the chaplains was determined from the following documents: Jeremiah Porter, letter to Adjutant General (hereafter cited as AG), 6 March 1880, Jeremiah Porter File, 1143 ACP 874, NARA; Manuel Gonzales, letter to AG, 16 March 1872, Manuel Gonzales File, 4167 ACP 74, NARA; Charles Blake, letter to AG, 8 March 1881, Charles Blake File, 2712 ACP 1881, NARA; Hiram Stone, letter to General Kelton, 30 April 1867, 3683 ACP 1873, NARA; L. Weldon, letter to Andrew Johnson, 31 August 1865, Officer Files, David White File, FOLS; Alpha Wright, letter to Secretary of War, 6 June 1864, Alpha Wright File, 5246 ACP 1879, NARA; Alpha Wright, letter to President, 17 August 1870, Alpha Wright File, 5246 ACP 1879, NARA; John Schultz, letter to AG, 11 December 1866, John Schultz File, 2038 ACP 1871, NARA; Samuel Randell, letter to E.D. Townsend, 5 September 1867, Gamaliel Collins File, 4321 ACP 1873, NARA; George Dunbar, Family Bible, No Date, Pence Family Papers, MHI; James Laverty, letter to Assistant Adjutant General (Hereafter cited as AAG), 11 November 1882, James Laverty File, 1596 ACP 1876, NARA; Louis Pfaller, "Biography of Eli Washington John Lindesmith," 6 December 1988, Reference Folder, Eli W. J. Lindesmith papers, CUA; Nave, Nave's Handbook, 8; Alvin Saunders, letter to Robert Lincoln, 17 November 1884, Charles Pierce File, 1242 ACP 1880, NARA; Charles Pierce, Efficiency Report, 30 April 1890, Charles Pierce File, 1242 ACP 1880, NARA.

16. James Harlan, letter to President, 2 September 1861, Hiram Stone File, 3683 ACP 1873, NARA; William McKinley, letter to President, 9 September 1890, Edward Vattman File, 5464 ACP 1890, NARA; Frederick Douglas, letter to President, 14 May 1884, Henry V. Plummer File, 6474 ACP 1881, NARA.

17. Jeremiah Porter, letter to AG, 6 March 1880, Jeremiah Porter File, 1143 ACP 874, NARA.

18. Manuel Gonzales, letter to AG, 19 April 1869, Manuel Gonzales File, 4167 ACP 74, NARA; Edward M. Hatch, letter to AG, 3 December 1880, Manuel Gonzales File, 4167 ACP 74, NARA.

19. Schmidt, "Chaplains at Fort Concho," 27.

20. Lamm, Five Black Preachers, 104, 161, 193; Charles Kenner, Buffalo Soldiers and Officers of the Ninth Cavalry, 1867-1898 (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1999), 284; Louis Pfaller, "Biography of Eli Washington John Lindesmith," 6 December 1968, Reference Folder, Eli W. J. Lindesmith Files, CUA; Lynch, Winfield Scott, 8-10; The educational backgrounds of the chaplains also comes from the following documents: Ope Absisle, letter to President, 30 June 1882, Orville J. Nave File, 988 ACP 1880, NARA; James Dawes, letter to President Chester A. Arthur, 18 September 1884, Charles Pierce File, 1242 ACP 1880, NARA; George W. Simpson, letter to the President, 1 April 1875, George W. Simpson File, 1872 ACP 1876, NARA; "Francis Weaver," Gettysburg Luthern Theological Seminary Vol. II (n.p.: n.p., 1964), 44; Allen Allensworth, Efficiency report, 1905, Allen Allensworth File, RG94 13 W; NARA; George Dunbar, Family Bible, No date, Pence Family History, Pence Family Papers, MHI; Charles Pierce, Efficiency report, 30 April 1890, Charles Pierce File, 1242 ACP 1880, NARA.

21. Lamm, Five Black Preachers, 193, 202; Nellie Plummer, Out of the Depths or Triumph of the Cross (n.p.: Hyattsville, MD, 1927), 250; Schmidt, "Chaplains at Fort Concho," 30. The military backgrounds of the chaplains also comes from the following documents: Francis Weaver, letter to the President, 8 June 1876, Francis Weaver File, 1198 ACP 1880, NARA; Alpha Wright, letter to the Secretary of War, 6 June 1864, Alpha Wright File, 5246 ACP 1879, NARA; John Woart, letter to General Hancock, 22 January 1866, John Woart File, 2293 ACP 1973, NARA; Thomas Hendricks, letter to Edwin Stanton, 25 October 1866, John Schultz File, 2083 ACP 1871, NARA; John Schultz, letter to AG, 25 March 1867, John Schultz File, 2083 ACP 1871, NARA; E. S. Adams, Report from AG Office, 1 June 1939, Officer Files, David White File, FOLS; Edmund B. Tuttle, "Volunteer Organizations in Which Service was Rendered by Rev. Edmund B. Tuttle, 8 May 1872, Edmund Tuttle File, 3167 ACP 1871, NARA; Manuel Gonzales, letter to AG, 16 March 1872, Manuel Gonzales File, 4167 ACP 74, NARA; James S. Martin, letter to President, 25 May 1904, Orville Nave File, 988 ACP 1880, NARA; James W. Dawes, letter to President Chester A. Arthur, 18 September 1884, Charles Pierce File, 1242, ACP 1880, NARA.

22. Diocese of New Jersey, Journal of the Ninety-Second Annual Convention, 1875 (Trenton: William S. Sharp Pub., 1875), 55; Diocese of Ohio, Journal of the Fiftieth Annual Convention, 1867 (Columbus: Nevins and Myers Pub., 1867), 78; Illinois Methodist Episcopal Church, "Steward's Report," in Illinois Annual Conference Report (Bloomington: Illinois

Great Rivers Conference, 1880), 44.

23. David White, diary, 2 April 1866, Officer Files, David White File, FOLS.

24. Winfield Scott, letter to John Miller, 23 August 1881, Winfield Scott File, 1111 ACP 1882, NARA.

25. George Mullins, letter to General Belknap, 11 December 1874, George Mullins File, 5053 ACP 1874, NARA.

26. Charles Pierce, letter to President, 21 March 1885, Charles Pierce File, 1242 ACP 1880, NARA.

CHAPTER THREE:  
NOT A LIFE OF LUXURIOUS IDLENESS:  
DUTIES OF A CHAPLAIN

Ministers who became post chaplains learned that the assignment was more challenging than they expected. Although many chaplains had served in the army during the Civil War, they realized upon joining the frontier constabulary army that it was different. The western frontier demanded more of its inhabitants, and the army required more of its personnel. The frontier army also offered little for the soldiers to do as entertainment. Brothels and saloons usually were the only source of recreation available. The availability of liquor and constant boredom created disciplinary problems and alcohol abuse among the enlisted men. The army expected the chaplain to reform the soldiers' bad habits and to instill discipline with nominal support from military leaders. Suffering this difficult duty, chaplains performed a variety of chores that enhanced post life and assisted the soldiers. They sought to improve the general welfare of the post, improve the morals of the soldiers, and instill discipline.

Although many chaplains had previous military experience, most were shocked by the poor morals and lack of piety among the soldiers and civilians of the West. In 1867, while en route to his first assignment at Fort Kearney, Wyoming, David White stopped at a ranch. He

learned quickly that the proprietor and the other guests had few morals. In describing the ranch and people he encountered, he wrote, "O the filth of conversation, drunkenness and gambling and profanity. May I never see or hear the like again."<sup>1</sup> White also discovered that other frontier communities fared no better than the ranch in morals. In describing the city of Cheyenne, Wyoming, he wrote that it was "quite a place for such a hell."<sup>2</sup> White discovered that over half of the businesses in the community were gambling halls, and the only religion in the region was provided by a doctor who was Methodist.<sup>3</sup>

Edmund Tuttle and Charles Pierce believed that often the western communities near army posts were bad influences on nearby soldiers. Tuttle believed that the town of Julesburg, Colorado, south of Fort Sedgewick, was the most wicked city in the world. He reported that thieves and convicts came to the city to lead bad lives and that "often three or four would be shot down at night in drunken rows with their companions in vice and crime."<sup>4</sup> Charles Pierce said that companies of white and black prostitutes, who camped outside Fort Riley, Kansas, military reservation, carried on "a lively business."<sup>5</sup> In 1873 at Fort Concho, Texas, chaplain Norman Badger complained to the Adjutant General that "the moral condition of the troops is as good as could be expected of men far removed from the restraints



of established society tempted by numerous drinking and gambling saloons and abstaining almost entirely from religious or moral instructions."<sup>6</sup> The conditions and challenges they faced led most chaplains to believe it was their duty to bring morality to the post. David White commented that he felt so "determined to fight a good fight that I lay hold on eternal life."<sup>7</sup>

The isolation of the posts and lack of previous formal religious and moral influence at them made the chaplains' duties trying and numerous. Army regulations specified that a post chaplain's duty was to hold divine services, visit the sick, and instruct the children and enlisted men in English and history. Army officials believed that discipline within the ranks would improve by offering moral instruction. Many chaplains upon arrival at a post encountered some type of religious service already in place, established by officers and their wives. At posts where there were no services, often some individuals had an interest in initiating some form of worship. Charles Pierce learned while visiting Fort Grant, Arizona, that there were many soldiers and local people who "want services to mark Sunday as distinct among other days and that they want a Sunday School in which their children may have instruction in the holy scriptures."<sup>8</sup>

Newly arrived chaplains continued the current services,

expanded them, and encouraged the attendance of the enlisted men. In a manual for army chaplains, William Brown advised the ministers to hold services in the same manner as with civilian congregations at least once every Sunday. He also suggested that the chaplains hold prayer meetings and preach at least once a week.<sup>9</sup> Chaplain Orville J. Nave suggested that the chaplains' mission was to bring a degree of efficiency by promoting a spirit of obedience and a sense of duty. He admonished his fellow chaplains that they were "not there simply to preach, but to help develop the qualities that make good soldiers."<sup>10</sup> Chaplain George Mullins believed that religious teaching was the key to creating good soldiers. In 1876, after visiting Forts Quitman and Bliss, Texas, he recommended that Fort Bliss be moved and a chaplain assigned to it "for the sake of the moral and mental welfare of our poor men - since a good post school and regular divine services act powerfully to keep our men out of the guardhouse and from a court-martial and gradually to help develop a higher quality of a soldier."<sup>11</sup>

Most chaplains held religious services every Sunday. David White preached at the post five days after arriving at Camp Verde, Arizona. He pronounced the attendance good, "for the army."<sup>12</sup> Allen Allensworth held services every Sunday at Fort Bayard, New Mexico, and the attendance was as high as that of a civilian community.<sup>13</sup> Besides Sunday

worship service, chaplains often offered other types of religious meetings. Most commonly they held Sunday Services for the children of the post and for enlisted men. While stationed at Fort Concho, Texas, George Dunbar held Sunday School for the officers' children immediately after regular services. He held a similar teaching session for enlisted men on Tuesday nights.<sup>14</sup> Chaplain Henry V. Plummer also taught Sunday school for post children and enlisted men. Many chaplains organized choirs or established singing sessions. At Fort Robinson, Nebraska, Henry Plummer said that the music services were always well attended.<sup>15</sup> One evening a week Alexander Gilmore held practice for singing in preparation for Sunday services at Fort Whipple, Arizona. He suggested that on those nights "there is a good attendance and the men take a lively interest in the rehearsals."<sup>16</sup>

Other chaplains organized Bible studies and held services in the hospital for the patients. While at Fort Kearney, Wyoming, David White organized a twenty-five member Bible class among the enlisted men and civilians who met four times a week.<sup>17</sup> During White's visits to the hospital he had "frequent conversations with enlisted men on topics of religion, morals and temperance."<sup>18</sup> Every Wednesday at Fort Custer, Montana, Francis Weaver held lectures and prayers that twenty-four people attended.<sup>19</sup>

The strict social etiquette of the old army often affected religious services and attendance. At worship services, attended by both enlisted men and officers, social etiquette required enlisted men to stand in the back of the room, reserving seats for officers and their families, even if the seats were empty. To avoid the effects of the social caste system at the posts, some chaplains offered separate services for enlisted men. George Dunbar did so at night for enlisted men at Fort Concho, Texas, and Alexander Gilmore held services for enlisted men at Fort Whipple, Arizona, with encouraging attendance.<sup>20</sup> Orville Nave said that the enlisted men at Fort Omaha, Nebraska, attended services at local community churches because "they receive those attentions and evidences of fellowship which are withheld by officers and their families at post religious services."<sup>21</sup> The army's social etiquette sometimes caused many enlisted men to avoid attending religious services or to seek available services off the post.

Attendance at religious services varied from chaplain to chaplain and from post to post. Allen Allensworth, a chaplain with one of the African American regiments, had good attendance at services at Fort Bayard, New Mexico. He eagerly reported to the Adjutant General that:

the interest taken in public religious services is shown by the regular attendance of a large number of the command, this is

shown more especially when it is considered that no influence is brought to bear to secure such attendance beyond the attractiveness of the service and the desire on the part of those who attend to be interested and instructed.<sup>22</sup>

That month Allensworth had fifty people in attendance at services.<sup>23</sup> Henry Plummer also had high attendance at his services at Fort Robinson, Nebraska. One month he had 200 people attending services. These two chaplains were African Americans assigned to African American regiments.<sup>24</sup>

Catholic chaplain Eli W. J. Lindesmith held numerous communions and mass services at Fort Keogh, Montana. During April 1882, he gave the divine office, held seven catechetical instructions, and administered fourteen communions.<sup>25</sup> George W. Simpson Fort McIntosh, Texas, proclaimed that worship services were well attended, "an interesting feature being that the congregation is largely made up of the troops of the garrison."<sup>26</sup> In 1885, Orville Nave had forty percent of the enlisted men at Fort Lyons, Colorado, attend the worship services.<sup>27</sup> At the Presidio in California in 1889, chaplain George Dunbar recognized that most men at the post were members of a church, but not very faithful members. Most late nineteenth century soldiers were nominal church members or associated with a particular faith, and most chaplains found that the enlisted men wanted and attended religious services regularly.<sup>28</sup>

Chaplains learned that their success among the enlisted

men depended to a large extent on the support they received from the commanding officers. After the Civil War, the army no longer made attendance at religious services mandatory, and regulations concerning alcohol sales and consumption varied from post to post. Thus, it was up to the commanding officer to set an example. Most chaplains complained that officers did not require or make it a priority for their troops to attend worship services.

Alcohol consumption was always such a problem at frontier posts, and post commanders usually took no action to control abuse of it. Chaplains also often asked the Adjutant General of the army to stop the use of alcohol on posts, and to regulate Sunday religious services. In January 1868, David White suggested that army regulations require troops to observe the Sabbath, and on that day prohibit the vices of gambling and intemperance. White suggested that, "such rules are the more necessary at frontier posts where enlightened and civilized society is unable to insert restraints."<sup>29</sup> White struggled for a year to hold services, and to make an impression on the soldiers at Camp Verde, Arizona. His problem was that the commanding officer and other officers of the post did not attend worship services, and essentially, according to White, encouraged their troops to do likewise. In April 1872, White wrote to the Adjutant General requesting that the post trader's store be closed on the Sabbath. He

complained that the citizens who frequented the place were bad examples on Sundays for the soldiers. In addition to the complaint, David White asked the Adjutant General whether the "army of the U.S. [should] ignore the Christian Sabbath while the whole civilized world and especially the mass of our native born attend reverentially to its divine obligation."<sup>30</sup> In 1871, at Fort Concho, Texas, Norman Badger offered a similar suggestion about changing regulations. He said he realized that, "I know such an order would be agreeable to some men who cannot resist a strong public opinion against signs of being religious and I think it would be beneficial to all."<sup>31</sup>

A few officers and post commanders set an example for their men by attending services, by being active in the religious activities of the post, and by encouraging their troops to do likewise. Henry Plummer praised the commanding officer of the Ninth Cavalry for setting a good example by regularly attending divine services, and "by giving every facility in his power to encourage the troops of the post to a higher state of morality, and progress in education."<sup>32</sup> Alpha Wright had a large and attentive congregation at Fort Laramie, Wyoming. He suggested that this in part was a consequence of the commanding officer, Bvt. Brig. Gen. F. F. Flint, whom Wright felt was a model gentleman, officer, and Christian. The post commander and his family were all devout members of

the Episcopalian Church.<sup>33</sup> David White attributed the good moral condition and religious piety among the enlisted men at Fort Reno, Wyoming, to the efforts of Colonel Henry Carrington and his wife to maintain a high standard in the moral character of the post.<sup>34</sup>

Chaplains and others offered theories for the men's lack of interest in religion. Charles Bateman believed that officers did not promote religion or show interest in it, for they were devoted to fighting Indians, and to a military way of thinking. Bateman theorized that only the art of war interested officers. He pointed out that the officers were not opposed to the chaplains's work, but that it was not a priority.<sup>35</sup> Alpha Wright, noting that many army recruits were petty thieves and gamblers, believed that chaplains could not encourage greater interest in religion among the enlisted men until the recruiters selected men with higher moral qualities.<sup>36</sup>

Many chaplains found holding services once a week difficult. Often the army sent ministers to posts where no chaplain had been stationed. Complicating matters more, most posts did not have suitable building for use as a chapel, despite the fact that army regulations required the post commander to provide a building for religious and educational purposes. This generally happened only if a building were vacant or the hospital wards were available. Even then, if



the post commander did not see religious services as a need, he did not make a building available. Although Allen Allensworth had a meeting space for his devotees, its small size limited him to only fourteen percent of the garrison at one time.<sup>37</sup> David White complained that services at Fort Kearney, Wyoming, were also irregular for want of a meeting space.<sup>38</sup>

Some chaplains took it upon themselves and their congregations to find a suitable meeting site. Gamaliel Collins requested permission to collect funds to build a small chapel at Fort Hays, Kansas, because the vacant kitchen that he used was no longer large enough.<sup>39</sup> After struggling to hold services in the south Texas wind, Norman Badger built a crude structure of poles, mud, and flour bags at Fort Concho.<sup>40</sup> Eli Lindesmith turned the front room of his quarters at Fort Keogh, Montana, into a makeshift private chapel.<sup>41</sup>

George W. Simpson also learned that providing religious services at the post depended on the support of the commanding officer. In 1884, Simpson wrote the Adjutant General of the army that the temporary post commander had set up an area in the enlisted mens' quarters for worship service. When new troops arrived, he also provided Simpson with a tent. Things changed, however, when the permanent post commander, Edwin V. Sumner, returned. Sumner removed the tents and provided Simpson with no alternative place to hold worship services,

except in his quarters. The following month Simpson stopped services because of cold weather, lack of fuel for a fire, and no lighting.<sup>42</sup>

Although the post commander might provide a building, the structure also often served many other purposes. The son of a soldier at Fort Laramie, Wyoming, remembered that the post dance-hall and opera house also were used for religious services every Sunday.<sup>43</sup> Henry Plummer complained that the dance hall building he used at Fort Robinson, Nebraska, was a source of embarrassment for his parishioners. He believed that the "very idea of divine services in a dance hall destroys much of the impressive solemnity which should characterize divine worship."<sup>44</sup>

Post clerics faced problems other than finding a place for services. Because attendance at divine services were not mandatory, post commanders often scheduled duties and drills for soldiers at times that conflicted with worship services. In March 1870, the editor of the Army-Navy Journal received a letter under the signature of an anonymous writer called "Sunday" who complained about commanding officers holding Sunday morning inspections and reviews. The author noted that the articles of war suggested attendance at divine services by officers and soldiers, but that few officers followed those recommendations. The writer noted that the saying "there is no Sunday in the army" was true at many posts. Three months

later another letter to the editor supported the earlier published arguments about the lack of observance of the Sabbath at most army posts. This author noted that the past Sunday evening at his post he witnessed a two-hour drill that included a full dress parade and a band playing. Although the authors of the letters are unknown, they could have been army chaplains. In March 1883, Eli W. J. Lindesmith complained that at Fort Keogh, Montana, the post band continued to play long after the call for church services sounded and well into divine services, thus preventing some soldiers from attending.<sup>45</sup>

Complicating matters, the chaplains had to request assistance from outside sources for church supplies because the army did not consider religious supplies as a necessary expense. Most chaplains learned quickly to appeal to religious organizations in order to obtain inexpensive or free materials and teaching aids. While he was on leave in Philadelphia, chaplain James Laverty, requested an extension of his leave so that he could appeal to various Christian organizations for donations of Sunday School books.<sup>46</sup> George Mullins appealed to the Young Men's Christian Association of New York and Chicago to obtain supplies for Fort Davis, Texas.<sup>47</sup> Despite company and post funds, the army did not always make this money available for the chaplains. While serving at Fort Yates, South Dakota, chaplain George Simpson

requested funds for purchasing hymnals, song books, and Sunday School literature from the quartermaster. The quartermaster took no action and explained to the chaplain that the persons who attended religious services should provide the books and supplies they needed because it was the only expense the army called upon them to incur to hold services. In response to the chaplain's complaint, the Adjutant General's office issued a circular informing chaplains that the government did not provide prayer books and other supplies for chapel services. The army expected chaplains to obtain them through voluntary contributions of those interested.<sup>48</sup>

Although army officials and Congress believed that chaplains made positive contributions to army posts and the lives of enlisted men, they provided only a few chaplains. With only thirty-four chaplains in the army, many posts in the West went without the services of a clergyman. Upon entering the army and moving to the West, some chaplains found both the western soldiers and settlers of nearby villages a ripe missionary field. The army did not encourage the chaplains to serve the needs of men who served at posts nearby that had no chaplain. However, some chaplains traveled miles across the plains and deserts of the West to attend to the spiritual needs of soldiers at other posts in the area. After arriving at Fort Keogh, Montana, Catholic chaplain Eli W. J. Lindesmith requested permission to make occasional visits to nearby Fort

Custer and Fort Buford to perform religious rites and give instruction. He argued that the visits would "be beneficial to the morals of the enlisted men of the two posts named."<sup>49</sup> Throughout his eleven years at Fort Keogh, Lindesmith frequently traveled to Fort Custer and Fort Buford to provide religious services, including baptisms, mass, and communion. In August 1883, he advised his listeners at Fort Custer to embrace a religion because "any religion is better than none at all."<sup>50</sup>

Lindesmith was the exception among the chaplains, for most did not ride a circuit among the posts. Those who did usually quit the arduous task after a few months because the army would not support their effort. Chaplains wishing to perform services at neighboring posts had to pay for all their daily expenses from personal funds, and they had to provide their own transportation. Those willing to incur the expense found that the difficult terrain, weather, and climate made travel laborious. As a consequence of these problems, few chaplains traveled outside their assigned post and the nearby community.

The army paid little attention to denominations and soldiers' religious preferences. As a result, chaplains and soldiers both had to make adjustments. Because few Catholic priests served as chaplains, Catholic soldiers and officers often sought out a nearby priest to hold mass and perform

baptisms. A soldier's son interviewed years later recalled that Catholic soldiers at Fort Laramie, Wyoming, had the Catholic priest from nearby Cheyenne come to the post once a month to hold services.<sup>51</sup> An officer at Fort Buford, Montana, requested that Catholic chaplain Eli Lindesmith visit the post from Fort Keogh to perform services for his family and the Catholic enlisted men on post.<sup>52</sup> George W. Simpson said that the Catholics at Fort Yates, South Dakota, attended Roman Catholic services at a mission adjacent to the post. A month later, he noted that most of the garrison continued to attend services at the local mission. This must have been disheartening to Simpson, who had changed his religious affiliation from Methodist to Episcopal before being sent to Fort Yates.<sup>53</sup> Ministers from nearby communities often came to the posts to hold revivals and services for soldiers who were not of the same denomination as the chaplain.

Often commanding officers assigned chaplains extra duties, and some ministers took on additional work on their own initiative. Chaplains performed many tasks at the various posts. These other duties often included managing the post commissary, acting as post treasurer, serving as post defense counsel at a court-martial, supervising the post bakery, and sitting on boards of survey and receiving. Norman Badger, Henry Plummer, and George Dunbar acted as post bakers. As a post baker, George Dunbar daily baked more than 400 loaves of

bread and handled \$200 of government money.<sup>54</sup> At many posts commanders assigned the supervision and creation of a post library to the post chaplain. For many chaplains, this was an important task, because it provided entertainment and educational opportunities for the troops. Norman Badger established the post library at Fort Concho, Texas, a project that took sometime to become operational. In November 1873, Badger sent \$400 to the Secretary of the United States Post Library Association for the purchase of books for the library. Within three years, the library contained more than 720 volumes of standard works.<sup>55</sup> Alexander Gilmore supervised and stocked the Fort Whipple, Arizona, library with tracts, periodicals, and newspapers.<sup>56</sup> David White proudly reported that the Fort Sedgwick, Colorado, library had more than 666 volumes belonging to the Eighteenth U. S. Infantry.<sup>57</sup>

Chaplains were also involved in provisioning the troops. Most post commanders could not easily supply the men with fresh fruits and vegetables. Often the task of providing the troopers with these food items was left to the post chaplain. In 1871, at Fort D. A. Russell, Wyoming, Alpha Wright worked a twenty-acre garden eight hours a day in hopes providing the post with vegetables.<sup>58</sup> Norman Badger worked against the hot, dry Texas climate to grow a garden for the men of Fort Concho. He supervised six soldiers in this work and raised a supply of vegetables during one year valued at \$637.85. His successor,

George Dunbar, also worked diligently to supply his post with fresh vegetables. He argued that his duty was necessary because the "officers pay extravagant prices for vegetables and the men have almost none."<sup>59</sup>

Chaplains also often added to their duties the task of providing some entertainment and educational opportunities. Presenting lectures on history, geography, and literature was common for the post chaplain. Eli Lindesmith delivered a lecture for the benefit of the officers of Fort Keogh, Montana, on the role of African American troops in the American Revolution.<sup>60</sup> Winfield Scott organized a literary society and a drama club at Fort Huachua, Arizona.<sup>61</sup> Allen Allensworth organized a cooking class at Fort Bayard, New Mexico, and Orville Nave organized a Chautauqua society that had eighteen members at Fort Niobrara, Nebraska.<sup>62</sup>

The variety of duties a post commander assigned to the chaplains also required them to learn new skills or use those they had not anticipated needing as a minister. Sometimes post commanders assigned chaplains duties that required them to leave the confines of the army reservation. While George Mullins was the chaplain stationed at Fort Davis, Texas, the post commander sent him to explore the surrounding country and to search for the best route for a road between Fort Davis and Fort Stockton. A special order from the War Department required him to prepare a treatise on the flora and forest



growth of the Pecos and Limpia areas of Texas.<sup>63</sup> In 1892, the army detailed Allen Allensworth, an African American chaplain, to duty at the World's Fair in Chicago. He served in connection with an exhibit on the progress of African Americans in the United States.<sup>64</sup> When they needed someone for escort duty, post commanders occasionally employed chaplains. In 1880, George Mullins escorted prisoners and an insane soldier to San Antonio from Fort Davis, Texas.<sup>65</sup> This type of duty occurred at other posts too, for in 1871, the post commander at Fort Hays, Kansas, assigned Gamaliel Collins to escort an insane prisoner from the post to Washington, D.C.<sup>66</sup>

Chaplains also taught basic school subjects to children and soldiers of the post. For example, frequently the army bestowed the duty of operating and supervising the post school on chaplains. Apart from conducting religious services, this probably was the chaplains' most significant duty. Congress first had provided for education on posts in 1821 with the passage of an act that authorized the creation of post schools for soldiers and children. In 1832, Congress had required that the chaplains be placed in charge of the schools. As part of the Army Reorganization Act of 1866, Congress required that schools be established at all posts, garrisons, and permanent camps. The schools had to provide all enlisted men access to schooling in English and in the history of the United States. If a post chaplain were not available to

supervise the school, then a qualified enlisted men could teach the classes for extra pay. The Secretary of War and the Commanding General of the Army believed that providing educational opportunities for the enlisted men was a very important task. In 1881, they ordered twenty-seven school buildings to be built at military posts. Many officers and chaplains believed that by educating the enlisted men, they would make them more competent soldiers, and thereby decrease the number of violations of army regulations. Allen Allensworth suggested that by educating soldiers, the army created good citizens. Better education would help the men to return to civilian society as more intelligent and disciplined citizens. A commentator in the Army-Navy Journal echoed Allensworth's sentiments by writing that the:

establishment of schools and the supply of reading matter and better mean of lighting these rooms and the men's quarters will have the effect of improving the conduct of the enlisted men and making them more contented, thus gradually improving the standards of recruits.<sup>67</sup>

Some post commanders held education in such high regard that they made attendance mandatory. At Fort Davis, Texas, the commander required all regimental and company non-commissioned officers to attend the post school regularly. He ordered all company and detachment commanders to regulate the demands of duty so as to not interfere with school attendance,

and he held officers in strict accountability for any failures to attend class. Although the post commander did not require that all of the enlisted men attend, he encouraged the officers to induce the privates of the company to attend. In 1889, the War Department ordered that all enlisted men who could not pass a literacy test had to enroll in the post school. Two years later the army required that all soldiers be able to read, write, and speak English. By the 1890s, the line officers wanted instruction more related to the skills of a soldier, and these officers believed that the chaplain was not really qualified to teach the art of war. In 1894, congressional legislation reduced the chaplains' teaching requirements to only teaching recruits how to speak, write, and read English at an established level of proficiency.<sup>68</sup>

Although chaplains often complained about the low attendance of enlisted men at the post schools, most experienced considerable success in their teaching. The ministers also usually established separate schools for the post children and the enlisted men. Chaplain James LaTourette opened a post school at Fort Union, New Mexico, in April 1880, in the center set of officer quarters. He taught the children during the day five times a week and the enlisted men at other times in a separate room.<sup>69</sup> Jeremiah Porter said that ninety men expressed interest in attending night school at Fort D. A. Russell, Wyoming.<sup>70</sup> Allen Allensworth had such great success

and attendance numbers at Fort Bayard, New Mexico, that he detailed five of his brightest students to assist in teaching.<sup>71</sup> At Fort Davis, Texas, George Mullins quickly realized that the services of a school were needed badly for the soldiers, the post children, and the children of families living near the post. He taught the basics of reading, writing, English grammar, United States history, and algebra to both men and children in two sessions daily each afternoon and at night. Over a four year period, Mullins boasted that his attendance at the school was more than one hundred individuals. The post commander claimed that the school reduced the number of soldiers in the guardhouse by half.<sup>72</sup>

Although the ministers-turned-teachers found eager students, establishing and conducting classes was not without its problems. As with the chapel, army regulations required post commanders to supply a building for the school. A building was not always available and sometimes the army provided structures that proved ill-suited for educational use. Chaplain Eli Lindesmith taught in a multipurpose building used not only for the school, but also for the post reading room, courts-martial, suppers, dances, concerts, and other functions at the post. Lindesmith said that as a consequence of the many uses of the building, people constantly went in and out of the building during school hours, thus disrupting classes. Due to the lack of space,

Jeremiah Porter and his wife conducted school in their quarters.<sup>73</sup>

Although post commanders sometimes provided a building for teaching, there were no guarantees that the chaplains would have adequate supplies to conduct classes. Upon arriving at Fort Robinson, Nebraska, Henry Plummer learned that the school lacked supplies or the funds to purchase them.<sup>74</sup> Norman Badger at Fort Concho, Texas, and George W. Simpson at Fort Robinson, said that frequently the school was ineffective due to the lack of supplies. When the post commander ordered chaplain Simpson to teach the post children, he had no books, slates, pencils, or chairs. He complained about the shortage of supplies to the commanding officer, who responded by telling the chaplain to "go and keep their faces clean."<sup>75</sup>

Though many enlisted men in the army could not read or write, some did not take advantage of the educational opportunities the chaplains' provided. Henry Plummer estimated that as many as twenty-five percent of the garrison at Fort Robinson, Nebraska, could not sign the payroll.<sup>76</sup> Eli Lindesmith believed that the soldiers at Fort Keogh "cared little or nothing about going to school. My opinion is such, schools ought to be discontinued unless made compulsory."<sup>77</sup> Norman Badger also recommended that attendance in class be made mandatory at least two or three times a week. The army

hesitated to make school attendance mandatory, believing that compulsory attendance would create discontent among the troops and increase desertion.<sup>78</sup>

Some chaplains took the task of teaching seriously and put as much or more effort into conducting the post schools as they had with religious services. Allen Allensworth believed that the education and discipline provided by the post schools was valuable for the nation's youth. His dedication and hard work establishing and improving post schools earned him a strong reputation as an educator. In 1891, the National Education Association invited Allensworth to speak to its annual conference in Toronto. He accepted and spoke on education in the United States Army. His post commander and the Adjutant General of the army supported his appearance at the conference.<sup>79</sup> George Mullins achieved such great success at Fort Davis in establishing and conducting a school, that the army requested that he visit other posts in the Department of Texas to inspect and organize schools. In 1880, Mullins's success led to his appointment as the Assistant in Charge of Education in the Army. While he was serving in this position he devised a system to organize schools and to encourage post commanders to establish reading rooms and libraries at all posts. A year later Mullins became the Chief in Charge of all education in the army.<sup>80</sup> In 1886, Francis Weaver succeeded Mullins and continued his work.<sup>81</sup>

Unfortunately, not all chaplains enjoyed the additional duty of teaching academic subjects to the troopers. William Woart at Fort Union, New Mexico, complained that his teaching duties interfered with his ministerial duties, and he requested to be relieved from the post school. The Adjutant General informed him that the army required all chaplains to teach. Some chaplains believed that teaching was asking too much of them. Early in his career George Mullins had complained about this requirement.<sup>82</sup>

In the late nineteenth century the army believed that there was a need for clergy at military posts. Congressional and military leaders believed that the moral and religious instruction provided by chaplains would help instill a sense of discipline and raise the morale of the troops and create better soldiers. Many chaplains believed that it was their duty to produce better soldiers and to help instill greater discipline in the troops. Chaplains often measured their effectiveness by the number of men in the post guardhouse each month. Although post commanders, and the army generally, saw a need for the chaplains, and often believed that the chaplains were effective, they still usually gave them only nominal support.

Despite handicaps, the chaplains enjoyed moderate success in instilling a sense of morality, discipline, and piety among the troops. Success varied from post to post and among

chaplains. Some chaplains arrived at their duty posts to find an active religious group among the officers and their families. Others found the posts lacking in any sense of morality. The ministers who worked with African American troops frequently encountered a more receptive and interested audience. Success among the enlisted men usually depended on the support that the chaplain received from the post commander and his officers. If the officers of the post supported the chaplain, set an example, and encouraged their men to attend services, the chaplain usually experienced greater success. Some enlisted men attended out of genuine interest in religion and others for entertainment. Attendance at most religious services averaged between fifteen and twenty-five people, depending on the size of the garrison. However, some post chaplains, perhaps those who were more dynamic and charismatic, recorded even higher attendance numbers. Henry Plummer often had as many as 187 people crowd into his services at Fort Robinson, Nebraska. Orville Nave repeatedly had enlisted men make up twenty-five percent of his congregation.<sup>83</sup>

Chaplains made a significant contribution to the frontier army post. But their value went beyond religious support. It might well be that their contribution to educating the men and youth at the post was as significant as their religious duties. Many frontier soldiers were illiterate, and the post



school offered them the opportunity to obtain instruction in reading, writing and arithmetic. Several chaplains taught enthusiastically in post schools. The educational services the chaplains provided also benefitted the families who lived on the post. Most enlisted men and non-commissioned officers could not afford to send their children East to school, and post schooling was the only option for these children. At some posts there were no schools in the nearby civilian communities and the post schools provided children with educational opportunities.

Chaplains adapted to their situation and willingly performed a variety of duties. Officers often looked upon them as an additional source of manpower. They provided religious services and guidance, education, performed tasks essential to the operation of the post, built libraries, and provided entertainment. Often the chaplains, eager to improve the quality of life at the fort, willingly took on additional tasks. Undoubtedly, these services helped to boost the morale of the post occupants. Unfortunately, no matter how hard the chaplain worked or what good he thought he was providing, many officers did not approve of the presence of these clerics. Thus, many post commanders and officers gave the chaplains little support or assistance. Finally, occasionally a chaplain's zeal for his job placed him in conflict with the officers of the post, making his job even more difficult.

NOTES TO CHAPTER THREE

1. David White, diary, 19 November 1867, Officer Files, David White File, FOLS.
2. David White, diary, 9 November 1867, Officer Files, David White File, FOLS.
3. Ibid.
4. Edmund B. Tuttle, The Boys Book About Indians (Three Years on the Plains) (1871; reprint, Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2002), 52.
5. Charles Pierce, Monthly Report, 1 October 1883, Charles Pierce File, 1242 ACP 1880, NARA.
6. Norman Badger, Monthly Report, 31 January 1873, Norman Badger File, 3046 ACP 1876, NARA.
7. David White, diary, 27 December 1868, Officer Files, David White File, FOLS.
8. Richard M. Budd, "Serving Two Masters: the Professionalization and Bureaucratization of the American Military Chaplaincy, 1860-1920," (Ph.D. diss., Ohio State University, 1994), 165; Congress, "Revised Army Regulations," House Reports, 42<sup>nd</sup> Cong., 3<sup>rd</sup> sess., 1873, Serial 1576 (Washington, DC: Government Printing Press, 1873), 221; Charles Pierce quoted in David H. Stratton, "The Army and the Gospel in the West," Western Humanities Review 8 (Summer 1954), 252.
9. William Y. Brown, The Army Chaplain: His Office, Duties and Responsibilities and the Means of Aiding Him (Philadelphia: William S. and Alfred Martin, 1863), 21.
10. Orville J. Nave, Nave's Handbook on the Army Chaplaincy (Los Angeles: n.p., 1917), 29.
11. George Mullins, Monthly Report, 31 October 1876, George Mullins File, 5053 ACP 1874, NARA.
12. David White, diary, 15 December 1867, Officer Files, David White File, FOLS.
13. Allen Allensworth, Monthly Report, 28 June 1892, Allen Allensworth File, RG 94 13w, NARA.

14. Carol Schmidt, "The Chaplains of Fort Concho," Fort Concho Report 16(Spring 1984), 29.
15. Henry V. Plummer, Monthly Report, 1 July 1891, Henry Plummer File, 6474 ACP 1881, NARA; Frank N. Schubert, Outpost of the Sioux Wars: A History of Fort Robinson (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1993), 13.
16. Alexander Gilmore, Monthly Report, 31 December 1877, Alexander Gilmore File, 141 ACP 1872, NARA.
17. David White, Report to Bvt. Major General L. Thomas, 31 January 1868, Officer Files, David White File, FOLS.
18. David White, Monthly Report, 29 February 1872, Officer Files, David White File, FOLS.
19. Francis Weaver, Monthly Report, 31 July 1892, Francis Weaver File, 1198 ACP 1880, NARA.
20. Roberta Thomason and Susan Miles, "Norman Badger, Chaplain: Fort Concho, Texas," Presentation to the Tom Green County Historical Society, 15 February 1949; Alexander Gilmore, Monthly Report, 31 December 1877, Alexander Gilmore File, 141 ACP 1872, NARA.
21. Orville Nave, Monthly Report, 31 January 1890, Orville Nave File, 988 ACP 1880, NARA.
22. Allen Allensworth, Monthly Report, 28 June 1892, Allen Allensworth File, RG 94 13W, NARA.
23. Ibid.
24. Henry Plummer, Monthly Report, 1 July 1891, Henry Plummer File, 6474 ACP 1881, NARA; Schubert, Outpost of the Sioux, 13.
25. Eli W. J. Lindesmith, Monthly Report, 30 April 1882, Eli W. J. Lindesmith File, 3876 ACP 1880, NARA.
26. George W. Simpson, Monthly Report, 31 October 1887, George W. Simpson File, 1872 ACP 1876, NARA.
27. Orville Nave, Monthly Report, 11 February 1885, Orville Nave File, 988 ACP 1880, NARA.
28. George Dunbar, Monthly Report, December 31, 1889, George Dunbar File, 5221 ACP 1880, NARA.

29. David White, letter to Major General L. Thomas, 29 February 1868, Officer Files, David White File, FOLS.
30. David White, Monthly Report, 20 April 1872, Officer Files, David White File, FOLS; Otto Louis Hein, letter to David White, 17 April 1872, Officer Files, David White File, FOLS.
31. Norman Badger, Monthly Report, 31 September 1871, Norman Badger File, 3046 ACP 1876, NARA.
32. Henry Plummer, Monthly Report, 31 October 1884, Henry Plummer File, 6474 ACP 1881, NARA.
33. Alpha Wright, "Our Fort Laramie Letter," Nebraska Herald 30 December 1869.
34. David White, letter to Bvt. Maj. Gen. L. Thomas, 8 August 1866, Officer Files, David White File, FOLS.
35. Charles C. Bateman, "The Army Chaplaincy Among U. S. Soldiers," in Active Service or Religious Work Among U.S. Soldiers by Theophilus Gould Steward, ed. (New York: United States Army Aid Association, 1897), 31.
36. Alpha Wright, Monthly Report, 10 May 1872, Alpha Wright File, 5246 ACP 1879, NARA.
37. Budd, "Serving Two Masters," 186; George Robinson, "Religious Work and Garrison," in Active Service or Religious Work, 36; Allen Allensworth, Monthly Report, 28 February 1894, Allen Allensworth File, RG94 13w, NARA.
38. David White, letter to L. Thomas, 31 July 1868, Officer Files, David White File, FOLS.
39. Gamaliel Collins, Monthly Report, 31 June 1871, Gamaliel Collins File, 4321 ACP 1873.
40. Norman Badger, Monthly Report, 30 April 1874, Norman Badger File, 3046 ACP 1876, NARA; Kent Moore, letter to Susan Miles, 12 August 1948, Norman Badger Files, Greenslatte Special Collections (hereafter cited as GSC), Kenyon College, OH.
41. Louis Pfaller, "Fort Keogh Chaplain," Miles City Star 5 January 1971, Eli W. J. Lindesmith Collection, Reference Collection Folder, CUA.

42. George W. Simpson, Monthly Report, 14 October 1880, George W. Simpson File, 1872 ACP 1876, NARA; George W. Simpson, Monthly Report, 30 November 1880, George W. Simpson File, 1872 ACP 1876, NARA.
43. Tony O'Brien, interview by Jack McDermott, Rex Wilson, and Sally Johnson, 4 April 1961, Fort Laramie National Historic Site, Laramie, Wyoming (Hereafter cited as FALS).
44. Henry Plummer, Monthly Report, 30 April 1893. Henry Plummer File, 6474 ACP 1881, NARA.
45. Sunday, "Sunday Inspections," Army-Navy Journal 19 March 1870; "Sundays in the Army," Army-Navy Journal 25 June 1870; Eli W. J. Lindesmith, letter to Post Adjutant, 12 March 1883, Letters to Post Adjutant File, Eli W. J. Lindesmith Collection, CUA.
46. James Laverty, Monthly Report, 29 September 1877, James Laverty File, 1546 ACP 1876, NARA.
47. George Mullins, Monthly Report, 28 February 1878, George Mullins File, 5053 ACP 1874, NARA.
48. J. Kelton, Brief, 7 November 1891, George W. Simpson File, 1872 ACP 1876, NARA; George W. Simpson, Monthly Report, 30 September 1891, George W. Simpson File, 1872 ACP 1876, NARA.
49. Eli W. J. Lindesmith, letter to Assistant Adjutant General (hereafter cited as AAG), 24 May 1881, Military Papers, Eli W. J. Lindesmith Papers, CUA.
50. Eli W. J. Lindesmith, diary, 26 August 1883, Lindesmith diaries, Eli W. J. Lindesmith Papers, CUA.
51. Tony O'Brien, interview by Jack McDermott, Rex Wilson, and Sally Johnson, 4 April 1961, FALS.
52. J. G. Tilford, Letter to Eli W. J. Lindesmith, 19 September 1883, Misc. Military Correspondence, 1880-1890, Eli W. J. Lindesmith Papers, CUA; Amos O'Brien, letter to Eli W. J. Lindesmith, 1881, Eli W. J. Lindesmith Correspondence, Eli W. J. Lindesmith papers, CUA; Lindesmith, diary, 1 July 1881-4 July 1881, Eli W. J. Lindesmith diaries, Eli W. J. Lindesmith papers, CUA.
53. George W. Simpson, Monthly Report, 31 April 1892, George W. Simpson File, 1872 ACP 1876, NARA; George W.

Simpson, Monthly Report, 31 March 1892, George W. Simpson File, 1872 ACP 1876, NARA; George W. Simpson, letter to AG, 28 March 1889, George W. Simpson File, 1872 ACP 1876, NARA.

54. Earl F. Stover, Up From Handyman: The United States Chaplaincy (Washington, DC: Office of the Chief of Chaplains, Department of the Army, 1978), 44-45; Budd, "Serving Two Masters," 174; Congress, "Revised Army Regulations," 42<sup>nd</sup> Cong., 3<sup>rd</sup> sess., 1873, Serial 1576 (Washington, DC: Government Printing Press, 1873), 221; Schmidt, "Chaplains at Fort Concho," 36.

55. Norman Badger, Monthly Report, 31 December 1873 - 29 February 1876, Norman Badger File, 3046 ACP 1876, NARA; Bill Green, The Dancing Was Lively: Fort Concho, Texas A Social History, 1867 to 1882 (San Angelo, TX: Fort Concho Sketches Publishing, 1974), 35.

56. Alexander Gilmore, Monthly Report, 31 January 1879, Alexander Gilmore File, 141 ACP 1872, NARA.

57. David White, letter to Bvt. Maj. Gen. L. Thomas, 31 December 1868, Officer Files, David White File, FOLS.

58. Alpha Wright, "Our Fort Laramie Letter," Nebraska Herald 5 May 1870.

59. Roberta Thomason and Susan Miles, "Norman Badger, Chaplain; Fort Concho, Texas," Green, The Dancing was Lively 35; George Dunbar, Monthly Report, 1 September 1877, George Dunbar File, 5221 ACP 1880, NARA;

60. P. T. Swain, Efficiency Report For Eli Lindesmith, 1 May 1890, Eli W. J. Lindesmith File, 3876 ACP 1880 NARA.

61. Winfield Scott, Monthly Report, 6 December 1891, Winfield Scott File, 1111 ACP 1882, NARA.

62. Allen Allensworth, Efficiency Report, 19 January 1894, Allen Allensworth File, RG94 13 W, NARA; Orville Nave, Monthly Report, 1 December 1893, Orville Nave File, 988 ACP 1880, NARA.

63. Richard K. Smith, " For God. . . For Country. . . For Territory," Arizona Highways (April 1873), 11; Budd, "Serving Two Masters," 171; Stratton, "The Army and the Gospel," 249; George Mullins, Monthly Report, 7 July 1886, George Mullins File, 5053 ACP 1874, NARA.

64. John R. Lynch, letter to S. B. Elkins, 14 October 1892, Allen Allensworth File, RG94 13 W, NARA.
65. George Mullins, Monthly Report, 7 July 1886, George Mullins File, 5053 ACP 1874, NARA.
66. Gamaliel Collins, letter to AG, 7 April 1871, Gamaliel Collins File, 4321 ACP 1873, NARA.
67. General Orders no. 148, 28 September 1877, George Mullins File, 5053 ACP 1874, NARA; General Orders no. 24, 18 May 1878, Eli W. J. Lindesmith Correspondence Regarding Post Schools, Eli W. J. Lindesmith Papers, CUA; William McKale and William D. Young, Fort Riley: Citadel of the Frontier West (Topeka: Kansas State Historical Society, 2000), 113; Congress, "Revised Army Regulations," House Reports, 42<sup>nd</sup> Cong., 3<sup>rd</sup> sess., 1873, Serial 1576 (Washington, DC: Government Printing Press, 1873), 221; Allen Allensworth, "Education in the United States Army," no date, Allen Allensworth File, RG 94 13 W, NARA; "Post Schools," Army-Navy Journal 13 August 1881.
68. Budd, "Serving Two Masters," 165-169; Michael L. Tate, The Frontier Army in the Settlement of the West (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1999), 200-205.
69. Leo Oliva, Fort Union and the Frontier Army in the Southwest (Santa Fe, NM: National Park Service, 1993), 498.
70. Jeremiah Porter, Monthly Report, 15 January 1879, Jeremiah Porter File, 1143 ACP 874, NARA.
71. J. C. Breckinridge, Inspection Report for Fort Bayard, 31 March 1891, Allen Allensworth File, RG94 13W, NARA.
72. George Mullins, Monthly Report, 7 July 1886, George Mullins File, 5053 ACP 1874, NARA.
73. Eli Lindesmith, letter to Department Commander, 21 February 1890, Correspondence and Notes Regarding Post Schools, Eli W. J. Lindesmith Papers, CUA; Jeremiah Porter, Monthly Report, 31 January 1877, Jeremiah Porter File, 1143 ACP 874, NARA.
74. Henry V. Plummer, Monthly Report, 31 January 1887, Henry Plummer File, 6474 ACP 1881, NARA.
75. Norman Badger, Monthly Report, 28 February 1874, Norman Badger File, 3046 ACP 1876, NARA; George W. Simpson, Monthly

Report, 30 November 1880, George W. Simpson File, 1872 ACP 1876, NARA; George W. Simpson, Second Endorsement, 14 October 1882, George W. Simpson File, 1872 ACP 1876, NARA.

76. Henry Plummer, Monthly Report, 31 December 1887, Henry Plummer File, 6474 ACP 1881, NARA.

77. Eli Lindesmith, Monthly Report, 31 October 1886, Correspondence and Notes Regarding Post Schools, 1878-1890, Eli W. J. Lindesmith Papers, CUA.

78. Norman Badger, Monthly Report, 28 February 1874, Norman Badger File, 3046 ACP 1876, NARA.

79. Allen Allensworth, letter to AG, 15 May 1891, Allen Allensworth File, RG 94 13 W, NARA; Allen Allensworth, "Education in the Army," no date, Allen Allensworth File, RG 94 13 W, NARA; E. H. Bootz, letter to AG, 27 June 1892, Allen Allensworth File, RG 94 13 W, NARA; Earl F. Stover, Up From Handyman, 56.

80. W. D. Cook, letter to Adjutant General, 3 March 1880, 26 March 1880, George Mullins File, 5053 ACP 1874, NARA; George Mullins, Monthly Report, 7 July 1886, George Mullins File, 5053 ACP 1874, NARA.

81. Francis Weaver, letter to AG, 8 October 1886, Francis Weaver File, 1198 ACP 1880, NARA.

82. Leo Oliva, Fort Union, 487; George Mullins, letter to General N. H. Davis, 7 April 1877, George Mullins File, 5053 ACP 1874, NARA.

83. Frank Schubert, Outpost of the Sioux Wars, 13; Orville Nave, Monthly Report, 31 December 1882, Orville Nave File, 988 ACP 1880.



CHAPTER FOUR:  
CHAPLAINS AS MORAL REFORMERS

In one of his first reports to the Adjutant General of the army, Chaplain Norman Badger wrote from Fort Concho, Texas, that:

the men in this post, though not excluded from society are not secluded from the temptations to which the soldier is exposed in more thickly settled regions for they are easily and numerously found on the banks of the river opposite the post and the number of men in the guardhouse proves they are too little resisted.<sup>1</sup>

When chaplain Badger arrived at the post in 1871, the nearby community of San Angela, Texas, was a mere collection of picket huts, saloons, and a few stores. Despite the sparse offerings, it had a great influence on the men of the post and created a challenge for the chaplain.<sup>2</sup> Many military posts in the late nineteenth century were located in similar settings. Troopers and officers heavy use of alcohol plagued the isolated posts, prompting preachers to work vigorously to bring temperance to the posts and to the nearby communities. Some chaplains zealous work in moral reform brought them into conflict with officers. In addition, the failure of a few chaplains to carry out their responsibilities and live up to their own moral standards created an unfavorable view of the chaplaincy among many army officers.

Alcoholism, gambling, and prostitution among soldiers

and officers were serious problems in the frontier army. Due to long periods of inactivity and the shortage of moral entertainment, many men and officers spent their free time at the post trader's store or in nearby saloons gambling and drinking. Boredom, idleness, drinking, and gambling were the general causes of disciplinary problems in the army. Trooper Duane Merrit Greene of the Third Infantry stated in 1880 that drunkenness was rampant at frontier posts and "the blight curse of intemperance destroys ninety percent more of the army than powder or ball."<sup>3</sup> Chaplain Charles Pierce noted that drunkenness increased in the winter when there were fewer military duties and more idleness. Because saloons and bawdy houses were outside the military reservation, the army had no official control over them. He suggested that these establishments had the greatest influence on the troops. At Fort Riley, Kansas, Pierce observed that on payday the men were at their worst. Prostitutes set up camp just outside the military reservation, and nearby Junction City offered the services of a loan shark and professional gamblers. Pierce also noted that gambling was rampant among the enlisted men and that the men got "wild over their games, but do not seem to appreciate the dishonor it attaches to the practice."<sup>4</sup> George Mullins, the chaplain at Fort Davis, Texas, called the Adjutant General's attention to the presence of

"abandoned, soiled, diseased and shameless harlots" near the fort.<sup>5</sup> Mullins pointed out that the "woeful power of these women sent one-third of the men on trial," and most of the sick in the hospital suffered from venereal disease.<sup>6</sup> He recommended that the women be brought under strict military control by requiring them to observe sanitary regulations.<sup>7</sup>

The lack of temperance and other immoral behavior was not exclusive to the enlisted men. They only seemed more guilty of poor behavior because they were more frequently placed in the guardhouse for public drunkenness. Officers often drank heavily. Captain Albert Barnitz of the Seventh Cavalry observed the indiscretions of his fellow officers. In September 1867, he wrote about a Major Cooper who drank freely until his command arrived at Medicine Lake, Nebraska. Due to the remoteness of Medicine Lake there was no whiskey available to the Major. According to Barnitz, the Major developed symptoms of withdrawal and tremors. Eventually the symptoms became so terrible that the officer shot himself in the head with a revolver. Later in November 1867, the army arrested two lieutenants for drunkenness, who were also absent without leave. Barnitz believed that "they do not deserve one particle of sympathy. Drunken soldiers or officers are very uncertain and unserviceable beings."<sup>8</sup>

Upon arrival at many posts, chaplains soon realized that they were the only religious or moral influence within

miles. Norman Badger believed that the behavior of the men at Fort Concho was as good as one could expect from men so far removed "from the restraints of established society tempted by numerous drinking and gambling saloons and abstaining almost entirely from religious or moral instruction."<sup>9</sup> Some chaplains found that just preaching on abstaining from alcohol was not effective enough. In November 1875, George Mullins at Fort Davis, Texas, said that the use of liquor was on the rise at the post and that he was "humbly convinced that any interest in and influence of the preaching is futile, and for the hour I find little encouraging satisfaction in estimating the possible fruits of my labors here for God and country."<sup>10</sup>

To promote temperance many chaplains organized post temperance societies and collected abstinence pledges from the soldiers. Chaplain Eli Lindesmith of Fort Keogh, Montana, held temperance meetings every Saturday. He was pleased with his success as two or three men took an oath of abstinence at each meeting. Lindesmith also took his meetings to other posts he visited. In March 1885, he advised the Adjutant General that twenty soldiers recently had taken the pledge of abstinence. Lindesmith noted proudly that nearly all of the men kept their pledges until their enlistment in the army ended. As a result of the temperance pledge soldiers frequently left the army with a first-class

honorable discharge and had saved three to five hundred dollars that they would have spent on liquor.<sup>11</sup> In June 1882, at Fort Huachuca, Arizona, chaplain Winfield Scott held a Sunday morning temperance lecture with 110 people in attendance. The following Monday he gave another lecture on temperance, and shortly afterwards a local citizen and a member of the International Order of Odd Fellows also gave a temperance speech before a large crowd at the post. The success of the lectures and meeting led Scott and listeners to organize a temperance lodge at the post.<sup>12</sup> In March 1882, George W. Simpson at Fort Robinson, Nebraska, established a Lodge of Good Templars. Each member of this lodge signed a pledge stating that he "promised by the help of God, to drink no intoxicating drink, and to try to induce others to abstain."<sup>13</sup>

Although many chaplains were successful in finding those willing to sign pledges of abstinence and to attend temperance meetings, such success was often short-lived. In January 1877, at Fort D. A. Russell, Wyoming, chaplain Jeremiah Porter had forty-one men sign a temperance pledge. Seven months later, he proclaimed that he had started a temperance society to "stay the evils of intemperance," and had many men approach him of their own accord to take the temperance pledge.<sup>14</sup> He admitted that many men who took the pledge also broke it by the end of the evening of the same

day.<sup>15</sup> In the summer of 1883, at Fort Klamath, Oregon, Orville Nave established a Good Templar's Society. It was the following winter, however, that on payday there was considerable intoxication at the post, and the Good Templar's Society was not effective in restraining the men by oath or obligation as Nave had hoped.<sup>16</sup>

Realizing that saloons and gambling halls outside the post presented temptation, many chaplains also focused their temperance work on nearby communities. Henry Plummer held a series of temperance lectures at Fort Robinson, Nebraska, in March 1892. At the largest meeting, 150 soldiers and civilians from nearby Crawford attended. Women from the town entertained the audience with temperance songs and the "Loyal Temperance Legion" presented a play. Plummer did not limit his efforts to adults though, for that summer he organized a Templar legion for children. While stationed at Camp Verde, Arizona, David White preached and attended the meetings of the nearby Prescott Templar's society. Eli Lindesmith frequently had local Miles City, Montana, citizens attend meetings and take the oath of abstinence.<sup>17</sup>

Often a chaplain's zeal for temperance and moral reform created conflict between him and post officers. Chaplain Delmar Lowell at Fort Riley, Kansas, was active in the temperance and prohibition movement. In March 1893, local ministers and the Women's Christian Temperance Union invited

him to speak at a temperance rally held in Junction City. During his address, Lowell encouraged the people to vote for officials who would enforce the Kansas prohibition laws. This upset several local business and political leaders. In response, these leaders wrote to the Secretary of War that chaplain Lowell was involved in local politics and the army should take action. Lowell's commanding officer, who believed temperance was a political issue, also argued that Lowell was trying to influence political votes and should be transferred. Thirty-eight local temperance supporters rallied to aid the chaplain by petitioning the Secretary of War to keep him at the fort. The commanding general of the army, John Schofield, agreed with Lowell's supporters that the chaplain was not politically involved. Curiously, though, he suggested that the Adjutant General move Lowell to a post with a greater need of a chaplain.<sup>18</sup>

David White also engaged in temperance activities near Camp Verde, Arizona. This created tension between him and the commanding officer of the post. White's involvement in the temperance movement in Prescott carried over into his ministry at Camp Verde. He believed that the morals of the post were poor due to gambling and excessive drunkenness. In April 1872, he asked General George Crook, commanding officer of the post, to close the post trader store on Sundays because this is where most soldiers and local

civilians bought their alcohol. White believed that by closing the store on Sunday, the army could prevent drunkenness, at least on that day. Crook did not comply with the request. He agreed only to stop the sale of alcohol to soldiers during post church services. Crook believed the chaplain to be overzealous and too critical of the soldiers' behavior, and that the habits of the men "might be improved and beautified, could they be fortunate enough to receive good moral and entertaining instruction imparted to them by persons who first merited and acquired their respect and esteem."<sup>19</sup> White told Crook that part of the problem was that no officers attended religious services to set examples for the troops. Crook reacted negatively toward White and requested that the army transfer him. Crook believed that chaplain's "services do not appear valued anywhere, and in some cases, . . . he has been reported as of no use, and as obnoxious to the officers and men of the post."<sup>20</sup> Crook believed that the chaplain did not have the respect of the enlisted men, and in fact, damaged "the discipline and morality of the post on this account."<sup>21</sup> Crook wanted White transferred to a post "where his services can be appreciated."<sup>22</sup> Several army officials in Washington were aware of the disagreement between Crook and White. General George Whipple, the Assistant Adjutant General, suggested that White should be transferred to



Alaska. Despite Crook's criticism, the Adjutant General decided to leave White at Camp Verde for another year.<sup>23</sup>

Unflattering reports on the moral condition of the army posts often created conflict between chaplains and commanding officers. Commanding officers of the posts had to endorse all chaplain reports before they were sent to the Adjutant General; therefore, this gave them the opportunity to read what the chaplain had written. A report of low morals, excessive drinking, and gambling reflected poorly on the commander of the post, thus he often refuted a chaplain's claims of poor trooper morals. In the early 1890s, at Fort Niobrara, Nebraska, chaplain Orville Nave angered the commanding officer of the post due to his critical reports. Nave repeatedly condemned the post canteen, claiming that it encouraged drinking, gambling, and orgies. The commanding officer informed the chaplain that it was not his place to condemn the canteen, and that the canteen had actually helped to cut down on excessive drinking, gambling, and prostitution.<sup>24</sup>

Apparently, Nave's unflattering reports on the morals of the men continued for the next three years. In February 1894, post commander D. S. Gordon finally requested that Nave be transferred because the chaplain had served at the post more than three years, had failed to gain any influence among the officers or enlisted men, and that he was now a

"persona non grata" to the command and entirely useless.<sup>25</sup>

A month later, Gordon requested again that chaplain be transferred because of his inability to attract people to his services or to the post school. Gordon and his staff insisted that the chaplain had expressed such a low opinion of the moral condition of the army that the officers and men all disliked him.<sup>26</sup>

Frequently, army officers at the frontier posts did not want chaplains assigned to their command, and did not view them as a necessity. Many officers specifically resented the fact that the army automatically gave the chaplains the rank and privileges of a captain. Others disliked the chaplains because they believed that the government overpaid them for rather little work. Fellow officers complained that chaplains did not have to abide by the army's strict discipline, could retire with a pension in a few short years, and had no military training. Some believed that many army chaplains were only serving temporarily until they could find a civilian church to serve on a permanent basis. Others complained that chaplains dodged serving at the isolated posts by going on leave for indefinite periods. Even commanding general William T. Sherman held chaplains in low esteem. In 1882, Sherman responding to a letter asking for a chaplain appointment by writing:

I never give original letters to the

president or Secretary of War because it would be wrong for me to do so, as they might refer several applicants to me for selection, and I would seem to be committed to the one holding my letter. I think there are several hundred applicants now, each one of whom is stronger in faith than St. Paul, and most of whom before appointment, are anxious to be martyrs; but once appointed and confirmed they object to our frontier posts because they are ill adapted to raising a large family of small children. Of course the whole system is a farce and meant to be so. If congress wanted the army to have the influence of religion, it would allow the Commanding Officer of each post remote from civilization to hire and pay for a minister while employed, like surgeons. Of such posts there are nearly a hundred, whereas the chaplains are limited to thirty-say half of whom sick, or don't like the isolation of Texas, Arizona, etc. Of course there are no vacancies now, they are gobbled up as soon as the telegraph announces a death- there are no resignations - and so greedy are the applicants that they will not even wait for the funeral.<sup>27</sup>

When chaplain George Dunbar arrived at Fort Concho, Texas, to replace the deceased Norman Badger, Colonel Benjamin H. Grierson expressed his dislike of chaplains to his wife. Grierson, who had witnessed the ailing Badger fail to provide services, told his wife that he was sorry that Dunbar did not desire to go somewhere else. The colonel believed that the new chaplain would be good to occupy quarters, eat commissary stores, and attend to everyone's business but his own. Grierson's wife disagreed and thought the new chaplain would at least help keep up an interest in "things which the whole world cannot yet

dispense with."<sup>28</sup> After he heard one of Dunbar's sermons, Grierson changed his opinion. He wrote his wife that the minister "set forth some plain, sensible, conservative, democratic, religious ideas in an effective and agreeable manner. . . He was determined to put forth his very best endeavor to make himself useful in every possible way and I am inclined to think that he will be successful."<sup>29</sup>

Chaplains also often experienced difficulties with the enlisted men on a post. At Fort Huachuca, Arizona, private William Jett recalled that chaplain David Wills did not hold services regularly and associated only with other officers. Jett remembered that Wills never came into the soldiers' quarters and did little personally for the men. Whether this criticism was accurate cannot be determined, but Wills asked the post commander to stop the use of prisoners in the guardhouse cutting wood on Sundays. The commanding officer told chaplain Wills that because he had not been holding services, he would have to conduct service on Sundays, and the prisoners would attend. Jett, working as a guard, recalled that those were the worst religious services he had ever attended and that the only people in attendance were the prisoners and their guards.<sup>30</sup>

Chaplains were often unsuccessful because they did not always set good examples. Some chaplains did not perform their duties regularly, while others had little contact with

the men to whom they were supposed to minister. Some clergy failed in other ways to live up to the morals they preached on Sunday. While testifying before the House of Military Affairs in February 1876, Colonel Guy V. Henry stated that:

the men look to them for a good example, and they do not receive it as a general thing. . . . I am sorry to say, that I think chaplains are not of much account in the army. They are generally old men who do not exert a good influence.<sup>31</sup>

In fairness to chaplains, it is rare to find reported breaches of morals, but a few did occur among the ministers. In 1867, at Fort Dodge, Kansas, chaplain Alvin G. White violated army regulations and became embroiled in a dispute with the commanding officer, Major Henry Douglas. Douglas had attempted to settle a dispute between two competing unauthorized merchants at the post. After being evicted, merchant E. P. Wheeler gave his stock to chaplain White. White had financed the merchant's operations and requested the stock to cover the debt owed to him. By March 1867, it became common knowledge among post residents that the chaplain was selling the former merchant's goods from his home. Douglas sent the chaplain an order to stop the operation and reminded him that only post traders authorized by the Secretary of War could operate on the army post and that he was violating army regulations.<sup>32</sup> In a letter Douglas had the post adjutant send to White, he criticized

the chaplain by stating:

It is a matter of surprise to the commanding officer that an officer of the Army should engage in a pursuit so foreign to the legitimate duties of his profession particularly when he can not ignore that such a pursuit is, under the existing rules and regulations of this post, and in violation of the same.<sup>33</sup>

Several days later Douglas learned that a hospital steward went to the chaplain's house to purchase muslin for curtains. White told the man that he could not sell it in his home and would have to sell it to him at Wheeler's nearby ranch. Two days later the chaplain informed the steward that he had a package for him to pick up at his house. Angry with White's open violation of post regulations, Douglas sent the chaplain another letter informing him that again he had violated post regulations and had no right to negotiate for the sale of goods on the post. On 1 April 1868, as a result of White's violation, Douglas arrested the chaplain for insubordination and conduct unbecoming an officer. Douglas also arrested White's partner, the evicted merchant E. P. Wheeler, for introducing liquor into Indian country.<sup>34</sup>

In retaliation, White advised the Adjutant General that Major Douglas did little to improve the morals of the garrison, and had not provided White with a suitable place to hold public worship services or conduct a school for the

troopers. Douglas vehemently denied these charges, claiming that the chaplain had demonstrated scant interest in improving the morals of the troops, and that he had not asked him for the use of a building for his preaching or teaching. Douglas told White he would dismiss the charges against him, if he would resign his commission. White rejected the offer. In May 1868, White faced a court-martial proceeding. As a consequence of this court-martial, the army dismissed the chaplain from service on 17 October 1868.<sup>35</sup>

Just before White's dismissal, Douglas heard from the chaplain for the last time. In July 1868, White and his civilian supporters, including the local constabulary, had Major Douglas and two other officers arrested for selling liquor to Indians, for other "outrageous violations of the law."<sup>36</sup> In the arrest affidavit, White accused Douglas of drinking with Kiowa leader Satanta in the billiards room of the post trader store, and of having carnal relations with an Indian woman under the table. White further stated that after Douglas' relation with the woman he then stood on the table and "had a general dance all around."<sup>37</sup> The local courts released Douglas and the other officers shortly after their arrest, thereby avoiding a confrontation with the army.<sup>38</sup>

Financial difficulties also brought dishonor and

trouble to chaplains. In January 1879, chaplain Toussaint Mesplie at Fort Boise, Idaho, requested a leave of absence to visit his birth place in France. The Adjutant General of the Army denied the chaplain's leave as a consequence of an outstanding local debt that he had not paid. His problem began in August 1877, when he borrowed \$2,000 at one percent interest from Mrs. A. C. LaRocque of Boise City, Idaho, to pay for debts he had accumulated while building a church in the city. He paid the debt on the building and then used the remaining money to travel to Washington, D.C. The chaplain left Idaho believing that his brother had secured the loan. A year later, Mrs. LaRocque contacted General Oliver O. Howard, a local commander, about the chaplain's outstanding debt and complained that the loan had never been secured. She also complained that Mesplie had acted as a friend before receiving the money, but did not even bother to say good-bye before leaving. Upset and wanting her money, Mrs. LaRocque contacted the Secretary of War about the chaplain's debt. The Secretary of War informed Mesplie that his leave was denied, and that he should take care of paying his debt to Mrs. LaRocque. He must return to his duty station. The chaplain notified the Secretary of War that he was too ill to travel, unable to pay the debt, and requested an extension of his leave. Having learned that the chaplain also owed \$50.00 to a doctor in New York, the Secretary of



War notified the Judge Advocate General of the army to bring charges for a court-martial against the chaplain, if he did not pay the debt or return to his duty post within thirty days. On 22 April 1879, the Judge Advocate General brought charges against Mesplie. The chaplain failed to return to his duty station or to repay any of the loan or interest owed to Mrs. LaRocque and the doctor in New York.

Apparently, the chaplain somehow managed to resolve the issue, for he got the charges dropped and served in the army for five more years.<sup>39</sup>

Although Mesplie's actions appear to have been mild indiscretions, one chaplain behaved in a manner completely unacceptable to civilian or military society. At Fort Brown, Texas, a major at the post charged chaplain John Schultz with lewd behavior. Major N. Mariam reported that the chaplain was in the habit of making "lewd signs, gestures and solicitations" to the wife of a lieutenant's servant.<sup>40</sup> These acts took place in the privy, the shrubs, and near a sergeant's quarters and often in full view of others. Another officer said he saw Schultz wave from the privy to the woman to come over to him, slap his penis, hold up money for her to view, and throw her kisses. The lieutenant for whom the woman's husband worked, and another officer set a trap for the chaplain to see if he were truly guilty of the accused acts. The men instructed the woman to

throw the chaplain a couple of kisses occasionally and to encourage him to enter the quarters. The officers hid in a closet and waited to see the chaplain's response. On the prescribed day, the woman blew the chaplain some kisses and the chaplain entered the quarters. Upon entering the residence Schultz took the woman to the lieutenant's bedroom, where he attempted to kiss the woman, fondle her breasts, and raise her skirt. The officers who had been hiding stopped the acts and confronted the chaplain. After the officer caught him, Schultz wrote the commanding officer acknowledging the acts and asking for the charity of silence and pardon. The commander recommended that the chaplain resign, and he authorized him to take a leave of absence. Schultz's resignation took effect on 23 July 1875.<sup>41</sup>

While a few chaplains like Schultz failed to live as examples for the garrison, many won the respect and friendship of fellow officers. In 1877, the commanding officer of Fort Brown, Texas, lavished praise upon Schultz's successor, James Laverty. He reported that Laverty gained the interest of the enlisted men and the officers and performed his duties better than any other known chaplain at the post. The post surgeon at Fort Concho, Texas, held Norman Badger in high regard. He wrote in the medical history of the post that the chaplain practiced what he preached and was sincere in his desire for the spiritual

welfare of the men.<sup>42</sup>

Although chaplains usually performed their duties responsibly and professionally, many army officers did not hold them in high regard. These officers resented their presence and believed that they added nothing to post life or military training. The few chaplains who behaved unprofessionally only added to the officers' dislike of chaplains and reaffirmed the belief that the ministers were hypocritical and lazy. The majority of the chaplain worked hard to improve the life of the garrison, and many extended ministries into the nearby communities and Indian reservations.

## NOTES TO CHAPTER FOUR

1. Norman Badger, Monthly Report, 19 April 1871, Norman Badger File, 3046 ACP 1876, NARA.
2. Roberta Thomason and Susan Miles, "Norman Badger, Chaplain: Fort Concho, Texas," Presentation to the Tom Green Country Historical Society, 15 February 1949. The town of San Angela later changed its name to San Angelo.
3. Quoted in Leo Oliva, Fort Dodge: Sentry of the Western Plains (Topeka: Kansas State Historical Society, 1998), 96.
4. Charles Pierce, Monthly Report, 1 December 1883, 1 February 1884, Charles Pierce File, 1242 ACP 1880, NARA.
5. George Mullins, Monthly Report, 2 May 1877, George Mullins File, 5053 ACP 1874, NARA.
6. Ibid.
7. George Mullins, Monthly Report, 2 May 1877, George Mullins File, 5053 ACP 1874, NARA.
8. Robert M. Utley, ed., Life in Custer's Cavalry: Diaries and Letters of Albert and Jennie Barnitz, 1867-1868 (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1977), 125-126.
9. Norman Badger, Monthly Report, 31 January 1873, Norman Badger File, 3046 ACP 1876, NARA.
10. George Mullins, Monthly Report, 1 November 1875, George Mullins File, 5053 ACP 1874, NARA.
11. Louis Pfaller, "Fort Keogh, Chaplain," Miles City Star, 5 January 1971; Reference Collection, Eli W. J. Lindesmith Collection, CUA; Eli Lindesmith, "Reminiscences of a Veteran Convert Maker," The Missionary 30 (March 1917), n.p.; Eli Lindesmith, Monthly Report, 28 February 1882, 31 March 1882, Eli Lindesmith File, 3876 ACP 1880, NARA.
12. Winfield Scott, Monthly Report, 30 June 1892, 1111 ACP 1882, NARA.
13. "Report from Fort Robinson," Army-Navy Journal 15 March 1882.

14. Jeremiah Porter, Monthly Report, 31 January 1877, 12 July 1877, Jeremiah Porter File, 1143 ACP 874.
15. Ibid.
16. Orville Nave, Monthly Report, 1 February 1884, Orville Nave File, 988 ACP 1880, NARA.
17. Alan K. Lamm, Five Black Preachers in Army Blue, 1884-1901 (Lewiston, NY: Edward Mellon Press, 1998), 109; David White, letter to wife, 19 February 1871, Officer Files, David White File, FOLS; Eli Lindesmith, Monthly Report, 28 February 1882, Eli Lindesmith File, 3876 ACP 1880.
18. Boots and Bibles: The Spiritual Heritage of Fort Riley, Kansas (n.p.: n.p., n.d.), 11-13.
19. David White, Monthly Report, 31 January 1871, 12 March 1873, Officer Files, David White File, FOLS; David White, letter to wife, 19 February 1871, Officer Files, David White File, FOLS; E. D. Townsend, letter to D. Whitley, , 17 November 1874, Officer Files, David White File, FOLS.
20. George Crook, Endorsement, 7 May 1872, Officer Files, David White, FOLS; William Sherman, Note to Secretary of War, 12 March 1873, Officer Files, David White File, FOLS.
21. George Crook, Endorsement, 7 May 1872, Officer Files, David White File, FOLS.
22. Ibid.
23. David White, Monthly Reports, 31 January 1871, 12 March 1873, Officer Files, David White File, FOLS; David White, letter to wife, 19 February 1871, Officer Files, David White File, FOLS; FWS, Memo, 13 September 1872, Officer Files, David White File, FOLS; George Crook, Endorsement, 7 May 1872, Officer Files, David White File, FOLS; William Sherman, Note to Secretary of War, 12 March 1873, Officer Files, David White File, FOLS; Otto Heim, letter to David White, 17 April 1872, Officer Files, David White File, FOLS.
24. Frank Wheaton, Endorsement, 31 January 1890, Orville Nave File, 988 ACP 1880, NARA; Orville Nave, Monthly Report, 31 January 1890, Orville Nave File, 988 ACP 1880, NARA.
25. Orville Nave, Monthly Report, 31 January 1890, Orville Nave File, 988 ACP 1880, NARA; D. S. Gordon, letter to AAG, 26 February 1894, Orville Nave File, 988 ACP 1880, NARA.

26. Thomas R. Brooke, letter to Adjutant General, 16 March 1894, Orville Nave File, 988 ACP 1880, NARA.
27. Michael T. Tate, The Frontier Army in the Settlement of the West (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1999), 195-196; David K. Stratton, "The Army and the Gospel in the West," Western Humanities Review 8 (Summer 1954), 251; Carol Schmidt, "Chaplains of Fort Concho," Fort Concho Report 16(Spring 1984), 33-24; William Sherman quote taken from Orville Nave, "The Status of the Army Chaplains," in Active Service, or Religious Work Among the United States Soldiers by Theophilus Gould Steward, ed. (New York: United States Army Aid Association, 1897), 43.
28. Quote taken from Bill Green, The Dancing Was lively: Fort Concho and the Texas Frontier, 1867 to 1882 (San Angelo: Fort Concho Sketches Publishing, 1974), 78-79; Lamm, Five Black Preachers. 144.
29. Quote taken from Schmidt, "Chaplains of Fort Concho," 35.
30. Henry P. Walker, ed., "The Reluctant Corporal, the Autobiography of William B. Jett," The Journal of Arizona 12(Spring 1971), 23; Edward M. Coffman, The Old Army: A Portrait of the American Army in Peacetime, 1784-1898 (New York: Oxford University Press, 1986), 390.
31. Quoted in Don Rickey, Jr., Forty Miles A Day on Beans and Hay (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1963), 193.
32. George Malissey, letter to Alvin G. White, 6 March 1868, Fort Dodge Letters Sent, 1866-1868, Western History Collection, University of Oklahoma, m989 Roll 23 (hereafter cited as FDLS). The post commander in all occasions sent orders through the post adjutant.
33. Post Adjutant (name illegible), letter to Alvin G. White, 7 March 1868, FDLS.
34. Post Adjutant (name illegible), letter to Alvin G. White, 11 March 1868, FDLS; Henry Douglas, letter to Samuel Barn, 1 April 1875, Fort Larned Register of Letters Received, 1868-1878 (Hereafter cited as FLLR), FOLS, m989, roll 1; Henry Douglas, letter to Chauncey McKeever, 1 April 1868, FDLS.
35. Post Adjutant (name illegible), letter to Alvin G. White, 11 March 1868, FDLS; Henry Douglas, letter to E. D.

Townsend, 1 April 1868, FDLS; Thomas S. Wallace, letter to Alvin G. White, 2 April 1868, FDLS; Henry Douglas, letter to Chauncey McKeever, 5 May 1868, FDLS; Alvin G. White, letter to Thomas Wallace, 2 April 1868, FDLS; Francis B. Heitman, Historical Register and Dictionary of the U. S. Army Vol. 1 (Washington, DC: Government Printing Press, 1903), 1027.

36. Henry Douglas, letter to E. D. Townsend, 5 May 1868, FDLS.

37. Ibid.

38. Henry Douglas, letter to E. D. Townsend, 5 May 1868, FDLS; Henry Douglas, letter to E. D. Townsend, 13 July 1868, FDLS.

39. Toussaint Mesplie, leave of absence request, 18 January 1879, Toussaint Mesplie File, 4697 ACP 1877, NARA; John Catlin, letter to O. O. Howard, 17 December 1878, Toussaint Mesplie File, 4697 ACP 1877, NARA; E. D. Townsend, letter to Toussaint Mesplie, 25 September 1878, Toussaint Mesplie File, 4697 ACP 1877, NARA; A. C. LaRocque, letter to Toussaint Mesplie, no date, Toussaint Mesplie File, 4697 ACP 1877, NARA; A. C. LaRocque, letter to O. O. Howard, 11 October 1878, Toussaint Mesplie File, 4697 ACP 1877, NARA; Toussaint Mesplie, letter to O. O. Howard, 18 June 1878, Toussaint Mesplie File, 4697 ACP 1877, NARA; Toussaint Mesplie, letter to George W. McCrary, 29 March 1879, Toussaint Mesplie File, 4697 ACP 1877, NARA; Judge Advocate General, Endorsements, 7 April 1879, Toussaint Mesplie File, 4697 ACP 1877, NARA; "Charges and Specifications Against Charles Toussaint Mesplie," 22 April 1879, Toussaint Mesplie File, 4697 ACP 1877, NARA.

40. N. Pruch, letter to post adjutant, 10 October 1875, John Schultz File, 2038 ACP 1871, NARA.

41. N. Pruch, letter to post adjutant, 10 October 1875, John Schultz File, 2038 ACP 1871, NARA; N. Mariam, letter to Joseph H. Potter, 12 October 1875, John Schultz File, 2038 ACP 1871, NARA; John Schultz, letter to AG, 12 July 1875, John Schultz File, 2038 ACP 1871, NARA.

42. Thomas C. Levins, letter to United States President, 12 July 1877, James Laverty File, 1596 ACP 1876, NARA; Thomas and Miles, "Norman Badger," 112.

CHAPTER FIVE:  
USING THE NAME OF THE DEITY IN REVERENCE:  
CHAPLAINS AS MISSIONARIES

The posts that chaplains served were often in relatively isolated, but occasionally near small civilian communities. Chaplains frequently arrived at their duty stations and soon recognized a need for clergy in the nearby communities. Recognizing a need for their services in these also isolated locations, many chaplains eagerly did missionary work with nearby residents, even sporadically to nearby American Indian tribes.

Communities usually developed near posts because the army frequently contracted for hay, wood cutting, the supply of general merchandise, and the construction of post buildings. Civilian contractors and businessmen established these small communities and towns to take advantage of the economic activities the post provided. The local communities frequently consisted of saloons, brothels, general mercantile stores, and trader shops, and did not have a civilian cleric until large numbers of families arrived. Military families and the few civilian families had to rely on the availability of an army chaplain or a visiting missionary from another town to meet their spiritual and religious needs. Chaplains fortunate enough to find established communities with clergy often worked with local ministers in meeting the post and civilian



community needs.

In many communities the army chaplain was the first clergyman to bring the word of God to the town. The third Sunday after his arrival in 1871, at Fort Concho, Texas, Norman Badger promptly went to work preaching in the town of San Angela. The chaplain noted that the town seemed "in special need of some healthy influence for the good of our soldiers."<sup>1</sup> Occasionally Badger preached in a tavern to a congregation of government employees and townspeople who were unwilling to attend his services at the post. The post surgeon noted that this was "probably the first time that the name of the deity was ever publicly used in reverence in that place."<sup>2</sup>

Badger was not the only army chaplain to seize the opportunity to work with nearby civilians. Allen Allensworth, while stationed at Fort Bayard, New Mexico, offered his services and acted as a missionary to the nearby mining town of Lone Mountain. Allensworth believed that the locals attending his worship services appreciated his efforts. According to him, the only religious services available to the townspeople were those offered at Fort Bayard. When he began his services at Lone Mountain, Allensworth was the first to do so in the town in two years. He received such a positive response that he made it a priority to hold divine services there once a month. Unfortunately, Allensworth, like many of his colleagues,

found that the army provided no transportation or funds for traveling to local communities. Each trip cost him approximately three dollars just for transportation. The Lone Mountain congregation believed that the army should pay him to provide services to local communities. Allensworth knew that other communities were in a similar situation and that, if transportation had been provided, he could have been of service also to other communities.<sup>3</sup>

The ability to speak a foreign language also made chaplains valuable to frontier settlers and communities. While stationed at Fort Meade, South Dakota, Edward Vattman's fluency in German was useful. He frequently held services for German-speaking settlers in the vicinity of the post. Vattman, a Roman Catholic who also spoke French, preached at a French settlement nearby, and also in the town of Sturgis, South Dakota.<sup>4</sup> Eli Lindesmith offered services in both German and English for the people of Forsyth, Montana, while he was stationed at Fort Keogh.<sup>5</sup>

Although a clergyman may have been available in the nearby community, those of a denomination different from the local clergy sought out the services of army chaplains who belonged to their own church. James La Tourette performed missionary work outside his duty post at Fort Union, New Mexico. Although the town of Las Vegas and other communities had churches, LaTourette learned that many lacked an Episcopal priest. He thereafter promoted the

interests of the Episcopal church in the area. He sometimes also preached and administered communion at Silver City, New Mexico, as well as performing weddings and baptisms.

LaTourette assisted the Episcopal priest in Las Vegas, New Mexico, by preaching and helping with the ordination of a new priest.<sup>6</sup>

Catholic chaplain Eli W. J. Lindesmith's services were in great demand on the Montana frontier. Lindesmith began his missionary work outside Fort Keogh in Miles City, Montana. On 22 August 1880, he held the city's first mass in a log cabin courthouse, the first of thirty-seven sermons he presented. He also offered mass in the home of private individuals requesting his services. A year after starting services, Lindesmith organized the first catechism class in eastern Montana. By the fall of 1881, the chaplain and his Catholic parishioners had established and built Sacred Heart Church in Miles City. At the time, he was the only clergyman of any denomination within 800 miles of Fort Keogh. In 1880, a rancher and his wife rode for twenty-one days to have the chaplain baptize their infant. Lindesmith realized the danger that the family faced traveling the plains during the height of the Sioux War and praised their dedication to their beliefs. By 1883, his services also were in demand in the nearby town of Forsythe. He began traveling to the city to hold mass and to hear confessions. Eventually Lindesmith and his congregation raised enough

money to build a Catholic church in the town. In 1883, Lindesmith went to Glendive, Montana to administer services for a dying man. While he was there, townspeople asked upon him to bury a child of a woman of "ill fame." At the home of the child there were other women of the same character as the mother. The women called upon the priest because the town had no church, and they could not get a hall in which to hold the funeral. Lindesmith, showing no prejudices, conducted the services in the home and preached a sermon. After Lindesmith prayed with the grieving mother and the other women, the mother promised Lindesmith that she would return East and lead a good life. The other women, too, agreed to mend their ways and to lead a moral life. By 1885, although he was the chaplain at Fort Keogh, Lindesmith also was the chaplain at the newly established Ursuline Convent in Miles City, and served as the parish priest at the Sacred Heart Church in that city.<sup>7</sup>

Like chaplain Lindesmith, many other chaplains were very active in the religious life of nearby communities. Charles A. M. Blake arrived at Fort Whipple, Arizona, in 1867, and began performing marriages and funerals, conducting services in a store in the city of Prescott.<sup>8</sup> In 1871, Alexander Gilmore arrived at Fort Whipple and he, too, preached in Prescott. While he was stationed at Fort Whipple, Gilmore reorganized the Prescott Sunday School, and he established the Methodist Episcopal South church and the

Presbyterian church. He also held numerous protracted revival meetings. After leaving Fort Whipple in 1874, Gilmore returned to Arizona the next year to hold the territory's first camp meeting. The citizens of Prescott thought highly of him, and wrote that "chaplain Gilmore is a good man and Christian, and his only fault church members found with him is that his sermons are generally too long."<sup>9</sup>

The life of an army chaplain was usually difficult and lonely. Genevieve LaTourette remembered her father, James LaTourette, was very lonely while he was stationed at Fort Union, New Mexico, because he had no other clergymen with whom to visit and work.<sup>10</sup> Those who fortunately encountered other clerics usually forged personal and professional relationships, and worked diligently with them. Jeremiah Porter preached several times a month in Cheyenne, Wyoming. Frequently, he filled in for ministers who were absent from their churches. He also worked in a ministerial exchange.<sup>11</sup> While stationed at Fort Walla Walla, Washington, David Wills held services once every week at the Cumberland Presbyterian Church.<sup>12</sup> Theophilus Gould Steward worked with nearby civilian ministers and often held joint services with them during his tour of duty at Fort Raleigh, South Dakota.<sup>13</sup>

Chaplains also occasionally worked among nearby Indian tribes. Some clerics declined to work with Indians and maintained attitudes toward Indians similar to those of regular army officers. In a study of army officers' views

of American Indians, historian Sherry Smith discovered that there was a diversity of opinion among the officers and their wives. Some officers were sympathetic with the plight of the Indians, and others saw them as savages needing to be civilized. Smith believed that the officers' views reflected those of American society generally. Most agreed with the ideas of reservations and assimilation, but they often believed that the government's methods were too harsh. The officers, however, saw themselves as advancing civilization and improving the welfare of the Native Americans.<sup>14</sup> They believed reservations and assimilation helped to civilize and improve the life of the Indians. Like many average citizens, chaplains saw the Indians as savages in need of civilizing. Chaplain Charles A. M. Blake interpreted the struggle between whites and Indians as one of self-defense for white settlers. He remarked that "God never intended the earth for a few hordes of wandering, murdering savages."<sup>15</sup> George Mullins called the Indians "lurking, murdering wretches."<sup>16</sup>

Despite sometimes the negative opinions chaplains had in respect to Indians, many worked among the various tribes. Since the colonial period of American history, churches had established missions to convert local Indian tribes to Christianity. In 1810, the Congregational and Presbyterian churches founded the American Board of Foreign Missions, which was committed to the propagation of the "good news of

Christ among the heathens." The leaders of most denominations believed that the heathen customs of the Indians were horrible, but they also believed that the Indians could be civilized. Many churches supported the idea of assimilating and civilizing all Native American tribes.<sup>17</sup>

After the Civil War, the Protestant Board of Home Missions assumed responsibility for Indian mission work. In 1869, convinced that the government system was corrupt, religious leaders lobbied President Ulysses S. Grant and Congress to pass a bill that would put churches in charge of supervising and assimilating the Indians. The Grant Peace Policy, when finally approved, assigned specific denominations to each Indian reservation. These Christian reformers hoped to educate the Indians, especially their children, in order to instill American Protestant values in them, and thereby replace the tribal customs. They also hoped to convert the tribes to Christianity and make them farmers. Most army chaplains held the same negative view of Indians as their fellow clergymen. Their prejudices and their army duties sometimes prevented them from working as missionaries among the Indians.<sup>18</sup>

Some chaplains visited nearby Indian reservations and schools, and helped the government agents by performing Christian ceremonies for them. While stationed at Fort Yates, South Dakota, George W. Simpson frequently traveled

forty miles to the Indian school at Bull Head's camp, where he taught reading to Indian children, and worked with those Indians who had been converted to Christianity.<sup>19</sup> In March and July 1892, he also baptized Indian children, men, and women. He also performed Christian marriage ceremonies for Indians in a nearby camp.<sup>20</sup> Jeremiah Porter visited the Indian agency at nearby Fort Sill, Indian Territory, when his duties permitted.<sup>21</sup> While he was stationed at Fort Apache, Arizona, Charles Pierce often visited the San Carlos reservations. During visits to the reservation, he held confirmation classes at the Indian school for the White Mountain Apaches. Pierce recalled that one Sunday afternoon, while he was preaching, an old Apache stopped in during the services and said:

you are telling us about God's book and you have shown it to us; why, we never heard of it before. Now tell me everything you know. Indians know nothing of God's book. I never saw it before. I guess the White men have had God's book all this time, and tried to keep the Indians from getting it. But today, I see all the boys and girls have books and it maybe that the Indians are going to get God's book.<sup>22</sup>

Pierce admitted being embarrassed by the Indian's observations and vowed to do more missionary work among the Native Americans.<sup>23</sup>

Edward Vattman took a special interest in assisting the Native American scouts serving the army, their families, and



in working extensively at the nearby Pine Ridge agency. While stationed at Fort Meade, South Dakota, chaplain Vattman learned the Teton Sioux language from the natives working at the post. The commanding officer of the post gave Vattman the special duty of teaching English to the Indian scouts at the post. Two years later, the post commander commended him for his success in educating the Indian scouts and for his services as an acting agent to the scout's families. In June 1893, the army ordered Vattman to the Pine Ridge agency to observe the habits and customs of the Indians. The chaplain observed that the young Sioux were not taught at home to obey parents and other superiors. Vattman believed that the perplexing question on the reservation was how to employ the Native Americans, and he said that he had taken every opportunity to encourage the young male Indians to enlist in the United States Army as scouts. A month later the commanding officer of Fort Meade allowed Vattman to attend the "great Sioux council." At the meeting, the chaplain addressed the council, recommending that the Indians could no longer be hunters, but that the government offered them the alternative to enlist in the army. Vattman informed the council that the army could teach the young Indian men order, cleanliness, and obedience.<sup>24</sup>

A few months after the council meeting, Vattman

expanded his teaching duties to include holding school for the wives of the Native American scouts. He hoped his students would gain a functional use of the English language, reading, writing, penmanship, and arithmetic, and that later they would be able to attend an industrial school for Indian women. Vattman reported to the Adjutant General that he had been giving the Sioux women "instructions as I deem effective to bring them to the state of civilization enjoyed by the average wife of a white enlisted man."<sup>25</sup> Using his knowledge of the Teton Sioux language, he compiled a dictionary, A Sioux Soldier's Vocabulary.<sup>26</sup>

Chaplain Eli Lindesmith worked to improve the Catholic church's work among the American Indians in the West. In 1883, while he was working with the Cheyenne, he suggested that nuns could work effectively among the tribe. A year later, he helped to establish a convent in Miles City, Montana. Lindesmith welcomed members of the Ursuline Sisters of Ohio to the new convent, and a month later he left the convent to establish a school among the Cheyenne. Lindesmith continued to work with the various tribes in Montana. In May 1884, he celebrated high mass and preached to Indian children, and then traveled over twenty-five miles to the Crow agency. In addition to his demanding duties at Fort Keogh, other military posts, and in the local communities, Lindesmith traveled several miles to various

Indian missions and schools. In 1887, he journeyed to St. Ignatius Indian Mission near Helena, then traveled five miles north to St. Joseph's, where he held mass for the Flathead Indians. He then traveled two more days to St. Peter's Indian Mission, where he again said both regular and high mass services. Lindesmith's work among the tribes gained him their respect. In March 1885, Crazy Head, a chief among the Cheyenne, asked Lindesmith to help with matters other than religion. According to the chief, he and his family had received no rations, and they were suffering greatly as a consequence.<sup>27</sup>

Just as their fellow army officers, the chaplains looked at the Native Americans with interest, fascination, and curiosity. Many were intrigued with the Indians' dress, customs, language, and habits. Often the chaplains' stereotyping of Indians as savages in need of civilizing was reinforced. Upon viewing a group of Sioux, Cheyenne, and Arapaho, who came to Fort Kearny, Wyoming, David White commented that "they came in fine style for savages and in the most grotesque costumes imaginable. Saw an old man who had on a medal made in the time of President Monroe."<sup>28</sup> In his diary Eli Lindesmith described an Indian ceremony he witnessed:

They were dressed very fantastic. Squirrel tails, small skins, bells, paints, horse tails, rising whips, arrows, hacks. Several

were naked except for britch coult (sic), painted all over. The music was a drum. Some were beating it and sometimes would sing to it. After every dance they would sit on their blankets. Some times all would take a smoke. The dances were always short. The dances sometimes give vent to their feelings, an 'ha' or 'ho' and their expressions and song. Then towards the end, a very tall dancer took and went among the crowd for money. He made a very good collection. He was shure (sic) to hold his hat before every lady until she would give him something. Sometimes the ladies had nothing, but that made no difference to the Indians; here was his wisdom displayed, because in this case some gentlemen would give her something to give to the Indian and of course no man would hand a lady a triple, but say fifty cents, or a dollar.<sup>29</sup>

Curiosity often led chaplains to collect Indian artifacts and bones. Chaplain Edmund Tuttle picked up the skull of an Indian boy shot several times by whites at a nearby station. The chaplain gave the skull to the post surgeon.<sup>30</sup> Eli Lindesmith's fascination with the Native tribes also led him to collect artifacts and bones. Lindesmith sent two Indian skulls to a professor at the Catholic University of America in Washington, D. C. One piece was a jawbone of a Sioux boy found by members of the Fifth Cavalry near Fort Keogh. Lindesmith also collected bones from a ceremonial burial in a tree near the Yellowstone River, and objects buried with the Indian bodies. At one Sioux burial site, the chaplain collected a buffalo head that had been placed on the grave. At other

sites he picked up a burial board, crosses, and fences. He also collected the remains of four Indians near Fort Buford, Dakota Territory. He later donated these objects to the Catholic University of America.<sup>31</sup>

The demands on the chaplain at the post often prevented them from acting as a missionary to the settlers and Native Americans in the West. The army did not encourage the chaplains to work with other military posts or in the local communities. The lack of funding and transportation often prevented even the most dedicated chaplains from extending their missionary work. However, a few managed to use their spare hours to serve the needs of those civilians living nearby. Those who served the local settlers offered religious services, baptisms, funerals, and marriages. A few went as far as building local churches, and even a convent.

Despite the fact that chaplains believed the American Indians were heathens who needed discipline and civilization, they agreed with most religious denominations that by introducing the Indians to Christianity and western education, civilization could be achieved. Using their own time and money, these dedicated chaplains worked to bring the word of God to the unchurched, to fill the spiritual needs of civilians, and to better the lives of those who chose to brave the frontier.

## NOTES TO CHAPTER FIVE

1. Norman Badger, Monthly Report, 31 December 1871, Norman Badger File, 3046 ACP 1876, NARA; Carol Schmidt, "The Chaplains of Fort Concho," Fort Concho Report 16 (Spring 1984), 30; Bill Green, The Dancing was Lively: Fort Concho, Texas: A Social History, 1867 to 1882 (San Angelo, TX: Fort Concho Sketches Publishing, 1974), 76.
2. Schmidt, "Chaplains at Fort Concho," 30; Surgeon's quote taken from Bill Green, The Dancing Was Lively, 76.
3. Allen Allensworth, Monthly Report, 1 September 1892, Allen Allensworth File, RG 94 13 W, NARA; Allen Allensworth, Monthly Report, 5 July 1895, Allen Allensworth File, RG 94 13 W, NARA.
4. Edward Vattman, Monthly Report, 1 September 1891, Edward Vattman File, 5464 ACP 1890, NARA; Edward Vattman, Monthly Report, 1 April 1892, Edward Vattman File, 5464 ACP 1890, NARA.
5. Louis Pfaller, "Fort Keogh's Chaplain," Miles City Star 22 January 1971, Reference Collection Folder, Eli W. J. Lindesmith Collection, CUA.
6. Genevieve LaTourette, Fort Union Memories (Globe, AZ: Southwestern Parks and Monuments Association, n.d.), 284, 519; James LaTourette, Monthly Report, 1 May 1884, Military Service File, 1865-1890, LaTourette File, Fort Union National Historic Site, Fort Union, New Mexico (Hereafter cited as FUHS); James LaTourette, Monthly Report, 1 June 1868, Military Service File, 1865-1890, LaTourette File, FUHS.
7. Eli Lindesmith, diary, 18 January 1885, Memorandum #27, 1885-28 July 1887, diary files, Eli W. J. Lindesmith Collection, CUA; Eli Lindesmith, diary, 7 September 1883, Memorandum #24, 1883-1884, diary file, Eli W. J. Lindesmith Collection, CUA; Eli Lindesmith, diary, 18 December 1881-20 September 1882, Memorandum #21 1<sup>st</sup> Book Miles City 1880-1883, diary file, Eli W. J. Lindesmith Collection, CUA; Louis Pfaller, "Eli Lindesmith: Fort Keogh's Chaplain in Buckskin," Montana Magazine: The Magazine of Western History 27 (January 1977), 18-22; Pfaller, "Fort Keogh's Chaplain," 22 January 1971, Miles City Star, Reference Folder, Eli W. J. Lindesmith Collection, CUA.
8. Florence B. Yount, A Centennial of Methodist Prescott, Arizona, 1870-1970 (Prescott, AZ: Prescott Printing Co.,

1970), 5.

9. Alexander Gilmore, "Semi-Centennial Sermon," in The Annual Session of the New Jersey Conference (Camden, NJ: Temperance Gazette Printing House, 1887), 28-30; Quote taken from Richard K. Smith, "For God. . . For Country. . . For Territory," Arizona Highways (April 1973), 11.

10. LaTourette, Fort Union Memories, 521.

11. Jeremiah Porter, Monthly Report, 1 July 1879, Jeremiah Porter File, 1143 ACP 874, NARA.

12. David Wills, Monthly Report, 31 January 1882, David Wills File, 3199 ACP 1879, NARA.

13. Alan K. Lamm, Five Black Preachers in Army Blue, 1884-1901 (Lewiston, NY: Edward Mellon Press, 1998), 206-207.

14. Sherry L. Smith, A View From Officer's Row (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1990), 182-185.

15. Blake quote taken from Earl F. Stover, Up From Handyman: The United States Chaplaincy (Washington, DC: Office of the Chief of Chaplains, Department of the Army, 1978), 34.

16. George Mullins, Monthly Report, 28 February 1878, George Mullins File, 5053 ACP 1874, NARA.

17. R. Pierce Beaver, "Protestant Churches and the Indians," in A Handbook of North American Indians, ed. by William C. Sturtevant, (Washington, Smithsonian Institute, 1988), 443-445; Richard White, It's Your Own Misfortune and None of My Own (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1997), 109-111; Clyde Milner, Churchmen and Western Indians (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1985), 6; Michael C. Coleman, Presbyterian Missionary Attitudes Toward American Indians, 1837-1893 (Jackson: University of Mississippi, 1985), 174.

18. Beaver, "Protestant Churches and the Indians," 443-445; White, It's Your Own Misfortune, 109-111; Milner, Churchmen, 6; Coleman, Presbyterian Missionary Attitudes, 174.

19. George W. Simpson, Monthly Report, 30 November 1892, George W. Simpson File, 1872 ACP 1876, NARA.

20. Ibid.

21. Jeremiah Porter, Monthly Report, 17 May 1875, Jeremiah Porter File, 1143 ACP 874, NARA.
22. Quote taken from Charles Pierce, "Roughing It," in Active Service or Religious Work Among U. S. Soldiers, by Theophilus Gould Steward, ed. (New York: United States Army Aid Association, 1897), 76-77.
23. Ibid.
24. Edward Vattman, Monthly Reports, 31 December 1891, 1 June 1892, 1 August 1892, Edward Vattman File, 5464 ACP 1890, NARA; Edward Vattman, Questionnaire, 5 February 1890, Edward Vattman File, 5464 ACP 1892, NARA; Edward Vattman, Efficiency Report, 1 January 1892, Edward Vattman File, 5464 ACP 1890, NARA.
25. H. E. Palmer, letter to Stephen Elkins, 31 August 1892, Edward Vattman File, 5464 ACP 1892, NARA; Edward Vattman, letter to J. M. Schofield, 10 October 1892, Edward Vattman File, 5464 ACP 1892, NARA.
26. Edward Vattman, Monthly Report, 1 June 1892-1 October 1892, Edward Vattman File, 5464 ACP 1892, NARA.
27. Sr. Fr. Igantius, letter to Eli W. J. Lindesmith, 16 March 1885, Correspondence File, Eli Lindesmith Collection, CUA; Eli Lindesmith, diary, 4 May 1883, Lindesmith Collection, Memorandum # 24 Diary 1883-1884, Eli Lindesmith Diaries, Eli W. J. Lindesmith Collection, CUA; Pfaller, "Fort Keogh Chaplain," 28 January 1971, Miles City Star, Reference Folder, Eli W. J. Lindesmith Collection, CUA. Eli Lindesmith, diary, 28 July 1887-August 1887, Memorandum #28 diary 28 July 1887 -25 July 1887; Lindesmith Diaries, Eli W. J. Lindesmith Collection, CUA; Eli Lindesmith, Monthly Report, 31 August 1887, Eli Lindesmith File, 3876 ACP 1880, NARA.
28. David White, diary, 12 January 1868, Officer Files, David White File, FOLS.
29. Eli Lindesmith, diary, 4 December 1881, Diary #22 1881-1882, Diary File, Eli W. J. Lindesmith Collection, CUA.
30. Edmund B. Tuttle, The Boys Book About Indians (Three Years on the Plains) (1871; reprint, Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2002), 97.



31. Eli Lindesmith, letter to Professor Henny, March 1917,  
Reference Folder, Eli W. J. Lindesmith Collection, CUA.

CHAPTER SIX:  
UPLIFTING SOULS: CHAPLAINS TO THE  
AFRICAN-AMERICAN REGIMENTS

Two African Americans served as army regimental chaplains between 1866 and 1895. As a consequence of their race and assignment to the African American units, the black chaplains faced discrimination from white officers who commanded black regiments. Despite this challenge, black chaplains helped the black soldiers in the army to improve themselves, to have a better life in the military, and later to have a better life in American society. Henry V. Plummer and Allen Allensworth served their race in the African American regiments between 1866 and 1895.

After the Civil War, Congress consolidated regiments and created new ones better suited to the western Indian fighting conditions. In July 1866, Congress specified that two regiments of cavalry and four regiments of infantry composed of all black troops be organized and assigned to the West. In 1869, Congress consolidated the four infantry units into two regiments. Large numbers of African American soldiers had fought bravely for the Union army during the Civil War, and 33,380 had died during this conflict. To meet the religious needs of black soldiers in the frontier army, Congress specified that chaplains be assigned to each regiment. The army assigned these preachers the task of providing moral support, religious services, and basic

educational instruction for the men and officers of frontier posts. Traditionally in these units the officers and chaplains were white. However, in 1884, President Grover Cleveland appointed an African American chaplain to the Ninth Cavalry. Two years later, the President appointed another African American chaplain.<sup>1</sup>

Henry V. Plummer and Allen Allensworth applied for appointments for reasons quite different from white chaplains. Plummer and Allensworth served with the Ninth Cavalry and Twenty-fourth Infantry respectively. Unlike white clergy, these men requested assignment to African American regiments. In his request Plummer did not specify a reason why he wanted to serve, however, he mentioned the Republican Party. Several of his supporting references were from notable Republicans, who were aware that Plummer supported the Republican party. Plummer's references therefore, suggest that his appointment was at least partially political.<sup>2</sup> Politics also probably helped Allen Allensworth obtain his position. On two occasions the people of the Kentucky Third Congressional District elected him as a delegate to the National Republican Convention. Allensworth believed that serving as a chaplain and officer he would be given the "opportunity to show that a Negro can be an officer and a gentlemen."<sup>3</sup> He added that his nomination would show "the deserving merit and ability among

the colored race."<sup>4</sup> He was sensitive with respect to his appointment and commented that:

[I] wish to say that my association with white gentlemen North and South in various relations never embarrassed them in the least. I know where the official ends and the social line begins . . . I know to some extent what the feelings of the officers of the army and navy are on this subject and am prepared to guard against allowing myself in any position to give offense.<sup>5</sup>

Both African American chaplains were qualified for their positions. When the Civil War began and the Union army enlisted former slaves, Plummer and Allensworth volunteered for the United States Navy. Plummer served on a gunboat for sixteen months and then transferred to the Washington Naval Yard. After the Civil War, he attended Wayland Seminary, where he earned a divinity degree. Upon completion of his studies, he became a Baptist minister, serving the Washington, D.C., and Maryland areas.<sup>6</sup>

In 1862, Allensworth had run away from his master and joined the Forty-Fourth Illinois infantry as a civilian nursing aide. The next year he joined the navy, serving as a petty officer. In 1867, after his Civil War service, he enrolled in the Ely Normal School near Louisville, Kentucky. He earned a teacher's certificate, and taught school in Kentucky. In 1868, the Freedmen's Bureau hired him to teach freed African Americans. In 1871, he became an ordained Baptist minister and enrolled in Roger Williams University

in Nashville, Tennessee. After graduation he taught school in Georgetown, Kentucky.<sup>7</sup>

The duties of the African American chaplains were the same as for all regimental and post chaplains. However, white officers and American society did not view the black chaplains as socially equal. Jim Crow laws were a part of American society and the United States army. Black officers, including chaplains, were often discriminated against by fellow white officers and civilians, although army regulations made no race distinctions in the required duties and official military status of chaplains. Duties included holding religious services, presiding at the burial of military personnel and camp followers, visiting the sick, and educating the enlisted men in the rudiments of reading, writing, and arithmetic. Regimental chaplains performed various other duties that post commanders assigned to them. In July 1871, Henry Plummer followed the Ninth Cavalry into the field and held religious services for the men. He reported large audiences for Sunday Services at Fort Robinson, Nebraska, and occasionally held a week-long revival service for the troops. In 1892, Plummer organized a literary society to encourage the study and reading of history and literature among the troops.<sup>8</sup>

Although he was primarily a minister, Allen Allensworth

remained dedicated to teaching and believed in the need to educate African Americans to improve their status in the dominant society. At Fort Bayard, New Mexico, Allensworth not only oversaw five teachers and taught classes, but he also created a graded course of study for soldiers and children. His skills as a teacher brought him more recognition than his preaching. In 1889, he worked at Fisk University teaching military tactics and recruiting young African American men for the army. Allensworth argued that his work at Fisk allowed him to direct the attention of "young educated colored men to the advantages the service affords."<sup>9</sup> In 1891, he was the featured speaker at the National Education Association's annual meeting and served as the association's president.<sup>10</sup>

Like other chaplains, Henry Plummer became actively involved in the temperance movement. In February 1892, he organized a temperance union at Fort Robinson, Nebraska. He noted that he "earnestly hoped that these will extend an influence over many of our young men."<sup>11</sup> The following month, having become active in the Crawford Temperance Union, he organized a series of lectures and recruited the children of the post to join a Loyal Temperance Legion. As part of his lecture series, he invited temperance leaders of the Crawford Women's Christian Temperance Union and Loyal

Temperance Legion to address the crowds. Large numbers of people attended Plummer's temperance meetings. At one meeting as many as 150 were in attendance. In March 1892, Plummer criticized the post exchange system and recommended that it be abolished because it promoted drunkenness and excessive drinking. He complained that the men of the post spent their entire pay at the canteen, and that he could "not see anything in this system except that which leads inevitably to gluttony, mendacity and drunkenness."<sup>12</sup> Officers of the post agreed with Plummer that the post exchange system created problems of drunkenness and caused the men to squander their pay. In 1893, the Adjutant General prohibited the sale of alcohol at Fort Robinson. The commanding officer disagreed, but he complied partially. He monitored liquor sales at the post exchange. Carefully, Plummer continued his attacks on the post exchange, and eventually succeeded in having it closed on Sundays. The struggle for temperance created tensions between him and his fellow officers.<sup>13</sup>

Both Allensworth and Plummer believed that African Americans needed assistance in self-improvement and in their living conditions. Allensworth never commented about his attitude toward the black troops, but his persistent work in recruitment and education of these men exhibited his

dedication to them. Both Plummer and Allensworth desired to improve the condition of the black soldiers mentally, morally, and socially.

Support given to these black chaplains from commanding officers varied. Initially, Plummer received support from his commanding officer. He reported that the commander set a good example and encouraged the troops to attend services and school. Unfortunately, this beneficial relationship with his post commander deteriorated over time because of a change in commanders, and the racial attitudes of the officers at Fort Robinson and the citizens of nearby Crawford, Nebraska. Although a commissioned officer, Plummer faced considerable discrimination from white officers at Fort Robinson. Besides the prevailing belief among most Americans that blacks were inferior, the black chaplain's rank of captain upon entering the army created further resentment among white officers. Due to the lack of promotions within the post Civil War army, officers, including many West Point graduates, spent their entire careers as lieutenants. Plummer consequently spent his time socializing primarily with the black enlisted men. Mary Biddle Garrard, who played the organ for Plummer's religious services, noted that Plummer received no help or encouragement from the white officers of the post. The



racist attitudes always offended Plummer.<sup>14</sup>

Plummer's clashes with his fellow white officers eventually led to his dismissal in 1893. Race relations in neighboring Crawford climaxed in 1893, when Plummer's fellow officers accused him of creating greater racial tensions. In 1893, a police court cleared former buffalo soldier James Diggs of misdemeanor charges; his acquittal enraged the citizens of Crawford. In response, a group of the citizens attempted unsuccessfully to capture and lynch Diggs. After the event, an unidentified local African American author wrote in a journal warning the citizens of Crawford:

You shall not outrage us and our people right here under the shadow of old glory while we have shot and shell and if you persist we will repeat the horrors of San Domingo- We will reduce your homes and firesides to ashes and send your guilty souls to hell. Signed 500 men with the bullet and torch.<sup>15</sup>

A sergeant, Barney McKay, brought the article back to the post, and the post commander, Lt. Col. Reuben F. Bernard, immediately discharged the sergeant. Bernard then investigated the article, believing that the author could have been chaplain Plummer. At the time Plummer edited a weekly newspaper called the Fort Robinson Weekly Bulletin, and he was a correspondent for the black newspaper The Omaha Progress. Bernard could find no proof that Plummer was the author, but even after his investigation he still believed

that Plummer was responsible for the whole affair.<sup>16</sup>

Shortly after the newspaper incident, Plummer began filing complaints with the Adjutant General. The chaplain filed a complaint about housing discrimination. He complained that the commanding officer assigned him to the older quarters occupied by married noncommissioned officers. Plummer requested that he be given quarters more fitting his rank. Commanding officer Bernard denied his request. After this complaint, Plummer filed complaints against the commanding officer, accusing him of discrimination on three accounts. The first account was denying Plummer adequate housing. He then accused Bernard of refusing him assistance in obtaining items for entertainment and educational purposes. Finally, Plummer complained that Bernard refused transportation for Christian workers from Crawford for the temperance meeting. Two weeks later the commander provided an escort for a showman and his company.<sup>17</sup>

In addition to the existing conflict and tensions between the chaplain and his commanding officer, Plummer continued to create more tensions. In 1894, he asked that he be allowed to head a mission to explore central Africa. Plummer wanted this expedition for missionary and exploratory purposes. He believed that the area was ripe for Christianizing, and it would provide opportunities for

educated blacks that they could not find in the United States. He also argued that the blacks could form the nucleus of a colony that would eventually help solve the problem of black subjugation in the south. Plummer received backing for this project from the bishop of the African Methodist Episcopal church and the Secretary of the International Migration Society. Despite Plummer's grandiose ideas and the support he had, the Secretary of War informed him that there was no law authorizing any officer to lead such an expedition.<sup>18</sup>

Tensions between Plummer and commanding officer Bernard eventually came to a peak in 1894. On 6 June Lieutenant Colonel Bernard arrested chaplain Plummer on trumped-up charges that enlisted trooper, Sergeant Robert Benjamin, had seen Plummer drinking in public. Court-martial proceedings began, and even though many local citizens of Crawford testified on behalf of the chaplain's excellent morals and good work, he was dismissed from the army. Three other enlisted men claimed to have seen the chaplain inebriated, fraternizing with enlisted men, and purchasing liquor for them at the Sergeant Major's house. Then it was reported that Plummer went to Sergeant Benjamin's house, where he used vulgar language, and threatened to whip the sergeant. On 2 November 1894, the court found Plummer guilty and

discharged him. Interestingly, some witnesses testified they had heard the sergeant say he would get revenge with Plummer for an earlier incident at Fort Riley, Kansas, and that he was angry at the chaplain for not loaning him \$15.00 on another occasion.<sup>19</sup> Plummer's case was not the first of its kind against a black officer. In 1882, the army dishonorably discharged Lieutenant Henry O. Flipper, the first African American West Point graduate, because of accusations by his fellow white officers. Plummer's zealous temperance campaign, his complaints of discrimination, his alleged involvement in the newspaper article incident, and his request for an African expedition all worked against him and contributed to his dismissal.

Allensworth's experience was somewhat different, for he seemed to face less racism while serving as a chaplain. At Fort Supply, Indian Territory, white enlisted men of the Fifth Cavalry refused to salute him, declaring that they would never salute a black officer. After one such episode Allensworth presented a humorous sermon on the situation to lessen tensions. Some white officers held Allensworth in high regard. The minister's dedication to teaching and to advancing the African American race gained him the respect of most fellow officers. In recommending him for a promotion, a former commanding officer commented that

Allensworth was second to no other chaplain in the army in conscientious performance. The officer credited the regiment's good behavior to Allensworth's influence. With high recommendations from former commanding officers, the army eventually promoted Allensworth to Lieutenant-Colonel. When he retired in 1904, he was the army's highest ranking African American officer.<sup>20</sup>

The white chaplains who served in the army made no color distinction among their parishioners and worked as diligently as the African American chaplains in serving the needs of the black troopers in the West. The qualifications and the reasons that white ministers left civilian work to join the army were numerous and not always clear. But many who served with the African American regiments had prior experience working with black regiments or freed men. John Schultz served with the African American Twenty-fourth Infantry, but he also had previous experience with black troops when he was chaplain to the Thirty-eighth Infantry during the Civil War. Elijah Guion had worked with black refugees in New Orleans, and thus also had experience with African Americans. Several of the chaplains who served with black troops had served as chaplains during the Civil War.<sup>21</sup>

Although African American troops had distinguished themselves on the battlefield during the Civil War, they

still faced racism from white soldiers and officers. Norman Badger observed this racism working against the black troops. African Americans at Fort Concho, Texas, could not attend morning worship with white families and troops. To accommodate them, Badger held separate services for the black troops and civilians on Sunday evenings. He noted that "a much larger number of them prefer to come out at night than in the day time."<sup>22</sup> Because the government would not provide money for a building, the members of the Tenth Cavalry raised funds to build a structure for use as a chapel and school. Badger helped the congregation to construct the building. Chaplain Charles C. Pierce, another white chaplain, traveled to five posts scattered throughout Arizona to conduct religious services and other duties for the Ninth Cavalry.<sup>23</sup>

Although most of the white chaplains did not specifically request to work with the black troops, they did not complain about their assignment. Many found the African Americans to be morally superior to their white counterparts. Norman Badger suggested that the moral condition of the black cavalrymen was "encouraging ...being among them less drinking, less profanity and a better attendance on religious services than I have heretofore observed."<sup>24</sup>

Unfortunately, some white clergymen adhered to society's prevailing racist attitudes. Chaplain George C. Mullins, stationed at Fort Davis, Texas, and working with the black Tenth Cavalry and the black Twenty-Fifth Infantry commented that one should not hold the black soldiers to the same standards as whites. He argued that those who held the belief that the African American soldiers should not be considered inferior to the white soldiers "overlooked the fact God made difference of race."<sup>25</sup> He added that they lacked a soldierly spirit, had no sense of moral responsibility, and were incapable of higher learning and abstract thinking. Such nonsense was widely accepted among the majority white population in America at this time.<sup>26</sup>

Finally, assignment to black regiments presented challenges to the chaplains. Despite the racial prejudices against African American soldiers and the difficulties they encountered, neither white nor black chaplains complained about being assigned to these troops, unlike some white officers who sought to avoid such assignments. Instead, they took their responsibilities seriously and worked to help the black soldiers improve themselves and their condition. Many of the chaplains sympathized with the plight of the freed men and wanted to help. Some chaplains followed the troops into the field, held separate religious

services for whites and blacks, and provided educational opportunities for all the men. Most officers accepted white and black chaplains and did not belittle them for being assigned to the African American regiments. But many of the chaplains serving black regiments faced criticism and obstructionism from commanding officers as a consequence of their attempts to control or stop consumption of alcohol and gambling. White officers often had a mixed reaction to African American chaplains such as Henry V. Plummer and Allen Allensworth. Many believed that the black chaplains provided an important service to the African American soldiers, and they respected the chaplains' attempts to improve the black soldiers' education and well-being. However, most white officers conformed to the social norms of the period and limited their interactions with the black chaplains. In short, the ministers looked beyond race and treated the African American soldiers with dignity.



## NOTES TO CHAPTER SIX

1. William H. Leckie The Buffalo Soldiers (Norman: University of Oklahoma, 1967), 5-6; Richard M. Budd, "Serving Two Masters: The Professionalization and Bureaucratization of the American Military Chaplaincy, 1860-1920," (Ph.D. diss., Ohio State University, 1994), 162-163; David K. Stratton, "The Army and the Gospel in the West," Western Humanities Review 8 (Summer 1954): 250; Alan K. Lamm, Five Black Preachers in Army Blue, 1884-1901, (Lewiston, NY: Edward Mellon Press, 1998), 71. 94.
2. Frederick Douglas, letter to President Chester A. Arthur, 14 May 1884, Henry V. Plummer File, 6474 ACP 1881, NARA; T. Benson Pierce, letter to Robert Lincoln, 26 January 1884, Henry V. Plummer File, 6474 ACP 1881, NARA.
3. Allen Allensworth, letter to the President of the United States, 1 April 1885, Allen Allensworth File, RG 94 13 W, NARA.
4. Ibid.
5. Allen Allensworth, letter to the President of the United States, 1 April 1885, Allen Allensworth File, RG 94 13 W, NARA.
6. Henry Plummer, letter to AG, 12 October 1884, Henry V. Plummer File, 6474 ACP 1881, NARA; Henry Plummer, Report of Services Rendered as Enlisted Man, 9 November 1884, Henry V. Plummer File, 6474 ACP 1881, NARA, Lamm, Five Black Preachers, 64, 19, 161.
7. Lamm, Five Black Preachers, 64, 19, 161; Allen Allensworth, efficiency report, 1905, Allen Allensworth File, RG 94 13 w, NARA; Allen Allensworth, Teaching Certificate, 12 March 1883, Allen Allensworth File, RG 94 13 W, NARA;
8. Earl F. Stover, Up From Handyman: the United States Chaplaincy (Washington, DC: Office of the Chief of Chaplains, Department of the Army, 1978), 53; Henry Plummer, Monthly Report, 31 January 1892, 29 February 1892, 30 September 1892, Henry V. Plummer File, 6474 ACP 1881, NARA.
9. Allen Allensworth, letter to the Adjutant General, 15 May 1891, Allen Allensworth File, RG 13w, NARA; Allen Allensworth, letter to the Adjutant General, 15 May 1891, Allen Allensworth File, RG 94 13w, NARA; Bliss, letter to Adjutant General, 9 July 1889, Allen Allensworth File, RG94

13w, NARA.

10. Charles C. Hood, Inspection Report for Fort Bayard, New Mexico, 10 January 1891, Allen Allensworth File, RG94 13w, NARA; E. H. Bootz, letter to Adjutant General, 17 June 1892, Allen Allensworth File, RG 94 13w, NARA.

11. Henry V. Plummer, Monthly Report, 29 February 1892, Henry Plummer File, 6474 ACP 1881, NARA.

12. Henry V. Plummer, Monthly Report, 31 March 1892, Henry Plummer File, 6474 ACP 1881, NARA; Henry V. Plummer, Monthly Report, 30 June 1893, Henry Plummer File, 6474 ACP 1881, NARA.

13. Charles L. Kenner, Buffalo Soldiers and Officers of the Ninth Cavalry, (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1999), 285; Lamm, Five Black Preachers, 110-111; Stover, "Chaplain Henry V. Plummer, His Ministry, and His Court-Martial," Nebraska History 56 (Spring 1975), 3. Frank N. Schubert, Outpost of the Sioux Wars: A History of Fort Robinson (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1993), 13; Henry Plummer, Monthly Report, 29 February 1891, Henry V. Plummer File, 8474 ACP 1881, NARA; Henry Plummer, Monthly Report, 30 April 1893, 31 October 1893, Henry V. Plummer File, 6474 ACP 1881, NARA.

14. Mary Biddle Garrard, Testimonial, 1894, Henry V. Plummer File, 6474 ACP 1881, NARA.

15. Quote taken from Schubert, Outpost of the Sioux, 89.

16. Schubert, Outpost of the Sioux, 89; Kenner, Buffalo Soldiers, 285.

17. Schubert, Outpost of the Sioux, 14; Stover, "Chaplain Henry V. Plummer," 12-13

18. Henry V. Plummer, Henry V. Plummer, letter to Adjutant General, 20 April 1894, Henry Plummer File, 6474 ACP 1881, NARA; William M. Turner, letter to Secretary of War, 25 April 1894, Henry Plummer File, 6474 ACP 1881, NARA.

19. Lamm, Five Black Preachers, 16, 116-119; Kenner, Buffalo Soldiers, 287-288; John R. Brook, telegram to Adjutant General, 25 August, 1894; Henry V. Plummer File, 6474 ACP 1881, NARA; Lizzie Miller, Disposition, 22 October 1894, Henry V. Plummer File, 6474 ACP 1881, NARA; A. F. Plummer, Disposition, 22 October 1894, Henry V. Plummer File,

6474 ACP 1881, NARA; Adjutant General, General Orders no. 56, 2 November 1894, Henry V. Plummer, 6474 ACP 1881, NARA; T. G. Harris, letter to whom it may concern, 18 October 1894, Henry V. Plummer File, 6474 ACP 1881, NARA; C.E. Wilson, letter to whom it may concern, 18 October 1894, Henry V. Plummer File, 6474 ACP 1881, NARA; Allen Whipple, letter to whom it may concern, 18 October 1894, Henry V. Plummer, 6474 ACP 1881, NARA.

20. Lamm, Five Black Preachers, 179, 189; Ford Kent, letter to Allen Allensworth, no date, Allen Allensworth File, RG93 13w, NARA.

21. Lamm, Five Black Preachers, 172; Francis Weaver, letter to George W. McCrary, 5 November 1879, Francis Weaver File, 1198 ACP 1880, NARA; Francis Weaver, letter to Adjutant General, 25 June 1880, Francis Weaver File, 1198 ACP 1880, NARA; Elijah Guion, pension Card, no date, Elijah Guion File, 296 ACP 1872, NARA; Carol Schmidt, "The Chaplains of Fort Concho," Fort Concho Report 16 (Spring 1984):29; Stover, Up From Handyman, 49, 257-271.

22. Norman Badger, Monthly Report, 30 September 1875, Norman Badger File, 3046 ACP 1876, NARA.

23. Norman Badger, Monthly Report, 30 September 1875, 29 February 1876, Norman Badger File, 3046 ACP 1876, NARA; Norman Badger, Monthly Report, 30 November 1875, Norman Badger File, 3046 ACP 1876, NARA; Richard K. Smith, "For God. . . For Country. . . For Territory," Arizona Highways (April 1973): 11.

24. Norman Badger, Monthly Report, 30 April 1873, Norman Badger File, 3046 ACP 1876, NARA.

25. George C. Mullins, Monthly Report, 12 July 1875, George Mullins File, 5053 ACP 1874, NARA.

26. George C. Mullins, Monthly Report, 12 July 1875, George Mullins File, 5053 ACP 1874, NARA; George C. Mullins, Monthly Report, 1 November 1875, George Mullins File, 5053 ACP 1874, NARA.

## CONCLUSION

Clerics are often overlooked in histories of the West and of the Indian-fighting army. As this study has shown, these men played an important role in the frontier army and communities. Chaplains have been serving in the army since the colonial period, for military officials believed that there was a need for clergy to work among the troops. However, the army provided the chaplains with minimal and inconsistent support, while still expecting significant results. Although post commanders often did not want chaplains assigned to them, and did not support them when they were present, the chaplains worked diligently to improve the morals and lives of troops at frontier posts. They succeeded in many respects.

Chaplains contributed to the spiritual and moral welfare of individuals at frontier army posts and nearby Western towns. Often a chaplain's prior service in the army as a regular soldier gave him a glimpse into the lives of the men, and their need for spiritual and moral instruction. Perhaps this is why many chose to return to the army after the Civil War. Most clerics truly believed that they could improve the discipline of the soldiers and reform their immoral behavior.

The army also provided the clerics with an economic incentive. During the late nineteenth century the United

States suffered two major economic depressions, 1873-1877, and 1893-1897. Most civilian clergy were poorly paid and the work was often demanding and unpredictable. The army provided a steady, reliable income with benefits such as retirement, housing, and medical care.

Chaplains provided more than just religious services for the troops. As in civilian society, the church at the post often became the center of community activities, for chaplains provided wholesome entertainment and educational services, and in the process, provided the soldiers and nearby civilians a semblance of Eastern society. Chaplains helped frontier dwellers by providing moral guidance and encouraging inner peace in a primitive environment where peace was often hard to find. Clerics in the army also helped soldiers and officers to understand and to rationalize the implementation of government policies for the Indians.

Educational opportunities were the most tangible contribution that the chaplains made to army posts. Through their teaching and by establishing schools, the chaplains fulfilled a need for the army, the local communities, and post families. Most enlisted men in the army at this time were uneducated. The chaplains helped them acquire fundamental reading and writing skills, enabling the soldiers to improve themselves and to prepare for lives

outside the military. For those who were foreign born and lacked a firm grasp of English, the education the chaplains provided helped these soldiers to assimilate into the army, and later into American society. The clerics' work in education was especially significant to African Americans, who took advantage of the educational opportunities. Most black troopers were former slaves with no previous education. Many individuals in American society believed that better education would elevate and advance the blacks and assimilate them into the mainstream of American society. Chaplains also taught classes in the basic academic topics to all children on and near the post, regardless of their family's social status or the father's military rank.

During the late nineteenth century, religious groups in the United States became involved in reforming American society. The rise of large corporate industries and the growth of cities created social problems. Christian reformers believed that they could solve these problems of vice, poverty, and alcoholism by guiding people's behavior and leading them to Christianity.<sup>1</sup> Chaplains found the same social problems among the soldiers who participated in gambling, prostitution, and drinking. These vices led many of the chaplains on a quest to reform the behavior of the American frontier soldier.

During the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries

prohibition became the major focus of many reform groups in American society. Temperance advocates believed alcohol was the root of almost all of society's social problems. They argued that consumption of liquor led to the destruction of half a million homes, left children orphaned, created prostitution, poverty, violence, and encouraged political corruption.<sup>2</sup> Many chaplains became actively involved in promoting temperance in the army. They also believed that liquor was the root cause of disciplinary problems among enlisted men. Most chaplains argued that the sale of alcohol to the soldiers led to the soldiers being penniless and in debt to the post traders, encouraged violence at the post, and led to frequent violation of army regulations. As civilian reformers sought to promote prohibition through the formation of Women's Christian Temperance Unions and Templar's Lodges, chaplains organized temperance groups on army posts and developed or supported temperance organizations in the local civilian communities.

Chaplains also acted as missionaries in local communities, and had some lasting influence on many western areas. Often they were the only clergy in an area, and served the needs of not only the army, but also of civilians living in the vicinity. Because the army did not provide the chaplains with funds, transportation, or even encouragement, a few used their own funds, transportation,

and time to serve civilian communities. They helped construct churches and convents that exist today. They also performed marriages and funerals, and offered last rites and baptisms.

Although most major religious denominations were involved in some way in Indian missionary efforts, few chaplains worked with American Indians. The chaplains held the same views of the Indians as most of American society. Many Americans and religious organizations believed that the Native Americans were savages and heathens, and they believed that education, Christianity, and farming would help civilize them. A few of the army clerics sympathized with the Indians, and thought their close proximity was an opportunity to help them. Other chaplains worked to "civilize" the Indians by working with nearby missions, ministering to the Native Americans on the post, and by encouraging them to join the United States Army. Most chaplains, however, were willing to fight the American Indians, if necessary. Some chaplains were supportive of the army's victories, and a few even desecrated Indian burial sites by collecting bones and burial items.

Chaplains who worked with the African American regiments had an impact upon these soldiers. Chaplains, both black and white, worked to improve the lives and status of blacks in the army and society. Alan K. Lamm suggests



that African American chaplains believed that the army gave blacks an opportunity for "acquiring skills, discipline and the character needed to compete in American society."<sup>3</sup> Commanding officers encouraged the education and moral instruction of their black troopers. They believed that these efforts would help to improve the lives of the soldiers. The two African American chaplains had different experiences with the army than white chaplains. These men often worked not only with the black regiments, but also were assigned occasionally to work among white soldiers and officers at the posts. Black chaplains did not complain about the hardships of life in the frontier army and performed their duties with diligence. According to Lamm, the black chaplains sought to reform and fight racism in the army from within by "confronting racism, educating soldiers, serving as role models, and proclaiming the gospel."<sup>4</sup> The African American chaplains were men of great pride and dignity.

Civil War historians have argued that ministers serving the Civil War army witnessed a religious revival during the war.<sup>5</sup> Unlike their predecessors in the Civil War, the frontier post chaplains did not witness a great national revival in religion. In fact, the chaplains' influence on religion in the army varied. These clergymen did not see the waves of converts that the ministers in the Civil War

did because the circumstances were vastly different. During the Civil War both armies were primarily all volunteer, whereas post chaplains worked with regular army troops, who were committed to the army for at least five years and not for the short duration of a war. Warfare in the frontier was not as intense and as constant as the Civil War. As Civil War soldiers saw more combat and grew "more reflective," the chaplains witnessed a growth in religious interest among the troops. Frontier soldiers spent long periods of time at their post, performing routine duties. Their campaigns were often long and boring, punctuated with short and deadly skirmishes and battles. Battles on the frontier tended to be on a smaller scale and not as frequent. Another reason Civil War chaplains probably saw a religious revival maybe due to the religious affiliation of the volunteer soldiers and the chaplains. During the Civil War the majority of chaplains in the Union army were Methodist or Presbyterian. Northern Methodist church claimed membership at thirty-eight percent, Presbyterian seventeen percent, and Baptist as twelve percent. In the South the Methodist church claimed the largest membership followed closely by the Baptist and Cumberland Presbyterian. Although the armies did not record the religious affiliation of the soldiers, it might be assumed among the volunteer troops that it closely matched that of the civilian

population. The Methodist and Baptist denominations tend to have religious revivals among their congregations. This perhaps was an explanation for the revivals of the Civil War. If Eli Lindesmith's survey of religious preferences at Fort Keogh, Montana, in the 1880s was a reflection of the frontier troops, then the majority of the post-Civil War soldiers were Catholic and Episcopalian. These religions tend to be less revivalistic.<sup>6</sup>

Because chaplains filed the only reports about religious services in the army, it is difficult to determine the actual effectiveness of these men. The officers of the post had a great deal to do with a chaplain's success. If the post officers supported the chaplain by attending services and encouraging the troops to do likewise, chaplains experienced better results. If the officers were negative towards the chaplain, and provided little incentive or encouragement for the men to attend services or school, the chaplain was less successful. As a consequence of the sometimes transient nature of the troops and officers, the impact and influence the chaplains had on morals and discipline varied from post to post and chaplain to chaplain.

Despite the fact that chaplains did not spark a great religious revival among the frontier troops, they obviously contributed to improving the soldiers' lives. These clerics

often had abandoned comfortable lives in the East to work among the frontier soldiers. In order to survive and to endure the hardships of the frontier and the army, the chaplains must have believed they were answering a special calling. Often forgotten, these men helped pave the way for future army chaplains. They sacrificed their comfort and families to work among the troops and nearby civilian communities. One chaplain suggested that this was an opportunity to serve God and country.

## NOTES TO CONCLUSIONS

1. Mark Walhgren Summers, The Gilded Age: or the Hazard of New Functions (New Jersey: Prentice Hall, 1997), 172-178; Richard Hofstadter, The Age of Reform: From Bryan to F.D.R., (New York; Alfred A. Knopf, 1955), 289-290.
2. Summers, The Gilded Age, 173-178.
3. Alan K. Lamm, Five Black Preachers in Army Blue, 1884-1901 (Lewiston, NY: Edward Mellon Press, 1998), 5.
4. Lamm, Five Black Preachers, 7.
5. Gardiner H. Shattuck, Jr., A Shield and a Hiding Place: The Religious Life of the Civil War Armies (Macon, GA: Mercer University Press, 1987), 11; Steven E. Woodworth, While God is Marching On: The Religious World of Civil War Soldiers (Lawrence: University of Kansas Press, 2001), 291.
6. Woodworth, While God is Marching On, 193, 195; Shattuck, A Shield and A Hiding Place, 79, 97; John W. Brinesfield, and William C. Davis, et al., eds., Faith in the Fight: Civil War Chaplains (Mechanicsburg, PA: Stackpole Books, 2003), 45, 61.

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

### PRIMARY SOURCES

#### GOVERNMENT DOCUMENTS

U.S. Congress, "Revised Army Regulations," House Reports No. 85. 42<sup>nd</sup> Cong., 3<sup>rd</sup> Sess., Serial 1576. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1873.

U.S. Congress, "Chaplains in the Army," House Reports No. 2761 51<sup>st</sup>. Cong., 1<sup>st</sup> Sess., Serial 2814. Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Press, 1890.

#### NATIONAL ARCHIVES

Record Group 94- Records of the Adjutant General's Office, 1780s- 1917, National Archives and Records Administration, Washington, D.C.

For the following:

Allensworth, Allen RG 94 13 W  
Badger, Norman 3046 ACP 1876  
Blake, Charles A. M. 2712 ACP 1881  
Collins, Gamaliel 4321 ACP 1873  
Dunbar, George 5221 ACP 1880  
Gilmore, Alexander 141 ACP 1872  
Gonzales, Manuel 4167 ACP 74  
Guion, Elijah 296 ACP 1872  
Laverty, James C. 1596 ACP 1876  
Lindesmith, Eli Washington John 3876 ACP 1880  
Touissant, Mesplie 4697 ACP 1877  
Mullins, George 5053 ACP 1874  
Nave, Orville 988 ACP 1880  
Pierce, Charles 1242 ACP 1880  
Plummer, Henry V. 6474 ACP 1881  
Porter, Jeremiah 1143 ACP 874  
Reynolds, Charles CB 7W3/23/32D  
Schultz, John 2038 ACP 1871  
Stone, Hiram 3683 ACP 1873  
Scott, Winfield 1111 ACP 1882  
Simpson, George W. 1872 ACP 1876  
Tuttle, Edmund B. 3167 ACP 1871  
Vattman, 5464 ACP 1890  
Vaux, William 4961 ACP 1879  
Weaver, Francis 1198 ACP 1880  
Wills, David 3199 ACP 1897  
Woart, John 2293 ACP 1873  
Wright, Alpha 5246 ACP 1879

*MANUSCRIPT COLLECTIONS*

Dunbar, George. Family Bible. Pence Family Papers. Military History Institute. Carlisle Barracks, PA.

Fort Dodge Letters Sent, 1866-1868. Western History Collections, University of Oklahoma, Norman, OK. M989 roll 23.

Fort Larned Register of Letters Received, 1868-1878. Fort Larned National Historic Site, Larned, KS. M766 roll 2.

LaTourette, James. Military Service File, 1865-1890. LaTourette Files, Fort Union National Historic Site, Fort Union, New Mexico.

Lindesmith, Eli Washington John. Diary. 1880-1883, 1891, 1920. Eli Lindesmith papers-diaries/memorandums. Catholic University of America, Washington, D.C.

Lindesmith, Eli Washington John. Correspondence and Notes Regarding Post Schools, Eli Lindesmith Papers- Post Schools. Catholic University of America, Washington D.C.

White, David. Diary. 2 April 1866-31 August 1871. Manuscript collection. Fort Larned National Historic Site, Larned, Kansas.

White, David. Military Service Records, 1866-1881. Officer Files. Fort Larned National Historic Site, Larned, Kansas.

Woard, John. Chaplain's Record Book. No Date. Fort Union National Historic Site, Fort Union, New Mexico.

*MEMOIRS, DIARIES, AND LETTERS*

Douglas, Isadore. Letter to her Mother. 25 December 1866. Lola Crum Collection. Kansas Cultural Heritage and Arts Center, Dodge City, Kansas.

Knight, Oliver. Life and Manners in the Frontier Army. Norman: University Oklahoma Press, 1978.

- LaRocque, A. C. Letter to General O. O. Howard. 11 October 1878. Record Group 94 4697 ACP 1877, National Archives and Records Administration, Washington, D.C.
- . Letter to Touissant Mesplie. No date. Record Group 94 4697 ACP 1877, National Archives and Records Administration, Washington, D.C.
- LaTourette, Genevieve. Fort Union Memories. Globe, Arizona: Southwestern Parks and Monuments Association, no date.
- Lindesmith, Eli Washington John. "Reminiscences of a Veteran Convert Maker," The Missionary 30 (March 1917).
- Myres, Sandra L., ed. Cavalry Wife: The Diary of Eveline M. Alexander, 1866-1867. College Station, TX: Texas A & M University Press, 1997.
- Spencer, Lydia Lane. Old Days in the Old Army. Albuquerque: Horn and Wallace Publishing, 1964.
- Tuttle, Edmund B. The Boys Book about Indians (Three Years on the Plains). 1871. Reprint, Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2002.
- Utley, Robert M., ed. Life in Custer's Cavalry: Diaries and Letters of Albert and Jennie Barnitz, 1867-1868. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1977.
- Walker, Henry P., ed. "The Reluctant Corporal, The Autobiography of William B. Jett." The Journal of Arizona 12 (Spring 1971):1-50.

#### INTERVIEWS

- O'Brien, Tony. Interview by Jack McDermott, Rex Wilson and Sally Johnson. 4 April 1961. Fort Laramie National Historic Site, Laramie, Wyoming.

#### NEWSPAPERS

Army-Navy Journal Gazette of the Volunteer Armed Forces  
August 1869-October 1894.

- Wright, Alpha. "Our Wyoming Letter." Nebraska Herald.  
November 1869- 25 January 1872.



Wright, Alpha. "Our Fort Laramie Letter." Nebraska Herald.  
30 December 1869.

*PUBLISHED SOURCES*

Andreas, A. T. History of Nebraska Chicago: no publisher,  
1882.

Brown, William Y. The Army Chaplain: His Office, Duties and  
Responsibilities and the Means of Aiding Him.  
Philadelphia: Williams S. and Alfred Martin, 1863.

Diocese of New Jersey. Journal of the Ninety-Second Annual  
Convention, 1875. Trenton, NJ: William S. Sharp Pub.,  
1875.

Diocese of Ohio. Journal of the Fiftieth Annual Convention,  
1867. Columbus: Nevins and Myers Pub., 1867.

---. Journal of the Sixty-Fifth Annual Convention, 1880.  
Columbus: Nevins and Myers Pub., 1882.

Gilmore, Alexander. "Semi-Centennial Sermon," in  
Annual Sessions of New Jersey Conference. Camden, NJ:  
Temperance Gazette Printing House, 1887.

Illinois Methodist Episcopal Church. Illinois Annual  
Conference Report Bloomington: Illinois Great Rivers  
Conference, 1870.

---. Illinois Annual Conference Report Bloomington:  
Illinois Great Rivers Conference, 1880.

Journal of the Proceedings of the  
Bishops, Clergy, and Laity of the Protestant Episcopal  
Church General Convention. Hartford, CT: Church Press,  
1869.

Journal of the Proceedings of the  
Bishops, Clergy, and Laity of the Protestant Episcopal  
Church General Convention. Hartford, CT: Church Press,  
1884.

McClintock, James H., ed. Arizona's Twentieth  
Legislature. Phoenix, Arizona: no publisher, 1899.

Nave, Orville J. Nave's Handbook on the Army Chaplaincy. Los

Angeles: no publisher, 1917.

Steward, Theophilus Gould, ed. Active Service or Religious Work Among U.S. Soldiers. New York: United States Army Aid Association, 1897.

## SECONDARY SOURCES

### BOOKS

Armstrong, Warren B. For Courageous Fighting and Confident Dying: Union Chaplains in the Civil War. Lawrence: University of Kansas Press, 1998

Axton, John T. Brief History of the Chaplains in the U.S. Army. Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institute, N.D.

Boots and Bibles: the Spiritual Heritage of Fort Riley, Kansas. N.P.: N.P., N.D.

Brinesfield, John W. and William C. Davis, et al. ed., Faith in the Fight: Civil War Chaplains. Mechanicsburg, PA: Stackpole Books, 2003.

Budd, Richard M. Serving Two Masters: The Development of the American Military Chaplaincy, 1860-1920. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2002.

Coffman, Edward M. The Old Army: A Portrait of the American Army in Peacetime, 1784-1898. New York: Oxford University Press, 1986.

Coleman, Michael C. Presbyterian Missionary Attitudes Towards American Indians, 1837-1893. Jackson: University of Mississippi Press, 1985.

Eales, Anne Bruner. Army Wives on the American Frontier Living By the Bugle. Boulder, CO: Johnson Books, 1996.

Evetts, Haley J. Fort Concho and The Texas Frontier. San Angelo, TX: San Angelo Standard Times, 1952.

Frasier, Robert W. Forts of the West. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1965.

Green, Bill. The Dancing Was Lively: Fort Concho, Texas A Social History, 1867 to 1882. San Angelo, TX:

- Fort Concho Sketches Publishing, 1974.
- Gettysburg Lutheran Theological Seminary Vol II.  
N.P.: N.P., 1964.
- Heitman, Francis B. Historical Register and Dictionary of the U. S. Army. Vol I. Washington, DC: Government Printing Press, 1903.
- Hofstadter, Richard. The Age of Reform: From Bryan to F. D. R. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1955.
- Hoig, Stan. The Battle of the Washita. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1976.
- Hutton, Paul A., ed. The Custer Reader. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1992.
- , ed. Phil Sheridan and His Army. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1985.
- Kenner, Charles L. Buffalo Soldiers and Officers of the Ninth Cavalry, 1867-1898. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1999.
- Lamm, Alan K. Five Black Preachers in Army Blue, 1884-1901. Lewiston, NY: Edward Mellon Press, 1998.
- Leckie, William H. The Buffalo Soldiers. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1967.
- Lynch, Richard Winfield Scott: A Biography of Scottsdale's Founder. Scottsdale, AZ: City of Scottsdale, 1978.
- McChristian, Douglas C. The U.S. Army in the West, 1870-1880: Uniforms, Weapons and Equipment. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1995.
- McKale, William and William D. Young. Fort Riley: Citadel of the Frontier West. Topeka: Kansas State Historical Society, 2000.
- Milner, Clyde. Churchmen and Western Indians. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1985.
- Norton, Herman A. Struggling for Recognition: The United States Army Chaplaincy, 1791-1865. Washington, DC: Office of the Chief of Chaplains, Department of the

Army, 1977.

- Oliva, Leo. Fort Dodge: Sentry of the Western Plains. Topeka: Kansas State Historical Society, 1998.
- . Fort Hays: Keeping Peace on the Plains. Topeka: Kansas State Historical Society, 1980.
- . Fort Union and the Frontier Army in the Southwest. Santa Fe, NM: National Park Service, 1993.
- . Fort Wallace: Sentinel on the Smokey Hill. Topeka: Kansas State Historical Society, 1998.
- Plummer, Nellie Arnold. Out of the Depths or the Triumph of the Cross. Hyattsville, MD: N.P., 1927.
- Public Worship, Fort Leavenworth Kansas, 1827-1907. N.P.: N.P., N.D.
- Rickey, Don, Jr. Forty Miles a Day on Beans and Hay. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1963.
- Schubert, Frank N. Outpost of the Sioux Wars: A History of Fort Robinson. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1993.
- Shattuck, Gardiner H., Jr. A Shield and a Hiding Place: The Religious Life of the Civil War Armies. Macon, GA: Mercer University Press, 1987.
- Slomovitz, Albert Isaac. The Fighting Rabbis: Jewish Military Chaplains and American History New York: New York University Press, 1999.
- Smith, Sherry L. A View from Officer's Row. Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1990.
- Stover, Earl F. Up From Handyman: The United States Chaplaincy, 1865-1920. Washington, DC: Office of the Chief of Chaplains, Department of the Army, 1978.
- Sturtevant, William C., ed. Handbook of North American Indians. Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institute, 1988.
- Summers, Mark Wahlgren. The Gilded Age: or The Hazard of New Functions. Upper Saddle River, NJ: Prentice Hall, 1997.

Tate, Michael L. The Frontier Army in the Settlement of the West. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1999.

Thompson, Parker C. The United States Army Chaplaincy From Its European Antecedents to 1791. Vol. I. Washington, DC: Office of the Chief of Chaplains, Department of the Army, 1978.

Utley, Robert M. Frontier Regulars: The United States Army and the Indians, 1866-1891. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1973.

Washita Symposium: Past, Present and Future.  
Cheyenne, OK: Washita Battlefield National Historic Site, 2001.

Weigley, Russell F. The American Way of War. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1973.

White, Richard. It's Your Misfortune and None of my Own. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1997.

Whitman, S. E. The Troopers: An Informal History of the Plains Cavalry, 1865-1890. New York: Hastings House Publishing, 1962.

Woodworth, Steven E. While God is Marching On: The Religious World of the Civil War Soldier. Lawrence: University of Kansas Press, 2001.

Yount, Florence B. A Centennial of Methodist Prescott, Arizona, 1870-1970. Prescott, AZ: Prescott Printing Co., 1970.

#### JOURNALS

Dougherty, Jean. "Army Chaplains at Fort Huachuca, Arizona." The Chaplain (December 1970):15-20.

Gamble, Richard D. "Army Chaplains at Frontier Posts, 1830-1860." Historical Magazine of the Protestant Episcopal Church 27(1958):285-306.

Mathews, James T. "Using the Deity's Name in Reverence: The Chaplains at Fort Concho." Panhandle-Plains Historical Review 137(1995):37-44.

Pfaller, Louis L. "Eli Washington John Lindesmith: Fort

Keogh's Chaplain in Buckskin." Montana: The Magazine of Western History 27 (January 1977):14-25.

Quimby, Rollin W. "Congress and the Civil War Chaplaincy." Civil War History 10 (1964):246-259.

Schmidt, Carol. "The Chaplains of Fort Concho." Fort Concho Report.16 (Spring 1984):27-32.

Seraile, William. "Theophilus Gould Stewart: Intellectual Chaplain. 25<sup>th</sup> U.S. Colored Infantry." Nebraska History 66 (Fall 1985): 272-293.

Smith, Richard K. "For God. . .For Country. . .For Territory." Arizona Highways (April 1973):7-13.

Stover, Earl F. "Chaplain Henry V. Plummer, His Ministry, and His Court-Martial." Nebraska History 56 (Spring 1975):1-36.

Stratton, David H. "The Army and the Gospel in the West." Western Humanities Review 8 (Summer 1954):247-262.

#### *NEWSPAPERS*

Pfaller, Louis. "Fort Keogh's Chaplain." Miles City Star, 5 January 1971- 10 February 1971.

#### *DISSERTATIONS AND THESES*

Budd, Richard Merlan. "Serving Two Masters: The Professionalization and Bureaucratization of the American Military Chaplaincy, 1860-1920." Ph.D. diss., Ohio State University, 1994.

Fisher, Barbara E. "Forrestine Cooper Hooker's Notes and Memoirs of Army Life in the West, 1871-1876." M.A. Thesis, University of Arizona, 1963.

Germain, Don Aidan Henry. "Catholic Military and Naval Chaplains, 1776-1917." Ph.D. diss., Catholic University of America, 1929.

Reaves, Stacy W. "A Necessary Evil: The Post Sutler at Fort Larned and Fort Dodge, Kansas." M.A. Thesis, Oklahoma State University, 1998.

Williams, Eugene Franklin. "Soldiers of God: The Chaplains of the Revolutionary War." Ph.D. diss., Texas Christian University, 1972.

*UNPUBLISHED SOURCES*

Pfaller, Louis. "Biography of Eli Washington John Lindesmith." 6 December 1968. E. W. J. Lindesmith Papers, Reference Folder. Catholic University of America.

Thomason, Roberta and Susan Miles. "Norman Badger, Chaplain: Fort Concho, Texas." Presentation to the Tom Green County Historical Society. 15 February 1949. Fort Concho State Historical Society, San Angelo, TX.

APPENDIX



APPENDIX A

CHAPLAINS RESEARCHED FOR THIS STUDY

Name	Denomination	Active duty
Allensworth, Allen	Baptist	1886-1906
Badger, Norman	Episcopal	1864-1876
Barr, David	Episcopal	1865-1872
Blake, Charles A.M.	Presbyterian	1861-1869; 1878-1883
Collins, Gamaliel	Methodist Episcopal, North	1861-1865; 1867-1879
Dunbar, George W.	Episcopal	1876-1897
Gilmore, Alexander	Methodist Episcopal, North	1870-1879
Gonzales, Manuel J.	Baptist, North	1862-1865; 1868-1882
Grimes, George W.	Presbyterian	1862-1863; 1864-1865; 1867-1869
Guion, Elijah	Episcopal	1865-1879
LaTourette, James	Episcopal	1865-1890
Laverty, James C.	Episcopal	1876-1886
Lindesmith, Eli W. J.	Roman Catholic	1880-1891
Macomber, John	Methodist Episcopal, North	1880-1890
McFalls, Thaddeaus	Presbyterian	1862-1873
Mesplie, Toussaint	Roman Catholic	1872-1884
Mullins, George		1875- Unknown
Nave, Orville J.	Methodist Episcopal North	1882-1905
Pierce, Charles C.	Baptist/Episcopal	1882-1884; 1888-1908; 1917-1921
Plummer, Henry V.	Methodist Episcopal North	1896-1900
Porter, Jeremiah	Presbyterian	1862-1865; 1870-1882
Reynolds, Charles	Episcopal	1862-1882
Schultz, John N.	Presbyterian	1866-1875
Scott, Winfield	Baptist, North	1882-1898
Simpson, George W.	Episcopal	1876-1896
Stone, Hiram	Episcopal	1859-1876
Tuttle, Edmund B.	Episcopal	1862-1865; 1867- 1881
Vattman, Edward	Roman Catholic	1890-1904
Vaux, William	Episcopal	1849-1862; 1867-1879
Weaver, Francis H.	Lutheran	1880-1897

White, Alvin G.	Methodist Episcopal;1866-1868 North
White, David	Methodist Episcopal;1864-1882 North
Wills, David	Presbyterian 1879-1886
Woart, John	Episcopal 1865-1882
Wright, Alpha	Methodist Episcopal;1863-1879 North/Presbyterian

\*This is only a partial list of the chaplains who served in the West between 1866-1895. These reflect only those whose chaplains who were researched for this study.

Source: Earl F. Stover Up From Handyman: The United States Chaplaincy (Washington, DC: Office of the Chief of Chaplains, Department of the Army, 1978), 257-271.

APPENDIX B

RELIGIOUS AFFILIATION AT FORT KEOGH, MONTANA

Chaplain Eli W. J. Lindesmith made the following survey of the religious affiliation of the troops at Ft. Keogh, MT. Date of the survey is unknown.

Denomination	Co. A 5 <sup>th</sup> Inf.	Co. D 5 <sup>th</sup> Inf.	Co. E 5 <sup>th</sup> Inf.	Co. H 5 <sup>th</sup> Inf.	Co. K 5 <sup>th</sup> Inf.	Co. E 2 <sup>d</sup> Cav.	Co. A 2 <sup>d</sup> Cav.
Catholic	17	19	20	21	25	21	12
Episcopal	12	4	4	4	3	23*	
Methodist			3	3	5		2
Presbyterian	5	2	2	2	1	4	1
Jewish	2				1		
Baptist		6					
Lutheran		5	4	4			1
United Bretheran				1			
Universalist							1
Campbellite					1		
Shaker					1		
Liberals	7	5	5	5		4	
Unknown				6			12
No Church							14

\*Lindesmith lists these 23 individuals as both Methodist and Episcopal.

Source: Eli W. J. Lindesmith, "List of Different Religious Persuasions at Fort Keogh, Mt.," no date, Eli W. J. Lindesmith Correspondence File, Catholic University of America, Washington, D. C.

APPENDIX C

CHAPLAIN ASSIGNMENTS\*\*

Ft. Apache, AZ Charles Pierce	Ft. Bayard, NM Allen Allensworth	Benicia Barracks CA David Wills
Ft. Boise, ID Mesplie Touissaint	Ft. Brown, TX Jeremiah Porter	Ft. Canby, AZ Winfield Scott
Ft. Colville, WA. David Wills	Ft. Coueur D'Alene, ID Winfield Scott	Ft. Concho, TX Thaddeus McFalls Norman Badger Francis Weaver George Dunbar Francis Weaver Manuel Gonzales
Ft. D.A. Russell, WY Alpha Wright Jeremiah Porter	Ft. Davis, TX George C. Mullins Manuel Gonzales Francis Weaver	Ft. Dodge, KS Alvin G. White James Lavery George Robinson
Ft. Douglas, UT Allen Allensworth Thomas Horne	Ft. Elliot, TX David White	Ft. Gibson, IT Elijah Guion
Ft. Grant, AZ Francis Weaver	Ft. Hays, KS Gamaliel Collins David White	
Ft. Huachuca, AZ David Wills Winfield Scott	Ft. Keogh, MT Eli Lindesmith	Ft. Klamath, OR Orville Nave
Ft. Laramie, WY William Vaux Edmund Tuttle Alpha Wright George Simpson	Ft. Larned, KS David White	Ft. Leavenworth, KS David White Hiram Stone
Ft. Lyon, CO Gamaliel Collins James LaTourette	Ft. Meade, SD Edward Vattman	Ft. McDowell, AZ Allen Allensworth

Ft. McKavett, TX      Ft. McPherson, NE      Ft. Phil Kearney, WY  
John Schultz      George Robinson      David White  
Alvin G. White

Ft. Reno, WY      Ft. Riley, KS      Ft. Robinson, NE.  
David White      Charles Reynolds      Henry V. Plummer  
Charles Pierce      Allen Allensworth  
Henry V. Plummer      George Prioleau  
Delmar Lowell

Ft. Sedgwick, CO      Sitka, AK      Ft. Sill, IT  
David White      Gamaliel Collins      James Laverty  
Jeremiah Porter  
Elijah Guion  
George Robinson

Ft. Stambaugh, WY      Ft. Stevens, OR      Ft. Supply, IT  
David White      Winfield Scott      Allen Allensworth  
James Laverty

Ft. Townsend, WY.      Ft. Union, NM      Ft. Vancouver, WA  
Charles A. M. Blake      John Woart      Thomas Van Horne  
James LaTourette      George Robinson  
George Simpson

Ft. Verde, AZ      Ft. Walla Walla, WA      Ft. Whipple, AZ  
David White      David Wills      Alexander Gilmore

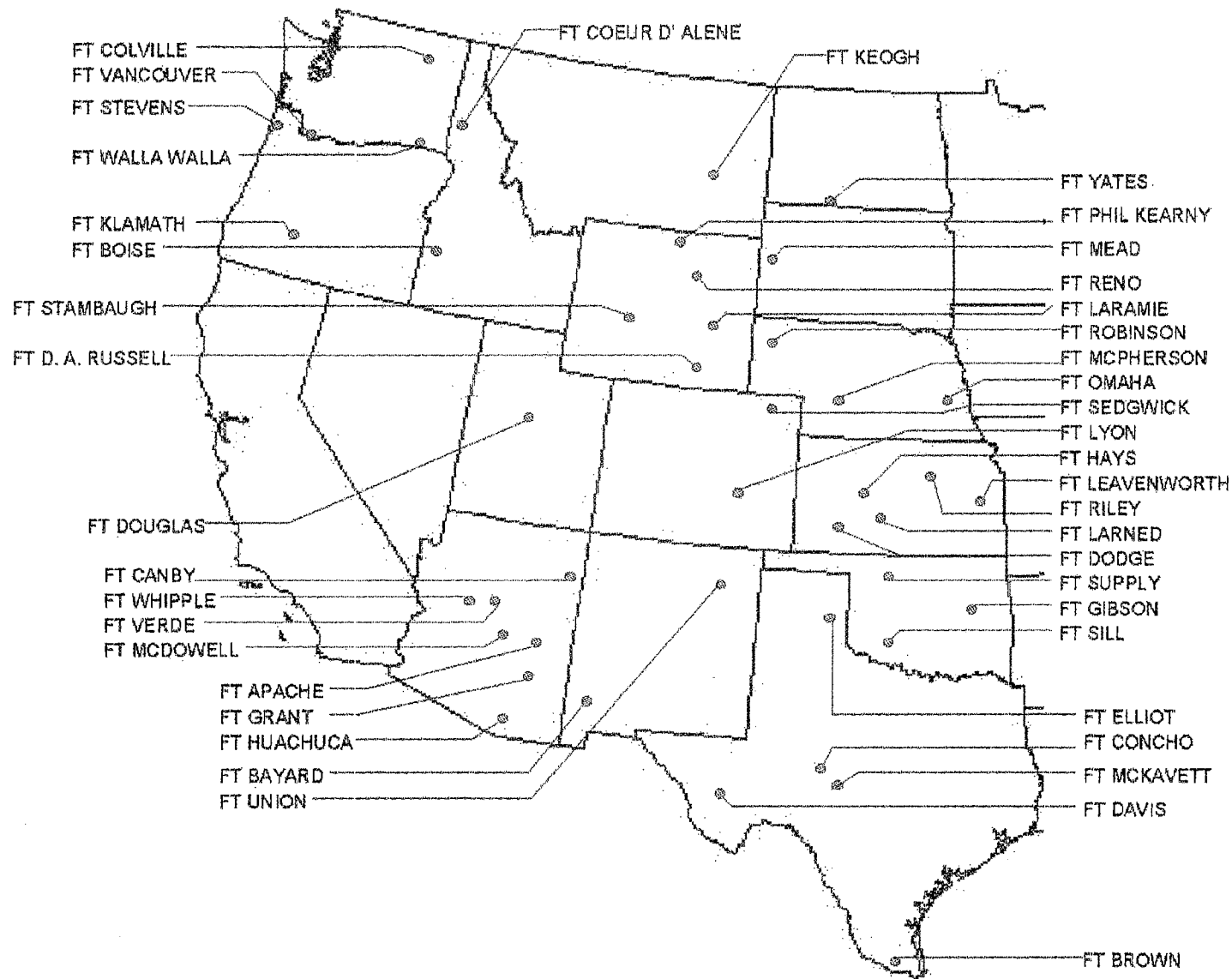
Ft. Yates, ND  
George W. Simpson

\*\*This list includes chaplains not researched for this study. It is only a partial list reflecting references to other chaplains serving at the various posts in the West between 1866-1895 in primary and secondary sources.

*Source: Information compiled from each chaplains' Appointment, Commissions, and Promotions File, Record Group 94, National Archives and Records Administration, Washington, D. C.*



APPENDIX D



VITA

2

Stacy Webb Reaves

Candidate for the Degree of

Doctorate of Philosophy

Dissertation: "NO PRETENSIONS OF PIETY:" THE ARMY POST  
CHAPLAIN IN THE WEST, 1866-1895

Major Field: History

Biographical:

Education: Graduated from Adamsville Jr./Sr. High School, Adamsville, Tennessee in May 1992; received a Bachelor of Science degree in Historic Preservation from Southeast Missouri State University, Cape Girardeau, Missouri, in December 1995; received a Master of Arts in History from Oklahoma State University in May 1998. Completed the requirements for the Doctorate of Philosophy with a major in History from Oklahoma State University in May 2004.

Experience: Employed as a seasonal Park Ranger as an undergraduate during the summers of 1992-1995 at Shiloh National Military Park, Shiloh, Tennessee; employed as a seasonal ranger during the summers of 1997 and 2000 at Fort Larned National Historic Site, Larned, Kansas; employed as a museum technician during the summer of 1998 at Fort Sill Museum, Fort Sill, Oklahoma; employed by Oklahoma State University, Department of History as a graduate teaching assistant, 1996-2000.

Professional Memberships: Society for Military History, American Association for State and Local History, American Historical Association, American Association of Museums.