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Article Summary: Organizations like the Y.M.C.A. gave black soldiers at Fort Robinson opportunities to provide leadership, demonstrate skills, and discuss contemporary issues. Through such organizations these cavalymen stationed at a remote western post maintained ties with the black community.

Cataloging Information:

Names: William T Anderson, Beverly F Thornton, George Jordan, Thomas Clement, Joseph Wheelock, James Buchanan, Joseph Moore

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Photographs / Images: I Troop, 6th US Cavalry Regiment, near Saddle Rock and Lover's Leap in the Crawford vicinity (1890s); football team of K Troop, 10th Cavalry, playing B Troop on Thanksgiving Day 1904; 10th Cavalry baseball team, 1903; horsemen from I Troop, 10th Cavalry, at a Sunday mounted inspection; Albert S Lowe of the 10th Cavalry in front of the Red Cloud Buttes about 1903; the Amusement Hall or Band Barracks, built in 1886; the 10th Cavalry Band posing at a performance, 1903; the 10th Cavalry Band mounted in formation; the Fremont, Elkhorn and Missouri Valley Railroad station at Fort Robinson; Troop K, 10th Cavalry, at Fort Robinson, 1904



The 6th Cavalry Regiment served at Fort Robinson in the 1890's. Above is Troop I maneuvering near Saddle Rock and Lover's Leap in the Crawford vicinity. (Colonel Adna C. Hamilton Collection.)

THE FORT ROBINSON Y.M.C.A., 1902-1907: A SOCIAL ORGANIZATION IN A BLACK REGIMENT

By FRANK N. SCHUBERT

Soldiers who served at western posts in the late 19th and early 20th centuries frequently found themselves isolated from all but the smallest civilian settlements. For troopers of the four Negro regiments, which were added to the Army after the Civil War, this separation was more acute than for whites.¹ Few black people resided in the small towns which grew up near the forts, and whites generally viewed Negro soldiers with contempt and distrust.² The Army's failure to regularly provide newspapers published by blacks for post libraries and reading rooms further exacerbated the problem.³ Newspapers published by whites rarely contained personal items about blacks. Moreover, when mentioned, blacks were usually presented in a patronizing or degrading manner.

This physical isolation did not lead to an emotional or psychological gulf between the troops and the black community at large. Instead, distance stimulated individual and group efforts to maintain cohesion. Manifestations of race and community consciousness in Negro units took many forms and filled a broad range of specific needs, from physical protection to educational improvement. Some associations survived for long periods while collective action occasionally served only the needs of a moment. Generally, however, these efforts indicate a deeply felt need to maintain ties with black Americans elsewhere and an awareness of the Afro-American past. They also show an equally significant need for institutions in which the men could exert their own leadership and control, as well as a recognition of the importance of unity in the face of white hostility.

Physical danger stimulated collective action short of formal

organization at several posts. At Fort Concho, Texas, in 1881, determined troopers of the 10th Cavalry joined together to warn neighboring whites that they would not tolerate the murderous assaults which had been perpetrated on their colleagues. They circulated a terse notice in nearby San Angelo, Texas, which warned, "It has gone too far, justice or death."⁴ Eleven years later, 9th Cavalry troops shot up the Wyoming town of Suggs in retaliation for a series of insults.⁵ Troopers of the 9th also rescued a black veteran from a lynch mob in Crawford, Nebraska, near Fort Robinson, in 1893. After this episode, a soldier-pamphleteer, perhaps Sergeant Barney McKay of G Troop, warned the whites of Crawford that

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.

The author signed the warning "500 Men With the Bullet or the Torch."⁶

Unity in the face of the vicious acts of white civilians developed in response to the basic need for survival. Black troops came to the defense of civilians far from their western posts, as well as their fellows. In late 1895, when two Negro women in Lunenburg County, Virginia, stood trial for the murder of a white, the weekly *Richmond Planet* solicited funds for their defense. Thirteen-dollar-a-month Negro privates of the 24th Infantry at Fort Huachuca, Arizona, and the 10th Cavalry, at Fort Keogh, Montana, read the plea, wrote letters of support to the *Planet*, and sent the small donations their salaries allowed.⁷

Black soldiers joined in more permanent associations to meet less compelling requirements. They established several fraternal lodges, including branches of Odd Fellows at several posts, such as Fort McKinney, Wyoming, and Fort Grant, Arizona. Ninth Cavalry troopers also founded Crispus Attucks Lodge, No. 3, Knights of Pythias, State of Nebraska, at Fort Robinson.⁸ Occasionally, the men also created social clubs which had no national affiliation. At Robinson these included the "Diamond Club" of K Troop, 9th Cavalry, whose president, First Sergeant George Jordan, had won the Congressional Medal of Honor for heroism against the Apache in 1880-1881.⁹ Other Fort Robin-



The football team of K Troop, 10th Cavalry, played B Troop to a 10 to 10 tie on Thanksgiving Day of 1904. Star of the game was Private Leon Joseph (right, front), whose defensive play prevented other B Troop scores. Only other player identified is halfback Thomas Clement (left rear, arms akimbo), who became the well-known minister of Wesley Chapel, Houston, African Methodist Episcopal Church, largest black congregation in Texas in the 1940's. The structure in the rear housed officers until razed in the 1940's. Several photographs in this article were taken by Private George F. Lewis, presumably with a small box camera. (Courtesy of Moorland-Spingarn Research Center, Howard University, Washington, D.C.)

son clubs, such as the 10th Cavalry's "Dog Robbers" and "Syndicate," were also established by Negro troopers.¹⁰

Some organizations focused more directly on education, as did the 24th Infantry's "Western Star Literary Club," at Fort Reno, Indian Territory. Men of the same regiment also created their own Sabbath school, as did 9th Cavalry troopers at Fort Robinson in 1886. Sergeant Joseph Moore of A Troop, who taught several sessions at the Robinson post school, originated the Sunday school. Sergeant Moore's other efforts illustrate the diverse paths into which race consciousness and pride took the soldiers. While at Robinson, he collected funds from his fellows to aid black Nebraskans impoverished by a flood in the Broken

Bow area. Later, Moore also proposed that black troopers raise money to buy the site of John Brown's Harper's Ferry fort to erect a monument.¹¹

The creation of these diverse educational and social institutions suggests that the Army's schools and canteens failed to meet many of the needs of the black troopers. Moreover, their establishment shows that the men had both the initiative and the competence to provide for themselves. The Fort Robinson Y.M.C.A., which men of the 10th Cavalry established for themselves, filled a wide variety of needs for its members. This organization reflects the abilities of the men who managed it as well as the soldiers' understanding that they had unique concerns and problems with which the Army did not or could not help.

When the 10th arrived at Fort Robinson in the spring of 1902 for a five-year tour of duty, it already had its regimental branch of the Y.M.C.A. Chaplain William T. Anderson and some of the enlisted men had created the organization in 1900 when the regiment garrisoned several Cuban towns following the Spanish-American War.¹² Chaplain Anderson, who was born a slave in pre-Civil War Texas and became a medical doctor and author as well as an African Methodist Episcopal clergyman, often spoke proudly of the efforts of the Y.M.C.A. in his monthly reports.

Members met on Wednesday evenings, both in Cuba and later at Robinson. Meetings at Fort Robinson first took place in the antiquated post amusement hall, which had been built in 1893 and also served as post chapel and schoolroom. Later, the men met in the post gymnasium, which was completed in 1904. According to S. J. Willoughby of A Troop, programs were "nearly always along literary lines," and included recitations, musical presentations, essays, and debates. Willoughby boasted that the intellectual efforts of the men "compare[d] favorably with those in many college literary societies."¹³

The quality of the programs may have been one of the reasons for the Y.M.C.A.'s great popularity. Chaplain Anderson noted in late 1902 that 450 of the garrison's 544 enlisted men were members, and as many as 342 soldiers attended a single Wednesday evening meeting at the fort. Attendance was not always high, however, and fluctuated considerably over the

years due to adverse weather conditions and various military duties, such as guard and fatigue.¹⁴ Infrequently military operations such as the Ute expedition of 1906 forced Y.M.C.A. activities to halt temporarily.

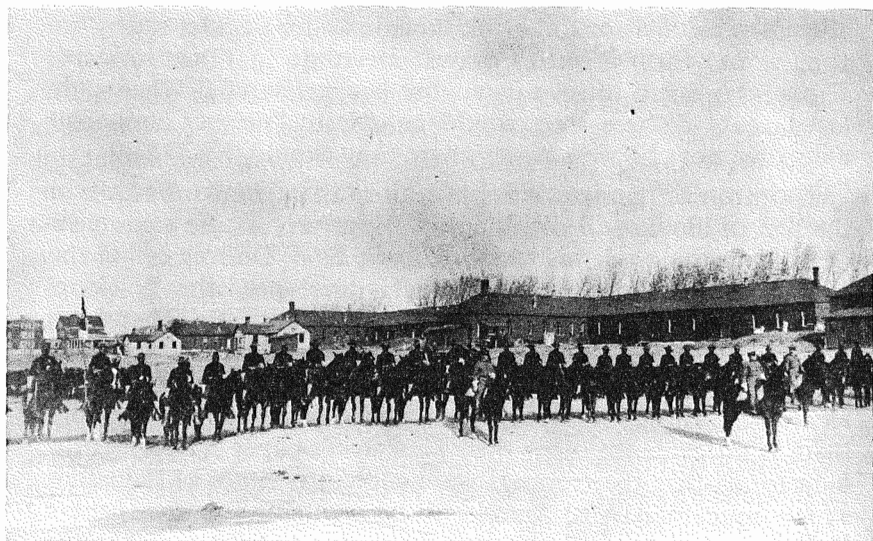
During most of the regiment's tour of duty, large numbers of men attended regularly held meetings. Troops of the regiment planned and conducted the weekly exercises in rotation. This practice inspired a rivalry among the units as they competed to provide the best programs. Chaplain Anderson said the practice was also responsible for the development of several good vocal quartettes.¹⁵ In addition the policy probably assured that an evening's recitation or debate would be of interest to the spectators.

Some of the programs focused explicitly on the problems of black Americans. Essays such as the one presented by Beverly F. Thornton, 44-year-old Alabaman who was a cook in K Troop, show that physical and occupational distance from the black civilian community did not isolate the troops emotionally or intellectually. Thornton exhorted forty-six of his colleagues at the January 4, 1905, meeting to the assiduous practice of thrift. (See Appendix I.) He argued that in order for Afro-Americans to become "a respected people," each man had to diligently place a portion of his income aside. Regular saving, he said, would form a buffer against servitude in times of want. Those who failed to save inevitably became servile: When they faced acute distress they would be able to "neither command their time nor choose how or where they should live."¹⁶

Thornton's argument was little more than standard advice in the age of Booker T. Washington. However, in the same year that Thornton read this essay, William E. B. DuBois called the Niagara Conference out of which developed the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. Therefore, it is possible that Thornton's paper might have been part of a debate on the post over the relative merits of two competing ideologies, those of Washington and DuBois. Unfortunately there is no evidence other than Thornton's paper and numerous indications that the troopers were generally aware of the issues which concerned Afro-Americans everywhere. The newspapers that they read, such as the *New York Age* and the *Indianapolis Freeman*, contained discussions of the differences between



The 10th Cavalry baseball team of 1903 won a championship in an undefeated season. Members were (standing, left to right): Shorter, unknown, William K. Porter, Beverly F. Thornton, Jones; (seated) Vaughan, Sergeant John Buck, manager, Hambright, Forby; (front row) Harris, Lewis, Howard C. Roan. The boy with his dog is Richard Hay, son of Captain and Mrs. ——— Hay. Sergeant Buck was also drum major of the regimental band. In the Philippine Insurrection as Captain Buck, he had commanded troops of the 48th Volunteer Infantry. (Courtesy of Moorland-Spingarn Research Center, Howard University, Washington, D.C.)



Saturday mounted inspections for the 10th Cavalry took place on the field behind the adobe enlisted men's barracks at Fort Robinson in 1904. The post hospital is at the extreme left. The horsemen are from I Troop.

Washington and his younger rival and may have provided the basis for such debate.

Corporal Joseph Wheelock of K Troop also read a paper which emphasized race consciousness. His essay, entitled "Our Own Editors and Publishers," strongly urged his fellows to patronize race magazines and newspapers. (See Appendix II.) Wheelock alerted his audience to the available periodicals and bluntly asserted the alternative to loyal support in a pair of rhetorical questions: "Do we buy our papers and magazines from other people whose greatest aim is to show us in the worst possible form to the world? Do we patronize the man who at all times is ready to minimize our true manliness?"¹⁷ While Thornton's argument stemmed from a fading doctrine, Wheelock's looked to the future. Less than thirty years later, the National Urban League organized a "Don't Buy Where You Can't Work" campaign of boycotts against merchants in black neighborhoods who refused to hire blacks. The root premise of this campaign was the same as Wheelock's: Patronage should be withheld from those who viewed their customers with contempt.

The Y.M.C.A. served the men of the 10th at Robinson with other kinds of programs as well. Occasionally, the organization obtained speakers from off post. These guests included the Reverend John B. Carns of Grand Island, a Methodist minister who was state superintendent of the Anti-Saloon League. Mr. Carns presented two temperance lectures to 142 men in January, 1905, and to ninety-six in October of the following year. Mrs. Henry Highland Garnett, widow of the famed abolitionist and clergyman, also addressed 118 men in August, 1904. However, neither she nor Mr. Carns elicited nearly as much interest as a "Jubilee Concert," attended by over three hundred soldiers in January, 1903. The Reverend Jesse Moorland, international secretary of the Y.M.C.A., also visited the chapter at Fort Robinson. The visit pleased Chaplain Anderson, who said Moorland's encouragement and advice would enhance his association's work.¹⁸

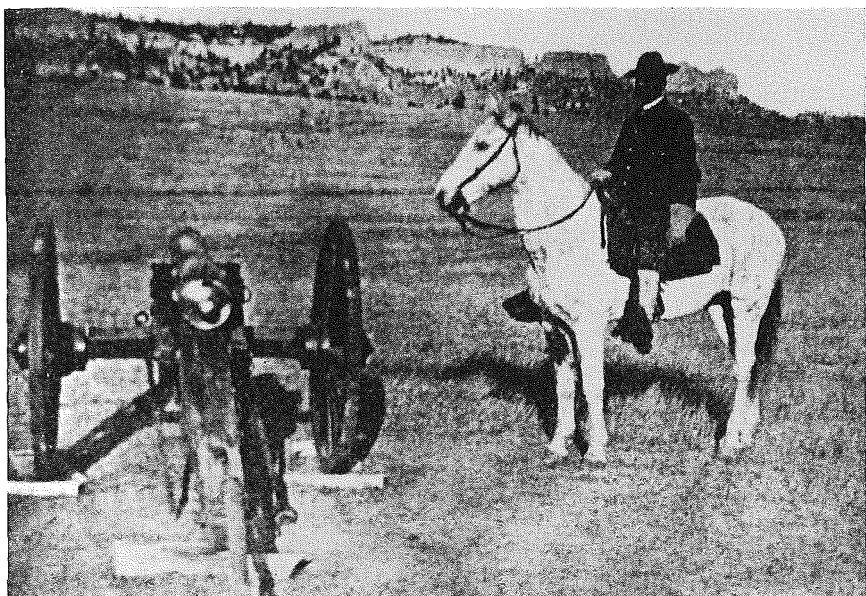
Officers of the Y.M.C.A. also assisted Anderson with church services. In one instance the Reverend O. K. Hobson, minister of Crawford's First Methodist Church, accepted the invitation of Y.M.C.A. president James Buchanan to preach at a Sunday

chapel service. A year later Y.M.C.A. members conducted religious observances on the post while Chaplain Anderson took a brief vacation.¹⁹

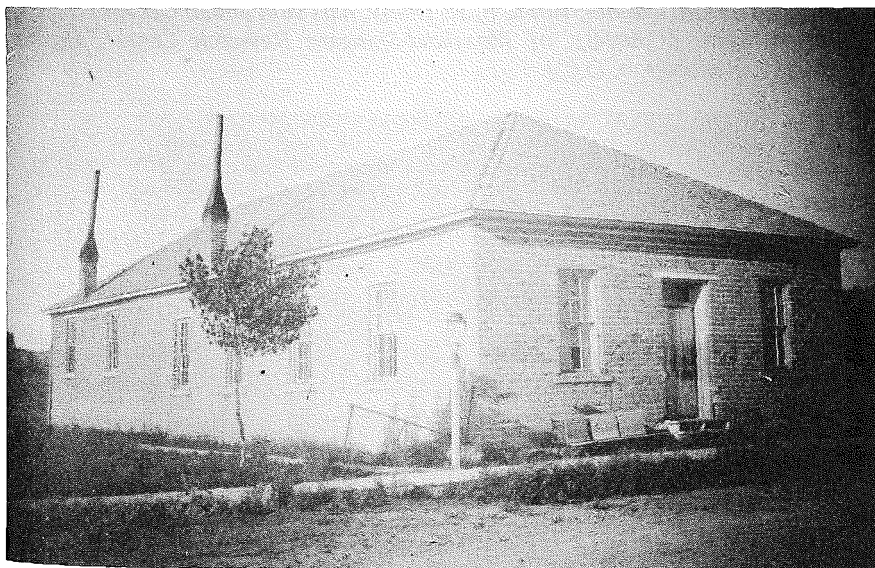
The Y.M.C.A. appears to have provided a substantial stimulus for the enlisted men at Robinson. Programs raised many questions, perhaps provided some answers, and gave the men an institutional framework through which to conduct their own off-duty affairs and education. It also provided some entertainment away from the saloon keepers, prostitutes, and dope peddlers of Crawford, as well as a setting in which to ponder common problems.²⁰ When Trooper C. J. Lewis of M Troop told the editor of the *Indianapolis Freeman* that the Army "affords an opportunity to study on the side," he probably referred to his own regimental Y.M.C.A.²¹

Through their own efforts, men of the 10th provided what appears to have been a far more satisfying educational experience than the Army offered in the post school. Certainly the Y.M.C.A. offered a welcome supplement to the school and a forum through which the men could express their views and exert their own leadership. These meetings also served to maintain ties with the black community at large. The Negro cavalymen do not seem to have been "psychologically as well as physically" isolated from their civilian brothers.²²

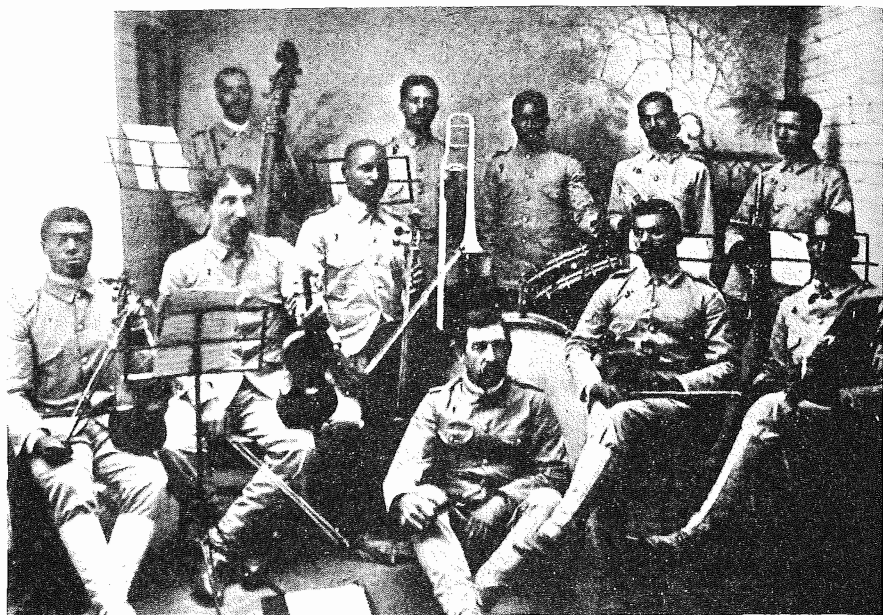
Wherever they were stationed in the West, the black regulars acted in concert to meet needs with which the Army did not cope. Organizations like the 10th's Y.M.C.A. gave men like James Buchanan, George Jordan, and Joseph Moore the opportunity to exert their talents for leadership, and allowed others to demonstrate their skills as orators, essayists, and entertainers. The Y.M.C.A. also provided a forum in which to consider major contemporary issues. Perhaps most significantly, the Y.M.C.A. and other groups reveal—both in names such as Crispus Attucks Lodge and in the programs—that the men regarded their connection to a general Afro-American community as a highly significant one, which they vigorously sought to preserve and enhance.



Trooper Albert S. Lowe of the 10th Cavalry posed (about 1903) on "his faithful horse 'Eagle' " beside a Civil War-era field gun. In the background are the Red Cloud Buttes, part of the familiar escarpment behind the fort proper. (Courtesy of Moorland-Spingarn Research Center, Howard University, Washington, D.C.)



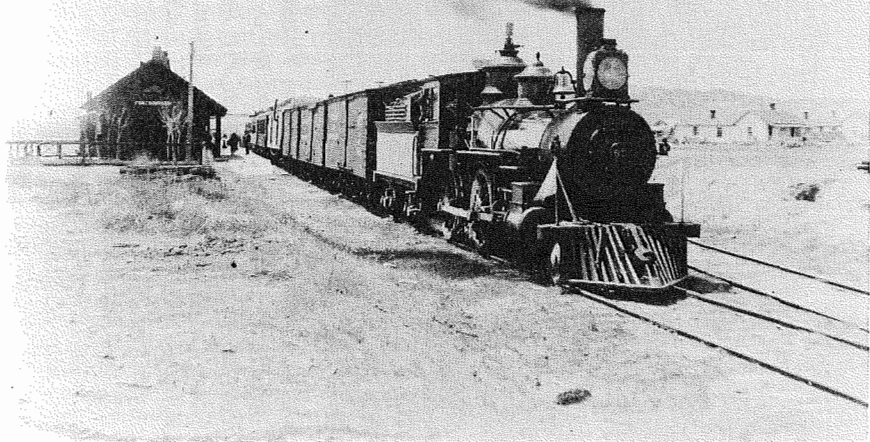
Indoor recreational and religious activities at Fort Robinson were most often held in the Amusement Hall, sometimes known as the Band Barracks. Built of adobe bricks in 1886, it was demolished in 1910. The construction cost was \$1,500.



The 10th U.S. Cavalry Band had a reputation for excellence far beyond the confines of Fort Robinson. Some members of the band in 1903 (not necessarily pictured above) were: Mitchell A. Harris, cornet; Albert S. Lowe, drums, violin, trombone; John Harris, tuba, bass viol; Howard C. Roan, violin, trombone; J. F. Hendricks, clarinet, saxophone, violin, piano; T. C. Hammond, violin, cornet; Harve Pemberton, clarinet, violin; E. R. Dolby, bass viol, piano; George H. Kelly, chief musician. (Courtesy of Moorland-Spingarn Research Center, Howard University, Washington, D.C.)



The 10th Cavalry Band mounted in formation at Fort Robinson. Individual cavalry units were sometimes mounted on horses of a uniform color.



Fort Robinson became a station on the Fremont, Elkhorn and Missouri Valley Railroad in 1886. Troop movements to and from the fort were often by train.

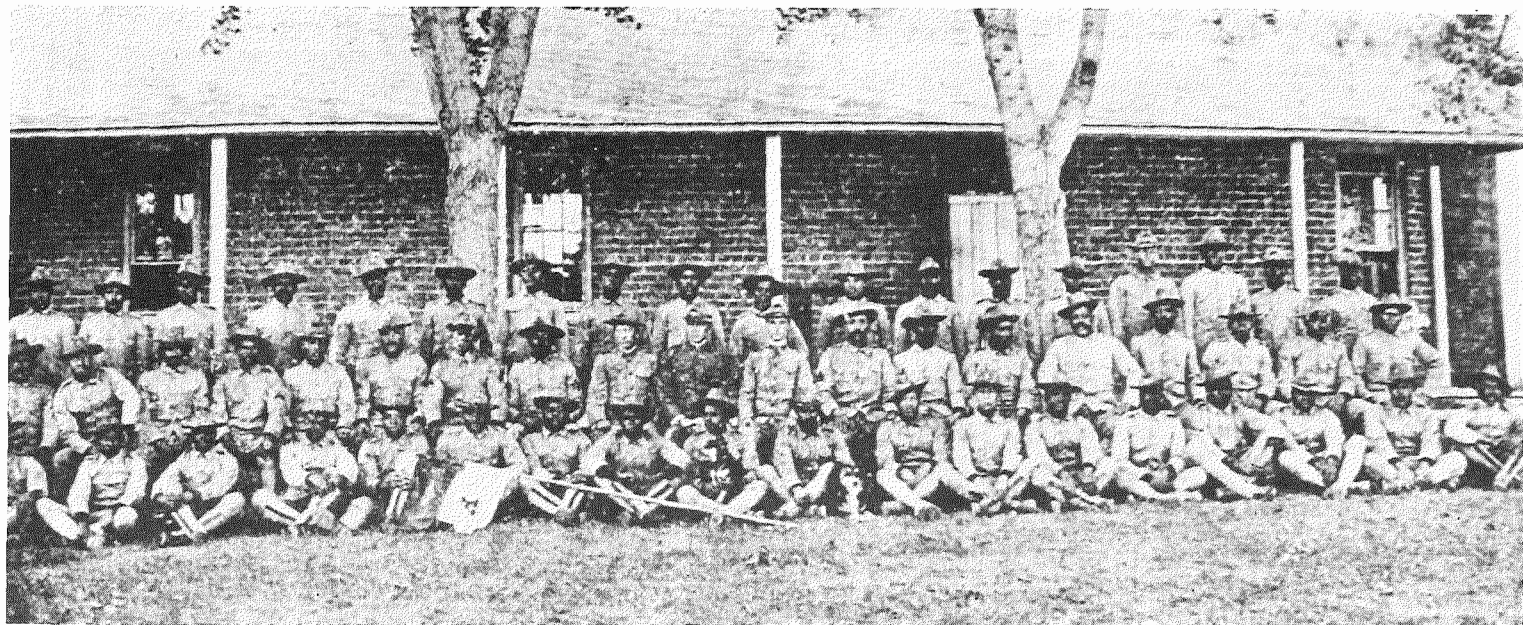
APPENDIX I

The following essay, published in *The Colored American Magazine* in March, 1905, was previously read at the Fort Robinson Y.M.C.A. by cook Beverly F. Thornton:

ECONOMY

I feel honored beyond expression, at the pleasure derived from being called upon to address you on such an important subject. Every thinking man is looking and hoping that his future condition will be bettered. We are apt to get our eyes fixed on the great height to which men have soared, and thereby lose sight of the lowly conditions from whence we sprung. Cornelius Vanderbilt began life as a farmer, A. T. Stewart made his start in life as a school teacher, Geo. W. Childs was an errand boy for a bookseller at \$4.00 per month, Jay Gould canvassed Delaware County, N. Y., selling maps, Whitelaw Reid did work as a correspondent on a Cincinnati newspaper at \$5.00 per week, Adam Forepaugh was a butcher in Philadelphia, Pa., when he decided to go into business, Senator Brown made his first money by ploughing his neighbor's field with a pair of oxen, Andrew Carnegie did his first work in Pittsburg, Pa., at a telegraph office, at \$3.00 per week. So it is with all; great futures have small beginnings.

All these noted men have stood just where we to-day stand, relative to a future. There is no man in good health who may not become independent, if he will but carefully husband his resources and guard against the leak of useless expenditures.



Troop K, 10th U.S. Cavalry at Fort Robinson, 1904 (Standing, left to right): Pvt. William F. Inman, Pvt. John Thomas, Pvt. Allen Peterson, Cook Beverly F. Thornton, Pvt. Otto Hurley, Pvt. W. A. McDowell, Pvt. Elder Green, Pvt. Sanders Wood, Pvt. John H. Pappy, Wagoner ——— Barks, Pvt. Peter Boyd, Pvt. Frank Stewart, Pvt. O. B. Hartwell, Pvt. James T. Simpson, Pvt. John A. Rivers, Pvt. C. P. Morgan, Saddler Edward Halbert, Pvt. Will Jones; (Second row) Cook Floyd, Pvt. Clement, Cpl. John L. Hunt, Cpl. Richard Jones, Cpl. S. B. Barrow, Sgt. William Winrow, Sgt. Gus Lindsay, Sgt. Robert Johnson, 1st Lt. A. C. Hart, Capt. H. La T. Cavanaugh, 2nd Lt. Henry R. Adair (killed in action, Carrizal, Mexico, 1916), Sgt. Philip Letcher, Sgt. W. A. Peterson, Sgt. Joseph A. Paris, Sgt. Archie Mills, Cpl. J. A. Johnson, Cpl. Charles Simmons, Sgt. Charles W. Tucker, Pvt. Lee Robinson, Pvt. Willie West; (Front row) Pvt. Lonnie Williams, Pvt. Leon E. Joseph, Pvt. John Douglass, Pvt. Frank Jones, Pvt. Lucius Dotson, Pvt. Abram Butler, Pvt. G. W. Horn, Pvt. Lonnie Pitts, Pvt. John H. Farr, Pvt. Clifford H. Davis, Pvt. Chester Miles, Pvt. John H. Brown, Pvt. Revere N. Still, Pvt. William Managault, Pvt. William Harris, Pvt. John C. Green, Pvt. Louis L. Vaughn. (Courtesy of Moorland-Spangarn Research Center; Howard University, Washington, D.C.)

But to become independent one must be willing to pay the price. He must be industrious and prudent; perhaps the harder of these rules to follow is the latter. We will find many persons who are industrious, but few who will properly manage their earnings. The class that work the hardest, spend more and are careless of their earnings. Instead of saving to provide for a rainy day, they eat, drink, and lavishly spend their earnings, and when financial reverses come, and when mills and factories stop, they are ruined men, compelled to live from "hand to mouth," not having more than a day's ration ahead for actual needs. They are not much better off than slaves. They are not their own masters, they are like "driven cattle," and may at any time have to choose between bondage or starvation. They cannot help being servile, for they know they can neither command their time nor choose how or where they should live. To one who has seen much of the miseries of the poor, it is hard to account for this shortsightedness. Ask those who spend all as they go, why they do not lay aside something, and they will reply, "there is no use, what good is the saving of a few cents?" If I could save four or five dollars per week it would amount to something." It is by this careless reasoning that thousands are kept in poverty, who could by self denial be comfortable and independent. They do not consider to what enormous sums little savings reach, at least when continued through series of years. What workman is it who may not save fifty dollars of his earnings each year? Yet this small sum compounded at 6 per cent, interest, amounts to about \$650.00 in ten years, to about \$1,060.00 [*sic*] in twenty years, thus securing a sum that would be of great assistance to him in his old age, and [he would be] considered a rich man in most of our little towns.

In conclusion let me impress upon you, to pitch your keynote below your earnings. Whatever your means may be, so apportion your wants that your earnings may exceed them, and you can do this no matter what you may say to the contrary. A man whose pay is ten dollars per month, may be rich as compared to his next-door neighbor who is earning much. Economy should be your watchword. If we will put this idea into actual practice, ours will be a respected people. A man may live within the limits of ten dollars, or above the limits of four thousand dollars. It is said in words of infinite truth: "He that despiseth small things, shall perish little by little."

APPENDIX II

The following essay, published in *The Colored American Magazine* in January, 1905, was previously read at the Fort Robinson Y.M.C.A. by Corporal Joseph W. Wheelock:

OUR OWN EDITORS AND PUBLISHERS

Throughout all history, each race, as it became enlightened began publishing the actions of its members and their surroundings, first on scrolls of leather, then on parchment, followed by pamphlets, books, and magazines. These parchment rolls and books, preserved as many are, form the basis of our present knowledge of the activities of nations past, although thousands of years have passed since they were written. Publications are accepted as the surest signs of the intellectual progress of a people. I would endeavor to present, to you, my comrades, a record of our publications as taken from the latest statistical report, rendered by competent authority:

We now have five Magazines, viz: *The Colored American Magazine*, monthly; *Voice of the Negro*, monthly; *A.M.E. Church Review*, quarterly; *A.M.E.Z. Church Review*, quarterly; *Howard's American*, monthly; three daily papers, eleven school papers, and one hundred and thirty-six weekly papers.

Does this not show a great development, and a love for culture, considering our advantages and the length of time since "oppression's hand" had been from off us?

Out of all this number of papers and magazines, are we contributing anything, as an individual or organization toward them? Not as a gift; but do we encourage these enterprises of our own with our patronage? Or do we buy our papers and magazines from other people whose greatest aim is to show us in the worst possible form to the world? Do we patronize the man who at all times is ready to minimize our true manliness and culture, and magnify our errors? Ask yourselves these questions.

In invite your attention to two magazines published monthly, and controlled by "our own," which are fit for any home. The price of each is small and can be had by any thrifty Afro-American; they are *The Colored American Magazine* of New York, and the *Voice of the Negro*, of Atlanta, Ga., both of which are managed by some of our ablest men, and have an able staff of writers. Some of our "Smart Set" may say, "I want nothing but the latest and best periodicals, and those that get the latest news." Our press may be a wee bit tardy; but this is due to our own neglect and foolhardiness in failing to support them by our patronage as we should, and eventually must.

As Afro-Americans, soldiers or civilians, it is the duty of each to subscribe to at least one magazine and one newspaper, for in so doing we not only keep in touch with our best people, but aid in giving employment to "our own." In order to increase the desire for literature both within the soldiers (my comrades) and civilians of this garrison, we have for inspection at our troop's office (Troop K, 10th Cavalry) the December number of *The Colored American Magazine*, and the last issue of the *New York Age*, the best colored newspaper in the Republic. Anyone desiring to subscribe to either of these can do so by paying the price of the periodical, as the price of postage will be paid by our First Sergeant, Robert M. Johnson, who simply does this to advance a good cause. We are not working for any prize or percentage, nor would we accept such from either subscriber or editor. What we do is for the good of "our own Editors and Publishers." We trust that each individual organization (Afro-American) in the U.S. Army will try to do the same.

NOTES

1. These units were the 9th and 10th Cavalry and the 24th and 25th Infantry Regiments. Their military records through the Sioux campaign of 1890-1891 are traced in William H. Leckie, *The Buffalo Soldiers, A Narrative of the Negro Cavalry in the West* (Norman: University of Oklahoma, 1963); Arlen L. Fowler, *The Black Infantry in the West 1869-1891* (Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood, 1971).

2. The views of Wyoming civilians regarding black garrisons are outlined in Frank N. Schubert, "Black Soldiers on the White Frontier: Some Factors Influencing Race Relations," *Phylon*, 32 (Winter, 1971), 410-415.

3. Two lists of the newspapers received at Fort Robinson survive for the period of the 9th Cavalry's tour of duty there. An 1886 list of five papers includes the *New York Freeman*, better known by its later name, the *Age*. An 1893 list of four contains no Afro-American papers. Neither does Colonel James Biddle's request for three additional papers. Commanding Officer, Fort Robinson, to the Quartermaster General, May 12, 1886, to the Assistant Adjutant General, Department of the Platte, February 15, 1893, and to the Chief Quartermaster, Department of the Platte, May 2, 1893, Letters Sent, Fort Robinson (National Archives, Record Group 393).

4. Leckie, *The Buffalo Soldiers*, 235-236.

5. Schubert, "The Suggs Affray: The Black Cavalry in the Johnson County War," *Western Historical Quarterly*, 4 (January, 1973), 57-68.

6. Anonymous Pamphlet, appended to General Court Martial Order 41, Department of the Platte, July 10, 1893, Adjutant General's Office File PRD 13194 (National Archives, Record Group 94). The "horrors of San Domingo" refers to the Haitian Revolution of 1794-1801, in which Toussaint L'Ouverture and an army of former slaves overthrew the French colonial government.

7. *Richmond (Virginia) Planet*, September 21, 1895, January 11, 1896. Black soldiers not only read race newspapers regularly, but frequently contributed news reports from their western stations. Negro troopers at Fort Robinson, read the *Planet*, *Cleveland Gazette*, *Indianapolis Freeman*, *New York Age*, and probably others. After the turn of the century, they also subscribed to *The Colored American Magazine* and the *Voice of the Negro*. These newspapers and magazines were much more than local journals and contained discussions of all the major race issues of the day for their regional and frequently national readerships.

8. *Cleveland Gazette*, October 2, 1886, March 19, 1892; *Richmond Planet*, December 18, 1897; *Buffalo (Wyoming) Big Horn Sentinel*, November 13, 1886.

9. *Army and Navy Journal*, 28 (May 2, 1891), 620.

10. *Indianapolis Freeman*, February 25, 1905.

11. *Army and Navy Journal*, 25 (July 7, 1888), 995; *Cleveland Gazette*, August 14, 1886, July 2, 1887, August 9, 1890, May 4, 1895.

12. *Indianapolis Freeman*, July 19, 1902. Units of the 25th Infantry, then in the Philippines, also established a regimental branch of the Y.M.C.A. in late 1900. *Richmond Planet*, October 20, 1900.

13. *Indianapolis Freeman*, July 19, 1902.

14. Monthly Reports, Chaplain William T. Anderson, October, 1902, February, 1904, and April, 1904, Adjutant General's Office File 53910 (National Archives, Record Group 94).

15. *Ibid.*, February, 1904.

16. Beverly F. Thornton, "Economy," *The Colored American Magazine*, 9 (March, 1905), 150-151. Thornton's paper is reprinted herein as Appendix I. His and Corporal Joseph Wheelock's are the only surviving Y.M.C.A. essays.

17. Joseph M. Wheelock, "Our Own Editors and Publishers," *Ibid.*, 8 (January, 1905), 29-30. Wheelock's paper is reprinted as Appendix II.

18. Monthly Reports, Chaplain William T. Anderson, February, 1903, May, 1904, September, 1904, February, 1905, and November, 1906, Adjutant General's File 53910.

19. *Ibid.*, July, 1904; *Crawford (Nebraska) Bulletin*, July 24, 1903.

20. Both Chaplain Anderson and Colonel Jacob Augur, the regimental commander, expressed great concern about the ready availability of opium and cocaine in Crawford. See, for example, Chaplain Anderson's monthly reports for December, 1902, and February, 1903.

21. *Indianapolis Freeman*, September 27, 1902.

22. Don Rickey, Jr., *Forty Miles a Day on Beans and Hay, the Enlisted Soldier Fighting the Indian Wars* (Norman: University of Oklahoma, 1963), viii, states that regulars in the West endured such isolation. This assertion has been deleted from the latest (1972) reprinting of Rickey's fine book.