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Article Summary: The Nebraskans who fought in the Philippines 1898-99, belonged to the First Nebraska Infantry, United States Volunteers, a regiment that achieved an enviable combat record during its sixteen-month existence and suffered a higher casualty rate than any other American regiment of its time. For its service in the Philippines, the regiment earned the appellation of "The Fighting First Nebraska."

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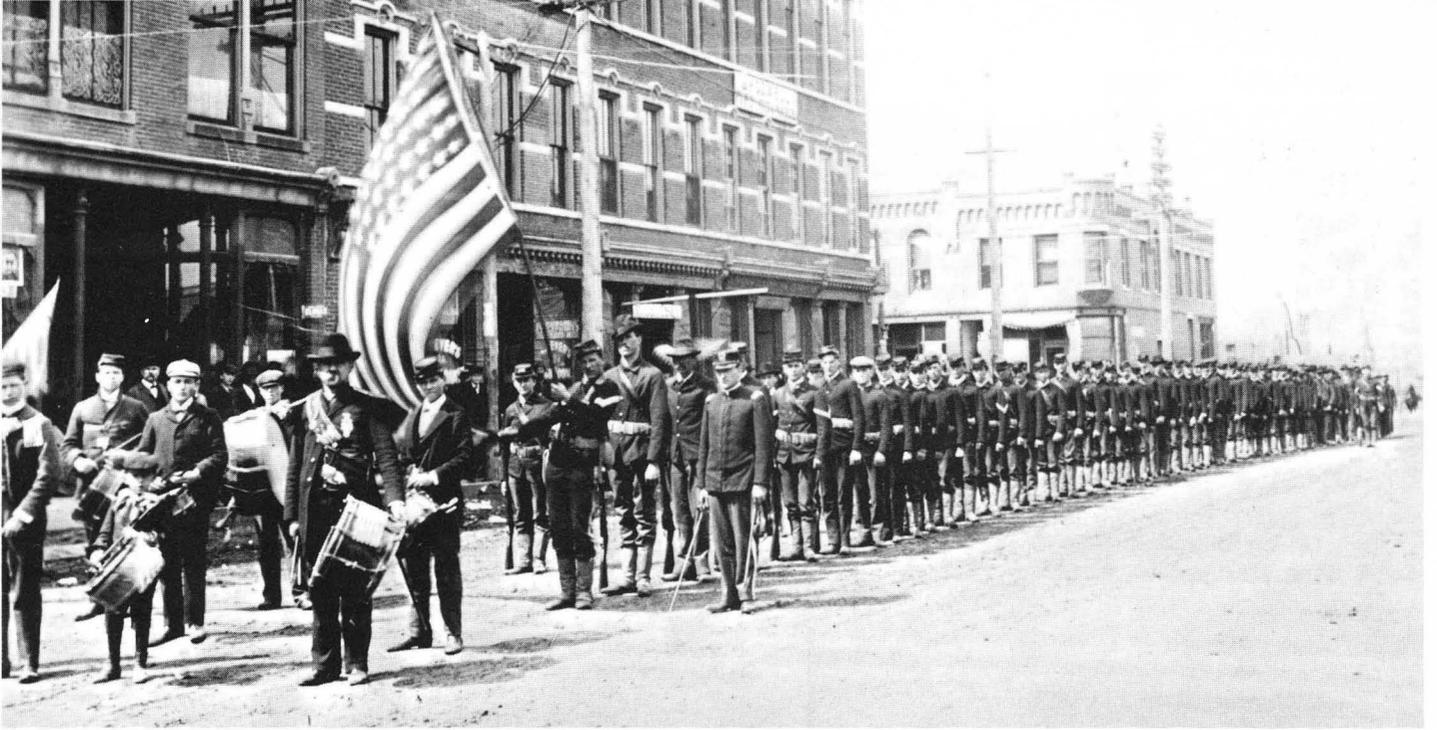
Names: Valeriano Weyler y Nicolau; Patricio Montojo, John P Bratt, George Dewey, Silax A Holcomb, John Miller Stotsenburg, William Jennings Bryan, George H Thomas, Victor Vifquain, John T Smith, Charles D Huffman, Fred A Molton, Francis V Greene, Hugh E Clapp, Otto W Meier, George L Geddes, Jay Weaver, B Cecil Jack, Arthur G Kavanagh, William Lewis, Wesley Merritt, Arthur MacArthur, Fermin Jaudenes, Eugene D Linderman, Ira A Giffin, Earl W Osterhout, R C Maher, Walter A Hogue, Frank H Johnson, Arundel M Hull, Clyde Vosburgh, Elwell S Otis, William W Grayson, Luther J Abbott Jr, Emilio Aguinaldo, Earle Pearsall, Major Mulford, George D Meiklejohn, Andrew S Wadsworth, Warren McLaughlin, William T Sexton, Lee Formby, Harrison G Otis, Frederick Funston, Major Mulford, Frank D Eager, Lieutenant Weber, Captain Forby, Charles W Jens, Wallace C Taylor, Joseph A Storch, P James Cosgrave, Luther Abbott, J Franklin Bell, William K Moore, William D Dungan, General Luna, William A Poynter, Patrick H Barry, William R Shafter, Julius N Killian, Morey Hodgman, Chester W Marlin, James A Mailley, John E Fetterly, G E Towl, Lee Forby, John Walter Ehle, Patrick F Ford Jr [James Meredith], Al F Miller, Jacob Smith, Littleton Waller, Stuart Creighton Miller

Place Names: Santiago de Cuba, Philippine Islands; Puerto Rico; Wymore, Nebraska; Havana, Cuba; Cavite, Philippine Islands; Fort San Antonio de Abad, Philippine Islands; Manila, Philippine Islands; Camp Santa Mesa, Philippine Islands; Mariquina, Philippine Islands; Luzon, Philippine Islands; Malolos, Philippine Islands; San Francisco del Monte, Philippine Islands; Marilao River, Philippine Islands; Guiguinto River, Philippine Islands; San Isidro, Philippine Islands; Calumpit, Philippine Islands; Quingua River, Philippine Islands; Fort Stotsenburg, Philippine Islands [now Clark Air Force Base]; Nagasaki, Japan; San Fernando, Philippine Islands; Camp Merritt, San Francisco, California;

Keywords: "Fighting First"; trochas; USS *Maine*; Spanish-American War; Camp Alvin Saunders; Rough Riders; Troop K, Third US Volunteer Cavalry; Fort Omaha; Second Nebraska; Third Nebraska; SS *Senator*; USS *Boston*; 1897 Pact of Biak-Na-Bato; "Luneta"; SS *Arizona*; McLeod house; Utah Volunteer Light Artillery; Eighth Army Corps; Twentieth Kansas Volunteer Infantry; Model 1884 Springfield rifle; Model 1898 Krag-Jorgensen rifle [Krag]; Model 1893 Mauser rifle; Remington .50-caliber single-shot rifle [rolling block]; SS *Hancock*; Second US Volunteer Engineers; American Volunteer Legion; National Guardsmen; Nebraska Cuban Relief Committee; Spanish Campaign Badge; Spanish War Service badge; Philippine Congressional badge; Army of Cuban Occupation badge; Army of Puerto Rican Occupation badge; Certificate of Merit; Medal of Honor; Silver Star;

Purple Heart; White Cross Society; Society of the Army of Santiago de Cuba; Eighth Corps Society; Veterans of Foreign Wars; Manila Literary and Debating Society;

Photographs / Images: Companies of the Nebraska National Guard, probably Company A, York, Nebraska; Colonel John P Bratt, first commander of the First Nebraska Volunteer Infantry; Guardsmen at Camp Alvin Saunders on May 10, 1898; Privates Charles D Huffman and Fred A Molton of Troop k, Third US Volunteer Cavalry; Second Nebraska Volunteer Infantry at ease; William Jennings Bryan and his wife at Camp Cuba Libre, Florida; Third Nebraska, Camp Columbia, Cuba, March, 1899; Camp Merritt, San Francisco, California, May 1898; Mail call for the First Nebraska; Company D at Camp Merritt, 1898, before boarding the SS *Senator*; the SS *Senator* boarding troops; Cascoes being used to unload troops from transports in Manila Bay; the "Luneta" in 1898, a fashionable avenue in Manila; Spanish soldiers in Manila, 1898; Arthur G Kavanagh; Private William Lewis from Osceola and second soldier; Fort San Antonio de Abad, August 13, 1898, during the American assault on Manila; Convent building defended by the First Nebraska, August 2, 1898; One of the gates through the fortified wall around the Inner City portion of Manila; Musician Eugene D Linderman of Company D with cannon; First Nebraska wading through the water along the sea wall during the assault on Manila, August 13, 1898; Nebraska soldiers with their Philippine mascots; Notice advertising an auction of the personal effects of two First Nebraska soldiers, Ira A Giffin and Earl W Osterhout; Officers of the First Nebraska Volunteer Infantry at Manila, 1898; Graves of three Nebraska soldiers who died of disease at Manila, 1898: R C Maher, Ira A Giffin, Walter A Hogue; Company E enjoying Christmas dinner at Camp Santa Mesa, 1898; Boxing match between two First Nebraska soldiers; Nebraska soldier's Kit; Watercolor by Debra Brownson, First Nebraska soldiers at Camp Saunders in Lincoln, Nebraska, before departing for California; Camp Santa Mesa; Men of a First Nebraska outpost detail on Christmas day, 1898; Filipino soldiers; Private William W Grayson of Company D, the man who fired the first shot of the Philippine War, February 4, 1899; Debra Brownson watercolor: Soldiers of the Spanish garrison at Manila; Emilio Aguinaldo, the leader of the Philippine nationalists; the McLeod House, an Englishman's residence near Camp Santa Mesa, which served as a hospital for the First Nebraska; Part of Battery A of the Utah volunteer Light Artillery in action; Blockhouse Number 7, captured by a charge of First Nebraska soldiers on February 5, 1899; Nebraskans firing on Filipino positions near Camp Santa Mesa, February 5, 1899; Map by Del Darling: City of Manila & Vicinity, February 4 – March 25, 1899; Filipino prisoners captured by Nebraska troops near Camp Santa Mesa on February 5-6, 1899; Nebraska soldiers resting at the water reservoir; The pumping station on the Mariquina River, objective of the First Nebraska's advance on February 6, 1899; Map by Del Darling: Area of Operations, Second Division, Eighth Army Corps, February 4 – May 31, 1899, Luzon, Philippine Islands; Company E camp near the pumping station; Colonel Stotsenburg on a Filipino pony; Debra Brownson watercolor: First Nebraska soldiers in camp in the Philippines; First Nebraska men under fire near Malolos in March 1899; George D Meiklejohn; Debra Brownson watercolor: Soldiers of the Philippine nationalist army; Colonel Stotsenburg conferring with Major Mulford, Captain Eager, and Lieutenant Weber, March 26, 1899; Nebraska soldiers resting along the railroad line near Marilao, March 27, 1899; Firearms of the War; Company G fording the Marilao River, March 27, 1899; First Nebraska men on the firing line near Malalos, March 31, 1899; Filipino dead in a trench; Malolos, the Filipino capital which was captured by the Americans on March 31, 1899; Headquarters of the First Nebraska Volunteer Infantry at Malolos; Map by Del Darling: Calumpit Vicinity, April 25, 1899; Colonel John Miller Stotsenburg; Railroad bridge over the Bagbag River near Calumpit; Frederick Funston; Major Julius N Killian and First Nebraska soldiers returning from San Fernando; Men of Company C at San Fernando; SS *Hancock*, the transport which brought the First Nebraska from the Philippines to San Francisco; Nebraska soldiers marching off Pier 12 in San Francisco, July 31, 1899; "Take Your Choice" cartoon from *Judge*, May 12, 1900; Color guard of the United Spanish War Veterans; Badges of the Spanish-American / Philippine Wars; Veterans' Organization badges; Souvenirs of a soldier's trip to the Philippines and Japan, as well as the western United States; the Medal of Honor



Companies of the Nebraska National Guard assembled at their home communities before traveling to Lincoln to be mustered into federal service. This is probably Company A of the First Regiment at York. (NSHS-S735)

THE FIGHTING FIRST NEBRASKA: NEBRASKA'S IMPERIAL ADVENTURE IN THE PHILIPPINES, 1898-1899

By Thomas D. Thiessen

INTRODUCTION

More than six decades before America's involvement in Vietnam, Nebraska soldiers were fighting and dying in Southeast Asia, first to free the Filipino people from Spanish rule and subsequently to subjugate them to the will of the United States government. The Nebraskans who fought in the

Philippines, 1898-99, belonged to the First Nebraska Infantry, United States Volunteers, a regiment that achieved an enviable combat record during its sixteen-month existence and suffered a higher casualty rate than any other American regiment of its time. For its service in the Philippines, the regiment earned the appellation of "The Fighting First Nebraska."¹

By the late 1890s American public sentiment favoring a war with Spain had increased dramatically. Americans were outraged by what they considered repressive measures that Spanish authorities in Cuba had adopted to put

down a popular rebellion. The Ten Years' War, which lasted from 1868 to 1878, ended in an uneasy truce resulting from Spanish reforms and the war-weariness of the rebels.

In 1895 the rebellion flared anew with a vehemence that caused the Spanish to commit over 100,000 troops and one of their toughest generals to Cuba.² Captain General Valeriano Weyler y Nicolau, nicknamed "Butcher" by the American press, attempted to isolate the rebel forces by building fortifications and trenches, called "trochas," extending across the island in two places. He also tried to cut off the

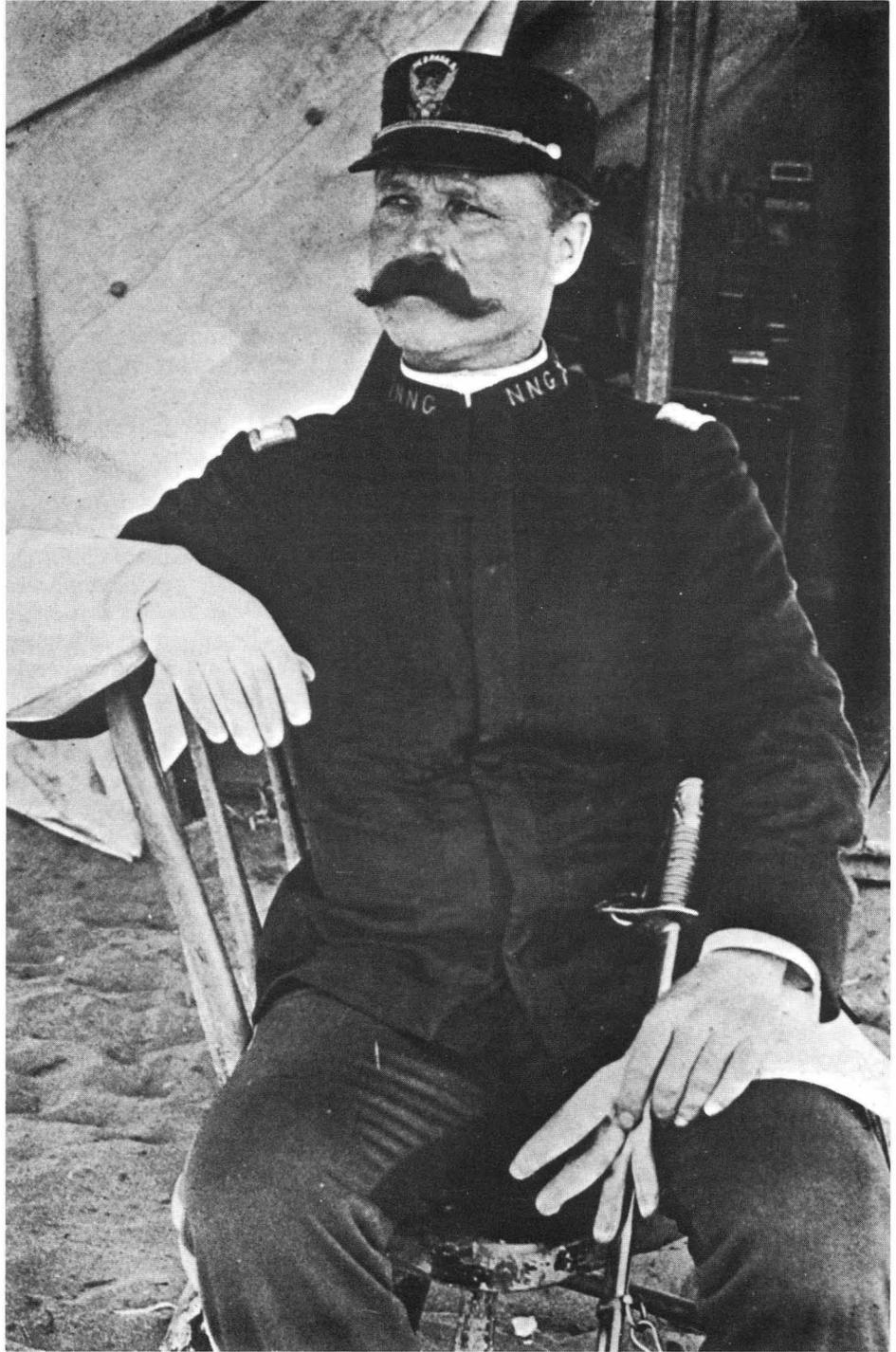
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sources of rebel recruits and supplies by concentrating large segments of the rural Cuban population into camps (similar to "concentration camps" of later notoriety) and by following a "scorched earth" policy. These were brutal practices which the Americans condemned at the time but which they learned to use effectively in the Philippines and, much later, in Vietnam. Through the involvement of American mercenaries, called filibusters, and an effective propaganda press controlled or fed by Cuban exiles and "yellow journalists" in the United States, American public opinion became increasingly sympathetic to the rebel cause.³

The United States and Spain reluctantly came to blows in 1898. The Spanish throne feared that a disastrous war would topple the monarchy. Spain's large military establishment was so poorly managed that she was ill-prepared for war with a modern power and many of her leading military men foresaw little chance of victory. Admiral Patricio Montojo, commander of the Spanish naval flotilla at Manila, prepared for battle with the Americans by positioning his ships in shallow water so that many of his sailors could be saved from drowning by clinging to the ships' superstructures after they were sunk.⁴ However, the Spanish people saw Cuba as the most precious of their country's once-extensive colonial possessions and clamored for war against the Americans, who demanded Cuban independence.

In the United States, the government also tried to avoid war, but the majority of the population wished to wrest Cuba from Spain. Tensions between the two countries were high when the battleship USS *Maine* entered Havana Harbor on January 25, 1898, under the guise of making a courtesy call. In reality the visit was a display of the military might that could be used if American interests and lives were threatened by the turmoil in Cuba. When the *Maine* blew up on February 15, with the loss of 262 lives, the disas-



Colonel John P. Bratt, the first commander of the First Nebraska Volunteer Infantry, in his Nebraska National Guard uniform. (NSHS-S888-18)

ter was widely attributed to Spanish perfidy. Both the United States and the Spanish governments conducted independent investigations. On March 28, 1898, the American court of inquiry concluded that the *Maine* had been deliberately sunk by a mine detonated by unknown persons, probably Spaniards. The Spanish verdict, released on April 2, 1898, found that the *Maine's* explosion was internal. The Spanish finding gained little credence in the United States, and popular sentiment in favor of war soared after the results of the American investigation were announced. The irony of the *Maine* affair is that a recent American re-examination of the evidence led to the opinion that the *Maine* exploded because of spontaneous combustion of coal in a bunker adjacent to one of the ship's ammunition magazines, vindicating the conclusion of the Spanish inquiry.⁵

President William McKinley grappled with his conscience before bowing to irresistible public and political pressure. On April 11 he asked Congress for authority to intervene militarily in Cuba. On the nineteenth, Congress passed the necessary legislation. On April 21 McKinley ordered the navy to blockade the Cuban coast. Spain declared war on the United States on April 23 and two days later the United States responded by declaring that a state of war with Spain had existed since April 21.⁶

To augment the miniscule regular army, McKinley called for 125,000 volunteers, and Americans flocked to the colors. There was no draft in 1898, and veterans would later recall with pride that the war with Spain was fought entirely with volunteers. The president issued a second call for men on May 26, and thousands more responded. States offered their National Guard units to the federal government, making available a large pool of soldiers who were at least partially trained and equipped. The size of the regular army was increased from a pre-war strength of only 2,134 officers and

27,351 enlisted men, and additional volunteer regiments were hastily recruited.⁷

The volunteers included most National Guard units and other specially recruited regiments. State governors retained a degree of control over the federalized National Guard units by appointing the regimental and company officers. Many of the volunteer regiments were led by regular army officers who had been promoted to serve in field grade commands. By August 13, the last day of hostilities during the Spanish-American War, the regular army was approximately double its pre-war size, and over 200,000 volunteers had been mobilized, making a total of 280,564 men under American arms. However, only a few of them actually saw battle. Stocks of uniforms, weapons, and other equipment were grossly insufficient for such a huge "instant army," and the industrial capacity of the nation was severely taxed to furnish adequate materiel for the war effort.⁸

There were two widely separated theaters of action during the Spanish-American War — the Caribbean and the Philippine Islands. The U.S. Navy blockaded Cuba to prevent its reinforcement, despite fears that the concentration of American naval power in the Caribbean would expose the east coast of the United States to attack by the Spanish fleet, whose location was unknown at first. Not until June 14 did an invasion force sail for Cuba. The 15,000-man American army landed on the southeast coast and in cooperation with the Cuban rebels, laid siege to the provincial capital of Santiago de Cuba, where the Spanish fleet had been discovered and trapped by U.S. naval forces. On July 3 the Spanish fleet was annihilated during a suicidal attempt to break out of Santiago harbor and the Spanish commander in Santiago capitulated on July 17. Puerto Rico was invaded on July 25, where the Americans achieved a nearly bloodless victory by the time the two nations signed a peace protocol on August 12.⁹

The first and last fighting of the war occurred in the Philippine Islands, Spain's major colony in the Pacific. On May 1 Commodore George Dewey's squadron, alerted to pending hostilities by Assistant Secretary of the Navy Theodore Roosevelt, decimated the Spanish flotilla in Manila Bay. Lacking troops to capture Manila itself, Dewey awaited reinforcements, leaving the city ringed by native Filipino soldiers whom the Spaniards called insurgents or "insurrectos."

By the end of July, 10,937 American army troops had landed near Manila.¹⁰ The Americans assaulted the city on August 13, unaware that a peace protocol had been signed the day before. The battle for Manila and its even bloodier aftermath was destined to have a profound effect on the lives of many young Nebraskans.

NEBRASKA RESPONDS

Among the nation's volunteer forces were three regiments of infantry and one troop of cavalry from Nebraska. The state's entire pre-war National Guard, except for an artillery battery stationed at Wymore, was federalized. In the midst of the war fever that followed the sinking of the *Maine*, Governor Silas A. Holcomb telegraphed the president on April 6, 1898, placing the National Guard at the disposal of the federal government. When war was declared three weeks later, Nebraska was assigned a quota of two regiments of infantry, totaling 2,114 men.¹¹

The First and Second Infantry regiments of the Nebraska National Guard assembled at Camp Alvin Saunders on the state fairgrounds at Lincoln on April 26 and 27. First Lieutenant John Miller Stotsenburg, a regular army officer serving as commander of cadets at the University of Nebraska, was appointed to enroll the men in U.S. service. A total of 487 men were rejected, but their places were quickly filled by eager volunteers.¹²

The First Regiment, Nebraska National Guard, was mustered in as the

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First Nebraska Infantry, United States Volunteers, on May 10, and the Second Regiment muster-in was completed on May 14. Nebraska's single troop of National Guard cavalry (based at Milford) assembled at Camp Saunders on May 13. Its eighty-four men were federalized the next day as Troop K of the Third U.S. Volunteer Cavalry, one of three cavalry regiments popularly known as "Rough Riders."¹³

Nebraska was assigned an additional quota of 1,268 men under the president's second call of May 26, and a third regiment of infantry was raised at Fort Omaha. The number of men enlisted in response to the second call for volunteers greatly exceeded the state's quota. The Third Nebraska Volunteer Infantry was mustered into federal service by July 17 under the command of Colonel William Jennings Bryan, former presidential candidate and the nation's leading Democrat.¹⁴

The destiny of these units was diverse; only the First Nebraska Volunteer Infantry saw combat. The secretary of war informed Governor Holcomb that the first available Nebraska regiment would be sent to Camp George H. Thomas at Chickamauga Park, Georgia, and Holcomb replied that the First Regiment would be ready by May 11. Before then, however, the regiment was ordered to San Francisco to join troops from other western states as part of a force to invade the Philippine Islands. The Second Nebraska and Troop K were sent to Camp Thomas, where they spent the remainder of the war. After suffering from boredom and disease, the men of the Second Nebraska Volunteer Infantry were mustered out at Omaha on October 24, 1898. On September 11, 1898, at Chattanooga, Tennessee, Troop K was the last troop of the Third U.S. Volunteer Cavalry to be discharged.¹⁵

The Third Nebraska Volunteer Infantry was sent to Cuba, though not in time for combat. During the summer and early fall of 1898 the regiment served at various camps in southern



Guardsmen at Camp Alvin Saunders on May 10, 1898, shortly after being mustered into federal service. (NSHS-S735)

Florida and Georgia, where it received considerable publicity because of the fame of its commander. As long as Democrat Bryan commanded the regiment, McKinley's Republican administration was not likely to give it a role that might win laurels for its leader. Bryan chafed under the apolitical silence required of a soldier, and on December 12, 1898, two days after the signing of a peace treaty between the United States and Spain, he resigned his commission. Command of the regiment passed to Lieutenant Colonel Victor Vifquain, who had won a Medal of Honor for heroism during the Civil War. On December 30 and 31, 1898, the regiment left Savannah, Georgia, for Havana, Cuba, where it became part of the American occupation force. On April 7, 1899, the Third Nebraska returned to the United States and was mustered out at Augusta, Georgia, on May 11.¹⁶

CAMP ALVIN SAUNDERS

The men of the First Nebraska remained at Camp Alvin Saunders for nearly three weeks. They were kept busy with drill, guard duty, reorganization and equipping of the companies, physical examinations, and schools of instruction for the officers. They often were feted by the citizens of the state. The replacement of company officers who had resigned or failed to pass their examinations, caused much anxiety in the ranks for fear that a "stranger" would be placed in command. First Lieutenant John T. Smith described the unhappiness of the men of Company B over the prospect of an outsider being appointed as their captain:

All kinds of rumors were afloat until one day there came a notice from Col. Bratt that a private from company "H" was his choice, as well as the governor's, and that he would be commissioned as such and that the company accept this man without a murmur. But the boys were very indignant at the proposition, and were not slow in mak-



NEBRASKA'S OTHER SOLDIERS

Many Nebraskans served in units other than the First Nebraska Volunteer Infantry. Privates Charles D. Huffman and Fred A. Molton of Troop K, Third U.S. Volunteer Cavalry, proudly pose before their tent at Camp George H. Thomas, Georgia. Troop K was armed with the carbine version of the Krag-Jorgensen rifle. The unit never saw battle. (NSHS-S735)

The Second Nebraska Volunteer Infantry also sat out the war at Camp George H. Thomas. This photograph shows the men of Company F at ease in their company "street." (NSHS-S735)

The Third Nebraska Volunteer Infantry was commanded by one of the most famous Americans of the day, William Jennings Bryan, shown here with his wife in front of Bryan's tent at Camp Cuba Libre, Florida. (NSHS-S735)

Like the Second Nebraska and Troop K, the Third Nebraska never saw combat. The regiment did serve as part of the American occupation force in Cuba from January to April 1899, where it was bivouacked at Camp Columbia near Havana. (NSHS-S735)



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ing it known. They even went so far as to inform the Col. that they would not muster into the United State's [sic] service unless they were allowed to select their own captain.¹⁷

Colonel Bratt did not relent, however, and the boys of Company B were forced to accept Captain William H. Oury.

Citizens in towns where volunteer companies had been raised also expressed concern over the way officers were selected. People in Nuckolls County gathered over 400 signatures on a petition asking Governor Holcomb to allow Company H to elect its own officers. Nearly 200 county residents accompanied the petition to Lincoln, only to find that the members of the company were satisfied with the officers the governor had appointed.¹⁸

The governor also appointed the regimental staff, which caused allegations of political favoritism.¹⁹ Colonel John P. Bratt was retained as commander, while George R. Colton was appointed lieutenant colonel and second-in-command. First Lieutenant John M. Stotsenburg, a regular army officer of the Sixth Cavalry, and Harry B. Mulford, an officer from the Second Regiment of the Nebraska National Guard, were appointed majors and battalion commanders.²⁰

At Camp Saunders, William Jennings Bryan presented golden eagles as mascots to the First and Second regiments. The First Nebraska's eagle, named "America," accompanied the regiment to San Francisco.²¹ On May 7 both regiments marched through downtown Lincoln to receive stands of colors from former governor and Civil War hero John M. Thayer at the State Capitol.²²

News of the regiment's assignment to the Philippine Islands was greeted with elation. The men of the First Nebraska were the envy of the soldiers in the other units at Camp Saunders, for whom the future held less promise of adventure and glory.

EN ROUTE TO SAN FRANCISCO

Most of the men in the regiment had had little exposure to the world beyond Nebraska. Their "world view" was soon

to be broadened substantially, however. The first opportunity was the train trip to San Francisco, embarkation point for the Philippines invasion force known as the Eighth Army Corps, Department of the Pacific. Most of the states west of the Mississippi had been called upon to furnish one regiment for the corps. Because of political considerations, Pennsylvania and Tennessee each had been permitted to send one infantry regiment. Most of the regular army was being sent to Cuba, so the state volunteers comprised the bulk of the invasion force, outnumbering the regulars about five to one.²³

Like other infantry regiments of the time, the First Nebraska was composed of three battalions of four companies each. Company strength at the beginning of the war was only sixty-five, but companies were soon increased to 106 men.²⁴ Each battalion consisted of about 400 men.

On May 16, 1898, the three battalions of the First Nebraska departed Lincoln. The First and Second Battalion trains traveled through Hastings, Cheyenne, and Sacramento; the Third Battalion reached San Francisco via Wymore, Denver, Ogden, and Reno.²⁵ Along the way bands and crowds of enthusiastic people greeted the Nebraskans at all hours. First Lieutenant Smith of Company B remembered the trip as "one grand ovation from Lincoln to the Golden Gate, which made us feel like shouting Who would not be a soldier?"²⁶ During a delay in Reno, the Business Men's Club treated the officers of the Third Battalion to a banquet, while the men were given the freedom of the city. One young diarist, Horace L. Folkner of Company F, tersely noted "lots of booze" on that day.²⁷ The delay at Reno was caused by removal of a wreck from the track ahead, which rumor held to be the work of Spanish saboteurs.²⁸ The men struck up acquaintances (usually with admiring females) during the frequent stops, and the regimental history records that one musician had collected 387 hairpins by the time he reached San Fran-

cisco, having promised a letter to the donor of each!²⁹

CAMP MERRITT

The regiment arrived at San Francisco on May 19-20. The soldiers were treated to a hot lunch by the ladies of the Red Cross Society before marching five miles to their camp located south of the Presidio and north of Golden Gate Park on the site of a former horse racing track.³⁰ The First Nebraska was the first regiment to arrive from outside California, and Colonel Bratt was appointed the first camp commander.³¹ The camp was named in honor of Major General Wesley Merritt, a Civil War veteran and former Indian fighter who commanded the Department of the Pacific.³²

Camp Merritt was unpopular, largely due to the sand used to cover the race track, as well as the unseasonably cold weather and frequent fog.³³ The sand prevented the men from drilling in camp, so drills were held in Golden Gate Park and on Presidio Hill.³⁴

First Lieutenant Smith wrote a vivid description of camp life at San Francisco:

We are all ready to admit that the climate around 'Frisco is as bad as could be imagined. The middle of the day is intensely hot, while the mornings and nights are cold with generally a heavy fog which keep one's clothes damp and cold, and overcoats are needed as much as [in] January in Nebraska . . . we would have a chill every morning and fever at noon, and to add to the discomforts of this camp, the sand was from four to six inches deep and very loose and generally wet. We were provided however with a little straw, which was infected with fleas.³⁵

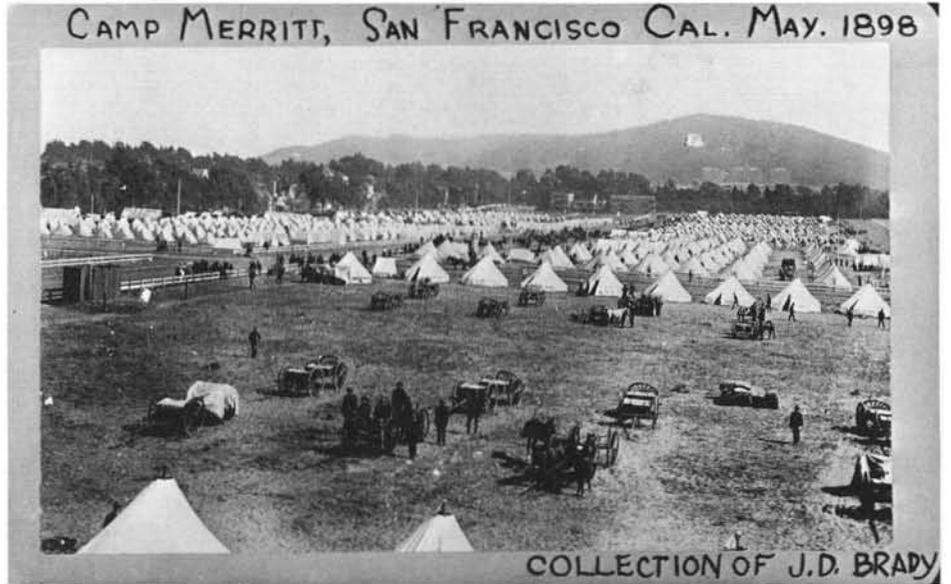
Although the daily routine consisted of drill, guard duty, vaccinations, and other preparations for war, the men often visited the city, which meant a chance to sightsee, to acquire luxuries for camp and the coming campaign, and occasionally to misbehave. Private Frank H. Johnson of Company M wrote his parents, "The whole camp gets off this afternoon from 1 to 6:30. In a case of this kind it usually means about 30 men in the guard house."³⁶ Corporal Arundel M. Hull of Company H wrote:

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Nearly all of the boys have gone down town for we get 'til eight oclock without anything to do to day. Probably some few will drink nearly all of their money up, but take the Reg. as a whole I know that there are fewer drunks than in any other Regiment here except maybe the [Fifty-first] Iowa boys for they only came in yesterday and so I can't tell about them.³⁷

When an order came to increase each company to 106 men, an officer from each battalion and one enlisted man from each company were detailed to return to Nebraska for recruiting. The new recruits reached San Francisco on June 27, about two weeks after the regiment had departed for Manila.³⁸

Rumors flew that the regiment might return home or perform garrison duty in Arizona instead of going to the Philippines.³⁹ Captain Frank D. Eager sought congressional support in getting sailing orders. On June 3 he cabled Nebraska's Senator William V. Allen, "Nebraska ready for Philippines. Your assistance needed to start quick."



Camp Merritt at San Francisco, California, May 1898. (NSHS-S735[7136-182])



Mail call for one of the companies of the First Nebraska, probably at Camp Merritt. (NSHS-R966-40)



Company D at Camp Merritt on June 14, 1898, shortly before boarding the SS Senator. (NSHS-C834-96)

Senator Allen's reply was sympathetic but noncommittal.⁴⁰

The order finally arrived on June 14, and the regiment boarded the SS *Senator*, a chartered steamer.⁴¹ The *Senator* left San Francisco harbor on June 15 in company with three other troopships carrying the second contingent of U.S. troops to be sent to the Philippines. Brigadier General Francis V. Greene commanded the expedition's 158 officers and 3,404 men.⁴²

THE VOYAGE TO MANILA

During the nearly ten-day voyage from San Francisco to Honolulu, where the ships would take on coal, the Nebraskans suffered from crowded con-

ditions and from seasickness. Private Johnson wrote:

Before leaving the dock one of the boys stole a dog and took it on board the ship. Well, the dog was the first to get Sea Sick. And of course all the boys laughed but I see that a great many of them had to force it . . . Just then one of the officers came running down along the deck saying all right boys you can get sick if you want to. Your Captain has began to feed the fish and you have the same privilege, and in a half hour there was about 100 along the railing throwing up.⁴³

The *Senator* was a small ship, and the men were very crowded. Private Hugh E. Clapp of Company D laconically recorded that they were "packed in like hogs in [a] pen,"⁴⁴ and Private Otto W. Meier of Company H wrote that he had "a better place to sleep here than in

camp at San Francisco but of course we are more confined."⁴⁵ Berths were provided for the men below deck, and the officers and some of the non-commissioned officers had staterooms. The weather was hot, and many of the men preferred to sleep on deck.

Several cases of measles broke out, and the afflicted men were quarantined. The first death in the regiment occurred before the ship reached Honolulu. On June 21, Beatrice soldier Sergeant George L. Geddes of Company C died of spinal meningitis and was buried at sea. Geddes was popular with his comrades, and his burial service was a sad and emotional occasion.⁴⁶

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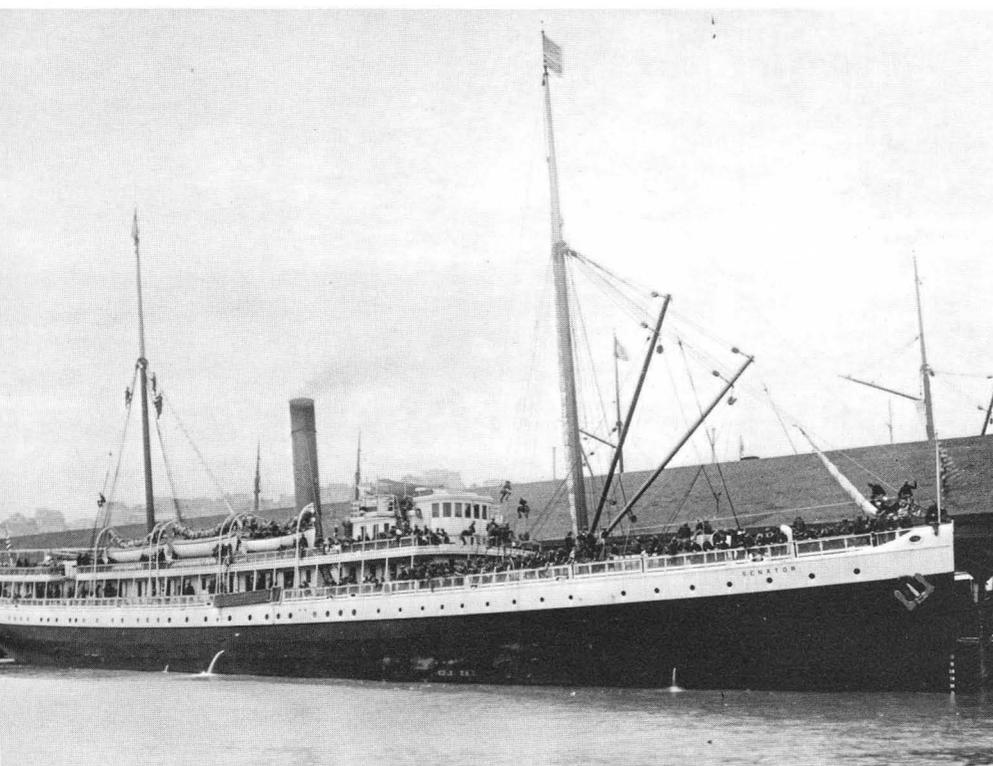
On the evening of the ninth day, the little fleet anchored off Honolulu. The band of the Hawaiian National Guard came out on a tugboat to serenade the soldiers with patriotic American songs, and the Americans responded by cheering wildly and playing the ship's spotlight along the shore. Following what seemed to Lieutenant Smith to be the "longest night we had passed since enlistment in the army," the ships were guided into the harbor on the morning of June 24, and the Nebraskans disembarked.⁴⁷ The Hawaiians treated the nearly 4,000 men of the expedition to a sumptuous lunch on the lawn of ex-Queen Liliuokalani's former palace.⁴⁸

The Nebraskans were impressed with Hawaii, which at that time was an independent republic.⁴⁹ Private Jay Weaver of Company H pronounced it "the finest Island in the world" and informed his parents that the Hawaiians gave the men "the finest dinner I ever set down at or ever expect to."⁵⁰ By noon of the following day, the fleet had replenished its coal supply and resumed the long journey westward.

Many of the men were re-introduced to seasickness during the second leg of the *Senator's* voyage, and cases of measles continued to break out, filling the sick bay. Drills and inspection were

held to the extent that space permitted, and Major Stotsenburg lectured the officers on the subject of military field fortifications.

On July 4 the fleet paused at uninhabited Wake Island, claimed by Spain, while General Greene and a party went ashore to take possession for the United States. Later in the day, the Fourth was celebrated on board ship with a fine supper, speeches, and music. The officers held an "elegant banquet" in the evening and were assigned to give toasts on particular subjects; those refusing were fined one dollar, the fines to pay for the liquor consumed.⁵¹



The SS Senator boarding troops at San Francisco harbor for the voyage to the Philippines. (NSHS-S735)... (Below) Cascoes being used to unload troops from transports in Manila Bay. (NSHS-R966-13)



Crossing the international dateline caused confusion about the correct date until the flagship signaled the other transports, "Today is June 30th. Tomorrow will be July 2nd."⁵² Guam, a Spanish island colony which had been seized by the first Philippine expedition in June, was passed without stopping. On July 11 the ships paused for target practice. Each man was permitted to fire five rounds at a box with a white flag attached, floating at "about the right distance, General Greene thought, to shoot a Spaniard."⁵³

On the morning of July 15, a warship was sighted. For two hours the men were anxious about the possibility of the helpless transports encountering a Spanish warship, until the vessel was identified as the USS *Boston*, one of Dewey's cruisers which had come to escort them to Manila. From the *Boston's* crew, they learned of the destruction of the Spanish fleet at Santiago de Cuba and of the sailing of the third Philippine expedition, which had left San Francisco between June 27 and 29.⁵⁴ The transports sailed through the islands of the Philippine archipelago and arrived in Manila Bay on July 17.

THE BATTLE FOR MANILA

Because the city of Manila remained in Spanish hands, the ships made for Cavite, a small port about ten miles across the bay. There was no question that the men were entering a war zone. Colonel Bratt's orderly, Private B. Cecil Jack of Company M, recorded the vivid scene in his diary:

As we steam toward Cavite I can see broken boilers, sunken ships with masts protruding from water, and battered forts, all wrecked. Our [Dewey's] fleet salutes us. A few miles to the northeast can be discerned the foreign fleets of Germany, England and Japan and others, floating majestically just outside of Manila, which place looms up magnificently in the morning sun. A battle is in progress between the Insurgents and Spaniards which we are informed is a daily occurrence. The discharges of artillery can be seen and sound made thereby, distinctly heard.⁵⁵

Manila, the capital of the Spanish colony, was located on Luzon, the largest island of the archipelago. In



The "Luneta" in 1898, a fashionable avenue along the ocean in Manila. (NSHS-S735[D4795])

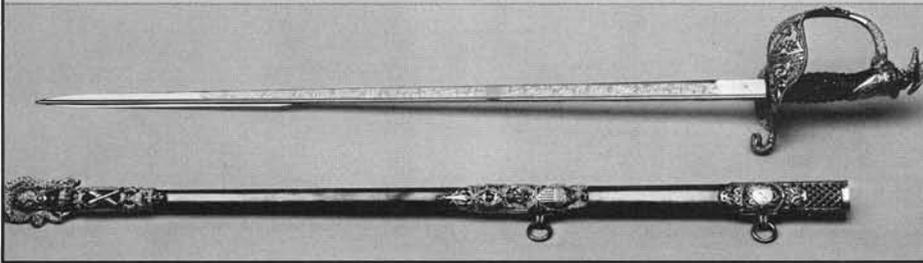


*Spanish soldiers in Manila, 1898.
(NSHS-S735[7136-163])*



ARTHUR G. KAVANAGH

A Nebraskan contributed to the defeat of the Spanish naval forces at the Battle of Manila Bay and was hailed as a hero by the people of his home community and state. Ensign Arthur G. Kavanagh, a native of Illinois but raised in Tecumseh, Nebraska, was a gunnery officer on the USS *Olympia* during the Battle of Manila Bay. He was credited for plotting the shot that sank the Spanish ship *Reina Christina*. Ensign Kavanagh was rewarded with three presentation swords, including ones from the State of Nebraska and the citizens of Tecumseh. (NSHS-S735) . . . (Below) Sword presented to Kavanagh by Tecumseh residents. (R. Bruhn Photo)



1898 it had a population of over 300,000, a mix of Spaniards, native Filipinos, Chinese, and various Europeans. The oldest part of the city, dating from the sixteenth century, was enclosed by strongly fortified walls. Outside of the inner city were extensive neighborhoods and suburbs along the Pasig River which divided Manila. The Spaniards had originally ringed Manila with a series of fortified blockhouses, but the Filipinos had driven the Spanish soldiers from these, and the latter now defended little more than the city proper. The Spanish garrison was estimated at 13,000.⁵⁶

Virtually all of the countryside surrounding Manila, and much of the archipelago, was controlled by the native Filipino army, estimated to number between 10,000 and 30,000.⁵⁷ Revolution had been aflame in the Philippines since 1896, when a charis-

matic native leader, Emilio Aguinaldo y Famy, organized widespread resistance to the Spanish. The 1897 Pact of Biak-Na-Bato established an uneasy peace between the belligerents. The treaty required the Filipinos to lay down their arms and send their leaders into exile in exchange for Spanish promises of reform and payment of 800,000 pesos to widows and persons who had suffered losses in the fighting. However, neither side honored the agreement. Aguinaldo and his revolutionary ministers went into exile in Hong Kong with 400,000 pesos received from the Spanish. Instead of distributing the money to victims of the war, Aguinaldo kept it to fund the revolution and to pay the living expenses for himself and his followers. The Spanish never paid the balance required by the treaty.⁵⁸

The first contacts between

Aguinaldo and the United States government occurred in the fall of 1897. One of Aguinaldo's lieutenants approached the American consul in Hong Kong to offer a military alliance in the event of a war with Spain. Until shortly after the outbreak of the war, Aguinaldo held a series of informal and poorly-documented discussions with American diplomats and officers regarding the proposed alliance and the future of an independent Philippine republic. A de facto alliance was made with the revolutionaries, and Aguinaldo returned to Manila on May 19, 1898, aboard one of Dewey's ships. He soon revived the native army, which achieved success against the Spanish forces, and laid siege to Manila itself. Despite his public praise for the United States and repeated requests for clarification of American intentions, Aguinaldo received no assurances that his government would be recognized or that the Americans would withdraw from the islands at the conclusion of the war with Spain.

When the Nebraska volunteers arrived on July 17 the American presence at Manila was confined to the area around Cavite, ten miles across the bay from the inner city and more than twenty miles by land from the fighting. In order to establish an American position closer to the front, Brigadier General Thomas N. Anderson, commander of the first Philippine expedition, selected the site of a former peanut field south of Manila as the primary encampment of American troops. The camp, located about two miles south of the Filipino trenches and half a mile from the ocean, was christened Camp Dewey.

The Nebraska regiment landed on July 20. There were no port facilities near Camp Dewey, and disembarkation of the troops was a slow process, requiring the use of steam launches to tow large native boats called *cascoes*, which ferried the men to shore. The presence on the beach of numerous wads of spittle stained red with the juice of betel nuts — the chewing of

which was a favorite pastime of the natives — gave the appearance of blood and alarmed some of the young Nebraskans who were nervous about entering their first war.⁵⁹ During the next several days, drills and other aspects of the camp routine were established. Some of the officers explored the vicinity, seeking their first glimpse of the enemy. Captain Eager recorded in his diary a reconnaissance that he made:

For our return we selected the beach road from which the City of Manila could be seen plainly, the great Stone walls and the guards pacing back and forth. Through field glasses in front of the walls could be seen abatis, Sedge brush, vines, barbed wire fences and entanglements of every description, ditches and trenches filled with water. On the walls the Canon were planted thickly. As we returned several shots were fired at us but none of them took a low enough range to be effective.⁶⁰

The arrival of the third Philippine expedition between July 25 and 31 boosted the American forces to nearly 11,000 men and brought a new commander, Major General Wesley Merritt.⁶¹ The expedition also brought Brigadier General Arthur MacArthur (father of Douglas), who later commanded the division in which the First Nebraska served.

Although now situated within two miles of the fighting, the American troops did not actually occupy any of the entrenchments. General Merritt intended for the Americans to take an active role in the siege, and through General Anderson, asked the local Filipino commander near Camp Dewey, General Noriel, to vacate part of his trenches so that Americans could occupy them. Aguinaldo grudgingly approved, and on July 29 Americans moved into the front lines opposite the Spanish.⁶² From then on, the American regiments alternated duty in their entrenchments, which frequently brought them under Spanish fire. A more advantageous position was selected in front of the former Filipino trenches, and the Americans built a new line of breastworks.⁶³

The First Nebraska's baptism of fire came on August 2. That morning eleven



Private William Lewis (right) from Osceola was the first member of the regiment to be killed in action. (NSHS-S735)

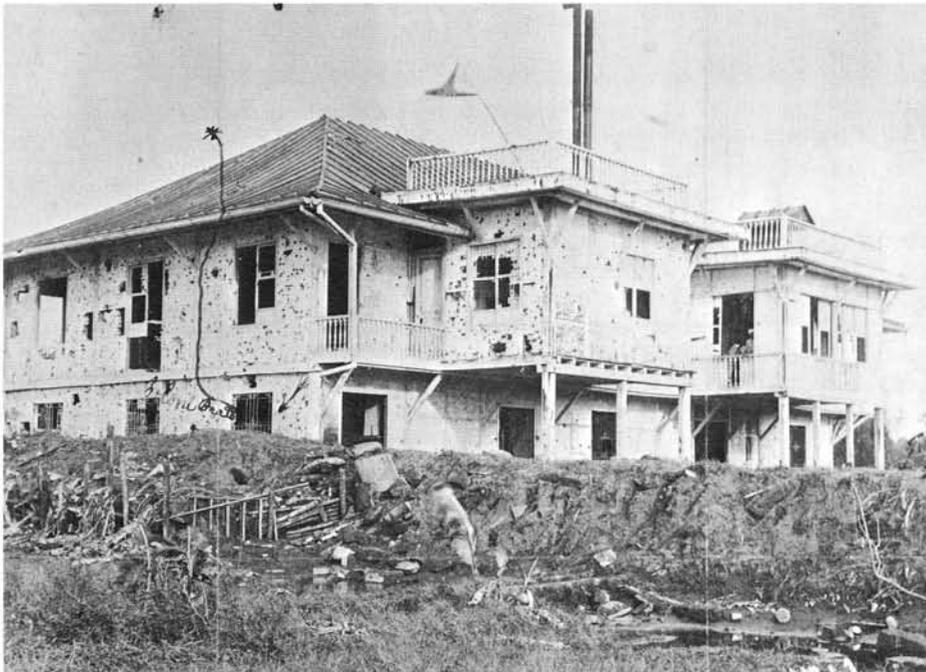
companies of the First Nebraska and one battalion of the Eighteenth U.S. Infantry occupied the fortifications. One company of Nebraskans was in reserve.⁶⁴ At about 9:40 P.M. movement of Spanish troops was observed. The Spanish opened fire on the right of the American position, evidently in an effort to flank the Americans, and firing soon spread to the whole of the American front. Private Johnson, posted as a sentinel about fifty yards in front of the American line, later vividly described the engagement:

I was watching the timber to the left and front of us while the man with me watched the open

space to the right of us. We had been keeping a very close watch, but could not see a man. All at once they opened fire from the timber on the right. I still kept a close watch on the timber to the left. When the man with me said we had better be going, hadn't we? I said no wait a while! Then he said look here, and I looked in the direction he was pointing and the open space was thick with Spaniards, and before we could get back to the breast-works they opened fire upon us, and then they began firing from the timber on the left also. The man that was with me went right on over the [breast]works. I stopped behind a large tree to take another look at them. By this time the cannon from the wall had begun to throw solid shot and shell, and the fire from the timber was getting heavier. I crawled from the tree to a small ditch out side of the entrenchments and from there I went over the works. It seemed to me like a swarm of bees were around me from the time I left the tree till I was over the breast-works.



Fort San Antonio de Abad, which was shelled by Dewey's ships and captured by Colorado troops on the morning of August 13, 1898, during the American assault on Manila. (NSHS-735[7136-166])



Convent building behind the breastworks defended by the First Nebraska during its first battle, August 2, 1898. (NSHS-S735)



One of the gates through the fortified wall around the Inner City portion of Manila. (NSHS-R966-69)

Every man had received orders not to shoot until they received the order from their captains. So we felt safe in going over the works. After all the out posts were in we returned the fire. The firing began on our right and we were the last company to fire.

The firing lasted for 45 minutes. We all fired from 45 to 70 shots each. I fired 49. My gun refused to work after I had fired twice. I had got both gun and cartridge belt full of sand when I was out in front. There was a small pool of water near so I threw the gun into it, took off my belt, washed it all off, then washed the gun off. After that the gun worked fine. There was one man killed and 7 wounded. The man that was killed belonged to Co E.⁶⁵

The man Johnson mentioned was Private William Lewis from Osceola, who was killed by a bursting artillery shell. He was the first member of the regiment to be killed in action.⁶⁶ Seven or eight Nebraskans were wounded, and two were awarded the Certificate of Merit for distinguished service, the nation's second highest valor award at the time.⁶⁷ Major Stotsenburg was cited for gallantry.⁶⁸

The regiment continued to take its turn in the trenches over the next several days. August was part of the

rainy season in the Philippines, and frequent downpours filled the trenches with mud and water. The men had to endure these unpleasant conditions, along with occasional Spanish fire, for long hours. On August 5 two battalions of the regiment were in the trenches when Spanish artillery fire wounded two more men.⁶⁹

The Spanish position in Manila was hopeless. Food supplies were low, the Filipinos prevented fresh water from being pumped into the city, and the defenders were cut off from communication with Spain. They were surrounded and outnumbered. However, the Spanish code of military honor precluded surrendering without at least a token defense. On August 7, Admiral Dewey and General Merritt demanded that Spanish Governor General Fermin Jaudenes surrender the city. Jaudenes replied that he could not surrender without consulting Madrid, which was impossible without American cooperation. He hinted that he would be willing to surrender when the Americans

attacked, provided that the city was not shelled and the Americans prevented the Filipinos from entering. The Spanish feared a massacre if armed Filipinos gained access to the city. Satisfied with Jaudenes's informal proposal, Dewey and Merritt notified him that the Americans would assault the city on the morning of August 13 and would cease firing when the Spanish displayed a white flag.⁷⁰

At about 9:35 A.M. on August 13, Dewey's warships opened fire on Fort San Antonio de Abad (also called Fort Malate) on the southern outskirts of Manila, which the Spanish had conveniently evacuated.⁷¹ The guns of the city did not reply, and the Colorado regiment occupied the fort without resistance. The First Nebraska, which had just returned to Camp Dewey from twenty-four hours in the trenches, advanced behind the Colorado men to flank the seaward defenses. As the Nebraskans passed Fort San Antonio, the Colorado band played "Hot Time in the Old Town Tonight," a tune which



Musician Eugene D. Linderman of Company D, standing beside one of the ancient muzzle-loading cannon which lined the walls of Manila. (NSHS-S735[C2068])

The First Nebraska wading through the water along the sea wall during the assault on Manila, August 13, 1898. (NSHS-S735[7136-154])



Fighting First Nebraska

was extremely popular among the troops.⁷² Only scattered, ineffective fire came from the Spanish positions, and the Nebraskans advanced along the city's sea wall with colors unfurled. At an opening, the regiment marched through streets in the waterfront district to the building used by the Captain of the Port. There the Spanish flag was lowered, and the American flag was raised in General Greene's presence.⁷³ The First Nebraska had no casualties during the assault and fired no shots at the Spanish positions.

Private Johnson described the attack on Manila in a letter written several days after the battle:

When passing their fortifications [i.e. Fort San Antonio] we could see what Dewey's shells had done. What guns were not dismantled were covered up with debris. His shells and solid shot had tore their works all to pieces. The body of one Spaniard could be seen hanging over the wall, tore all to pieces by one of Dewey's shells. From here the Spaniards tried to make another stand among the houses. But we kept right on going, and did not pay any attention to their shooting. We were now in water all the way from our shoe tops to our waists. We followed the beach for about 1/2 mile. While the other Regiments went up through the different streets.

The Spaniards would shoot once or twice and then run. After we left the water we went on the double quick for about 15-18 blocks passing all the Regulars and two other Reg[iments]. Here we lost very near half the company. They had to drop out, could not stand it under the load. We passed one water battery with two five [inch] Krupp guns, but both breech blocks were gone. Here we came in sight of the great walled city. Every Spaniard was on the inside and a white flag was floating from the south-west corner. Here we came to a halt, stacked arms and ate our dinner. The firing on our right was still very heavy, and continued so for about three hours after the city had surrendered.⁷⁴

The Filipinos joined the American assault without being asked. The Americans literally had to outrun them to receive the surrender of the Spaniards and keep the natives out of the city. Some of General Greene's men were subjected to a furious fire when the Spanish soldiers in the eastern portion of the city had to repel the Filipino attack after raising the flag of surrender. Nevertheless, some Filipinos entered the city's outskirts and were expelled by American troops at bayonet point. U.S. forces suffered five killed and forty-four wounded, none in the Nebraska regiment.⁷⁵ By nightfall



Nebraska soldiers with their Philippine mascots. (NSHS-S735)

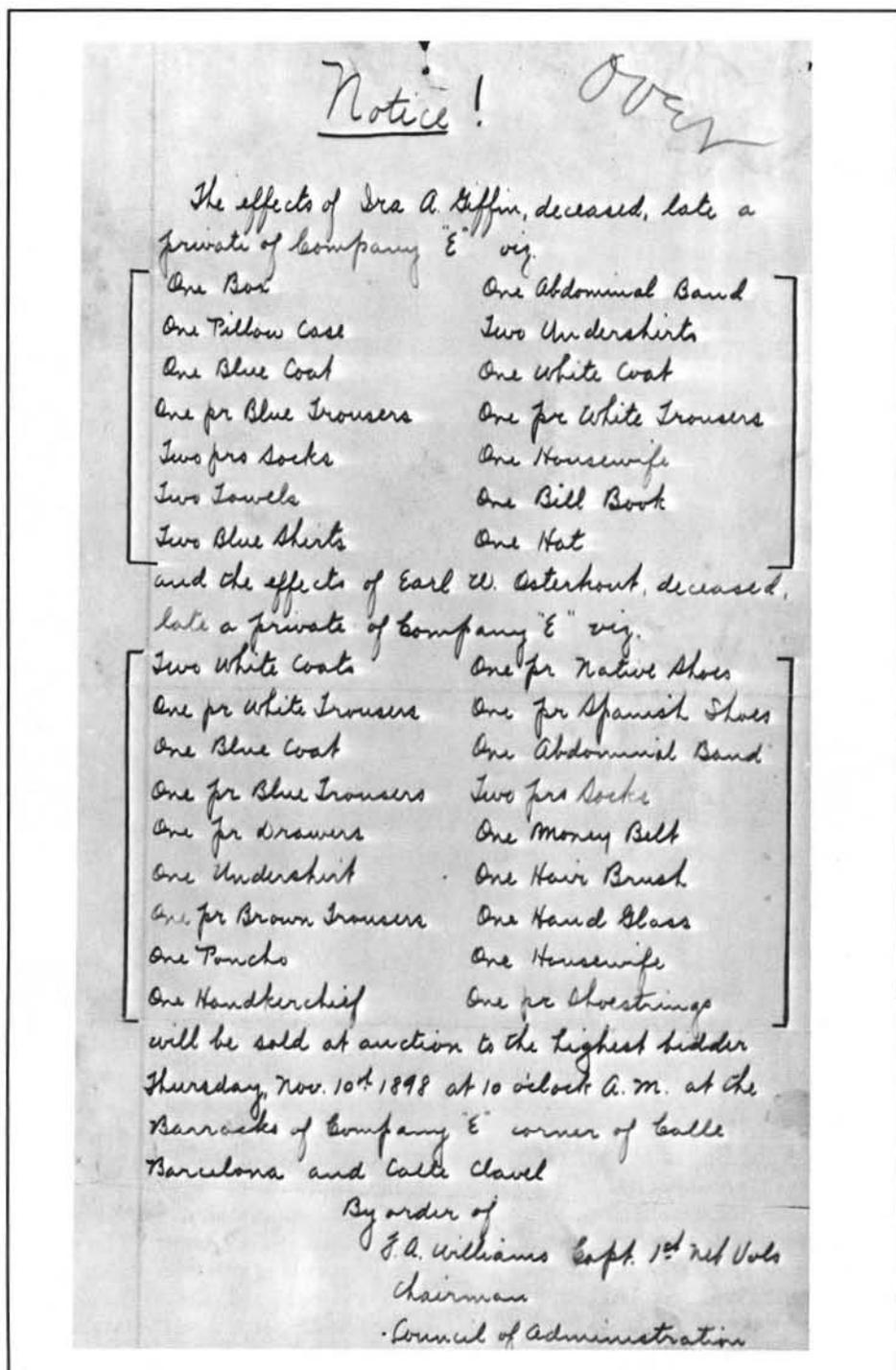
hostilities had ceased, and the city and most of the outlying suburbs were under American control. The collusion between the Spanish and the Americans enraged the Filipinos.

THE OCCUPATION

With the fighting at an end, many of the Nebraskans expected to be sent home. Their enlistment required service for two years or until the end of the war. However, only a truce was in effect. Spain and the United States sent commissioners to Paris to negotiate a treaty to end the war officially, but it would be months before agreement was reached. Nevertheless, rumors about returning home flew thickly among the homesick soldiers.

American military authorities were now faced with the task of running a city of 300,000 people, which had no effective civil government or functioning public services.⁷⁶ Within a short time courts, refuse disposal, licensing of commerce and tax collection, hospitals, schools, and the fire department were operating efficiently with American supervision or assistance, and a census was taken. The public waterworks was situated several miles from the city, and the Filipinos, who controlled it, had cut off the city's water during the siege. Only reluctantly did Aguinaldo resume operation of the pumping station about a week after the American occupation began.⁷⁷

The First Nebraska Volunteer Infantry was quartered in the waterfront dis-



This notice advertised an auction of the personal effects of two First Nebraska soldiers, Ira A. Giffin and Earl W. Osterhout, who died of typhus in Manila during the fall of 1898. One of the men of the regiment claimed it as a souvenir and noted on the back: "I took this down from where it was posted. The things were sold yesterday.... It is pretty tough I can tell you." Courtesy of Thomas D. Thiessen.

tract near the customs house, where the regiment performed police and guard duties. Lieutenant Colonel Colton was appointed deputy collector of customs, and Company L of the First Nebraska was detailed to assist him.⁷⁸

The American soldiers in Manila took time to see what the city had to offer. The Nebraska boys were most impressed with the ancient fortifications, especially with the antique muzzle-loading cannon which lined the walls. In a September 10 letter, First Lieutenant Warren McLaughlin wrote of a visit to the "Luneta," a fashionable avenue along the ocean:

The electric lights all along the drive, the cool winds wafted in from the Bay, and the sweet fragrance of many plants and dense shrubery the names of which I do not know, combined to make me forget that the world is full of toil and trouble and that man seeks the life of man.⁷⁹

American impressions of the inhabitants of the Philippines were often negative and frequently reflected racial biases. Andrew Wadsworth, regimental sergeant-major, wrote his sister in October, "I might send you a Chinaman to split the wood and draw water but I don't think you would appreciate the gift. I didn't even like a negro but they are pretty good people after seeing the nabobs that live here."⁸⁰ As tensions mounted between the occupiers and the Filipinos, the soldiers increasingly used racial epithets such as "blacks," "niggers," and "goo-goos" to refer to the natives.

Despite the generally proper behavior of most Americans, individual soldiers occasionally acted in a hostile or brutal manner, particularly towards the large Chinese minority that controlled much of Manila's commerce. Soldiers often took public and private possessions as souvenirs, and Nebraskans were not exempt from such questionable behavior. Private Jay Weaver of Company H wrote:

Tell John & Scott I have run the guard lines two or three times. I tried to mack [i.e. make] a fight with Some Chinaman or native but they are afraid of me & my Pardner. We go into any Chinaman[s] store & take anything we want.⁸¹

Even church property was not above

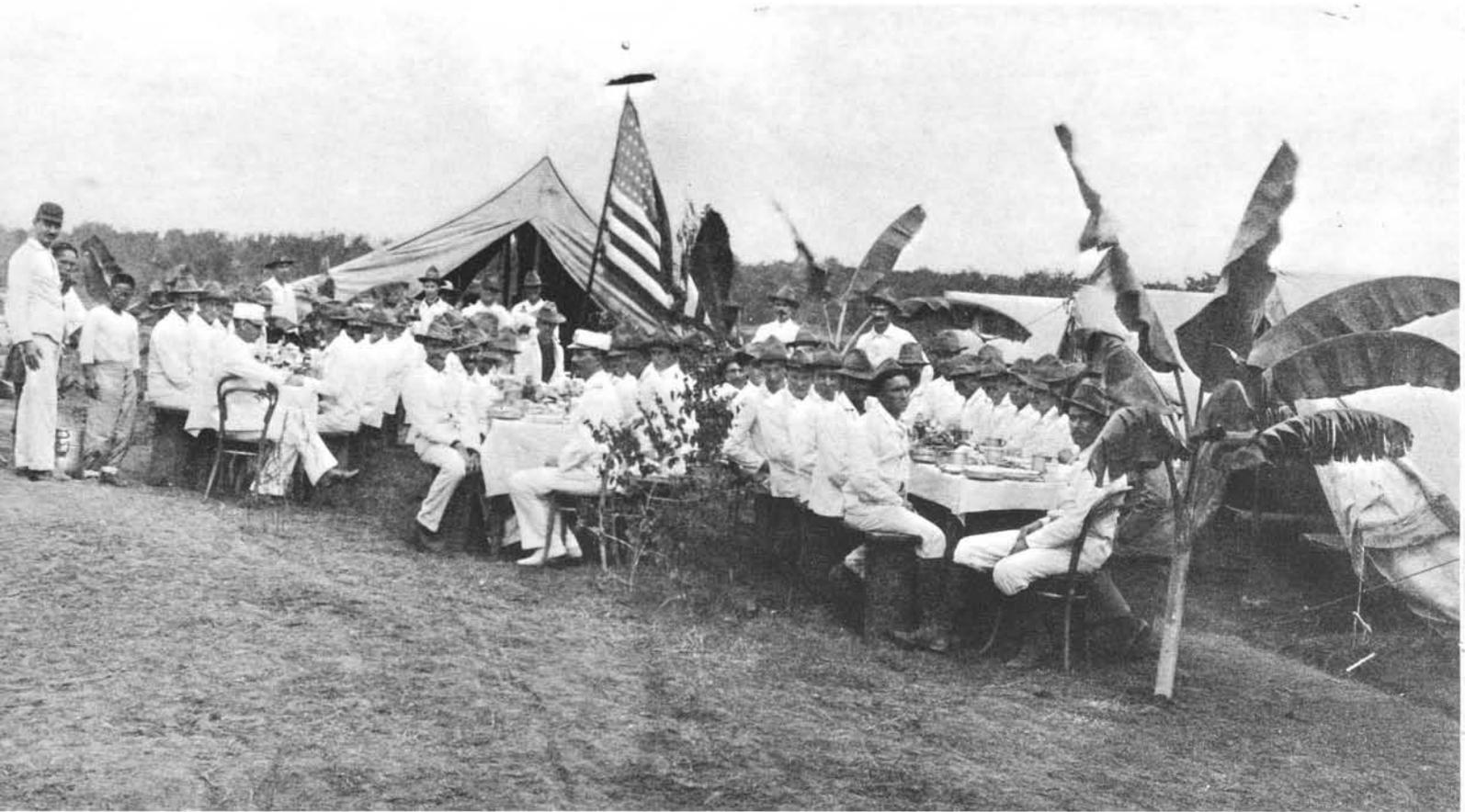
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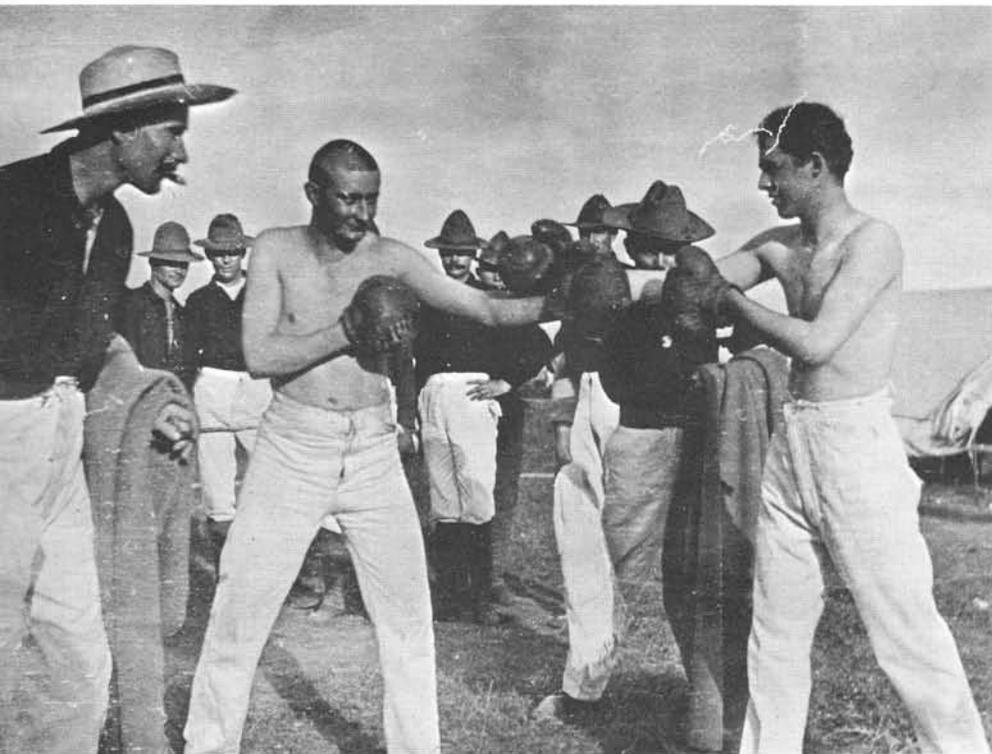
Officers of the First Nebraska Volunteer Infantry at Manila, 1898. (NSHS-S735)



The graves of three Nebraska soldiers, including Giffin, who died of disease at Manila during the fall of 1898. (NSHS-S735)



The men of Company E enjoying Christmas dinner at Camp Santa Mesa, December 25, 1898. (NSHS-R966-38)



A boxing match between two First Nebraska soldiers, a holiday entertainment at Camp Santa Mesa. (NSHS-S735)

Fighting First Nebraska

being "souvenired." Sergeant Clyde Vosburgh noted in his diary that he visited the "old cathedral" in Cavite and carried off "a piece of the Altar, a piece of a tomb stone, and lots of other things."⁸²

The Americans often used stern measures to maintain law and order in Manila, and violence against civilian and military prisoners was common. Private Johnson related one incident:

Last Saturday a native stole a pocket [watch] and started to run. When the guard was notified, the native was a block away, and just as he started around the corner the soldier fired, killing him dead. It was a remarkable shot, as the street was full of people. A regular done the shooting.⁸³

However, the soldiers endured frequent insults and occasional violence, which may have made them less restrained about using force. Sergeant Vosburgh recorded that "there was one of the guards killed and thrown over the wall. He was of the 14th [U.S. Infantry]."⁸⁴ Later Vosburgh wrote that "the natives are rather uneasy. Two of our boys was killed by some one. We all look for trouble with the black cusses."⁸⁵ Private Johnson related:

We have the guard house full of people from almost every nation on earth. Chinamen, Spaniards, natives, English, Irish, French, Germany [sic] . . . Most of them are sailors from ships that have got into trouble here.⁸⁶

As the weeks stretched into months during the fall of 1898 and no orders came for the regiment to return home, the men of the First Nebraska kept busy in a variety of ways. In addition to routine military duties, the men explored Manila and the surrounding vicinity. They formed a debating society and presented entertainment featuring the "Nebraska Minstrels." Baseball was especially popular, and the First Nebraska competed with other regiments in the "American Soldiers Baseball League." The men acquired pets, especially monkeys, according to Private Johnson:

Nearly every company on the grounds has a monkey, and when they have nothing else to do the boys torment the monkey. The natives catch them back in the timber and sell them to the boys for \$1.50.⁸⁷

Many soldiers had personal cameras, or "Kodaks," and they often

sold or exchanged copies of photographs with the other men in their companies. Private Johnson wrote: "One of the boys in every company has a camera, but every person wants pictures and it keeps him busy."⁸⁸

The soldiers endured endless drills and inspections. Johnson described the routine:

All these inspections are made in heavy marching order. Must have hair trimmed nicely, clean shave, campaign hats, blue shirts, white pants, leggins, and shoes polished like a mirror. Our gun, belt, and bayonet, must be in the best condition possible, and brass parts polished.

On these inspections we go to the parade grounds, "weather permitting," set up our little dog-tents, spread all our thing[s] in front of the tents on our blankets, and then stand there in the hot sun, for about two hours. Once in a while some boys will begin to kick, but about that time a dozen will say, "You are a soldier, haint you?" That is enough. They never say another word.⁸⁹

The men continually longed for home, especially after the peace treaty between Spain and the United States was signed on December 10. However, most of the volunteer regiments in the United States had been mustered out, and there were not enough regular army regiments to relieve the state volunteers in the Philippines.

Illness was a serious problem. In an October 13 letter, Johnson noted that between twenty and thirty men of his company were on the sick list every morning.⁹⁰ On November 17 only twenty-nine men of his company were on duty; the rest were in the hospital or sick in quarters.⁹¹ He estimated that the other regiments were affected similarly. After discussing two funerals, Sergeant Vosburgh recorded, "We had 5 deaths for the week in the Nebr Regt."⁹² The men were afflicted by a host of diseases ranging from the common cold to measles, but the most serious were dysentery, smallpox, and typhoid fever. Sixteen men of the regiment died of disease between September and December of 1898, one man drowned while swimming in the Pasig River, and four recruits died en route to the Philippines. Johnson thought the warm climate was partly to blame: "There is never a day but two or three of the guards get sick and half to go to

their quarters. Cannot stand the heat."⁹³

On November 25 the transport SS *Arizona* arrived with recruits enlisted the previous June. The recruits helped restore the First Nebraska to near full strength. In mid-December about 300 sick and disabled men were discharged and sent home.⁹⁴

Holidays were made as enjoyable as possible. The men were treated to a Thanksgiving dinner of turkey, mashed potatoes, radishes, preserves, pickles, milk, tea, bread and butter, and cake, and they enjoyed "a good supper" as well.⁹⁵ Second Lieutenant Van Valin of Company H "whipped" his company commander, Captain Eager, in a fight.⁹⁶ Since both were arrested, the fight may not have been an arranged entertainment.

Packages from home did not arrive in time for Christmas, but the *Omaha World-Herald* raised \$1,000 by subscription to pay for a grand dinner.⁹⁷ Companies L and D played a football game (Company D won 5-0), and baseball games were held. Filipino soldiers visited the camp and "some of the boys had stag dances" in the evening.⁹⁸ The following day the Filipino troops celebrated Christmas with fireworks and all-night band music, which the Americans could hear at their camp.⁹⁹ The Nebraska men also heard the New Year's Eve celebration in the city, marked by cannon fire and fireworks.¹⁰⁰

At the Nebraska camp, however, "nothing much of interest" other than morning and evening religious services occurred on New Year's Day, which fell on a Sunday.¹⁰¹ The real festivities took place on January 2, when the regiment indulged in a "field day." Among the sporting contests were goof ball (Company D beat Company B 11-0), tent pitching (Company I won with a time of thirty-three seconds), and the 100-yard dash in heavy marching order, as well as foot races, putting the shot, throwing the hammer, and tug of war.¹⁰²

Several events in the fall of 1898 were to prove significant for the future of the



THE NEBRASKA SOLDIER'S KIT

The Nebraska soldier on campaign carried only a minimum of equipment needed to sustain him for a few days in the field. He wore an ammunition belt that held fifty .45-70 cartridges for his single-shot rifle; a bayonet and scabbard suspended from the belt, most often used to open canned foods; a one-quart canteen of water; a large tin cup

that held nearly a pint; a haversack containing a few days' rations, clean socks, and other personal items such as a mess kit, eating utensils, "housewife" or sewing kit, toothbrush, comb, writing paper or a small diary and pencil, and a wool abdominal bandage to be worn when sleeping to ward off the night chill thought to bring on tropical fevers. An army-issue blanket was often worn rolled up and slung over one shoulder. (R. Bruhn Photo)

First Nebraska Volunteer Infantry. Because of poor health, Colonel Bratt applied in September to return home and be discharged.¹⁰³ He recommended Major Stotsenburg to succeed him. Stotsenburg was promoted to colonel and took command of the regiment on October 4, 1898.¹⁰⁴ The men seemed to welcome the promotion of a professional, career soldier. Private Johnson commented that "every person in the Reg is glad there has been a change made."¹⁰⁵ On August 29, 1898, Major-General Elwell S. Otis took command of the Eighth Corps along

with the title of "Military Governor of the Philippines." Otis, another veteran of the Civil War, has been described as a classic "desk general," preoccupied with the minutia of administration and incapable of delegating authority.¹⁰⁶ He was a disaster as a diplomat; his untactful dealings with Aguinaldo probably prolonged the Philippine War.

There were other changes in the American leadership. On October 14 the army forces were reorganized into two divisions.¹⁰⁷ The Nebraskans were assigned to MacArthur's Second Divi-

sion, occupying lines north of the Pasig River. Their brigade commander was Brigadier General Irving Hale.

Another important event was the regiment's move in early December to a hill called Santa Mesa, several miles outside Manila.¹⁰⁸ At first disdainful of the muddy former rice field, the Nebraska men worked hard to make it a "model camp," with the tents raised on bamboo stilts, bamboo flooring, piped water from the nearby city water reservoir, and a corduroy road into the camp.

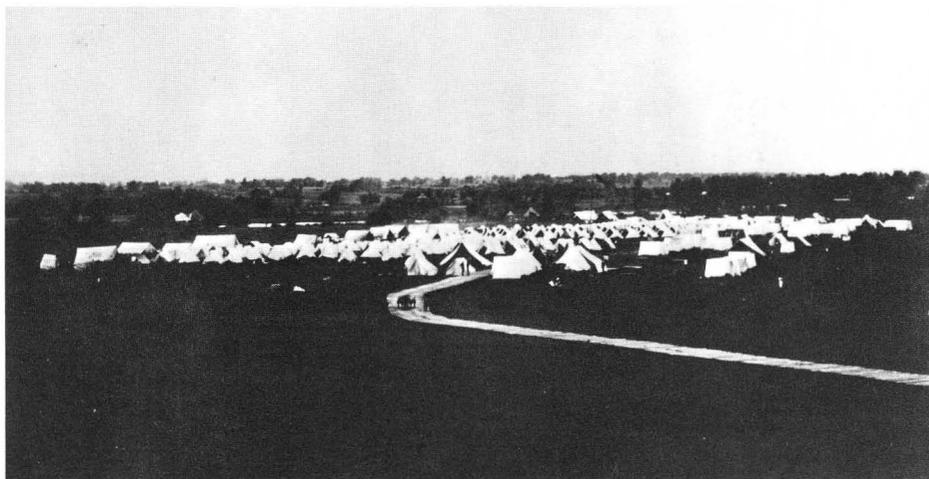
Camp Santa Mesa was considered a more healthful location for the troops, and the move was made ostensibly for that reason.¹⁰⁹ However, it may have been deliberately provocative since it placed the Nebraska regiment in a salient extending into contested territory. Whether or not it was a deliberate provocation, Camp Santa Mesa gave the Nebraskans a strategic position from which to capture the critical Manila waterworks quickly if conflict should erupt.

Under the terms of the December 10 peace treaty, Spain ceded the Philippines to the United States in exchange for a payment of \$20 million.¹¹⁰ The treaty made clear that the United States government intended to retain the Philippines as a colonial possession. However, Aguinaldo's dream of independence was sustained by anti-imperialist rhetoric in the American press, and he fervently hoped that the

First Nebraska soldiers at Camp Saunders in Lincoln, Nebraska, before their departure for California. During their stay at Camp Saunders, Nebraska National Guardsmen were issued clothing and equipment to prepare them for federal service. The enlisted men wore blue wool blouses and kersey wool trousers, which were ill-adapted for use in tropical climates. The officer shown here (center) has not yet replaced the National Guard insignia on his collar or exchanged his service cap for the more comfortable full-brimmed felt campaign hat. Watercolor by Debra Brownson.



D. BROWNSON '89



Camp Santa Mesa. (NSHS-S735)



Men of a First Nebraska outpost detail on Christmas day, 1898. (NSHS-S735)

Treaty of Paris would not be ratified by the U.S. Senate. Despite the "wait and see" attitude of Aguinaldo's government, tensions between the American and the Filipino military forces escalated dramatically in December and January while the treaty was being debated in Congress. Much of this tension stemmed from the presence of the Nebraska troops at Santa Mesa.

Letters and diaries of the Nebraska soldiers document the deteriorating situation. Private Johnson's first letter from the new camp, written on December 7, is indicative:

We are within 1/2 mile of the insurgent lines, and are expecting trouble at any time. Last night about ten o'clock the Col came out and gave orders to sleep with our clothes on [and] guns and ammunition where we could lay our hands [on them]. The insurgents had been watched very clearly all day and indications were to show that they were preparing to make an attack. We were well prepared for them, but no insurgents showed up.¹¹¹

In later letters Johnson told how the men were subjected to harassing fire while on a march, and described how disputes over the location of the Filipino lines and the Nebraska outposts nearly led to open conflict.¹¹² He recorded an ugly incident in which a Filipino was shot dead after slashing a soldier across the face.¹¹³

On January 12 Johnson noted, "Things here are getting more exciting every day. Our camp guards and outposts are doubled every night."¹¹⁴ Sergeant Vosburgh recorded that "the insurgents fired one shot at our guard last night on O.P. [outpost] and the guards run and left their post."¹¹⁵ On January 17 Johnson told of an inflammatory, anti-American handbill that was distributed in Manila. Outraged, he concluded that "if they would turn the boys loose, there wouldnt be a nigger left in Manila twelve hours after . . . The niggers will find out after while that they are not fooling with the Spaniards."¹¹⁶ On February 2, Johnson again remarked:

We had some trouble with the insurgents again last night. They were all drunk on "Vino" (Be-no), Officers and all. And tried to make our out posts move back, but the boys stood their grounds and talked them out of it. Our outposts are doubled

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tonight as they have been drunk all day and may try it again tonight.¹¹⁷

On February 3, the day before hostilities commenced, Private Earle Pear-sall of Company E prophesied in his diary:

The Insurgents are acting very ugly – and no doubt before the week is over We Will have trouble on our hands. I dont know how it will Come Out but I can imagine.¹¹⁸

Clearly, the powder keg was about to explode. A Nebraska soldier provided the spark.

ANOTHER WAR ERUPTS

The fateful shot that began three and one half years of brutal warfare with the Filipino people was fired on the evening of Saturday, February 4, 1899, by Private William W. Grayson, a young British-born hosteler from Beatrice, Nebraska. He and Orville Miller, both of Company D, had moved some distance from the other men of Outpost No. 2, which was situated along the water pipeline. Nearby Blockhouse No. 7 was occupied by Filipinos. Around 8:00 or 8:30 P.M., the two sentinels were approached by several Filipino soldiers. There are several versions of what happened next, but all agree that Grayson fired on the Filipinos after they failed to halt at his challenge. Grayson related the story to a newspaper reporter after his return to San Francisco:

That night my companion on the outpost was Orville Miller. During the day I had had a talk with the Filipino Lieutenant. He told me that I would have to keep back farther. You see, they were encroaching upon our territory every day, and because we seemed to stand for it they got brave and impudent. I told the Lieutenant I did not savey. On account of this little happening we were more on our guard than ever that night.

Miller and I walked down to the end of a lane, so that our retreat would be covered in case we had to retreat. We were half-sitting, half-kneeling at the end of a lane when we heard the soft whistle of a Filipino. It was answered by several, and we knew that mischief was brewing. Then from the Filipinos' Blockhouse 7 we saw a red light waving some kind of a signal. We turned our gaze back to where the whistle came from when up rose a Filipino as if he had come out of the ground. I challenged him and he challenged my challenge. That meant fight. I heard the click, click of rifles, and without a moment's hesitation I let fly, and my impertinent Filipino tumbled over. Miller and I took to our heels up the lane.

Two shots rang out as we ran, and when we had got about twenty-five yards two Filipinos blocked

our path. They were inside of our lines and they challenged us.

"Shoot!" I cried to Miller, and a second later there was a dead Filipino. In another second I had brought down my second Filipino. My first, I think, was the Lieutenant who had given me lip in the daytime. I think I killed him. I don't know, but I think he got it right.

We retreated until we reached the pipe line. That was the water main, and it made fine breastworks, and we needed them. The Filipinos kept firing at us all the time. The entire outpost — there were thirty of us — came into the pipe line and we all peppered away at the enemy. Then the action spread from right to the left, and in fifteen minutes the engagement was general from Calocan to the bay.¹¹⁹

Given the tension that had prevailed for over a month, Grayson's shot came as no surprise to the men of the First Nebraska. According to Sergeant Vosburgh they were prepared and quickly took up assigned positions:

I just came in from the band practice and Cap't and I was watching a chess game between Boardwell and Morrow. At 8:20 there was a shot fired on our out post no. 2, and that was the signal to fall in. I yelled to the Co[mpany] to fall in and we had marched out to our place just as the Call to Arms was sounded and it was not long before there was a general fire all along the lines for over 15 miles . . . We kept up a fire untill about 11 P.M. when we laid down and rested untill morning. Although they started to fire on us at 3 A.M., we

did not answer their fire and they yelled and had a good time.¹²⁰

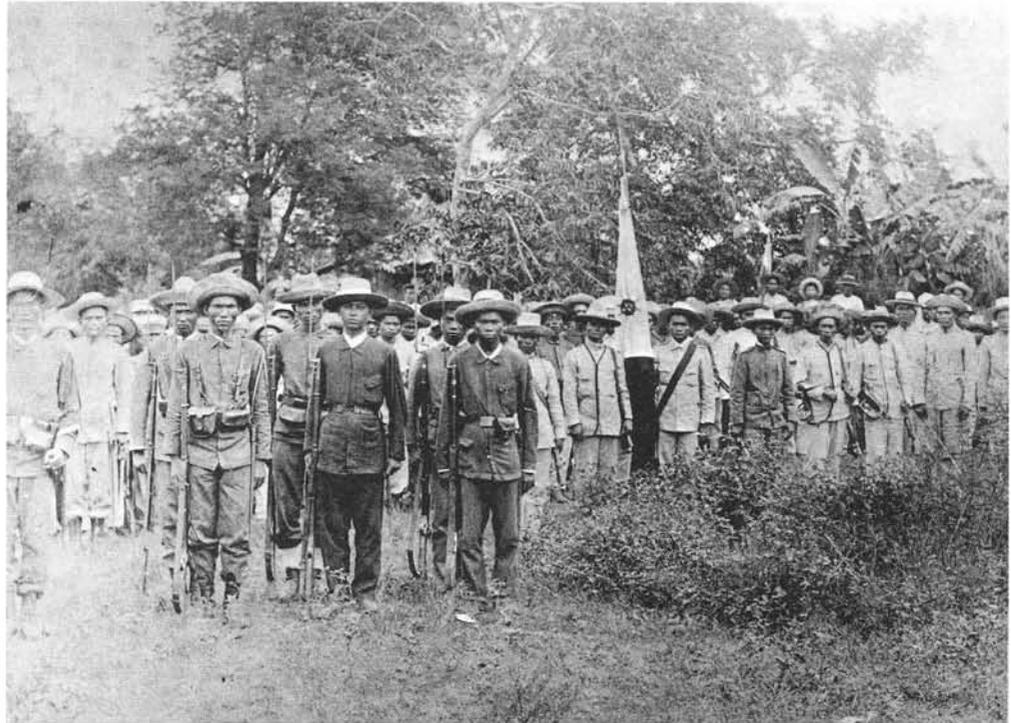
Another Nebraska sentinel, Private Luther J. Abbott, Jr., of Company M, also described in his diary the opening moments of the Philippine fighting:

At sick call Dr. Jens finally marked me "duty." I loitered around over there so I'd not have to drill that evening. After supper some one asked me if I knew I was "on out post" that night. I did not but hurried and got ready. The Lieut. told me to take 100 extra rounds in my haversack. Surely if they had really expected trouble they would not have had us leave our smokeless powder shells.

I manovered to get left at out post no. 1. The duty is generally lighter, the place to sleep better, and it is nearer camp. There I drew 3rd relief — so having four hours to sleep turned in straightway. Before going to sleep I heard Lieut. Storch, in command of the out post, mention how sassy and impudent the Insurgents over at No 2 had been all day. He also kicked a little that he should be assigned No. 1 after he'd been bothered at No 2 all day.

It was a little after 9 O'clock so I'm told, the time is generally agreed upon, that we were awakened by a shot. There was considerable damning — I think I did a little myself — that some fool guard should let his gun go off and spoil our sleep. "Don't you think it was an accident" said the Lieut. "I have been over there all day, they were terrible impudent, we're going to have a fight. Fall in! Fall in!" This may not be his exact words but they are about right. Then came a few shots more from our left then volley followed

Filipino soldiers. (NSHS-S735)





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Private William W. Grayson of Company D, the man who fired the first shot of the Philippine War on the night of February 4, 1899. (NSHS-P853)

volley. At about the same time the Insurgents opened [fire] from their barracks to the east of camp and also from across the river to the north. By this time our regiment had deployed in places assigned it and occupied after dark in practice time and again. We had begun to answer with volleys and rapid fire. A furious battle was on.¹²¹

Soldiers of the Spanish garrison at Manila. Spanish soldiers serving in the Philippines wore comfortable, lightweight white or blue-striped cotton uniforms that were well adapted to the heat and humidity of the tropics. Cockades of the Spanish royal colors (red and yellow) adorned their wide-brimmed straw hats. At the time of the American invasion of the Philippines, Spanish soldiers carried a bolt-action Mauser rifle that offered two advantages over the rifles carried by the U.S. Volunteers: greater range and smokeless-powder cartridges that did not reveal the firer's location to the enemy. Little information on the uniform regulations of the Spanish army is available in the United States. The details shown here have been interpreted from photographs and may not be entirely accurate. Watercolor by Debra Brownson.



Emilio Aguinaldo, the leader of the Philippine nationalists. (NSHS-S735)

Within minutes of Grayson's shot, the entire American line around Manila was ablaze with rifle and artillery fire. Dewey's ships in the bay and gunboats in the Pasig River added their firepower to that of the soldiers. The Filipinos, who surrounded the First Nebraska camp on three sides, opened

a furious but ineffectual fire, as the companies had quickly deployed to pre-assigned positions outside the camp. Occasionally the hostile fire would slacken, and the Filipinos would hurl verbal taunts.¹²²

At daybreak the Americans attacked the Filipinos all along the front and



The McLeod house, an Englishman's residence near Camp Santa Mesa, which served as a hospital for the First Nebraska. Two guns of the Utah Volunteer Light Artillery were positioned near this house during the battle of Santa Mesa, February 4-6, 1899. (NSHS-S735)



Part of Battery A of the Utah Volunteer Light Artillery in action. This unit closely supported the Nebraska regiment throughout the campaign. (NSHS-R966-27)

quickly drove them from their positions. First Lieutenant Warren McLaughlin described the action near the Santa Mesa salient during the first two days of battle, which ended with the Nebraska regiment's capture of the vital pumping station on the Mariquina (or San Mateo) River:

On Sunday morning our troops opened up a heavy fire on the insurgent lines and at about 7:30 two companies on our left move[d] out to make the charge on Block house No. 7. It was a grand sight to see them crossing the 1/2 mile of open ground, which strange to say was done without the loss of a man. There were 43 natives killed at the Block house.

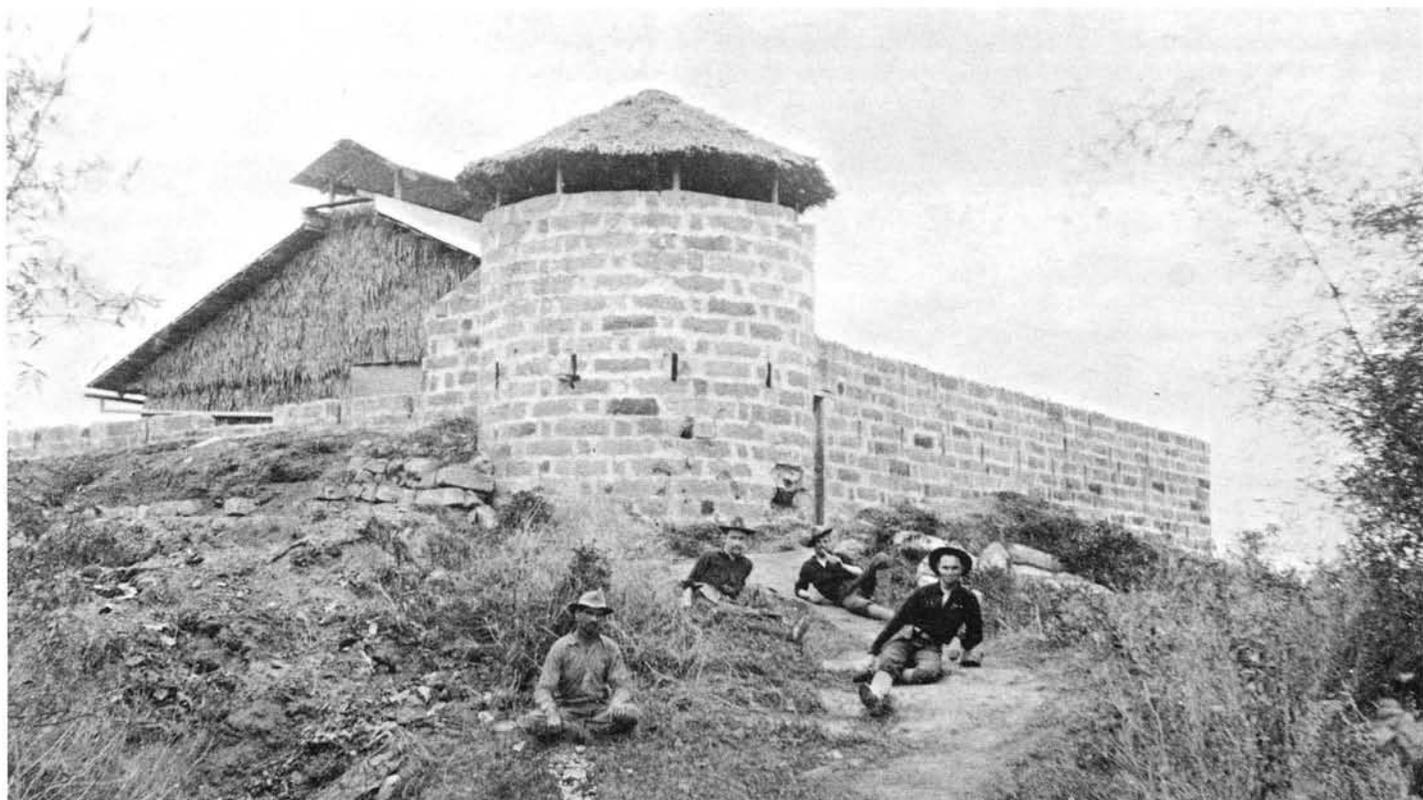
The instant that our boys reached the Block house Major Mulford with 4 companies made a forward movement and took San Juan Bridge under a heavy fire. That part of our line which had advanced was now joined by 2 companies of the 1st Colo and 1 Bat. of 1st Tenn. The head of the column charged up to the Powder magazine and then turning to the right and forming line of Battle, they pushed the insurgents back over San Juan del Monte Hill, and by 12 o'clock had possession of the Deposito. This movement broke the insurgent center and our troops were able to roll them up like a piece of tape.

A halt was made at the Deposito and Monday the advance along the Water Pipe was renewed. By this time the enemy had collected their forces and resisted the advance bravely but when the Neb. boys get started there isn't natives enough on the island to stop them. At 8 P.M. we had the Pumping Station and the water supply for 300 000 people was no longer in danger of being cut off. You will thus see how important was the task set for the 1st Neb.¹²³

At Blockhouse No. 7 the Nebraska troops captured a one-pounder Hotchkiss cannon, which served the regiment ably during the later Malolos campaign. Under the direction of First Lieutenant William K. Moore, the cannon became known as the "Nebraska artillery."¹²⁴

The Nebraskans, assisted by Colorado and Tennessee troops and the Utah artillery, gained the most ground of any American regiment during this two-day battle and extended the American lines about eight miles, encompassing the pumping station and the pipeline that supplied water to Manila. When they arrived at the pumping station, the troops found that the Filipinos had removed the pump heads. The heads were discovered under a pile of coal, and the machinery was soon functioning under the supervision of "engineers" from the Ne-

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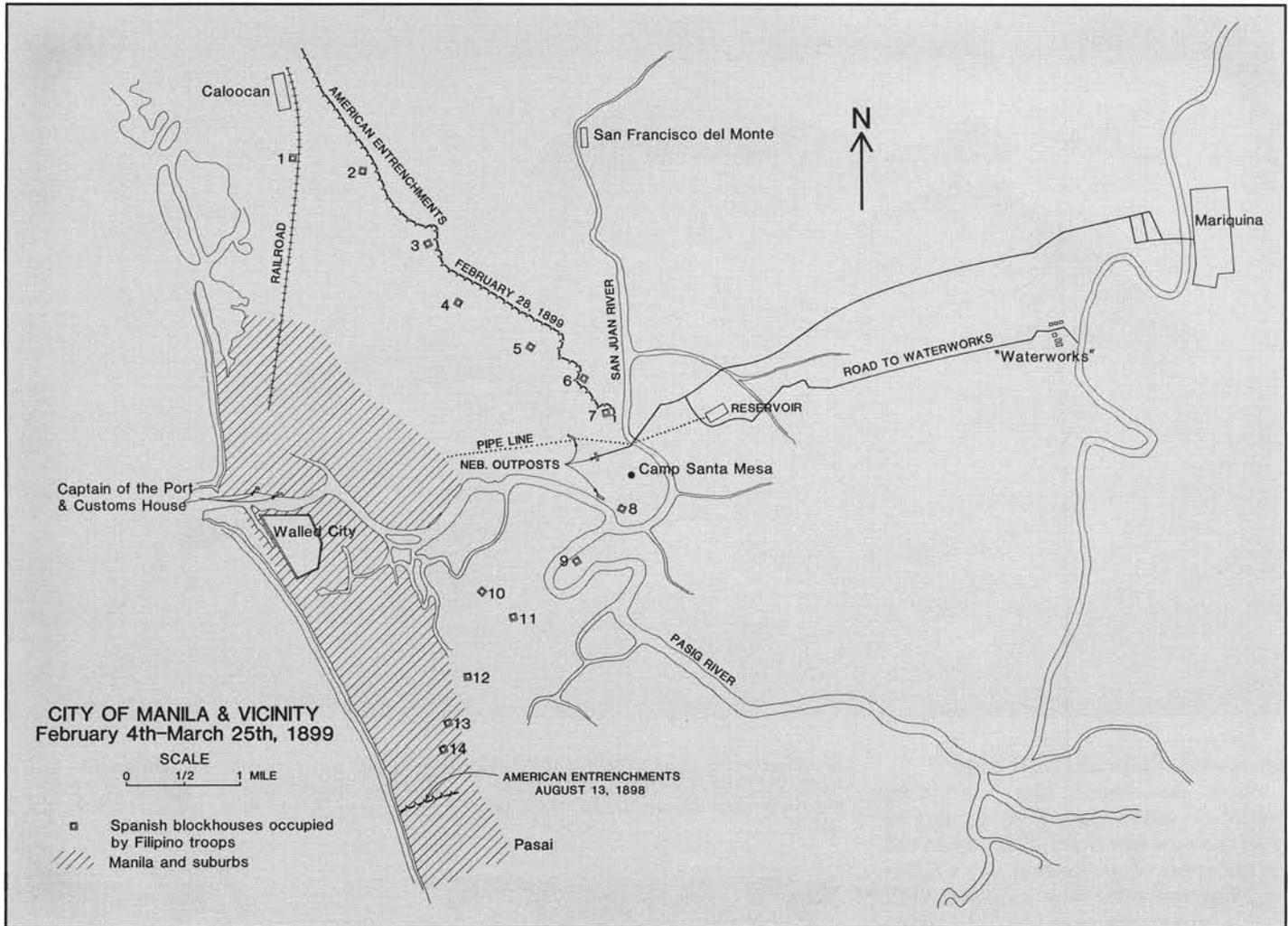
braska and Colorado regiments.¹²⁵

After this battle, the Americans halted to consolidate their gains and plan the new war. Aguinaldo proposed an armistice after the first day's fighting, but the offer was rebuffed with Otis's brusque remark that "the fighting having begun must go on to the grim end."¹²⁶

Some scholars have ascribed political motives to the timing of the beginning of hostilities. Fighting erupted on the evening of February 4; word reached Washington by February 6, when it may have influenced the Senate's vote on the Treaty of Paris, which was ratified by a very narrow margin.¹²⁷ However, no evidence has been found to link the outbreak of the fighting to orders by any American political or military official.¹²⁸ It has also been asserted that the Filipinos deliberately provoked the war.¹²⁹ If so, they chose an inauspicious time, as most of their high command were

Blockhouse No. 7, which was captured by a charge of First Nebraska soldiers on February 5, 1899. (NSHS-S735[D362]) . . . (Below) Nebraskans firing on Filipino positions near Camp Santa Mesa on the morning of February 5, 1899. (NSHS-S735)





Map by Del Darling.

absent from the front line on February 4, attending a celebration in their capital city of Malolos.¹³⁰

During the two days of fighting, fifty-nine Americans were killed and 278 wounded. The Filipino loss was estimated at 3,000.¹³¹ Six Nebraskans were killed, twenty-two were wounded, and eight Nebraska soldiers were later cited for gallantry.¹³²

GUARDING THE WATERWORKS

Between February 7 and March 15 the First Nebraska, supported by the Utah Volunteer Light Artillery, occupied positions along the pipeline

between the waterworks and Camp Santa Mesa. During the approximately five weeks that the Nebraskans guarded this salient, their time was devoted to outpost duty, scouting and patrolling, and skirmishing frequently with the enemy, who would appear from virtually any direction, attack suddenly, then vanish. Outpost duty was particularly dreaded by the soldiers, who had to occupy isolated positions at night well in advance of the main body of troops and maintain a constant vigil for hours. Private Abbott commented sarcastically about one particularly despised outpost: "That hole we go to

is a regular death trap, and for our part we would about as soon have the Insurgents capture the spot and keep it."¹³³ On February 12 Private Earle Pearsall of Company K recorded his stoic attitude towards outpost duty:

Co. K rec'd orders to move Camp, just for the day and night, to Guard the Marakina road. It is a regular death trap for any Co. But I guess our Chances are a[s] good as any of them. Any way we have to make the best of it.¹³⁴

Pearsall's diary documents exchanges of fire with the Filipinos on at least thirteen days between February 7 and March 15.¹³⁵

At first, the fighting occurred in con-

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ventional, set-piece battles, with large formations of men facing each other in more or less fixed positions. However, the Filipinos found they were no match for the better trained and better led Americans, and soon adopted the tactics of guerrilla warfare. Private Johnson noted this subtle change in the fighting by mid-February:

About noon smoke could be seen rising in that direction [south]. Then we knew they had the insurgents driven out of a little town about 4 miles from here. We had to burn all the houses so they would have any excuse to be around. If we don't do this they will hide their guns in the daytime and claim they don't belong to the army, but at night they will dig up their guns and take a shot at the boys every chance they get.¹³⁶

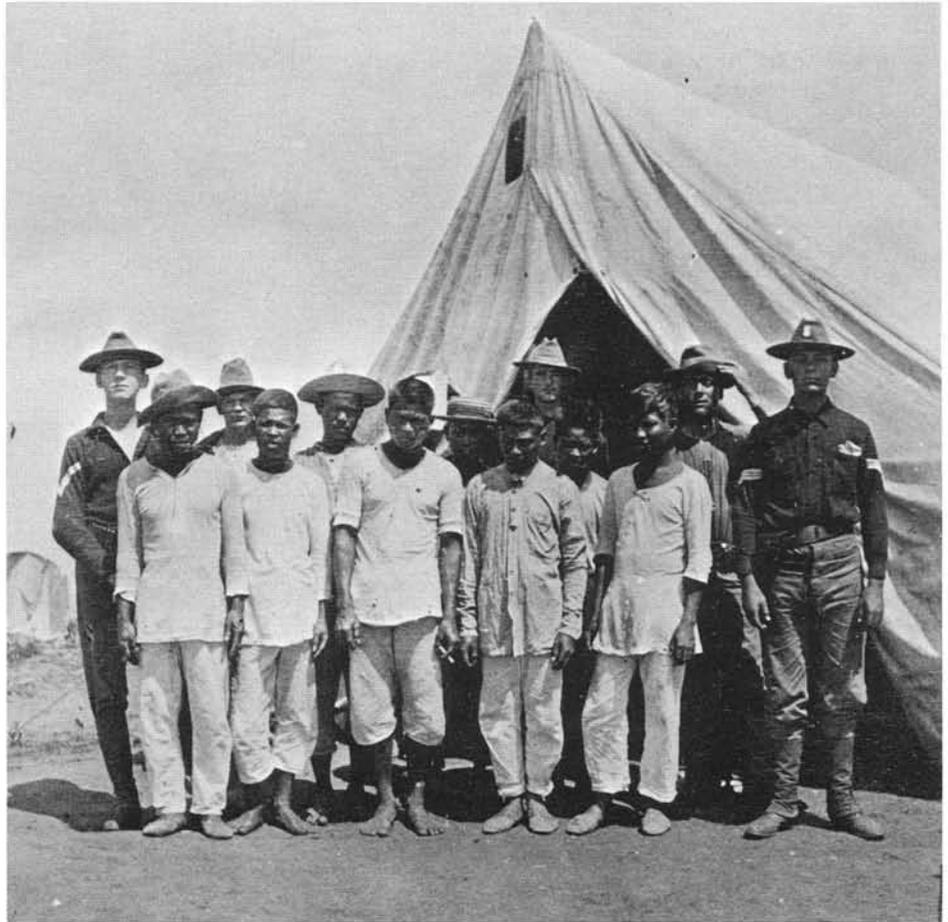
Most of the actions along the pipeline involved relatively few troops. However, on February 22 the Nebraskans attempted a battalion-strength maneuver to envelop and surprise a large body of Filipinos. After routing the enemy, the Nebraskans pursued the elusive natives for several miles, finally returning to camp under a heavy harassing fire without having dealt the Filipinos a serious defeat.¹³⁷

On February 26 a Nebraska patrol was fired on from the town of Mariquina. In retaliation the Nebraskans burned the town. Johnson described the incident:

Every thing went well until they were quite a little distance past the town, when a large number of niggers opened up on them from the houses, and advanced upon them through the rice fields. The boys retreated about seven or eight hundred yards to the south so the artillery could open up on them. As soon as the boys were in safe distance the Utahs opened up, and dropped several shells right among the niggers. In the meantime Co L and M had started across the valley to where the boys were. I did not go as I had to go on outpost at 5:30. When they got over south of the town they formed a skirmish line and advanced. They entered the town, but the niggers were retreating towards the foot hills.

One of the boys accidently dropped a match, and the town was soon in flames, which burned until about midnight.¹³⁸

The burning of buildings was in direct violation of Stotsenburg's Field Order No. 1 of February 5, which also prohibited looting.¹³⁹ In his official report of the incident, Major Mulford stated that he had been told that the natives had set fire to the town.¹⁴⁰ However, the letters and diaries of other Nebraska soldiers are more can-



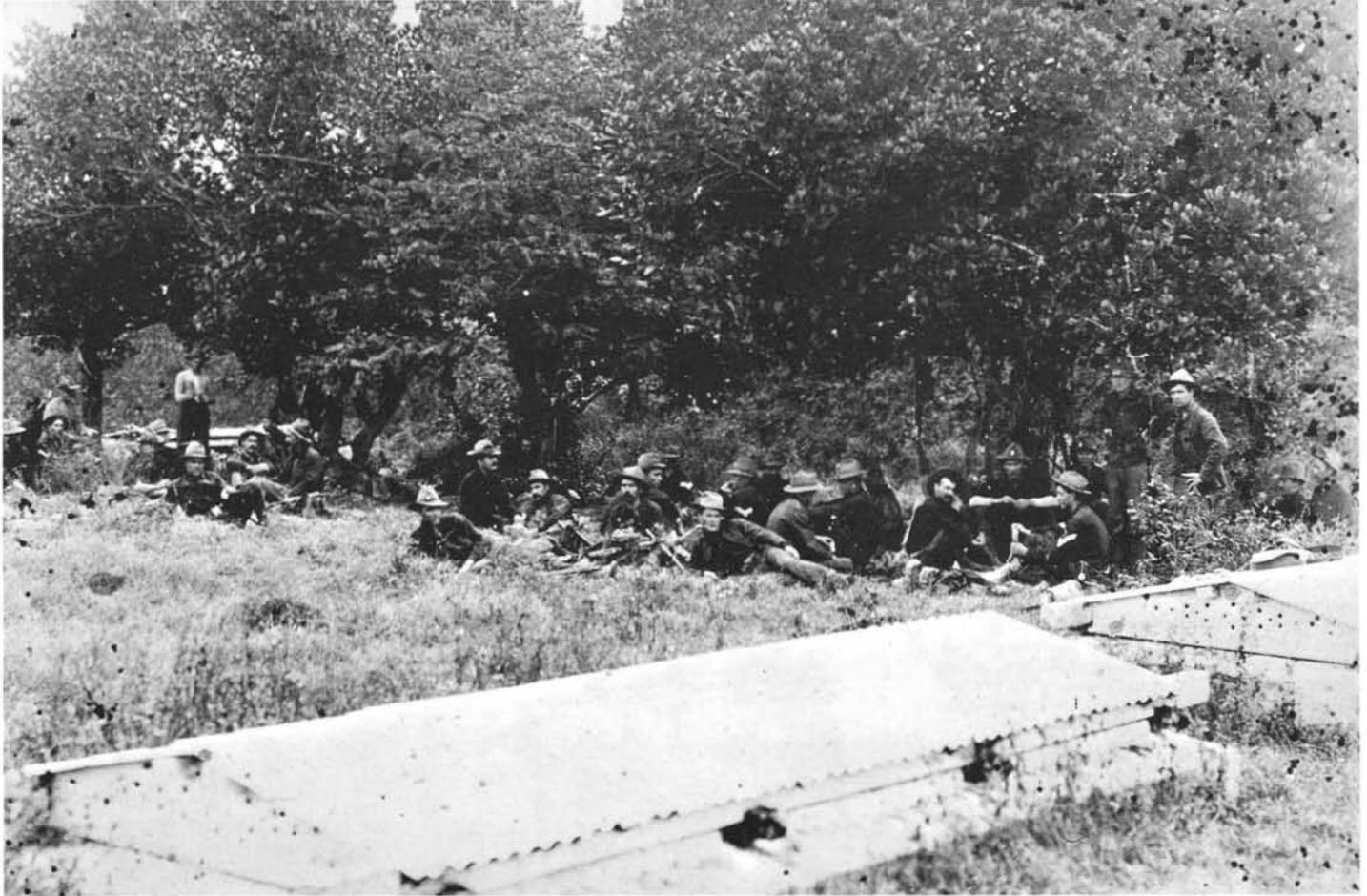
Filipino prisoners captured by Nebraska troops near Camp Santa Mesa on February 5-6, 1899. (NSHS-S735)

did and it appears that other villages were burned by the troops as well. Of the Mariquina fire, Private Abbott wrote that "the Col. is said to be pretty mad about it. Maj. Mulford acts more like a school boy than an officer fit to command. Some of the boys who went out and brought in plunder were put under arrest."¹⁴¹

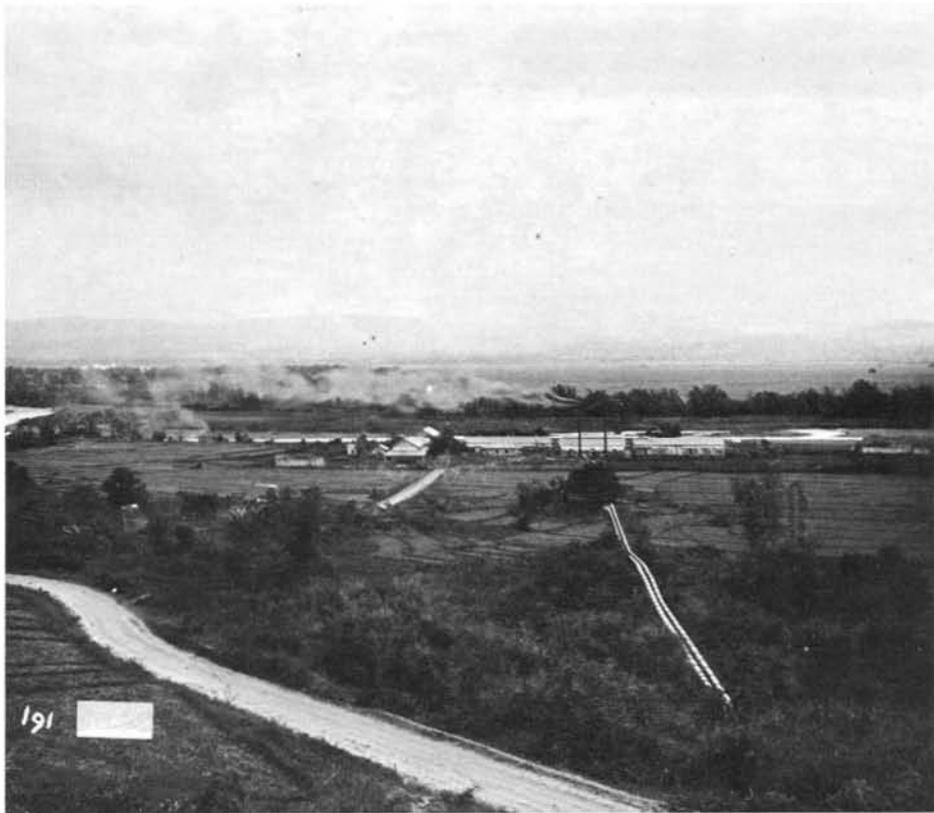
The Christmas packages shipped by relatives and friends in Nebraska well before the holiday season, finally arrived on March 3, having been delayed en route by false expectations of the regiment being sent home. The men eagerly opened the packages, which contained canned goods, fresh apples (which had spoiled), reading

material, razors, and other useful and not-so-useful items. Disgusted because the parcel he received contained only canned salmon and canned beef — which was the daily fare of the men in the field — one soldier is reported to have thrown his entire package into the river.¹⁴² In general, however, the men were delighted to receive the gifts from home. Private Pearsall recorded: "Talk about being happy. This was about the happiest camp on the Island."¹⁴³

An officer from the divisional inspector general's office visited the Nebraska camp on March 9 investigating allegations of misconduct by Colonel Stotsenburg. In early January a peti-

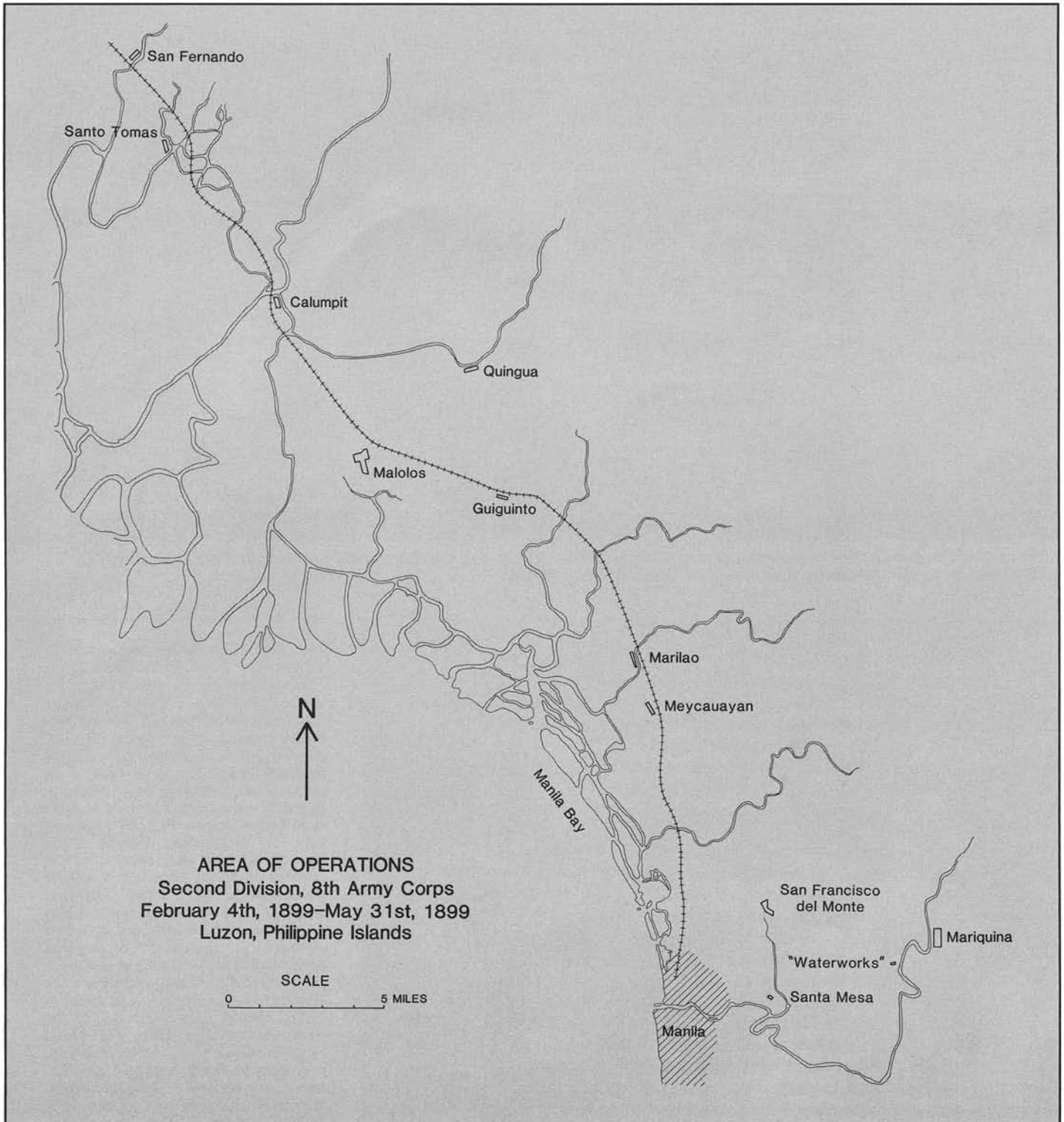


Nebraska soldiers resting at the water reservoir or "deposito" along the waterline. (NSHS-S735)



The pumping station on the Mariquina River, the objective of the First Nebraska's advance on February 6, 1899. (NSHS-S735)

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Map by Del Darling.



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The camp of Company E near the pumping station. (NSHS-S735)... (Below) Colonel Stotsenburg mounted on a Filipino pony on March 26, 1899, during the offensive against Malolos. (NSHS-S735[7136-45])



First Nebraska soldiers in camp in the Philippines. Nebraska soldiers in the Philippines wore a variety of uniforms. The officer (left) is wearing a white uniform normally prescribed for formal occasions in the tropics. The corporal (right) is wearing a typical field uniform consisting of a blue wool pullover shirt, kersey wool trousers, leggings, campaign hat, and a fifty-round ammunition belt. He is armed with a single-shot, Model 1884 Springfield rifle that used a black-powder cartridge that left a telltale smoke cloud when fired. The first sergeant (center) is wearing a khaki cotton blouse and trousers designed especially for tropical service. Inspired by British army uniforms in use since the mid-1880s, khaki uniforms were first introduced into the U.S. Army in 1898, shortly after the start of the Spanish-American War. The khaki uniform shown here is based on actual examples in the Nebraska State Historical Society's collection and is a pattern that probably was produced in Hong Kong for the U.S. government. Watercolor by Debra Brounson.



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First Nebraska men under fire near Malolos in March 1899. (NSHS-S735[7136-46])

tion seeking the colonel's reassignment, signed by a committee of eight men in Omaha and endorsed by seventy-five relatives and friends of the men in Company L, had been presented to the secretary of war and to the Nebraska legislature.¹⁴⁴ The petition sought Stotsenburg's removal on the grounds that he conspired to be promoted over more senior officers, had promoted subordinates who were his lackeys, had treated the men in an arbitrary and brutal fashion, and generally had exhibited conduct "unbecoming an officer and a gentleman." The document contained fifteen charges, ranging from petty exercise of authority to being a tyrant. The chief

clerk of the legislature forwarded the petition to the secretary of war, along with a request for a formal investigation.¹⁴⁵

In early February the secretary of war received another petition signed by 144 of the First Nebraska men who had been mustered out in December.¹⁴⁶ The petition sought Stotsenburg's removal because he had been appointed regimental commander instead of Lieutenant Colonel Colton, a more senior officer. It also requested that the regiment be transferred home as soon as possible.

The secretary passed the petitions to General Otis in Manila for investigation.¹⁴⁷ Major John S. Mallory of the

inspector general's office interviewed all of the officers individually and each company collectively to solicit opinions about the validity of the charges against Stotsenburg. He also took written statements, gave the men in the regiment the opportunity to meet with him privately, and interviewed Nebraska soldiers in the hospital. Stotsenburg wrote a detailed rebuttal to the charges.¹⁴⁸ The officers and men of the regiment overwhelmingly endorsed their commander as a brave and efficient officer, whose discipline, though occasionally strict, was warranted under the circumstances. The First Nebraska had gained a reputation as one of the hardest-fighting regiments in the Eighth Corps, an accomplishment that its members unanimously credited to Stotsenburg. Mallory heard little criticism of the colonel, and the soldiers whom he interviewed frequently attributed the petitions to "soreheads" and slackers.

Mallory's report was forwarded to General MacArthur, who added his endorsement of Stotsenburg's professionalism and efficiency.¹⁴⁹ Apparently the secretary of war and the Nebraska legislature were satisfied, for no further action was taken.

Even before the petitions were circulated, the officers and men of the First Nebraska were offering unsolicited testimonials about Stotsenburg in their diaries and letters home. On October 6, 1898, First Lieutenant Warren McLaughlin wrote, "Our Col. is going home and Maj. Stotsenburg will take his place. He is a regular army man but he has worked unceasingly for the good of the Regt and I am very much pleased over his promotion."¹⁵⁰ Shortly after the outbreak of hostilities in February, McLaughlin again praised his commander:

Our Colonel — I cannot find words to express my admiration for him. He could always be found where the fight was the hottest, directing the fire and movements of our troops, keeping them under shelter as much as possible, and never once seeming to think of himself. As one man expressed it (he was a regular whose line joined ours), "If Col. Stotsenburg would order a bayonet

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charge in H — 1, the 1st Neb. would do it with a cheer."¹⁵¹

Second Lieutenant Andrew Wadsworth seconded this sentiment in a letter to his sister, stating that Colonel Stotsenburg "is the only boy for us — you can put that down as no lie."¹⁵² Private Luther Abbott wrote that Stotsenburg was "an efficient, good officer" and paid tribute to his leadership ability:

Our colonel is a brick. He drills us pretty hard, but pours it into the officers as well as the men. When it comes to fighting, he is every where, always cool. Indeed the perfect soldier. Not your roaring, ranting Custer, John A. Logan plungers; but a cool headed, careful figure — of the Grant, Lee pattern.¹⁵³

Clearly the men of the First Nebraska respected and appreciated Stotsenburg for his professionalism, fairness, efficiency, and courage, and many of them were outraged to learn of the allegations against their commander.

On March 14 the First Nebraska was ordered to a quieter sector and the men enjoyed a well-deserved rest. During the dangerous duty along the pipeline, the regiment had seven men killed and fourteen wounded, including three officers wounded (Captain Albert H. Hollingworth and Claude H. Ough and Second Lieutenant Bert D. Whedon).¹⁵⁴ Private Johnson described the new camp:

The change was made to give the Nebraska regiment a rest. Where we are in camp now is a good place, plenty of good shade and a spring about two hundred [yards] from us. Although we can hear the insurgent bugles every night and morning, so far they have not bothered us any. Only a stray mauzer now and then can be heard going over our camp, fired by some nigger off about a mile. We have not fired a shot since we arrived here.¹⁵⁵

The move made the men wonder if the long-awaited return home might not be in the offing. According to Johnson:

Some say we are going to Guam Island, others say we are going [to] Malolos, and some say we are going to the States. It is my opinion we will see some hard fighting before we leave for the States.¹⁵⁶

Johnson's prediction would soon come true when the First Nebraska participated in a bitterly-fought offensive against the Filipino capital.

GEORGE D. MEIKLEJOHN

A Nebraskan held a prominent position in the War Department during the war with Spain. Lawyer George D. Meiklejohn was admitted to the bar at the age of twenty-three in Nance County, and he quickly became a rising star in local Republican party politics. He served in the state senate, 1885-89, as Nebraska's lieutenant-governor, 1889-91, and was elected to the U.S. House of Representatives in 1894 and 1896. Appointed by President McKinley as assistant secretary of war on April 14, 1897, Meiklejohn held that office until March 1901. After running unsuccessfully for the U.S. Senate that year, he practiced law in Omaha until 1918. Meiklejohn died in California in 1929. (NSHS-P853)



THE DRIVE ON MALOLOS

Aguinaldo's capital was at Malolos, about twenty miles north of Manila along the only railroad in the Philippines. General MacArthur's Second Division was preparing to capture Malolos in hopes of bringing an early end to the war. The division was opposed by 16,000 Filipino soldiers under General Antonio Luna, who often occupied strongly fortified positions that were costly to assault. The Americans' plan called for the Second Division to sweep northward along the railroad. The strategy was originally intended to be a complex series of coordinated wheeling and enveloping movements by the four cooperating brigades. However, according to William T. Sexton, the military chronicler of the Philippine War, "The whole operation turned out to be a series of regimental combats, many of them bloody and devoid of either strategy or tactics."¹⁵⁷

The offensive against Malolos began on March 25. General Hale's brigade — to which the Nebraskans were assigned — moved out an hour before the other American units because it occupied the right of the line and had more ground to cover. The First Nebraska advanced

with two battalions on line and the third in reserve.¹⁵⁸

The first objective was the town of San Francisco del Monte, where stiff resistance was encountered. In fierce hand-to-hand fighting, Captain Lee Forby of Company L was mortally wounded, the first officer fatality in the regiment. Sweeping past San Francisco del Monte, the regiment reached the Tuliahan River, where it bivouacked with the rest of Hale's brigade.

The brigade's original objective for the first day was the town of Novaliches. However, much of the advance was through thick jungle, which made wheeled transportation impractical and exhausted the men. Consequently, the plan of the offensive was changed, and the American lines were re-oriented away from Novaliches.

On March 26 the Nebraska regiment, on the right of the brigade, took the town of Polo and advanced toward Meycauayan on the river of the same name. The enemy, strongly entrenched on the north side of the river, was dislodged only after a vigorous charge by Nebraska and South Dakota troops.

On March 27 Hale's Second Brigade (containing the Nebraska regiment)



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advanced north along the east side of the rail line, while Brigadier General Harrison G. Otis's First Brigade advanced along the west side. The South Dakota regiment, the advance element of Hale's brigade, sustained heavy losses near the town of Marilao, situated on the river of the same name. The South Dakotans, assisted by a few Nebraskans, captured the Marilao railroad bridge, pushing the Filipinos across the river. Private Johnson participated in the charge across the bridge:

We all wanted to cross the bridge, but it looked like certain death. Even though we [might not] receive a wound we were very apt to fall into the water. The ties were about 2½ feet apart and the bridge was about 30 feet high and the water in the river about 10 feet deep. We thought our chances were very poor. Several of the boys with us at the end of the bridge had already been shot. All we needed however was a leader. And he soon came. A Major of the Dakotas. When he got up on the tracks and see[n] how things were, all he said was "Come on boys," and away he went. We followed him. I never felt better in my life than I did when I got off that bridge. It is about 150 feet long and at every step we could hear the bullets hitting the steel part of the bridge all around us.¹⁵⁹

Otis's brigade also came under heavy fire at the Marilao River, and the Twentieth Kansas Volunteer Infantry, commanded by its famous colonel, Frederick Funston, made a daring crossing and dislodged the Filipinos. Late in the afternoon the Filipinos counter attacked. With colors unfurled, the entire Nebraska regiment charged the Filipinos' left, routed them, and chased them for two miles. On this occasion General Hale is reported to have remarked: "There go those Nebraskans again, and all hell couldn't

Soldiers of the Philippine nationalist army. Filipino soldiers wore a variety of clothing, often consisting of uniforms and equipment captured from the Spanish. The two soldiers shown here are wearing blue-striped Spanish blouses and trousers and carrying single-shot Remington rifles formerly issued to Spanish troops. Their officer (left) is likewise wearing a white Spanish uniform and carrying a Spanish revolver and saber. Water-color by Debra Brownson.



Colonel Stotsenburg (pointing) conferring with Major Mulford, Captain Eager, and Lieutenant Weber on the morning of March 26, 1899. (NSHS-S735) . . . (Below) Nebraska soldiers resting along the railroad line near Marilao, March 27, 1899. (NSHS-S735[7136-150])



FIREARMS OF THE WAR

The Model 1884 Springfield rifle was issued to U.S. volunteer troops in the Philippines. It is a single-shot, breech-loading weapon which, in slightly different versions, had been in use by the U.S. Army since 1866. The cartridge was .45-caliber and was loaded with seventy grains of black powder, which left a billow of white smoke when fired, revealing the firer's position to the enemy. This rifle was carried by Private August B. Woellhaf of Company C, Third Nebraska Volunteer Infantry.

The Model 1898 Krag-Jorgensen rifle, more commonly known as the "Krag" after its Danish designer, was the arm of the regular U.S. Army troops when the war began. It is a bolt action rifle capable of holding five rounds in the magazine. The .30-40-caliber cartridge utilized the relatively new smokeless powder that produced no tell-tale smoke cloud when fired. Most volunteer troops were issued the Krag in 1899. In April 1899 the First Nebraska received 300 Krags to replace an equal number of the older Springfields.

The Spanish troops carried the German-designed Model 1893 Mauser rifle. It was a bolt-action repeating rifle with a magazine capable of holding five shots. It also used smokeless powder and had a greater range than the Springfield or the Krag. The Mauser was highly regarded by all combatants. Many U.S. volunteer troops discarded their single-shot Springfields when they captured a Mauser and a supply of ammunition. This rifle was picked up by Captain Albert H. Hollingworth, Company C, First Nebraska Volunteer Infantry, during the advance on the waterworks in early February 1899.

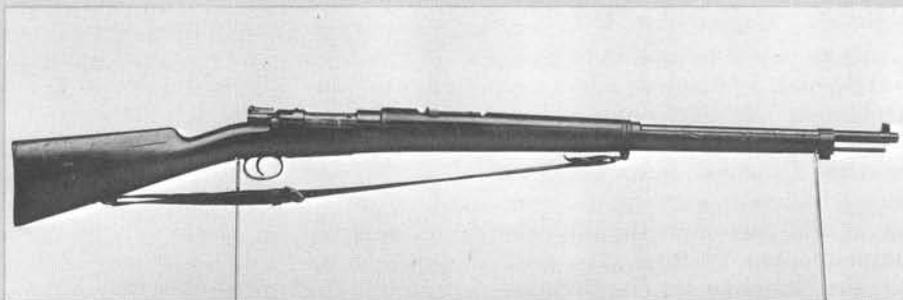
The American-made Remington .50-caliber single-shot rifle (called the "rolling block" for the manner in which it was loaded) was a common weapon of the Filipinos. This rifle was captured by Private Charles B. Busey, Company M, First Nebraska Volunteer Infantry. (R. Bruhn Photos)



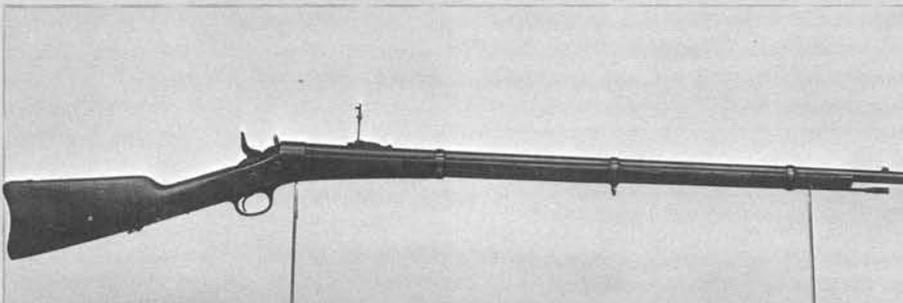
Springfield



Krag-Jorgensen



Mauser



Remington

Fighting First Nebraska



Company G fording the Marilao River, March 27, 1899. (NSHS-S735[7136-139])

stop them.”¹⁶⁰ The Americans remained at Marilao on March 28 to repair the railroad bridge.

On the morning of March 29 the Americans rapidly moved up the railroad line to within five miles of Malolos. This time the First Nebraska led Hale’s brigade. Pushing the enemy before them, the Nebraskans advanced past Santa Marie and Santa Clara, crossed the Bigaa River, and continued past Bigaa, Bulacan, and Guiguinto, often under fire. After covering twenty miles the regiment bivouacked east of Guiguinto.

Late on the morning of March 30, the Nebraskans crossed the Guiguinto River. The brigade paused to distribute ammunition and rations and then resumed the advance at about

2:00 P.M. The First Nebraska soon encountered heavy fire and by a series of rushes, advanced two miles and then bivouacked. Heavy casualties were sustained, as described by Private Johnson:

In twenty minutes after the niggers opened up, 23 of the 1st Nebr were down, 3 of them killed. We were behind the firing line about 300 yds marching in column of fours. This is the first time I know of that the officers didnt half to tell the boys to keep their heads down. The minute it opened up every man dropped. He didnt half to be told . . . It was a sad sight to look at when we got up to where the firing line was when the niggers first opened up. Twenty three of our boys scattered along the line.¹⁶¹

MacArthur halted the whole division, preferring to assault the strong earthworks around Malolos the following morning.

On March 31 the Nebraskans advanced in a skirmish line and captured

several minor Filipino positions. In the meantime, elements of the Kansas regiment were the first to enter Malolos, only to find it empty and in flames. Aguinaldo’s government had withdrawn to San Isidro, thirty miles up the railroad line.

Despite the anticlimactic end to the campaign, the drive on Malolos had been hard fought and costly to the Americans, who suffered fifty-six killed and 478 wounded during the seven-day offensive.¹⁶² The First Nebraska lost nine men killed, including one officer (Captain Forby), and eighty-one wounded, including four officers (Captains Charles W. Jens and Wallace C. Taylor, and First Lieutenants Joseph A. Storch and P. James Cosgrave).¹⁶³ Frank D. Eager summarized the condition of the



First Nebraska men on the firing line near Malolos, March 31, 1899. (NSHS-S735 [7136-142])... (Below) Filipino dead in a trench. "Work of the 1st Nebr. Vols." (NSHS-S735)



regiment at the conclusion of this hard-fought campaign: "The boys were completely worn out and not one-third of the regiment was fit for duty when they reached Malolos."¹⁶⁴ Private Johnson added, "Some of our companies havent 30 men for duty."¹⁶⁵ The ever-cautious corps commander General Elwell Otis ordered MacArthur to remain at Malolos to reorganize and re-supply.¹⁶⁶ For the First Nebraska men, it was a welcome rest.

Private Luther Abbott wrote disparagingly of the conduct of the Americans who occupied Malolos:

The street along which our division is camped — That is Pa., So. Dak. & Nebr. — has been all appropriated by the soldiers. Houses are occupied by officers and men, many have been dismantled — all have been looted.

The natives made a great mistake in not letting their women return, also the non combatants, as soon as the fight was over. Then they would have had a home. Now they have nothing. The reason they did not come back was probably because we were painted as devils. Our only hope of peace is to convince them we are not by right conduct. This is the only way of conquering the Philippines in my opinion.¹⁶⁷

THE BATTLE OF QUINGUA

MacArthur's division remained in the Malolos vicinity for over three weeks before continuing its advance against General Luna's army, now entrenched behind a series of rivers north of Malolos. The offensive, originally scheduled to resume on April 24, was precipitated a day earlier during an operation to rescue part of the Nebraska regiment that had become pinned down by enemy fire. The engagement had tragic consequences for the Nebraskans.¹⁶⁸

At Malolos a detachment of scouts had been formed under the command of Major J. Franklin Bell. On the morning of April 23, Major Bell and a party of scouts moved to the northeast to reconnoiter the vicinity of Quingua. They were escorted by Troop K of the Fourth U.S. Cavalry.

The scouting party and its escort unexpectedly encountered heavy Filipino fire and were forced to retreat to a ditch where they were pinned



Malolos, the Filipino capital which was captured by the Americans on March 31, 1899. Its capture ended a seven-day offensive but did not end the fighting. (NSHS-S735/D362)

down. One cavalryman was killed and several were wounded. Major Frank Eager, now a battalion commander, led four companies of the First Nebraska to relieve the beleaguered men. Eager's battalion suddenly came under fire from Filipinos sheltered in bamboo thickets and was itself pinned down in an open and exposed position for two hours in sweltering heat. Despite the fact that the regiment had been issued 300 of the new, repeating Krag-Jorgensen rifles on April 6, which for the first time gave the Nebraskans firepower nearly equal to the Filipinos' Mausers, the men were not able to pull back.¹⁶⁹ Another battalion of Nebraskans and a battalion of the Fifty-first Iowa arrived, but they hesitated to advance into the withering fire. Then Colonel Stotsenburg, who had just returned from Manila, arrived at the battlefield. Knowing there was no other way to extricate his men from the perilous situation, he immediately led a charge, and all eight companies rushed the Filipino trenches, firing as they went. Stotsenburg fell dead, shot through the heart, but his men, with a vengeance for their fallen commander,

drove the Filipinos from their positions. Second Lieutenant Lester E. Sisson and three enlisted men were killed also, and First Lieutenant William K. Moore, Second Lieutenant Andrew S. Wadsworth, and twenty-nine enlisted men were wounded.¹⁷⁰ Major Bell credited Stotsenburg with the successful outcome of the engagement:

In justice to his memory, I wish to pay an especial tribute to this fearless, brave, and gallant soldier, for, as soon as he arrived, he placed himself in front of his regiment, and with hat in one hand and pistol in the other, led it against the trenches of the insurgents, routing them completely. It was solely due to this gallant act that we won the fight so promptly after his arrival, for the insurgents did not appear to have been shaken until our advance began.¹⁷¹

Luther Abbott was with the second Nebraska battalion to be rushed to the scene of the battle, and he recorded a vivid and poignant description of his experiences:

Then an ambulance passed, loaded full. Guy Minor of our rooky Co. B sat with the driver. He was wounded in the ankle . . .

As the ambulance passed the regiments Spanish guide shouted the Colonel was killed, and placed his hands over his heart. We could hardly believe it, and on inquiry we found for sure the Colonel was in Manila. One could well believe this when we deployed to the right of the road.

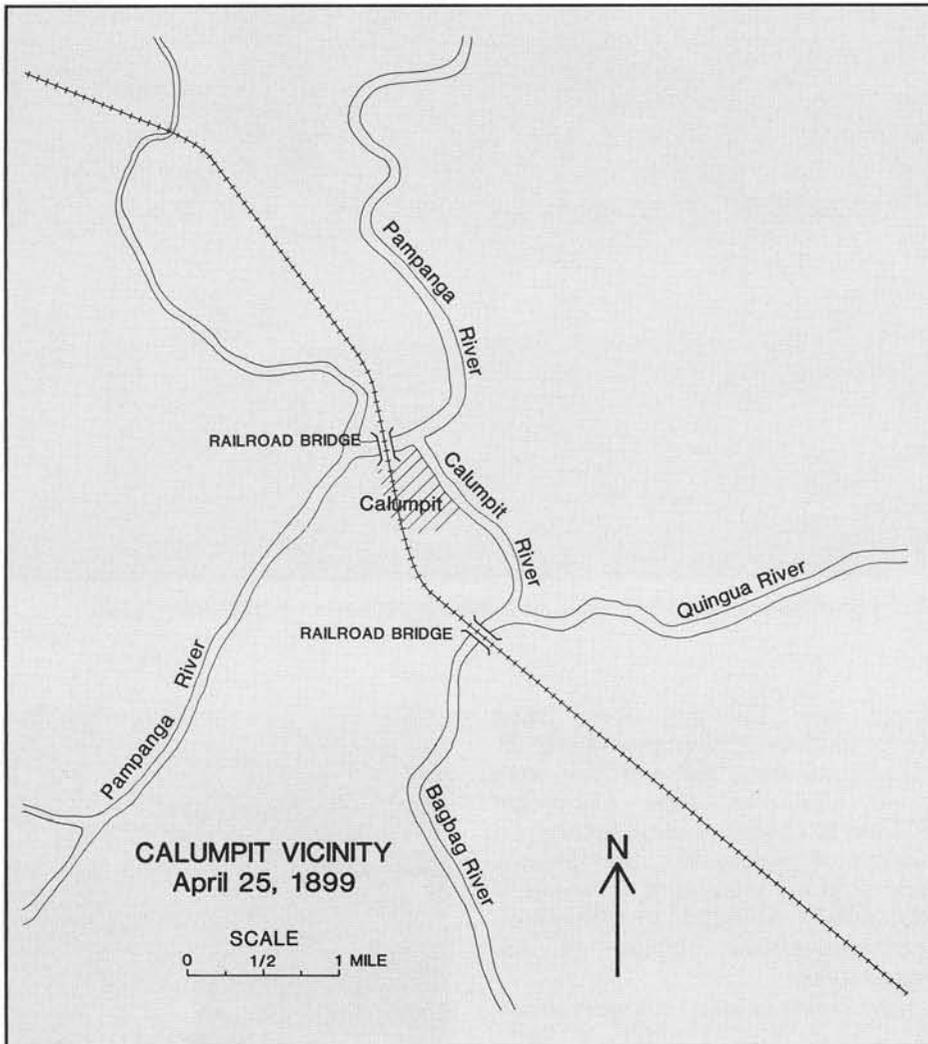


Headquarters of the First Nebraska Volunteer Infantry at Malolos from March 31 to April 23, 1899. (NSHS-S735/C2068)

The Insurgents were entrenched in Quinga about 600 yards from our firing line . . .

We advanced double time under a heavy fire. The sun was as bad as the bullets. Finally when within 50 yards of the firing line we lay down and waited. It was sweltering. We were compelled to keep close behind the rice ridge, and the steam from the wet ground of the rain the night before fairly boiled our faces. There was no breeze.

While laying here Peters of our squad had a sun stroke and went into fits. Benjamin, Reiner, Flanigan and myself put him on my blanket and



Map by Del Darling.

carried him to a thicket a little to our right. Cap. Wilson came with us. Pete was very sick. We did all we could for him. The Cap. began yelling for some one to go for a Doctor and a litter. "Hurry up! Hurry up! It is a matter of life and death!" When Cap. get[s] a little excited he flops around like a chicken with his head cut off.

The heat was something awful. But I ran for the timber. The rebels saw me plainly and the bullets zipped and sang all about me . . .

Finally when I got to the Dr. He said "let him lay there. He'll get over the fits." There were lots of wounded to be tended to. This may excuse the fellow. I could get no stretcher or Chinos, but finally got one of the former and Bill Brady of "I" Co. went along with me. By this time I was most given out.

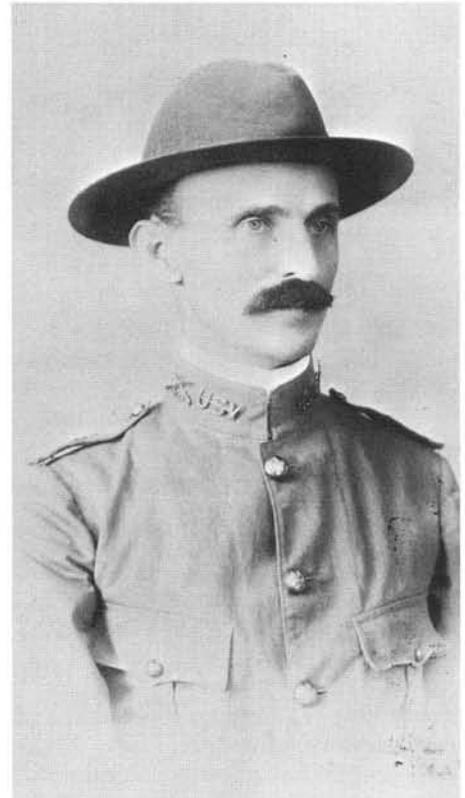
While at the temporary field hospital, The Colonel came up. It was a mistake about his being killed. He had just got back from Manila . . .

Peters was a little better. Capt. and Benjamin

went back to the company. Left us four to get Peters to the ambulance. We had hardly gotten him on the stretcher when the Col. must have reached our line. The battalion in reserve came up, and a vicious fire opened. We lay down thinking we had better stay where we were until the line advanced more. This it did by rushes . . .

The line kept going forward, first one company, then another would rush. As the line approached the rebel works the fire grew ever hotter, but as the niggers had to depress their rifles it was safer for us and so we started back with Peters. Brady had run off to the firing line and we three had to lug Pete. It was a big job.

At the field hospital, we found Harvey Kennedy our 1st Sergt. dangerously wounded in the lungs. There too we learned that Col. Stotsenburg was killed. This time [there] was no mistake and, remarkable coincidence, he was shot through the heart . . . As we boys passed up the road we saw Lieut. Sisson by the road side. Then



Colonel John Miller Stotsenburg, who succeeded Colonel Bratt in command of the First Nebraska Volunteer Infantry. He was killed leading his regiment in a charge at Quingua on April 23, 1899. (NSHS-C834-131)

Colonel Stotsenburg's body came by us on a bamboo shut[t]le[?]. Four soldiers had it on their shoulders. Flanigan of our squad was one of them, and his poncho covered our Colonels body.

Up to this time we, while from a military standpoint successful, had got the worst of the fight. The niggers had lost Quingua, had shot thousands of rounds of ammunition and lost a few men and rifles, but we had lost Stotsenburg and some 40 of our best men. Our losses depressed all of us. The death of the Col. in particular went hard. I hardly knew the man except as my officer and yet it was very hard to keep from crying. We all loved and respected him.¹⁷²

Stotsenburg's body was returned to the United States, first to lie in state in the Nebraska Capitol and then to be buried at Arlington National Cemetery.¹⁷³ A major American military installation on Luzon was named Fort Stotsenburg in his honor. Today it is called Clark Air Force Base.¹⁷⁴

Fighting First Nebraska

TO SAN FERNANDO . . . AND RECALL

On April 24 the Americans crossed the Quingua River and the Nebraska and South Dakota regiments, in three successive engagements, drove the Filipinos about two miles west of Pulilan. Here the brigade bivouacked.¹⁷⁵

The next day the offensive resumed in concert with the First Brigade, which advanced along the railroad line. The objective was the town of Calumpit on the Rio Grande de Pampanga River. About a mile south of Calumpit, the Quingua River merges into the Bagbag River. The Calumpit River connects the Rio Grande de Pampanga and Bagbag-Quingua rivers. Important railroad bridges crossed the Bagbag south of Calumpit and the Rio Grande de Pampanga north of town.

Reconnaissance revealed that several thousand Filipinos were entrenched on the north bank of the Bagbag River and on the west side of the Calumpit River near the railroad bridge. The Second Brigade (which included the Nebraska regiment now commanded by Major Harry Mulford) approached the Calumpit River from the east. In the meantime, the First Brigade arrived at the south bank of the

Bagbag River. Both brigades opened artillery and rifle fire on the enemy trenches, and the Second Brigade advanced to the Calumpit River. The First Nebraska crossed the Calumpit, routed the Filipinos, and then swept northward through the town of Calumpit. The railroad bridge over the Rio Grande de Pampanga was guarded by strongly fortified Filipino positions, which would have to be taken before Calumpit could be held and the advance could continue.¹⁷⁶

However, the battle of Calumpit was over for the First Nebraska. Between April 24 and 27, the regiment lost five men killed and ten wounded, including two officers (Major Frank D. Eager and Second Lieutenant William D. Dungan).¹⁷⁷

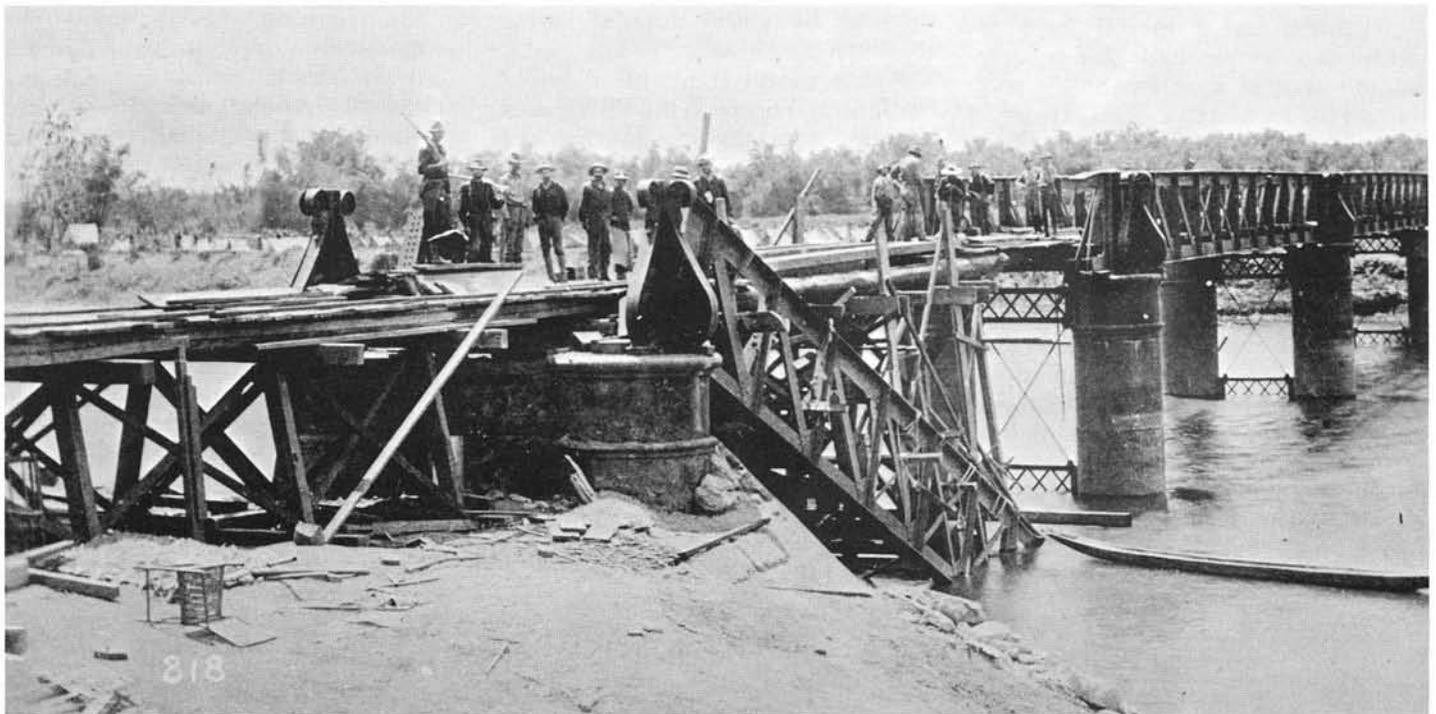
MacArthur's division remained at Calumpit until May 4 when the northward offensive was resumed, with the First Brigade advancing along the railway and the Second Brigade to its right. After driving the Filipinos from the town of Apalit, the Second Brigade reached the Santa Monica River, where the First Nebraska deployed and advanced toward Santo Tomas through swamps and across small streams, sweeping enemy resistance before it.

The Kansas regiment dislodged the natives from Santo Tomas, wounding the Filipino leader, General Luna. The division bivouacked at the Santo Tomas railroad station that night. During the advance to Santo Tomas, the First Nebraska sustained its last battle casualties. Two men were killed and six wounded, one of whom died the following day.

San Fernando was taken with little opposition on May 5. The Nebraskans entered the town on May 6 and remained there until May 20. Casualties, sickness, and exhaustion had taken a terrible toll. From a strength of 923 men at the outbreak of hostilities on February 4, the regiment was reduced to about 300 men.¹⁷⁸ The day after they arrived at San Fernando, 160 of the Nebraska men reported for sick call.¹⁷⁹ Writing to his parents on May 11 Private Johnson concluded that "the 1st Nebr is all knocked out":

Three companies of the Nebr reg went on out-post this morning. In the three companies there was just sixty four men. From this you can see the shape the regiment is in. The doctor wont send any one to the hospital any more unless they are so sick they cannot walk. Consequently we have dozens of men following along with the regiment that should be in hospital. But I suppose they know their business. I can't see it that way.

Railroad bridge over the Bagbag River near Calumpit. The bridge was destroyed by the Filipinos as American forces advanced on Calumpit, April 1899. (NSHS-S735[7136-177])





FREDERICK FUNSTON

Kansas produced one of the greatest military heroes of the Spanish-American/Philippine Wars. After graduation from Kansas State University at Lawrence (now the University of Kansas), Frederick Funston worked as a botanist for the Department of Agriculture. Having developed a taste for adventure from his work in Death Valley and Alaska, Funston joined the rebel forces in Cuba as an American "filibuster," or mercenary, in 1896.

The outbreak of the Spanish-American War found Funston back in the United States, recuperating from wounds and malaria. He volunteered for the war and was given command of the Twentieth Kansas Volunteer Infantry, which was sent to the Philippines as part of the Eighth Corps. Under Funston's aggressive leadership, the Twentieth Kansas saw much action in the early phases of the Philippine War. For a daring river crossing in the face of enemy fire, Funston and two

of his men received the Medal of Honor. He returned to the United States with his regiment in the fall of 1899 but soon went back to the Philippines as a brigadier general of volunteers.

His most spectacular feat occurred in March 1901, when he succeeded in capturing the Filipino leader, Emilio Aguinaldo, by a brilliant deception. Accompanied by four American officers posing as captives and about eighty loyal Filipino scouts posing as reinforcements for the insurgent army, Funston overpowered Aguinaldo in the latter's own capital of Palanan. Without its leader, the Filipino rebellion came to an end about a year later. For this remarkable feat, Funston was promoted to the rank of brigadier general in the regular army. After the Philippine War he continued to serve in the army, achieving the rank of major general before his death at San Antonio, Texas, in 1917. Photo courtesy of Kansas State Historical Society.

Several of Co M's boys should be in the hospital. I know they are sick.¹⁸⁰

During the spring of 1899 political pressure increased in the United States for the recall of the state volunteers. The regular army, although expanded, was not large enough to replace the state regiments in the Philippines, and a special force of 35,000 volunteers — controlled entirely by the federal government — was authorized on March 2, 1899. Twenty-four new regiments of infantry and one of cavalry were organized for service in the Philippines. The state regiments already there were to be sent home. The new regiments were to be recruited as much as possible from discharged veterans of Philippine service, although not even a \$500 bonus could induce many of the state volunteers to re-enlist. On April 20 Private Johnson informed his parents, "Some of the boys are talking of staying here and joining the regular army for the \$500, but I think when it comes to going home

they will all fall in."¹⁸¹

On May 20 the First Nebraska Volunteer Infantry was relieved of front-line duty and marched to Calumpit. Frank Eager recalled that upon boarding the train for Manila, "the men cheered themselves hoarse."¹⁸² Over the next month companies of the regiment were detailed for guard duty at various locations near Manila.¹⁸³

Finally, the regiment's recall arrived. On June 21 it boarded the *SS Hancock*, a more spacious vessel than the *Senator*, and the men looked forward to their voyage with enthusiasm, despite the dismal prospect of another bout with seasickness. They were joined by the Utah Volunteer Light Artillery, and the *Hancock* hoisted anchor for San Francisco on July 1.¹⁸⁴

There was an intermediate stopover which further increased the Nebraskans' store of exotic travel experiences. The *Hancock* anchored at Nagasaki, Japan, on July 5 to re-supply with coal and give the war-weary veterans a few

days of sightseeing and relaxation. On July 10 the transport left Nagasaki for Tokyo Bay, where it anchored off Yokohama on July 13. The men were given two days' shore leave, and many of them took the train to visit Tokyo. On July 15, the *Hancock* sailed for San Francisco.¹⁸⁵

At Nagasaki strange sights and experiences greeted the soldiers. Private Abbott had his first ride in a rickshaw. Abbott toured the city, visited a Japanese temple, consumed a fourteen-course meal at the Nagasaki Hotel, traveled on the train to the outlying village of Omura (which he considered the best part of his stopover), and enjoyed the first "really good drink of water I had since leaving Nebraska."¹⁸⁶

On the temple grounds, Abbott and a companion encountered two Frenchmen, who questioned them about the justness of the war in the Philippines:

When they asked us our opinion on Imperialism Stout answered that we were soldiers and that as soldiers we had no opinion.

This seemed to please the frog eater very much. He excused himself and then explained to the officer, who did not speak English, the answer. But he came back at him in a minute saying "Yes, but you will soon be citizens."

Then as best we could we explained our opinions. He was rather against our conquering and holding an unwilling people, and blamed France in Tonquin and America in the Philippines. He ended with the assertion that "it was a great commercial war — commerce now wars against liberty."¹⁸⁷

After an uneventful voyage, the *Hancock* arrived in San Francisco Bay the night of July 29-30. Nebraska's new governor, William A. Poynter, and the state's adjutant general, Patrick H. Barry, were on hand to greet the men. The ship was quarantined, and doctors boarded her on July 30 to examine the soldiers. The quarantine was lifted, and the *Hancock* docked at Pier 12. Abbott noted in his diary, "The 'Hancock' swarmed with people. Pretty women galore."¹⁸⁸ After a brief inspection by Governor Poynter's party, the men marched off the wharf on July 31. "When we got onto the street all bedlam was turned loose," recorded Abbott, "Whistles blew, crackers popped, and small boys yelled. The streets were lined with people. It was a very hearty welcome."¹⁸⁹ The regiment marched to the Presidio and en route, Major General William R. Shafter, the hero of the Santiago campaign, reviewed them. At the Presidio, Governor Poynter welcomed the regiment, and it bivouacked in a newly constructed camp. Military discipline was relaxed, and the men had ample time to visit the city while they awaited the final muster-out. In an August 5 letter, Private Johnson boasted, "We are being treated like Kings."¹⁹⁰

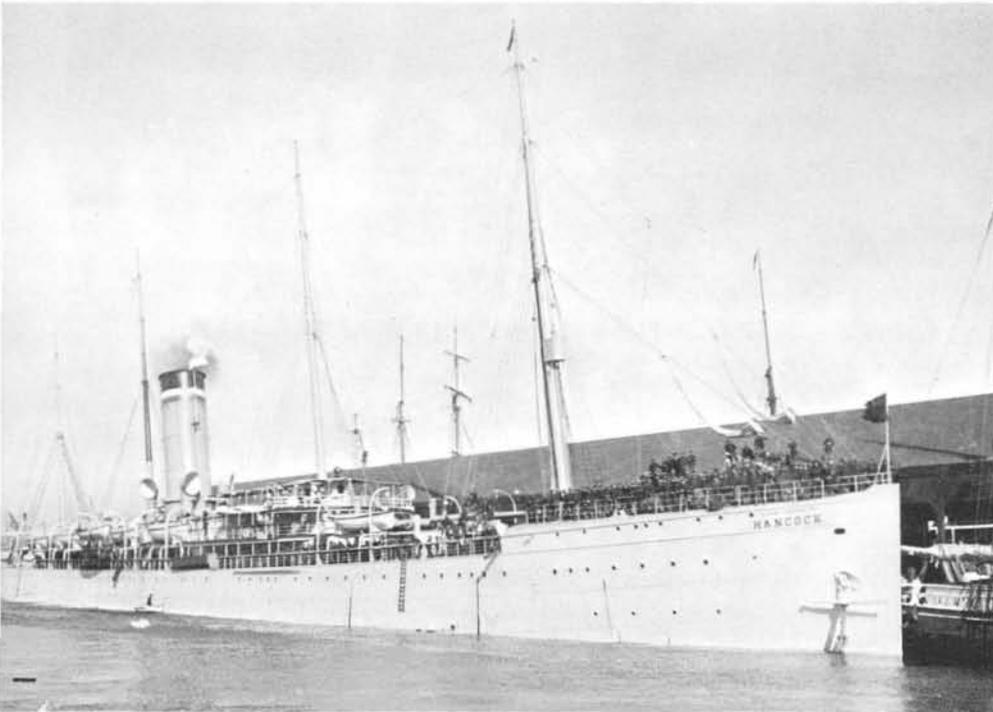
On August 23, 1899, the First Nebraska Volunteer Infantry was mustered out of federal service at the Presidio; the men left San Francisco on August 25 on board special trains provided by the citizens of Nebraska.¹⁹¹ When they arrived at Lincoln on August 30 and at Omaha the following day, the men were treated to a heroes' welcome.¹⁹²

After sixteen months of arduous service, eleven of which had been spent in



Major Julius N. Killian (mounted) and weary First Nebraska soldiers returning from San Fernando after being recalled from the front. (NSHS-G784) . . . (Below) Men of Company C at San Fernando, the farthest point reached by the Nebraskans during the American advance. (NSHS-G784)





The SS Hancock, the transport which brought the First Nebraska from the Philippines to San Francisco. (NSHS-S735)

the Philippine Islands, the war was over for the men of the First Nebraska Volunteer Infantry. They had earned a reputation as one of the hardest fighting regiments in the entire Eighth Corps but at the cost of sixty-four men killed in action or dead from disease or accident and 168 wounded.¹⁹³ No other American regiment sustained losses as great during the entire Spanish-American War or during the period when the First Nebraska served in the Philippines. Two Nebraskans received the nation's second highest valor award, the Certificate of Merit, and eleven others were later cited for gallantry in action, which qualified them for award of the Silver Star when that decoration was instituted in 1932.

Fighting between Filipinos and Americans continued for three more years. From late 1899 through mid-1902, the Filipinos increasingly turned to guerrilla warfare. The Americans were forced to maintain military gar-

risons at hundreds of locations throughout the Philippine Islands. At peak strength in December 1900 the United States had 69,420 soldiers in the Philippines, two-thirds of all its military forces, and nearly two and a half times the number of men in the U.S. Army before the outbreak of the Spanish-American War.¹⁹⁴

Emilio Aguinaldo, the leader of the nationalist movement and its most able general, continued to elude the American forces on Luzon for more than two years. His luck ran out on March 23, 1901, when a group of Americans, disguised as captives, and pro-American Filipinos, disguised as their captors, wended their way through the jungles of northern Luzon to Aguinaldo's headquarters. When admitted to Aguinaldo's presence, several of them overpowered him while the rest of the contingent dispersed the Filipino forces in their "capital." This scheme was the brainchild of Frederick Funston, who played the role of one of

the captives. For his daring and initiative, Funston, a Kansas volunteer officer, was promoted to brigadier general in the regular army. More important, the capture of Aguinaldo took the steam out of the Filipino army. Within a few months, the remaining important Filipino leaders surrendered. On July 2, 1902, President Theodore Roosevelt pronounced the Philippine "Insurrection" at an end.¹⁹⁵

Only thirty-three American soldiers died and 111 were wounded in battle in the Philippines during the Spanish-American War (one of the dead and ten of the wounded were Nebraskans). One hundred seventy-six more died of disease and other causes between June 30, 1898, and February 4, 1899 (of whom eighteen were Nebraskans). The Philippine War, however, cost the Americans more dearly. Between February 4, 1899, and July 4, 1902, the United States lost in the Philippines 4,025 men dead and 2,707 wounded.¹⁹⁶ Moreover, the conflict took an intangible toll in the form of the loss of national "innocence." For the first time, a vocal minority in the United States questioned the morality of and the rationale for U.S. military presence in a distant foreign land.¹⁹⁷ American commanders in the Philippines eventually felt compelled to adopt "scorched earth" and "concentration camp" tactics — the same tactics which had so incensed the American public when the Spanish employed them in Cuba.¹⁹⁸ America maintained an overlord relationship with the Philippines until July 4, 1946, when the island nation was granted full independence. The shot fired by Willie Grayson on the evening of February 4, 1899, indeed had far-reaching consequences.

THE PHILIPPINE "QUESTION"

American public opinion was divided on the morality of the wars against the Spanish and the Filipinos. The war with Spain was immensely popular. As elsewhere in the United States, Nebraska's citizens over-



Nebraska soldiers marching off Pier 12 in San Francisco, July 31, 1899. (NSHS-R966-57)

whelmingly supported the war effort. Students, farmers, tradesmen, and businessmen flocked to the colors in record numbers. Aged veterans of the Civil War once again offered their services to their country. Seniors at the University of Nebraska who enlisted were allowed to graduate without participating in the commencement ceremony. In addition to the men who eagerly sought places in the Nebraska National Guard regiments, many Nebraskans enrolled in other military units. Company H of the Second U.S. Volunteer Engineers was comprised of men recruited in Omaha and eastern Nebraska. Plans were proposed to offer to the federal government companies of black men raised in Omaha and Lincoln; another troop of cavalry; a company of sharpshooters; and a 500-man naval reserve unit. A call was published in Ainsworth for fifty men to

form an American Volunteer Legion.¹⁹⁹

Whole communities cheered the departure of National Guardsmen for the mustering point at Lincoln. Schools were closed in Columbus to allow children to participate in the farewell. Patriotic women's organizations were formed in communities around the state. The Nebraska Cuban Relief Committee raised \$321,619.51 and sent twenty-two carloads of food to the "starving Cubans." Some 25,000 people watched the Nebraska guardsmen parade through downtown Lincoln on May 7.²⁰⁰

Only a few Nebraskans dared to oppose the war publicly. Morey Hodgman, a University of Nebraska professor who spoke out against the "unchristian and unholy" war, was soundly condemned by the press.²⁰¹ In Nelson a speaker at a public meeting

was hanged in effigy after making remarks sympathetic to Spain.²⁰² Even President McKinley was criticized for "seeking a peaceful solution" to the Cuban problem.²⁰³

Despite the popularity of the war with Spain, many Americans questioned the justness of the subsequent war with the Filipinos. Much of their dissatisfaction came from the feeling that their boys had gone to war to vanquish the Spanish foe, not to subjugate a foreign people who yearned to be free. Many recognized a basic contradiction between the U.S. government's colonial policies and the American colonies' own struggle for independence from Great Britain. A vocal dissent movement received support from virtually all segments of American society. Democratic and Populist opponents of the Republican administration spoke out against American

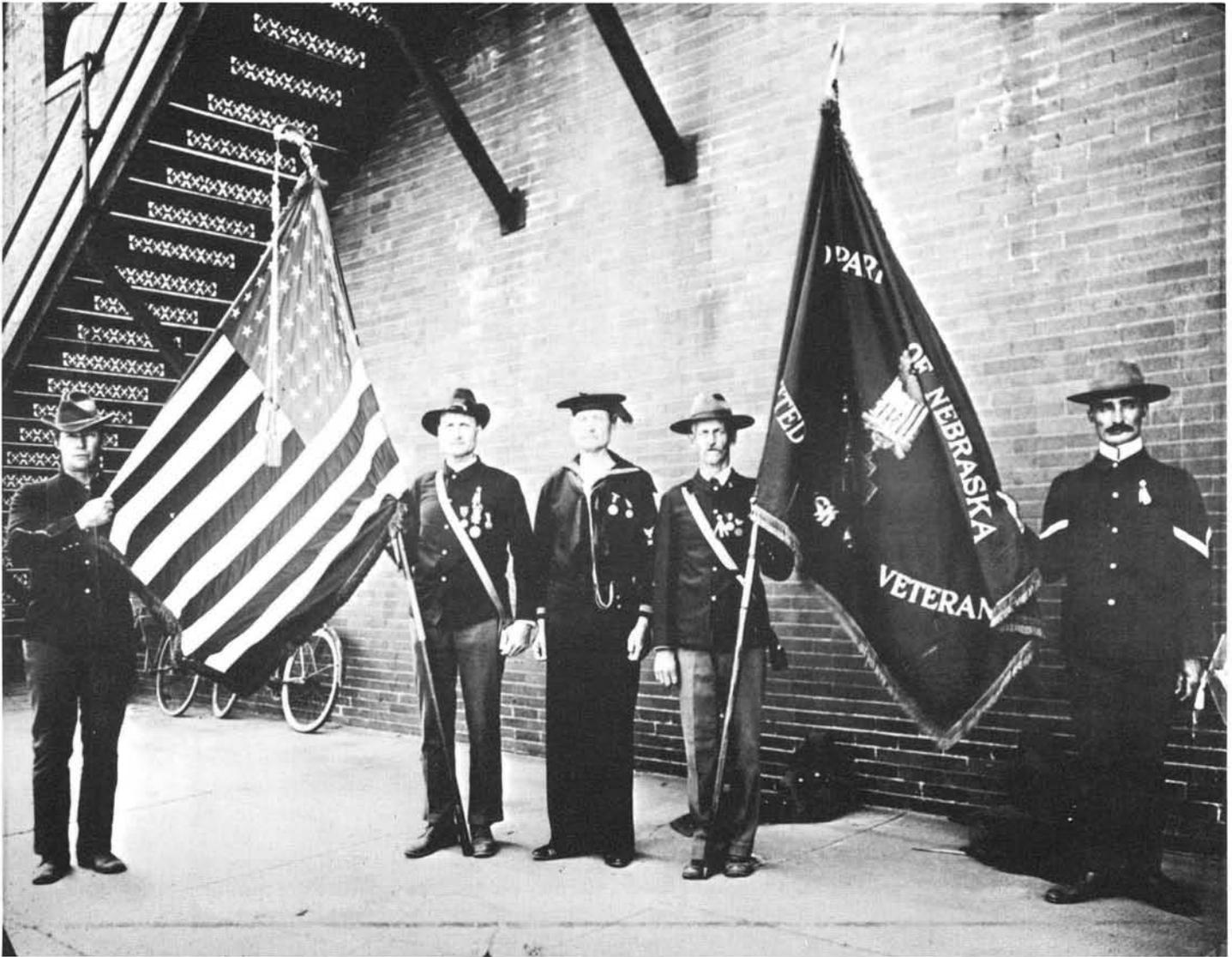


"Take Your Choice," this drawing warns, "Do you want a man who, having raised the stars and stripes on our new possessions, will maintain them with dignity; or a man who will cut down 'Old Glory' and make us the laughing stock of the world?" — Judge, May 12, 1900. Courtesy of Luther College, Decorah, Iowa.

acquisition of the Philippines on economic, humanitarian, racial, and political grounds. Catholic clergy opposed an expansionist policy because they believed American possession of the Philippines would result in greater Protestant missionizing, which would weaken the Roman Catholic influence that had taken root there over several centuries. German, Scandinavian, and Irish immigrants generally did not favor imperialism because of their past experiences with imperialistic and militaristic governments in the Old World. Farmers, traditionally one of the more conservative elements of the Nebraska population, questioned the acquisition of the Philippines on the basis of the cost of purchasing, pacifying, and governing the islands. The staunchest opponents were the members of the Anti-Imperialist League, an organization founded in Boston and composed of many of the leading luminaries of New England. Non-partisan with respect to other issues, the Anti-Imperialist League existed solely to combat the imperialistic leanings of the McKinley administration, and its railings against the government were strident.²⁰⁴

The national leader of the dissent movement was William Jennings Bryan, who had taken up arms at his country's call and served as colonel of the Third Nebraska Volunteer Infantry. Even before reaching his Lincoln home after resigning from the army, Bryan stumped against administration policy which favored permanent retention of the Philippine Islands as an American colony. En route to Lincoln, he made speeches at Savannah, Washington D.C., New York, and in midwestern cities.²⁰⁵ The book *Republic or Empire? The Philippine Question*, published in 1899, contained many of his earliest anti-imperialist speeches as well as the speeches and writings of more than two dozen other nationally prominent men representing a wide spectrum of the educated classes, all ostensibly united in opposition to McKinley's policy of expansion.

Fighting First Nebraska



Color guard of the United Spanish War Veterans, Department of Nebraska. (NSHS-S735/7136-210)

sionism.²⁰⁶ As leader of the Democratic party, Bryan became one of the most outspoken critics of imperialism and was often portrayed as a traitor by the pro-administration press.

Debate over the benefits and perils of imperialism raged in pro-administration (largely Republican) and anti-administration (largely Democratic and Populist) newspapers. The dialectic often was caustic and virulent. For example, the *Nebraska Independent*, an anti-imperialist paper published in

Lincoln, printed the following satirical prayer in its May 11, 1899, issue:

If I were a praying man I would not pray, "O Lord forgive those in authority and those who are responsible for the human butchery and wanton waste in the Philippine islands." I would just pray, "O Lord, send these speculators, contractors and high salaried civil and military officials to the front where they can only draw a soldier's pay, and a soldier's rations while they do a soldier's duty, and let those who have endured the hardships, the privations and the suffering have a good long rest and draw salaries for a time. And these preachers, O Lord, so many of them as are encouraging this brutal aggression by telling about God's desiring that these islands be added

to his kingdom, and kindred tommyrot, do thou send them a little nearer the front. Let them, thy professed servants, hear the whiz of the Mauser balls, see the human agony that is for naught, and if their knees do not knock together or their hearts melt, then O Lord, send them still nearer. But if they repent of their folly and remember to be human is to be Christlike, let them return to their homes that they may become thy followers by 'doing justice, loving mercy and walking humbly with God.'²⁰⁷

On September 28, 1899, the *Nebraska Independent* accused President McKinley of murdering American soldiers:

Every soldier that was killed in the Philippines after the treaty of peace was signed was murdered by order of William McKinley.²⁰⁸

Anti-imperialist voices were not the only ones heard. Republican newspapers, such as the *Nebraska State Journal* and (after the first phases of the war) the *Omaha Daily Bee* often countered the anti-imperialist oratory with equally bitter rhetoric. At the Republican state convention in Omaha in September 1899, party delegates formulated a campaign plank that lamented the existence of the conflict but defended administration policy.²⁰⁹

Anti-imperialist rhetoric in the press kept alive the hopes of the Philippine nationalists that public opinion would prevail over governmental policy. Debate raged during the months of treaty negotiations between American and Spanish diplomats in Paris. The controversial treaty was signed on December 10, 1898, but it required ratification by the U.S. Senate. In a surprising last-minute change of position, Bryan urged the Democratic and allied senators to vote for ratification. He remained adamantly opposed to acquisition of the Philippines by the United States, which would be guaranteed by the terms of the treaty, but he believed that the war with Spain should be formally ended and the issue of Philippine independence settled separately. On February 6, 1899, the treaty was ratified by a slender two-vote margin. Many believed that Bryan's last-minute appeal was the deciding factor, and he was severely criticized by his fellow Democrats and their political allies, the Populists and Fusionists.²¹⁰

Nevertheless, Bryan continued to argue his anti-imperialist convictions and received his party's nomination for the presidency in 1900. Opposition to the expansionist policies of the McKinley administration was a major plank in the Democratic platform. However, McKinley was re-elected by a wide margin, and Bryan lost even his home state of Nebraska to the Republicans. The American people



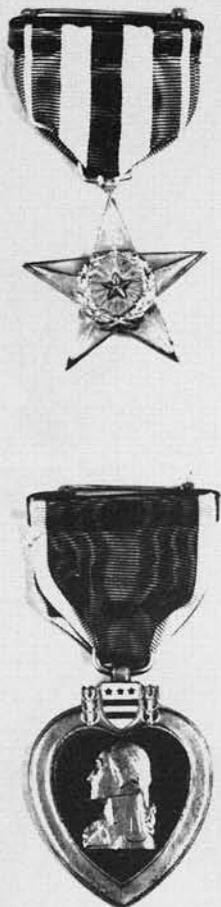
A NATION REWARDS ITS SOLDIERS

In the years following the Spanish-American/Philippine Wars, the government awarded badges recognizing army veterans' participation in different campaigns. Top row, left to right: Spanish Campaign badge, authorized in 1905 for service in the combat theaters; Spanish War Service badge, authorized in 1918 for those on active service during the war but not eligible for the Spanish Campaign badge; and Philippine Campaign badge, authorized in 1905 for those who served in the Philippines between February 4, 1899, and April 10, 1913. Bottom row, left to right: Philippine Congressional badge, authorized in 1906 for those volunteers who stayed in the Philippines beyond the technical expiration of their enlistment period; Army of Cuban Occupa-

tion badge, authorized in 1915 for service in Cuba after the surrender of the Spanish forces; and Army of Puerto Rican Occupation badge, authorized in 1919 for service in Puerto Rico between August 14 and December 12, 1898. (R. Bruhn Photo)

The Medal of Honor was the only decoration for valor authorized during the Spanish-American/Philippine War. However, men who distinguished themselves in combat could also earn a Certificate of Merit. Two members of the First Nebraska Volunteer Infantry earned the Certificate in the fighting that preceded the capture of Manila. Following World War I the Certificate was abolished, and anyone who held a Certificate could have it replaced with a Distinguished Service Medal. This was later replaced by the Distinguished Service Cross, the nation's second highest decoration for valor.

Fighting First Nebraska



In 1932 an additional decoration, the Silver Star (top) was authorized for anyone who had been cited for gallantry in action and mentioned in orders originating from a headquarters commanded by a general officer. Eleven men of the First Nebraska Volunteer Infantry, including the regiment's gallant commander, Colonel Stotsenburg, became eligible to receive the Silver Star.

The Purple Heart (bottom), a decoration from the time of George Washington, was reinstated in 1932 for award to soldiers and sailors who were wounded in action. One hundred sixty-eight men of the First Nebraska were eligible to apply for the decoration. (R. Bruhn Photo)

were enjoying the economic upswing that had followed the depression of 1893, and they preferred to stand by McKinley rather than change leaders in the middle of an economic boom because of a war in the far-away Philippines.²¹¹

The Philippines were placed under the rule of a civilian governor in 1901. When the fighting ended in 1902 the United States found itself uncontestedly in possession of a large Asian colony. However, anti-imperialist sentiment was on the wane and the question of self-rule for the Philippines played only a minor role in the presidential campaign of 1904. Nor did the issue continue to arouse many Nebraskans. By 1902 Nebraska's congressional delegation was dominated by Republicans, and Nebraska was firmly in the administration's fold with respect to the declining issue of imperialism.²¹²

Despite diverse sentiments about the justness of the Philippine war, Nebraskans overwhelmingly supported their warrior sons who were campaigning in the Philippine mud. Citizens back home regarded the soldiers as heroes throughout and after their term of service.

The same degree of support was not always forthcoming from the state government. The conflicting interests of a Populist governor and a Republican-dominated legislature frequently led to disagreement, sometimes at the expense of the soldiers. Shortly after the outbreak of the Philippine fighting, a legislative bill was introduced to appropriate \$6,000 for the First Nebraska and an additional \$2,000 to pay for shipping home the bodies of the regiment's dead soldiers. After some controversy, the bill was defeated on February 21, 1899. At the urging of the governor, the legislature on March 31 approved an "emergency fund" of \$2,000 for the relief of both of the Nebraska regiments then in service (the First and Third). One thousand dollars was paid to the White Cross Society, a nursing organization created for the Philippines, and \$338.80 was used to

purchase "lung protectors" for the First Nebraska. The remainder, plus \$150 turned back by the White Cross, was not used.²¹³

The legislature also refused to provide state funds to bring home the First Nebraska veterans after their muster-out at San Francisco. Governor Poynter, through the *Omaha World-Herald*, the *Nebraska State Journal*, and other state newspapers, raised \$40,342.75 to transport the regiment from California to Nebraska. Poynter recommended that the legislature make an appropriation to repay the private contributors, but this was not done until 1901.²¹⁴

In April 1899 the legislature authorized the purchase of 4,016 medals for the men of the First, Second, and Third regiments, as well as Troop K, but failed to provide the funds.²¹⁵ As John R. Johnson has concluded, "It can hardly be said that that body extended itself in the interest of the volunteers."²¹⁶

Despite the legislature's dilatoriness, home communities and local organizations did what they could to aid the soldiers by raising money or by sending packages filled with needed items or luxuries. The *World-Herald*, although an anti-imperialist paper, several times took the lead in raising money for the Nebraska troops.²¹⁷ It solicited contributions for a Thanksgiving dinner for the Third Nebraska Volunteers at Savannah, Georgia, and later raised \$1,000 to sponsor a Christmas dinner for the First and Third Nebraska Regiments.²¹⁸ On April 25 the *World-Herald* launched a drive to raise money to purchase "delicacies" for wounded First Nebraska men. A total of \$2,448.30 was sent to the regiment.²¹⁹ In August 1899 the newspaper organized a Soldiers Employment Bureau to help veterans find work upon their return to Nebraska and took an active role in raising money to pay for returning the men from San Francisco.²²⁰

As the casualty list grew, Nebraskans grew more alarmed about the Philippine War. Parents of First Nebraska soldiers spoke out against the "unjust war" in the state senate chamber on April 15, 1899.²²¹

COMRADES IN WAR AND PEACE

Numerous veterans' organizations were formed in the last days of the War with Spain and afterwards. Many of these groups adopted highly colorful and distinctive badges which were worn at meetings, reunions, and on patriotic occasions.

Counterclockwise from top: Badge for a past commander of a United Spanish War Veterans department (state-level organization); member's badge for the Society of the Army of Santiago de Cuba, comprised exclusively of veterans of the Cuban campaign; badge for volunteer officers belonging to the Eighth Corps Society, for men who served in the Philippines; member's badge of the Naval and Military Order of the Spanish-American War, an association of officers who served in any branch of U.S. military service during the war with Spain. (R. Bruhn Photo)

The Veterans of Foreign Wars originated in 1913 as an outgrowth of the merger of two earlier societies of Spanish-American/Philippine War veterans. The VFW membership badge evolved from the Society Army of the Philippines badges (the two on the left) into the early VFW badge that displayed the veteran's military organization affiliation (like the Eighth Corps emblem on the badge shown third from left), and finally into the membership badge of today (right). (R. Bruhn Photo)



On April 13 an anonymous cablegram advised the men of Company L: "Boys, don't re-enlist; insist on immediate discharge."²²² Nevertheless, anti-war sentiment in Nebraska never grew to the extent where it undermined the morale of the soldiers.

If the American public was divided on the issue of the Philippine War, how did the soldiers feel? Many volunteers, unaccustomed to the discipline expected of professional soldiers, freely expressed their opinions in their letters home and in

their personal diaries. Fortunately for the sake of history, their communications were not censored by the government, and many of their candid letters were published in their hometown newspapers. Most volunteers were motivated to enter the army by love of country and a strong sense of patriotism; accordingly they were little disposed to question the policies of their government.²²³ However, the contradiction between their mission in the Philippines and their own nation's heritage of independence attained

through revolution was not lost on some. First Sergeant Chester W. Marlin of Company B of the First Nebraska, remarked in a letter dated May 13, 1899:

Every volunteer would leave tomorrow if he could. Patriotism leads no man forward any more. Principle has so long been trampled under foot that we have become mere machines, hardly able to distinguish right from wrong.²²⁴

Even a few officers expressed negative opinions about the American military presence in the Philippines. First Nebraska Chaplain James A. Mailley wrote,

"The annexation of these islands against the wishes of these people would be a violation of every principle held dear by American hearts."²²⁵ As early as September 1898, the men of the First Nebraska formed the "Manila Literary and Debating Society," which examined the issue, "Resolved, that the United States should assume permanent control in the Philippines."²²⁶ John E. Fetterly of Lincoln, who served in Company L of the Twenty-third U.S. Infantry, protested in a letter written shortly after the outbreak of the fighting:

I do not approve of the course our government is pursuing with these people. If all men are created equal they have some rights which ought to be respected . . . In a word, I believe they should be accorded all the rights that we claim for ourselves. As for myself, I marched into battle to make them free — not to make them subjects. I understood our mission to be one of humanity and for the cause of freedom, but our offering on the altar of liberty has been prostituted.²²⁷

However, in those jingoistic times, only a small minority of the soldiers voiced anti-government opinions. Disillusionment with military life and a nearly universal longing for home were feelings that were far more commonly expressed. The volunteers had enlisted to fight Spain. Naturally, when hostilities with Spanish forces ended in August of 1898, they felt that they were entitled to return home. As the weeks stretched into months with no orders to embark for the United States, homesickness and rumors of an ever-imminent return circulated widely and eroded morale. As early as August 30, Private G. E. Towl of Company H wrote:

Once we wondered when we would get to the Philippines. Then we put in a month wondering when we would get into Manila. When at last we stood inside its frowning walls we wondered how the thing had been done. We wondered what we would do with the Spaniards, and we wondered what Uncle Sam would do with us. Finally we stopped speculating upon all else and have been wondering ever since when we are to be sent home.²²⁸

As sickness and disease began to take their toll on the regiment, even the officers advocated a recall. On October 6 the governor received a telegram signed by "a number of officers": "Regiment voted unanimously for muster-out. Health poor, sickness increasing."²²⁹ The



REMEMBERING THE WAR

As the Nebraska soldiers boarded their train for San Francisco, many were embarking on their first trip outside the bounds of their county or state. Military service offered the young and impressionable men of the First Nebraska an opportunity to travel to distant and exotic lands — Hawaii, the Philippine Islands, and Japan, as well as the western United States — Wyoming, Nevada, and California. Like American soldiers of all wars, they eagerly sought souvenirs. Shown here, arrayed on a "souvenired" Spanish flag from Manila are (left to right) a

Japanese wooden clog sandal; a straw broom or whisk from the Philippines; a Japanese doll; a Spanish handkerchief depicting a romantic historical subject; Spanish playing cards; a Chinese opium pipe; a Chinese flatiron; a Japanese printed silk fan; an ebony wood cane with silver fittings; and a pair of Japanese woven straw sandals. Affixed to the flag is a ribbon given to American soldiers to welcome them to Hawaii en route to the Philippines, Atop the flag is a silver miniature of a carabao or water buffalo, an ox-like beast of burden in the Philippines. (R. Bruhn Photo)

result of these and similar pleas was the eventual recall and discharge of only the sick men in the regiment.

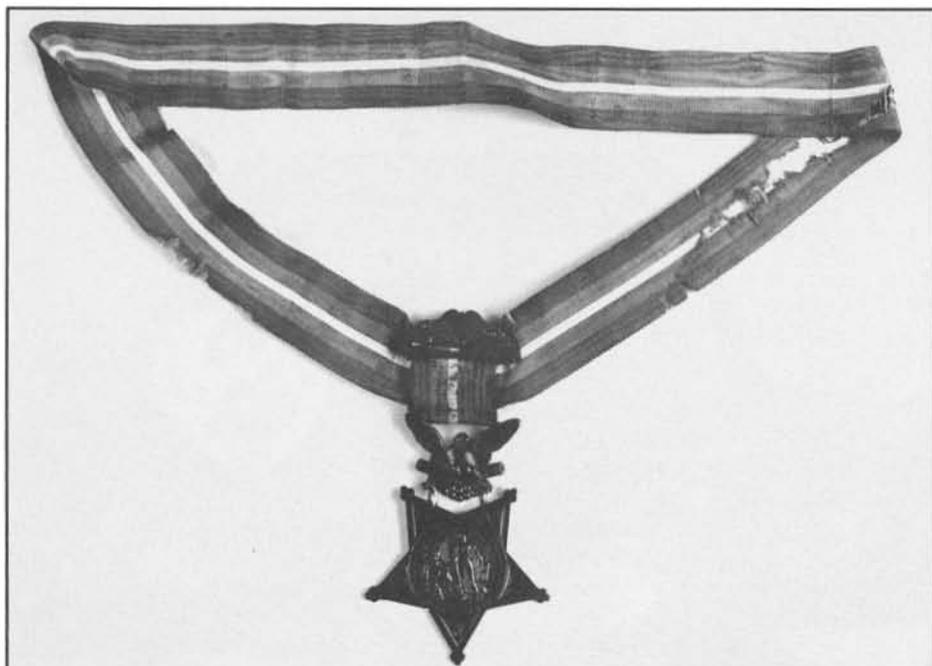
The Nebraska soldiers began to feel neglected by the citizens of their state. During the fall of 1898 Captain Lee Forby of Company G wrote:

Here we are, 10,000 miles from home, and while the other state regiments, without exception, are purchasing little comforts for the men such as straw hats, cool clothes, washing and little articles for the mess and for fixing up their quarters, with the

money they have received from the citizens of their state as a regimental fund, besides company funds from the home towns of the companies, we must be content to take what is given us by the United States or pay for it ourselves. And more shameful than all, the California Red Cross has presented us \$430 to be expended in hospital uses.

Where are the wealthy and patriotic citizens of Nebraska? Echo answers only, "Where?"²³⁰

As the war against the Filipinos dragged on, it changed to a nasty, brutal affair in which little quarter was given on either side. Allegations of atrocities began to



THE MEDAL OF HONOR

Two Nebraskans, neither of them belonging to the First Nebraska Volunteer Infantry, won the Medal of Honor in the war against Spain. John Walter Ehle, a native of Kearney, received his medal for heroic conduct on board the USS *Concord* in Manila Bay, May 21, 1898. When a manhole plate of a boiler blew out, Fireman First Class Ehle entered the hot, vapor-filled fireroom with a hose and helped extinguish the fire in the boiler. Ehle died in Oakland, California, in 1927.

Omahan Patrick F. Ford, Jr. (who enlisted in the Marines under the name James Meredith) was one of fifty-two men receiving the Medal of Honor for

action in the harbor of Cienfuegos, Cuba, on May 11, 1898. Marines and sailors from the USS *Marblehead* and the USS *Nashville* were sent in small boats to cut the underwater communications cable connecting Havana with Santiago. Several Americans were killed and wounded by heavy fire from Spanish shore batteries before the cable was severed.

Ford, a private in the U.S. Marine Corps, was aboard the USS *Maine* when the ship blew up in Havana Harbor on February 15, 1898. Somewhat the soldier of fortune, Ford later served in the field artillery, the cavalry, and the signal corps before his death in Omaha in 1915. (R. Bruhn Photo)

appear in the newspapers back in the States, which further incited the anti-imperialists. Fortunately, the First Nebraska and the other state volunteer regiments had returned home by the time controversy arose over alleged American mistreatment of Filipino prisoners and civilians. However, other Nebraskans served in units that par-

ticipated in or witnessed brutalities, and some of them candidly described incidents in their letters. In early 1900 a Lieutenant Waugh wrote to his parents in Plattsmouth that his men had "mauled up" a Filipino prisoner "in a horrible manner but he did not die."²³¹ In a March 5, 1900, letter, an Omaha soldier, Private Al F. Miller of Company H, Thirty-

second U.S. Volunteer Infantry, described the aftermath of an ambush in which six soldiers of his company were killed. The American relief force

got there only in time to see them [i.e. the American casualties] lying around dead. The men just went wild, and scattering in every direction they killed every negro they ran across. Then they burned their shacks and killed all their stock and chickens. They tied one negro to a rice stack and then set fire to it. I'll tell you he hollered some. The officers could not do anything with their men . . . Now this is the way we give them the water cure: Lay them on their backs, a man standing on each hand and each foot, then put a round stick in the mouth, and pour a pail of water in the mouth and nose, and if they don't give up pour another pail. They swell up like toads. I'll tell you it is a terrible torture.²³²

The torture and killing of prisoners and civilians received much attention in the anti-imperialist press. Publicity peaked following the highly-publicized court-martial of Brigadier General Jacob ("Hell Roaring Jake") Smith for issuing orders to kill every Filipino on the island of Samar who was capable of bearing arms (which he defined as anyone above the age of ten).²³³ Smith was convicted, but due to intervention by President Roosevelt (who noted that he approved of the "sternest measures necessary" to pacify the Philippines), he was merely retired from service. Major Littleton Waller, the Marine officer who received and executed Smith's orders, was acquitted of murder charges.²³⁴

The prosecution of officers on charges of violence toward civilians is one of many parallels that have been noted between America's Philippine and Vietnam wars.²³⁵ Both conflicts were counterinsurgencies against indigenous, racially different peoples of southeast Asia; in both instances, the United States failed to heed the unsuccessful military experiences of European predecessors in coping with earlier revolutions; both wars were brutal affairs in which allegations were made of atrocities, censorship, and inflated "body counts"; and vocal dissent movements arose at home. However, Stuart Creighton Miller, the chronicler of the Philippine conflict, has concluded that the resemblance between these wars is superficial.²³⁶ The war in the Philippines, unlike that in Vietnam, was not a

Fighting First Nebraska

contest of opposing political and economic ideologies. Another difference was the fact that the Vietnamese guerrillas were materially aided by powerful external allies, while the Philippine fighters had to sustain themselves on their own resources. In the Philippines U.S. soldiers were motivated by high patriotic ideals, while U.S. forces in Vietnam were often characterized by low morale and a lack of understanding of the reasons for their presence there. Perhaps the most obvious difference is that the United States was eventually successful in suppressing the Philippine nationalists, while the Vietnam conflict ended with the withdrawal of the United States forces. Another important difference lies in the postwar treatment of veterans. Returned soldiers from the Philippines were considered heroes, while Vietnam veterans returned to face resentment, misunderstanding, and ingratitude.

EPILOGUE

The men of the First Nebraska never forgot their experiences in the Philippines. Neither did thousands of other veterans of the Spanish-American War and the Philippine fighting. Even before the Spanish-American War ended, many of them had formed organizations to foster fraternal feelings and perpetuate memories of their military service. After the turn of the century, there were dozens of such veterans' societies. National organizations included the National Army and Navy Spanish War Veterans, the National Association of Spanish-American War Veterans, the National Encampment of Service Men of the Spanish War, the Naval and Military Order of the Spanish-American War, the U.S. Volunteer Army Association, the Legion of Spanish War Veterans of the United States, the Military Order of Foreign Wars, and the American Veterans of Foreign Service. Even veterans of particular campaigns united: the Cuban veterans had the Society of the Army of Santiago de Cuba, while Puerto Rican campaign veterans could join the Military and Navy Society of the Porto Rican Expedition. Jewish veterans

had their own organization, the Hebrew Veterans of the War With Spain, and Dewey's naval veterans could belong to the Society of Manila Bay. Eighth Corps veterans who had served in the Philippines could choose the Eighth Corps Society, the Society Army of the Philippines, the Veteran Army of the Philippines, the Military Order of the Carabao, or any of the other societies for which they qualified. Regimental societies included the Rough Riders Association and the Astor Battery Society and dozens of other groups stemming from the many state volunteer regiments that were federalized in 1898. Some groups had a broad membership policy while others were restricted. Most veterans could belong to a number of organizations.

However, the pool of veterans from which these groups could draw was limited to between 300,000 and 400,000 men, and the number of such organizations began to dwindle dramatically because of the amalgamation, or sometimes simply the demise, of smaller groups. By far the largest and longest-lived veterans' organization was the United Spanish War Veterans (USWV), which was founded on April 18, 1904.²³⁷ At its peak in 1934, the USWV had 126,000 members in 1,500 local "camps" across the nation. The USWV was organized along the lines of the Grand Army of the Republic (GAR), the premier organization of Union Civil War veterans to which many of the fathers of the boys of '98, and some of the older "boys" themselves, belonged. Elected officers existed at the national, state, and local ("camp") levels. Like the GAR, the USWV was supplemented by auxiliaries, such as the National Auxiliary of the United Spanish War Veterans (for wives, mothers, and sisters of USWV members), the Sons of Spanish-American War Veterans, the Daughters of '98, and the Military Order of the Serpent, a light-hearted organization similar to the "40 and 8" of the American Legion and the "Cooties" of the Veterans of Foreign Wars.²³⁸

The purposes of the USWV were to "unite in the fraternal bonds of comradeship," to perpetuate memories of the Spanish-American/Philippine wars, to promote peace and good will "at home and among all nations," and to encourage an "adequate national defense and protect and preserve our institution of government."²³⁹ The organization also provided for the relief of distressed comrades and their families and promoted veterans' interests with state and national governments.

There were twenty-five USWV camps in Nebraska. They had a peak membership of over 1,700 and included two of the nation's largest camps, in Omaha and Lincoln. Veterans of the First Nebraska constituted a significant proportion in each of these camps, except one of the two Omaha camps, which was composed exclusively of black veterans who had served in black regular and volunteer regiments.²⁴⁰

One veterans' group that descended from these early Spanish-American War/Philippine War societies and still thrives today, is the Veterans of Foreign Wars (VFW), which currently has a membership of over two million. The VFW owes its origins to the Society Army of the Philippines and the American Veterans of Foreign Service, organizations which were founded in 1899 and 1901, respectively. In 1913 a disagreement within the membership of the Society Army of the Philippines over the issue of whether to merge with the USWV caused some of the members to join with the American Veterans of Foreign Service to form a new organization, the VFW, which limits its membership to veterans who served in America's foreign conflicts.²⁴¹

Despite the early, widespread formation of veterans' organizations, the United States government was slow to reward the sacrifices that these men had made for their country. It was not until 1905 that the first of a series of campaign badges was authorized. Initially, award of the badges was restricted to men who were still on active

duty. Due to increasing public and political pressure, issuance of campaign badges was subsequently broadened to include retired military personnel, and finally, any qualified veteran who applied. The first campaign badges recognized service in specific combat theaters. In 1918 the Spanish War Service badge was instituted for veterans who served in a federalized unit during the Spanish-American War, but who did not serve in a combat theater. It was not until 1922 that disabled veterans became eligible for hospitalization and pension benefits.²⁴²

Despite their needs, many of the veterans of America's first two Asian wars did not apply for medals, pensions, or medical benefits, being imbued with the American folk ideals of economic independence and non-reliance on charity or government support. As Private Abbott wrote at the First Nebraska's camp at the Presidio in San Francisco on August 10, 1899, shortly before being mustered out:

Yesterday we had our physical examination — a lot of little squirts of doctors serving the army by contract, looked us over. Said we were not injured by service and told us to go. I shall never apply for a pension any way if I can earn a living without it, but in my opinion every man who slept in the mud, rain, and dew of Luzon cut a notch in his constitution.²⁴³

The American soldiers who fought the Spanish-American/Philippine wars have nearly all died. Only one veteran of the 1898-1902 period is still alive in 1989.²⁴⁴ Soon, the "Boys of '98" will be remembered only in the writings of historians and through the many monuments which adorn parks and public buildings throughout our state and nation.

NOTES

¹The name "Fighting First" was used by the press soon after the return of the regiment to Nebraska (e.g. *Weeping Water Republican*, September 7, 1899, page 8). John R. Johnson, the chronicler of Nebraska in the Spanish-American War, also used the term "Fighting First" in his brief history of the regiment, "The Saga of the First Nebraska in the Philippines," *Nebraska History* 30 (June 1949), 162. Other summary histories of the First Nebraska can be found in Frank D. Eager, "History of the Operations of the First

Nebraska Infantry, U.S.V.," appended to Karl Irving Faust, *Campaigning in the Philippines*, Nebraska edition (San Francisco: Hicks-Judd, 1899), cited hereafter as "History of Operations," and in "First Nebraska Boys," *The First Nebraska in Camp and Field* (Crete, Nebraska: Herald Printing Company, no date). The most comprehensive single source on Nebraska's role in the Spanish-American War and the Philippine conflict is John R. Johnson's study, "Nebraska in the Spanish-American War and the Philippine Insurrection: A Study in Imperialism" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Nebraska, 1937). See also a photo-essay by H. Roger Grant, "The Fighting Firsts: The First South Dakota and Nebraska Volunteers in the Philippines, 1898-1899," *South Dakota History* 4 (Summer 1974), 320-32.

²Estimates of the number of Spaniards and loyal Cubans under arms in Cuba vary widely, ranging from approximately 100,000 (R.A. Alger, *The Spanish-American War*, Harper & Brothers, New York, 1901, 41) to as many as 278,457 (War Department, Adjutant-General's Office, Military Information Division, *Notes and Tables on Organization and Establishment of the Spanish Army in the Peninsula and Colonies*, Government Printing Office, Washington, 1898, 155-56). A figure of 196,820, based on official Spanish information, is probably more accurate. French Ensor Chadwick, *The Relations of the United States and Spain: The Spanish-American War*, I (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1911), 53.

³Recent scholarship on the circumstances underlying the Spanish-American War includes David F. Trask, *The War with Spain in 1898* (New York: Macmillan, 1981) and G.J.A. O'Toole, *The Spanish War* (New York: W.W. Norton, 1984).

⁴On the pessimism of Montojo and Admiral Pascual Cervera y Topete, see Trask, *War with Spain*, 61-64, 97; and O'Toole, *Spanish War*, 120-21, 137-38, 145, 180.

⁵H.G. Rickover, *How the Battleship Maine was Destroyed* (Washington: Department of the Navy, Naval History Division, 1976).

⁶Trask, *War with Spain*, 51-58; and O'Toole, *Spanish War*, 169-73.

⁷Francis B. Heitman, *Historical Register and Dictionary of the United States Army, from its Organization, September 29, 1789, to March 2, 1903* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1903), II, 289.

⁸Graham A. Cosmas, *An Army for Empire: The United States Army in the Spanish-American War* (Columbia, Missouri: University of Missouri Press, 1971) provides an excellent overview of American military preparations and organization. The total strength of American forces is from Heitman, *Historical Register*, II, 289.

⁹The military operations of the war are described in Trask, *War with Spain*, and O'Toole, *Spanish War*. See also Jack Cameron Dierks, *A Leap to Arms: The Cuban Campaign of 1898* (Philadelphia: J.B. Lippincott, 1970) for a description of the Cuban campaign.

¹⁰Heitman, *Historical Register*, II, 292.

¹¹*Biennial Report of Brigadier General Patrick H. Barry, Adjutant General of Nebraska, 1897 and 1898* (Lincoln, Nebraska: Woodruff Printing, 1899), 7, 11; hereafter cited as *Biennial Report, 1897 and 1898*.

¹²*Biennial Report, 1897 and 1898*, 7-9, 45-72.

¹³*Ibid.*, 9-10; Eager, "History of Operations," 5; *Statistical Exhibit of Strength of Volunteer Forces Called Into Service During the War With Spain*

With Losses From All Causes (Washington: Adjutant-General's Office, 1899), 10; and "A Brief History of the Volunteer Organizations in the Service of the United States During the War with Spain, 1898," appended to *Correspondence Relating to the War with Spain* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1902), vol. 1, 603, all give May 9-10 and May 9-14 as the dates of muster-in for the First and Second regiments, respectively. However, Johnson ("A Study in Imperialism," 30; "Saga of the First Nebraska," 143; and "The Second Nebraska's 'Battle' of Chickamauga," *Nebraska History* 32 (June 1951), 78) states that both regiments were mustered in on May 12. On the formation of the "rough rider" regiments, see Cosmas, *Army for Empire*, 133-34; and Robert Lee Mattson, "Politics is Up! — Grigsby's Cowboys and Roosevelt's Rough Riders, 1898," *South Dakota History* 9 (Fall 1979), 303-15.

¹⁴There is conflicting information about the muster-in date for the Third Nebraska Volunteer Infantry. A report by Nebraska National Guard Adjutant General Patrick H. Barry to the Governor of Nebraska (*Biennial Report, 1897 and 1898*, 11) states the date as July 7, while Colonel Bryan's report to Barry (*ibid.*, 136) gives the date as July 13. Two War Department publications, however (*Statistical Exhibit*, 10, and "A Brief History of the Volunteer Organizations" in *Correspondence Relating to the War with Spain*, vol. 1, 603), state that the muster-in was completed by July 17.

¹⁵On the history of the Second Nebraska Volunteer Infantry, see *Biennial Report, 1897 and 1898*, 129-34; and Johnson, "The Second Nebraska's 'Battle' of Chickamauga," 77-93. On the history of Troop K, Third U.S. Volunteer Cavalry, see John R. Johnson, "Nebraska's 'Rough Riders' in the Spanish-American War," *Nebraska History* 29 (June 1948), 105-12; and Otto L. Sues, *Grigsby's Cowboys* (Salem, South Dakota: "Salem Special" Printing and Publishing Establishment, 1900). On Camp Thomas, see Gregory Dean Chapman, "Army Life at Camp Thomas, Georgia, During the Spanish-American War," *Georgia Historical Quarterly* 70 (Winter 1986), 633-56.

¹⁶On the history of the Third Nebraska Volunteer Infantry, see *Biennial Report, 1897 and 1898*, 135-38; John R. Johnson, "William Jennings Bryan, the Soldier," *Nebraska History* 31 (June 1950), 94-106; and "A Brief History of the Volunteer Organizations" in *Correspondence Relating to the War with Spain*, vol. 1, 603.

¹⁷John T. Smith, "History of Co. 'B,'" Chapter I, undated newspaper clipping in the Records of the United Spanish War Veterans, RG 44, box 22, folder 5, State Archives, Nebraska State Historical Society; hereafter cited as JTS, USWV records.

¹⁸Diary of Frank D. Eager, pages 10-11, in the Frank DeWitt Eager papers, MS 2420, box 1, State Archives, Nebraska State Historical Society; hereafter cited as FDE diary, FDE papers. Entries were not made consistently on a daily basis, so pagination will be given in the notes that follow.

¹⁹Johnson, "Saga of the First Nebraska," 143.

²⁰*Biennial Report, 1897 and 1898*, 8, 327; and Eager, "History of Operations," 1, 4-5.

²¹*San Francisco Chronicle*, May 20, 1898; also undated newspaper clipping on pages 25-26 of FDE diary, FDE papers.

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²²*Biennial Report, 1897 and 1898*, 48.

²³William Thaddeus Sexton, *Soldiers in the Sun: An Adventure in Imperialism* (Harrisburg, Pennsylvania: Military Service Publishing Company, 1939), 19-23. The Eighth Corps was so designated on June 21, 1898.

²⁴Eager, "History of Operations," 1, 6.

²⁵*Ibid.*, 5; *Biennial Report, 1897 and 1898*, 86-87.

²⁶JTS, "History of Co. 'B,'" Chapter III, USWV records.

²⁷Horace L. Folkner diary, entry for May 19, 1898, USWV records, box 22, folder 3; hereafter cited as HLF diary, USWV records.

²⁸JTS, "History of Co. 'B,'" Chapter IV, USWV records.

²⁹Eager, "History of Operations," 5.

³⁰*Ibid.*, 5-6; *Biennial Report, 1897 and 1898*, 87-89.

³¹*Biennial Report, 1897 and 1898*, 90.

³²Sexton, *Soldiers in the Sun*, 19-20; Cosmas, *Army for Empire*, 119.

³³Eager, "History of Operations," 6; *Biennial Report, 1897 and 1898*, 88; Johnson, "Saga of the First Nebraska," 144.

³⁴*Biennial Report, 1897 and 1898*, 89.

³⁵JTS, "History of Co. 'B,'" Chapter V, USWV records.

³⁶Frank H. Johnson to parents, May 29, 1898, Frank Henton Johnson papers, MS 2612, box 1, State Archives, Nebraska State Historical Society. Letters written during 1898 are in folder 3, and those for 1899 are in folder 5. Hereafter Johnson's letters to his parents are cited as FHJ papers.

³⁷Arundel M. Hull to father, June 11, 1898, Arundel Miller Hull papers, MS 2680, box 1, folder 1, State Archives, Nebraska State Historical Society; hereafter cited as AMH papers.

³⁸Diary of Luther J. Abbott, Jr., entry for July 2, 1898, in the Ned Culbertson Abbott papers, MS 2626, series 10, box 22, folder 1, State Archives, Nebraska State Historical Society. Abbott, a schoolteacher from Fremont, Nebraska, was one of the new recruits. Hereafter his diary will be cited as LJA diary, NCA papers.

³⁹JTS, "History of Co. 'B,'" Chapter VI, USWV records.

⁴⁰FDE diary, page 30, FDE papers.

⁴¹*Ibid.*, 33.

⁴²Karl Irving Faust, *Campaigning in the Philippines* (San Francisco: Hicks-Judd, 1899), 63-64.

⁴³FHJ to parents, June 15, 1898, FHJ papers.

⁴⁴Hugh E. Clapp diary, entry for June 14, 1898, in the Hugh Elton Clapp papers, MS 170, box 1, folder 1, State Archives, Nebraska State Historical Society; hereafter cited as HEC diary, HEC papers.

⁴⁵Otto W. Meier to parents, June 17, 1898, in the Otto William Meier papers, MS 3539, box 1, folder 1, State Archives, Nebraska State Historical Society; hereafter cited as OWM papers.

⁴⁶The death and funeral of Sergeant Geddes is mentioned, and sometimes poignantly described, in the HLF diary, entry for June 21, USWV records; Clyde Vosburgh diary for June 21, 1898, in the Clyde Vosburgh papers, MS 588, box 1, folder 1, State Archives, Nebraska State Historical Society, hereafter cited as CV papers; HEC diary for same date, HEC papers; JTS, "History of Co. 'B,'" Chapter VIII, USWV records; FDE diary, pages 34-35, FDE papers; FHJ to parents, June 15 (with information added on subsequent days), FHJ papers; and in a letter

written by Warren McLaughlin, June 20, 1898 (with information added later), in the Warren McLaughlin papers, MS 3545, box 1, folder 1, State Archives, Nebraska State Historical Society, hereafter cited as WMcL papers. See also Eager, "History of Operations," 7; and Colonel Bratt's report in *Biennial Report, 1897 and 1898*, 100-102.

⁴⁷JTS, "History of Co. 'B,'" Chapter VIII, USWV records.

⁴⁸Eager, "History of Operations," 7-8; FDE diary, pages 36-37, FDE papers; FHJ to parents, June 25, 1898, FHJ papers; JTS, "History of Co. 'B,'" Chapters VIII and IX, USWV records.

⁴⁹In 1898 the government of Hawaii was controlled by American business interests and was seeking annexation to the United States. The warm reception given the American soldiers may have been part of this effort. First Lieutenant Warren McLaughlin wrote that he was "stronger than ever for annexation" after his visit. (WMcL to parents, July 4, 1898, WMcL papers). Hawaii was annexed by the United States on August 12, 1898.

⁵⁰Jay Weaver to parents, June 25, 1898, in the Wilda Weaver Ferree papers, MS 3961 (unprocessed), State Archives, Nebraska State Historical Society; hereafter cited as JW letters in WWF papers.

⁵¹FDE diary, pages 40-42, FDE papers. Colonel Bratt also describes the celebration in *Biennial Report, 1897 and 1898*, 107-108.

⁵²FDE diary, page 39, FDE papers.

⁵³JTS, "History of Co. 'B,'" Chapter XI, USWV records; see also FDE diary, page 45, FDE papers.

⁵⁴JTS, "History of Co. 'B,'" Chapter XI, USWV records; FDE diary, page 47, FDE papers.

⁵⁵Quoted in Johnson, "Saga of the First Nebraska," 147.

⁵⁶Spain had a much smaller number of men under arms in the Philippines than in Cuba. Estimates range from 10,000 (General Merritt, quoted in Trask, *War with Spain*, 384) to over 40,000 (War Department, *Notes and Tables*, 215). When Manila fell to the Americans, 13,000 Spanish soldiers were taken prisoner (Sexton, *Soldiers in the Sun*, 45).

⁵⁷Credible estimates of the strength of Aguinaldo's forces before Manila range from 10,000 (from a statement by Brigadier General Francis V. Greene), to 12,000 (an estimate attributed to Major General Wesley Merritt), to 14,000 or 15,000 (from statements attributed to Aguinaldo himself); see Chadwick, *Relations of the United States and Spain*, II, 374-75, 394, 398, and *Correspondence Relating to the War with Spain*, vol. 2, 778. Other estimates place the Filipino army's strength as high as 30,000 (Faust, *Campaigning in the Philippines*, 48).

⁵⁸Aguinaldo and the Filipino rebellion against Spain are described in virtually every source that deals with the history of American involvement in the Philippine Islands. More recent scholarship includes Stuart Creighton Miller, "Benevolent Assimilation": *The American Conquest of the Philippines, 1899-1903* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1982), and David Howard Bain, *Sitting in Darkness: Americans in the Philippines* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1984).

⁵⁹Hugh E. Clapp, formerly a private in Company D; audiotaped interview, 1970, State Archives, Nebraska State Historical Society.

⁶⁰FDE diary, pages 54-55, FDE papers.

⁶¹Faust, *Campaigning in the Philippines*, 64-65.

⁶²Sexton, *Soldiers in the Sun*, 35.

⁶³Faust, *Campaigning in the Philippines*, 88.

⁶⁴*Biennial Report, 1897 and 1898*, 114-16. This is Colonel Bratt's official report of the August 2 battle.

⁶⁵FHJ to parents, July 31, 1898 (letter also incorporates later information), FHJ papers.

⁶⁶Eager, "History of Operations," 9; *Biennial Report, 1897 and 1898*, 116; and "First Nebraska Boys," *The First Nebraska in Camp and Field*, 50.

⁶⁷Bratt's report (*Biennial Report, 1897 and 1898*, 116) and the "First Nebraska Boys" (*The First Nebraska in Camp and Field*, 50) indicate that seven men were wounded, while the rosters in Eager's regimental history ("History of Operations") identify eight men as wounded in this action. On the decorated Nebraskans, see Albert F. Gleim, *The Certificate of Merit: US Army Distinguished Service Award 1847-1918* (Arlington, Virginia: privately published, 1979), 47.

⁶⁸War Department, *War Department Gallantry Citations for Pre-WWI Service* (Planchet Press, 1986), 26. Stotsenburg's citation was posthumous, in 1924.

⁶⁹Eager, "History of Operations," 9.

⁷⁰Sexton, *Soldiers in the Sun*, 38-41; Trask, *War with Spain*, 414-15; O'Toole, *Spanish War*, 368-71.

⁷¹Sexton, *Soldiers in the Sun*, 42.

⁷²"First Nebraska Boys," *The First Nebraska in Camp and Field*, 53. Private Jay Weaver gave the song title as "There will be a hot time in minila tonight," JW to parents, August 17, 1898, WWF papers. See also AMH to "Mom," August 27, 1898, AMH papers; and the diary of Musician Carl K. Struble, Company A (transcript in possession of descendants).

⁷³Eager, "History of Operations," 10; Brigadier General Francis V. Greene quoted in Chadwick, *Relations of the United States and Spain*, II, 415.

⁷⁴FHJ to parents, August 16, 1898, FHJ papers.

⁷⁵Sexton, *Soldiers in the Sun*, 43-44; Trask, *War with Spain*, 419-20; Cosmas, *Army for Empire*, 241-42; Johnson, "Saga of the First Nebraska," 148-49.

⁷⁶Sexton, *Soldiers in the Sun*, 50-62.

⁷⁷Major General Elwell S. Otis report in Nelson A. Miles, *Annual Report of the Major-General Commanding the Army, 1899* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1899), Part 2, 346-47. See also Major General Wesley Merritt, "The Fall of Manila," in *Greater America* (Boston: Perry Mason, 1909), 83.

⁷⁸Eager, "History of Operations," 10; *Biennial Report, 1897 and 1898*, 116-17.

⁷⁹WMcL to "folks at home," September 10, 1898, WMcL papers.

⁸⁰Margaret Inglehart Reilly, "Andrew Wadsworth, A Nebraska Soldier in the Philippines, 1898-1899," *Nebraska History* 68 (Winter 1987), 190.

⁸¹JW to parents, August 17, 1898, WWF papers.

⁸²CV diary, entry for October 9, 1898, CV papers.

⁸³FHJ to parents, October 13, 1898, FHJ papers.

⁸⁴CV diary, entry for August 30, 1898, CV papers. See "First Nebraska Boys," *The First Nebraska in Camp and Field*, 71, for general comments on the dangers facing American soldiers in Manila.

⁸⁵CV diary, entry for September 9, 1898, CV papers.

⁸⁶FHJ to parents, October 26, 1898, FHJ papers.

⁸⁷Ibid., July 31, 1898. In a 1970 audiotaped interview now in the State Archives, Nebraska State Historical Society, Emil E. Placek, formerly a private in Company B, related that he brought his pet monkey to the United States when the regiment returned in 1899.

⁸⁸FHJ to parents, October 20, 1898, FHJ papers.

⁸⁹Ibid., January 31, 1899.

⁹⁰Ibid., October 13, 1898.

⁹¹Ibid., November 17, 1898.

⁹²CV diary, entry for October 23, CV papers.

⁹³FHJ to parents, November 17, 1898, FHJ papers.

⁹⁴Eager, "History of Operations," 11, 13. Private Luther J. Abbott, Jr., was one of the newly arrived recruits. His diary establishes December 3 as the date on which the Nebraska recruits disembarked. LJA diary, entry for December 7, 1898, NCA papers.

⁹⁵CV diary, entry for November 24, 1898, CV papers.

⁹⁶Ibid.

⁹⁷Eager, "History of Operations," 13; "First Nebraska Boys," *The First Nebraska in Camp and Field*, 88.

⁹⁸CV diary, entry for December 25, 1898, CV papers.

⁹⁹Ibid.

¹⁰⁰FHJ to parents, January 1, 1899, FHJ papers.

¹⁰¹CV diary, entry for January 1, 1899, CV papers.

¹⁰²Ibid., entry for January 2, 1899; FHJ to parents, January 1, 1899 (letter contains later information), FHJ papers. See also Eager, "History of Operations," 13-14.

¹⁰³Eager, "History of Operations," 11. See also *Biennial Report, 1897 and 1898*, 120-21.

¹⁰⁴Eager, "History of Operations," 11; *Biennial Report, 1897 and 1898*, 249. Bratt's resignation was not accepted officially until November 10 "and Stotsenburg's commission as colonel dated from that time" (Johnson, "A Study in Imperialism," 249).

¹⁰⁵FHJ to parents, October 13, 1898, FHJ papers. See "First Nebraska Boys," *The First Nebraska in Camp and Field*, 79, for a negative view of the change in command.

¹⁰⁶Elwell S. Otis in Miles, *Annual Report, 1899*, part 2, 3-4; Sexton, *Soldiers in the Sun*, 63-64; Miller, "Benevolent Assimilation," 46; Bain, *Sitting in Darkness*, 82-86.

¹⁰⁷Elwell S. Otis in Miles, *Annual Report, 1899*, part 2, 41-42.

¹⁰⁸CV diary, entries for November 30 and December 5-9, 1898, CV papers.

¹⁰⁹Elwell S. Otis in Miles, *Annual Report, 1899*, part 2, 93. The sick rate in the Nebraska regiment did decrease at Camp Santa Mesa; see comments on this in Private Johnson's letters, FHJ to parents, December 14, 1898, and January 8, 1899, FHJ papers.

¹¹⁰Trask, *War with Spain*, 445-72.

¹¹¹FHJ to parents, December 7, 1898, FHJ

papers. See also LJA diary, entries for December 5-7, 1898, NCA papers, for further description of the anxieties and tensions arising from proximity to the Filipino lines.

¹¹²FHJ to parents, December 14, 1898, and January 6, 1899, FHJ papers.

¹¹³Ibid., January 8, 1899. Although Johnson's letter states that the soldier was from Colorado, the sentry was actually from the First South Dakota Volunteer Infantry, which was at that time stationed relatively close to the Nebraska regiment (Frank W. Medbery, "Official History of the Operations of the First South Dakota Infantry, U.S.V.," appended to the South Dakota edition of Faust, *Campaigning in the Philippines*, 9).

¹¹⁴FHJ to parents, January 8, 1899 (letter contains later information), FHJ papers.

¹¹⁵CV diary, entry for January 12, 1899, CV papers.

¹¹⁶FHJ to parents, January 17, 1899, FHJ papers.

¹¹⁷Ibid., January 31, 1899 (letter contains later information), FHJ papers. This quotation is an example of the strained relations that existed between the Americans and the Filipinos. Other incidents are documented in the writings of other First Nebraska veterans. See Eager, "History of Operations," 14-15, and diaries of CV and LJA in the CV papers and the NCA papers, respectively.

¹¹⁸Diary of Private Earle Pearsall, Company E, 1898-W-1521 in the Military History Research Collection, U.S. Army Military History Institute, Carlisle Barracks, Pennsylvania; entry for February 3, 1899. Cited hereafter as EP diary, EP papers.

¹¹⁹*San Francisco Examiner*, July 31, 1899, page 2. Other versions of the incident, attributed to Grayson himself, appear on page 25 of the August 6, 1899, issue of the *Examiner*; Herbert Welsh, *The Other Man's Country* (Philadelphia: J.B. Lippincott, 1900), 124-26; and Charles Edward Russell, *The Outlook for the Philippines* (New York: Century, 1922), 93n. Grayson's own diary, among the William W. Grayson papers (A/MSS) in the State Archives, Nebraska State Historical Society, laconically states in the entry for February 4, 1899, "The first shot was fired on Feb 4 1899 by Wm. W. Grayson." Descriptions of the incident by Colonel Stotsenburg, the regimental commander, and by Second Lieutenant Burt D. Whedon, who had charge of Outpost No. 2 on that night, are given in the report of Major General Elwell S. Otis in Miles, *Annual Report, 1899*, part 2, 462-64. Donald Chaput, "Private William W. Grayson's War in the Philippines, 1899," *Nebraska History* 61 (Fall 1980), 355-65, has summarized much of the information relating to Grayson's life and his actions on the evening of February 4, 1899.

¹²⁰CV diary, entry for February 4, 1899, CV papers.

¹²¹LJA diary, entry for February 8, 1899, NCA papers.

¹²²Ibid. The "First Nebraska Boys" (*The First Nebraska in Camp and Field*, 92) also mention the Filipino taunts.

¹²³WmCl to "Folks at home," February 25, 1899, WmCl papers. Other detailed, eyewitness descriptions of the action on February 4-6 can be found in letters written by Privates Frank Johnson, FHJ to parents, February 12, 1899, FHJ papers, and Herman Dittmer of Company L;

diary entry made on March 5, 1899, and letter to sister, February 12, 1899, in the Herman Dittmer papers, 1898-W-1058, Military History Research Collection, U.S. Army Military History Institute, Carlisle Barracks, Pennsylvania).

¹²⁴Eager, "History of Operations," 26-29. The cannon was also referred to as the "Nebraska Monterey," an allusion to the firepower of the naval monitor, the USS *Monterey*, then stationed in the Philippines ("First Nebraska Boys," *The First Nebraska in Camp and Field*, 121, 124-25, 131).

¹²⁵Ibid., 18-20; Arthur C. Johnson, "Official History of the Operations of the First Colorado Infantry, U.S.V.," appended to the Colorado edition of Faust, *Campaigning in the Philippines*, 13-14; Elwell S. Otis in Miles, *Annual Report, 1899*, part 2, 100-102. An eyewitness account of the discovery of the pump heads is provided by George Howe, "At the Pumping Station," in *Greater America* (Boston: Perry Mason, 1909), 109-19.

¹²⁶Bain, *Sitting in Darkness*, 185; Miller, "Benevolent Assimilation," 63; and Russell Roth, *Muddy Glory: America's 'Indian Wars' in the Philippines 1899-1935* (W. Hanover, Massachusetts: Christopher Publishing House), 47.

¹²⁷Trask, *War with Spain*, 470; Miller, "Benevolent Assimilation," 29-30; O'Toole, *Spanish War*, 388; Richard E. Welch, Jr., *Response to Imperialism* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1979), 19.

¹²⁸Miller, in "Benevolent Assimilation," strongly implies that General Otis repeatedly attempted to provoke Aguinaldo into initiating hostilities. In his official announcement of the opening of hostilities, Otis stated that the Filipinos attacked the American lines, implicitly suggesting that they fired the first shots (Otis to the Adjutant General of the Army, February 5, 1899, in *Correspondence Relating to the War with Spain*, vol. 2, 894).

¹²⁹Alger, *Spanish-American War*, 357.

¹³⁰Sexton, *Soldiers in the Sun*, 91; Miller, "Benevolent Assimilation," 60-61.

¹³¹Sexton, *Soldiers in the Sun*, 96.

¹³²Eager, "History of Operations," company rosters; War Department, *Gallantry Citations*, 7, 40, 42, 45, 50, 51.

¹³³LJA diary, entry for March 6, 1899, NCA papers.

¹³⁴EP diary, entry for February 12, 1899, EP papers.

¹³⁵Ibid., entries from February 7 through March 15.

¹³⁶FHJ to parents, February 15, 1899, FHJ papers.

¹³⁷Private Johnson, who participated in this engagement, wrote a lengthy description of the battle. FHJ to parents, February 21, 1899 (letter contains later information), FHJ papers.

¹³⁸FHJ to parents, February 28, 1899, FHJ papers.

¹³⁹Elwell S. Otis in Miles, *Annual Report, 1899*, part 2, 473.

¹⁴⁰Ibid., part 2, 485-86.

¹⁴¹LJA diary, entry for February 28, 1899, NCA papers.

¹⁴²Albert S. Hisey, "History of Co. 'B,'" Chapter XXX, USWV records. This is a continuation of the series of articles begun by First Lieutenant John T. Smith and cited heretofore as JTS, USWV records.

¹⁴³EP diary, entry for March 3, 1899, EP

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papers. See also Eager, "History of Operations," 22.

¹⁴⁴*Biennial Report of Brigadier General Patrick H. Barry, Adjutant General of Nebraska, 1899-1900* (Omaha, Nebraska: Omaha Printing, 1900), 703-13. Hereafter cited as *Biennial Report, 1899-1900*.

¹⁴⁵*Ibid.*, 715.

¹⁴⁶*Ibid.*, 785-93.

¹⁴⁷*Ibid.*, 713-17.

¹⁴⁸*Ibid.*, 764-84.

¹⁴⁹*Ibid.*, 717-84. The matter is reviewed in John R. Johnson, "Colonel John Miller Stotsenburg: A Man of Valor," *Nebraska History* 50 (Winter 1969), 349-50.

¹⁵⁰WmC L to "folks at home," October 6, 1898, WmC L papers.

¹⁵¹*Ibid.*, February 12, 1899.

¹⁵²Reilly, "Andrew Wadsworth," 192.

¹⁵³LJA diary, entries for December 22, 1898, and February 11, 1899, NCA papers. See also "First Nebraska Boys," *The First Nebraska in Camp and Field*, 79-80 for a further testimonial to Stotsenburg's quality as an officer. John A. Logan (whose name is incorrectly spelled "Hogan" by Abbott) was a colorful officer of the Civil War, who attained the rank of major general; after the war he helped to found the Grand Army of the Republic and unsuccessfully ran for vice-president in 1884, four years before his death. Mark Mayo Boatner III, *The Civil War Dictionary* (New York: David McKay Company, 1959), 486-87.

¹⁵⁴Eager, "History of Operations," company rosters.

¹⁵⁵FHJ to parents, March 23, 1899, FHJ papers.

¹⁵⁶*Ibid.* The rumors are also mentioned by the "First Nebraska Boys" (*The First Nebraska in Camp and Field*, 113).

¹⁵⁷Sexton, *Soldiers in the Sun*, 111.

¹⁵⁸Sexton provides the best general summary of the Malolos campaign (*ibid.*, 108-18). More detailed information can be found in Faust, *Campaigning in the Philippines*, 155-73; and in the official statements by various commanders incorporated into the report of Major General Arthur MacArthur in Miles, *Annual Report, 1899*, part 3, 414-16, 453-59, and 467-68. These sources and Eager's "History of Operations," 24-30, have been useful for our generalized description of the campaign.

¹⁵⁹FHJ to parents, April 5, 1899, FHJ papers.

¹⁶⁰Eager, "History of Operations," 27; "First Nebraska Boys," *The First Nebraska in Camp and Field*, 119. The statement "All Hell Can't Stop Them" to characterize the fighting prowess of military units, has achieved the status of cliché. David H. Bain in "Manifest Destiny's Man of the Hour: Frederick Funston," *Smithsonian* 20 (May 1989), 144, attributes the statement to General MacArthur, describing the fighting ability of the Twentieth Kansas volunteers in the Philippines. "All Hell Can't Stop Us" was adopted as the World War II battle cry of the 134th Infantry Regiment (Nebraska National Guard). See James A. Huston, *Biography of A Battalion* (Gering, Nebraska: Courier Press, 1950), 3-4.

¹⁶¹FHJ to parents, April 5, 1899, FHJ papers.

¹⁶²Sexton, *Soldiers in the Sun*, 118.

¹⁶³Eager, "History of Operations," company rosters.

¹⁶⁴*Ibid.*, 29.

¹⁶⁵FHJ to parents, April 5, 1899, FHJ papers.

¹⁶⁶Sexton, *Soldiers in the Sun*, 118.

¹⁶⁷LJA diary, entry for April 9, 1899, NCA papers.

¹⁶⁸Arthur MacArthur in Miles, *Annual Report, 1899*, part 3, 401-3, 580-82; Faust, *Campaigning in the Philippines*, 178-79.

¹⁶⁹Prior to April 6, 1899, the Nebraska troops were armed with single-shot Springfield rifles which used cartridges filled with black powder. They created so much smoke that the location of the shooters was revealed to the enemy and the targets at which the men were shooting were obscured. In contrast, many of the Filipino soldiers were armed with Model 1893 Mausers, five-shot magazine rifles which used smokeless powder and had greater range than the Springfields.

¹⁷⁰Statement by Brigadier General Irving Hale in Miles, *Annual Report, 1899*, part 3, 401-2; Eager, "History of Operations," company rosters.

¹⁷¹Statement by Major J. Franklin Bell in Miles, *Annual Report, 1899*, part 3, 582.

¹⁷²LJA diary, entry for April 25 and 26, 1899, NCA papers.

¹⁷³Johnson, "Stotsenburg," 353-54; *Biennial Report, 1899-1900*, 184-85.

¹⁷⁴Sexton, *Soldiers in the Sun*, 142; Bain, *Sitting in Darkness*, 111.

¹⁷⁵Faust, *Campaigning in the Philippines*, 180-81; and Sexton, *Soldiers in the Sun*, 142. At this point in the story of the First Nebraska, the regimental history (Eager, "History of Operations") is chronologically confused.

¹⁷⁶Faust, *Campaigning in the Philippines*, 181-83; report of Arthur MacArthur in Miles, *Annual Report, 1899*, part 3, 403-4.

¹⁷⁷Eager, "History of Operations," company rosters.

¹⁷⁸Report of Arthur MacArthur in Miles, *Annual Report, 1899*, part 3, 422; Eager, "History of Operations," 36; FHJ to parents, May 7, 1899, FHJ papers. The "First Nebraska Boys" (*The First Nebraska in Camp and Field*, 139) state that the regiment had only about 150 men fit for duty after the battle for Calumpit.

¹⁷⁹Eager, "History of Operations," 36.

¹⁸⁰FHJ to parents, May 11, 1899, FHJ papers.

¹⁸¹*Ibid.*, April 20, 1899.

¹⁸²Eager, "History of Operations," 36.

¹⁸³*Ibid.*

¹⁸⁴*Ibid.*, 36-37.

¹⁸⁵*Ibid.*, 37-39.

¹⁸⁶LJA diary, entry for July 11, 1899, NCA papers.

¹⁸⁷*Ibid.*

¹⁸⁸*Ibid.*, diary entry for August 7, 1899.

¹⁸⁹*Ibid.*

¹⁹⁰FHJ to parents, August 5, 1899, FHJ papers.

¹⁹¹Eager, "History of Operations," 40; Johnson, "Saga of the First Nebraska," 161; LJA diary, entry for August 23, 1899, NCA papers.

¹⁹²Johnson, "Saga of the First Nebraska," 161; *Biennial Report, 1899-1900*, 6-7; Eager, "History of Operations," 40.

¹⁹³Johnson, "Saga of the First Nebraska," 160. See also *General Orders and Proceedings of the Eighteenth Annual Encampment of the Department of Nebraska United Spanish War Veterans Held at Grand Island, Nebraska June 14, 15, 16, 1925* (Lincoln: no publisher or date), 55, for summary statistics on the losses of each Nebraska

unit that saw service in the Spanish-American/Philippine Wars.

¹⁹⁴Heitman, *Historical Register*, 11, 297.

¹⁹⁵The story of Aguinaldo's capture is told in detail in Bain, *Sitting in Darkness*. Aguinaldo (1869-1964), after his capture, took an oath of allegiance to the United States and returned to private life. Only once again in 1935 did he enter politics, when he ran for the presidency of the Commonwealth of the Philippines and was defeated.

¹⁹⁶Figures computed from those presented in Heitman, *Historical Register*, II, 293.

¹⁹⁷Daniel B. Schirmer, *Republic or Empire: American Resistance to the Philippine War* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Schenkman Publishing, 1972); Miller, "Benevolent Assimilation"; Welch, *Response to Imperialism*. See also John R. Johnson, "Imperialism in Nebraska 1898-1904," *Nebraska History* 44 (September 1963), 141-66.

¹⁹⁸Miller, "Benevolent Assimilation."

¹⁹⁹The most comprehensive source on home attitudes about the Spanish-American/Philippine Wars is Johnson, "A Study in Imperialism." For the specific information given above, see pages 10-11, 14-15, and 47-48.

²⁰⁰*Ibid.*, 9, 19, 22, and 268-70.

²⁰¹*Ibid.*, 15.

²⁰²*Ibid.*, 8-9.

²⁰³*Ibid.*, 11.

²⁰⁴The reaction of the American people to imperialism is explored by Welch in *Response to Imperialism*. The attitude of Nebraskans toward the issue is discussed in Johnson, "A Study in Imperialism" and "Imperialism in Nebraska."

²⁰⁵Bryan's resignation from the army and his early anti-imperialism activities are discussed in Johnson, "William Jennings Bryan, the Soldier."

²⁰⁶William Jennings Bryan et al., *Republic or Empire? The Philippine Question* (The Independence Company, Chicago, 1899).

²⁰⁷Johnson, "A Study in Imperialism," 332-33.

²⁰⁸*Ibid.*, 349.

²⁰⁹*Ibid.*, 357-59.

²¹⁰Miller, "Benevolent Assimilation," 28-29; Welch, *Response to Imperialism*, 19.

²¹¹Johnson, "A Study in Imperialism," 384.

²¹²*Ibid.*, 367.

²¹³*Ibid.*, 276-79.

²¹⁴*Ibid.*, 288-89.

²¹⁵*Ibid.*, 282-83. See also *Biennial Report, 1899 and 1900*, 26, and Gregory W. Ogletree, *Awards and Decorations of U.S. State Military Forces* (Vandenberg Air Force Base, California: Patriot Press), 233.

²¹⁶Johnson, "A Study in Imperialism," 283.

²¹⁷The *Omaha World-Herald's* role is discussed in Johnson, "A Study in Imperialism," and by James M. Bechtel, "The Omaha World-Herald and the Philippine Insurrection: A Study in Anti-Imperialism" (M.A. thesis, University of Nebraska-Omaha, 1974).

²¹⁸Johnson, "A Study in Imperialism," 268-70.

²¹⁹*Ibid.*, 285-86.

²²⁰*Ibid.*, 287-89.

²²¹*Ibid.*, 284.

²²²*Ibid.*, 284-85. See also *Correspondence Relating to the War with Spain*, vol. 2, 973.

²²³Lewis O. Saum presents an excellent analysis of the motives and attitudes of Eighth Corps soldiers in "The Western Volunteer and

"The New Empire," *Pacific Northwest Quarterly* 57 (January 1966), 18-27.

²²⁴Johnson, "A Study in Imperialism," 355. Marlin's letter was published in the *Nebraska Independent*, July 27, 1899, 5.

²²⁵Johnson, "A Study in Imperialism," 330-32. By the time he returned from the Philippines, Mailley had switched from Populist sympathies to the Republican pro-imperialism position, after which the Republicans referred to him as the "Fighting Parson." His former Populist friends called him the "saintly serpent" who advocated "gunpowder Christianity" in the Philippines.

²²⁶*Ibid.*, 85.

²²⁷*Omaha World-Herald*, April 17, 1899, 4.

²²⁸Johnson, "A Study in Imperialism," 80. Towl's statement was published in the *Nebraska State Journal*, September 28, 1898, 5.

²²⁹Johnson, "A Study in Imperialism," 83.

²³⁰*Ibid.*, 272-73. Forby's letter was originally published in the *Omaha World-Herald*, November 27, 1898, along with a plea for donations of money for Nebraska's soldiers in the Philippines.

²³¹*Omaha World-Herald*, March 9, 1900, 1. See also Bechtel, "A Study in Anti-Imperialism," 46.

²³²*Omaha Sunday World-Herald*, May 13, 1900, 21. See also Bechtel, "A Study in Anti-

Imperialism," 46. Miller's description of the "water cure" is believed to be the first published account of that torture (Welch, *Response to Imperialism*, 134). The use of the "water cure" torture by American troops in the Philippines later received considerable notoriety in the press.

²³³Smith's orders are quoted in Miller, *Benevolent Assimilation*, 220, and the controversy surrounding his court-martial is discussed in chapter 12 of that work.

²³⁴*Ibid.*, 227-32.

²³⁵Miller, in *Benevolent Assimilation*, 268-76, discusses the Philippines-Vietnam analogy.

²³⁶*Ibid.* Welch, *Response to Imperialism*, 153, also disavows the parallels between the two conflicts on the basis that the causes of the two wars were very different.

²³⁷On Spanish-American War veterans' societies in general, see Harvey S. Eisenberg, "Societies of the Spanish-American War, Philippine Insurrection and Boxer Rebellion," *The Medal Collector* 24 (November 1973), 3-24; and 24 (December 1973), 8-16. On the United Spanish War Veterans, see "Proceedings of the Stated Convention of the 88th National Encampment, United Spanish War Veterans, Bangor, Maine, August 23d to 27th, 1986," *House Document 100-164* (Washington: Government Printing Office,

1988), esp. pages 1-10.

²³⁸William Kendra, personal communication to Thomas D. Thiessen, 1988; Harvey S. Eisenberg, "Medals and Badges of the United Spanish War Veterans," *The Medal Collector* 24 (February 1973), 4-18; and 24 (March 1973), 8-29.

²³⁹*House Document 100-164*, 9-10.

²⁴⁰William Kendra, personal communication to Thomas D. Thiessen, 1988. Mr. Kendra has graciously shared his extensive knowledge of the history of the United Spanish War Veterans in Nebraska.

²⁴¹Eisenberg, "Societies of the Spanish-American War," part I, 17-19; William Kendra, personal communication to Thomas D. Thiessen, 1988.

²⁴²On campaign badges, see David Borthick and Jack Britton, *Medals, Military and Civilian of the United States* (Tulsa, Oklahoma: M.C.N. Press, 1984). On date of entitlement to veterans' benefits, see Miller, *Benevolent Assimilation*, 272.

²⁴³LJA diary, entry for August 10, 1899, NCA papers.

²⁴⁴*Lincoln Journal*, July 14, 1988, page 2; Beulah M. Cope, Adjutant General, United Spanish War Veterans, to Thomas D. Thiessen, August 16, 1988.

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