The 13th Minnesota Volunteer Regiment and the Spanish-American and Philippine-American Wars, 1898-1899

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THE 13TH MINNESOTA VOLUNTEER REGIMENT AND THE SPANISH-
AMERICAN AND PHILIPPINE-AMERICAN WARS, 1898-1899

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B.S., Moorhead State University, 1992
B.A., Moorhead State University, 1996

A Thesis
Submitted to the Graduate Faculty
of
St. Cloud State University
in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements
for the Degree
Master of Arts

St. Cloud, Minnesota
December, 1998
This thesis submitted by Kyle Ward in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the Degree of Master of Arts at St. Cloud State University is hereby approved by the final evaluation committee.

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THE 13TH MINNESOTA VOLUNTEER REGIMENT AND THE SPANISH-
AMERICAN AND PHILIPPINE-AMERICAN WARS, 1898-1899

Kyle Ward

This thesis describes and analyzes the role of the 13th Minnesota Volunteer Regiment in both the Spanish-American and Philippine-American War's, 1898-1899. I have done this by looking at the recent literature on this topic along with researching the letters, diaries, government documents, books, and newspapers that were written by the people of that time.

With the onset of war in 1898, many Minnesotans, along with much of the United States, found themselves preparing for a war against Spain. This war was sold to the American people as an opportunity for them to bring their style of democracy to colonized people in Cuba and the Philippines.

For many Minnesotans this was the kind of adventure they felt they needed to lift them out of the mundane lifestyles they believed they were in. Enlisting in order to be part of a great adventure and to prove their manhood, these Minnesotans who became involved in these events, quickly discovered that their actions would not only help change their own, but also a great many other American's impressions of their country.

After a brief period of military training in both Minnesota and California, the 13th Minnesota was assigned to sail to the Philippines in order to help defeat the Spaniards stationed in Manila. After a rather short battle, and one which need not have been fought, the Americans defeated the Spanish.

Due to their bravery in battle, the 13th Minnesota was given the duty of patrolling Manila and its surrounding suburbs. Although not wanting this duty, and often terribly bored, the Minnesotans did it with such professionalism that Manila was soon back to its normal routine.

After seven months of tensions and misunderstandings between Emilio Aguinaldo's troops and the American's, the second war in the islands began on February 4, 1899. Although not officially involved in this battle, the Minnesotans found themselves later in the middle of an attack on Manila only three weeks later.

With the signing of the Paris Peace Treaty, which concluded the Spanish-American War, American officials decided to make the Philippines a possession of the United States. This change of policy not only caused more tensions between the Americans and Filipinos, but also forced the 13th Minnesota to become part of an offensive campaign into northern Luzon. There they were ordered to destroy both Aguinaldo's men and his equipment, thereby hopefully bringing the war to a quick and successful conclusion.
With the Filipinos beginning to rely on guerrilla warfare, and many Minnesotans fearing death, a number of members of the 13th Minnesota began writing letters home in which they both requested to be brought home, and began questioning why the United States was fighting this second war. With enough pressure from the volunteers and people at home, President McKinley began to order these citizen-soldiers home in the summer of 1898. Leaving the Philippines in August and reaching Minnesota in October, the men of the 13th Minnesota's service to their country was over.

After being welcomed home by Governor John Lind and President William McKinley, these soldiers, who 18 months earlier wanted nothing more than to escape the boredom they once knew, now wanted nothing more than to return to it.

Although history has all but forgotten the 13th Minnesota and the wars in which they fought, they did leave an impressive legacy. By both serving the nation when asked, and later questioning both their own and their government's role in fighting the Filipinos, the members of the 13th Minnesota can be remembered as reluctant heroes. Even though they helped bring America into the 20th century as a burgeoning world power, they also must never be forgotten for refusing to blindly follow their government when they felt it was doing wrong.
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Chapter I

CRISIS AT HAND

With the 19th century coming to a close, many Americans, especially those who were born after the Civil War, needed some catalyst to change how they looked at themselves. This was as true for the youth of Minnesota as it was for any other group in the United States. However, for the Minnesotans involved in these events which soon transpired, their contributions helped change not only their own, but also a great many other Americans impressions of their country. These actions also became a catalyst for many Americans to question not only the wars fought in the Philippines at the turn of the century, but also the United States' newly developed imperialistic foreign policy.

With the nation suffering from a terrible economic depression and this generation dealing with feelings of inadequacies due to the fact that they did not have even one event, like the Civil War, to put their names in the history books, they were desperately seeking something to uplift them. Fortunately for them, a crisis was brewing in the world in the last half of the 1890s, one which many hoped would not only solve the economic and emotional depression in the country, but one that would also cure the national division still left over from the Civil War.

Not only would this generation have to help heal the wounds from a war fought some 30 years earlier, they would also be forced into fighting any future battles with the same mythical patriotism and valor that the Civil War generation had. It was with this enthusiasm that those who enlisted to fight at first took with them. In a near carnival atmosphere this generation went off to fight their war, unfortunately for them by the time
they returned to American soil, this excitement had all but vanished. For these men quickly found that the war they had been sold was not the one they would end up fighting.

This changing of views happened in part because of what was taking place in their nation's capital. Even as the 19th century was coming to an end many American politicians did not seriously plan for America's future, often leaving many of their newly developing foreign policies rather vague. With no serious, concise plan coming out of President McKinley's administration, most of the plans for the United States and the government were being formulated by low level government officials, military leaders, or an over­zealous group of Americans who wanted to see America expand its territorial holdings.

With little or no direction from the top officials America's foreign policies were often then formed as events progressed, usually with the help of one of the above mentioned groups. This lack of direction not only caused problems for McKinley, but it also created issues for this generation of Americans who were never quite sure what direction their country was taking them in. In a time when a definite foreign policy needed to be formulated, this generation of Americans never knew for sure where their government stood. This questioning by many American citizens of what it was their government was trying to accomplish, only further complicated things for the men who went off to serve their nation in a time of war.

The problems facing this generation of Americans was tremendous. With a government unsure of itself, pressure from an older generation, and the desire to finally heal the wounds of past transgressions, they needed an enormous event through which they could solve all the problems plaguing them. When they did get their opportunity to act, most did so with the belief that they were going to be given the chance to "spread the blessings of their exceptional civilization to the world." A crusade with this concept as its backbone would not only be seen as being noble, but might also lift them and their nation out of their current malaise.¹
Their prayers of getting that one major event would come true, but the answers which came from it were far from what they expected. Instead of getting what they wished for, this generation of Americans found themselves changing forever the way the nation looked at itself. For by 1900, America not only found itself at the beginning of a new century, but were also able to witness the arrival of a new and more powerful nation on the world stage.

The opportunity to solve all these problems came from the old Spanish Empire. Since their discovery of the "New World," the Spaniards had held a vast empire in both the Americas and in the Pacific. Unfortunately for the Spanish government of the 1890s, this empire was beginning to crumble around it. Rebels in Spanish colonies such as Cuba and the Philippines, who were trying to expel the Spaniards, placed Spain in a precarious position. Having more military might than its colonies, Spain could try, over time, to suppress these revolts and return these nations into the fold, but the more they tried to put down these revolts the more attention they received from around the world, especially from the United States.

Americans had always taken a special interest in Cuban affairs, since it lay only 90 miles off the coast of Florida. Having started a number of revolts against their colonial masters throughout the 1800s, with the start of the revolt in 1895 Cubans were aided immensely by three different groups of sympathizers in the United States-American businessmen, a minority of Republicans and certain East Coast newspapers.

In 1893, America had suffered from the worst economic depression in its history. In order to get America out of this depression many business leaders began to argue that the country needed to keep its labor force working. To do this they believed they had to continue to make products from the surplus of goods which kept coming in from around the nation. In order to keep these first two goals alive, many businessmen, along with a group of politicians, argued that America needed to increase exports.
Along with America's business world pushing for intervention, the Cubans were also aided by the fact that America, in 1896, elected William McKinley as President, re-establishing Republican rule in the White House. Since he and certain key members of his party, such as Theodore Roosevelt, held both expansionistic beliefs and pro-Cuban tendencies, McKinley and the Republicans were able to put the Cuban cause in the forefront of American thought at the end of the 19th century.

However, the main culprit in leading America to war with Spain was the world of print journalism. What started as a simple business competition, in the end led to an all out war.

During the 1890s the market for newspaper supremacy in New York City was a closely fought battle between two men, William Randolph Hearst and Joseph Pulitzer. In order to grab more readers, thereby gaining more circulation and money, neither was above over-sensationalizing an event to get more subscribers. Believing that "stark contrasts of black and white would sell more papers than bland shadings of gray," these editors portrayed the Spanish as "unspeakable villains, who committed murder torture, and rape against innocent Cuban women and children."  

This tabloid war, and the type of sensationalistic reporting called "yellow journalism," was aided by the events unfolding in Cuba. Both Hearst and Pulitzer believed, correctly, that there was nothing like a war to capture the readers' attention, and if the actual events were not exciting enough, they would then print their own exaggerated versions of what may or may not have happened.

Although pro-business, McKinley still did not want to send America to war. But with intense pressure mounting on him from newspapers, Cuban sympathizers, a small but vocal group of politicians and a growing sentiment for action across the nation, it became harder and harder for him to stay above the fray and try to solve things diplomatically. Trying to maintain the peace while certain segments of the United States were lobbying for
war was difficult enough, but diplomatic crises, which were beyond the control of the President were quickly used by those clamoring for war forcing McKinley to set America on a path for war.

During the spring of 1898, these three groups were further aided by three events which help set the course, not only for what would take place in Cuba, but in various other spots in the Caribbean and half way around the world. These events, making their biggest impact in Washington, quickly developed a ripple effect which spread, first to the larger East Coast newspapers, then subsequently throughout the rest of the United States.

In a day and age when local newspapers were the only way one could obtain news, the editors became the source for all that the people knew. As it was in New York, so it was throughout the state of Minnesota. Minnesotans, always believing they had more civic pride than many people in other states, followed what was happening both in their state and in the national government. With the three events which transpired leading America into war, Minnesota newspapers not only reported about them, but also had an effect on those who later signed up to fight the war.

The first of these three incidents was the de Lome affair. Dupuy de Lome, Spain's ambassador to the United States for three years and a well respected diplomat, had been in this position for so long that his gaffe was even more unpardonable. In a simple personal letter to a Spanish Minister, de Lome concluded by claiming that he felt McKinley was "weak and catered to the rabble of his party." He further added that the President was also "a low politician, who desires to leave the door open to me, and to stand with the jingoes of his party." 3

Had it not gotten into the wrong hands, the letter would not have caused the problem it did for the Spaniards. Sent through the letter through the regular mail system, the letter was stolen by a Cuban sympathizer and quickly sent to a pro-Cuban group in New York City. Going through a series of channels (no one wanted to take responsibility
for getting it published), it finally ended up on the desk of William Randolph Hearst, where it made front page news with the headlines: "WORST INSULT IN AMERICA'S HISTORY." 4

While the Hearst and Pulitzer newspapers immediately beat the drums for war, Minnesota's took a much more watchful approach to the de Lome situation. The Moorhead Daily News was far less excited about the event than its New York counterparts and reported it much like the rest of the state's newspapers. Not only was the story of this "diplomatic crisis" over the de Lome letter located on the second page, it also had to follow a page-one story which had among its headlines, "Ole Pederson went to Fosston Monday morning." The Moorhead paper, like a number of others, focused its concern more on whether the translation of the letter had been accurate. While the East Coast tabloids were ready for war right then and there, Minnesota's newspapers originally took a much more cautious approach to the events unfolding. 5

Not wanting war over this issue, some Minnesota newspapers, depending on their political affiliations, even agreed with de Lome's characterization of the President. The St. Cloud Daily Times said in an editorial on February 11 that this letter told the "...exact truth..." in regard to the President's character. Even in his own administration, McKinley was being berated for his character. Then Assistant Secretary of the Navy, Theodore Roosevelt, had himself gone on record saying; "...that his chief had the backbone of a chocolate eclair." 6

de Lome, being an astute diplomat, had resigned his position before any official actions could be taken. With de Lome out of the picture and the Spanish government's apology accepted by a war leery McKinley, the incident was all but forgotten. It was not the spectacular event that many "yellow journalist" were hoping for. For their part, Minnesota's newspapers remained level-headed and were able to report the de Lome story with little sensationalism. Unfortunately for those who did not want war, stories about
de Lome were replaced by a more horrible story—one that the pro-war yellow journalists in America could latch on to and not let go.

With diplomatic tensions heightening, President McKinley, under the guise of dispatching ships on regular naval visits to other countries, began to send American war vessels to Cuba in January. The first of these ships was the *U.S.S. Maine*. The Spaniards in Cuba, for their part, were not too threatened by the ship's arrival. In fact, when the *Maine* arrived in Havana Harbor on January 25th "[T]he Spanish commander sent a case of fine sherry to the Maine's Captain and officers." 7

Three weeks later the peace and tranquility that the sailors of the *Maine* might have enjoyed upon first arriving in the island, quickly vanished. At 9:45 p.m., on the night of February 15th, an explosion ripped through the bow of the *Maine*, killing 260 of her men and injuring many more. Hearst's reporters were some of the first on the scene. They immediately telegraphed the news to New York where a messenger brought the report of the *Maine* incident directly to Hearst. He in turn called his editor to find out what the next day's headlines would say. His editor responded "...the Maine as well as the other big news of the day." To which Hearst replied; "...there was no other big news and instructed the editor to fill the front page with the news of the Maine." Hearst, knowing that this was the story he had been looking for, cryptically added: "[T]his means war." 8

The news of the *Maine*’s sinking was quickly circulated around the nation by the Associated Press, to which most, if not all, of Minnesota's newspapers belonged. This service was invaluable to Minnesota editors, but it also had a terrible flaw to its system. The Associated Press often carried stories picked up from Hearst's *New York Journal*, which was famous for its yellow journalist tradition. Consequently, Minnesota's papers reflected this taint of yellow journalism in their stories on the *Maine* incident.

Although a great many of the early reports out of Havana stated that the explosion was an accident, and noted the aid that the Spaniards gave in rescuing the survivors, this
was readily overshadowed in the days to come. Other sources claimed that the mine was planted by the Spaniards who purposely destroyed the Maine. No matter what the truth may have been, the yellow journalists had the sensationalistic story they were looking for and they were going to run with it.

Back in Minnesota the citizenry was following this story in their local newspapers just as closely as anywhere else in the nation. For Minnesotans, though, the news was not viewed as such a huge shock as in other parts of the nation. This sentiment was reflected in an editorial in the Mankato Daily Free Press which stated that the Maine incident: "has caused a thrill of horror to pass over the nation." The editor then begged his readers not to be swayed toward sensationalism, although he agreed it was easy to "...turn suspiciously toward the Spanish." In the end he hoped his readers would heed the advice of the Maine's Captain Sigsbee when he warned people to withhold judgment "...until a thorough investigation..." was conducted. 9

During this time Minnesotans found themselves aroused with anger, but they were also not certain what significance the Maine affair had. Those who wanted action found an outlet for quickened emotions in the work of Cuban relief. Around the state one could find constant reports on Cuba in the newspapers along with lectures at church services and socials. Although not ready for war, Minnesotans found themselves getting emotionally prepared for what might happen. 10

While-pro-Cuban sentiments were beginning to develop across the nation, back in Washington McKinley and his administration had their hands full diplomatically. Although personally wanting to claim the Maine incident as being purely accidental, McKinley knew full well that the American press would not let it stand at that. The day after the incident McKinley gathered his cabinet together, and they decided upon their official policy. They agreed there would be a board of inquiry to examine the situation, which would then report its findings to the President. The official White House line until then was to be that the
destruction of the Maine had been due to an accident. The President also promised the "public [that they] would know the real truth as soon as he did himself, and until then he asked [for] a suspension of judgment." 11

With many politicians and various newspapers around the nation clamoring for war, some of the Minnesota newspapers began to agree, and started to print articles in favor of war with Spain. The Moorhead Daily News changed its cautious view when it stated that "[T]he sentiment of the country is overwhelmingly in favor of prompt, decisive and adequate action on the part of our government." 12

While in Duluth the News Tribune felt that "[T]he destruction of the battleship Maine has stirred this country from coast to coast, not so much because of the disaster itself,...as because of the strained condition of affairs." America found itself, being led by jingoistic politicians and journalists, heading toward a war with Spain over Cuba, a war that neither the McKinley administration wanted, nor the Spanish government could afford.13

Throughout the last few weeks of the month of February and the first week of March the debate throughout American focused on whether or not the Spaniards had sunk the Maine and if so what the United States should do. Although the sinking of the Maine put most Americans on the threshold of support for war, Minnesotans, due to their own stoicism and the lack of sensationalism in their newspapers, continued to remain cautious and level-headed. It would ironically take something far more mundane than any diplomatic faux pas, or a naval explosion to make the citizenry of Minnesota stand up and prepare to take arms.

On March 7, 1898, the United States Congress passed McKinley's "Fifty-Million-Dollar Bill" which would be the third and final step in preparing America for war. Ironically, McKinley hoped this bill would solve a number of his problems. First he hoped it would calm the yellow journalists by making it look as if he had a "backbone" and would
stand up to the Spaniards. Secondly, he was all too aware that war was quite possible, and wanted the nation to be prepared. Finally, the bill "was designed primarily to deter Spain from continuing intransigence." The hope was that they would see that America was completely prepared for war, and then back down. 

Unlike either the de Lome letter, or the Maine incident, the passing of this legislation did much to help unite, first newspapers, then the people from across Minnesota. With the passage of this bill, a feeling of patriotism began to surge, not only in Minnesota, but across the United States. Suddenly there emerged a sense of unity among all Americans not felt since the days before the Civil War. This unity was first reflected in the House of Representatives, with its vote on McKinley's "$50 Million Dollar" bill. As the St. Cloud Daily Times headlines exclaimed on March 9th: "AYES 311, NOES 0." The Times, along with numerous other newspapers, was thrilled with the fact that with this vote, "[P]arty lines were swept away...." All Americans were finally again united over a single cause.

In an article the following day, the St. Cloud Daily Times continued with its unity theme. "The enthusiasm with which [the $50 Million Dollar Bill] was hailed everywhere, is noticed to all people that, however Americans may differ as to party politics, they will be united as one man when the nation is threatened. If war should really come...the rush of men to arms, would surpass anything the world has ever witnessed." For many Americans the memory of the Civil War still lingered in their conscience. Since 1865 many had been looking for something to finally reunite the nation under one theme and flag. For those people this bill was it. It showed that it was time to unite against a common enemy and forget past transgressions. With a large portion of the United States still holding on to old hatreds, for many the Civil War would be concluded with a victory over Spain.
This third event on the road to war was the one which inspired Minnesotans (or at least their newspapers) to join in the patriotic bandwagon and call for the defeat of the Spaniards. One of Minnesota's own Congressmen, Representative McCleary, in a speech before the House even claimed; "...if war must come all lines of division among us will be forgotten. There will be no North, no South, no East, no West, but one united country." He then concluded by telling the rest of the House; "[A]nd if war shall come the North Star State...will again be found in the forefront in the hour of danger and the sons will emulate the glorious achievement of their sires at Gettysburg and Chickamauga." 17

This speech was met with a thunderous round of applause by all sections of the House. Although this speech, wrapped tightly in patriotic zeal, not only stirred sentiments in both the House of Representatives and in thousands of Minnesota men, it spoke more truth than this Representative knew. For those who would go off to fight the Spaniards would not only help conclude the Civil War in the minds of many Americans, they would also have to live up to the tradition of the Civil War soldier, both real and mythical. These proved to be shoes nearly impossible to fill.

It also spoke the truth about how Americans felt about themselves. At the turn of the century "it is questionable whether a Minnesotan thought of himself primarily as an American, or whether he identified himself as a farmer, a midwesterner, a Norwegian, a Lutheran, of perhaps a Republican." The sectionalism which had divided the nation back in the 1860s was still alive and well. With few in the United States considering themselves and those around them to be Americans, many in this post-Civil War generation believed it was up to them to find that one national cause which would once and for all unite all Americans. 18

While the money had been appropriated by the Congress, the final act of declaring war would have to wait until the Board of Inquiry, established to find out the cause of the U.S.S. Maine's explosion gave its report to McKinley, who was himself still trying to
stave off war at all costs. By the end of March this inquiry had been completed and was on its way to Washington D.C., for Presidential viewing. Whatever the results of the Board of Inquiry's report, it seemed that most of Minnesota's newspapers, as well as most of America's, had already come to a conclusion—not so much as to whether or not the Spanish had sunk the Maine, but rather how the United States would fare in war. As the St. Cloud Daily Times reported on March 26, 1898; "[T]he time for idle speculation is past—the period for active and energetic preparations for offensive operations is at hand...."

The Daily Times concluded by saying; "[T]here can be but one result, victory for this nation, and yet this does not detract from the momentousness of the occasion, when it is remembered that many lives will be lost and millions of treasure expanded." Having staved off the influences of East Coast jingoism for weeks, Minnesota's editors had succumbed to the allure of tantalizing articles used to inspire the masses. 19

The report reached Washington amidst an almost carnival atmosphere of reporters all trying to get the scoop. On March 25, President McKinley met with his cabinet to discuss the report of the Naval Court of Inquiry. Having known for a week what the report said, this document held no surprises for McKinley. Still hoping for a last minute miracle, McKinley was aware that the whole nation knew he had the report and that he had to send it to Congress. He knew this almost certainly meant war, since even though the report did not name names, it did blame the sinking of the Maine on an external explosion, and to most Americans that clearly pointed to the Spaniards.

McKinley and his cabinet decided to hold on to the report over the weekend, thereby allowing him a couple of more days in which to conduct some last minute negotiations with the Spanish government. If that failed, he knew that the patriotic feelings flowing throughout the Congress and the nation would surely sweep him and the nation off to war. 20
With no last minute miracle to stop the war, the report was made public, and the machinery of war began to spin rapidly. On April 11th, President McKinley sent a message to Congress asking for the authority to intervene in Cuba. This April 11th message was received in the Senate and referred to the committee on foreign relations, chaired by Minnesota's own, Senator Cushman K. Davis. Two days later Davis, in the committee report, said; Spain was guilty either by an "...official act of the Spanish authorities or was made possible by a negligence on their part so willing and gross as to be equivalent in culpability to positive criminal action." In Senator Davis', and the committee's view, it was now time to start the war and free the Cubans. This resolution was adopted by the full Senate on April 16, and was accepted with few changes.  

While Davis remained a strong imperialist throughout the war and after, he by no means represented the entire state of Minnesota. For while Senator Davis was pushing for war, another Minnesotan, Archbishop John Ireland of St. Paul, was waging a war for peace. Having been contacted by the Pope, (who wanted to avoid the bloodshed of Catholics from Spain, Cuba, the Philippines and the United States) to try and find a peaceable ending for the current diplomatic deadlock, Ireland went to work.

Ireland had been chosen by the Pope because of his American citizenship, his "undoubted loyalty to his country, and [his] friendly personal relations with the President and members of the Cabinet." Once in Washington, Ireland was courteously received by President McKinley and his staff. Even with all the pleasantry among all involved, the Ireland talks with McKinley were futile. It was believed by anti-war groups that since the Pope, many Spanish officials, and even President McKinley all desired peace, Ireland, playing intermediary, would be able to convince all parties of the war's irrationality. Unfortunately for the Archbishop and his cause, war fever had grabbed a hold of the nation and neither religious nor political leaders were going to curtail it.
Having failed as a diplomat, Ireland returned to Minnesota to continue his duties with the Catholic Church. With war nearing and his peace initiatives having failed, Ireland, being a patriotic American, began to support the war, to the point where in his church sermons he began to talk about the righteousness of war and those who fought in it.

Even with last ditch efforts to avoid conflict, McKinley knew that the majority of Americans, having been misled by both jingoistic politicians and newspapers, wanted war. He also knew that if he continued to seek peace at this late date the Republican Party would be split and his administration would suffer unpopularity and a loss of confidence. Also, being a first term president, he had another election coming up in just two years, and he knew if he wanted to be re-elected, his choice was a simple one, send America to war. 23

Therefore, on April 25, McKinley asked the Congress to declare war, to which it whole-heartedly complied by passing a resolution that said that war had existed since April 21. 24 It was little wonder, though, that Americans demanded war. Most Americans, having followed the Cuban Insurrection and the developing diplomatic crisis in their local newspapers, had had months of patriotic indoctrination by continuously hearing how evil and treacherous the Spaniards were, and how easily they could be defeated by the superior Americans. This belief, coupled with the concept that they would be fighting a just war, and could bring the blessings of liberty to the Cubans, made many Minnesota youths excited for war. So once the call went out for soldiers, they were ready.

But before these Minnesotans could join the military and head toward Cuba, another event of major significance was unfolding half way around the world. On May 1, Admiral Dewey, with orders from Washington, sailed from Hong Kong and reached Manila Harbor in the Philippines. (The Philippines had been a part of the Spanish empire since the days of Ferdinand Magellan's world voyage when he claimed the islands for Spain.) His orders were to attack the Spaniards in these islands primarily to prevent them from setting sail and bringing either their Pacific Navy, or their troops stationed there
to aid in the fighting in Cuba. In what was considered one of the greatest naval victories in American history, Dewey's ship's completely destroyed the Spanish fleet in a matter of hours, whereas the Americans only lost one man to heat exhaustion during the entire battle.

News of this victory spread quickly to the United States where Dewey was made an instant hero. Having no ideas about what to do next, Dewey awaited orders from his superiors in Washington. They, too had little inkling of what to do with this situation. Outside of defeating the Spanish navy to prevent it from sailing to Cuba to help their troops there, American leaders were at a loss.

A plan began to slowly develop, and Dewey was first ordered to try to gain control of the city of Manila, the capital of the Philippines and a Spanish fortified outpost. While wanting to accomplish this, Dewey feared that his small contingent of troops could not take and then hold the city. On May 7 he telegraphed Washington informing them that in order for him to take Manila, he needed more troops. American political and military leaders knew that if they listened to this request, they would completely open up another front in the war. This in turn would force America's military strategists to completely rethink their strategy for victory. After a brief debate, leaders in Washington decided to go along with Dewey's request, and began to develop plans to send troops to the islands.

Although new to the American military leaders, this war in the Pacific was anything but new to its participants. The Filipinos, like the Cubans, had been fighting an insurrection against their Spanish colonizers. They too were waiting for their chance to strike a decisive blow and force the Spaniards out of the islands. Finally, again like the Cubans, they would see their best opportunity come with the arrival of the Americans. With Dewey's overwhelming victory in Manila Harbor, the Filipinos saw their chance and again began to attack the Spaniards. With lightning quick military movements, the Filipinos were able to cut off large numbers of Spanish troops, and were also able to force a large contingent of Spaniards into Manila, where the war would stalemate for months.
Americans, wanting, and needing the assistance of the Filipino insurgents, contacted exiled Filipino leader Emilio Aguinaldo who was then living in Singapore. With American promises of aid, friendship and Philippine independence, Aguinaldo agreed to sail back to his homeland and begin again his war against the Spaniards. American leaders in Washington sent orders to Dewey and others who had contact with the Filipino leader to avoid all alliances with the revolutionaries. But they were to late, for American diplomat E. Spencer Pratt (one of just a handful of American diplomats working in Asia at that time) had already vaguely promised Aguinaldo independence and that America would not colonize the Philippines, and the U.S. Navy had already brought Aguinaldo, on an American ship, back to the Philippines, thereby giving his authority some credence. 

Lacking any serious plans for dealing with the Spanish in the Philippines, and paying even less attention to the Filipinos, President McKinley mistakenly gave much of America's diplomatic duties over to the military officers who were currently, or would soon be, in the islands. This absence of direction from Washington would not only cause serious problems during the Spanish-American War, but was also to be a serious hindrance when more serious events arose that next spring.

Weeks later President McKinley was to confide in a friend: "If old Dewey had just sailed away when he smashed that Spanish fleet, what a lot of trouble he would have saved us." He did not though and America found itself fighting a war now on two fronts, and its first overseas war. For most Americans this one-sided victory in the Philippines reaffirmed their superiority over the Spaniards. It also meant that America would need even more troops to fight its war, thereby giving more Americans the opportunity to show off their patriotism and courage. Finally, by having another front in the Pacific, Americans could have an additional opportunity to export its version of liberty and democracy to another nation suffering under Spanish oppression.
At this moment in time it seemed as if almost everyone was getting their wish. Jingoistic Americans were getting their war, while the Cubans and Filipinos were hopefully going to get their freedom. The United States set itself on a course for international involvement and all that would come with it. But before they could dive into the world of international relations and become one of the world's superpowers, the young men of America would have to don military uniforms and go off and fight for the right of America to make these claims. With patriotic fervor sweeping the nation, Minnesota's own were also caught up in this tidal wave of emotion. Emotions and attitudes which would carry them to the other side of the world, where they would have to fight three wars. One against the Spanish, another against the Filipinos, and a third against the memory of a war fought some 30 years earlier.

3 St. Paul Pioneer Press, April 14, 1898, p. 2. Other Minnesota newspapers used in this research were the Duluth News Tribune, Mankato Daily Free Press, The Minneapolis Tribune, Moorhead Daily News, Red Wing Daily Republican, St. Cloud Times and the Stillwater Gazette. These newspapers were used either because they represented the cities which had specific companies which belonged to the 13th Minnesota, or because they represented large geographical areas of the state in which I hoped to get a good cross-section of how most Minnesotans felt about certain events as they arose.
7 Seib, Headline Diplomacy, p. 6.
8 Chiasson, Press In Times, p. 104.
13 Duluth News Tribune, February 17, 1898, p. 4.
16 St. Cloud Daily Times, March 10, 1898, p. 2.
18 Peter Mickelson, "Nationalism in Minnesota During the Spanish-American War, 1899-1902. Minnesota History (Spring 1968), 2.
19 St. Cloud Daily Times, March 26, 1898, p. 2.
21 Holbrook, Minnesota In The Spanish-American War And Philippine Insurrection, 5.
Since some fighting had already taken place, by pushing the actual starting day of the war back legislators felt they were covering themselves diplomatically.


Ibid., 106.
Chapter II

"VALIANT SONS OF VALIANT FATHERS"

With Minnesotans, and the nation, on the edge of their seats, and ready for war, the question turned to not who to fight, but rather who would do this fighting. With pro-war sentiments as strong as they were that spring of 1898 it was not hard, once war had been declared to find the necessary bodies to go and fight. In Minnesota, as across the nation, throngs of young men rushed to their nearest recruiting offices to sign up for military service.

Although their reasons varied for why they wanted to serve there were some common threads for why most signed up to serve their nation. Probably the biggest factor was that most of them had, at one time or another, sat and listened to stories about the Civil War from either their fathers, or grandfathers. Born years after the Civil War ended in 1865, this generation which would go off to fight the Spanish, had been raised on stories of what war was like. Throughout history, one of the most peculiar issues about war is how veterans remember it. The Minnesota veterans of the Civil War, along with a large portion of the state, sold warfare to this younger generation as more like a combination of summer camp and a classic adventure, rather than recalling the horrors which often come with it.

This younger generation, also saw how their communities and state held these veterans, and the memories of those who had died, in high esteem. These were the bravest of the brave, and they had sacrificed all for the glory of the Union. For many who enlisted in 1898, it was this, attainment of personal glory and respect, which was the catalyst for
them to go off and fight the Spanish. For those who desired adventure and glory, this war would be their ultimate dream. It would allow them to attain honor for themselves, and their country, by showing bravery in some far off battlefield.  

The Civil War veterans, with war drawing near, proudly showed their patriotism and stood behind their stories of the past. Few, if any were to come forward and try to warn these boys about the possible dangers which lay ahead. For some, the persistence of peace was not a source of national pride, but rather one of concern. A number of the veterans from the Civil War even went so far as to say that the lack of war was detrimental to the creation of a "praiseworthy national character." Many of these veterans felt this younger generation was growing up without having to prove its manhood, thereby implying that these boys had a life which was far too easy.  

Those who turned over their civilian clothes for those of a soldier also saw this conflict as an opportunity to travel and see the world. From the letters sent home during the first days of camp, it is obvious that a great many of those who joined had never been more than a few miles from their homes in their entire lives. By joining the army or navy, many believed they would be given the one and only chance in their lives to see different parts of the United States and the world.  

The final reason for this generation of Minnesotans to go off to war was because of what their newspapers and politicians had been telling them. Getting all of their information about the outside world solely from their local newspapers, those who signed up had for months read stories about the evil Spanish empire, and even more importantly, stories of how weak and decrepit the Spanish soldiers were. In their minds then, America was on an altruistic mission to save the Cubans and Filipinos from the horrid Spaniards, not only freeing them from their oppressors, but also bringing them American liberty. By joining the military they would not only be doing their patriotic duty, but maybe even more importantly, they would doing the right and just thing. It was this that their politicians and
newspaper editors had been telling them for months, and it was this notion that these soldiers brought into the field with them months later. 4

With the questions of whom they would fight and who would do that fighting answered, the next question the government had to ask itself was how were they going to do this fighting. The regular army, all but dissolved in the years following the Civil War, had in the latter half of the 19th century been made up primarily of smaller units doing their service in a series of forts in the West. With war imminent, the debate then arose between President McKinley and some on his staff over the size of the army needed in this war. In the end, knowing that this shrunken regular army would not be adequate, McKinley and his Secretary of War, Russell Alger, turned to the National Guard units to fill in the necessary numbers.

Although neither Secretary Alger nor Major General Nelson A. Miles, the army's senior officer, held the state National Guard units in high esteem, they did see them as being somewhat useful. Both agreed that the National Guard would not make up any fighting units, but rather could be used primarily as a police force to protect the coastal defenses during wartime. 5

In their estimation of the National Guard as being basically useless, they were probably not too far off. Until 1898 the Guards had been "primarily [a] social and political club," used more for social gatherings and political patronage than anything else. Most National Guard units also "had little equipment, an easy going type of discipline...and scarcely any cavalry or artillery." And worst of all was the fact that few, if any, knew anything about war, much less how to fight one. 6

By April 9, 1898, General Miles devised a plan to fight the war which consisted of using all the Regular Army, and asking for 40,000 to 50,000 volunteers. Knowing that the National Guard just did not have the numbers they needed, Miles devised this plan calling for volunteers to come from the states immediately following any declaration of war, much
as they had done during the Civil War. Most of these volunteers, it was hoped, would come from the state National Guard thereby giving the state governments the power to organize the regiments and select their officers. 7

On April 13, Congress enacted this plan and six days later, on April 19, the same day Congress authorized armed intervention in Cuba, a bill was brought to both the House and Senate which asked for the creation of an all volunteer army. The government would not only get the required number of troops they felt they needed, but they would also tap into a vein of patriotism not known in the United States since before the Civil War.

Even before Congress passed legislation for the establishment of this all volunteer army, and even before war had been declared, patriotism in Minnesota was running rampant. With war fever having gotten the best of them, many wanted to do their part and proudly display their patriotism. From March, until war was officially declared in April, Minnesota Governor David Clough's office was deluged with requests from all across the state with citizens asking that they be given their chance to do their duty.

In order to do their duty though, a great many wanted and asked for some kind of political patronage from the Governor. Knowing that Clough was to be in charge of the decisions of who would lead the state's regiments, many wrote to him requesting that they, or their son, be mustered in at one rank or another. Typical was D. M. Neill's letter to the governor of April 9, 1898 in which he informed Clough that his son, Edmund P. Neill, had forwarded his "application for a Lieutenancy in the volunteer service...." He went on to explain that his son would make an excellent leader and that Edmund would do himself and the governor credit. Although not brought in as a lieutenant, the younger Neill was made a corporal in the Volunteers. 8

Another man seeking a position within the volunteer organizations was the Reverend Charles A. Cressy. A veteran of the Civil War, in which he served with the 4th Regiment New Hampshire Volunteers, this Episcopalian preacher's exciting life was far
from over, and he wished to be part of this new adventure. After "respectfully apply[ing]
for a position as Chaplain in the State troops," the Reverend closed his letter to the
Governor's office by explaining that he desired, "most earnestly to Serve [his] country."9

Patriotism was not monopolized in Minnesota by only those in the Twin Cities, but
it was also found in the northern part of the state. From Park Rapids came a letter to the
governor requesting that the writer, P.D. Winship, a Civil War veteran, be given command
of the troops from Hubbard county, since they were ready for war. He also informed the
Governor that due to his past experiences he was the obvious choice as their leader.
Caught up in, and reflecting the jingoistic tendencies found in even the most patriotic
newspaper in New York, he concluded his letter to the Governor by saying that if "[W]ar
with Spain [is] inevitable [than] every American Heart Burns with Patriotism (sic) and
wants only the call to arms to spring to the front and avenge the wrongs and insults that
Spain has heaped upon the nation." Through these letters, it is obvious that the work of
newspaper editors clamoring for war had been very successful. 10

Where some Minnesotans could not hide their patriotism, others could not hide their
uniqueness. Again coming from the north, this time Duluth, an overly ambitious group of
citizens requested that the Governor admit them to the volunteer units because they had a
unique talent which could help win this war. This ability which made them unique was that
they were entirely made up of a company of bicyclers. The letter stated; "I have the honor
to tender the services of from fifty to one hundred wheelmen for the support of the
government...." To the surprise of probably few on his staff, Clough did not accept this
company into the new volunteer units. 11

But for every thousand super-patriots found across the state, there was always one
who saw things in a different light. In a letter dated March 1, 1898, Hook Maglook wrote
the Governor saying; "I notice from the daily papers, that your mail of late is from men
who want to command the first company in the first regiment enlisted. In order to break
the monotony of the same I tender my service as the last private in the last company, of the last regiment." If Hook's wish was that his sarcasm would keep him away from any fighting it worked, for he never served in the volunteers.\textsuperscript{12}

Although Hook Maglook's letter was the one oddity in the thousands of letters sent to the Governor that spring, most of the rest resembled those shown earlier. Groups such as the Young Men's Democratic Club, Sons of Veterans, USA, and men who had served in the Civil War and wanted the honor again, deluged the Governor's office with requests for membership in the new volunteer units. Along with these specific groups of people, Clough also received letters from cities all across the state, including Duluth, Willmar, Worthington, Crookston, Tower, Hector, Osakis and East Grand Forks, all requesting that their towns be represented in the upcoming fight.\textsuperscript{13}

With patriotism at an all time high across the United States, and would-be soldiers from all walks of life preparing for war, it was just a matter of time before the government led these men off to war. The anticipation of war peaked in those last days of April, and was reflected in a \textit{Minneapolis Tribune} article which stated that "[W]ar strikes no terror to the heart of the Minneapolis man. It rather awakens him to the fact that he is a citizen of the greatest republic on earth and that as such he has an opportunity now of proving his loyalty to his country." It was this type of super-patriot rhetoric which not only helped recruit Minnesota's boys for this "great adventure," but also kept the regular citizenry at a fever pitch for war.\textsuperscript{14}

On April 23, 1898, the news had finally come that answered the prayers of volunteers across the nation, when President McKinley, under the just passed legislation, requested that states recruit volunteers for the war against Spain. In a surprising move, McKinley, instead of requesting the 60,000 volunteers which the War Department had originally planned asked for 125,000 volunteers, double of what was originally intended.
President McKinley's supporters cite three reasons why he asked for such a large volunteer force. First, and probably most importantly, many of his advisors had warned him not to make the same mistake which Lincoln had during the Civil War. In the first few weeks of the Civil War, Lincoln had called up too few volunteers right away and then tried to get more later, a delay which proved costly for the Union. Secondly, McKinley wanted to impress Spain with America's vast military manpower, still hoping that he could frighten the Spaniards into a diplomatic solution. Finally, the President knew that he had to jump on the bandwagon and take advantage of the wave of patriotism sweeping across the nation. Somebody had to take credit for this war, and with the presidential campaign coming up, it might as well be him.\(^{15}\)

The call from the President was met with great enthusiasm throughout Minnesota. At the Minneapolis Armory where a number of the boys from that Minneapolis companies had gathered, the word that they had been called was met with a "cheer that shook the rafters of the rickety old building...." The Minneapolis companies also received word that one of their own, a Colonel Charles McC. Reeve would be appointed Colonel of the regiment, which received another thunderous round of cheers.\(^{16}\)

Despite all of the enthusiasm for war, Minnesota troops were not ready to fight a war. Under the new legislation, the volunteer units were to resemble their counterparts in the Regular Army. The Minnesotans, as well as other state's units, were nowhere near this. Whereas the Regular Army had companies of approximately 80-100 men, most newly formed volunteer units resembled Company C of the future 13th Minnesota Vounteers. As late as April 23, 1898, this company "had on the rolls 50 men; of these 38 immediately volunteered..." the rest had excusable reasons not to go off and fight. This left Company C, much like the other state companies, with less than half the required numbers to be mustered in. To fill these gaps, men from virtually right off the street to fight a war were recruited to join.\(^{17}\)
Even though they were accepting a wide variety of recruits, there were requirements which had to be met before they could become volunteers. The military was looking for men who were "between the ages of 18 and 35, of good character and habits, able-bodies, free from disease and must be able to speak the English language." They also wanted to, if possible, avoid married men, minors (who needed their parents consent), only surviving parents, and non-citizens. 18

On April 25 the die was cast and America declared war on Spain. That same day Secretary of War Alger telegraphed the state governors explaining to them exactly what portion of the 125,000 volunteers they were to raise, and specifically what number of regiments, companies or batteries each was to organize. He finished his telegram by requesting that as many of these volunteers should be recruited from each state's respective National Guard units, as Miles and Alger had discussed earlier. 19

The wire from the Secretary of War to St. Paul clearly informed Governor Clough that "[T]he number of troops from your State under the call of the President...will be three regiments of infantry." Clough replied that same day that Minnesota could supply the three regiments but they would need supplies. Minnesota, as he informed Alger, had "about half the required number of rifles, gun slings, bayonets, belts, haversacks, blanket bags, blankets, overcoats, blouses, trousers, campaign hats, caps, leggings and meat-ration cans.... The troops however, he stated, were ready for muster at once." 20

The original three regiments were not up to standards according to the Hull Army Reorganization Bill which was passed on April 26. This bill, dealing with the new volunteer army, specified that each regiment should consist of 12 companies each. As for Minnesota's, both the 1st and 2nd regiment, formed two days before, had 10 companies each, whereas the 3rd only consisted of 8. This put Minnesota eight companies short. Meeting the required number of soldiers for the nation's cause was not to be a problem, for
once word got out that they needed more men, recruiting offices were again thronged with willing volunteers.

While finding men was never a problem, what was going to cause some difficulty for many Minnesotans was that even though they were to be mustered in, and paid by the United States Government, they still wanted to be known as a state organization. As one *Minneapolis Tribune* article stated, "[T]his was the plan followed during the Civil War. Each state filled its quota and received credit for the regiments it furnished and followed their careers and preserved their records with pride." The shadow of the Civil War veterans continued to cast a large and influential shadow over anything these new units ever tried to do. This comparison to the Civil War soldiers continued in an article written in the *Minneapolis Tribune*, entitled "Valiant Sons of Valiant Fathers." This report described how this generation would serve their nation as well as their fathers had thirty years earlier. Having enlisted for two years, or for the duration of the war, "the boys leave their homes and employment in glorious uncertainty as to when they will return." 21

With the organization of the regiments decided, and how many each state should provide to the cause, the next decision lay in the hands of each state's government. The question before them was where to set up training camps for the volunteers. State government and military leaders decided that the best place to set up camp for these three regiments was the State Fairgrounds. Believing there would be enough room there, they renamed it Camp Ramsey, after the state's first territorial Governor who was still alive. The next thing state officials had to do was to get the troops congregated in their new home.

Cashing in on the patriotic sentiments, the plan was to have all three regiments meet at the State Capitol and from there march to Camp Ramsey. This gave the people of the Twin Cities the opportunity to cheer on their men, and also gave Clough recognition, for he, much like McKinley, also had a political campaign coming up.
With the orders to meet at the state capitol on the morning of April 29, 1898, some could not help but to continue to point out the similarities between the Civil War and the current war. One astute observer noted that the 1st Minnesota Regiment was mustered in on April 29, 1861, and exactly 37 years later, on the very same day, the three regiments for the war with Spain were mobilized at the state capitol. 22

Upon the arrival of the other three companies from outside the Twin Cities the regiments lined up in parade formation at the capitol and headed out toward Camp Ramsey. With Colonel Joseph Bobleter and the 2nd Regiment in the lead, they were off. To get to Camp Ramsey this newly formed army had to wind its way through the crowds of well-wishers which lined the city streets. As they started out they passed in review of the Governor with bands playing and crowds cheering them on.

Even with the festive atmosphere, it was not a joyous occasion for all involved. Due to an unseasonably warm April day in Minnesota, some of the soldiers who were not use to the excitement, or conditioned for marching "dropped out during the march and covered the remainder of the distance in street cars." Upon reaching the camp, soldiers found themselves exhausted "and immediately sought the shade." 23

After the hours of parades, speeches and numerous ovations for their bravery, they reached their destination and it was now time to get to work. The first order of business was where to put everyone. Lacking the number of tents needed to accommodate all the troops, the camp commanders decided on rather unique barracks. With enough tents for one regiment, they had the men of the 2nd Regiment "pitch their tents...on the grounds occupied by the gun club, immediately east of the racetrack, and on an eminence which will overlook the entire grounds (today know as Machinery Hill)." They were more creative in their placement of the 1st and 3rd Regiments. They decided that the remaining two regiments could easily fit into the state fairground's stock barns. "Each of the barns for horses contains 54 stalls, and bunks for two men could readily be placed in each." Of
course the two regiments would move into their luxurious new surroundings only "after the floors had been swept [and] the buildings clean...." Those cleaning out the barns grumbled about this duty until the traditional Minnesota spring weather returned, and those in the tents had to deal with the wind, the cold and the rain. 24

Pvt. Lewis Burlingham of Company K from Stillwater, in one of his first letters home to his parents (he was only 17 and too young to enlist without consent from his father) told them about life in the barns and the lack of creature comforts in them. "We are in barns and sleep in the stalls, have straw to sleep on. There are four or more men in each stall and when one wants to turn over he has to holler and the rest of us turn at the same time." 25

Once the soldiers were moved into their new homes the next order of business was to start making them into an army. The first thing that the camp leaders decided the men needed was a set of rules. Posted on the second day all around the camp was the soldiers' first taste of army regulations. General Order I set forth what exactly a day at Camp Ramsey would look like:

"The following daily routine will be observed.
Reveille, 6 a.m.; breakfast, 6:45 a.m.; fatigue, 7:30 a.m.; sickcall, 7:45 a.m.; guard mounting, 8 a.m.; squad and company drills, 9 a.m.; first sergeants call, 11:30 a.m.; dinner, 12 m; officers school, 2 p.m. squad and company drills, 3 p.m.; supper, 5:45 p.m.; guard mounting, 6:45 p.m.; retreat, 7:30 p.m.; tattoo, 9 p.m.; taps, 9:30 p.m." 26

Even though many of the volunteers had little or no training, for the most part they were in good hands when it came to their commanders. Col. Charles McC. Reeve, commander of the 1st Regiment was given high marks by the Minneapolis Tribune when they told their readers that"[H]e has an eye out for the welfare of the private as well as the officers, and as long as they do their duty they will fare well at his hands." This New York
born and Yale educated soldier had been a part of the 1st Regiment since 1883, and rapidly made his way up the ranks to colonel by 1892. 27

Even with commanders who wanted strict military control, these volunteers could not escape the feeling that they were more at a summer camp than a military boot camp. For their relaxation, the YMCA set up a reading room where the soldiers could go and read the "[C]urrent magazines, the home-town newspapers, writing materials and Testaments..." Weekends were even more relaxing for the soldiers. On the first weekend, much like those that followed, approximately 15,000 people showed up to see the troops. Family, friends, girlfriends, and well-wishers from all over came to either see a soldier or the spectacle swirling around the camp. For the soldiers these weekends were not spent preparing for war, but rather picnicking, going on excursions to local sites (this was the first time in the big city for a good number of these soldiers) or playing games. The atmosphere at Camp Ramsey resembled a Fourth of July picnic, more than a military institution. 28

After a weekend of festivities the boys woke up on Monday morning, May 3, knowing that that day would decide the fate of a great many of them. Over the next two days the physical examinations would begin for the soldiers. All knew that this was the cut off, and by failing this, the first of many tests put before them, their dreams of achieving Civil War style heroism would be destroyed before they even left the state.

A great many of the soldiers, knowing that their physical condition was no where near what was needed to pass, tried to make up for months, and maybe even years of inactivity, by whipping themselves into shape hours before the exams began. Some of the soldiers trying to get ready were, "at one of the barns...jumping up and down on one foot showing how their limbs would be tested, and at another heavy knapsacks were strapped on their backs, just to see if they could carry weight gracefully." 29
The man the soldiers most feared that day was a Major Harry who oversaw the physical examinations for the 3,755 officers and men. To meet the War Department's standards Minnesota had to have 81 enlisted men in each company, or a total of 3,096 officers and men for all three regiments. With so many men having signed up, an added fear was put on those trying to make the cut, for all knew that under current War Department requests at least 659 Minnesota volunteers would be sent home, healthy or not.

As Major Harry wound up his physical examinations the commanders began to get a better look at what they had to work with. They discovered that 13 companies "were found to be more or less short of enough able-bodied men to make up their quotas, seventeen companies reached full strength, but apparently with none to spare; and only six companies [were] said with certainty to have dismissed men-some sixty in all-who were acceptable but for whom there was no place in those companies." Ironically, those who were dismissed, but were still healthy, did not join other companies in sufficient numbers to fill in the holes in those units. 30

As the commanders scrambled to fill in the gaps in their units a political struggle was developing which would have an effect upon these regiments. The same Civil War veterans who had squawked that the lack of any wars had made this generation soft, now began to complain that they did not want their units names tied into up with these soldiers' unknown future. Going to their state legislators, and the Governor to file their grievances, Civil War veterans complained that these newly recruited troops had taken their regiments numbers (the 1st, 2nd, and 3rd Minnesota Volunteers) and did not deserve them. The old vets feared that this "lazy" group of kids might so badly besmirch the good name of such regiments as the 1st Minnesota that history would forever remember it as being a failure, and not the gallant unit it once was.

Still holding much political and sentimental clout throughout the state, the veterans got their way. On May 4, the Governor reorganized the three regiments starting with
number 12, after the 11 regiments that had served during the Civil War, thereby not stepping on any toes. From that day forward the First, under Col. Reeve, became the 13th, while the Second, under Col. Bobletter, became the 12th and finally the Third, under Col. Van Duzee, was renumbered the 14th.

For the next few days the newly organized regiments continued their drills, waited for much needed supplies from the War Department, visited with friends and families, and patiently awaited word that they would soon be sent to Cuba to fight the Spaniards. Along with the monotony which followed these few days, illness was another developing problem. Due to it being very windy and the nights getting quite chilly, many began to suffer from colds. To coincide with the normal sickness the camp was also hit with the more serious problems of measles, pneumonia, and meningitis. But overall, and especially compared to other camps around the nation, the overall health of the Minnesotans was good.

Found in almost every military camp throughout history, the rumor mill was one of the first organizations established. Stories rapidly began to spread about which regiment was to leave first, who would go to Cuba, who be sent to the coastal defenses, and so on. By the end of the first week, and with news of Dewey's victory in Manila, the rumors began to spread that one regiment was slated for duty in the Pacific. Jumping at the chance to get involved, Col. Reeve became a one man lobbying machine by contacting his political and military connections and by "keeping the wires hot between Camp Ramsey, New York and Washington." All in hope's that the 13th might see some action before the war was over.

Before any regiment was going anywhere though, all of them had to be mustered into the service of Uncle Sam. Starting on May 6, the official mustering in was to take place. With the staff being sworn in earlier, each brought forth their companies to the camp headquarters, where their "commander was questioned as to the character of the men
After the commanders responded in the affirmative, Captain Swigert, the regular army officer who mustered them in, "made a personal inspection of the line, [after which] the roll was then called...." After each individual was called forward, all of them, as a unit took off their hats and raised their right hands and in chorus swore allegiance to the United States, obedience to the President and of the officers appointed over them. Once officially made volunteers of the United States Army they were then ordered back to their barracks or tents. 34

After all were mustered in, the 13th Minnesota consisted of 50 commissioned officers and 978 enlisted men, in the required 12 companies. These companies consisted of five companies from Minneapolis (A, B, F, I, L), four from St. Paul (C, D, E, H), and one each from Red Wing, Stillwater, and St. Cloud (G, K, and M, respectively).

With the momentary excitement of being made official soldiers over, the men quickly went back to the routine of camp life and awaited their assignments. By May 7 the rumors about the Philippines had become so frequent that many soldiers began to talk only of going to Manila to fight. The *Minneapolis Tribune* reported that "the boys are even digging up statistics and information as to the Philippine Islands so as to find out what they will see if they go there, [since] they seem to think they will." 35

Before they could go anywhere though, the boys still had to learn how to be soldiers. In order to do this Col. Reeve knew that his troops needed the necessary equipment to train with. Part of Reeve's requests was met when, in the first part of May, he received an issue of 75,000 cartridges. In cooperation with the other two regiments they established a shooting range at Camp Ramsey where the men could improve their marksmanship. In addition the commanders continued to work on other training including close order drills and all around discipline. 36

Even with the new drills, the weekends of excursions, and the rumors that they were soon to embark upon their great adventure, camp life was becoming terribly
monotonous for many of the men. As one soldier from Company G, told the Red Wing newspaper, he either wanted "...to fight or go home...." This statement expressed not only his feelings, but probably most at Camp Ramsey. Not only was this sentiment to be expressed while idling away the time in Minnesota, but it was to be a constant theme of the soldiers throughout the war. 37

By May 12 all the problems they had suffered-the lack of supplies, the monotony, and the illness-was quickly forgotten when word came from the Adjutant General of the Army to Gov. Clough that Minnesota troops were needed. In a telegram dated May 12, Clough read "[I]n fitting out the expedition for the Philippines, Secretary of War desires that one infantry regiment from your state be placed enroute for San Francisco soon as it is able to travel." The telegram went on to state that they were not expected to be fully armed or equipped, since most of the equipment would be at San Francisco. 38

While the telegraph told Clough what to send, it did not specify which unit was to go. Although the 12th was actually more prepared to leave in a moments notice, it was to be the 13th Minnesota Volunteers, due to Col. Reeve's lobbying of both state and national legislators, which gave them the Governor's final approval. Along with Reeve's persistance, it was believed by most that the 13th was the best equipped and drilled. With the official word being quickly handed down the chain of command, by the time it reached the soldiers, the news was met with a raucous celebration in the barn-barracks. 39

With the assignment of the 13th to the Philippines they, more than their counterparts, the 12th and 14th regiments, captured the attention of the press and the public. Almost immediately citizens came out to see the honored 13th and to contribute money to a fund set up for them. Citizens from both Minneapolis and St. Paul continued their rivalry by both trying to give more money than the other to Col. Reeve and a board of officers from the 13th Regiment. The smaller cities of St. Cloud, Red Wing and Stillwater also sent money to help their companies. Of all the monies cities sent and the individual
contributions given, one stood out above the rest. The Honorable James J. Hill, the Minnesota lumber, railroad and newspaper giant donated $7,500 from his own personal fortune to the 13th's fund. 40

Before heading to the Philippines to fight, the government had decided to have all the volunteers heading to Manila stop in San Francisco for further training. For the members of the 13th, the trip to San Francisco was to be taken by trains. Besides the men, the trains were to carry "15 horses, 47,000 pounds of public property, 3,500 pounds of rations, 2,000 pounds of forage, etc...." The officers were to take the "palace sleeping cars" while the enlisted men had to travel in the "emigrant coaches." 41

Before they boarded the trains to San Francisco the boys of the 13th Regiment were going to receive a lesson in military preparedness. The complaint down through the ages by the common soldier is that most of military life is made up of being told to hurry up and then having to sit and wait. With orders being received on May 12 to be ready to go as soon as possible, the 13th packed fervently, and then waited four days before they boarded the train.

After four days of killing time, the 12th, 13th, and 14th Regiments all boarded trains on May 16 for their destinations. The 12th left first, but with no ceremony, followed by the 14th, departing from the fairgrounds depot. The 14th did receive some cheers but most of those came from people who had gotten there early to see the 13th off. Both the 12th and 14th left in virtual anonymity and that is how their military careers would stay throughout the war. Both were sent to Camp Thomas in Georgia, where they remained until the war was over, suffering terribly from the diseases, boredom and heat which plagued these camps.

While the 12th and 14th faded into the distance with little recognition, the 13th's send off was quite different, for they not only had a crowd of well wishers, but also were given two large demonstrations. "One when the regiment entrained that evening at the
camp, and another when the troops train passed through the union depot in St. Paul where
other crowds had been waiting for hours for a glimpse of the Thirteenth. With the last
train carrying the 13th out of sight, Camp Ramsey, the one time thriving military camp, and
hub of excitement in the Twin Cities, was by 9:00 that night completely deserted.

The trains which carried the 13th away from family and friends was made up of
four sections. For those who had not been farther than a few miles away from their
homes, these trains were to take them across much of the western United States to
California. Traveling across new lands their excitement was still at a fever pitch, since for
many this is what they had signed up to do. For them this was all part of the adventure,
taking them away from their mundane lives back in Minnesota.

Due to a railroad mix-up the four sections of trains were split up. On May 28,
while the first two sections were reaching San Francisco, the last two were still in Utah.
Even though met by crowds at every stop, the trip to San Francisco was a rather uneventful
one for the Minnesotans, with the exception of an incident which occurred while outside a
small town in Utah. There, as John Butman, reporter from the Minneapolis Tribune
wrote, "[T]he Minnesota boys had a hot time at Wadsworth, chasing Indians. They got
after one buck who was so frightened that he jumped on top of the train to get away from
them. He was finally run down by the yelling mob, but the officers made the men release
him." He then cryptically added at the end of the article, "[T]hey also captured a
Chinaman." The first step of their military careers was over, and for most the adventure had
already begun with their trip across the United States. What lay ahead was another camp
and then hopefully service in the Philippines, where they hoped they could finally attain the
glory needed to get out from underneath the shadow of the Civil War veterans. Before that
could take place, however the men of the 13th Minnesota Volunteers would have to come
face to face with their racial biases and notions of superiority in a land where they for the
first time ever would be the minority. Although the trains headed toward California had forced them to leave behind their friends and families, it did not separate these Minnesota boys from their own racial stereotypes and prejudices common in that day. A definite clash of cultures was on the horizon for these Minnesotans.


9 Ibid., Letter from Reverend Charles A. Cressy to Governor Clough, April 18, 1898.

10 Ibid., Telegraph from P.D. Winship to Governor Clough, April 19th, 1898.

11 Ibid., Letter from Wilson & Wray Law Offices, April 21, 1898.

12 Ibid., Letter from Hook Maglook to Governor Clough, March 1, 1898.

13 Ibid., Survey of all letters written to Governor Clough in the spring of 1898.

14 *Minneapolis Tribune*, April 23, 1898, p. 5.


16 *Minneapolis Tribune*, April 23, 1898.

17 Hiram David Frankel, *Company 'C', First Infantry Minnesota National Guard: Its History and Development.* (Brown, Treacy and Speary, Co.), 35.

18 Trumball White *Pictorial History Of Our War With Spain For Cuba's Freedom.* (Freedom Publishing Co., 1898), 372.


24 *Minneapolis Tribune*, April 30, 1898, p. 5.


26 *Minneapolis Tribune*, October 8, 1899, p. 2.

27 *Minneapolis Tribune*, May 1, 1898, p. 4.


29 *Minneapolis Tribune*, May 3, 1898, p. 7.


33 *Minneapolis Tribune*, May 6, 1898, p. 10.

35 *Minneapolis Tribune*, May 7, 1898, p. 2.


39 Ibid., 23 & 47.


41 *Minneapolis Tribune*, May 14, 1898, p. 3.


43 *Minneapolis Tribune*, May 28, 1898, p. 2. (There was never any mention of the "Chinaman" again so no word on what ever became of him.)
Chapter III

"...WELL EQUIPPED AND EXCELLENTLY DRILLED"

After having traveled across the western half of the United States, all of the men of the 13th Minnesota Volunteer Infantry had reached San Francisco and were beginning the second leg of their journey to the Philippines. It was here, in this northern California city, that the War Department planned to assemble its troops into the VIII Army Corps. It was also here that the government hoped it could turn this hodge podge of volunteers into an army, then send them halfway around the world to destroy the Spaniards.

On May 25, 1898, President McKinley made another decision which had an effect on these volunteers and the states from which they came. On that day McKinley and the War Department decided to increase the Army's numbers by calling up another 75,000 volunteers. The reasons for this decision were threefold. First, McKinley and the army would have reserves, something Lincoln did not have in the early days of the Civil War. Next, with all the patriotism flowing throughout the nation more citizens would be given the opportunity to enlist and serve their country. Finally, being a wise politician, McKinley knew that more regiments meant governors could commission more officers and pay off more political debts. With the next presidential campaign always in his thoughts, the more political debts he could collect, the better chances he felt his campaign had.

The only group upset with this plan was the Regular Army. As they pointed out, the Act of April 22 "...forbade the acceptance of new regiments from states whose existing units were under strength...." In their view these new recruits should reinforce the first regiments called which were grossly undermanned in their current condition. In the end
McKinley concurred with the Regular Army and told the governors to fill up existing units first, then they could begin the process of mustering in new ones.  

Once McKinley and the army decided they should recruit more soldiers, they then informed each state as to its new quota. Since few companies in the original three regiments were up to the required 106 enlisted men, most of the 2,000 men, newly recruited from the North Star State, were to be sent to those units already established. Those who remained would be mustered into the newly recruited 15th Minnesota Volunteer Infantry.

Although many politicians wanted these new recruits to be used as political gain for the state governors many, including Clough, saw this as both irritating and embarrassing. In a May 28 telegram to the Secretary of War Clough argued; "Minnesota acted in exact accordance with your letter of April twenty-fifth in regard to number of men to be mustered into each company in first call. I don't want it understood that shortage was any mistake of mine." Clough was afraid that this new request would make him, and other governors look incompetent. But, not wanting to ruffle any feathers in Washington, he also added; "[H]owever, will be pleased to furnish shortage of nine hundred and ninety men...."

When it came down to it, Clough, a crafty politician himself, knew this war was a political windfall, and wanted to take advantage of it as much as the next politico.

While some of the men from the 13th were sent back to recruit soldiers to fill up their ranks, the rest of the men were just getting into San Francisco and were setting up camp. In the early morning hours of May 20, the 13th arrived in Oakland where they had to march "...up hill it seemed all the way..." carrying an excess in bags and equipment, due to the fact that ";[T]hey had not yet learned the act of getting along without things..."

After marching through the city they then headed to Camp Merritt, named after the Philippine Expeditionary Forces' commander, General Wesley Merritt. The General, much like the camp which bore his name, did not appear too friendly toward these volunteers. In
a comment made on May 16, Merritt "complained publicly of his distaste for volunteer
troops and asked that regular units then in Florida be directed to his expedition."\textsuperscript{5}

Until Dewey's smashing victory in Manila Harbor on May 1, the government's as well as the public's full attention was focused on the events transpiring in Cuba. Having focused all of their attention on the island south of Florida, few if any of America's military strategist had ever made plans for the army going anywhere else but Cuba. With the decision to fight in the Philippines, the War Department, already grossly unprepared to fight, and having already sent almost all of its Regular Army to the southeastern United States to prepare to invade Cuba, had to rely on these volunteers from the Western states to fight the war in the Pacific.

Merritt, originally welcomed his assignment, but by the time his expedition had
assembled at San Francisco, he had seriously begun to regret it. A Civil War veteran and a
career military man, he did not want to face the logistical problems of moving an army this size, especially one which was almost completely amateur. Not only would he have to try and train a nonprofessional army, but he also had to supply 15,000 men from government stores which were depleted when most of the equipment had already been sent to the Regulars in Florida. Finally, Merritt had to deal with the fact that this group was embarking on America's first war to be fought overseas. Due to isolationist policy, the army and navy had never built, nor did they own, any troop transport ships. It would be up to Merritt and his staff to find the necessary transportation to take this citizen army across the Pacific. \textsuperscript{6}

If the camp's namesake was not thrilled to have the volunteers, the camp itself was even less welcoming. According to one 13th Minnesota historian, "[T]here was not a single natural advantage about Camp Merritt to recommend it as a place for troops. Each regiment was quartered on a sand lot without trees or grass. The streets surrounding the grounds were overrun with salons and disrespectful haunts of all kinds." \textsuperscript{7}
The camp, "located four miles west of the main part of San Francisco, a mile from
the ocean, and just north of the Golden Gate Park..." was also unpopular because it was
situated atop of an old race track, which was filled with fine sand. Whenever the wind
blew in from the ocean, which was frequent, the men and their equipment were covered in
sand. These impromptu sand storms, combined with the "unseasonably cold weather and
frequent fog" prevented the soldiers from drilling in this area. In order to alleviate the men
of drilling in such horrible conditions, the commanders decided to send them to the Golden
Gate Park or on Presidio Hill to finish their training. ⑧

For the men the difficulty of a commander who was not thrilled to have them,
coupled with the foul weather, all paled in comparison to the problem of the lack of
supplies. Although there were a few modern guns, most of the recruits were given the
Army's old 1873 Springfield's, while a handful had the newest weapon the superior bolt
action Krag-Jorgenson. ⑨

Although this lack of supplies was irritating to the Minnesotans, it was more of a
problem for other states' units. Those volunteers not only came without uniforms, a great
many soldiers made it to camp without such essentials as shoes, hoping the government
would supply this for them once they got there. The 13th was fortunate that their state's
National Guard stores did have a fairly large supply of equipment, and that through their
fund they were able to purchase many other needed things.

The final problem the volunteers faced during their time at Camp Merritt was that of
illness. This was a problem which plagued not only Camp's Ramsey and Merritt, but
every military camp during this war, whether it be in the Unites States, Cuba, Puerto Rico,
or the Philippines. As Martin Tew, the official historian of the 13th was to point out,
Camp Merritt, "at one time 198 members of the regiment were incapacitated for duty by
reason of sickness." These illnesses passing through the camp would bring the first death
to the 13th. On May 30 typhoid fever claimed the life of Corporal William W. Ray of Company I, the 13th Minnesota's first casualty of war. 10

Even with all the negative things that were going on around them, the 13th, along with all the other volunteers encamped at San Francisco was able to find one bright spot. This morale booster came in the form of the good people of the city. Showing undying civic pride, many citizens opened up their hearts and doors to the volunteers. Rarely did a day go by when a San Franciscan did not either bring food and conversation to the camp, or invite a young soldier to share a meal at their home.

A variety of stories came from their time in San Francisco, detailing how they were treated, especially by the women. A Minneapolis Tribune article dated May 29, stated that "...at present Minnesota has the most popular camp, and the women are rapidly finding out their good qualities." While many of these women were of upstanding character, there were also those who had converged on these camps to ply their trade to these boys who were ripe "off the farm!" For as quickly as a military camp was built, houses of prostitution quickly encircled. 11

Pvt. John Bowe, a Minneapolis man, originally from England and serving with Co. B, also commented on how well the people of San Francisco had treated them. In a diary which he kept throughout the war (and which he published afterward) he described the soldiers’ feelings about the out-pouring of emotions. Bowe claimed that the San Franciscans "all tried to make us feel welcome and at home, and I think they succeeded, for many of the boys would rather be here than at home." He was right, for after the war a great many of the men of the 13th returned to San Francisco to either find work, or to reunite with some of the young women they met while on their brief stint in the city. 12

Like the other volunteers encamped at Camp Merritt, the Minnesotans did receive a great deal of attention from the people of San Francisco. But the 13th did stand out compared to the other Western volunteers for three reasons. First, all reports commented
on the fact that the average Minnesotan was considerably taller than volunteers from other states, boasting to have men who stood as tall as six feet, six inches. Secondly, due to their state's surplus and their regimental fund buying much of their supplies, the Minnesotans had a more professional look than other units. Finally, even with their brief training period in Minnesota, they did have excellent leaders who trained them well. Therefore they stood out in comparison to units who did not have time to train.

While they stood out in California for the above reasons, many things in Camp Merritt reminded them of life back in Camp Ramsey. Camp Merritt, like Camp Ramsey, was more of a social setting than any kind of serious military training facility. In order to kill the dead time between the few hours of drill and policing duties, the men had to find other things to occupy their time. Fortunately there were plenty. One of these diversions was sporting events, primarily the numerous baseball games which the Minnesotans rarely shied away from. Private Bowe in his diary even commented that on June 10, "[O]ur regiment played the S.F. boys a game of ball yesterday and got done up to a finish, 25 to 5." Whereas they never backed down to a challenge, neither did they always come out on top. 13

Another big diversion was the town and people of San Francisco. Few if any of the local citizenry ever complained of having the soldiers in and around the city. For the volunteers, San Francisco had an exotic feel to it, and needed to be explored. Local businessmen were able to sell almost anything to these soldiers who had little else to do with their money, other than send it home or purchase things in the city. The happiest of all these businessmen had to be the local saloon owners, for it was at these establishments that "...the men sang, drank, and celebrated in the immemorial ways of soldiers on the eve of battle." 14

The final group pleased with this situation was the prostitutes who converged on the city by the hundreds. Present day numbers show that, along with these ladies, came an
alarming increase of venereal disease found among the soldiers. In order to keep the good
name of its men and so as not to embarrass them or their families back home, not a word of
any member of the 13th being afflicted was ever printed. By looking at how hard other
regiments were hit, however, one has to assume that the Minnesotans were not all at church
during their free time, probably becoming afflicted with the same ailments as all the other
units.

Even though the 13th had departed the state weeks before, those in Minnesota did
not forget them. One group, the Custer Circle Grand Army of the Republic (G.A.R.) of
Minneapolis sent Mrs. L.A. Runge to present the 13th with a regimental flag. This flag,
made in Minnesota, "was a superb specimen of needlework, white silk, elaborately
embroidered on both sides with the Coat of Arms of the state." 15

After the flag was handed over and unfurled, the men gave a boisterous cheer.
Then after thanking Mrs. Runge and the good people of the state, Col. Reeve pledged the
crowd gathered there that "every drop of blood in the veins of the boys of the 13th before
they would allow the flag to be dishonored." Again the men cheered. Still thrilled with the
idea of going off to fight a war it ironically would be this enthusiasm which became one of
the first casualties of war when America's policies changed that next spring. 16

On June 6, Major John Friedrichs, Captain Corristan, and Lieutenant Merrill,
accompanied by 12 enlisted men, left San Francisco and returned to St. Paul and
Minneapolis for the purpose of recruiting an additional 300 recruits. This was in
accordance with the War Department's recent requests to get all companies up to 106 men.
When these 15 men returned to Minnesota, recruitment was not a problem. By this time all
had heard that the 13th was heading to the Philippines to fight, and enlistment with them
meant almost certain action. Whereas Friedrichs' group had no problem getting the needed
300 men, the 12th and 14th Regiments had a little more difficulty since they had received
no word as to whether or not they were to leave their camps and go to Cuba.
After gathering their recruits, these officers had them mustered in on June 14th and sent to San Francisco on the 16th. After four days on the trains these new soldiers were met at Camp Merritt by Col. Reeve, his staff and the regimental band. These 'rookies,' as those with only six weeks of experience called them, were "equipped as no volunteers entering San Francisco had yet been equipped, and so soldierly in bearing and appearance that they attracted attention on every side." In just a matter of weeks the 13th had distinguished itself as being a unique unit in a unique army. This was something they were very proud of, and were not going to allow the 'rookies' to do anything to hurt that. 17

By June 20, with the new recruits settled in camp, along with the 21 men who enlisted to be part of the 13th in San Francisco, the total number of both men and officers in the regiment was 1,349. Meeting all standards required of them by the War Department, the only thing they had to do now was to sit and wait.

The troops began to get tired of the monotony of the drills and the boredom of daily camp life. As the Minneapolis Tribune wrote in its June 16 edition, "[T]he Minnesota boys are growing sad. The main trouble is due to too long a camp in one place without anything in particular to relieve the monotony. There is also the general disappointment caused by the selection of this or that regiment to go to the Philippines, said regiments being manifestly inferior to that sent out by Minnesota." Feeling that they were superior to their comrades in arms from other states, sitting in Camp watching "inferior" regiments heading out, only intensified their boredom and dislike for Camp Merritt. 18

This boredom would be reprieved quickly though with a single visit from General Merritt to the 13th on June 15. On his official visit Merritt said "many complimentary things in regard to the regiment..." but most importantly of all he told them that he had "...asked for its special detail..., to accompany his expedition..." to the Philippines. Since April the Minnesotans had had plenty to cheer about, but it was this news, that they were finally going to go fight, that received the most boisterous cheer from the men. Now they
were going to get their chance at gaining glory and honor, fighting in a war in a far off
land. The stigma of not being as worthy as their fathers and grandfathers, would, they
hoped, finally be washed from them in the distant islands of the Pacific. 19

Although they received word on June 15 that they were slated to leave, it would
take almost a week for both the soldiers and their commanders before they were to set sail.
In the meantime the regiment continued to drill and was even asked to give an exhibition
drill for the benefit of the California Red Cross, which was attended by hundreds of
northern Californians. They put on such a fine show that one San Francisco paper would
say of them; "[V]ery fine looking men those Minnesota boys, well equipped and excellently
drilled. They are an example of what volunteers may be and are surpassed by few
regulars." It was these kinds of soldiers that Gen. Merritt, the man who gave little
credence to the ability of volunteers, wanted for his campaign in the Philippines. 20

Whereas the 13th continued to get ready by drilling, packing and writing letters
home, the camp's commanders prepared by seeking out transportation to take these troops
across the Pacific. The relatively small number of American vessels which sailed the
Pacific made this task difficult. What they were able to come up with were steamers which
were primarily passenger ships built for voyages to tropical climates. One of these, the
City of Para, which belonged to the Pacific Mail Steamship Company, was chosen to take
the 13th to the Philippines.

By June 25, both the ships and the men were ready to depart. As the Minneapolis
Tribune reported that day, "[T]he 13th Minnesota regiment is on waiting orders.
Everything possible is loaded on the boats, and nothing remains but orders to strike tents." By that night the orders had come down that it was time to break camp. With the exception
of the new recruits who still needed more training, the rest of the regiment headed toward
the docks. 21
Those leaving on the *City of Para* and the other two steamers, made up the third expedition of U.S. troops heading for the Philippines, the first two having been sent earlier that summer. This expedition, included the Minnesota Volunteers, troops from Idaho and Wyoming, 12 companies of regulars and the Astor Battery (a mountain artillery unit privately equipped by John Jacob Astor and manned principally by college students).  

In what was becoming a common occurrence, crowds lined the streets cheering the departure of the volunteers. Marching through the streets of San Francisco, the Minnesotans received flowers, fruit and kisses from the young ladies in attendance. Much like their march from the state capitol to Camp Ramsey, the day turned out to be a hot one, but with the assistance of the citizens who brought them water, this time none dropped out.

Upon embarking onto the *City of Para*, the troops' excitement was at a fever pitch. After entering the ship and seeing their new home for the next few weeks, this excitement lost some of its luster. As the diarist, John Bowe was to write about the ship; "...it was hastily fitted up for a troopship. She has three decks; the upper, having state-rooms, was occupied by the officers; the middle by the band, hospital corps, and some choice selected non-coms; while on the lower deck, in long rows of bunks, three tiers high, with only width for one man to pass through, was the rank and file...."  

Quickly nicknamed the "Black Hole," the lower deck received instant consternation from all who saw it. The *Minneapolis Tribune* reported how one man's complaints about the soldiers' accommodations placed him in trouble with the Brass. "As Dr. [Walter] Beck, Co. I, marched into the hold of the steamer Para yesterday afternoon he remarked that it was an outrage to put men in such a place, and added: 'They treat cattle better than that.' Col. Reeve was behind him and said 'steady.' Beck thought it was a private talking and talked back very emphatically." Then to try and continue what he deemed a high standard of discipline for his men, "Col. Reeve...ordered him put in irons."
While the men were slowly getting accustomed to their new home, the ship's captain and crew pulled anchor and headed out of the harbor. This did not stop the well-wishers from trying to get in one last cheer for the departing troops, though. "Yachts, small steamers, and boats of all kinds, chartered by groups of admirers, passed and repassed near enough to the transport to bombard the passengers with fruit and farewell messages." Then as they hit the last stretch before leaving the United States, the expedition was met with whistles, cannons, bands playing and crowds cheering, with a large convoy of boats following them. Finally, with the United States behind them, and only their futures ahead of them, the 13th set sail for the Philippines.25

With the California coastline quickly disappearing, the boys of the 13th soon discovered that the days of social picnics and leisurely military drilling were coming to an end. For as Bowe recalled in his diary, "[A]s soon as we got outside the Golden Gate the trouble began. The boat commenced to rock, the boys to feed the fishes [they were vomiting], and all our presents, pie, cake, shoes, etc., that were lying under our bunks, were washed into the scupper."26

Ironically, those from a state whose sons often boasted of having direct lineage to the great sea-faring Vikings of Scandinavia, could not find their sea legs. George W. Kurtz, Co. I, wrote home explaining the sight.

I saw dozens of poor soldier boys pale as death, looking as though they had lost their last friend, holding their hands over their stomach, waiting for their turn to come to deposit their last rations overboard. There must have been two or three hundred sick the first night and the odor below must have been terrible to those who were not sick. Not laughing at his fellow comrades Kurtz was quick to point out at the end of his letter that, "[A]lthough so sick myself I wanted the boat to sink...27

Those who fell victim to seasickness bore the brunt of the jokes of those who initially withstood the first few hours. Besides feeling deathly ill, the sick were berated with mock commands such as, "[L]ine up according to height!" "Fire by squads!" "Ah,
Sergeant, your stripes did not save you!" But these jabs quickly abated for within 12 hours a vast majority of the men, both enlisted and officers "had joined the grand chorus of woe." 28

Within a couple of days, although still not old sea dogs, most of the 13th were back on their feet and able to swallow and completely digest a whole meal. As Reverend Cressy wrote and told his wife on July 3, that "[T]he boys are all in good spirits-and hungry. One of them said he could 'Eat a fried rat." With that situation fixed, the boys then had other things to complain about. Private Bowe, who was originally unhappy with the City of Para, later wrote that in the Black Hole, "[T]here was scarcely any ventilation; the place smelled like a rabbit warren, and it was oppressively hot." 29

After a couple of days most of the men were able to get accustomed to sea-life, and found themselves trying to keep themselves busy. In order to pass the time on board a number of activities were set up for the men to do. One thing the commanders insisted on was daily drill and calisthenics in order to keep the men in shape. There was also the band, singing groups, reading rooms, educational lectures, and Bible study classes run by the regimental chaplain, Charles Cressy.

Cressy not only oversaw the Bible classes, but also gave most of the sermons on Sundays. Doing these tasks did not keep Cressy from his other mission while on board ship. His goal was to try and keep the boys from swearing and sinful card playing. Both, according to letters, were prevalent during those long summer days. As the Reverend was to tell his wife in a letter; "[C]ard playing-and some gambling (on a small scale) goes on among the men. The Col. does not see fit to interfere with the latter. My impression is that this is contrary to Army regulations and that it should be stopped." He informed his wife that he would later have to talk to the Colonel about this. Reeve's reaction was not recorded. 30
As for profanity, Cressy believed it was "one of the most common evils among the men." While on board he charged that "the profanity with which the decks and baths echoed from morning till night was simply shocking to sensitive ears." Profanity, he went on to say, "is a vice that needs reforming." He tried to set up an Anti-Profanity Association in each company but no record survived to tell us if anyone signed up.  

The profanity issue and the boredom of the men were to be temporarily forgotten only a few days out to sea when an event occurred which would make news not only among the 13th, but also in Minnesota and the nation. In a book written after the war, a story entitled "Perseverance Of A Woman," told how Col. Reeve's wife (no first name given) "could not bear his going on the long and hazardous journey. Having done everything in her power to gain permission from the Government to accompany her husband, she found that the rule was inviolable. Women were not allowed on the transports and there could be no exception."  

After two days stowed away, she appeared on deck and with a show of mock terror asked if they were going to through her overboard. How she got on board was an issue of much debate among the soldiers and the newspapers at home. Mrs. Reeve claimed she hid in the cargo hold until her food ran out, but most of the men argued that she was hidden away in Col. Reeve's stateroom, until it was safe for her to come out.

At first most of the enlisted men were shocked, then became disgusted with this turn of events since the presence of a lady on board meant they had to put their shirts back on and were forced to curtail their swearing. After arriving in Hawaii, some of the other commanders told Reeve she would have to stay in the islands and find her own way home. As Lewis Burlingham wrote home and explained the situation to his mother, "[A]t the last moment while the anchor was being raised Mrs. Col. Reeve started ashore in a boat with a native during the morning. I haven't heard whether she will stay on the island or go back
to the states.\textsuperscript{33} Being extremely tenacious Mrs. Reeve would actually do neither, for a few days after the troops left Hawaii she took a ship to Hong Kong and then on to Manila.\textsuperscript{33}

It is highly unlikely that a lady like Mrs. Reeve could have got by the sentries and lived in the cargo hold for a few days without being noticed, especially since she never mentioned the company she would have had below decks. For in the cargo hold of the \textit{City of Para} were three other stowaways. Not only would these additional stowaways prove that Mrs. Reeve could not have held up in the cargo hold of the ship, but what transpired when two of them were found once again shows the kinds of racial attitudes these western volunteers were bringing with them to the Philippines.

Their stories unfolded in the July 19 issue of the \textit{Minneapolis Tribune}. The article first tells how the 25 "negro" cooks "have been in a panicky condition owing to the discovery of a stowaway, a little 'coon' about 12 years of age, who was discovered the third day out." How this boy got on board and what happened to him was not discussed in this article, but how the second stowaway came to be part of the 13th was described in elaborate detail.\textsuperscript{34}

The article went on to describe how one Minnesota citizen was fairing in his journey. The story reported that "'Snowball' Mason, the mascot of the regiment and Maj. Friedrichs orderly, [were] still with the 13th." The story of "Snowball" Mason, is both extremely interesting and tragic at the same time, while conveying a great deal about the attitudes the men of the 13th had at this time.

The regiment first had contact with 'Snowball' back in Minnesota, during their stint at Camp Ramsey. When it came time for the 13th to leave, just before they boarded the train "Snowball" jumped aboard and hid in a barrel and was not discovered until they were some 30 miles out of town. At that point he was unceremoniously kicked off the train. It was not until Maj. Friedrichs returned to recruit more soldiers that "Snowball's" story started again. As the newspaper reported it, "'Snowball' made such a pathetic appeal to
that officer to be taken along that the kind-hearted major agreed to take him as his orderly...."

With the 13th about ready to board the City of Para the officers agreed that they did not want "Snowball" to be allowed on board. Having come this far, Mr. Mason was not going to be deterred. With the same tenacity as Mrs. Reeve, he climbed aboard the night before the ship's departure using the ropes on the side of the ship, and hid below deck. He did not come out until he was sure they could not turn around and send him home, and because he became too hungry. He was "allowed" to stay only after both Companies F and I decided to "take care of him," and make him their mascot. 35

Concluding this article was the very brief statement that a man from San Francisco had stowed away also, but when he was found he was ceremoniously mustered into service with the 13th. In a sad and ironic twist of fate "Snowball" an actual Minnesotan, was not allowed to serve with 13th due to the color of his skin, whereas the white man from California, who was never questioned as to how he got on board, was quickly made a soldier, and not a "mascot." These racial attitudes that many of these Minnesota volunteers had would manifest themselves in this foreign nation of the Philippines. There they continued to grow and often made the Americans behave in less than altruistic ways.

After a few days of sailing, the expedition stopped at the Hawaiian Islands so that the ships could recoal and the men could stretch their legs. Having moved into the more tropical climate of the Pacific the soldiers on board received new uniforms to better deal with the heat. Their new attire, to many, looked like "...brown duck uniforms..." and were believed to be, by most of the soldiers, "...about as ugly looking garments as the most fevered imagination ever pictured...." Fortunately for the soldiers though they were, "...loose and baggy and consequently comparatively cool," in comparison to the blue wool ones they had been wearing 36
From Hawaii the convoy headed to the Ladrone Islands before changing direction for the Philippines. Day after day of doing the same thing once again became the 13th's major gripe. The only difference in this last half of their voyage was a sight beheld by all the Minnesotans for the first time in their lives. As one soldier put it, "[J]ust as it was getting dark we passed within a quarter of a mile of what turned out to be an island, and for the first time of my life I beheld an active volcano, spitting forth fire and smoke, and I doubt if ever in the history of one's life anyone will witness a more beautiful sight." 37

With all the excitement of seeing the volcano, and knowing that they were in striking distance of the Philippines, many of the soldiers seemed to forget that it was a war they were heading to and not another drill exhibition for a civic group. With a death on board the ship during the last days of July, many it seems were snapped back into the reality of what they were doing, at least for a few moments. With Chaplain Cressy conducting the service, Musician Fred Buckland of Co. E, who had died of pneumonia, was buried at sea. As quickly as the dead soldier was swallowed by the waves, the gloom which hung over the boys quickly dissipated, and they immediately went back to their mundane lifestyle.

Two days after Buckland's burial, the men of the 13th were awakened on the early morning of July 29 to see the island of Luzon. Two more days of travel brought them to the spot where history had been made just three months earlier. Hardly a soldier who was there could resist writing to the people back home that they could see the remains of the Spanish fleet, twisted, tangled and jutting out of the Manila Harbor. In their minds they were there, standing on the threshold of history, where the "greatest" naval commander in all of history had destroyed the dastardly Spanish. Most of them, as they wrote home, had a sense that it was here, in the Philippine Islands, that they too would be able to make their own history, just as Dewey had.
1 Graham Cosmos, *An Army for Empire; The United States Army in the Spanish-American War*.


11 *Minneapolis Tribune*, May 29, 1898, p. 4.


13 Bowe, *With the 13th Minnesota*, 12.


16 *Minneapolis Tribune*, June 13, 1898, p. 2.


18 *Minneapolis Tribune*, June 16, 1898, p. 2.


21 *Minneapolis Tribune*, June 25, 1898, p. 2.


24 *Minneapolis Tribune*, June 27, 1898, p. 2.


26 Ibid., 49.


30 Ibid.


34 *Minneapolis Tribune*, July 19, 1898, p. 2.

35 Ibid., 19.

36 Ibid., p. 2.

Chapter IV

"...WITH COOLNESS, INTELLIGENCE AND COURAGE."

On July 25th, after weeks of traveling the Pacific, the City of Para was able to anchor off Cavite about seven miles south of Manila. Unfortunately, the Minnesotans reached the Philippines the same time as the monsoon season, making it impossible to undertake disembarkation until August 7, when they landed at Paranaque. Until then, however, they had to sit on board and continue to view the war from a distance, which was especially irksome for the Minnesotans as they could hear the skirmishes which were taking place between the Americans and the Spaniards. As Pvt. John Bowe wrote; 

"[W]e heard the Americans and Spaniards fighting the whole night long and some of the boys were afraid the war would be over before we landed."  

Luckily for the glory-seeking members of the 13th, these minor skirmishes amounted to very little. In the meantime the weather broke and the third expedition was able to go ashore. In order to get all the men and their equipment on land, the Americans had to rent small Filipino boatmen who used cascos (small Filipino boats which worked excellently in the harbor) to land the men and their equipment. Even though they were now "experienced" seamen, going from ship to casco to land proved to be another adventure. As Pvt. Bowe recalled on that August 7th day, 

"...troops had problems timing their getting into the cascos, had to get in on the crest of the wave. Col. Reeve stood there, cussing and swearing at the men, and using language that would make an old Mississippi steamboat Capt. turn green with envy." Reeve's anger did not alleviate any of the problems, and
probably added to it. Although no group ever got the timing part down to reach the boat at the same time the crest pushed it up, they did manage to finally get ashore.1 2

Once the entire regiment was ashore at Paranaque they marched northward a mile and a half and pitched their tents on the south end of a peanut field named Camp Dewey. The peanut field, far from being the most luxurious camping grounds they had yet seen, was the best spot available due to the fact that it was the only "...solid, open ground in a region full of rice swamps and bamboo thickets." 3

After setting up camp, the 13th was given two days to rest and try to get acclimatized to the Philippine tropical climate, which, to their consternation, they quickly discovered was a combination of rain, intense heat, and a high humidity. All of this was coupled with the fact that the constant rain, which plagued them the entire time they were in the islands, made the ground stay in a constant state of mud which quickly ruined shoes, clothes, and morale.

Lewis Burlingham, finding time to write his mother, told her about life in Camp Dewey. "We pitched our tents in a peanut field and got beds from the natives which they made out of bamboo and slept on them because the ants there were a great deal worse than the mosquitoes and goodness knowes (sic) they were bad enough." As the two days slowly dragged on the oppressive heat and rain kept pounding down upon the men, making it impossible for them to remain dry. 4

The final problem the weather caused was illness. The heat made them perspire constantly forcing a loss of body salts and inducing chronic fatigue. In addition, the troops also had to deal with the ever increasing problems of dysentery, malaria, cholera, and dengue fever. 5

Besides the weather, there were a number of other disadvantages to Camp Dewey. Drinking water was a problem because of the contamination occurring in unboiled water in the tropics. Cooking was also a problem since there was an extreme scarcity of dry wood
anywhere. Finally, all the rain which kept the men and their clothes wet made the leather in their equipment mildew and become stiff when it dried. 

While the soldiers had plenty to complain about—the weather, food, camp life (and they did), General Merritt still insisted that no matter what the current conditions were like, they still had to act like gentlemen and soldiers. On August 9th he issued a general order to all the troops stating; "[I]t is not believed that any acts of pillage, rapine or violence will be committed by soldiers or others in the employ of the United States, but should there be persons with this command who prove themselves unworthy of this confidence, their acts will be considered not only as crimes against the sufferers, but as direct insult to the United States flag, and they will be punished on the spot with the maximum penalties known to military law." These orders would stand throughout the duration of the volunteer's tour of duty in the Philippines.

By August 10, a day after the orders were given and just three days after their landing, the Minnesotans were put on guard duty in the trenches south of Manila. Although the men of the 13th were looking for a fight, what they found was that they would have to battle the rain and mud long before they fought the Spaniards. Guard duty consisted of 24 hours of patrolling and standing in mud. After their duty was done they would be relieved by another regiment and given 24 hours off. Lewis Burlingham later explained to his family at home that on one of his patrols; "[I]t was a bad night as it rained nearly all the time and when you wasn't (sic) on the lookout and wanted to sleep you couldn't (sic) on account of there being so much mud and water and rain to contend with." 

John Bowe further described the situation by writing in his diary; "[O]ur location was opposite to and within three hundred yards of Spanish Block House No. 14, where we put in twenty-four hours, crawling in and out of trenches. If we get into a trench, the water would drown us out, and if we got out of it, the Spaniards would take a 'pot shot' at us." It was a dilemma they had to live with for at least a few more days.
With the third expedition under General Merritt setting up camp just south of Manila, Emilio Aguinaldo and his soldiers began to have growing suspicions about the American's intentions in the islands. The American leaders in the islands too, began to have doubts about their Filipino allies. Having come half way around the world to "free" the Filipinos from Spanish oppression, most were under the impression that they would have to either take Manila without the help of the Filipinos or end up fighting them before it was all done.

Unfortunately for all sides involved, the United States did not have any professional diplomats in the islands to deal with the Filipino revolutionaries. These relations were then left up to professional military men "who were ill-suited to play diplomatic roles due to their training and temperaments." Used to having things done once an order was given, the realm of international relations, with its constant give and take, was extremely bothersome and a continual annoyance for them.¹⁰

Chief amongst these soldier/diplomats was General Merritt who came to the Philippines to assume overall command. Merritt, known as an "imperious leader devoid of any diplomatic inclinations," forbid any communication with Aguinaldo's headquarters. By doing this, Merritt found himself in a dilemma, for he could not attack Manila without getting permission from the Filipinos to use their trenches, which by this time completely encircled the city. On the other hand he could not diplomatically deal with them since this went against his own order of not talking to Aguinaldo. With McKinley's orders to maintain the peace with the Filipinos at all costs, Merritt had to resort to trickery in order to get what he wanted.¹¹

Merritt sent General Greene to talk to Aguinaldo's staff in order to suggest a deal with the revolutionaries. The deal was that the United States would give the Filipinos much needed pieces of artillery for a sector of trenches immediately south of Manila. Knowing they needed the artillery, General Noriel, a member of Aguinaldo's staff, sent an
aide to Aguinaldo's headquarters to receive his approval. Aguinaldo said he would go along with the deal just as long as Merritt signed the request.

Knowing that Merritt would refuse to sign anything dealing with the Filipinos, Greene told Aguinaldo that he would forward the document as soon as the Filipinos withdrew from the trenches. Aguinaldo, still believing that the United States and his people were truly allies, and were completely trustworthy, conceded to the demand. Sadly, neither the document nor the artillery were ever forwarded, but the American troops did move into the trenches. 12

These tensions between the Filipinos and the Americans were not lost on the Minnesotans. George W. Kurtz, Co. I, wrote home on August 1 telling his family about the presumed plans to attack Manila. In it he claimed that the "[I]nsurgents don't want our help and everybody thinks we will have to fight them as soon as Manila is captured." 13

Two days later Captain Oscar Seebach, Co. G, wrote home telling his family in Red Wing that he believed, "...there is not a shadow of a doubt but that we will have to fight them (the Filipinos) a great deal more than the Spaniards after Manila falls...." 14

Finally, Sergeant Alexander Kahlert, Co. D, spelled out the situation in his diary when he wrote, "[W]hat preceded us have landed and are engaged in throwing up earthworks between Coirto and the insurgents, This (sic) makes it a 3 cornered fight. The rebels are not friendly towards & the chances are we will have the most trouble with them. 15

The most interesting thing about these commentaries, and others like them, is that they were written either while the Minnesotans were still on the ship, or had just landed and were setting up camp. Having not been in the islands for more than a few hours, how was it that they were so sure that they would be fighting the Filipinos? Was this just personal sentiments expressed by a few adventurous soldiers looking for more war, or was it an already understood policy that they would have to take on the Filipinos before their duty
was done? Either way it reflected America's constantly changing policies toward the Philippine Islands.

No matter what their personal feeling were, these men had another war to fight before having to deal with the Filipinos. With the third expedition established in Camp Dewey, Merritt had 8,500 men in position to attack the fortified city of Manila. These men, along with the navy sitting and waiting in Manila Harbor, knew that the Spaniards had no sign of relief coming to help them. With this knowledge the Americans deemed it time to prepare for their invasion.

On August 6 both Dewey and Merritt sent a joint letter to the Captain General [Spanish commander in the Philippines] Jaudenes, notifying him that he should remove from the city all non-combatants within 48 hours. In a return message to his American counterparts, Jaudenes thanked the Americans for giving the civilians the chance to leave. This being a formal and public letter between the two warring nations, it was not to be the only communications these two camps had with each other in the days before the fighting broke out.

The Spaniards, held up in Manila and under attack from the Filipinos since May, were in a precarious situation. Under siege for three months, Manila was suffering from disease, starvation, and a lack of water, to say nothing of the morale. The Spanish officials knew the situation was hopeless, but due to a "quaint code of honor, a court-martial awaited them unless they put up a fight. So a sham battle with the U.S. forces had to be contrived to save them from disgrace." This code of honor was not to be taken lightly, for back in July, for suggesting a surrender Governor Augustin was replaced by General Fermin Jaudenes as Governor of the islands. 16

Negotiations then began and were secretly conducted between Dewey, Merritt, and Jaudenes through an intermediary, Edouard Andre, a member of the Belgian counsel. The negotiated deal was laid out as follows; in order to save Spanish honor the American fleet
would have to shell the city (preferably doing very little damage), while the land forces were to keep the Filipinos out of the battle, since the Spaniards utterly refused to surrender to them. If the Americans could do these two things the Spaniards then would only lightly defend the outer line of trenches and blockhouses and would not use their heavy guns to attack the navy. 17

If the operation succeeded after a fixed number of shots from the navy, the *Olympia*, Dewey's command ship, was to steam forward and fly the international code for surrender, "DWHB." Then the Spaniards were to hoist a white flag and the battle would be over. All of this was to take place without a single loss of life...unfortunately, even the best made plans of mice and men go awry.

It is interesting to note that the whole "sham" battle and all the secret negotiations which were conducted were not for the benefit of the Spaniards, the Filipinos, or even the Americans. None of these groups involved truly wanted a fight and cared less about how the war was concluded but, rather, this whole battle was a show for a contingency of foreign naval vessels harbored off the coast of Manila.

At the time of the hostilities, the German, English, and other international navies had converged upon the Philippines, all looking for that proverbial piece of the pie. Jaudenes, fearing word might get back to Spain from one of these other nations that he had "cowardly" surrendered, insisted some kind of display of force be shown. Knowing that the Americans would most likely defeat the Spaniards, these other nations, wanting their chance at setting claims on the Philippines, hovered around waiting for their chance to strike.

While all of these secret negotiations were taking place, the Minnesotans and the rest of the VIII Army Corp prepared for a real battle. The original date set for the attack was to be August 10, but since Merritt did not believe his troops to be fully prepared, they re-scheduled the attack for August 13.
In accordance with the secret negotiations with Gen. Jaudenes, Dewey, and Merritt, who had already removed the Filipinos from their well-dug trenches, were now telling them that they could not fight and help finish off the war which they had started years before. To make it official, on the night of August 12, Merritt sent Aguinaldo a letter which instructed the Filipino leader to keep his troops out of the battle.

Most of the volunteers knew about the deal to keep the Filipinos out and felt it to be a good idea. Lt. Col. Ames, in a letter published in the *Minneapolis Tribune*, told Minnesotans; "[G]eneral Merritt and Admiral Dewey do not intend to act in conjunction with the insurgents because it is well known fact that they intend to sack and pillage the city, ravish the women, and murder the Spaniards if they once succeed in getting inside." He went on to say that if Spain were to surrender it would "result in our defending the people and the city from the bloodthirsty insurgents." During those first few days in the Philippines it seems many of the volunteers had to be reminded that they were there to "free" the Filipinos, and not to fight them. 18

By August 12 the soldiers knew that the next day would be their chance to gain the glory which they had been dreaming about since they enlisted back in Minnesota. Angus McDonald, Co. K, summarized these sentiments in a letter home, saying that, "[T]he night of the 12th we received the long looked for and joyful news that on the morrow we would make a general advance while Admiral Dewey bombarded the city. No one slept much that night." 19

Carl Stone, Co. F, also took time to write home that night and told his parents that "[T]he 13th Minn. & the 18th regulars have the post of honor & also of danger, although the general opinion seems to be that we are going to have an easy time without much fighting." Although the rumor mill was in full force, and ironically, fairly accurate, what the Minnesotans were to find that next day was going to be anything but an "easy time." 20
The next morning, those who had joined the volunteers to see the adventurous side of war were to get their wish, for the battle of Manila was about to commence. Describing what took place those early morning hours was Pvt. Bowe and his diary. "Reveille at 4:30, had a thin breakfast, then stoved away twelve hard-tacks, a canteen full of coffee, and one hundred rounds of ammunition, and started to capture Manila." For him and countless other soldiers this was their time to pay their "little tribute to the memory of the Maine..."  

Bowe and his comrades were awakened that morning by a bugle call and were also met with a not too surprising rain. Which, by the time these soldiers were up and ready to go, had turned the roads into porridge. They were ordered, as Bowe recalled, to take "one day's cooked rations, canteens filled with water, and a minimum of 100 rounds of ammunition for the Springfield rifle and 150 for the Krag-Jorgenson."  

By 6:00 a.m. the soldiers had dressed, eaten, grabbed their equipment and headed toward their position in the trenches. Col. Reeve's later reported; "I moved with my regiment, comprising three battalions of four companies each, from Camp Dewey...and marched through the town of Pasai, along the direct road to Manila." At 7:45 a.m. the 13th arrived at the general line of earthworks where they were to replace the North Dakotan Regiment who had been on guard duty throughout the night.  

To reach Manila from Camp Dewey, the Americans had but two choices: the Calle Real, a road toward the city which was rarely more than a few hundred yards from Manila Bay, or a road a half mile inland from the Calle Real parallel to it, running north through the villages of Pasai and Cingalon, before reaching the fortified city of Manila.  

The American plan to take Manila consisted of splitting the VIII Army Corp into two brigades. The main attack, led by Brigadier General Francis V. Greene, was to head up the Calle Real, whereas the second brigade, which was in support and led by General
Arthur MacArthur, was to go through Pasai and Cingalon and meet up with Greene in Manila.

Having been preparing for a real war for centuries, the Spaniards had an elaborate defense system set up around Manila. Half way between the walled city and the camp, sitting at right angles, were the Spanish outer defenses—a line of earthworks extending from Fort San Antonio de Abad on the coast to Blockhouse No. 14 commanding the Pasai road. The Minnesotans, being within a few hundred yards of the Spaniards, were split up into battalions, each receiving different orders from Col. Reeve. The Second Battalion (Co.'s C, H, D, E) and the Third Battalion (Co.'s I, F, B, A) were ordered to stay behind while the First Battalion (Co.'s K, L, M, and G) were ordered to the extreme left of blockhouse No. 14. Just as the troops got into position, the tropical sun of the Philippines broke through the clouds and what had been a soggy, muddy terrain, quickly turned into a steamy, humid one.

While the troops, who knew absolutely nothing about the sham battle, got into position to attack, the navy in the harbor began its part of the plan. At 9:30 a.m. the battle was joined when Admiral Dewey's command ship, the Olympia, began shelling the city of Manila. At the same time the infantrymen hauled themselves out of the muddy entrenchments and proceeded through Manila's southern suburbs toward the city.

While Greene's second brigade headed up the Calle Real through Malate, past Fort San Antonio de Abad and on to Manila, their support to the east was also on the move. MacArthur's first Brigade, with the 13th Minnesota, who were ordered to take the lead,
Figure 1. Land Battle of Manila.
also consisted of the Astor Battery, and the 23rd Infantry who were also sent to the front. In reserve MacArthur had one battalion of the 14th Infantry, two battalions of the 1st North Dakota, two battalions of the 1st Idaho, and one battalion of the 1st Wyoming, all ready and willing to move up if needed.

Although the entire field of operations hardly covered more than a square mile, the terrain was horrible to contend with. The Americans had to face barb-wire fences, bamboo jungles, paddy fields, swamps, streams, and sharpened pickets before reaching the outer defenses. While not necessarily as big a problem for Greene's troops (who were having an easier time of it on the left), for MacArthur and the men of the 13th it was another obstacle to get through in what was turning out to be a rather interesting day. 28

Always under the notion that this was a real battle, MacArthur's brigade had more than just the terrain to contend with. Because of the deal with Jaudenes, Dewey's fleet could not effectively shell the far right flank, nor did they have any intention to. With no shells hitting the Spanish defense the Spaniards stayed in their well entrenched fortifications, waiting for the Americans to attack. After having struggled through terrible weather conditions and rough terrain, the 1st Brigade then had to face the 73d Spanish Regiment, "whose favorite boast was that it had never retreated." 29

Captain Charles Metz, Co. D, noted the problem with the Naval bombardment, while writing home to a friend after the battle saying that the 13th had taken their "position on the right of the American line, that position being furthest from the Bay and out of reach of the Guns (sic) of the fleet...." As for the landscape, Metz also noted that "the 13th was in it [and] we fought our way for fully a mile through mud and water many times up to our waist." 30

While things were going pretty much according to the secret negotiations, an intangible came into play that morning, one that neither the Americans nor the Spaniards planned on. On MacArthur's right flank, and still occupying parts of the trenches which
they built, were Filipino soldiers. Having fought the Spaniards for years, many either did not get the word from Aguinaldo, or could not contain their excitement. Either way, early in the morning on August 13, many began to exchange fire with the Spaniards. In order to deal with this, MacArthur began to send detachments to various points to stop the Filipinos from firing. This caused one of the most unprecedented situations ever found on a battlefield. There, in the midst of a battle to free the Filipinos from Spanish tyranny, stood American soldiers pointing their guns at and threatening to kill any Filipino who tried to join in the battle.

Although a unique situation in and of itself, it was not the only one in which the Minnesotans encountered that day. Not knowing about the negotiations, and unable to see any white flags being displayed on the extreme left, MacArthur's Brigade, as well as the Spaniards they faced, proceeded throughout the day not knowing that what was developing was completely unnecessary.

While this bizarre situation was developing on the right, Greene's troops advanced on Fort San Antonio Abad and occupied it around 10:25 a.m. With the situation on the left being quickly settled, the 13th Minnesota, under orders from MacArthur, moved the 1st and 2nd Battalions (2nd had been called up a few minutes earlier) past the earthworks and toward the Spaniards. Because of the earlier fighting with the Filipinos, who were now under control by the Americans, the Spaniards were now directing their fire upon the Americans. To counter this, Colonel Reeve sent out Companies E and L to form a strong skirmish line. While under light fire from a handful of Spaniards, Companies E and L moved forward slowly until they discovered that the Spaniards were abandoning their trenches.

When it appeared the Spaniards were retreating, the two companies were quickly ordered forward. Continuing to move toward Manila these Minnesotans soon found out that the Spaniards were not retreating, but had actually set up an ambush from within the
dense bamboo in the area, and from another series of trenches. Slowing their advance, Co.'s E and L were again able to push the Spaniards back with desultory firing toward the center of the Spaniards defense, Blockhouse No. 14. These blockhouses, which encircled Manila, were "thirty feet square, two stories high, built on raised ground...," and built out of heavy planks and a mixture of earth and stone, with a bottom lined with steel.  

Col. Reeve then order the company from St. Cloud toward the Blockhouse. This movement, by Co. M, was supported by the Astor Battery whose 3.2 inch guns began to place some well positioned volleys into the blockhouse. Although there were intense moments most of the fighting for Blockhouse No. 14 was over once the fusillade from the Astor Battery ended. Company M (with Company A in support) quickly stormed the fortification and by 11:20 a.m. the United States flag was placed upon it. For the rest of the day's fighting these two companies were to hold their positions at the blockhouse while the other six pressed on toward Manila.

As Private Bowe, who was in the thick of it, wrote; "[O]n reaching the corner near the little stone wall, we ran into such a hail of bullets that we got orders to lie down flat upon the road." It was here that Captain McQuade [McWade] was ordered to go take his Company A, and support Company M, into a hot fight with the Spaniards. As Bowe tells it, "[I]nstead of obeying orders, Capt. McQuade, [McWade] hugging the stone wall, replied that he was sick and could not go ahead." At the first sign of fear by a Minnesotan during the battle, the companies' honor was saved when Lieutenant Donaldson, jumped to the front and cried, "come on boys follow me!"  

Pleased with their first victory over the Spaniards, the 13th did not have long to revel in their glory for they were quickly ordered to move out again toward Manila. Before they could celebrate the capture of the Philippine capital, however, they first had to go through the village of Cingalon.
At 11:20 a.m., with Blockhouse 14 under American control, MacArthur ordered the general advance to resume. With the 13th still in the lead and the Astor Battery supporting them, the 2nd Brigade continued toward the front. Along their path toward Manila, the drive was again suddenly slowed by another Spanish blockhouse. This time, instead of the Spaniards drawing fire on them, it was the blockhouse itself which caused the problems. Having caught fire during the battle, and with a large store of ammunition inside, the blockhouse began to explode, sounding much like a Fourth of July fireworks display. Fearing for the safety of his men, MacArthur ordered his troops to carefully go around the blockhouse. 34

As the 13th tried to work its way around the exploding blockhouse, MacArthur ordered the Astor Battery to join them at the front. Due to a barrier placed by the Spaniards, the Astor Battery was unable to move their artillery, and awaited help. With the assistance from Lieutenant March and his Regular Army troops, the Astor Battery was finally able to move its equipment over the gun emplacement which made up the barrier and obstructed the road.

Once past the burning blockhouse, and with the Astor Battery able to continue, the 2nd Brigade was able to advance into the village of Cingalon. There the retreating Spaniards again set up another ambush and began firing on the advancing Americans, "which increased as the forward movement was pressed, and very soon the command was committed to a fierce combat." Again the Minnesotans and their comrades found themselves facing another heavy fight from fortified Spaniards; this time from a church and the entrenchment which surrounded it. 35

Facing the church with his six companies of the 1st and 2nd Battalion, and being far ahead of the rest, Reeve "was commanded to throw out a line of skirmishers to the right and the front, and to establish a point in the road immediately in [the] front, along which [the Thirteenth] had been advancing." He quickly detached Company K to take up position
on the right, and then he sent Companies C and H to the left. Leaving Lieutenant Lackore of Company L, along with eight men and a sergeant to man the point, which was established on the road in front of the church.

Once the two St. Paul companies reached the left flank they quickly discovered that the Astor Battery was under a hot fire from the 73d Spanish Regiment. In order to protect their artillery pieces, Company H, under Captain Bjornstad began a rapid fire and saved the Astor Battery from being torn to pieces. 36

Meanwhile Lieutenant Lackore and his small band of men, with little or no protection, were finally ordered out of the thick of it by Captain Spear, of Company E. Having been under heavy fire since entering the village, this group was ordered to act as reinforcements for Company E, while the men from Red Wing's, Company G, were sent forward to help strengthen the line. With Companies C and H pouring fire in from the left, and Company K putting pressure on the church from the right, the battle was a virtual stalemate until the Astor Battery, slowed by the Spanish obstructions, could establish themselves in the village. With orders to move back 100 yards, the four companies retreated to a safer position while the Astor Battery shelled the church. With the completion of the bombardment, Company H, retaking its position on the left, again began firing at the barricaded Spaniards until approximately 1:30 that afternoon, when the "cease-fire" command was given. 37

With two companies guarding Blockhouse 14, and four more assaulting the church in Cingalon, soldiers from the remaining two companies were able to assist in the taking of Blockhouse No. 20. While the rest of the regiment was fighting around the church, some men from the 13th Minnesota and the Astor Battery, along with Captains March and Sawtelle were ordered to take the blockhouse, not far from the church. They advanced toward their objective while "under [the] cover of their comrades' fire, edging their way
through bamboo groves, rice paddies, and clutches of small palm-thatched huts to within eighty yards of the blockhouse." 38

Coming out that close to the Spaniards and under such heavy fire, the Americans believed they would have the element of surprise with them. In that regard they were sorely mistaken for as soon as they emerged from the jungle, they ran into a hailstorm of bullets and were driven into the center of the village of Cingalon. There, under extreme duress, they improvised hastily erected defense works to protect themselves from the hail of bullets.

With these 15 men in the center of town holding on to the temporary firing line for dear life, MacArthur, who just learned what was happening, ordered the Astor Battery placed behind the village church where they were to start shelling Blockhouse 20 immediately. He then ordered troops forward to help protect this small band trapped in the open. The supporting infantrymen rapidly ran to their defense and began digging in behind stone walls. With the Astor Battery finally in position, they began shelling the blockhouse from which most of the firing was coming from. Once the guns behind them roared in support, March and Sawtelle kept their men intact, allowing the shells to strike the blockhouse and nearby trenches with deadly accuracy. 39

Deciding they had only two choices, stay in this open position and let the Spaniards shot at them, or charge the blockhouse, they decided that they would do what their forefathers had done during the Civil War and they attacked the Spanish defenses. With bayonets and revolvers, this small, but courageous band of outnumbered soldiers got up from their positions and charged the Spaniards.

One Stillwater soldier, John T. Wheeler, who was one of the 15 men, later described the battle by saying,
Figure 2. Route of Advance of the 13th Minnesota Regiment at Cingalon, The Philippines, August, 1898.
Ten minutes after the bombardment began our whole line moved forward with a grand charge captured the first Spanish entrenchment's and raised the American flag amid deafening shots. When we reached them they had been driven from their guns but they with revolvers drawn and we with bayonets fixed, charged the Spanish line and recaptured the guns. In about five minutes the regulars came up and the firing ceased.  

Although the day and the glory which went with it belonged to the Minnesotans, all could not rejoice, since due to some confusion in orders, the 3rd Battalion and the detached companies from the 1st Battalion which had captured Blockhouse No. 14, remained in their positions and took no part in the capture of Cingalon. By 1:30 p.m. the 2nd Brigade under Gen. Arthur MacArthur had secured Cingalon and awaited their next orders.

While this was transpiring on the right flank, it was a completely different story on the left. By 11:20 a.m., Admiral Dewey had spotted the white flag flying over Manila and immediately sent his aides, Lieutenant Brumby and Lieutenant Colonel Charles A. Whittier of Merritt's staff to arrange the terms of surrender with General Jaudenes. By 2:30 p.m. the Americans reported the surrender, and by 5:43 p.m. the American flag was gently waving over the city of Manila. Unfortunately for those who did their fighting over on the right, they could not see the white flag being raised, nor did any of them know that this battle was pre-arranged and need not have been fought.

The casualty list for the days battle read that 6 Americans had died and 43 were wounded. Of these, two of the dead were from the 13th Minnesota Volunteers, Archibald Patterson, bugler, Co. I, who was shot and killed while the 3rd Battalion was moving between Blockhouse No. 14 and the Cingalon Church. Lewis Burlingham reported this death to his mother, recalling; "Patterson, [had been] shot through the neck by a sharpshooter in a tree who was afterward brot (sic) down from his perch by an American bullet...."  

The second to die was Sergeant Charles Burnson, Co. G. He was able to live for three days after the battle, but the wounds he received were too severe. The tragedy of this
death is that Burnson, who had probably left for war to become a hero, lost his life from wounds suffered on August 13, the same day as his twenty-eighth birthday. 43

Despite the deaths and casualties, nothing was going to mar this day for the men of the 13th Minnesota, for they had their chance for glory. While all the men felt good about what they had accomplished, some no doubt to the envy of their comrades, received additional recognition from Colonel Reeve when he issued a memorandum of exceptional actions on the part of individual members of the 13th Minnesota Volunteers. These included:

-- Capt. A. W. Bjornstad, Co. H—Took personal command of the firing line in the road at the church, without cover, and again formed another line in the same place in the most exposed portion of the road partly screened by two small logs in their front, at which point he and three members of his company were wounded.

-- Capt. Oscar Seebach, Co. G—Crossed the road under heavy fire at the head of his company, deployed to the front, occupying the advance line about one hundred and twenty-five yards from the Spanish earthworks: severely wounded.

-- Lieut. H.D. Lackore, Co. L—In command of the point, advanced up the road to within one hundred yards of the Spanish earthworks, where he remained firing at the enemy until warned that they guns were about to be discharged.

-- Lieut. E. G. Falk, Regimental Adjutant—Constantly exposed to heavy fire, both at the front and along the line of communications to the rear. He was at the front during almost the entire action.

-- Battalion Sergt. Major J. H. Loye, Second Battalion—Was the first to respond to the order of the General Commanding, to carry a log into the street to protect

-- Capt. Bjornstad and his men.

Along with these officers nine privates were also mentioned for bravery for their action of occupying the firing line in the street, while being protected by only two logs. These were:

Privates W. D. Bowen, Co. H; Berndt, Co. C; Peake, Co. D; Thorsel (wounded), Co. H; Widman, A. J. Weidle, W. J. Worthington, L. H. Wallace (wounded), and Corporal E. O. Cowden, all of Co. H. 44

Colonel Reeve finished his report to Major-General MacArthur by saying that due to the "peculiar nature of the ground...it was impossible for me to observe the individual conduct of the men under my command." But he wanted to assure MacArthur that even though his men, "[E]xposed to a withering fire from an unseen enemy, all did their duty with coolness, intelligence and courage...." And just for good measure he added that the
13th's heroism was, "...inspired by the example of the General Commanding, whose utter disregard of personal danger prevented what otherwise might have been a serious disaster."  

With the fighting halted, the Minnesotans were ordered to march through Paco into Malate, both suburbs of Manila, where they halted at 6:00 p.m. and were quartered in barracks. There they were told to take up outpost duty for very specific reasons. The Filipinos, being extremely upset over not being allowed into Manila or taking part in the fighting, immediately after the battle tried to beat both Greene and MacArthur's Brigades into strategic positions around the city. They did this in hope that by taking possession of the suburbs they could at least try to maintain their strategic positions. MacArthur's Brigade, having just been in battle, was not successful in cutting off the Filipinos from these positions. With only a few minutes rest, the Minnesotans were put on guard duty to stop the Filipinos from advancing any further.

By 7:00 p.m. on August 13, less than two hours after the Spaniards had surrendered, the Minnesota Volunteers found themselves facing 4,000 angry Filipinos who had massed in Malate. To control the situation, the Minnesotans were ordered to set up barricades in every street in the suburb to guard against the Filipinos which only further irritated them. Tension further mounted as both sides began to taunt the other. The Filipinos, upset over being excluded, threatened and yelled constant insults across the lines, with the Americans responding in kind. The Americans blamed the Filipinos for unnecessarily starting the day's battle, and were irritated by the unnecessary death amongst the ranks.  

With the situation almost ready to explode in Malate, General Anderson of Merritt's staff, contacted Aguinaldo. He told the Philippine leader in a wire, "[S]erious trouble threatening between our forces. Try and prevent it. Your forces should not try to force
themselves into the city until we have received the full surrender. Then we will negotiate with you."

To which Aguinaldo replied; "I have given orders to my chiefs that they preserve strict respect to American forces and aid them if attacked by a common enemy. I do not doubt that the good relations and friendship which unite us will be continued if your soldiers correspond to the conduct imposed upon mine." 47

By quick and easy communication, the trouble in Malate subsided and both sides returned to their previously held positions, avoiding the bizarre situation of two victorious allies turning their arms against each other. Even with the situation defused, this was still a ticking bomb.

With the Americans upset with the Filipinos over the fact that not a single soldier had to die, the news that would reach Manila a few days later should have been even more disheartening. Back in May, once Dewey had defeated the Spanish navy in Manila Harbor, he cut the cable connection between Manila and Hong Kong so that the Spaniards would be cut off from the outside world. This move not only isolated Spain's forces, but it also cut off the Americans from what was going on, which would have had ramifications on not only the days events, but events taking place over the next few years. For while on August 13, when the battle of Manila was in full swing, American and Spanish leaders, due to a peace protocol that was signed on August 12, had actually ended the war one day before. The negotiated sham battle that took the lives of Americans, Filipinos and Spaniards need never have been played out for the war was over.

Not knowing how things were developing internationally, the Americans concluded the war as quickly as possible. With the fighting over, the city of Manila was deluged with refugees, some who had left before the fighting started, while others were just looking for a place to live. These hundreds of thousands of refugees compounded the cities already monumental problems. With the city under siege for months, the food supply was
exhausted, garbage collection lapsed completely as had other public utilities, business was at a standstill, the streets were littered, and the water supply had been shut off for at least two months.  

Although the city was a disaster, once the Americans took many businesses and daily activities within the city attempted to start up again. By the very next day, August 14, many Filipino shops were again open for business, as were banks, custom houses, and newspapers. Even the cable between Manila and Hong Kong was repaired, bringing two days later the news that the war was actually over.

With the cable repaired, Gen. Merritt's first order of business was to get clarification of what his orders were. Did McKinley want a joint occupation with their Filipino allies in Manila, or did he want them to "...submit to the authority of the United States?" McKinley swiftly responded; "[T]he President directs that there must be no joint occupation with the insurgents.... Use whatever means in your judgment are necessary to this end."

The tension between these two groups, which quickly abated in Malate the night of the 13th, manifested itself again the next day. For the men of the 13th, not knowing what was going on with their leaders' policies, saw the Filipinos as an annoying lot. Most could not understand why the natives were causing such a ruckus, had not the Americans just saved them from Spanish tyranny? Pvt. Kahlert described how both the American and Filipinos felt about the situation in his diary three days later. "The natives are occupying the trenches of the spaniards (sic). I guess we will have to whip them. They say now Americanos & Filipino's (sic) are not friends. They are beginning to hate us..."

On August 18, the St. Paul Pioneer Press, reported on the relations between the Americans and the Filipinos. In a page one story they explained that the "insurgents," on August 14, had "entered some Spanish trenches on the outskirts of the city, but were repulsed." Not clarifying if they had been removed militarily or not, the story went on to
claim that, "Gen. Merritt notified them that they will not be permitted to come inside the city. It is probable that the Americans will now deal with the insurgents unless an amicable arrangement is arrived at soon." 52

An agreement was exactly what Aguinaldo and most of his men wanted, but for the Americans this was a much more difficult task. With Washington not having completely developed their policies toward the Philippines, America's leaders continued to send ambiguous orders to the commanders in the field on how to handle the situations as they arose. This left military leaders in Manila in no position to settle or to agree on anything with the Filipinos.

One area that the Filipinos did want an agreement on and did talk to their American counterparts about was the name that they found themselves tagged with. They asked the Americans to refrain from calling them "insurgents," the name the Spaniards had called them every since they began to rebel against Spain. Since they believed that the Americans did not officially own them, they were not then rebelling against American rule. Indicative of how relations would take place in the future most Americans refused to stop.

With Merritt's dual orders to control the city without Filipino cooperation and to keep the peace, he needed to establish a Provost Guard (a military policing unit) within the city to accomplish both of these tasks. For him the decision was an easy one, for not only had he seen the 13th Minnesota Volunteers conduct drills flawlessly in San Francisco, but he was also aware of their role in the attack on Manila. With that in mind, on August 20th, 1898, Merritt made the 13th Minnesota the Provost Guard of Manila. Col. Reeve was made chief of police, with his staff taking up various positions in and around the city.

Within a few short days the Minnesotans took off their hats as soldiers and put on the ones of local police. Most were aware by now that any chances they might have had for glory had probably come and gone. Although many did not get a chance to prove their bravery, most, knowing how other units had fared in this sham battle, felt proud about
what they had accomplished. Finding out a few days after the battle that it was staged
never deterred a single Minnesotan from ever speaking out about it. They had come to the
Philippines to defeat the Spaniards, vanquish the ghosts of the Civil War, and to earn
honor for themselves, their unit and their state, sentiments which were not missed by the
people back home.

With news that not only had the 13th fought the Spaniards, but played a key role in
their defeat, the Minnesota newspapers were filled with excitement. Both the Pioneer Press
and the Tribune ran articles in which they exalted the 13th for what they had
accomplished. The Pioneer Press wrote, "...the people of the state must feel a thrill of
pride that their boys have had their full measure of the glory of war." The Tribune added
the next day an article entitled "THEIR FATHERS AT GETTYSBURG," which
told its readers that the "[T]hirteenth Minnesota Volunteers at Manila Show Gallantry
Hardly Surpassed by That of the Old First Minnesota." With this the men of the 13th
Minnesota hoped the Civil War Ghosts had been exorcised and that there could no longer
be any question of the bravery and manhood of this generation. Believing there was
nothing left to do in the islands since most had accomplished what they came for, it was
now time to sit and wait for the ships to come pick them up and bring them home...or so
they thought. 53

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2 Ibid, 29.
3 Martin E. Tew, Official History Of The Operation Of The 13th Minnesota Infantry, U.S.V. In The
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6 William Thaddens Sexton, Soldiers in the Sun; an adventure in imperialism (Harrisburg, PA: The
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7 Karl Faust, Campaigning in the Philippines (New York: Arno Press, 1970 [c1898]), 86
8 Burlingham, letter to Mother, August 21, 1898.
9 Bowe, With the 13th Minnesota, 30.
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11 Miller, Benevolent Assimilation, 42. Stanley Karnow, In Our Image: America's Empire In The
Chapter V

"BE COURTEOUS IN YOUR CONTACT..."

After having viewed themselves as being heroes who had defeated Spaniards, most of the Minnesotans were less than thrilled with their assignment as Manila's provost guard. After seeing what Malate alone looked like and knowing how many of the Filipinos felt about them, they knew this job would not be an exciting or easy one.

With the Spaniard's defeat, the Americans quickly took over control of Manila and its surrounding suburbs. The first order of business was to assign each company to a designated area. They were originally assigned accordingly; Companies E, G and K were assigned to the Walled City; Company D to Binondo, Company A, Malate; Company I, Quiapo; Company H, Tanduay; Companies C and M, Tondo; Company F San Miguel; Company B, Sampolac; and Company L to Santa Cruz.

Once stationed, their next task was to set up barracks. "During the first few weeks the men slept on the floor, but later, cots and mosquito nets were provided by the Government." The cooking detail also had a hard time of it since most of the wood and coal had been used up during the siege of the city. To fix the situation the troops began to tear apart several old buildings for fuel which continued the soldier's popularity with the natives in a downward spiral, even though these people were reimbursed by the United States Government.1

Next came the general orders from their overall commander, General Arthur MacArthur, who was given charge of all Manila and its suburbs. In his second order (the first established Minnesota as the cities police force) he listed nine rules which the 13th had

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to obey during their time in the city. While some were petty orders setting up housekeeping, others told them how to treat the Spaniards and Filipinos, with the rest telling them how, as Americans, they should represent themselves. Examples of these are as follows:

#3. Armed native and Spanish soldiers must be disarmed before being allowed to pass through the gates, either way.
#4. Arrest drunk and disorderly persons.
#5. Spanish officers are allowed to wear their side arms.
#8. Be courteous in your contact with both natives and Spaniards and see that all soldiers of others commands observe this rule.

These orders, signed by Major Ed. S. Bean were to be followed to the letter. Order Number 8, however, was often ignored so the soldiers could follow Order Number 3, which usually extremely irritated the Filipinos. The situation which had culminated in Malate with Americans and Filipinos almost shooting at each other was alleviated but never forgotten. Most Filipinos did not trust the Americans so did not wish to surrender their arms. Reverend Charles Cressy observed these Filipino sentiments and explained them to his wife on August 22, 1898: "Monday (two days after the fall of Manila) they (the Filipinos) were threatening in their looks and manners toward us. As they passed they would say 'Americanos, Phillipino, (sic) no Amigo' (IE Americans & Philippine are no friends) & they would draw their hands across their throats...." This attitude could be easily found on both sides of the trenches.

Even with the threat of reprisals, and the stench which rose up from the cities uncollected garbage, the Minnesotans were able to find some good things about policing. The first was that they received new uniforms. The new regulation uniforms consisted of white coat and trousers, straw hat and black shoes (which in Bean's order were to be blackened and shiny at all times). Representing the United States, these policemen were expected to be models of neatness and cleanliness throughout their stay in the Philippines.

The other benefit the volunteer soldiers had during their time in the Philippines was their pay. Although not in comparison to the officers who received $125 per month in
gold, the lowly private received $62.40 a month. This was an extremely high wage when converted over into the peso and allowed these poor soldiers to instantly gain a temporary affluence with all their new found wealth.⁵

Even with their new uniforms and thick wallets, most Minnesotans, along with other states' volunteers, began to have more and more 'problems' in the lull after the battle. As Private Bowe put it, "[T]he soldiers are all more or less sick, yet the men in authority... quench what little patriotism is left in the boys by making them do the work of horses." The patriotic spirit the volunteers had just a few months ago, Bowe feared had vanished. "Now when the officers ask for vols the men put on a blank face, sidestep away, and mutter, 'I volunteered once----."⁶

Not uncommon to this war, the privates began to dislike and distrust many of their superiors. From their perspective, they did all the work and the officers got all the glory. This complaint probably was muttered around campfires again later when on September 4 Colonel Reeve was promoted to Brigadier General, thereby making Lieutenant Colonel Ames the Regimental Colonel, and Major Friedrich's promoted to Lieutenant Colonel. This further proved to the men that those with a rank were going to get the prestige while they got to do all the dirty work.

Although no one ever wrote in this early stage about being upset with the 13th's staff, complaints were mentioned when it came to the VIII Army Corps new commanding officer Major General Ewell S. Otis. Taking the place of General Merritt who had left for Paris to help conclude the peace treaty, Otis' attention to minute detail and his insistence that every single decision be run by him made many field commanders and privates alike dislike and distrust him.⁷

Arriving in late August, Otis brought with him more infantry, cavalry, and artillery. This brought the total number of troops in the Philippines to 15,559 officers and men. Knowing that peace talks were being held in Paris and that hostilities in the islands between
the United States and Spain had ceased days before, the arrivals of these additional troops made the Filipinos extremely suspicious of American intentions in their homeland.  

As for the 13th Minnesota who were by now starting to learn the ropes of policing, these growing suspicions of the Filipinos made an already difficult job even tougher. Along with Aguinaldo's soldiers' attitudes toward the Americans, the Minnesotans also had to contend with a group of defeated Spaniards who, for the most part, were not helpful in turning power over to them. They also had difficulty because they did not know the city and had to try to deal with the wide variety of groups and languages found in and around the capitol.

One of their first orders, along with patrolling, was to clean Manila. This turned out to be a job of immense proportions. Having been under siege since May, the city's "70,000 people were crowded into an area that usually housed about 10,000. Food was scarce, and the revolutionaries had cut off the water supply." Their government was totally disorganized, schools were closed, as was the port.

Along with the population and the mess there were also large problems with the city's sewage system which ran into open drains. From there it "accumulated in the dark privy vaults of private dwellings or, even worse, was deposited in the city streets with the garbage." What was left was washed away by the rain and the natural decay which set in so rapidly in the tropics. Many a Minnesotan complained in letters home about light breezes coming up and blowing the stench in their direction.

The 13th Minnesota's first job was to clean out the sewer system and enforce policies which required the Filipinos to dispose of their excrement in other ways. One way to enforce these new regulations was to fix fines on people who emptied slop out of windows or allowed garbage to accumulate outside of their homes. The rule was that each home had to clean their sidewalks and empty their privy vaults at least once a week. One Minnesota team was even given the unenviable job of removing the human excrement piled
up under houses whose toilets consisted of a hole in the floor, and hauling it to the harbor where boats tried to dispose of it.\(^\text{10}\)

Along with disposing of refuse, the Minnesotans also began to rebuild roads, repaired street lights, renovated public water hydrants, rebuilt bridges, opened the public water systems, set up clinics, helped with vaccinations and re-opened the schools. A handful of Minnesotans even helped teach in these new schools. They usually either taught a subject they knew well, or more commonly, how to speak English.\(^\text{11}\)

Of all these functions, none was probably more important then the setting up of clinics and helping with vaccinations. In September, due to a fear of epidemic, a Board of Health was established consisting of experts from both the United States and the Philippines. Their duty was to go around and exam dwellings, markets, slaughterhouses, drug stores, and other businesses connected to community health. They also strictly monitored the port for disease, ran the city leper hospital, and purchased supplies for the hospitals. Finally, always leery of disease spreading and having heard some of the horror stories about camps in the States, the Board began a vaccination process through which they tried to stamp out small pox among Filipino children.\(^\text{12}\)

After weeks of doing the back breaking work of cleaning the city, Lewis Burlingham wrote home to his parents on September 30, telling them, "[M]anila isn't such an unhealthy place now as it has all been cleaned up pretty well and got most of the smell out. A person can keep well and healthy here if they only take care of themselves and their surroundings...." Of all that they were asked to do those first few weeks, the vaccinations proved to be the most beneficial for all involved.\(^\text{13}\)

With filth and disease virtually gone, the Minnesotans could begin to focus their attention on their main mission of policing the city. One of the first things they were ordered to do was to do away with the gambling which was rampant in the city. As the 13th's historian, Martin Tew later wrote, "[G]ambling devices of all kinds existed on every
street corner, and in almost every conceivable place when the Americans entered the city."

It was the duty then of the Minnesotans to put a stop to these illegal activities, which
ironically many of them had confessed to have played at one time or another.

Believing that much of Manila's "undesirables" were involved with these games, it
was the desire of the top brass to eliminate them from the back streets. To the pride of the
13th's commanders, these gamblers and their games quickly disappeared from the streets
of Manila. It is most likely that the gambling moved from out in the open to the
underground rather than as the 13th's commanders boasted that in only one month their
men had destroyed all gambling in the city. 14

Gambling was not to be the only thing that the conservative and puritanical
American leadership looked down upon within the city though. The second of the two
major problems facing the Minnesota police force was the women of "ill-repute" who had
entered the city. While a handful of Minnesotans were swept off their feet by the local
ladies of 'respectable' backgrounds, others found themselves in the arms of women who
were members of the world's oldest profession. These ladies must have been quite a shock
for soldiers who had left conservative Minnesota just a few months previous. Whereas
women's fashion in the Gopher State showed as little of the female body as possible,
fashions in the Philippines were much more practical for the tropical climate. As one
volunteer wrote upon returning to the states, the Filipinas "wore transparent bodices,
bright-colored skirts fitted snugly from hips to knees, and red heel-less slippers. More
shocking then the fact that they were without stockings, [and] the bodices and skirts did not
meet." 15

Minnesota's own Lieutenant Carl Stone also commented in a letter home about the
Filipinas he encountered. "The women here have beautiful hair and fairly developed
shoulders & necks & chest & their arms are generally perfect...." But for him that was as
far as their beauty went, because in his eyes they had a "peculiar walk" caused by the
"carrying of stuff on their heads." 16

While some had genuine feelings for "respectable" Filipina women, a great many
other volunteers spent much of their free time at the local houses of ill-repute. At first the
Army had the 13th Minnesota Volunteers try to contain this business, but with venereal
disease being the number one disease for the soldiers in the islands (approximately 25% of
all cases on sick report were of venereal origins) the high command took another approach
to solving this problem. Instead of fighting the problem and trying to close these
businesses down, they instead had every prostitute registered, segregated, and examined
weekly by an American doctor. If they were found to be afflicted with any sexually
transmitted disease, they had to be hospitalized at their own expense, treated, and visited by
social workers who tried to persuade them to find a more moral occupation. Although
never putting an end to prostitution in the islands, this policy did help significantly reduce
the problem of sexually transmitted diseases. 17

Lieutenant Stone again wrote home on September 22 explaining to his parents what
was happening in Manila. "About a week ago a lot of 'ladies' from Hong Kong came over
and started up in business in our district and as there is no city law here to prevent such
people from running houses of ill fame, we could not close them up...." But with the new
policy toward prostitution Stone found himself helping implement it and dealing with these
"ladies." He was ordered to go to these houses of "ill fame" and check to see if their
certification was posted in the house. Not sure if he would enjoy this new position he told
his parents, "[W]ont (sic) that be a sweet job for a decent self-respecting soldier who
enlisted to gain honor & glory in his country's defense!" 18

Even with the "perks" of having excess money, the women, and the prestige of
being the Provost Guard, many of the Minnesotans were bored with being soldiers and
began to talk about going home. Private Burlingham sent these sentiments home when he
told his family that he was upset because Colonel Reeve had told the Regimental Auxiliary that the members of the 13th wanted to stay in the Philippines. He concluded this letter by saying, "I just wish that the people that have anything to do with this regiment both at home and here would have a little consideration and get us out of here as quick as possible." 19

For Private Burlingham though and the men who agreed with him, those people who did have some pull were not going to help them. The Red Wing Republican article reported on September 8 that the 13th Regiment Auxiliary Association, "[R]esolved, That we deem it unwise and impracticable, at this time, for this organization to take any action to have the Thirteenth Regiment Minnesota Volunteers, mustered out of the United States service." It would take more than just a handful of soldiers who were bored with military service to get any real action done by the folks at home. 20

With the possibility of going home being extremely small, the men of 13th had to focus their attention back on their policing of Manila. Even with their strict control of the city and tensions rising outside of Manila between the Americans and the Filipinos, the Minnesotans found themselves starting to make friends with a great many of the Filipinos living in their district. For the average volunteer there was two distinct groups of Filipinos those educated and well to do in the city, the other the rebellious "insurgents" who followed Aguinaldo. As Pvt. Harry Luxton, Co. D, claimed in a letter published in the Minneapolis Tribune, "[T]he natives here are divided into two distinct classes, the one that looks upon our presence in the city as a blessing and the other that views our habitation on the island more in the light of a curse...." 21

In this same vein of Minnesotan-Filipino relations, General Reeve was to report at the end of the war that, "[I]t was remarkable how the men adapted themselves to their new surroundings. Not only was this the case as far as their duties went, but their pleasures also. The sociability of the natives was met more than half way. Dinner and dances were no uncommon occurrences...." 22
Two other Minnesotans agreed with such positive views of the Filipinos and their islands. Sergeant Edmund Neill, on September 21, writing a letter to his parents in Red Wing told them, "...contrary to the usual run of the boys I like the Philippines and the city of Manila especially. It is all so odd and queer and everything is so different from home." He then added a sentiment heard through the years by soldiers found in almost all wars, "I tell you. I know I shall never be able to be contended [sic] at home again." 23

Another soldier who felt positively about his stint in the islands was Capt. Charles Metz. He wrote home to his friend Julius Heilbron, "[T]his will be a great place to make money if the US. conclude to hold these Islands, there is money to be made in almost every line of business...." Although many Minnesotans were able to shed some of their racist attitudes toward people of other cultures, and both they and their Filipino counterparts were able to make friendships during this time of tensions, a great many of America's volunteers were unable to do this. 24

Even with personal contacts being made and friendships being forged during the hostilities, the tension between Aguinaldo's men and the Americans never completely abated. The Minnesotans on duty were regularly met with taunts, insults, and obscenities to which they replied in kind. The 13th also quickly learned to travel in groups of two or more, for if one went out at night by themselves they became easy prey for angered Filipinos and their bolo knives. 25

In order to alleviate the tensions between these two groups, General Otis demanded that Aguinaldo's troops be withdrawn from some of the suburbs, thereby keeping contact between the two armies at a minimum and hopefully reducing tensions. When Aguinaldo acquiesced to these demands, the American leaders patted themselves on the back believing they were again able to avoid war with the Filipinos.

While the commanders in the islands were avoiding a future war, American officials in Washington and Paris were trying to end another. With the war concluded, McKinley
sent a small American diplomatic contingent to Paris to sign the peace treaty. One of these was the pro-imperialist Senator from Minnesota, Cushman K. Davis. In regard to the Philippines, this commission was ordered at first to only request Luzon (the northern island of the Philippines), Guam, and Puerto Rico. This, the administration estimated, would give the United States the geographical possessions needed to support a global fleet, provide communication links, and open the door for trade with China.  

Once in Paris, however, the commission found itself besieged with advice to demand the entire Philippine archipelago from the Spaniards. Some of these groups included American naval officers who wanted to build ports in the excellent Philippine harbors. Others were America's business leaders desirous of war in the spring of 1898, and now wanting all of the islands as a source of raw materials, a market for their goods, or a base for trade with China. The final faction which wanted the archipelago were church groups which wanted to set up missionary enterprises and bring more "sheep into the fold." McKinley, on the other hand, was not as sure as these groups and needed a little more political prodding before he made up his mind. With another presidential campaign looming, he wanted to know that the people were behind him in his endeavors.

In the fall of 1898, the President went on a ten-day campaign swing through the midwest. What he saw on this tour were enthusiastic crowds who cheered wildly every time either Dewey's name or the call for acquisition of the islands was mentioned. With this in mind, on October 26 he sent new orders to his negotiators in Paris. He now told them that he wanted the Philippines in their entirety. "The cession must be of the whole archipelago or none. The latter is wholly inadmissible, and the former must therefore be required." A policy which had waffled back and forth from the first day when Dewey had defeated the Spaniards, now had an established goal-complete control of the Philippines.  

Election votes were not the only thing McKinley dealt with when it came time to decide what to do, he also had to contend with other foreign nations. As the battle for
Manila came and went, many of the foreign powers remained in and around the Philippines waiting to see what the peace treaty would bring. If the United States were to free the Filipinos and leave, other nations such as England, Germany, and Japan were patiently waiting to make them part of their colonial empires.

If the United States stayed and worked out a joint occupation with one of these nations, McKinley feared war could break out between them. If the United States formed a protectorate, any conflicts which Aguinaldo may get into, might force the hand of the Americans to go in and protect their Filipino allies. From the standpoint of the American leadership they did the only sensible thing they could, they took the whole of the Philippines.

The Spaniards, for their part, argued that the United States had no claim to these islands for, technically, the war was over before the Battle of Manila. Therefore, the city was not legally controlled by the Americans and still belonged to Spain. To escape this loophole, the American commission was informed by President McKinley to offer Spain $20,000,000 for the entire archipelago. Spain, in economic straits from the war and desirous of quickly re-establishing U.S.-Spanish relations, accepted this request. Although all sides were happy with this decision in Paris, the Filipinos were less thrilled.

McKinley was all too aware that by this action the United States was on the path of becoming an imperialist power. This, though, was seen as a good thing by the President and those who adhered to the belief of American "Manifest Destiny." For America would not be a conquering nation, but rather a more benevolent one passing on to the peoples of this new nation their economic, political, and religious ways of life, all of which, according to most Americans, were the best in the world.

Of all those pushing for America's expansionism, none was more behind it than President McKinley himself. As he told a gathering in the south during another campaign tour, that since the Philippines were already in American hands, "...it was the duty of the
army of occupation to announce and proclaim in the most public manner that we have come, not as invaders or conquerors, but as friends to protect the natives in their homes, in their business, and in their personal or religious liberty." 28

While the Paris Peace Commission was negotiating in France and McKinley was proclaiming the benevolence and superiority of America over the Philippines, problems remained on the archipelago. While tensions continued to rise to staggering heights and both sides were still trying to avoid an all-out war, it was the Americans who tried to stall the longest. For the Filipinos, most were pretty sure that the Americans outmatched them militarily and talked of striking before more American troops arrived. The Americans, wanted to put off fighting as long as possible, for as McKinley told Otis, "[T]ime given the insurgents can not hurt us and must weaken and discourage them. They will come to see our benevolent purpose and recognize that before we can give their people good government our sovereignty must be complete and unquestioned. Tact and kindness most essential just now." 29

While leading officials and top brass hammered out peace treaties and tried to avoid another war, the Minnesotans went about the monotonous duty of policing Manila. As the days and weeks since the Battle of Manila passed, the boredom level and lackadaisical efforts had hit new highs. Making an example out of one soldier, the Minneapolis Tribune printed a letter from an anonymous soldier on November 7, which told about the "illness" of one of the 13th's own. In it it said; "[P]rivate Mitchell, is suffering from a disease that so far baffles the skills of our medical dept., who are unable to find anything wrong with him. The symptoms as they appear to the Co., are a great disinclination for work and great promptness at mess call." 30

The only thing which did add any spice to their lives was the actual patrolling of the city. With many of Aguinaldo's men living in Manila and with the constant threat of an attack, the 13th was forced to stay on its toes. On the night of November 18, this boredom
was replaced by sheer terror for four men of Co. E who were out on patrol. On that night
Sergeants Jay C. Price and Tracy H. Hoyt, along with Privates Harry Montgomery and
George Mahan, were attacked by an enraged Filipino wielding a bolo. It took the strength
of all four of the armed Minnesotans to arrest this man who severely wounded Price and
Montgomery, and left marks on the two privates, was subdued only after being shot
several times."

After a few days of sitting in the regimental hospital, all four of the men were up
and around, just in time for Thanksgiving Day. Remembering how they had been treated
in San Francisco, the volunteers from Minnesota invited the 1st California for a
Thanksgiving feast. Among the combination of military and island delicacies was the
menu's (they actually had them printed up) specialty: "Fricasseeed Chicken a la Mauser
Bullet." After lunch the rest of the day was spent with the Minnesotans and Californians
giving speeches, singing songs, listening to the bands, and story-telling."

The Volunteers found that, much like back in Minnesota, the weeks between
Thanksgiving and Christmas flew by. This was especially noticed by the men of the
Thirteenth, who by this time, had done their job of policing the city so well that there was
literally nothing for them to do. The cities gambling was no longer evident, prostitution
was controlled, and most Filipino agitators stayed away for fear of being shot. For most of
the men there seemed little to do but write home and wait for word that they would soon be
mustered out.

The promise that all American leaders seem to give their troops and their families
during wartime, that the boys will be home for Christmas, was again echoed in the fall of
1898. But with tensions increasing by the day in the Philippines, and the Regular army
unable to leave Cuba to relieve the Volunteers due to the lack of transports, this promise, as
it has so many times, was broken.
As many of those who were born and raised in Minnesota could attest to, Christmas in the Philippines was nothing like they had experienced back home. With temperatures in the 80s and 90s many of the men fondly wrote home about missing snow, ice-skating, hot chocolate, and having Santa Claus come down the chimney. Knowing that not being home would be tough on the volunteers, the Regiment Auxiliary Association had earlier adopted a plan whose purpose was to "remember every officer and enlisted man in the 13th with a Christmas box." Undertaking this Herculean feat, the Association was extremely successful, for on Christmas Eve every single soldier, private up to general, all received little tin boxes from home. 33

Thrilled with their presents, most of the soldiers wrote home thanking family and friends, and many times showed a little homesickness in their letters. One of these was Lieutenant Carl Stone, Co. F, who took time to write home and thank those who had sent the gifts. "The handkerchiefs are always useful...[T]he candy and gum did not last long I tell you. The mouth organ will last for quite a while...." He, like a great many others, confessed to having "a hard time believing it was Christmas" and to missing everyone back home. 34

After the gift opening, most of the soldiers decided to do one of two things. One group did what George D. Montgomery, a member of the 13th's regimental band, did. After dinner he and some friends went to church and then went to watch Minnesota and Oregon "play ball." The Minnesotans, having played earlier in San Francisco, kept their illustrious sporting tradition alive by losing to the Oregonians 14 to 9. 35

The story of the other group which did not go to church was captured by Pvt. John Lawson, Co. K, when he wrote, "...the boys are subject to drunkenism and they come in a room and jump and raise h--l. The foremost drink here is native 'Beno' or gin and if a man gets a few glasses in him the stuff is all off. I have seen as high as a dozen men in the hospital stark crazy from drinking it." 36
One of the soldiers who was a part of the latter group was Damon Runyon. Runyon, who later gained fame as a journalist and author, was only 17 when the war broke out. Growing up in Colorado and gaining his father's permission to go fight he went to join the Colorado regiments, but an officer sent him home saying he was both too young and too small.

Ignoring the Sergeant's advice, Runyon, snuck back into the Colorado barracks and hopped the train to San Francisco where he wandered around Camp Merritt until one of the sergeants of Company L, 13th Minnesota, said his company needed a bugler. In Company L Runyon stood out due to his size, a caved-in chest and extreme lack of any kind of musical ability. Company L, looking more like a circus act with Runyon, also had in its ranks one Vern Hanson from International Falls, who at 6' 4" and 230 pounds dwarfed Runyon who was 5' 6" and perhaps 125 pounds.

Left behind in California, Runyon had to wait for the fourth expedition to Manila to regroup with Co. L. Once in the Philippines he spent much of his time avoiding work and the rest of the time in a "house of ill repute," which was conveniently located adjacent to Co. L's headquarters. There he met and fell in love with the first love of his life, a young Filipina girl. Having joined in with the rowdies on Christmas Eve, Runyon, like the rest, spent most of Christmas Day recovering from a severe hangover. 37

But the headaches the rowdies in the Philippines were suffering were nothing compared to what McKinley's administration would later deal with after relaying a message to the Philippines discussing America's policy there. With the so called "Benevolent Assimilation" policy, McKinley informed General Otis that with the actual signing of the peace treaty absolute control of the islands became immediately necessary and the military government, which up to that time just controlled the city and harbor, now must extend itself throughout the entire nation.
He went on to add, "[I]t will be the duty of the commander of the forces of occupation to announce and proclaim in the most public manner that we come, not as invaders or conquerors, but as friends...." In closing he stated,

Finally, it should be the earnest and paramount aim of the military administration to win the confidence, respect, and affection of the inhabitants of the Philippines by assuring them in every possible way that full measure of individual rights and liberties which is the heritage of free people, and by proving to them that the mission of the United States is one of benevolent assimilation, substituting the mild sway of justice and right for arbitrary rule. 38

Upon receiving this proclamation, Otis decided to censor the parts which bluntly informed the Filipinos that the United States intended to retain and govern the islands. Otis had the censored version posted through Manila and the surrounding area. Filipinos who were leery of American intentions to begin with, obtained a copy of the original and saw for themselves what America's policy was to be. Otis, trying to avoid further bloodshed, had, by concealing information, made the distrustful Filipinos even more upset when they felt that he was purposely trying to keep them in the dark over America's intentions. 39

With full knowledge of what the American government intended, there was nothing left in the Filipinos mind but to continue their struggle for freedom. They now looked upon the Americans as they had the Spanish, just another colonial master trying to gain control of their nation.

With leaders in Washington slowly changing policies as the days progressed, the volunteer soldier, usually kept out of any decision which might have affected him anyway, was now given additional burdens to carry. With this new policy, McKinley's administration not only expected this army to set up a colonial government, but they also wanted the soldiers to continue to police, put down any uprisings, and become the transmitters of America's culture and values. 40

Although tensions were growing between the United States and Filipino leaders, most of the common foot soldiers were oblivious to what was taking place. Life in Manila had become a monotonous routine. With no visible hope of gaining glory in war, the men...
began to mutter out loud that they did not come all the way around the world to be policemen. If that was all they were going to do then it was time, in their minds, to go home.

These desires to go home were fueled not only by bad cases of home sickness and boredom, but also because disease was beginning to take the life of a great number of the volunteers in the islands. The complaint became that if they were not going to die in glory on the battlefield, then they wanted to get out of the Philippines, since most felt it was not worth dying for otherwise.

Ralph Morgan, a 19-year-old Private in Company I, wrote home on December 29, 1898, describing this situation: "The deadly diseases and fevers which are thinning out our ranks daily is what causes the clamor of voices amongst the soldiers all saying '[W]hen are we going home?' Morgan concluded with the statement that, '[W]e do not care to do garrison duty in a hot and foreign land, it being the peace work of the regulars." 41

Private John Bowe later observed in his diary how many of the soldiers were possibly being afflicted by these diseases. He wrote; "Sgt. (Clarence) Carleton (Co. A) first 'Protestant allowed to be buried in Manila. Some boys from the Kansas Reg't came down and took some skulls away for souvenirs and contracted smallpox, so now a guard is placed at the cemetery." He ended by adding sarcastically, "[C]ompany A, guarding graveyards; Company B, guarding prostitutes. One the grave, the other the way to it."42

Monotony was again briefly alleviated with the New Years' Eve Day celebration held for the volunteers. Although the band played, people gave speeches and the crowds sang, everyone really came to see were the sporting events being held on the Luneta at Manila. At the games the boys of Company A made quite an impressive showing. Private George Riebeth took first at the 100-yard dash, Private Byron Elliot took first in the running broad jump and Privates Walter Lafans and E.R. Smith captured first place with the shot put.
To top the day off there was even a football game held between the 10th Pennsylvanians and the 13th Minnesota. Unfortunately no one recorded the final score, but the 13th's official historian Martin Tew reassured future generations that the Minnesotans did have a "strong football team." 43

With the holiday season finally over, the Minnesotans were all too aware that there would be no more breaks from their tedious job. After that rumor mill started up again, spreading word that they were to either go home soon or begin fighting the Filipinos. On January 3, 1899, Corporal August Anderson, a 32-year-old Swedish born immigrant wrote home to his brother explaining the situation at hand. "We shall be able to come home in March, but tonight's newspaper says we won't be home until we have corrected what the Spaniards have done." 44

Since the day they left the City of Para, a great many of the Minnesotans held the belief that before they were to go home they would have to fight Aguinaldo and his people. At this point of their soldiering most of the volunteers did not mind which path their government took just as long as they were able to do something.

They had done their duty as policemen with such skill and precision that crime all but came to an end in that spring of 1899. By 7:00 p.m. all natives were safe and secure in their homes knowing that the saloons, houses of ill repute, and gambling had either been eliminated or held in check. For the Minnesotans who had served as police, this was not the heroic and glorified duty which they had wanted. Instead of charging up a hill or defending a position until its last, like their forefathers in the Civil War had, the 13th found itself breaking up fights, handing out fines, defending prostitutes, and trying to kill time in a far off land. At this juncture, their choice was clear: either let them go home, or let them fight. Either way, the 13th was ready for the change which was soon to come.

1 Martin E. Tew, Official History Of The Operation Of The 13th Minnesota Infantry, U.S.V. In The Campaign In The Philippin Islands. (S.I.;, 1899), 16.
4 Tew, Official History Of The Operation Of The 13th Minnesota Infantry, 17.
6 John Bowe, With the 13th Minnesota: In the Philippines (Minneapolis: A.B. Franham Printing and Stationary Co., 1905), 41-42.
10 Gates, Schoolbooks and Krags, 60.
12 Gates, Schoolbooks and Krags, 58.
14 Tew, Official History Of The Operation Of The 13th Minnesota Infantry, 16-17.
17 Sexton, Soldiers in the Sun, 57.
20 Red Wing Republican, September 8, 1898, p. 1.
21 Minneapolis Tribune, October 18, 1898, p. 3.
22 Ibid, October 8, 1899, p. 8.
27 Karnow, In Our Image, 129.
28 Miller, Benevolent Assimilation, 25.
30 Minneapolis Tribune, November 7, 1898, p. 3.
31 Roth, Muddy Glory, 43.
32 Tew Official History Of The Operation Of The 13th Minnesota Infantry, 18.
33 Ibid, 18.
37 Jimmy Breslin, Damon Runyon (New York: Ticknor and Fields, 1991), 52. Runyon is probably most noted for his work Guys and Dolls.
40 Gates, Schoolbooks and Krags, 78.
42 Bowe, With the 13th Minnesota, 61.
43 Tew, Official History Of The Operation Of The 13th Minnesota Infantry, 19.
With boredom and open hostilities rising between the Filipinos and the Americans, attitudes on both sides began to take an ugly turn. Filipinos, knowing what American intentions were in their homeland, began to prepare for another long drawn out battle with a foreign aggressor. As for the American Volunteers, they found themselves somewhere between longing to leave the islands for home and fighting another quick battle with the natives in order to kill their boredom and gain more glory.

During the first month of 1899, these tensions rose to new heights. With both sides facing each other with weapons drawn, and with an ignorance of each others' cultures and motivations, high anxiety was the norm of the day. The Filipinos complained about how they were treated by American soldiers. Many told about the practice of the Americans knocking down natives with the butt of their Springfield rifles merely for "seeming disrespectful."

Both sides required passes to go through their lines. Many Americans and Filipinos began to complain that they were not searched as they entered each other's lines, but rather robbed. Both sides also used any pretext to shoot at each other. After the war one story even suggested that one member of the 13th Minnesota, who was out on sentry duty, killed a civilian just for "looking suspicious."

The crisis which was developing between these two camps was not missed by the common foot soldiers, for on February 3, 1899, Second Lieutenant Carl Stone wrote home complaining about this very situation with the Filipinos. "It has got so now that they hold
up our people whenever they have a chance. The condition of affairs is becoming intolerable generally, and there is soon going to be a fight." ³

Stone was not the only one who noticed that tensions were brewing in late January and early February. On the same day that Lt. Stone was writing to his family in Rochester, General Otis was writing to Admiral Dewey, who was still in the islands, concerning the problems occurring just outside of Manila. "There has been a great deal of friction along the lines the past two days, and we will be unable to tamely submit to the insulting conduct and threatening demonstrations of these insurgents much longer." Everyone from the generals down to the lowliest private knew they were sitting on a tinderbox which was just waiting to explode. ⁴

On February 4, 1899 that tinderbox finally found its fuse. A few weeks earlier, General Otis had moved a Nebraska unit further forward into an established neutral area between the Americans and the Filipinos. During the night of the fourth Private William Grayson and Orville Miller were sent out on a routine patrol. When they reached a bridge spanning the San Juan River they were met by a patrol of four Filipinos. Grayson yelled "Halt" to the four who yelled back "Alto!" to the two Americans. After a brief verbal bantering Grayson raised his gun and fired and killed one of the Filipinos. Immediately Grayson and Miller ran back to their lines yelling about an imminent Filipino attack. Along a ten-mile front the Americans and Filipinos met each other in what became the first battle of the Philippine-American War.

Since neither side had prepared for an attack, both found this battle to be a confused and haphazard event. Many of the American units fanned out from the city in wild charges unorchestrated by their commanders. Often they attacked without orders from their superiors. Having been bridled for too long, most of these volunteers wanted a chance to get into the fray. ⁵
Figure 3. U.S. Positions Around Manila and Suburbs, August, 1889 to February, 1899.
With most of the action taking place to the north of Manila, the Minnesotans, held up in the city and its suburbs, still were not completely out of the action. The St. Cloud men of Co. M, the night of February 4 were held up in an old church. The "[M]en stationed themselves in the belfry and in advantageous positions in the old church and kept a close watch [on the Filipinos]. Although not suffering an all out attack Co. M was able to save the church "...from the black devils who had evidently planned to burn the church and the Americans within it." 6

Most of the rest of the 13th Volunteers who were patrolling the streets in their respective districts did have some excitement that evening. It was discovered that some of the Filipinos within the city were signaling those outside of it with lights from rooftops. The Minnesotans took it upon themselves to shoot down this make shift signal corps before any real damage could be done in the city.

By 4:00 a.m. the morning of February 5, the navy opened fire on the Filipinos' lines with devastating accuracy. To the chagrin of the volunteers this bombardment did such an excellent job that the Filipinos fled to re-organize, not giving many of the Minnesotans a chance to fight Aguinaldo and his men, or so they thought. 7

Three hours after the bombardment, patrols from Company C found themselves engaged with about 150 Filipinos carrying bolos and machetes. With blades not being much of a match for the Americans' Springfields from a distance, Company C was able to disperse their attackers. Killing 6, capturing 31, and being unable to count the number wounded, Company C considered this "the only serious trouble encountered by our regiment to date." After Captain Noyes Robinson's men of Company C pushed the Filipinos back, the only other official maneuver conducted by the 13th in this fight was to put Company M in another church in the Tondo district, just outside of Manila. 8

Although a handful of Americans got their chance at some limited skirmishing, those stuck on patrol were too far away from the action and were extremely upset over
having to stay put. Not being strict regular army, many of these volunteers still went to the
front by taking what they called, "French leave." With gun and ammunition belts these
soldiers wanted to fight, but knew all too well that they had to be back at camp for both roll
call and retreat, or suffer the consequences.

As Martin Tew would later write about this incident, on February 5, "...Minnesota
men were in every regiment and participated in every charge that was made. Some
companies found it necessary to place guards at the doors to prevent members from making
their escape." This was not all that effective since many of the men still escaped through
windows and passage-ways to join in the fighting. 9

Having been informed that Minnesotans were shirking their duty to go to the front,
Colonel Ames issued an order instructing the arrest of all Minnesota men found on the
firing line. Those who were found were to be arrested, court-martialed, and fined. 10

Once the order came down it was up to men such as St. Cloud's 1st Sergeant Iver
Ingebretson to go out and get his men. In a letter home he explained, "In the Kansas
lines I picked up about 40 Minnesota men who were out there without permission-the
majority of them from Company M...." Instead of scolding them and marching them back
to camp, however, Ingebretson, with orders from a Kansas Captain, formed these men into
a company and marched them into the line. With the Kansans leading the charge, this
rogue bunch of warriors joined in. This impromptu action by the men from Co. M came
with the penalty of two of their own receiving wounds in the battle. 11

Behavior like this, to the consternation of the officers, won cheers from the other
enlisted men. As John Bowe wrote, "These soldiers...when they fought without their
officers and without orders they were court-martialed. The better the company, the more
men in disgrace. One day Co. H had thirty-five lined up in column of fours, and marched
up to the summary court to be dealt with by the officers." 12
Ingebretson, who escaped charges, wrote that Col. Ames brought charges on those who were AWOL. Of these "[N]ineteen of the boys from the St. Cloud company went through the ordeal. Another company in the regiment had forty-six cases." In all, some 150 men were tried for leaving their posts. Fortunately for those who were tried, the judge was extremely lenient since they showed more courage than disobedience to orders. 13

In the battle on February 4 and 5, the Filipinos suffered anywhere from 500 to 5,000 casualties, while the Americans only lost 59 killed and 278 wounded. While both sides were caught unprepared for this battle, it would be the Filipinos who found themselves reeling over the loss. They quickly understood that they had terribly underestimated the fighting qualities of the Americans. 14

What the volunteers had hoped for had finally happened, they were going to get their war with the Filipinos. As Carl Stone said in a letter written three days after the battle; "[A]s you must know by this time the ins[urgents] have at last opened the ball. Last Saturday they began firing on our out posts and for the next twenty four hours there was a steady roll of musketry punctuated by an occasional shot from the ships...." He went on to say that he hoped they could get out and fight too, but General Hughes told them that they were too valuable as Provost Guard. Hughes argued that if any other regiment took their place there would be civil unrest in Manila. Stone concluded that neither he nor most of the men believed what the General said "but we have to stay just the same." 15

Sergeant Ingebretson, who had escaped the court-martial process, saw this fighting from a different angle. As he put it in a letter published in the St. Cloud Times, "I suppose that this trouble will delay our coming home...." The only way this fighting was not going to delay his homecoming to St. Cloud would have been if the commanders of both armies could have worked something out. The initiative to do this fell into the hands of Aguinaldo. 16
Sending Judge Florentino Torres of Manila to make peace overtures to the Americans, Aguinaldo hoped to put an end to the fighting, especially since he had seen the carnage left by the Americans. On Sunday evening February 5, Torres was received by General Otis at his Headquarters. Torres tried to explain to Otis and his staff that the fighting had started accidentally and that Aguinaldo was willing to end it. The Filipinos believed an armistice, along with the establishment of a neutral zone between the two armies while peace negotiations were being negotiated, would be beneficial.

Among General Otis' staff that day was Minnesota's General Reeve, who was given the duty of replying to the questions placed before the Americans. To these questions General Reeve, "sternly replied that the fighting having once begun must go on to the grim end." Tired of the constant verbal and physical fighting going on between the Filipinos and Americans on the front lines, and being assured that they could easily defeat their adversaries, Otis decided to push on with this war until its bitter end. This decision had ramifications not only for the soldiers who were in the islands then, but also for the thousands who would have to come later. 17

While bloody fighting was raging in the Philippines, thousands of miles away another fight was ensuing, but this time instead of bullets, rhetoric was used to make their point. In the halls of Congress, Senators were debating the controversial Peace Treaty that Senator Davis and the commission brought with them from Paris. The controversy swirled around the issue of what to do with the Philippines. A great many Americans began to argue that not only did they want the volunteers to be brought home, but that the United States should get out of the islands all together. McKinley and his administration had swung a deal with the Spaniards in which they paid $20 million to gain possession of the archipelago. Not wanting to look weak internationally, and trying to appease those in his party with imperialistic notions, under no circumstances was the President going to give up the Philippines.
As the debate heated up in the Senate early that February, it was not clear to anyone which way the voting would go until the battle between the Americans and the Filipinos broke out. Many Senators, refusing to look as if they were not backing up their soldiers, decided to vote with the President, thereby making America an official colonial power.

With a vote of 57 to 27 the treaty attained its necessary two-thirds majority vote, but only by one vote. 18

Back in the islands, news of the ratification had not yet arrived, but for those fighting the war it did not matter. When news leaked that a Kansas Regiment was about to make an ordered advance and drive the Filipinos back it found itself overrun with would be Minnesota mercenaries who wanted a piece of the action. Private Bowe later recalled; "[A]bout twenty of the Minnesota boys had heard of the contemplated movement, so when Co. C. [Kansas unit] lined up it was one of the largest companies in the Eighth Army Corp." Obviously the light fines that these soldiers were receiving were not enough to dissuade them from future actions. 19

After three more days of fighting the 13th's leadership found itself continually trying to round up its men. As Charles Flannigan, Co. I Musician, calculated in a letter dated February 8, 1899; "[A]bout 750 of our boys are waiting court-martial [sic] for running to the front and leaving their company but they won't do anything because they would have to court-martial [sic] the whole regiment." These men were safe as long as nothing happened in the city of Manila while they were out on their little adventures. 20

On February 9 this fear was given more credibility when a document from General Antonio Luna, of Aguinaldo's staff, was discovered and brought to the attention of the Provost Marshal of Manila. This document described how those Filipinos in Manila, who supported Aguinaldo and his cause against the Americans (known as the Sandatahan), were to help in overthrowing the Americans.
The plan was that once an attack commenced from outside the city, those loyal Filipinos inside Manila were to start an uprising. More specifically they were to "...liberate all prisoners, arming them in the most practical manner." Also, "Filipino servants were to burn American masters' homes." Those loyal to the cause were also instructed to spare all Filipinos, "with the exception of those who have been pointed out as traitors." Anyone who was not of Filipino descent was to be exterminated. 21

This specific information helped the American military prepare for this attack, even though not knowing its exact date. Having literally stumbled across this document on February 9, the volunteers did not have too long to wait until the Filipinos acted upon these orders.

At 8:00 p.m. on the night of February 22, a fire was spotted in the Santa Cruz district of Manila. Prepared for just such an emergency, the Manila fire department and members of Company L went immediately to help put it out. Once there they quickly discovered two things. The first was that considering the materials the Filipinos used to build their homes, such as bamboo, these houses went up in flames quickly and the fire could spread with the slightest breeze. Unfortunately for those trying to put out the fires that night there was a hefty wind to help push the fire onward.

The second thing that these firefighters discovered was that these fires were the work of Filipino arsonist. What the Minnesotans could not figure out was why they would want to torch their own homes? Three hours after the fire broke out, the fire department and the men of the 13th had it well under control with no help from the local Filipinos who were either getting in the way of the Americans, or were actually trying to cut the water hoses. The latter scenario usually earned the Filipino an arrest, or a cracked skull from the butt of a rifle. 22

Why the Filipinos had set their homes on fire was becoming painfully clear to the rest of the 13th, for they quickly discovered that Manila was under attack. When taps was
played that night Tondo, Manila's most northern suburb, was as quiet as a country village, but shortly after midnight, much like Santa Cruz, fire sprang up in at least a dozen different places. The fire department was again called upon to put out the fires, but this time Filipinos began to shoot at the Americans.  

Major Francisco Roman, his Philippine troops numbering 500, had made their way around MacArthur's lines in the north, through the swampy waters and mudflats, and then infiltrated into the city and barricaded themselves in Tondo. When the fires began, Roman's troops sprang up from the barricades and began attacking the American soldiers. Unfortunately for Companies C and M it, was their post in Tondo which met the brunt of this attack. When the word came that the city was under siege Captain Noyes Robinson of Company C ordered First Lieutenant John Snow to keep 19 men to protect the barracks, while the rest went into the dark streets of Tondo to meet their adversaries. Ordering his men out the front gate in double time Robinson attempted to rush these men to the hot spots and repulse the Filipinos. For Company C, though, the hot spot would be right in front of them, for as soon as a handful of men stepped outside the gate they were met with a hot fire from Filipinos waiting in ambush.

With a Remington bullet tearing his upper lip, Captain Robinson was still able to order his men to take a defensive position. After a few more minutes of firing at each other, Company C was finally able to push their enemy away from their barracks, giving them time to regroup before they headed toward the fires. Although no one was killed, the St. Paul men did suffer a handful of wounded in this engagement, some lightly while others were more serious.

With their first goal of capturing the Tondo police station a failure the Filipinos next turned their attention to their next objective, the Tondo Cathedral, which was also used as a police station. With the Minnesotans out fighting fires Aguinaldo's men captured the church without any incident. Here, using better protection, they were able to hold their
ground against the Minnesotans inside until the early hours of February 23, then help from the Kansas Regiment arrived. The Minnesotans and Kansans then began chasing the Filipinos down the Caloocan Road. After fleeing for a few minutes the Filipinos finally stopped and made a gallant last stand until they were finally overcome by the volunteers. The entire battle cost the Filipinos dearly, for over one hundred surrendered and 70 more were found dead. 25

With one police station saved, another under attack and the city in flames, the Americans decided to culminate their effort and drive those Filipinos who still remained in the city. With two companies from the 1st Oregon in assistance, Captain Robinson, still smarting from his earlier wound, and Captain James McKelvy of Company M, formed a skirmish line with their left flank ending on the beach. In this long line, the Americans slowly advanced toward the northern suburbs, shooting at any flash from the Filipinos Mauser or Remington rifles which they encountered. Once fired upon the units held up, poured a deadly accurate fire into the Filipinos lines, by now divided into small bands, then continued to move forward. To add to the excitement, both sides had to fight each other while the city of Tondo was burning around them. Slowly advancing and hiding behind stone barricades Companies C and M, along with the men from the 1st Oregon, were able to flush the Filipinos out of their positions, thereby making easy targets of those running away. 26

While the general push against the Filipinos was taking place, the 19 men of Company C under Lieutenant Snow found their barracks again under siege. With only a handful of men, Lieutenant Snow was still able to repulse the attack of over 100 Filipinos. After a hot fire fight, the 19 men of Company C went into the courtyard and discovered their action had inflicted much damage on their attackers. 27

Still trying to defend the city against invasion, the 13th Minnesota Volunteers were unable to assist in putting out the fires which had engulfed much of Tondo. Now knowing
the Filipino's strategy and why they had cut the hoses in Santa Cruz, the Americans quickly changed from just trying to disperse those who bothered them, to shooting anyone interfering with the work of the fire department. With this new tactic at least this problem the volunteers were having quickly disappeared.

With the fires almost out in Santa Cruz and the battle still raging in Tondo, the rest of the 13th found themselves on edge waiting to see what would happen next. By 2:30 a.m. on February 23, that mystery was solved. Company D, stationed in the district of Binondo, Manila's principal business district, soon found their area under attack from Aguinaldo's men.

Binondo, not only being a primary business area, also had large numbers of army supplies stored there, therefore making it a more strategic place to defend. With word of the new fires, those who had been working in Santa Cruz quickly dropped their rescue effort and moved to the more important site of Binondo. Again, the Americans found themselves fighting both a fire and the Filipinos, who were shooting at them from rooftops and alleyways. By 7:00 a.m. on the morning of February 23, the Americans, had the fire and Filipinos both under control. 28

With the efforts of Roman's forces to advance into Binondo thwarted all of the 13th was given a quick rest before six companies were sent to drive what was left of his forces out of the northern suburbs of Manila. Having had the whole night to prepare, most Filipinos were well dug in. With time to prepare Aguinaldo's troops built line after line of barricades early in the morning of February 23. It took the Americans all day to clear the Filipinos out of their positions. Sadly, most Filipinos who stayed and fought were caught in a hopeless situation and were killed because they refused to surrender. 29

With the battle in Santa Cruz completely under control and mopping up taking place in Tondo and Binondo, the six Minnesota companies which had earlier formed a line to push the Filipinos out of Tondo now had the Filipinos on the outskirts of the city at the
Tondo bridge. Knowing that their attack was completely falling apart, the Filipinos decided to stiffen their resolve and make a stand. Two hundred and fifty of Aguinaldo's army had built five trenches across the road and taken possession of the bridge during the night (thereby cutting the line of communication with MacArthur's forces in the front) and were now ready to meet the Americans head on.

When the two forces met they both encountered some of the heaviest fighting this war had seen. Having dug in and making one last effort to halt the Americans, the Filipinos put up a stubborn resistance, but in the end had to give up their positions to larger numbers and superior shooting ability. Much like the rest of the previous two day's battle, the engagement was costly for the Filipinos who lost another 20 men killed and wounded, whereas the Americans had only seven wounded-six privates and again Minnesota's Captain Noyes Robinson.

Although in the end not as fierce of a battle as the volunteers would later recall it did help conclude the most serious battle that the Americans and Filipinos had to date. It was with that desire to be remembered for their heroism that caused a number of Minnesotans to write home letters often exaggerating how many of the battles were often fought.

With the Filipinos finally expelled from the northern suburbs, and Manila safe again, it was time for the Americans to look around and see what was left. While much of Santa Cruz has been saved, both Binondo and Tondo were different stories. Binondo lost approximately six to seven hundred residential homes and businesses to the fire. Hundreds of homeless natives amassed in the streets, making patrolling the city that much harder. In Tondo for Lieutenant Snow and his small band of defenders saving both Company C's barracks and the massive Tondo Church, but little else survived. With much of Manila's northern suburbs laid to waste, the plans of the Filipinos also rested in ashes. Aguinaldo hoped for a larger uprising and less American accuracy with their guns, but within 24
hours his plans to expel the Americans from the islands, much like the city of Tondo, lay in ruins.  

General Antonio Luna's plan to take a group of 500 Filipino soldiers and push the Americans out to sea failed, but his message that he and his people would fight to the end for their freedom was a point well made to the Americans. It was for this reason and this reason alone that Luna chose February 22, Washington's Birthday, as the day to launch his attack. He wanted the Americans to know that just like their hero George Washington, his people too were fighting for the freedom from a new and oppressive colonial power.  

With 150 Filipinos dead and many more captured, the battle was a rout. Especially when compared to the casualty list of the 13th Minnesota Volunteers who were in the heat of the battle. Having only 12 wounded in the regiment which saw the most fighting, the Americans viewed this battle as not only a complete victory, but they also felt it was a tell-tale sign of what future battles with the Filipinos would be like.

While military commanders were calling it an out and out victory, many in the media saw it in a completely different light. In an article a day after the fighting had occurred, the St. Paul Pioneer Press, referring to one of St. Paul's units, argued that the "Thirteenth Minnesota fared badly yesterday and the preceding day at the hands of the insurgent sharpshooters in the suburbs of Tondo and Binondo...." Going on to give the names of the wounded, the Pioneer Press did not paint a rosy picture of what was happening in the Philippines. Articles like this one began to persuade the people back in Minnesota that it was time to bring the 13th home, before any more unnecessary deaths or injuries occurred in what many viewed as a senseless war.

Newspaper reports like this one, the frequent stories of deaths from tropical illnesses, and soldiers requesting to come home led the Minnesota Volunteer Auxiliary Association in March to insist that the Thirteenth Regiment be brought home from Manila at
once. They forwarded their request to Senator Davis who personally brought it to the War Department.

Even though the folks at home wanted the 13th Minnesota brought back, this was not necessarily the attitude of those doing the fighting. Having spent months doing nothing, they were now finally where they wanted to be, right in the thick of things. They were also beginning to feel that they could easily beat the Filipinos, since the Minnesotans had not been so far impressed with their fighting or shooting ability.

In an article in the *Minneapolis Tribune* dated March 12, 1899, these sentiments were spelled out. "As a matter of fact, there are a large number of the Minnesota men who want to stay in the Philippines until a great victory is won and Aguinaldo either surrenders or is captured. Letters from Major Bean, Colonel Ames and others...say that it is the wish of the Thirteenth regiment to stay with Otis and Dewey until the Philippine Campaign ends." This, of course, was based on the preconceived notion that it would be a rather quick war. 34

Two other members of the 13th Minnesota wrote home about this same time expressing similar feelings. Chaplain Cressy, knowing the war was far from over, wrote his wife saying, "[T]he hardest part of the fighting with these Insurgents is to come yet—but there can be only one issue: they will be routed, defeated, and the U.S. will be on top." 35

This belief that it would just take a matter of time before Aguinaldo and his men were defeated was backed up by Red Wing's Ed Neill. In a letter home discussing how boredom had once again found the 13th Volunteers after the attack on Tondo, he told his parents that in the distance he and the rest of Company G could hear the distant sounds of battle. With memories of Civil War stories running through his head Neill explained to his parents that whenever any disturbance like that arises, the "boys came out [of their tents] hoping that something has occurred to give them their longed for chance to distinguish themselves." 36
Even with the battle of Manila and the recent attacks on the northern suburbs, not every soldier from Minnesota felt that they had completely vanquished the memories of the Civil War veterans and attained the necessary amounts of glory for themselves or their units. Believing that the Filipinos were naturally inferior to them both physically and militarily, most of the Minnesotans, having spent months in the islands, still wanted to stay and gain unquestionable glory before going back to their simple lives.

With a war which broke out as a result of built up tensions on both sides, and a powder keg exploding over what was actually a minor incident, those Minnesotans who longed for glory still had a chance to obtain some before they left for home. Although they felt ready to begin fighting again, they soon discovered that this second war in the islands would be drastically different than the one they signed up for a year earlier. The patriotic feelings they had felt back in Minnesota in the spring of 1898 were now changing as rapidly as the policies which were coming out of Washington. The same policies which took them from an army of liberation were now slowly beginning to change them into an army of conquest.

2 Ibid., 58. This information was only cited in this book and never mentioned by anyone from the 13th Minnesota Volunteers or their historians.
6 Minneapolis Tribune, April 7, 1899, p. 3.
7 Miller, Benevolent Assimilation, 67.
10 Minneapolis Tribune, April 7, 1899, p. 3.
11 St. Cloud Times, March 29, 1899, p. 3.
12 John Bowe, With the 13th Minnesota (Minneapolis: A.B. Franham Printing and Stationary Co., 1905), 85.
13 St. Cloud Times, April 12, 1899, p. 6.
16 St. Cloud Times, March 29, 1899, p. 3.
19 Bowe, With the 13th Minnesota, 86.
23 Hiram David Frankel, Company C', First Infantry Minnesota National Guard: Its History and Development (Brown, Treacy and Speary, Co.), 40.
28 Sexton, Soldiers in the Sun, 101.
29 Ibid., 101.
35 Minneapolis Tribune, March 12, 1899, p. 1.
36 Red Wing Republican, April 1, 1899, p. 8.
Chapter VII

"...THE REBELLION IS ANYWHERE NEAR PUT DOWN"

American military strategists of the day viewed warfare differently than many of their European counterparts, especially the Spanish. Building a series of trenches and blockhouses, surrounding Manila, Spanish military leaders believed defensive measures were a much safer and wiser tactic to fight the Filipinos, than offensive maneuvers. Since many of America's military leaders had fought in the Civil War and Cavalry-Indian Wars, they argued that only an offensive campaign would end the current war with the Filipinos.

While sitting in Manila watching the Filipinos attack his complacent troops, General Otis decided that they would not stay on the defensive as had the Spaniards, but rather he wanted to take the war to the "Insurgents," destroying what he believed to be a weak and small band of Filipinos hiding out in the countryside. To do this the General had once again to call on his volunteers since the Regular army had yet arrived to replace these citizen-soldiers.

Nearly four weeks had gone by since the Minnesotans found themselves defending the city of Manila from General Luna's attack. By that time, their monotonous routine redeveloped, compounded with the knowledge that units from other states were fighting at the front. For the 13th, just like back at Camp Merritt, they believed that less worthy units were again gaining the glory which they felt belonged to them and them alone.

Just as morale was hitting an all time low, the Minnesotans were saved for on March 17, 1899, word came down from the brass that they were to be ordered out of the city and into the field. As Pvt. John Bowe wrote in his diary on that same day, this news
was cause for an additional celebration. "Today we had a double celebration. The boys were celebrating the 17th of Ireland when Maj. Diggles came along and said we had been relieved from police duty and were to go to the front." Bowe went on to say that "pandemonium broke loose" and all the boys, the Irish contingent and "all the rest of the Norwegians, Swedes, and Dutchmen" celebrated in one boisterous party. For many who had not been in serious action before, it would be now or never for them to do something gallant-to prove their bravery-to themselves, their regiment, and their state. ¹

Before they left on this great adventure, General Otis reorganized his divisions. This revamping of the VIII Army Corp put the 13th again under the command of General MacArthur and moved new units away from the city to protect other strategic interests. There they were suppose to keep the enemy occupied, not allowing them to either rest or mount an attack on Manila. ²

On March 18, the 13th was relieved of its policing duty by the 20th Regulars and ordered to camp out on the Luneta. With their role as Provost Guard over, and after having spent the last seven months in and around Manila, the 13th found they had made a good many friends. When it came time to leave "[S]hops, and windows in private residences were closed as an evidence of the people's grief at the departure of the volunteers who...had protected their persons and their homes." ³

After two days of camping on the Luneta, the Regiment was finally ordered to march due East toward the water pumping station. This was considered a strategic position since the Filipinos had cut off the water supply here during their siege of Manila. The Americans, afraid that they might try it again, sent the 13th to protect it. Although picket duty around the pumping station was by no means a pleasure, for most Minnesotans it was still better than policing the city.

Otis' plan to leave Manila and press the fighting toward the Filipinos led many to believe that the war would soon end. In his letter of March 21, Lewis Burlingham
commented that, "I don't think this war will last very long as the Americans are pushing the
nigers 4 further back all the time and are capturing them by the hundreds and they are also
surrendering themselves quietly for want of food." Since the fighting had commenced on
February 4, the Americans had only seen the Filipinos defeated in battle after battle.
Although the war was only in its earliest stages, it would have been easy to see why many
of the volunteers felt they could quickly end this war and go home. 5

Not only a commentary on how Burlingham perceived the situation, this letter also
shows how many Minnesotans also had started to view the Filipinos. With a complete lack
of understanding of the local culture, and with life inside the city dragging on, many
members of the 13th showed some signs of disrespect toward certain Filipinos. Once the
Minnesotans got out into the field, however, and had to face the Filipinos continuously in
battle, this disrespect slowly turned into a pure hatred of, Aguinaldo's men at first, and
then the population at large.

The 3rd Battalion was stationed directly at the reservoir, the 2nd was posted along
the Mariquina road which ran from the city to the pumping station, and the 1st Battalion
was to take the Santalan road between the reservoir and the pumping station. After
suffering through numerous Filipino-American skirmishes along these lines, the American
leadership decided to follow Otis' orders and take the war to the Filipinos. 6

At 3:00 a.m. on the morning of March 25 the entire regiment was ordered to move
into positions along the Mariquina road. With reports that Aguinaldo's troops being
nearby, the 13th received orders to "execute a flank movement on the extreme right of
General MacArthur's division." The 13th had planned on a long day's fight for as reported
by Ed Neill in the Red Wing Republican, "[O]nce in line, forty additional rounds were
issued and a day's ration of corned beef and hard tack, making 150 rounds we carried into
battle." Neill went on to explain what transpired between then and the firing of the first
shot:
Figure 4. Manila Bay and Region of Fighting.
"For an hour we marched down toward the mountains, in column of squads, sometimes halting and often stopping for a few seconds only. After advancing for several hundred yards through the cane brakes and rice fields and crossing a rocky and torturous stream suddenly there was the sharp spit of a Mauser and through the bamboo brake came a ball tearing everything in its way. Then all along the front spurted the little tongues of fire and battle was on."

At 5:15 after only proceeding approximately 300 yards the entire regiment encountered heavy fire from entrenched Filipinos.

In the darkness of early morning, the Minnesotans could only locate where the Filipinos were hiding once they fired, for the Mausers that they were using showed "lightning-sparks" that gave away their positions. By 5:30 a.m., while still marching through the jungle in a nearly straight line, the Americans closed in on the Filipinos. With firing from the invisible Filipinos increasing, the Minnesotans began to advance more rapidly. In order to try and overcome their enemy, the Volunteers, at every 150-200 yards, would stop, drop to the ground on their bellies, fire three quick rounds, get up and again rush forward toward their objective.

After a few minutes the Americans were able to deduce that most of the Filipinos were on a ridge firing down from this advantageous position. Rapidly advancing, the 13th was able to finally reach the base of the ridge. Still intact and suffering from serious fatigue from their jungle sprint, the 13th Volunteers mustered the last of their strength and rushed up the hill. Surprised by such a rapid attack, the Filipinos withdrew from their positions. They then found themselves shot at by the volunteers who did not give up the chase until every entrenchment was deserted.

With the main attack clearing out the protected ridge, the Minnesotans pursued the Filipinos for another mile or two toward the north. Unable to catch up to Aguinaldo's men who could run through the jungle easier than the Americans, they halted and awaited
orders. That night, while camping where they had stopped, the 1st Battalion was attacked by a regrouped and even larger force of Filipinos, who were determined to turn the right of the American line, anchored by the 13th. This battle was waged for a little more than a half an hour and was hotly contested on both sides, but with the Minnesotans having been entrenched and refusing to give any ground, resulted in the Filipinos again being repelled. ¹⁰

Having pushed Aquinaldo's troops farther into the interior, the Americans left their conquered ground to re-establish themselves at the posts they had held before the battle at Mariquina road. The 13th, without the services of 12 members who were wounded during the battle, were again back doing the all too familiar guard duty.

With little or no fear of another attack against the pumping station, the 13th Minnesota was ordered on March 28 to march back from their positions into the city of Manila. From there they were to head north toward the town of Caloocan. This march was torturous for the volunteers.

What made this journey so brutal was the fact that the Americans were not prepared for what they had to encounter. First, it was to turn out to be a 15-mile hike made in heavy marching order between seven and eleven at night. Secondly, these soldiers from the North Star State were to quickly discover that just because a Filipino map said a road existed, it did not necessarily mean it was the same kind of road which they might find back in Minnesota. Most of the march north out of Manila was to follow a Philippine "road" covered with thickets of tropical growth, and which barely could have permitted Filipinos to move carts hauled by water buffalo, let alone a full division of American troops. ¹¹

After a long and tiresome trip the men set up camp in the church plaza of Caloocan. Since the commissary stores had not yet arrived, many members of the individual companies were given the duty to forage for food. For the next two days the Minnesotan's would dine "...on chicken and such other provisions as the country yielded." ²²
With barely any rest, the 13th was again ordered north, but this time they were given a break. With a railroad line running from Caloocan to their final destination of Marilao, the Minnesotans were given the opportunity to hop onto flatcars headed that way. Once in Marilao, the 13th was to join up with Brigadier General Lloyd Wheaton's 3rd Brigade, of the 1st Division.

MacArthur's troops were removed from east of Manila to the north to capture the city of Malalos. Malalos was seen as a key objective because it had been reported to be Aguinaldo's new capital. Besides the symbolism of destroying the Filipinos' capital, Malalos also had become a war depot and contained a large quantity of rifles and ammunition. Having sent out scouting parties and interrogating Filipino soldiers captured in earlier battles, America's leadership was almost positive they were on to something.

Otis believed "that with the capture of the enemy capital and the scattering of its political functionaries, Aguinaldo would see the hopelessness of opposition and the rebellion would be over." Otis, still fighting the Civil War, believed that with one mighty swoop this war would be over and the Americans could go home. Although this strategy had worked in America's past, it was not in the plans for Aguinaldo or his followers.

These elaborate plans to encircle Aguinaldo and bring the war to a rapid conclusion, quickly fell apart. With three brigades marching on Malalos, the victory was expected to be swift. Unfortunately for the Americans, their pincers movement failed due to Philippine geography. General Hale's brigade on the left had to travel, much like the 13th, on a road which was supposed to be there but was covered with tropical growth. This drastically slow advance left an escape route through which the Filipinos fled.

With their advance into Malalos uninterrupted, and the Filipinos fleeing before them, the Americans were able to capture the city with few incidents or injuries. Although it did not conclude the war, Otis counted it as an American victory. As the rest of the American's columns advanced on the city, other troops, including the 13th Minnesota,
were called upon to return to their picket duty and guard both the conquered territory and the railroad line which traveled through that area.

Constantly on the run from a very large contingency of American soldiers, the Filipinos were also running into the problem of running low on ammunition and disorder within the ranks. Fearing that things might only get worse, Aguinaldo, in early April, requested a truce from General Otis. This he hoped would give him and his men the necessary time to reorganize and to re-stock the supplies so desperately needed. Not wanting to deal with the Filipinos, especially since he had them on the run, Otis refused this armistice and pushed the war on. 17

Meanwhile the 13th was ordered to guard the railroad track and bridges for a distance of nearly 10 miles and patrol the countryside from one to three miles on either side of the tracks. The companies were dispersed as follows. Company D, first bridge just past Marilao; Company C, Santa Maria and railroad bridge; Company E, Bigaa and railroad bridge; Companies K, G, L and M, village of Bigaa and Companies A, B, F, I, and H, the vicinity of Guiguinto. 18

With their troops taking the war to the Filipinos, the sentiment of many Americans continued to believe that the war would soon be over. As reported in the Minneapolis Tribune, "[M]ost of the Americans are becoming convinced that the backbone of the insurgent opposition is broken. There are numerous rumors pointing to an early collapse of the insurrection." With the Filipino's unable to mount a serious attack, and always looking as if they were running from the Americans, it was believed that they did not have the military might needed to defeat the United States. 19

For all the Americans' wishful thinking, many Spaniards who had for years fought the Filipinos, saw the war in a different light. Another article from the Minneapolis Tribune said:
"[T]he Spaniards, reasoning from their experience of the natives, refused to believe that the rebellion is anywhere near put down. On the contrary, the Spaniards predicted that the insurgents would hover near the American lines, bothering them as much as possible, and when attacked in force dissolve, only to reappear at other points.

This sort of tactic—the Spaniards say—will be followed until the wet season compels the Americans to be housed in barracks and then the Filipinos will return and re-occupy such towns as the United States troops did not garrison."

The author of this article laughed at this, since the Spaniards, who could never beat the Filipinos, did not have the military might of United States, therefore, he believed, the Americans would not make the same mistakes the Spaniards had. Before long, however, it would be the Spaniards who were laughing, for the Americans would make the exact same mistakes Spain had.

While newspapers back home were debating when the war would be over, the men of the 13th did not have the time to join in such arguments. With a large force of Americans encamped in Malalos, the role of the 13th became vital to their survival. The only way to get supplies to this expedition, and for it to retreat back to Manila if necessary, was to follow this narrow corridor the Americans had blazed with their advance toward the north. The same stretch of land given to the 13th to guard. Aquinaldo and his men also recognized that this was an extremely important stretch of land. Feeling they could quickly turn the tables on the Americans, on April 10 Aguinaldo attacked.

With the 13th Regiment spread thinly over a 10-mile stretch, their outpost duty became perilous. In order to keep contact with the other companies, and to keep an eye out for Filipinos, every night four privates and a Corporal from each company would leave camp. Traveling between 500 to 1000 yards toward the enemy, they would then take up a position for the night in the underbrush, where they remained until daybreak. If trouble
were to start, this small group would be trapped, for they could not escape, nor could anyone get to them in time to ward off an attack.

The *St. Paul Pioneer Press* was able to capture the significance of the 13th's duty in an article discussing their situation along these railroad tracks. The article explained that the men of the 13th die their guard duty "[W]ith the knowledge that the loss of the railroad meant the stranding of the whole army in and about Malalos, cutting it off from the base of supplies...." 21

In an attempt to both severe the expedition from its base of supplies in Manila, and to surround the Americans at Malalos, a large group of Filipinos, personally led by Aguinaldo, decided to attack the railroad lines. Starting at 11:30 p.m., the primary object of the Filipinos was to destroy the bridge at Bocaue. Company C found itself in some of the heaviest fighting of the war, since the duty of guarding this bridge was theirs. 22

With a concerted attack all along the Minnesota's line, Company C, being only 12 miles from the Filipino army's headquarters, were the first to be assaulted. With Filipinos swarming toward them in the pitch black night, the Minnesotans were able to protect themselves by entrenching themselves behind the railroad. They soon discovered that they needed this excellent position since they were under a heavy fire for several hours. Knowing they themselves could not thwart the Filipinos advance, Lieutenant Snow, Company C, called for reinforcements from the Oregon men stationed not far off. 23

The Oregonians showed up with 40 men under a lieutenant, which helped, but did not immediately change the flow of this battle. Shooting from "an old white house" which had an excellent view of the camp, the Filipinos were able to pour a hot fire into Company C. Being pinned down by the storm of bullets, Lieutenant Snow ordered his men to slowly retreat back to their base camp, where they could wait until more help arrived. 24
The help so desperately needed finally came in the form of Company E, which had been stationed just to the north of Company C on the tracks. Captain Spear, along with 25 men, was able to save the day. With their arrival the two Minnesota companies along with the two from Oregon were able to protect the bridge from being destroyed and to drive the Filipinos back.  

While the attack on Company C was still raging, a half mile down the track another fight was developing. Company D, stationed the farthest away from the rest of the regiment, and in an area not clearly visible by the rest, also found itself under heavy attack from a large force of Filipinos. Caught completely off guard, Company D was not able to defend its position on the tracks and had to retreat.

With the city of Malalos under attack and Company C also besieged, Company D, the furthest down the tracks, could not rely on anyone to come and save them as Company C had. Captain Metz's men had to try to withstand an onslaught of Filipinos who attacked them "shooting, yelling, blowing blood-curdling bugles and sending rockets into the air," as they assaulted Company D's position.

Knowing he was outnumbered, Captain Metz began to rotate his company in a way which he hoped would make the invaders think they were going up against a much larger battalion. Not completely falling for this trick, many of the Filipinos actually made it directly into Company D's camp where they quickly began to scavenge through the Americans' equipment trying to find usable materiel. Believing that the situation was desperate, Lieutenant Charles N. Clark, and 15 men from Company F, the only troops able to come to Company D's aid in one of those moments reminiscent of the Civil War days, made a gallant charge back into the camp, killing or chasing off the Filipinos.  

With Company F's help, Company D pushed the Filipinos out and regained its lost territory. Upon re-entering their entrenchments, Company D was forced to hold on and continue to fight the Filipinos through the night. Having fought all night, the exhausted
men were not given the chance to rest, for as soon as the sun broke over the Philippine jungle, both Companies C and D took the offensive and began to push the Filipinos back.

While Companies D and C were fighting for their lives early that morning of April 11, they sent word to General Wheaton asking for assistance in driving the Filipinos back. Knowing the situation was a desperate one, at 3:45 a.m., General Wheaton, on foot, left his command post and started toward the fight. He took with him a detachment of 25 men of the 4th Cavalry (dismounted) under the command of Lt. Charles Boyd. Realizing this would not be enough to decide the battle, Wheaton stopped along his way to gather more help. 27

When he neared Malalos around 4:00 a.m., Wheaton took immediate command of the situation. While hiking down the railroad line he first encountered Companies A, B, H, and I of the 13th Minnesota Volunteers. He ordered this battalion to take up Company C's position down the railroad. He then told Companies F and B to head as fast as humanly possible, not in the direction of Company D, but instead toward the village of Guiguinto. Although what must have seemed as an odd order to the men was actually a brilliant tactical move by the General. For Wheaton knew that what was in Guiguinto would give the advantage back to the Americans faster than just sending these troops to the aid of Companies C and D. 28

Surviving an ambush just outside the village the men of Company F and B got into the village and quickly found what Wheaton valued so much. There on the railroad tracks was a train with an armored car which had mounted gatling guns hooked on to it. Finding the train, the company commanders gave the engineer Wheaton's orders to head down the tracks. Both companies helped fire up the engines as fast as possible, for having fought most of the night, they knew that the Filipinos, although pushed back, had not completely lost the initiative early that April 11 morning and were not about to break off this important fight.
The train, with its Minnesota escort riding on the cars, began heading south on the tracks. After a few tense moments it finally pulled into full view of the Filipinos. The Filipinos, having attacked numerous other supply trains, believed it was a harmless ammunition car and decided to leave their positions and attack the train. Aguinaldo’s men felt that by destroying the Americans’ supplies they could regain the momentum of the battle. Shooting as they approached, the Filipinos noticed that the men on top of the train cars were not firing back. The reason for this was that the Minnesotans were under strict orders to wait until the Filipinos were at an extremely close range before the Gatling guns would be given a chance to start shooting.

Once the Americans felt they were close enough, the order came for them to open fire. The rifle fire of the Minnesotans was probably not necessary as the Gatlings on the armored car opened up, shooting Filipinos at close range with deadly accuracy. Retreating helter-skelter into the woods with what was left of their unit, the Filipinos tried to recuperate and regroup before deciding their next move. 29

While an extremely deadly battle for Aguinaldo and his men, the Americans, too, for the first time, also lost enough men for them to take notice. For the 13th they were to lose 2 killed with 12 wounded, some severely. In his end of the month report, Major Bean also reported that the Minnesotans had killed at least 40 "rebels." Many more had been killed and wounded but not counted in this total because the Filipinos usually tried to carry off most of their fallen comrades. 30

Though having the tactical advantages of surprise, knowing the territory, and vastly outnumbering the Americans, the Filipinos continued to lose battle after battle and had devastatingly large losses of men and supplies. For Aguinaldo’s army this would have to continue to be the story, not because the Filipino was less of a soldier, but more for technical reasons.
One reason the Filipinos lost so many battles was that they believed that the rear sights on their guns got in the way of their concentration on the front sight and, therefore, many of Aguinaldo's men mistakenly took them off. This helps explain why so many Minnesotans in their letters home mentioned bullets "whizzing" over their heads. Without back sights, many of the Filipinos' shots always went high.  

Secondly, the Filipinos had neither the guns, nor the ammunition, nor the time for target practice. Target shooting would have been an extreme waste of bullets, especially since many Filipinos went into battle with few bullets, and some even without a rifle. These rifleless warriors were ordered to carry their bolo knives into battle until a comrade was shot down, then pick up their gun and continue the fight.

With the Filipinos disorganized, defeated, and on the run, American commanders decided to again press on with the war and try to end it. Knowing the Filipinos were retreating toward the city of Santa Maria, General Wheaton ordered the 13th Minnesota and two Battalions of the Oregon Regiment, to attack. At 6:30 a.m. on April 12 this unit marched on Santa Maria. Tired and disorganized, the Filipinos knew that this was not the time to make a stand and fight so, instead, they retreated to the north and east with the Minnesotans hot on their heels for the next two miles.

With Aguinaldo's army routed out of this area, the Oregonians and Minnesotans began marching back through Santa Maria. When they reached the outskirts of this town they noticed it was in flames. It is still unknown whether the advancing Americans, the departing Filipinos, or just an accident of war started this blaze.

What was for certain, however, was the attitudes both sides started to formulate about each other. While Filipinos began to blame the Americans for burning villages and terrorizing innocent citizens, the Americans began to accuse all Filipinos of being treacherous. This belief was to be found in the ranks of the 13th Minnesota, due primarily to one incident.
A day after the battles for the railroad took place, Private Jesse Cole, Company F, went looking for food by himself. He was ordered to go and barter with the locals to get food, but not to steal it since that was against army regulations. When Cole did not return after a while, a handful of men were sent to look for him. After a few minutes of searching they came across Cole just 500 yards from the camp. As the *Pioneer Press* reported it, he was found, "...mutilated and dead, evidently murdered by the niggers." 34

The article went on to describe the situation from the soldiers' standpoint. "[W]e all knew him as a faithful, good, hard-working man. His condition is too horrible to describe, but suffice it to say that his throat was cut and a bloody hatchet found near him. The news brought forth some unpublishable remarks concerning the rebels, the 'amigos' and the island in general." 35

Cole's company mate, Corporal Myron Hingeley, an 18-year-old from Minneapolis, sent a letter home which was published in the *Minneapolis Tribune*. In it he recalled Cole's death this way. "Co. F and the whole 13th regiment was completely upset April 10 by the finding of the horribly mutilated body of Private Jesse Cole..." His discovered body was described as having had his skull "...crushed in by an ax, which lay partially under him, the jugular vein was severed and a number of knife wounds were found in the back." He went on to conclude that "[C]o. F is all wrought up over the affair, and will show no mercy to Filipinos who may come in contact with them." In a letter published the very next day Hingeley ominously wrote "[Y]ou ought to see the change in the company now." 36

With the death of Private Cole and the knowledge that they too could easily die in this far away land, many volunteers became frightened. Many, from this point on, began to turn their fears into outright hatred of all Filipinos. Rarely, after this incident, was there ever a distinction between a good Filipino and a bad one. In the eyes of the members of the 13th Minnesota they were all becoming "niggers."
This sentiment was heard for the first time back in Minnesota by Private John N. Roberts, who had returned earlier from the Philippines. Speaking to a crowd anxious to hear any stories about what was happening in the Pacific, Roberts laid it all on the line and boldly told his audience: "[O]ur boys are fighting more for revenge now than anything else. They want to get back at the niggers who have killed their friends and companions." Displaying the anger that many of the volunteers felt that spring, Roberts, in a plea which might have satisfied many of his comrades back in the jungle, stated that, [E]very member of the regiment wants to get home as soon as possible." 37

Even though the men at the front were beginning to complain about their situation, for many, especially those left behind, the real glory was to be found at the front. After a few weeks of policing Manila, the 13th's sick list hit a high of 133 enlisted men and 4 officers by the end of December. This stayed about the same until February when the fighting with the Filipinos began; then many found themselves well enough to fight. When the men were ordered to the front, this number dropped severely to a low of only 10 enlisted men and 3 officers. With the knowledge that there might be glory found in mounting an attack against the Filipinos, many of those who were "deathly ill" during policing, miraculously found a cure to what ailed them. 38

In a related item the Stillwater Gazette published a letter written home by Company C's Private Arthur Rank. Knowing about the debate going on back in Minnesota over whether the 13th should be returned or not, Rank, believed that "...the men were discontented...but it was not because they wanted to sail for home and leave their comrades to put down the insurrection; it was because they wanted to go out where they could do some fighting and share the glory of victory." (italics added) 39

By the end of April many of Aguinaldo's men wanted to have a truce with General Otis and the Americans. Fearing that they were just stalling in order to regroup and
reorganize, Otis refused this peace initiative and decided to continue to press the war on, hoping to crush the Filipinos before the rainy season.

Members of Minnesota's 13th had mixed emotions about what was transpiring. Having fought a couple of battles since the attack on the railroad, they, along with the other state volunteers, knew that they could defeat the Filipinos, simply because they were routing them in every battle. On the other hand, their lives were becoming miserable because of the constant fear of being ambushed, the jungle being miserably hot and hard to travel through, disease becoming rampant, food not always being plentiful and worst of all, they were beginning to see some men die.

Still, no matter what adversities they may have had to face, in the back of their minds many believed they had to stay and fight, if not for their country then just for the simple fact that they did not want to be seen as being cowards by the people back home. Many feared that leaving just as the war was getting started would label them as cowards and prove to many that the Civil War generation was actually a braver lot.

With this in mind, few, if any, were desirous of being returned home. For most were still looking for or wanted that elusive glory which might possibly be just around the corner in one great charge against the Filipinos. With Wheaton's campaign over, the 13th Minnesota was assigned to another campaign against the Filipinos. It was to be here, they assured themselves, that they would be able to prove themselves in battle and then go home as guaranteed heroes. Or so they thought.

1 John Bowe, *With the 13th Minnesota: In the Philippines* (Minneapolis: A.B. Franham Printing and Stationary Co., 1905), 94-95.
4 Lacking any new or original racial epitaphs the Western Volunteers took the one used to degrade African-Americans and used it on Filipinos that they did not like.
8 Tew, *Official History Of The Operation Of The 13th Minnesota Infantry*, 27.
9 Ibid., 27.
10 Ibid., 27.
16 Sexton, *Soldiers in the Sun*, 111.
25 Ibid., p. 3.
29 Ibid., p. 12.
32 Ibid., 68.
34 *St. Paul Pioneer Press*, May 20, 1899, p. 3.
35 Ibid., p. 3.
37 *Minneapolis Tribune*, June 20, 1899, p. 1.
Chapter VIII

"...THEY WERE A ROUGH LOOKING CROWD..."

What had started out as a great adventure for the Minnesotans slowly began to turn into an all-out war. Still wanting to gain the prestige of having fought gallantly in battle, the soldiers of the 13th were thrilled with the idea of pursuing the Filipinos into northern Luzon. After holding off the Filipinos charge against the railroad and doing their part in Wheaton's campaign, one would have thought that all their desires for glory would be quenched. While for a handful it was, a great majority were still looking for that one decisive battle which would both end the war, and put their names in the history books. At the end of April, 1899, they were to be given that chance, but what was to develop in a Luzon jungle was not what any of them expected.

After their tour of duty with Wheaton, the 13th Minnesota Volunteers were assigned to General Henry W. Lawton's "flying column." Of the entire regiment, only the 2nd Battalion; consisting of Companies K, L, M, and G under Captain Masterman; and the 3rd Battalion; made up of Companies C, D, E, and H under Captain C.T. Spear, was called into service. The First Battalion, made up of Companies A, B, F, and I were again assigned to guarding another railroad just outside Manila.

On April 22, the 2nd and 3rd Battalions, under the command of Major Arthur Diggles, were ordered to assemble at the Bocaue Bridge. Their orders would tell them which way they were to go, their objectives, and when they were to hook up with General Lawton.
Figure 5. Lawton's Northern Expedition.
Not only were the men excited about heading out with this column, but they would also be led by General Lawton. By this time most of the men had heard about Lawton, who at the age of 56 was seen as a bold, and sometimes reckless figure. Striking, at six feet tall, and with a commanding presence and field record, he was revered by almost every man who ever served under him. He had won the Congressional Medal of Honor in the Civil War, fought in the Indian Wars, and helped capture the legendary Geronimo. Finally, and most recently was his record in Cuba, where his victories there made him a hero.

Otis' plan to take the war to the Filipinos was to begin during the last week in April, 1899. Knowing that most of the rebellious Filipinos were concentrated north of Manila, he devised a plan to trap them where they lived. Planning a pincers movement he ordered General MacArthur and his division to move toward the Filipinos from the left, taking a northwest route to the city of San Isidro. Lawton and his division were given a northeast route to take and were supposed to meet with MacArthur a few days later and crush the Filipino army between them.

This campaign, the most serious American military movement in the islands, was supposed to accomplish two objectives. The first was to crush the main body of the Filipino army under the command of General Luna. In order to do this, the Americans would find themselves having to recapture the city of Malalos, since it was Otis' policy to not occupy captured territory. Secondly, they were to locate and destroy any supplies used by the "insurgents" in fighting the war.

Entering enemy territory, Lawton's "flying column" was to consist of lightly supplied units, which could easily move out at a moment's notice. Along with the 13th Minnesota, Lawton's Division also consisted of the 22nd Infantry, 1st North Dakota, one squadron of the 4th Cavalry (dismounted), two battalions of the 3rd Infantry, six mountain and two field guns from Battery D of the 6th Artillery, two battalions of the 2nd Oregon
Volunteers, and troops of the 4th Cavalry. All were to meet at the La Loma church just outside Manila, and from there head to the city of Bocaue on April 23.  

Lawton's "flying columns," whose objective was to move fast, "was equipped in the lightest possible marching order compatible with an expedition of the duration contemplated for this. Ten days' field rations were taken in carts drawn by carabao or water buffalo, as was also a reserve of 100 rounds per man of ammunition." While the supply train packed field rations for ten days, for the men, it was quite different. As Martin Tew later recalled; "[E]ach man carried 150 rounds of ammunition, a blanket, poncho, and a change of underclothing besides haversack, canteen, belt and rifle."  

This division of motley units now had a strength of 116 officers and 4,473 men. The brigade which the Minnesotans found themselves attached to was under the direct command of Colonel Summers of the 1st Oregon Volunteers. Not only did they take orders from an Oregonian, but they also found themselves doing much of their fighting along side these men from the west coast, just as they had at Tondo and the attack on the railroad. 

Even though Lawton knew he was taking the war to the Filipinos, he still fought under the belief that even war had rules which needed to be followed. Before his division departed he sent orders to the men regarding their behavior while under his command. He explained that in order to pacify the Philippines, "we should impress the inhabitants with the idea of our good intentions and destroy the idea that we are barbarians or anything of that sort." The men's conduct was not to impede what the U.S. policymakers were trying to accomplish, and these rules were enforced with infractions punished swiftly.  

At 5:15 a.m. on April 23, the command was started on road leading to the city of Norazagaray. Barely had they taken off on their march into the "unknown," and an extremely hot Philippine jungle when trouble arose. Less than five hours of traveling toward their first destination, the city of Norazagaray, they were encountered by armed
Filipinos. Coming under fire, Colonel Summers ordered the two Minnesota Battalions forward to assault and capture the village. Meeting little resistance from the fleeing Filipinos, Captain Masterman and his men occupied the city in a few hours.  

Camping there for the night the men of the 13th awoke the next morning to orders telling them that, under the command of Captain Spear, that afternoon the 3rd Battalion was to make a reconnaissance of the next village on the map, Angat. Nearing the village, Spear and the 3rd Battalion found themselves being fired upon by Aguinaldo's troops. With orders not to engage, Spear and his men broke off their reconnaissance mission and returned toward Norazagaray.  

With Spear and the 3rd Battalion on scouting duty, the 2nd Battalion found itself, while still encamped at Norazagaray, under attack from Filipinos. Having used the jungle to avoid discovery, the Filipinos, using a river as a buffer zone, began to rain a fire down upon the American's encampment. Company's K, L, and M were quickly deployed along the bank of the river to disburse the attackers. Because the Filipinos were well entrenched, this battle took the greater part of the day before it finally ended when the Minnesotans pushed their enemy back away from their base. While inflicting injury and death upon their attackers, no Minnesotans were hurt in this fight.  

With the return of the reconnaissance party later that afternoon, Spear immediately went to his commanders and reported his findings. Spear's reconnaissance report and the futile attack by the Filipinos that afternoon, led the Americans to believe they had a good idea of what the military situation would be like at Angat. The order to advance toward Angat on the morning of April 25 was given.  

The 3rd Battalion, Minnesota Volunteers, and one Battalion of the Oregon Volunteers were ordered at 5:50 a.m. on the morning of April 25, to take a fieldpiece and move southwest over a plateau that overlooked the village of Angat. There they were to be the eyes of the division which was on its way to the village. Once in position though, the
commanders of these volunteers, not seeing any opposition, decided to march on Angat themselves.

Their observation was correct, for upon entering the village, the Americans encountered no opposition. With no sign of danger, they traveled all the way through Angat, where on the other side of the village lay a river. Within a few yards of this river the Americans were surprised, for the Filipinos were hiding on the other side in ambush. From the rather steep banks of the river's opposite side, the Filipinos had found an excellent natural fortification, and began firing at the advancing Americans. The soldiers, having no protection, knelt and began to shoot at the white puffs of smoke left by the Filipinos' weapons. ¹¹

After an intense 40-minute fight, the Americans were able to force the Filipinos to retreat. With only one Minnesotan injured, the soldiers turned around and began heading back toward Angat. With these two battalions approaching from the east and the rest of the division heading west, both groups noticed that dense smoke was rising in the valley where Angat lay. The rest of the division who had just arrived, discovered that Angat had already been captured, occupied, and was already burning. This left the Minnesotans to wonder if the fire was started by their comrades, by accident, or fleeing Filipinos. ¹²

After their victory in Angat, the Minnesotans and Oregonians were ordered back to camp at Norazagaray. Since Lawton would not arrive until the next day, these orders came straight from Otis who insisted that every decision (even those that occurred after Lawton's arrival) be approved by him. This proved to be the worst mistake of this campaign and probably the war for the Americans. Otis' ego refused to allow even minute decisions to be made without his signature. His style of leadership clashed with the romantic and bold Lawton whose vigor and dynamism were a complete contrast to his precise, austere, and aloof superior officer. ¹³
Although tension was always present between these two, Otis was in charge and he constantly let Lawton know it. Otis, insisting that he also be kept aware of what his troops were doing in the field, stayed in touch with them by using a telegraph system. Although beneficial to Otis, this system became a nuisance to Lawton and his men since the advancing soldiers were forced to continuously build or repair the telegraphs as they traveled through the jungle. No matter what problems this caused for the men, this was Otis' way of keeping complete control of his men and the situation, and it was through this system that he passed on his next orders. He sent Lawton's division toward the village of Baliuag, where it was estimated a strong force of 3,000 Filipinos had assembled.

On April 27 the division headed in the direction of Baliuag but found obstacles along their way, the first being after a very brief skirmish the entire division moved in and occupied the village of Marunco. Lawton ordered his troops to set up camp for the night and prepare for the next day's march. Camping in Marunco for the night actually proved a more difficult task than fighting the Filipinos for control of it. The Minnesotans spent the night trying to ignore the intense heat and humidity which refused to disappear. Their tents, which were pitched in an open field, offered little shelter from the intense Philippine heat. 14

With orders to stay in camp until April 29, the Minnesotans did what they could to keep themselves busy. Toward evening the Minnesotans thought their ordeal was over when rain clouds began to hover over them. When the rain started to fall, most had to feel a sense of relief, that is until they discovered that they had been spared from one torturous weather problem only to be in another. In a matter of minutes the tents, supply carts, trenches, and the men were soaked while the camp was flooded with water. This left the men to scramble to the vacant huts in the village, which were too few, nor provided complete protection from the violent rainstorm. 15
Awaking on the morning of April 29 soaking wet and with little sleep for two days, the men were ordered to ford a river and make "a most wearisome march...along winding footpaths, over ravines and gulleys, through woods and jungles, until San Rafael was sighted." Only a few days into their campaign, the men of the 13th, hungry, wet, and tired of chasing an army of soldiers who refused to stand up and fight as the Minnesotans had been trained to do. In a matter of hours the men’s morale began to sink into depths never before seen by their leaders, or themselves.  

The objective of San Rafael was captured without resistance since the Filipinos had already deserted the city. Having made some decisions without Otis' approval since he had moved ahead of the telegraphic communication system, Lawton was reeled in by his superior. Arguing that he was moving too fast for his supplies, on April 29, Otis ordered Lawton to return all the way to Angat until he could be resupplied. Having too few men to spare to defend what they gained, Lawton was forced to withdraw his troops from San Rafael and return to Angat where they camped for three days awaiting Otis' supplies.  

After resupplying and resting, Lawton was again ordered to take the village of Baliuag. Starting out from Angat, the division retraced its steps down the Quinqua River. This time though the Minnesotans brought with them the supply train, ambulance, and all necessary equipment. While the Minnesotans and Oregonians forded the river and proceed down the east bank, the rest of the column continued along the west side.  

When the Americans approached within a few hundred yards of San Rafael, opposition was offered by some 1,000 Filipinos who had occupied the town after Lawton's withdrawal. With a group of scouts engaging the Filipinos just one and one half miles north of the village, the Minnesotans and Oregonians began to drive their enemy through the city where they retreated across another river to make another stand. When other members of Lawton's Division carried out a flanking maneuver, the Filipinos were flushed from their positions and quickly fled from the battlefield.
The Minnesotans lost four wounded and one killed in a short lived battle. With all else that was going wrong, the realization of their own mortality and what could happen while on this campaign started to hit a great many of the men of the 13th.

To add insult to injury many of the Minnesotans believed the death of Private Frank C. Lewis of Company F was senseless since they had already captured the village once and, in essence, were just retaking what they already owned. It was at this point that many of the men began to question not only the military decision-making, but also what they, and their country, were doing in the Philippines.

That night they buried Private Lewis "at the foot of the tower of a great stone church...." This was done very carefully in order to conceal the grave because many of the soldiers had seen or heard that, "the insurgents had made it their practice to mutilate the bodies they found...." 

Once San Rafael was captured, the next objective for these weary soldiers was the city of Baliuag. At about noon the division was deployed to start marching toward its destination. Having his division still split by the river, the commands on both sides of the river left their bivouacs of the night before and continued down the river. Nearing Baliuag, the expedition came across citizens deserting the city in great confusion along the road to the north. Since a vast majority of the fleeing people were women, children, and wounded carried on litters, no shooting was done by the Americans, and a flag of truce was sent out "hoping we might assure them of their safety." 

By the time the Americans reached Baliuag, almost the entire population of 30,000 inhabitants had fled. But by nightfall several hundred had returned looking for food. Having discovered 30,000 bushels of rice stored in the city, the Americans, instead of destroying it as orders had told them to do, distributed it to the refugees, allowing them to carry as much as they could.

Sergeant Ed Neill later summarized the actions of that day.
As we were about to eat our dinner, orders came to march and extended as skirmishers we made our way to the front and moved along the line to the extreme front one and a half miles away where we were moved up the skirmish line. The American line was then over five miles long, surrounding the city in a semicircle. Just before we were placed the insurgents had raised a white flag but when Gen. Lawton sent out a party to treat with them they were treacherously fired upon.... So at command we began to close on the city.

After what Neill termed a "muddy fight", they were able to capture the city along with a number of Filipino's.  

With a couple of days of rest, Neill again found time to jot down a few lines to send to the Red Wing Republican. Describing what life had been like out in the jungle, Neill said; "[I]f it were not for such rests as we are enjoying now, it would be impossible to stand this campaign, in sun and heat and always wet through either from rain or perspiration, sleeping in damp clothes in all sorts of places and with the heavy load which must be carried on every march and in every skirmish." He further noted that soldiers had been dropping out everyday and going to the supply carts to rest. After a day or two of rejuvenating themselves they would then reappear. 

After two days of resting the entire division, General Lawton ordered them to move out again. This time they were to head toward San Miguel, through the thick jungle and small villages, both held by Aguinaldo's men. The first of their obstacles was the town of Maasin. Departing at 7:00 a.m., the Minnesotans again were ordered to take the lead, with the 22nd Infantry and the North Dakotans, Oregonians, and an artillery unit following close behind. 

Within about seven miles of Baliuag, on the road to San Miguel and situated on both banks of a small river, lay the village of Maasin. About three-fourths of a mile outside the village, the American scouts were suddenly and fiercely attacked by Filipinos. In response to this, the 13th's 2nd Battalion, under Acting Major Masterman, "was quickly deployed, and made a rapid advance toward the enemy, while the 3rd Battalion, under Acting Major Spear followed closely in reserve."
Finding unusually heavy enemy fire from the 400 hundred entrenched Filipinos, the Minnesotans of Companies H and E, who were placed on the firing line, decided to advance rapidly toward them. Taking a page out of their Civil War history books, the Minnesotans decided to charge wildly into the jungle while keeping up a spirited yell. With the help of the Utah field piece, the charge by the Minnesotans was able to dislodge the Filipinos who were routed in about 40 minutes.  

While another military success, the heavy firing from Aguinaldo's soldiers did cause some problems on the Americans. The 13th had one wounded, Private James Barrett, Company H, slightly in the right shoulder. Another casualty was Private Fred Buckendorf, Company L, who was "fatally wounded in the abdomen" and died a couple of days later in the hospital.

Although a relatively easy battle for the 13th, Sergeant Neill, told his readers how this battle could have turned out a great deal worse for the Americans. As he claimed "[H]ad the insurgents awaited our troops and allowed them to come up within 500 yards before firing our loss would have been heavy, but they preferred to fight at long range and run...." Knowing they neither had the manpower nor the supplies to defeat the Americans in a traditional battle, from here on out the Filipinos resorted to continue to fight the war with the guerrilla tactics of hit and run which they had been using for the past few weeks.  

With Lawton's army rolling through the Luzon countryside, Otis, always the jittery leader, again halted this campaign. With rumors floating that there was a Filipino army as large as 5,000 waiting to attack Lawton from the rear, the ever cautious Otis decided to consolidate his forces. Lawton, annoyed with his orders and wanting to finish the Filipinos off, began to send out reconnoitering parties to locate the enemy.

One of these reconnoitering parties was sent in the direction of the village of San Ildefonso. The men from Stillwater were ordered to accompany this brigade. Major
Diggles, probably bored with sitting around camp, decided to go along and observe. Ordered to find the enemy so that they could get an accurate idea as to where their positions were, these scouts found themselves coming out of the jungle within 800-900 yards of the entrenched Filipinos.

While the scouts jumped out almost on top of the Filipinos, Major Diggles was standing on a hill overlooking the entire area. Surprised by the Americans, the Filipinos began firing at the Americans and, in typical Filipino fashion, they were shooting too high. One of these random Mauser bullets flew over the heads of the scouts and struck Major Diggles. The bullet, "...pierced the upper part of his forehead and made its exit near the crown of the head." Holding on to life for a few days, Diggles finally passed away in his sleep on May 26. ²⁹

Of all the events which took place, for the men of the 13th this was one of the few which made a big impact not only on those in the field, but also for those back home. Few, if any, newspapers, soldiers' letters home, official reports, or even the histories written about the regiment after the war failed to mention the death of Major Diggles. Much like the death of Private Lewis, this single event helped change how people viewed the war. For the soldier in the field, the loss of such a popular commander helped keep their morale spiraling down, while for those at home this death proved that none were safe in this new war in the Philippines.

General Otis' decision to consolidate forces meant that Lawton's expedition could rest and reconnoiter from May 6 until May 12. With time to reflect on what was transpiring around him, Private Gerald G. Groves, Company I, wrote home explaining what he felt was going to happen in the islands. "These natives are indeed a strange people...I do not believe they will ever come in a body and surrender. They will carry on a sort of guerrilla warfare for, say, two or three years..." he then wishfully added, "...but the 'Regulars' can easily take care of that." ³⁰
These sentiments were also captured in a letter from Co. K's, Capt. James McKelvy to his friend John P. Bernich.

We are having a hard old time of it here and we all wish we were back home. With our hard times, hard fighting, hard matches and worse food we are a sorry looking lot. Fighting is of a daily occurrence with us and of course loose (sic) a good many men which makes us ugly and we pay it back, with interest.

A soldiers life is like a game of cards you are lucky one game and unlucky the next and so it goes if I am lucky in this game of cards and get home again to those that are dear to me I will never leave them again. You are a lucky man that you did not come along for there is only turmoil, toil and strife. War is h--- and no mistake, my company has been in fourteen engagements and have seen enough....

He concluded by asking the question that many of the volunteers had on the tips of their tongues but dared not speak of it. He told Bernich, "...the country is no good and I don't see what our Uncle Samuel is fighting for." 31

This sentiment was reinforced by Corporal James P. Koll, Co. A, whose letter home was published in the Minneapolis Tribune. In it he told the people at home, "[G]en. Lawton's expeditionary force has seen much hard work, fighting and long marches, and the men have suffered terribly in the intense heat. Not a day passes that an ambulance wagon train does not bring in scores of men from the front, suffering from sunstroke, heat exhaustion, dysentery, fever, sore and blistered feet, etc." Then after long and trying days, he reported that the men lie down to rest on the ground and are completely soaked by the night dews or heavy rains. 32

As Lawton's expedition progressed, the newspapers in Minnesota closely followed what was happening. On almost every front page would be the "official" story sent out over the wires and passed on by the military leaders. Then, a few pages further back, there would almost inevitably be a letter from one of the soldiers describing the horrors of life on the campaign. These letters, combined with the section on the front page which gave the daily death/injury reports, began to make a great many in Minnesota, and around the nation, question why the volunteers were still fighting in the Philippines. Had not the Spanish-American War ended months ago? What was the United States trying to
accomplish by conquering the Filipinos, the very people they had gone to bring liberty to in the first place? Questions like these began to turn some Americans against this war.

While the rest of the company was still resting, on May 12, the city of San Ildefonso was captured by, Company D, headed by Capt. Metz, and one company of the 2nd Oregon, which were sent on a reconnoitering mission toward San Ildefonso. Attacking Aguinaldo's men in the city, these two companies were to push them through the town. The Filipinos gave an excellent defense, forcing the pursuing Americans to fight from hut to hut before taking the town.

Once pushed out of the city limits, the Filipinos began to flee toward the city of San Miguel, Lawton's next objective. Knowing Lawton's expedition was heading there anyway, Metz and Summers ordered their troops to continue on the heels of Aguinaldo's men. Following them in hot pursuit, the Americans did not stop until they were within three miles of that city. Covering 12 miles that day, the small band of Americans held up and awaited the rest of the column, which soon arrived. 33

With the objective of San Miguel only three miles away, and believing the Filipinos had to be tired after having been chased by the scouting party, Lawton decided to move on the city the next day. Used to being in the front, the Minnesotans were surprised to find out that seven of their companies, now under the command of Captain J. P. Masterman, were ordered to form to the rear of the column and wait as a reserve. One unit, Company H, was given yet other instructions.

Under the command of Captain Bjornstad, Company H, along with one company of the 2nd Oregon, was sent northward toward San Miguel and ordered to support a small group of scouts who were already in that area. Repeating their successful flanking tactics, these scouts routed the Filipinos from their trenches into the open where Company H chased them beyond the city limits. 34
By 12:30 p.m. the town of San Miguel was taken, and by all official reports, an army of almost 500 Filipinos were routed by fewer than 100 Americans. Suffering only one seriously wounded man, the 13th moved into the city by 5:00 p.m. and set up camp.

Again ordered by General Otis to take a two days, Lawton and the men in his command were getting extremely tired of how this war was being fought. In their estimation, the war would come to a quick and successful ending if Otis would let Lawton run the war they way he wanted to, it. Tired of the delays, Lawton asked, and received permission to move his men, on May 15. Leaving one battalion to garrison Baliuag, Lawton moved the rest toward the important objective of San Isidro. Now designated as Aguinaldo's "national capital." Otis believed that not only would this be a great symbolic victory, but with rumors that there was an ammunition factory there, he also hoped it would be the battle that would bring this war to a close. 35

By 3:00 p.m. on May 15, Colonel Summers with the 2nd Oregon and the 13th Minnesota, accompanied by a section of artillery, moved out of San Miguel and proceeded north toward San Isidro. Only three miles out on their march, they were met with heavy fire from a strongly entrenched group of Filipinos. Forcing Aguinaldo's men from their dugouts, the Americans drove them across a stream about a mile and a half closer to their objective. 36

When the Filipinos made a stand on the other side of the stream, the 13th Minnesota quickly deployed Company K to the front, with Companies G and M taking the right and Company L sent to the left. With the rest of the division in reserve, the Minnesotans were forced to take action. While having little or no cover, Captain Masterman decided to make a headlong attack into the Filipino's defenses. With the Minnesotans shooting and screaming their way toward them, Aguinaldo's men held their ground until the last possible moment. Under increasing pressure the Filipinos finally broke and ran, only to have many of their comrades shot down by the pursuing Minnesotans. 37
Making such a bold charge, the Minnesotans fortunately had only one injured among their ranks. While the Filipinos, as far as the Minnesotans could tell, had lost 11 as prisoners of war, 19 killed, and several wounded. 38

While all of these smaller battles were taking place along the expedition, there was still the bigger picture of the overall objectives of both Lawton's and MacArthur's campaigns. While running into similar circumstances with his men to the west of Lawton, MacArthur was also gaining on the town of San Miguel, where the two were to meet and destroy Aguinaldo's resistance once and for all.

Lawton, outraged with Otis' lack of military skills, requested a rapid move by his men on San Isidro. Knowing that MacArthur was struggling with the Filipinos not far from the city, Lawton hoped that a quick movement on his part might yield victory. The General argued that he could turn west and trap those Filipinos who were facing MacArthur's advance, but only if Otis soon gave him the order. Giving in to the field commander's request, Otis finally ordered Lawton to make his move. 39

After two minor skirmishes with Filipinos at Baluarte and San Rogue on May 16, Lawton's expedition finally stood in front of the city of San Isidro, where most felt the war would be brought to its conclusion.

With the North Dakotans, Oregonians, and the 22nd Infantry taking the lead, the Minnesotans, to their chagrin, were ordered into reserve, but to be ready to fill in any gap that might open up in the lines. Upon advancing on the city the Americans again received another hot fire from the entrenched Filipinos. But now the basic outline of battles was the same. The Filipinos fled and the "important" city of San Isidro was taken, after only a few minutes. For the men of the 13th Minnesota, or for American military leaders for that matter, San Isidro was neither the major objective that they had been sent after, nor a source of the glory they had hoped for. 40
With hopes again raised high, the 3rd Battalion, 13th Minnesota, along with one battalion of the 1st Oregon, were sent to the village of Gapan, to which it was believed the Filipinos had fled, and huge supply stores were located.

Organizing rapidly, the Americans headed out the afternoon of May 17, toward Gapan and, hopefully, destiny. In their minds, it was all too fitting that the 13th Minnesota Volunteers be the ones to bring this war to its successful conclusion. Quickly traveling over three miles up the river they soon sighted their objective. Charging into the village the men were not surprised at what they saw. Typical of this campaign and the war, itself, they found that the was deserted. Their hopes and dreams of being the unit to end this war were quickly abashed when they looked around at all the empty huts surrounding them. Realizing that this war was not going to change or be over any time soon, the men set up camp for the night.  

On May 18 they reunited with the rest of the expedition in San Isidro. That afternoon, with their mission accomplished, the division was ordered back to Manila. Of all their orders since joining the army, this was by far the best one any of the Minnesotans had heard. This march consisted of traveling through the dense jungle, fording rivers, and occasionally scrapping with Aguinaldo's troops, did not seem as trying for the men. They knew that they had survived this expedition, and if they and the people back at home began to push hard, they might soon be returned to Minnesota. It was at this point that many of the soldiers, who earlier wrote letters to their hometown newspapers glorifying the war and themselves, began to write letters telling of the horrors of war and why they wanted to leave the Philippines.

After retracing their steps back through the jungle, on May 21 Lawton's expedition reached the city of Candaba and there, instead of Manila, it was disbanded. On May 23, while relieving them of duty from the expedition, Lawton thanked the men of the 13th by stating in his report, "[T]he commanding general in relieving this regiment, desires to
express his appreciation of the efficiency, courage, and uncomplaining endurance
constantly shown by its officers and men while on this expedition." With that, their
front-line duty was over.42

Having survived 33 days of almost daily battles with Filipinos, covering 120 miles,
capturing 28 towns, traveling through a dense jungle, dealing with uncooperative weather
and a variety of diseases, the Minnesotans were happy to be sent back to the mundane jobs
of policing. In order to reunite the entire regiment, the 2nd and 3rd Battalions were sent to
rejoin the 1st Battalion which guarded the railroad between Caloocan and Guigunto.43

When they took their place along the railroad line, the appearance of the men
indicated the severity of what they had just been through. "Thin, hardened, ragged,
bearded, they were a rough-looking crowd, and it took many weeks for them to get back to
their former condition. Only the strongest constitution could stand it, and quite a number
of the men were sent home before final orders for the regiment came."44

With the expedition over, and with less success than the Americans had hoped for,
the Otis-Lawton feud continued. With the rainy season about to begin, and the volunteers
clamoring to be sent back to the states, Lawton was ordered back to Manila and his forces
brought with him. From Lawton's standpoint, and many of his men's, this was a huge
mistake. They believed that their expedition was a complete waste unless they fortified
these captured towns with American troops, for the Filipinos could come back in and
recapture them later. These words surely had to resonate through Lawton's mind when a
few months later he was sent to fight his way back into San Isidro.45

Back on guard duty, the men again had time to write letters home and could let their
friends and families know what they felt was happening in the islands. In a lengthy and
bitter letter home, the recovering Private Burlingham summed up to his parents what his,
and a great many of the Minnesotans' views on this war:
"From letters and newspaper talk it appears to me as if our people thought we had an inferior class of people to fight against...." After chasing them through the Luzon jungles Burlingham knew better than that and he wanted the people back home to understand it also. "If you people think there is glory in [chasing after the Filipinos] please send one of your worst enemies to take my place and I will willingly exchange with him."

"Why did the U.S. go into war with Spain (sic) why did she take this white elephant on her hands and pay $20,000,000 to get it. Then she turns around and does what Spain was doing when we entered. All done for greed, greed that will cause insanity...."

"This war here is nothing more than a damn political and religious affair and has caused the lives of 2,000 good American men to be laid away forever or else crippled for life...."

He concluded by discussing the men's desires to gain glory during the war, the one thing all the soldiers wanted.

"It was all right to talk about the glory your sons were getting fighting with Spain (sic) but now it is different we are now forced to fight and kept here against our will because Gen. Otis (the ----) cables home that all volunteers want to stay here."

"Father and Mother and the people of the U.S. you are all in the dark, you are blindfolded, you think you know all that is going on here, you think your sons are fighting for a good cause—but no you are wrong you know nothing, absolutely nothing."

Although only 17, Burlingham's anger was indicative of how the rest of the volunteers felt about what was happening in the Philippines. Realizing that this war was not as much fun as the stories they had heard about the Civil War the men wanted to once again return to the safe confines of their home state.

With bitterness fermenting among the volunteers as well as among many people in the States, McKinley realized he had to bring the soldiers home as soon as possible.
Caught between the popular opposition to this war and the need for the volunteers in the islands, McKinley, surprised at this war's unpopularity, began to recall the troops that summer. The Minnesotans would have to wait until they completed their current assignment before they too sailed for America. 47

Knowing their fighting days were behind them, many of the men began to reflect on what their legacy would be from this war. Summing up what probably most of the soldiers felt, Private George W. Kurtz, Co. I, wrote, "[W]e have been through a hard battle and seen some soldiering. We got what we have been praying for a long time and we found that it was not as much fun as we expected." 48

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10 Ibid.
12 Tew, *Official History Of The Operation Of The 13th Minnesota Infantry*, 34.
15 Ibid., 85.
16 Tew, *Official History Of The Operations Of The 13th Minnesota Infantry*, 34.
18 Ibid., 132. Tew, *Official History Of The Operation Of The 13th Minnesota Infantry*, 34.
20 Frankel, *Company "C,"* 58.
22 Ibid., 217.
23 *Red Wing Republican*, June 24, 1899, p. 8.
24 Ibid., June 30, 1899, p. 8.
25 Ibid., July 6, 1899, p. 8.
27 Ibid., 36.
28 *Red Wing Republican* July 6, 1899, p. 8.
32 *Minneapolis Tribune*, June 17, 1899, p. 11.
34 Ibid., 67.
38 Ibid., 38.
45 Sexton, *Soldiers in the Sun*, 140.
Chapter IX

"...EACH ONE DROPPED FROM THE RANKS..."

Those who survived Lawton's expedition into the jungle never complained about their new assignment of guard duty around Manila. After spending months of grumbling about having to be either policemen or doing guard duty, the experience in the front lines made them painfully aware that war was a dangerous thing and picket duty was usually a lot safer. They also were aware that just doing guard duty would give them the opportunity to write letters home, pleading with the people of Minnesota and their leaders to get them out of the Philippines.

The entire regiment was assigned again to the Manila and Dagupan railroad lines, the same area where they had fought the Filipinos just a few weeks earlier. Outpost duty was quite an unpleasant task once the rainy season had begun. The tremendous rains, which could sometimes last four or five days, forced the men to often stand in water up to their knees. The rain ruined their clothes by either beating them apart or forcing rapid deterioration and mildewing. The rains also helped destroy the men's morale, which after Lawton's expedition, was not hard to do.

With the state volunteers clamoring to be sent home, General Otis found himself in a precarious position. Up to half of his forces in the islands were made up of state volunteers, who under their original agreement to join were to serve until the Spanish-American War ended. That feat having been accomplished and all the treaties having been signed, the volunteers felt it was time to go home. The departure of the volunteers would
have left Otis terribly short of the soldiers needed to conclude this war. Without
replacements for these volunteers, he feared this war would turn into a long drug out
affair. ¹

Back in Minnesota, responding to stories of how horrible the war was becoming,
many people began to push for the return of the 13th. Those wanting this found an ally in
the Minnesota governor's chair. John Lind, a Swedish immigrant, beat out the Republican
candidate William E. Eustis in that fall's campaign. The current governor, Clough, who
had been a fairly popular leader, was barred from running because he had already held the
position for two consecutive terms, after which Minnesota law did not allow a third. With
the Republicans having to put up a candidate which some considered less desirable than
Clough, parties such as the Democrats, Populists, and Silverites were able to join forces
and unseat the Republicans from the Governor's office for the first time since 1858. ²

Although both sides felt they had serious issues to bring forth in this campaign,
what they had to say was often overshadowed in the newspapers by the Spanish-American
War. Therefore Lind's strategy was to focus his attention on state issues and leave national
events alone. Because of Lind and Eustis being very close friends, and with national
events stealing the headlines many came to consider this to be one of Minnesota's most
"dull and boring elections." ³

While Lind had at first vowed to stay out of national affairs, on one issue he could
not help himself. When it came to the topic of imperialism, Lind was often quite
outspoken. Adamantly against President McKinley's new foreign policies, Lind, in a
handful of political speeches given in the fall of 1898, spoke against America's retention of
either the Philippines of Puerto Rico. Ironically, Lind could not be considered either a
pacifist or anti-military, for he himself had signed and served as a volunteer Quartermaster
for the 12th Minnesota Volunteers. Many people would actually equate his victory in the
fall due to the fact that not only had he served, but also because he was immensely popular with the men of both the 12th and 14th Minnesota Volunteers. 4

Lind was inaugurated on January 3, 1899. Although he had brought up the issue of imperialism for the most part he stuck to his plans of putting Minnesota first. This worked throughout the first few weeks of his administration, then events out of his control slowly began to force him back into the debate over America's imperialistic policies.

When the United States Senate ratified the treaty between America and Spain, some people became irate. One Minnesota State Senator who disliked the treaty's ratification even went so far as to bring a bill before the Minnesota Senate opposing annexation of the Philippines. Although easily defeated, those who believed in this idea found an ally in Governor Lind. 5

Along with the political leaders trying to either stop the war or get the 13th home, were many Minnesota citizens. With newspapers publishing the casualty list, and no end in sight for this war with the Filipinos, many quickly turned against the war. Although no polls existed, it would have been interesting to see how many of these same people who were now adamantly opposed to the war, had been the one's cheering as the men went off to war a few months earlier? 6

The 13th Auxiliary, the official voice of the 13th Minnesota in the state, also worried about getting the men home. They took it upon themselves to literally bombard the War Department and the President with letters pleading for the return of the 13th Minnesota Regiment. When even this failed to grab government leaders attention the people of Minnesota turned to Governor Lind. 7

Lind, still trying to hold on to his campaign pledge of not wanting to get involved with national affairs, finally was prompted into action after he received a cablegram from the officers of the 13th Minnesota (including General Reeve). The cablegram simply read; "[T]he regiment must be ordered home and mustered out of service immediately."
With this, along with the pressure from people across the state, Lind finally got deeply involved in helping bring back the men of the 13th. Now without delay, along with other states Governors who agreed with him, Lind began to petition McKinley for the return of all the states volunteers, even going to the extreme of actually going to Washington to meet with the President and to discuss the issue.

The Governor, who himself lived in the camps during the war, wanted the War Department to call back both those lingering in camps in the south as well as those doing service in the Philippines. With this much pressure coming from the states, McKinley and his staff slowly began to change their policy and began calling the volunteers home. 8

Lind's actions did not meet with universal approval. He especially irritating his Republican counterparts, still smarting from losing the Governorship. Some Republicans accused Lind of being "spineless" of "playing godmother to a few weakling officers." He, and those who agreed with him, also received a reprimand from former Governor Clough. In a St. Paul Pioneer Press article, Clough explained that he was "...not at all pleased with the conduct of the Thirteenth Minnesota Auxiliary and others who were demanding that the Thirteenth regiment be mustered out." As he said, he felt the President and the War Department were "entirely competent to determine these matters..." and those who were less qualified should stay out. 9

Not everyone who wanted the 13th brought home though could be considered an anti-imperialist. Many wanted their fellow Minnesotans brought home, but still wanted the United States to control the Philippines. Instead of using the volunteers though these people wanted the Regular Army to do the work. The desire to bring the 13th home but to also quickly end the war was summarized in an editorial in the Red Wing Republican on June 29, 1899. This editorial believed that the United States was involved in a war that must end soon. But, they added, "...do not let this insurrection drag on, with all its intended hardships, and all the incidents of prolonged fighting that are hostile to the whole
American idea. We believe in fighting like demons when we have to, and then stopping as quickly as possible. Clean out the hornets' nest whatever it may cost, and let us have peace."  

Still holding onto some of that excitement that swept the state months before, the Red Wing Republican, played the dual role of asking for the 13th's return, but remained staunchly behind McKinley and his foreign policies by saying the 13th should be brought home only after the job over there was finished. As for newspapers across the state the Republican was the lone voice when it came to this belief, for the rest of the state's newspapers either demanded an immediate return of the 13th, and end to the war, or both.

This belief was actually a reflection of most Minnesotans who wanted to bring the 13th home, end the war, and then go on with things as though the Philippine-American War had never happened. Many Americans wanted to put this war behind them as quickly as possible for it was not the kind of war they had wanted back in the spring of 1898. This fight with the Filipinos was neither going to be a clear and easy victory, nor did it put the Americans in the light of gallant saviors bringing democracy to an oppressed people.

Rather, for a great many who agreed with Governor Lind, the war made the United States look more like an imperialistic oppressor. For many Americans they began to question their nation's role in a war where it was not completely clear that they were on the morally right side.

With the dream of bringing their heroes home to Minnesota, many people began to raise money to accomplish that goal. To all Minnesotans, no matter what they felt about the war, their soldiers were heroes and deserved a heroes welcome.

One official who took the initiative to bring the troops home was Minneapolis Mayor James Gray. It was his idea to sell pins made of little red, white, and blue ribbon, upon which were printed the words, 'I Have, Have You?' The ribbon was evidence that the wearer had paid a dollar--the price for which it was sold--toward bringing the 13th
Regiment home." Not to be outdone the *Minneapolis Times* donated $1,000, while many private donors gave liberally. The money raised from the sale of these ribbons was more than enough to bring the soldiers home to Minnesota.\(^\text{11}\)

Desiring to have the 13th mustered out in their respective hometowns, the five cities that had offered companies were able to raise over $25,000 for the soldiers' return. The rest of the $31,000 was to be picked up by the Governor.\(^\text{12}\)

Ironically, while the people were preparing to bring the troops home to one of the biggest celebrations the state had ever seen, the men in the Philippines had quite different plans. In an almost unanimous vote, the members of the 13th decided that they preferred to be mustered out in San Francisco. The reason for this was not to snub their fellow Minnesotans, but for purely economic reasons. "The choice was determined by the fact that the Federal Government allowed each soldier travel pay from San Francisco to his place of enlistment, besides two months' pay." If they were mustered out in Minneapolis they would lose out on all this pay.\(^\text{13}\)

Irritated with news from home about the mustering out plans, Lewis Burlingham wrote his parents, telling them, "[L]et the boys have their say, it was them that did the work and risked their lives for the sake of the country and not those cold footed ducks that are doing so much talking back there." Caught in the middle of national and state politics, and now with the only wish of being returned to the states, many of the volunteers were getting irritated with the whole system.\(^\text{14}\)

With all the other political wrangling going on at this time, it came as no surprise that a compromise would have to be made before this issue was settled. The final deal was that the money raised by the people of Minnesota would be used to buy every soldier a ticket back to the state. That way the soldiers could pocket the money from the government and not have to use it to travel back home. For the men of the 13th this was an excellent
idea; they would still be mustered out in San Francisco, plus they could keep their travel pay and be welcomed back home as returning soldiers.

Before any of these plans could be acted upon, though, the 13th had to receive official orders to be sent home. Having watched other states' volunteers leaving since the completion of Lawton's expedition, the Minnesotans felt that they would soon be sent home too. Until then they had to continue their policing of the railroads, bridges, telegraphic communications and the local citizenry. The return to this monotonous duty, now far away from the fighting, was generally accepted.

This new assignment, although better than chasing after Filipinos, still had a physical and mental affect on the men. As John Bowe remembered in his diary, "...sneaking through blind alleys after crooked googoos, double-timing across country under tropical skies, going hungry several days at a stretch, lying in trenches soaked to the skin, and pushing buffalo carts across country had reduced the companies until there are only from one-fourth to one-half the men doing duty." 15

With the morale of the Americans in the islands at a record low, the Minnesotans received news that brought their spirits back to a level probably not seen since being mustered in at Camp Ramsey. They were told to prepare to pack their belongings and head for home. With the heartiest voices they could muster, the regiment let forth the exuberant yell only known to men who have served, fought, and died together.

By July 31, Companies G, E, D, M, L, and K were relieved by six companies of the 16th U.S. Infantry and took the train which they had been guarding for the past few weeks into Manila. There they waited for four days until Companies I, A, F, B, H, and C were also relieved of duty and joined them in their scramble to pack and head for home.

In their haste to leave the Philippines the men did decide to take time out of their schedule to remember those who they were to leave behind. On August 8 the "regiment formed in columns and marched to the cemetery at Paco, southeast of the Walled City."
There, with a service conducted by Reverend Cressy, the 13th "...paid its tribute to those of its number who were now on that journey over seas uncharted-a tribute not alone to those who rested at Paco, but as well to the ones who slept near the little church at San Rafael, at Baliuag, at Honolulu, in the depths of the Pacific, and back in the homeland." 16

With the memorial services over, the men of the 13th somberly returned to their barracks to continue to prepare for their homeward voyage. Whereas a great many could not wait to once again see American shores, 60 members in all decided, for various reasons, to remain in the islands and join new regiments. Whether it was for patriotic reasons, the need to find more glory, just a love of military life, or the islands, these former members of the 13th joined either the 36th, 37th or 11th Calvaries to help finish what they had started in the Pacific. 17

With bags packed and emotions running high, the 13th Minnesota Regiment was ordered on board the Sheridan for its return trip to the United States. After two days of getting settled on board the ship set sail on August 12, while the band played "Home Sweet Home." After spending a little over one year in the islands, these Minnesotans were able to finally leave with what they had come for. The desire to be seen as heroes and win their glory in battle was, in their minds, accomplished. Their hopes and dreams were to be verified by the receptions which awaited them back in the United States, and especially Minnesota.

The Minnesotans had to share the ship with the troops from South Dakota. The South Dakotans were given the after part of the vessel while the Minnesotans took the forward. Being larger and better outfitted than the City of Para, the Sheridan, due to the regimental fund, also had the benefit of having better food, causing little sea-sickness for the men, and best of all it was taking them home. 18

The return voyage also reflected changes in the volunteers' attitudes toward military life. Knowing that they were just weeks away from being mustered out of the army
forever, most no longer took their commanders seriously. While on board ship, John Bowe recalled in his diary that "orders came down that from that point on they were to drill twice a day and inspection twice a day and had to wear a certain uniform on drill." These orders which would have been obeyed a year earlier, now were virtually disregarded for "the boys turned loose and hollered 'rotten' and bawled the officers out to their faces." 19

While never having the military discipline that they hoped for, the commanders of the state's volunteers seemed to lose even more of this meager control once the Philippine-American War started. With the feelings toward the Philippines, the war and their commanders out in the open by the time they board the ship home, although not formally mustered out of United States service, mentally many had left weeks earlier.

Not only was military discipline to be different on this return trip, but so was the ship's route. On August 16, instead of passing the Ladrones, the Sheridan went to Japan where it stopped for several days to re-coal. Landing in Nagasaki, many of the Minnesotans received shore leave and became tourists, traveling around the city in riksha's, taking pictures and observing local customs which all seemed quite bizarre to the Minnesotans.

Setting sail two days later the soldiers patiently waited to see the United States again. Knowing they would soon reach the states and would probably beat any letters home, most decided to discontinue letter writing or keeping of diaries until on dry land. The only report of anything on this portion of the trip again comes from John Bowe who in a diary entry entitled "Aug. 32, 1899" explained, "[T]his is the place where we lose a day. Went to bed last night (Thurs. Night) and woke up Thurs. morning...." 20

With the exception of the fascination of crossing the International Dateline, the only thing these men were looking forward to was landing in San Francisco, which took place on September 8. Remaining on board for a few days prior to disembarking, the
Minnesotans found themselves wrapped up in two controversies which had been developing in the states, as well as in Minnesota, for weeks.

Both controversies dealt with two commanders and how they had behaved while in the Philippines. The first one dealt with how General Otis was prosecuting the war. Many Americans felt that this war, in a more capable commander's hands, would have been over in a few weeks. It seemed obvious that every battle was a lop-sided victory for the Americans, leaving to blame Otis' seek-and-destroy methodology as the reason why the war continued. By chasing after the Filipinos, then, not fortifying the villages which American troops captured, allowed Aguinaldo's men to easily recaptured these objectives. This forced American military leaders to turn around and expend more American lives to recapture those villages again. This strategy quickly exasperated both the soldiers in the field and the folks back home.

It was reported by many newspapers that in polls conducted of the volunteers disembarking in San Francisco, that nearly to a man, they were all against General Otis. Even some of Minnesota's highest leaders faulted the general's conduct. As he left the Sheridan that bright September day, General Reeve told reporters that he faulted Otis for treating the Filipino leaders "as half civilized savages" on some occasions, while on others he "ignored them completely." Reeve, eager to shed light on how he felt Otis had mishandled the war with the Filipinos, held an impromptu press conference on the dock while his men were still disembarking. Reeve went on to criticize Otis for "not adopting the tactics used against the Indians in the West." In essence, Reeve thought that Otis was too tough on the Filipinos during peace and too lenient with them in war. 21

A more local and personal issue for the men of the 13th Minnesota was the controversy dealing with Colonel Ames and his conduct during the war. While serving as part of Wheaton's expedition, Colonel Ames, during the heat of battle told his men that he was suffering from an illness and left the regiment for Manila, passing the command to
Major Friedrichs. In Manila, some of the men reported having seen the Colonel out and about and not looking the least bit ill. This immediately brought on charges of cowardice by some of the other leaders in the 13th, and soon after by almost all of the print media back in Minnesota.

Due to the dual way in which newspapers received information from the Philippines, it is easy to see how this one sided view of Ames developed. With the telegraphic services repaired the August before, any official news coming from the American leadership, was quickly sent across the Pacific and then picked up by the newspapers through the Associated Press. Either not liking him personally, or his easy going command style, some of his fellow commanders began to send back word about Ames' supposed "cowardice" in battle.

While these reports got back almost immediately to the states, letters written by the common soldiers took anywhere from four to six weeks just to get back home. Then if the recipient decided to have it published in the local paper it would take additional time. With Ames' supporters not given a chance to express their views until June or July, few newspapers back in Minnesota heard their side of the story. Therefore Ames' backers would not get their say until they were back home.

The controversy peaked just as the Minnesotans were landing in California. Anxious to hear the men's view of this issue, most newspapers sent reporters to welcome the soldiers and to sift through what they could find out about the Ames controversy. The first to respond was the Stillwater Gazette, which noted that "[O]ne of the officers of the regiment is credited with saying that not a commissioned officer would shake hands with Col. Ames and another with remarking that he had better not show his face to the regiment." 22

After another day, and having a chance to talk to more of the soldiers, the Minneapolis Tribune wrote a more cautious story about how the soldiers felt. The
newspaper reported that while "all of the officers and a great majority of the enlisted men are anti-Ames," most of the common soldiers, "are not as bitter, though, as the officers are." Many common men in the regiment held "the theory that the colonel was troubled with dementia while at Manila and was not responsible for anything that he did out of the way." 23

To reinforce the Tribune's story, John Bowe later recalled what he and the rest of the volunteers observed as they left the ship: "When the boys arrived in camp, they all flocked to the Colonel's tent and cheered for Colonel Ames." For the average soldier there was no real controversy here. In a ploy to sell more copies of their individual papers, many of the state's editors, seemed to play up this controversy. By the time they reached Minnesota this issue had disappeared. 24

One reason the Colonel Ames controversy quietly died was because the men were home and anxious to be mustered out of service. Military squabbles seemed to be part of their past life, and part of the military they wanted to forget. As Private Bowe remembered later in his journal, for the men it was now just a matter of reuniting with family and friends and not concerning themselves with military matters.

Although Bowe mentioned how most of these reunions were happy, some did not turn out this way. "Some of the boys inquired for were in the hospital, others were disabled for life, and here the meeting was a mixture of sorrow and gladness combined. Other folks who had friends and kindred of boys planted in Luzon, came to hear the boys' friends tell them of how the poor fellow died."

For the family and friends left behind, the war was finally brought home, and they were forced to realize its terrible cost. 25

While the rest of the 13th was greeting family and friends or unpacking the ship, General Reeve continued with his press conference, continuing to berate General Otis and the war. When asked by a reporter if the bloodshed could have been averted by an
intelligent policy of conciliation, Reeve, in an answer that summed up not only the war but how most of the 13th felt about it, said:

Conciliatory methods would have prevented the war. Now, we all agree to the proposition that the insurrection must be suppressed, but in the beginning a conciliatory course was not adopted. General Otis' unfortunate proclamation of January 4 (the changing of the Benevolent Assimilation Proclamation) rendered conciliation almost impossible. He adopted the policy of ignoring the natives by treating them as half-civilized savages. No indication was given to the Filipinos as to the future intentions of the government.26

Reeve, much like the men of the 13th, felt all along that the war was unnecessary, and that if the United States would have been more sure of its policies in the Philippines from the very start many of the problems that later developed might have been solved through diplomatic means. But instead of any solid policies coming out of Washington, governmental leaders continued to allow small groups dictate America's new foreign policies. In the Philippines that meant letting military leaders, who are not trained in the art of diplomatic dealings, conduct America's foreign policy without consent from political leaders. Being used to giving orders and having them followed, men like General Otis were not adept at dealing with the Filipinos, a group of people that they considered inferior.

When the men disembarked from the Sheridan and had once again set foot on American soil, they were met by crowds from San Francisco, who threw flowers and cheered the men as they reached their camp. But compared to what they had witnessed when they left, the crowds were definitely smaller and less enthusiastic. As noted in the Minneapolis Tribune, "[T]he people of San Francisco are tiring of enthusiasm over soldiers and that may have been the reason for the rather quiet time the returning volunteers had along the line of march...." Unable to keep their enthusiasm at a fevered pitch for so many months, many Californians, much like many across the nation, were tired of this war. Not knowing why their government was fighting there still, and having heard thousands of volunteers complain about their role in that war, for many the excitement they showed months earlier had by the spring of 1899 waned.27
A week after they landed, the Regiment was honored with a banquet held by Governor Lind and other state dignitaries who traveled to San Francisco to show their respects to the men. After the formal dinner of September 15, the men had to sit and wait until they were mustered out and sent back to their home states. As was the case when they were in San Francisco before, the men found themselves bored with the monotonous camp life. With military discipline being quite lax now, most of the men decided to go into town and stay at hotels, rather than in the dusty tents at the Presidio.

Lewis Burlingham, writing home to his father on September 19, explained what life was like in those final weeks of soldiering. "Peddlers of all kinds and descriptions and of both sexes come here all looking for the soldiers money...." After he received his pay, he tried to put the harshness of soldiering behind him. Immediately he went to town and bought, "...a good suit...underwear and a couple of pairs of socks and then went and got a haircut, shave and a good hot water bath and when I came out I felt like a new man I tell you."

Finding various ways to keep themselves occupied, the men were finally excused from military service on October 3. As had previously been planned, the Federal Government gave each soldier railroad fare back to their original place of origin, along with two months' extra pay. Overjoyed with this plan which the people back in Minnesota gave them, the members of the 13th pocketed this rail fare and prepared to leave.

Their final journey home began when three trains pulled out of San Francisco on October 5, loaded with a cargo of exuberant soldiers. Heading north, the Minnesotans passed through Portland, Tacoma, Seattle, Spokane, and all across Idaho, Montana, and North Dakota. They received huge celebrations, parades, speeches and dinners at nearly every stop, no matter what time of day they arrived. Then, passing the Red River from Fargo into Moorhead, the men of the 13th finally found themselves back in their home state.
Early in the morning of October 11, after being told they were back on the North Star state's soil, "[E]very passenger shouted himself hoarse and many fired off their army rifles, which, by a special dispensation of the War Department, they had been allowed to carry home for use during the parades in St. Paul and Minneapolis." 29

With the men knowing they were just a matter of hours away from home, their minds turned to what they were going to do after returning to civilian life. This was something that many back in Minnesota had also thought about. While the troops were still traveling across the Pacific to the United States, the *Minneapolis Journal* established an employment bureau as an intermediary between "the disarming veterans from the Philippines," and a "grateful and patriotic public." 30

When the soldiers began to disembark in San Francisco, a representative from the *Journal* passed out employment blanks to the men. While approximately 100 needed employment and were taken care of by this system, most of the rest either had jobs to return to, or were attending the University of Minnesota. 31

These plans of re-entering civilian life would have to wait for one more day though, for the grandest of all the celebrations which they had witnessed, was awaiting them in the Twin Cities. Reaching St. Paul early on the morning of October 12, the 13th Regiment formed a parade at 8:00 a.m. near the Union Depot in St. Paul, where they began marching through the city streets to the auditorium; there they were served an elaborate breakfast.

From there they boarded trains to go into Minneapolis where the main parade formed at noon. The celebration was considered "the most elaborate affair of the kind ever seen in the northwest" starting on twenty-ninth street, then headed down Park Avenue. The parade wound its way through Minneapolis until it came out at Nicollet Avenue where it proceeded toward the Exposition Building. 32

Being the largest crowd ever gathered that anyone could remember, the spectators were standing: "from curb to curb, and even filling the vacant lots and yards outside the
street lines, the people crowded until it seemed that another one could not find room; and off to the left and right of the platform as far as the human voice could be heard, there was the same scene of upturned faces."

Joining in the parade, which due to the sea of humanity took an hour to pass any given point, were representatives of the state and national military organizations, University cadets, Zouaves and Boys' Brigades, a handful of fraternal organizations, and probably most significantly for the men of the 13th Minnesota Volunteers, the thousand or more Civil War veterans. Showing their support, they symbolically followed the 13th Minnesota Volunteers in the parade. In the minds of the veterans of the Philippine wars, the Civil War soldiers now walked in their shadows.

On Nicollet Avenue all members of the parade passed by a reviewing stand which added a special touch to the day's events. With the election approaching, President McKinley had decided to make an appearance in Minneapolis to help welcome back the 13th Minnesota. On the same stand as the president was Secretary of the Navy Long, Mayor Gray, Bishop Joyce, and Governor Lind.

Having arrived in Minnesota earlier, McKinley was neither greeted with a formal reception, nor met by Lind. Lind, who had fought with the President both in bringing the troops home and his imperialistic policies, was not speaking to McKinley that cool October day. The first lady, suffering from a headache, even had to stay at a McKinley supporter's house, since nothing had been set up by state officials.

On the reviewing stand stood President Northrup of the State University, the master of ceremonies. After introducing Bishop Joyce, who gave a benediction, Northrup then asked Mayor Gray to the podium to give a few brief comments welcoming the men home and thanking President McKinley for attending. Gray, in turn, asked Governor Lind to come forward and give a few comments. Lind stood and boldly walked toward the center
of the stage, preceding to give both a welcome home address to the men, as well as a
scathing attack on President McKinley's foreign policy.

In his speech he welcomed home the soldiers of the 13th Minnesota and rejoiced
over all the happy reunions he had witnessed and thanked the men for the glory and honor
they had brought themselves and the state. He then went on to describe how this was also
a solemn event because he hoped that this would bring an end forever of the use of the
volunteer soldier from the sphere of national activity. He concluded his speech by stating:

By our growth and development the mission of the American volunteer soldier has
come to an end. For purposes of conquest and subjugation he is unfit, for he
carries a conscience as well as a gun. The volunteer soldier has always stood for
self-government, liberty, and justice. With your generation he will pass from the
stage of our national life. His fame and his example will continue the heritage of
our people-the theme of story and song. May the spirit which has actuated him ever
guide our people, and temper the strength of the nation which has outgrown him,
with the eternal principles for which he has fought and died. 35

Depending on what newspapers one read the following day, the reaction to this
speech was varied. Whereas those supporting the Governor and his comments all talked
about the applause which followed, others like the Minneapolis Tribune reported that
"[T]here was not a whisper of approval..." and that "...no one hardly clapped.... " 36

Those few newspapers that heard cheers after Lind's speech were showing their
own political bias. President McKinley had stopped in Red Wing earlier that morning and
after a brief speech it was reported that the people cheered excitedly. Also with campaign
swings through the Midwest and the South just weeks earlier the President was met with
huge crowds cheering wildly every time he mentioned the war. One has to assume then
that the majority of Minnesotans, excited with both the return of the 13th and the presence
of the President, were also at a fever pitch that day.

How loudly people cheered for Lind was actually somewhat overshadowed by
what happened next, which only had to compound the tension felt on that stage. Having
pre-arranged the speaking order, the last one to talk was to introduce the next. With no
foresight as to what might happen between the President and Governor, organizers slated
McKinley to follow Lind. Lind, aware of this, and the fact that McKinley would not be pleased with what he said, refused to introduce the President. Rather, he turned from the podium and briskly walked back to his chair and sat down. With an uneasy silence on stage as well as in the crowd, President Northrup sprang to his feet and quickly introduced the nation's leader.

McKinley, probably prepared for Lind's remarks, got up and gave a rousing speech on American patriotism and imperialism. In it he said:

[T]he century has blessed us as a nation. We have had wars with foreign powers, and the unhappy one at home— but all terminated in no loss of prestige or honor or territory, but a gain in all. The increase of our territory has added vastly to our strength and prosperity without changing our republican character.... I sometimes think we do not realize what we have, and the might trust we have committed to our keeping.

No matter what political ideology the state's newspapers adhered to, it was obvious that McKinley's speech did hit a responsive chord, for when he was done a loud and boisterous cheer went up from all in the crowd. 37

Not knowing it at the time, the Minnesotans in the crowd were first hand witnesses to a debate which would over the next few years slowly encompass most of the nation. With one side totally against the war and the thought of America becoming an imperialist power, the other, just as adamant in their beliefs, desired nothing more than to expand America's influence around the world. In the end it would be the group of expansionist that would win this political debate, but not without a serious fight from the anti-imperialist who would hang on for years.

With the same kind of receptions occurring in St. Cloud, Stillwater, and Red Wing for companies M, K, and G, respectively, every soldier received their moment in the sun. Thus all the men of the 13th, who had gone away in order to gain the honor and prestige which they saw given to the Civil War veterans, finally received theirs. With the speeches and parades over, the men found their families and friends and went back to their everyday lives.
Having left the state a year and a half earlier, the volunteers had returned with everything they sought, and now it was time to return to the normal, mundane lives which they wanted to escape back in the spring of 1898. Only now, the mundane seemed exciting. As Private, now plain citizen, John Bowe commented in his diary for the last time, "each one dropped from the ranks and assumed the interrupted duties of a private citizen." With that, the journey of the 13th Minnesota Volunteers came to an end.\(^8\)

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3. Ibid., 140 & 143.
4. Ibid., 138.
5. Ibid., 173.
6. Ibid., 173.
17. Ibid., 71.
20. Ibid., 173.
22. *Stillwater Gazette*, September 8, 1899, p. 3.
25. Ibid., 181-182.
31. Ibid., 126.
33 Minneapolis Tribune, October 13, 1899, p. 3.
34 Tew, Official History Of The Operations Of The 13th Minnesota Infantry, 109.
35 Stephenson, Lind of Minnesota, 175.
36 Minneapolis Tribune, October 13, 1899, p. 3.
37 Ibid., p. 3.
38 Bowe, With the 13th Minnesota, 187.
Chapter X

“WILL LIVE IN HISTORY”

As the sun rose on the morning of October 13, 1899, the men of the 13th Minnesota Volunteer Infantry found that they had returned to the normal, seemingly boring lives which they had tried to escape only a year and a half earlier. After 18 months of service in the United States military and fighting two wars for their government, these mundane lives looked pretty good to them again.

Waking up that morning, many of them probably reflected on what they had gone through since the day they enlisted to fight in the war against the Spaniards. For most, that spring of 1898 held so much promise for them. With their government and the newspapers telling them for weeks that a war with Spain would be a relatively quick and easy affair, many signed up so they could do their patriotic duty, prove their manhood and join in what was suppose to be the United States' last great adventure.

Reflecting on what they had gone through since first enlisting, some undoubtedly had to be amazed at how much their feelings about the fighting in the Philippines, their own countries foreign policies, and themselves had changed in the last 18 months.

Enlisting in a frenzy of patriotic fervor, these soldiers, along with most of the nation, found themselves heading into a war which most did not understand. Believing they were going to go and save the Cubans and Filipinos from the Spaniards, the members of the 13th Minnesota went to the Philippines with the understanding that they were off to fight a just and righteous war.

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But a year and a half after signing up for this great cause, most soldiers remembered something quite different from their adventure in the Pacific. With political leaders in Washington and military commanders in Manila either waffling or constantly changing their policies toward the Philippines, those who were asked to fight these wars were made to enforce policies that many, by the time they left the Philippines, did not care for. The men of the 13th Minnesota believed they had signed up for a war which was to free the Filipinos by defeating their colonial masters, the Spanish. After a relatively easy victory over the Spanish and the signing of a peace treaty which demanded that the Philippines become American territory, those who volunteered to fight found themselves forced to implement new policies.

Minnesota's volunteer soldiers originally went along with this transformation of going from an army of liberation to one of conquest, not because they agreed with what was happening, but because it was their duty and would give them the opportunity to further prove themselves. After listening to the Civil War generation question their patriotism and manhood for years, these men were not going to leave in the middle of a fight, thereby proving the older generation correct.

Reflecting on what they had accomplished in the Philippines, the veterans of the 13th Minnesota believed they had not only earned their manhood, but also had gained enough recognition to finally overshadow the Civil War veterans. They believed that after all they had gone through they too could put their names in the history books alongside those Minnesota units which fought in the Civil War.

Agreeing with this notion, the editor of the Red Wing Republican wrote an article entitled “WILL LIVE IN HISTORY,” published on October 12, the same day as the 13th’s return to the Twin Cities. The Republican told its readers that Minnesota was just as proud of the 13th as they were of the most famous of all Civil War units: the 1st Minnesota. The editor claimed that, “Minnesota’s name has again been carried to the front of battle and
another regiment bearing the name of the state shares the people’s pride.” Writing what the returning soldiers all wanted to hear, the \textit{Republican} concluded by stating; “...they acquitted themselves with honor and glory and added new luster to the honored name of the state....” For those who volunteered 18 months before, this was not only, a vindication of their manhood, but a thank you for the glory and honor which they brought themselves and their state through their actions in the Philippines. \footnote{1}

The stirring words of the \textit{Red Wing Republican} proved unprophetic, though. For the men of the 13th, the memory of what they did had all but vanished from the historical landscape by the end of that October. Once the volunteer returned to their everyday lives, Minnesota and the nation at large quickly forgot about them and what they had done. The fading recognition was due in part to the war in the Philippines which was still raging on. With the removal of the Volunteers, the Regular Army remained in the islands trying to conclude the war which had started in February, 1899. This war, which officially continued until July 4, 1902 (when President Theodore Roosevelt finally declared it over), quickly turned into a cruel and brutal war waged between two sides who shared common misunderstandings and growing hatreds. \footnote{2} While the Minnesotans left at a time when animosities were still at a relatively low level, the conflict which continued between the United States and the Filipinos only turned more violent as the years passed.

With soldiers returning home, supplemented with newspapers recalling the war's events, the stories of the brutality which was developing in the Philippines were now being heard by all. With knowledge of the brutal acts committed by both sides, and with this war seeming to have no end, many Americans began to question why the United States was so set on the subjugation of the Filipinos.

The birth of groups such as the Anti-Imperialist League, coupled with a national election coming up in 1900, intensified these questions around the nation. After much soul searching, many Americans could not find any reason for America to be in the Philippines
except for the notion that the United States was trying to become an imperialist power. If this were true, was America not then just as guilty of being an oppressive nation as the Spaniards had been? This belief was intensified when reports came back from the Philippines that American soldiers were now fighting the Filipinos. The same Filipinos that Americans had been told only a few months earlier that they had to go free so that they too could enjoy the same kind of democracy that Americans enjoyed.

Remembering the war from their own unique vantage point, the Minnesota volunteers had mixed emotions about what was transpiring in the Philippines. On the one hand, many believed the fighting against the Filipinos was wrong. They agreed with General Charles McC Reeve that it need not have been fought had it not been for the mistakes made by both American military and political leaders. On the other hand they had gone off and served their country valiantly, had defeated the Spaniards, and when asked took up arms against the Filipinos. Although these soldiers may have questioned their role in the wars in the Philippines, none ever lost their sincere patriotism.

The men of the 13th also never lost many of the beliefs that they brought with them. Entering the islands with stereotypes and prejudices, many of the Minnesotans sincerely believed that people who did not look or act like them were naturally inferior. These beliefs were intensified with the brutal killing of Private Jesse Cole. In the minds of many this was justification that the natives were not only inferior, but also treacherous. Which, for many volunteers, gave them and the United States the right to control these islands.

With all the controversy swirling around what should have, or should not have taken place in the Philippines, many Americans chose to forget completely what had transpired. While the Spanish-American War was always remembered as a "splendid little war," the Philippine-American War would all but disappear from American history books. The Spanish-American War itself only became remembered by slogans which would have
made the most ardent jingoist proud. "Remember the Maine," Teddy Roosevelt’s Rough Riders, and the Battle of San Juan Hill was all that was recalled by many Americans.

Twenty years after the wars in the Philippines, with the conclusion of World War I, the memory of the War of 1898 and its aftermath was almost completely wiped from America’s conscience. With dreams of forever being remembered as brave and gallant soldiers fading, veterans of the Spanish-American War realized their campaign had lost its luster. For now, not only was their war sandwiched in the history books between the Civil War and World War I, but those two wars, in the minds of most Americans, were seen as righteous and justifiable wars, while the war against Spain and the Filipinos was of questionable motivation. Unlike the "glorious causes" of freeing slaves, or making the world safe for democracy, the fighting in 1898 and 1899 was seen by many as the United States forcing its will upon weaker nations such as the Philippines, Cuba, and Puerto Rico.

Fearful of how he felt people would remember those Minnesotans who served during this time, General Charles Reeve later wrote that "[H]istory will record Minnesota’s part in the struggle with Spain, whatever of praise or blame should attach to her sons in southern camps and on tropical field, posterity shall judge." ³

Reeve understood that the controversies which followed the wars in the Philippines might besmirch the good name of the volunteers who had fought in the far off islands. What Reeve and his men wanted to be remembered for was not that they had served in an unpopular war, but that when their country called on them they were ready to serve.

Doing their duty by enlisting to fight for their country, they later again believed they were doing their duty when they began to question America's policies toward the Philippines. As Governor Lind had stated in his speech of October 12, 1899, the volunteer soldier not only carried a gun, but a conscience also.

By questioning Washington's policies, these Minnesotans, along with other state's volunteers, were able to force many American citizens, as well as military and political
leaders, to look at what was going on in the Philippines. Putting the spotlight on America's new imperialistic policies, these volunteers forced the United States to take a serious look at itself before it completely entered the arena of international affairs.

By questioning their own and their country's role in the Philippines, these Minnesotans can be given the title of 'reluctant heroes.' Their unquestionable service to their country and bravery on the battlefields helped many to find the necessary emotions to make themselves feel proud of who they were. For others, it was their open questioning of America's imperialistic policies which they felt truly gave them the title of heroes. In the end it was a combination of the two which made the members of the 13th Minnesota Volunteers heroes. Sadly though, heroes which history has all but forgotten.

1 Red Wing Republican, October 12, 1899, p. 7.
2 Although officially declared over there were still battles fought between the Americans and Filipino's until 1913, which would make this one of America's longest wars ever fought.
3 William Fitch and General C. Mc Reeve, 13th Minnesota Vols.: Historical Record in the War with Spain (Minneapolis: Price Bros. Printing Co., 1900), 11.
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