AN ABSTRACT OF THE THESIS OF

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Kansas college students enthusiastically joined in the war fervor that aroused Americans against Spain in 1898. Kansas collegians organized college militias to "Remember the Maine," enlisting in great numbers and out of this flurry emerged a rare entity, an energetic company comprised entirely of college students from across Kansas. This amalgamation would become known as the "College Company," Company H, of the 22nd Kansas Volunteer Regiment.

Captain William Clarence Stevenson, an experienced military officer and an established professor of commercial studies at what was then Kansas State Normal School in Emporia, Kansas, helped to organize the student company and served as its elected commander. Kansas citizens held a special affinity for the proud college boys that hailed from varied institutions, hosting celebrations and send-offs complete with gifts of edibles and useful items.

The company's first stay in their military adventure was the state camp at Camp Leedy, on the Topeka Fairgrounds. There, they spent a short time then left their beloved

Kansas and made their way across the country to Camp Alger, Virginia, a large military camp established by the United States government for training enlistees. From June to August the collegians spent each day tediously training in drill and war maneuvers under a hot sun, lived in poor camp conditions, and hoped the time for real action would soon come. When they managed it, the troops escaped to the Virginia countryside or to Washington, D.C., to see the sites. Unfortunately for many, an opportunity to prove their bravery in combat did not come to them for the Spanish-American War ended quickly. The College Company relocated to Camp Meade, Pennsylvania, then traveled back to Kansas in September.

Kansas received them as heroes. The men had done what they could for their country. These collegians had bravely, yet naively, risen to the occasion of defending their country's interests. They had seen distant parts of the country and its cultural differences and visited the nation's capital. Ultimately these student soldiers matured — they survived harsh military conditions in an unprepared for war that tested their healths as well as their wills. Two died from disease, and at least two others would go on to further military service.

Throughout the years men would reminisce and people would remember the exhilarating days when Kansas college students boldly banded together to fight America's enemy and citizens greeted trains with shouts and cannon fire, bearing gifts for the "boys in blue." Company H, 22nd Kansas Volunteer Infantry Regiment, would be recorded as the "College Company," the only one of its kind in Kansas.

STUDENT SOLDIERS OF 1898:

THE 22ND KANSAS "COLLEGE COMPANY"

A Thesis

Presented to

The Division of Social Sciences

EMPORIA STATE UNIVERSITY

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of the Requirements for the Degree

Master of Arts

by

Justin Christian Souser Knutson Evans Dragosani-Brantingham

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Approved by the Chair

Approved by the Dean of Graduate Studies and Research



PREFACE

This year marks the 100th anniversary of the Spanish-American War. This conflict is largely forgotten but it marked an important era in American history. The western frontier had officially closed, electricity and other technologies modified the way.

Americans lived, and the importance of a world presence for any country's continued commercial wealth became painfully more apparent to civilizations around the globe.

Americans teetered on the edge of a modern world. Though traditionally isolationists, scientific innovation opened up the globe to America, which had the might to claim it.

America extended its expansionism beyond its borders and into the open sea.

Blatant expansionism in some distant part of the world did not go over well with a moralistic American public. Forgetting their own history, Americans wanted a justifiable reason to wage war for territorial gain. They got it. An impetus could be found in Spain's treatment of her colonies. Manifest Destiny and the Monroe Doctrine merged with philanthropy and greed to produce a popular war that drew mass enlistment from across the country.

It was for this "just" cause that educated young men in Kansas took up arms. The attraction of the war was too much to resist. It meant an adventure away from home, a chance to show bravery and fulfill one's duty. These collegians had heard enough of the Civil War veterans' stories and had studied the great military campaigns of human history. They now wanted a campaign of their own, an honor all their own. Though the choice to enlist was hotly debated considering the amount of ready volunteers and some peoples'

idea that war was no longer necessary, once the choice was made friends and family supported them emphatically. In this atmoshphere, the collegians throughout Kansas became part of a special company, the "College Company," Company H, 22nd Kansas Volunteer Infantry Regiment, the only one of its kind in Kansas, composed entirely of college students, most of them graduating seniors.

It seems propitious then that I should have the chance to tell their story, considering that by doing so, I will also graduate, exactly one-hundred years after Company H's inception. I am hopeful that this thesis will provide a service to its readers and honor these and other citizens that did what they did in search of some great goal, whether they found it or not.

I am indebted to many people for their aid in making this project a success: Dr. Sam Dicks, my thesis advisor and mentor whose knowledge of historical methods, genealogy, and local history guided me through the long process and whose generosity speaks well of his character; Dr. Christopher Lovett, who with expertise in military history and a listening ear provided an answer to any military question; Dr. Ron McCoy, a friend and fine scholar in my other area of historical studies – American Indian Studies – who always made me laugh and showed great hospitality; Dr. Karen Manners Smith for her interest in my work; my colleagues Tricia North, Amy Kreidler, David Diamond, Gary Flippin, Julie Scott, and David Stowe, all promising young historians, for daily discussions and pleasant memories; Jeff Hokanson, historian at the Greenwood County Historical Society and Museum, for facilitating speedy research among their holdings; all of the following for a congenial attitude and worthy reference assistance: the staff at the Kansas

State Historical Society in Topeka, Jennifer Galliardt and the staff at the Anderson Library/ESU Archives, ESU Registrar's Office, Emporia Public Library, Decatur Public Library, Dr. Charles E. Hale, director of the Library and Archives for James Millikin University, Marilyn Schmitt and the staff of Cherokee County, Kansas, Genealogical-Historical Society, Anita Ramos at Fairfax County, Virginia, Regional Library, Historian Michael L. Dixon at the Historical Society of Cecil County, Maryland; Greg Jordan, director of the Lyon County Historical Society and Museum, for a mutually beneficial working arrangement; Harold Patterson and his wife in Coffeyville, Kansas, for graciously allowing me access to Clifford T. Rhinehart's original journal; Harold W. Ellis, Superintendent of Greenwood Cemetery in Decatur, Illinois, for his photograph of W.C. Stevenson's grave marker; my parents and my relatives for quality advice and the sharing of my accomplishment; and anyone else I might have mistakenly omitted due to the large number of people willing to help.

My wife, Shannon, and my dog, Haywynn, beared late nights and a lack of my attention while I composed this work, so to them I owe eternal thanks and long afternoons of family time.

"Within this lowly grave a conqueror lies, And yet the monument proclaims it not."

> Justin Dragosani-Brantingham April 16, 1998 Emporia, Kansas

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Chapter 1 FERVOR HITS CAMPUSES

Hark to the martial music,
And the tread of marching feet;
Of men bearing fluttering banners
Gallantly down the street.¹

Kansas college students enthusiastically joined in the war fervor that aroused Americans in 1898. Reports of alleged and real Spanish cruelties on her subjects in Cuba and other parts of her fading empire enthralled students and evoked demonstrations and enlistments on Kansas campuses statewide. With Cuba's independence and the Civil War service of their grandfathers and fathers on their minds, Kansas collegians organized college militias to "Remember the Maine," enlisting in great numbers and out of this flurry emerged a rare entity, an energetic company comprised entirely of college students from across Kansas. This amalgamation would become known as the "College Company," Company H, of the 22nd Kansas Volunteer Infantry Regiment.²

By 1898 many Americans had heard Civil War veterans' numerous tales of war and heroics. Kansans were well aware of the tens of thousands that had served:

Their influence on the generation that took part in the conflict cannot be measured. Patriotism has been taught from the schoolhouse, from the pulpit, from

¹G.I. Brown, "The Men Who Remembered the Maine," *Spanish War Veterans Poems*, Kansas: Kansas Department United Spanish War Veterans, n.d., 3.

²For complete rosters of the company refer to Adjutant General of the State of Kansas, *Eleventh Biennial Report*, Topeka: J.S. Parks, State Printer, 1899, 78, also *Twelfth Biennial Report*, Topeka: W.Y. Morgan, State Printer, 1900, 202-204.

the rostrum, and the beacon lights of the GAR hall. The great soldier state of Kansas was ready for the fray . . . ³

Veteran organizations such as the Grand Army of the Republic (GAR) hosted regular events across Kansas and the country where they assembled regularly in military fashion. They spoke in towns and cities, sharing experiences of a conflict that had taxed a nation to its very core. Few citizens could ignore emotional orations of those who had been in a battle for national unity. Few Kansans could rightfully be apathetic to the enormous responsibility American youth inherited:

The blood of patriot fathers warms the hearts of patriot sons, and I have faith to believe that any emergency demanding such sacrifices as those the people of this country we are called upon to make from 1861 to 1865, would find millions of young men ready to brave all, suffer all, give all, for Liberty and the Republic.⁴

Young Kansans would find in the Spanish-American War what they believed to be an emergency demanding such sacrifices, braving all, and suffering.

Many Kansas college students had relatives that had served in the war. State

Normal students annually participated in Decoration Day (Memorial Day) celebrations by
marching with Emporia citizens in its observances. On one occasion, a group of Kansas

State Normal students protested having to spend two hours out of their holiday for such
things, when they could be doing something else more worthwhile with their time. KSN

³Major W.L. Brown's, 21st KS Reg., address before the Kansas State Historical Society, 17 January 1899, "Kansas in the Spanish-American War," George W. Martin, ed., *Transactions of the Kansas State Historical Society: 1899-1900.* Topeka: W.Y. Morgan, State Printer, 1900, 130.

⁴Kansas Governor John A. Martin's speech delivered in the Grand Opera House, Topeka, 6 January 1886, John A. Martin, *Addresses*, Topeka: Kansas Publishing House, 1888, 118.

President Albert R. Taylor, serene and controlled, though certainly troubled, asked how many of the students had fathers and grandfathers in the Civil War. Three-fourths of the student body stood up. He replied, "Young men and women, what a heritage you have! Kansas has an enviable military record.... In honoring them, you honor yourselves. May the youth of our country never forget that it was the efforts of these men and their dead comrades that 'made and preserved us a nation." Needless to say, few students failed to be in the parade after Taylor's patriotic reminder. Veterans' stories and orations profoundly affected the younger generations. Though people tired of hearing about the past at times, people honored the sacrifices of these fighting men. The younger generation as they grew to adulthood cherished war ideals of citizens proving themselves to their God, nation, community, and themselves – youthful minds seeking adventure.

An esprit de corps firmly grasped the Kansas State Normal College, Kansas State Agricultural College, Kansas University and Washburn College.⁶ Students leapt at the chance to enlist into the regular army or volunteer regiments when war with Spain became inevitable. Faculty lectured to half-empty classrooms across the state while students met trains bearing soldiers or rallied around Cuban flags shouting "Cuba Libre!" Collegians banded together to organize their own companies comprised of their fellow students, elected their own officers. These militias and unaffiliated college students inundated

⁵Florence Marshall Stote, "One Memorial Day," (KSTC) *Alumni News*, Kansas: Kansas State Teachers College, October 1962, 28-29.

⁶Some Haskell Institute students also shared the same spirit. Consult letter Richards, Bent and Jones to Governor John Leedy, April 24, 1898, Governor Leedy Papers, Kansas Historical Society.

Governor John W. Leedy with requests that they be accepted into the Kansas volunteer regiments. Kansas State Agricultural College students Albert E. Blair, Fred Zimmerman, and William Anderson offered their services in letters. Blair wrote:

I do not believe in war on general principles, but when we are actually into it, I believe it is my duty to fight for U.S. I could have enlisted as a private in the K.[ansas] N.[ational] G.[uard] at this place; But [sic] as I have drilled so long at college and at the expense of the state and U.S. I thought I had better apply for a commission . . . ⁷

⁷Letter Albert E. Blair to Governor John Leedy, April 22, 1898, Governor Leedy Papers, Kansas State Historical Society.

⁸Letter Fred Zimmerman to Governor John Leedy, April 22, 1898, Governor Leedy Papers, Kansas State Historical Society.

⁹Letter William Anderson to Governor John Leedy, April 23, 1898, Governor Leedy Papers, Kansas State Historical Society.

¹⁰Letter D.R. Read to Governor John Leedy, April 24, 1898, Governor Leedy Papers, Kansas State Historical Society.

college students and some dropped out of school to go home to enlist, but the College Company's uniqueness stood alone in Kansas.

How had the Kansas press affected Kansans' sentiments regarding the war? It depended on which paper one commonly read and one's political affiliation. The Kansas City Star praised McKinley's war message of April 11 and argued that intervention was justified since all other efforts to aid the Cubans had failed. It advocated a just war.

The editor of the Kansas City, Kansas, *Tribune*, Charles E. Lobdell, a former Speaker of the Kansas House of Representatives, had discreetly worked on organizing a volunteer company of Kansas born citizens since trouble with Spain began. He asserted that Kansas took great pride in the part it played in the Civil War, and that the young generation of Kansans would be ready as their parents had been:

State pride is almost a religion with the generation of men born in Kansas during and for years following the [Civil] war. We are proud of our state and the part she took in the civil war; and are anxious to prove that the sons of Kansas soldiers and Kansas pioneers are worthy [of] their parentage and heritage, a free state and a united country. To that end, if trouble comes, we are desirous of sending to the front an organization of several companies – possibly a regiment – of born Kansans. There is no disparagement of the thousands of adopted sons that Kansas would furnish.

. . . Of course, all deplore the possibility of war, and even yet hope it may be averted, but if the dread alternative comes and a call is made, Governor Leedy will find 'young Kansas' ready to go. 12

The *Topeka Daily Capital* also generally favored President McKinley and utilized the idea of Anglo-Saxon superiority in justification of actions versus the Spanish. The

¹¹Harold J. Sylwester examined the Kansas press as it related the conflict with Spain, Harold J. Sylwester, "The Kansas Press and the Coming of the Spanish-American War," n.d., Kansas State Historical Society.

¹²⁴ Many patriotic Kansans," Topeka Daily Capital, 12 April 1898, 4.

Topeka State Journal on the other hand criticized the President, but eagerly reported Spanish atrocities, even if not entirely true, seemingly even jingoistic, which the State Journal flatly denied. With its circulation of 11,584, a Kansan who avidly read the State Journal would see reasons for a war with Spain, while a Daily Capital reader might. 13

Conversely, paper in smaller towns tended to be wary of war. The *Atchison Globe* prophetically believed, "that the United States should stay out of Cuba because the *Maine* explosion was an accident, the insurgents caused as much of the destruction on the island as the Spanish, and Cubans, like the South American, would never cease fighting." It maintained a sarcastic tone as it reported American action (or lack of) during 1898, and therefore did not stand as a call to arms for Kansans.

William Allen White's *Emporia Daily Gazette* did not initially support a war that would shed precious American blood:

A war with Spain over anything would be beneath the dignity of the United States. A gentleman cannot strike a sore-eyed, mangy, leprous beggar, no matter what provocation he may have. As between Cuban and Spain there is little choice. Both crowds are yellow-legged, garlic-eating, dagger-sticking, treacherous crowds – a mixture of Guinea, Indian and Dago. One crowd is as bad as the other. It is folly to spill good Saxon blood for that kind of vermin.¹⁵

The *Gazette*'s survey of Emporians found forty-seven people opposed to American military involvement. ¹⁶ McKinley was indeed favored by White, who believed McKinley

¹³Sylwester, 256-257.

¹⁴Ibid., 261.

¹⁵Emporia Daily Gazette, 23 February 1898, 2.

¹⁶Owen, Jennie Small, annalist, *The Annals of Kansas: 1886-1925, Vol. 1*, Topeka: State Historical Society, n.d., 268.

would find an alternative to bloodshed. White did however support the war once America was in the thick of it, but also warned that despite Kansas's mirthful atmosphere, tears would inevitably flow.¹⁷

Hence, depending on one's favorite newspaper, one's view on the war could differ considerably from another's opinion:

even violently attacked the "yellow press." Most papers that opposed jingoism did so by praising such virtues as "truth, restraint, and patience" but among them were also those which glorified the Anglo-Saxon. Such a treatment led White, for example, to castigate the Cubans as well as the Spanish. 18

Party affiliation affected the newspapers' opinions and different factors such as competition between papers led many to alter what they printed in order to appeal to readers' affiliations or opinions. Republican, Democrat, and Populist presses usually supported no single line. The Populists appeared to most interested in using the Cuban crisis to "denounce their opponents or to promote what they had long believed," that the rich benefitted at the expense of the poor for example. While the press influenced readers in several directions, and indeed people did oppose the war and vehemently argued against false press coverage and inaccurate reporting, Kansans still came to find a *pro patria* (for the fatherland) patriotism developing in 1898 supported by America's successful military heritage and its now righteous cause to go to war.

¹⁷Sylwester, 263.

¹⁸Ibid., 267.

¹⁹ Ibid.

Student battalions already existed at many Kansas colleges and universities before 1898. Kansas State Normal School in Emporia, Kansas State Agricultural College in Manhattan, and Washburn College in Topeka all hosted student battalions. KU formed a military drill class after the war.²⁰ These battalions consisted of students who wished to familiarize themselves with military drill, get physically fit, enjoy dramatics, prepare for a possible future in the military, or have an alternative to baseball.

Kansas State Normal College's student battalion had its start in the fall of 1889.

Its organizer and main proponent, as well as its commandant for the next ten years, was an 1889 KSN graduate and now professor of penmanship and bookkeeping, William Clarence Stevenson. Stevenson had previous experience in organizing and leading a militia in Eureka, Kansas, where he had been a school principal. From 1889 to 1898 the KSN student battalion numbered in the hundreds yearly, including a women's battalion,

Company B, numbering over a hundred in its charter year of 1892. The battalion's annual banquet drew enormous crowds and earned a reputation for being a "pleasing social feature of the school." The battalion trained regularly, drilled competitively, and even

²⁰KU students requested a regular army officer to lead them in drill and tactics. They did not receive one but Professor John Naismith, the inventor of basketball, answered the request and led the students military training. "Physical Culture Drill," *KU Weekly*, 1 October 1898, 1.

²¹W.C. Stevenson, under advisement of Ira P. Nye organized a Greenwood County militia that would fall under the State Militia of the time. P. Sheridan LaMotte requested the organization in 1886 and the group formed in October of that year, with Stevenson as captain. "Military company," *Eureka Democratic Messenger*, 29 October 1886, 3; "Military company," *Eureka Herald*, 29 October 1886, 1.

²²The *Kodak*, KSN's student yearbook published by the seniors in 1898 contains a short history of KSN's battalion. KSN, *Kodak* (Emporia, KS: KSN, 1898), 168.

Taylor," named for the president of KSN, Albert Taylor.²³ When the Spanish-American War broke out, members of this battalion would enter volunteer military service in Company H, including Bert R. Smith, Henry B. Amyx, Fred A. Stevenson, Charles S. Huey,, Alfred L. Graham and W.C. Stevenson, who became Company H's elected Captain.

Kansas State Agricultural College in Manhattan possessed a Military Department for "proper development of the body as well as the mind." It worked in conjunction with the federal government, staffed by a regular army officer, to train selected students for military service. It instilled in its participants the "characteristics of a true soldier – love of country, subordination, and a healthy constitution." To accomplish this it offered courses in infantry, artillery, and drill of the United States Army. The federal government furnished the guns and equipment, while KSA provided the uniforms for drill. The uniforms could not be worn for anything other than drill, much to the dismay of those involved, in order to preserve the uniforms' appearance. Some tried to improve the department to make it more attractive to the general student populace, but the regents considered the cost factor involved in increased activity as a hindrance – until the war. Wariness turned to enthusiasm and KSA's battalion acquired the necessary permission to

²³Ibid., 170.

²⁴ The Military Department," *The Students' Herald* (Manhattan, KS) 9 March 1898, 2.

²⁵Ibid.

build a military camp outside campus.²⁶ Members of this battalion also found a place in Company H, including one of the KSA battalion's captains, Henry M. Thomas, who became Co. H's 1st Lieutenant under Captain W.C. Stevenson.

Washburn's student militia, a company, ended its existence the year before the Spanish-American War began. Captain W.A. Harshbarger, a regular army officer, had drilled the cadets at Washburn for a number of years before the war and in April 1898, he picked up the effort anew and began recruiting Washburn students for enlistment.²⁷ He hoped to rally enough to fill a company to be placed in the Kansas volunteers. Things did not go as planned, but some Washburn students made it into Company H, including Private Richard M. Coulson.

The patriotic fervor that swept through Kansas colleges and its university evidenced itself not just in the multitudes of men who wished to enlist. It came in the increased number of shouts and cheers for subjugated Cuba on campuses during the course of a day, the public display of arms and flags advocating support for the war, the number of addresses by professors and politicians, the burning of effigies by enraged crowds, and the processions heralding troops traveling through on trains.

KU students showed their elation through patriotic gestures and sometimes madcap actions. John Francis and Dick Rogers hung a Cuban flag from the Kansas

²⁶⁴The cadet's encampment," *The Students' Herald* (Manhattan, KS), 30 March 1898, 2.

²⁷"Students will go," *Topeka Daily Capital*, 23 April 1898, 1.

University's main building's flagpole, which students applauded.²⁸ In chapel, students cheered three times in Cuba's honor, and the "Pharmics" fired several shots.²⁹ KU showed a definite desire to support the war through men willing to go if necessary.

Around 11 o'clock on the night of April 22, roughly two hundred Washburn students gathered outside the college chapel yelling and howling. A stuffed dummy ablaze labeled "General Weyler" was suspended from the telephone wires. This probably was the first anti-Spanish demonstration of the war in Topeka. The students were showing their hostility to the "Dons" by burning Weyler in effigy. The burning took place just after the close of a literary society debate. Such debates provided both entertainment and enlightenment, and crowds commonly got riled. Nearly five hundred people witnessed the event, and men were not alone in the excitement, as many women showed their support by wearing Red Cross nurses uniforms.

Earlier that day, over five hundred regular army troops rolled into Lawrence on a train and stopped for a few minutes. Amid cheers and waving flags, the troops and students, as well as throngs of townspeople, exchanged patriotic words. Professors had a hard time keeping their classes in order and just let them attend the hoopla. "Nobody was

²⁸"Students excited," *Topeka Daily Capital*, 24 April 1898, 2.

²⁹"Cheers for Cuba," *KU Weekly*, 23 April 1898, 4; "Students Excited," *Topeka Daily Capital*, 24 April 1898, 2.

³⁰General Valeriano Weyler, Governor of Cuba from 1896-late 1897. His efforts to counteract Cuban insurgents' guerilla warfare tactics included relocating the rural populace to urban centers in order to hurt rebel support bases. Though militarily effective, his "reconcentration" policy earned him the name of "Butcher Weyler" because of the mass famine and suffering the moves incurred. "Students burn Weyler," *Topeka Daily Capital*, 23 April 1898, 1.

interested at that moment in the extraction of Greek roots or even in the campaigns of Napoleon," one student wrote. "Our own country was about to prepare for a campaign of its own and we of the great -- restless, excitable, patriotic west were stirred."³¹

Dick Rogers, "Billy" Cockins and George Robinson quickly removed the Cuban flag bearing the lone star of "Cuba Libre" they had hung days ago on a KU flag post and ran with it to the tracks to wave at the passing train. A captain caught sight of the banner and asked if he could have the Cuban flag, to take with him to war. The "boys were only too proud to grant the captain's request." The captain offered a little speech and proclaimed that the flag would be displayed on the rear platform of the train. Comically, he also remarked that he had seen the Denver-KU football game in 1896 and unfortunately remembered it to his sorrow. The train left, but more commotion would follow later that day when the colored troops came through town in their mobilization.

A great crowd came to meet the colored troops that passed through.³³ Professors excused all who wished to see the troops from afternoon classes. The troops arrived late but that did not stop the crowds from seeing them. Many waited and sent up a great cheer when the engine could be seen with the motto emblazoned on the front of it reading, "Remember the Maine."³⁴ The regiment was en route to Chattanooga, but delayed for a short time to the cheers of Lawrence's students and citizens. The troops shared their

³¹"To arms! To arms!" KU Weekly, 23 April 1898, 1.

³²Ibid.

³³ A still bigger crowd sees the colored troops," KU Weekly, 23 April 1898, 1.

³⁴Ibid.

excitement, hoping to be on their way to Cuba, one officer proclaiming, "... we want to go to Cuba." A band played the Star-Spangled Banner before the troops left on their way.

KSA showed its support around campus by the wearing of buttons, among other things. Students wore badges that read, "Freedom for Cuba and Vengeance on Spain."³⁶ KSA also held the "Military Banquet" on May 2. At this elaborate feast and celebration of American patriotism, the student battalion and guests joined in singing and cheering amidst stacks of arms, the American and Cuban flags, and bursts of cannons.³⁷ In the main hall the placard "Remember the Maine" caught everyone's eye. Attendees left that evening enveloped in ardor over their campus's prowess and America's cause.

KSN's excitement kept faculty reminding its literary and oratorical societies that acting rashly accomplished nothing. KSN supported the war effort just as much as any other institution, parading around soldier-laden trains and cheering for those who enlisted, but some reminded the students volunteering of the situation's gravity. Going to war was not be taken lightly. President Taylor stressed that with the multitude of volunteers from across the state willing to serve, KSN students did not have to feel compelled to fight, that their duty to country could be in staying and finishing their education. KSN students

³⁵ Ibid.

³⁶The Students' Herald, 27 April 1898, 1.

³ The Students' Herald, 4 May 1898, 2.

"went wild" on April 26, lit an enormous bonfire, and tossed the Spanish flag into the flames as they sang songs and moments later burned an effigy of General Weyler.³⁸

Sensibility appeared. Was war necessary? Had it become obsolete in that day and age, the pinnacle of modernity up to that point? One Emporia student thought so years before the war hit Kansas. Alfred Docking of KSN in the 2nd Annual Inter-collegiate Oratorical Association contest gave a prize-winning speech fourteen years before the start of the Spanish-American War that contained these words:

The age of bloody conquest must go, the flag of commerce must take the place of the flag of war, and arbitration must forever bury the battlefield from view. Then, indeed, may we begin to dream that the millennium has dawned, when, nation is drawn to nation by the ties of a mutual friendship, when commerce, with deft fingers, has woven her hempen and flaxen fingers about the national heart.³⁹

He and others felt that war may not be the best avenue. An unsigned commentary appeared in *The Students' Herald* that asked "Is war necessary?" The author asserted that people believe war a foregone conclusion, but that this is a "superstition." "War is said to be a relic of barbarism, and it is," he or she writes. But, "the time may come when by mutual concession there will be no such serious disagreements as now at times inflame the minds of men and excite their martial passion." The author stated that America may have to go to war now, but it should get better as people adopt more civilized mentalities.

³⁸"War fever rages," *Topeka Daily Capital*, 27 April 1898.

³⁹Emporia Weekly News, 19 March 1885, 2.

⁴⁰"Is war necessary?" *The Students' Herald*, 27 April 1898, 2. Also consult war's harsh criticism in "War and Patriotism," *The Students' Herald*, 18 May 1898, 2.

A debate at the Snow Literary Society at KU also attested to the fact that people at least considered other solutions to the Spanish problem than war. This debate offered for argument the issue that in the case of the war with Spain, the other European nations ought to compel arbitration:

The affirmative was supported by Messrs Beach and Logan. They argued from the following propositions that war should give place to arbitration: 1. expediency, 2. humanity, 3. justice [.]

Messrs Kyser, and Rundel spoke for the negative. They claimed that arbitration was practically impossible; that forbearance had ceased to be a virtue; that a decrease or lack of war spirit always has been a mark of weakness among all peoples.⁴¹

Though war could not be the only answer, KU opted not to be weak and the judges "gave the negative the victory." 142

KU's Chancellor Francis H. Snow addressed the university. In this address, he laid down the precedents of this war and declared it just to fight against oppression. He asserted that the war with Spain existed not for annexation, but to free people. He then rhetorically asked what the duties of the students were, and read the statement prepared by the University Council composed of the faculty. It affirmed the patriotism of the entire university, but then challenged all of the students to ask these questions of themselves:

Can I serve my country best as a soldier or a citizen?

Ought I to sacrifice my personal interests for the nation's good?

Can or should I leave home and imperil its happiness?

Can I enlist as a volunteer with a moral conviction of the rightfulness of the act, and a clear judgement free from all taint of temporary excitement or selfish motive?

Can I maintain a steady enthusiasm, born of this moral purpose, in spite of

^{41&}quot;Snow literary," KU Weekly, 23 April 1898, 2.

⁴²Ibid.

trial, suffering and chance of death?

Ought I, in view of all the circumstances, to offer my service and my life to my country?

To any student of the legal age of 21 years who thoughtfully decides these questions affirmatively and responds to the call of his country by enlisting, the University can but say, 'Go, and God bless you.'43

Chancellor Snow further added that patriotism exists for men that enlist, and for men that stay home. He stated that the university expressly wished young men not to enlist without getting parental permission first. Additionally, the "call [for men] is small and volunteers so many," that only those in their senior year should go. 44 He stressed that war interrupts studies, and upon the war's end, some never return to their studies, as evidenced by some examples after the Civil War. Any below the level of senior should stay and show their patriotism by educating themselves for better citizenship. The war should not be taken lightly. "This is serious business and not an outing or a holiday excursion. . . . None should go without serious consideration. It is a serious matter."45 Chancellor Snow's warnings clearly displayed the feelings of the moment – that hundreds of youths anxiously awaited their chance at proving their worth and finding adventure, and some, whom age and experience had tempered, realized this and recognized their heedlessness. KU rode the wave of war, advocating action, but the faculty believed wisdom should moderate the students' choices. Kansas did indeed have a surplus of volunteers. Moreover, if everyone enlisted and left for war, who would attend class?

⁴³"Wise council," *KU Weekly*, 30 April 1898, 1; "Address to K.U. Students," *Topeka Daily Capital*, 27 April 1898, 3.

⁴⁴Ibid.

⁴⁵ Ibid.

Some college students defended the idea of staying home rather than going, considering the surplus of volunteers and the importance of education. Some argued against staying home by seeing it as selfish, while others disagreed:

This conclusion is not altogether selfish. As pointed out in a previous issue and as manifested by the enthusiastic demonstrations in all our colleges, the nation's college boyes [sic] are not lacking in willingness to serve their country. Just at present however their country does not need them so much at the front, perhaps, not so much so there as in college. So with those who stay at home the reason will be rather of an indisposition to make a useless sacrifice of their college preparation for life, than the manifestation of any lack of patriotism or disposition to show the white feather. 46

KU's students and faculty boasted of the numbers of volunteers KU could call upon if needed and its ability to serve. KU could point to well-known alumni that currently served in the military: Colonel Fred Funston, Lieutenant Colonel Ed Little, Major Wilder S. Metcalf, and Captain Fred Buchan.

KU students had an added incentive to enlist as per the rule passed by the Regents on April 27: seniors in good standing entering military service for the war with Spain would be granted their diploma, or any junior of legal age also showing suitable work upon entering the United States army would be given credit for their junior work. ⁴⁷ In addition, KU guaranteed any faculty that enlisted continued pay during their absence and their position when they return. ⁴⁸

⁴⁶Ibid., 2; also consult "Go or stay?" *The Students' Herald*, 11 May 1898, 2 and "War and patriotism," *The Students' Herald*, 18 May 1898, 2.

⁴⁷ Meeting of Regents," KU Weekly, 30 April 1898, 4.

⁴⁸"Enthusiasm at K.U.," *Topeka Daily Capital*, 25 April 1898, 1.

KSN would also reserve its professors' jobs if they enlisted, but were decidedly more reserved when it came to granting early degrees to its enlisting seniors. President Taylor, though patriotic, stood out against it. ⁴⁹ He possibly opposed the measure due to the frenzy it may invoke if practiced, or he felt that, war or otherwise, he did not want to undermine the quality of KSN education by allowing students to miss even a month of teaching education. Company H's Corporal George Carroll Lucas and other seniors struggled with Taylor's policy and Lucas enlisted anyway. President Taylor's decision earned him criticism from the "entire college contingent." Those who enlisted from the College of Emporia received their diplomas without graduating. ⁵¹

Who exactly came up with the idea for a college company remains a mystery. The idea could have simultaneously struck many Kansans. Dr. B.W. Woodruff, a faculty member at KU, corresponded with his brother in Pennsylvania, George Woodruff, a football coach at the University of Pennsylvania. The two supported the idea of a regiment of college students. Their original idea for the regiment included roughly 1,000 Pennsylvanian and 200 or 300 Kansan collegians. The regiment would be raised, Dr. Woodruff expressed, after the War Department assured that, "those who volunteer for this organization will be allowed to remain in one regiment and elect their own officers." 53

⁴⁹Topeka Daily Capital, 15 May 1898, 2.

⁵⁰Ibid.

⁵¹Emporia Daily Gazette, 16 May 1898, 1.

^{52&}quot;A college regiment," KU Weekly, 23 April 1898, 1.

⁵³ Ibid.

Students leapt at the news. KU was to form its own college militia, formed entirely of KU students alone. Not surprisingly, members of KU's football team expressed that "they would feel it a personal insult if they were left out." KU would then contribute this wealth of soldiers to merge with Pennsylvania's college militias, and after the conjoining of the two forces, elect the regimental and line officers. But things did not go as planned. Although Dr. Woodruff claimed he had no personal ambition in the entire matter other than simply shouldering "a musket in the ranks," KU's pride would stand in the way.

KU soon discovered a taste for its own glory and flatly refused being a "tail to Pennsylvania's kite." Students and faculty attacked Dr. Woodruff and his notion to join with the University of Pennsylvania, an institution Dr. Woodruff had attended. He canvassed KU for support, finding some supporters, but the University Council decided against the idea and students began to organize their own college company. George Rising, Ralph McKinnie and Dick Rodgers began looking for volunteers.

They left April 25 for Topeka to meet with Colonel Funston and Governor Leedy.

The governor reportedly gave his support for a student company KU could muster. The delegation returned Tuesday ready to sign students on, and the next day had over forty names on the roll for the College Company. The company met that noon on Wednesday, April 27, and elected their officers, with George Rising as Captain:

⁵⁴ Ibid.

^{55&}quot;Students volunteer," KU Weekly, 30 April 1898.

⁵⁶Ibid.

Salina, Kans., April 29.- George Rising, the young Kansas university student who was appointed as captain of the Kansas university volunteers, is a Salina boy. He is 22 years old and has a fair military education, being a graduate of the St. John's Military college of this city. He is a sober, industrious young man and will undoubtedly make a good soldier. He has lived in this city almost all his life ⁵⁷

That night, Rising, Chancellor Snow, and Regent Clark traveled to Topeka with the information. Chancellor Snow and George Rising returned the next day with the news that indeed a student company had been authorized to fill the slot for the "thirty-sixth company which was omitted in the first call for troops." When students' families heard of the plan, "tearful mothers" and "prayful sisters" sent letters imploring their sons and brothers "not to brave the dangers of Cuban warfare and fever. One boy however, received a letter from his father telling him to enlist." But, to the KU volunteers chagrin, the student company they had wanted exclusively for themselves to serve under Funston himself, must now include both the Normal School in Emporia and the Agricultural College in Manhattan, with the number from each college to be proportional to the number of male students in each. 60

KU students, to say the least, had a problem with this. They asserted they had the numbers to have a company entirely to themselves. Some said they would not go if they could not go together. Here KU attempted to hold its own for its own, and referred to the

The captain of the K.U.," Topeka Daily Capital, 30 April 1898, p.2.

⁵⁸⁴ Student's company," *Topeka Daily Capital*, 29 April 1898, 3.

⁵⁹Ibid.

⁶⁰Ibid.

other Kansas college volunteers as "pedagogues and farmers." It appeared KU did not think highly of sharing the College Company distinction with any other students in Kansas, let alone another state. Perhaps KU overlooked Captain Harshbarger's attempts to gather a college company at Washburn at the same time, or KSA's astute military-trained students such as Henry M. Thomas and Abner D. Whipple.⁶¹ What about Professor W.C. Stevenson at KSN, who not only had been leading a student battalion for ten years, but served directly under Governor Leedy himself as his Aide-de-Camp in the Kansas National Guard. The students and faculty of KSN, the citizens of Lyon County, and "Sons of Veterans" who held him in such high esteem penned a letter in February 1897 to Adjutant General H. Allen asking for his appointment to the governor's military staff.⁶² Certainly if a college company would exist, it had to include the other colleges, especially these colleges with students and faculty who have military knowledge. KSA petitioned to have its own distinct college company claiming their student cadets were "at present the most thoroly [sic] drilled military organization in the state." Arguably, they could have been

⁶¹Thomas and Whipple belonged to the graduating Military Class of 1898 from KSA, and having shown "special aptitude" for military service reported to the Adjutant General of the army under orders from the War Department. Adjutant General of the State of Kansas, *Twelfth Biennial Report* (Topeka: W.Y. Morgan, State Printer, 1900), 45.

⁶²W.C. Stevenson had also served on the military staff of Governor L.D. Lewelling. The letter contained 269 signatures. Lawyer John Madden to Adjutant General H. Allen, 8 February 1897, Governor Leedy Papers, Kansas State Historical Society.

⁶³"The Student Company," *The Students' Herald*, 4 May 1898, 2; also consult "The military spirit," *The Students' Herald*, 18 May 1898, 2, for more on KSA's opinions on a joint company.

considering their formalized military program led by a regular army officer. KSA's President Thomas E. Will wrote to the Kansas Adjutant General Hiram V. Allen May 4, patiently detailing a desire for KSA's equal membership in the College Company. A follow-up letter three days later sounded more earnest and proud:

Replying to your telegram of last evening will say that this college is prepared to furnish a company, officered, and educated in military science and tactics, and thoroughly drilled by a United States military officer detailed for that purpose; who is confident that this [KSA only company] would be by all odds the best company in the state.⁶⁵

He also wrote a number of letters to Governor John Leedy on behalf of KSA students, recommending them for military service in the Kansas volunteers. KSA also complained of having to have a "three-cornered" company, as it would require "severe discipline and service to fuse them together into a unified and efficient military body." KSA, like KU, did not wish to attach themselves as a "tail to anyone's kite." They fortunately understood that Governor Leedy meant neither them nor any other college a disservice — he simply had too many eager volunteers on hand. KSA prepared their argument for a

⁶⁴Letter Thomas E. Will to Kansas Adjutant General Hiram V. Allen, May 4, 1898, Governor Leedy Papers, Kansas State Historical Society.

⁶⁵Letter Thomas E. Will to Governor John Leedy, May 7, 1898, Governor Leedy Papers, Kansas State Historical Society.

⁶⁶Some of these letters may be found in the Thomas E. Will Papers in Kansas State University's Hale Library in Manhattan, Kansas and also in the Leedy Papers at the Kansas State Historical Society in Topeka, Kansas.

⁶⁷"The Student Company," *The Students' Herald*, 4 May 1898, 2; also consult "The military spirit," *The Students' Herald*, 18 May 1898, 2, for more on KSA's opinions on a joint company.

⁶⁸ Ibid.

larger representation in the next call for volunteers, readying their cadets and penning thorough and convincing letters to Leedy testifying to their skill.⁶⁹

One can imagine KU's surprise when they discovered that the new College Company, Company H, would not serve under Col. Funston's 20th Kansas Volunteer Infantry, but under Colonel Henry C. Lindsey's 22nd Kansas Volunteer Infantry.

Moreover, election of line officers happened through popular vote, and when the company elected officers on May 13, the elected Captain of Company H was none other than the "pedagogue," William Clarence Stevenson, the professor from Kansas State Normal in Emporia.

Capt. Stevenson recruiting in Emporia needed more eligible men for the company than KSN had due to its large quota and examination restrictions, so he

was obliged to solicit College [of Emporia] students. He succeeded in getting four: J.[ames] M. Todd, Wm. Barrett, R. F.[rank] Hart and J.[ohn] M. Carnine. These boys are not eligible under the order of Governor Leedy, but Professor Stevenson got around this little point by having the boys admitted to the Normal this morning. They were all issued class permits and this makes them eligible to the company of state students, although they have never attended a state school even for a day. The Agricultural college and the University will probably make a kick, as they should.⁷⁰

The College of Emporia stressed that enlisting was obviously a serious endeavor, and each man should think it over. But, for those four that went with Company H, it had this to say:

⁶⁹Leedy Papers, Kansas State Historical Society, Topeka, Kansas, *Manhattan Nationalist*, 27 May 1898, 6.

⁷⁰The College of Emporia was a Presbyterian college in Emporia, Kansas. *Emporia Daily Gazette*, 9 May 1898, 1.

Whatever the results of the struggle may mean to us, however much we may be carried along by the tide of the thrilling events of the day, we will ever remember the four of our number who at the first call of duty answered, "here!" W.M. Barrett, '98, J.M. Todd, '98, J.N. Carnine, '98 and R.F. Hart, '00 will go down in our history as the leaders in the cause of freedom for Cuba. May they soon return to us safely, crowned with the wreaths of victory.⁷¹

Though each school (excluding the College of Emporia) wanted to have its own exclusive company, the multitude of volunteers seeking a place in the war kept the College Company numbers small and required a proportional number of males age twenty-one or older from each college and university. Whether the arrangement suited everyone or not, Company H would be together from mustering-in to mustering-out.

⁷¹College Life, 14 May 1898, 4.

Chapter 2 COMMANDER, EDUCATOR, AND PROFESSIONAL: THE LIFE OF WILLIAM CLARENCE STEVENSON

William C. Stevenson, the self-made, energetic organizer and vitalizer of the commercial department and of the military battalion, everybody's friend and confidential advisor of many a discouraged and stranded student, Captain of Company H of the 22nd Regiment Kansas Volunteers, largely composed of students whose patriotism was ignited by his fiery zeal for his country at the opening of the Spanish-American War . . . ¹

No history of the "College Company," Company H, 22nd Kansas Volunteer

Infantry Regiment would be complete without the story of William Clarence Stevenson's life. Company H members knew their captain as a fair complexioned thirty-three year old, 5'11" with blue eyes and auburn hair² who they sometimes hated for his inflated ego. His students may have thought of him as "an Irishman with red hair and facial expressions so flexible as to reflect any mental mood that might exist at any given moment ..." The man had much to do with the success of the company – his charisma and determination helped give a base and a pillar to its foundation and reputation. With his captaincy, his years of military discipline culminated in a direct chance at the glory and status he both sought and deserved.

¹Albert Reynolds Taylor, *Autobiography*, (Decatur: Review Printing and Stationary Company, 1929), 71.

²His personal description comes from his limited military record, National Archives and Records Administration, General Reference Branch, Washington, D.C.

³This is how one Kansas State Normal student, Gaitha Page, class of 1899, remembered him. Gaitha Page, "Before the Turn of the Century," *Alumni News*, May 1963, 9.

But his efforts at war far from defined him. He brought himself up from humble beginnings, striving for educational and monetary wealth through hard work both "difficult and arduous." W.C. Stevenson, "a genius with a pen and a man of great sympathy and compassion," put great effort into everything he did, cared for people and gave enough of himself to earn the adoration of many who knew him.

William Clarence Stevenson entered the world Christmas Day, 1865, in Viroqua, Wisconsin.⁵ Born to James and Maria Stevenson, William was the oldest of five brothers, Ervin, Albert, Fred, and Oscar and one sister, Daisy.⁶ His family moved to Walker township in Ellis County, Kansas, when he was twelve years old.⁷ Here, Stevenson developed his natural skills as a teacher by schooling himself in his home.⁸ He taught in a school in Hays, Kansas, for a short time.⁹ He then traveled to Emporia, Kansas, to attend

⁴Ibid.

⁵The sources noting his place of birth differ. One cites "Virginia," the other "Viroque," and many, including censuses, cite "Wisconsin." Upon investigation of Wisconsin land records and Stevenson's military record, the author has concluded that Viroqua, in Vernon County, is Stevenson's correct place of birth. "Death of Professor Stevenson," *The Decaturian* 7, no. 2 (September 1909): 14; 1900 Kansas Census, vol. 30, e.d. 12, sheet 3, line 96; "Stevenson's death causes mourning," *Decatur Review*, 20 September 1909, 10.

⁶William's father James is cited as born in Canada, and his mother Maria in Ohio. 1880 Kansas Census, vol. 6, e.d. 88, sheet 12, line 7.

⁷"Death of Professor Stevenson," *The Decaturian* 7, no. 2 (September 1909): 14; "Stevenson's death causes mourning," *Decatur Review*, 20 September 1909, 10; 1880 Kansas Census, vol. 6, e.d. 88, sheet 12, line 7.

⁸Ibid.

⁹Ibid.

the Kansas State Normal School in 1883 to better his proficiencies and remained through late 1884.¹⁰ While at the Normal, Stevenson made many friends and showed a capacity for leadership and public speaking. He served as secretary of the Alpha Society, a debate and original oration organization, in 1884.¹¹ He belonged to the Lyceum literary society.¹² His debate that same year won him laurels over other students.¹³ He supposedly completed his training quickly.¹⁴

With this training, Stevenson taught penmanship in the Eureka, Kansas, school system and to its citizens in an "Institute of Penmanship," and served as East Side's principal from 1885-1887:15

Mr. W.C. Stevenson, one of our most popular students, has left the normal to take charge of the grammar department in the city schools of Eureka. The many kind inquiries made concerning him simply attest the high esteem in which he is held by his old normal friends. ¹⁶

¹⁰KSN, A History of the State Normal School of Kansas, for the First Twenty-five Years (Topeka: Kansas Publishing House, 1889), 169.

¹¹KSN, Annual Catalogue of the Officers and Students of the State Normal School (Topeka: Kansas Publishing House, 1889), 41; "Normal notes," Emporia Weekly News, 9 October 1884, 1.

¹²Emporia Weekly News, 18 December 1884, 3.

¹³⁶Normal Notes," Emporia Weekly News, 9 October 1884, 1.

¹⁴"Death of Professor Stevenson," *The Decaturian* 7, no. 2 (September 1909): 14; "Stevenson's death causes mourning," *Decatur Review*, 20 September 1909, 10.

¹⁵Eureka Herald, 27 March 1885, 4, 21 May 1886, 4, 1 October 1886, 4, 21 January 1887, 4, 4 March 1887, 4.

¹⁶ Normal notes," Emporia Weekly News, 22 January 1885, 3.

In early January 1885, Stevenson arrived in Eureka: "Last Saturday Mr. W.C. Stevenson, of the State Normal School, arrived in the city, and was engaged by the board, and entered upon his duties Monday . . ."¹⁷

Stevenson lived by himself in Eureka in single residence, making enough to support himself.¹⁸ He held a membership in the State Teachers' Association,¹⁹ and in Eureka's Literary Society.²⁰ For a time along with Miss Belle Frazier he edited "The Telescope," its weekly newsletter. He also belonged to the "Progress Lodge [no. 52] of the Good Templars," a Eureka temperance society, where he was an officer and an actor in their benefits to raise money.²¹ He never ceased doing all he could to better himself and his skills and continued his educational training in institutes, similar to modern workshops or summer courses, like the "Lyon County Institute." Ties to KSN never disappeared. He attended programs, celebrations, and reunions at his alma mater, keeping close to the school that would one day prove his avenue to professional fame.

¹⁷Eureka Democratic Messenger, 9 January 1885, 3.

¹⁸1885 Greenwood County Census, p. 34-35 (microfilm, p. 12), line 12.

¹⁹Eureka Herald, 27 March 1885, 4.

²⁰Eureka Herald, 19 February 1886, 4; 30 April 1886.

²¹Eureka Herald, 22 January 1886, 4; Eureka Democratic Messenger, 22 January 1886, 3, 30 April 1886, 3.

²²"The Lyon County Institute," *Emporia Weekly News*, 9 July 1885, 4.

²³"The Normal reunion," Emporia Weekly News, 7 January 1886, 3.

Stevenson's military interest first publicly surfaced in May 1885 when he tested for West Point in Emporia.²⁴ He did not pass, but that did not lessen his interest for in October 1886 he aided in the organization of Eureka's Military Company. In answer to a call by P. Sheridan LaMotte, a number of Eureka's young men met at the court house the evening of October 20 to organize a military company.²⁵ Under the advisement of Ira P. Nye, the men organized themselves into a military organization following state militia constitution guidelines with "intense enthusiasm" and elected William C. Stevenson as captain.²⁶

Stevenson left his position as principal at Eureka's East Side school in June of 1887 to reenter Kansas State Normal: "W.C. Stevenson came up from Eureka yesterday where he has just closed a successful year's work as principal of one of the ward schools. He entered the Normal today and will succeed W.H. Picken as the president's secretary." KSN's President Albert R. Taylor had hired Stevenson as his personal secretary because of Stevenson's competence in penmanship and bookkeeping. He studied well and earned grades averaging 90% in his classes. His orations drew great attention, reminding people of his keen cognizance and influential words. At KSN's Annual Contest in Essay and

²⁴Eureka Democratic Messenger, 8 May 1885, 3.

²⁵"Military company," *Eureka Democratic Messenger*, 29 October 1886, 3; "Military company," *Eureka Herald*, 29 October 1886, 1.

²⁶Ibid.

²⁷*The Daily Globe*, 3 June 1887, 4.

²⁸Averaged from his recorded grades in the "Summary Register," Registrar's Office, Emporia State University.

Oration on January 16, 1889, Stevenson tested his voice with "The Formation of Public Sentiments," a speech with "fine" delivery and with a convincing "description of the power of great orators, men with one idea and the press." In his mind, if not publicly, he must have likened himself as one of these men, or desired to be one. On "Class Day," 12 June 1889, the usual commencement celebration devoted to graduating students, Stevenson displayed his taste for greatness. The theme of the festivities centered around what the future held for the graduating seniors, and each came dressed as what they aspired to become. William C. Stevenson arrived at the celebration as "Generalissimo Williamo Clarencio Stevensonio, commander-in-chief of the Legions of America." He did not live in fantasy land where he thought himself God, but dreaming could not hurt.

It did not take long for Stevenson to convince the Normal that his abilities as a teacher combined with his knowledge in commercial matters made him the best candidate as a professor of penmanship and bookkeeping. Upon his "Elementary Course" graduation in 1889, Stevenson began teaching such classes to eager students and developing the first regular commercial department at Kansas State Normal in 1891
1892.31 Stevenson proved a phenomenal educator. The Board of Regents made him a full

²⁹"Annual contest," *Emporia Weekly Republican*, 17 January 1889, 2.

³⁰"Class day," *Emporia Weekly Republican*, 13 June 1889, 4; KSN, "Program for Class Day: June 12, 1889, 8 P.M."

³¹Everett D. Fish and Kathryn E. Kayser, "An Outline of the History of the Kansas State Teachers College of Emporia 1865-1934 (Sourcebook)" (Master's thesis, Kansas State Teachers College, 1936), 170.

professor in April of 1892.³² He actually taught two different, though related, fields. In both, he espoused virtue and thrift, attaching unimposing moral judgment to everyday life and lessons. Bookkeeping dealt with matters of accounting, business, ethics, and relations. Penmanship determined one's ability to write correctly, fluidly, and concisely. Both were sciences, but contained art. Stevenson especially gave an art to his penmanship. It seemed generated in simpleness, uniformity and attractiveness. Ironically, his personal handwriting and instructions shied away from the profuse. He did not waste valuable page space with curls and swirls, yet, in a somewhat modern sense, penned paragraphs in a casual but careful style, and taught others to do the same, all the while mindful of professionalism.

His publications included: Stevenson's Plate Book, Stevenson's Introductory

Bookkeeping and Teachers' Reference Book.³³ In Stevenson's Stevenson's Introductory

Bookkeeping, he gives the reader in its "Preface" his philosophy that had carried him this

far and consequently made him a successful teacher:

This book is the result of years of teaching, and is fresh from the class-room. It is based upon the idea that the student should be taught to be a thinking, acting being, rather than an automaton, performing certain processes by rule. . . .

The author believes that a study of business principles is a moral training, as great if not greater than much which is popularly so considered. Right relations between individuals lead to true moral insight and right moral dispositions. . . . The teacher of bookkeeping has an opportunity to teach honesty without the students knowing it, for he who is sympathetic, accurate and prompt is quite likely to be industrious, and the industrious are seldom dishonest.³⁴

³²"Personals," The State Normal Quarterly 4, no. 1 (April 1892): 14.

³³KSN, *Kodak* (Emporia, KS: KSN, 1898), 40.

³⁴Stevenson's Introductory Bookkeeping (Topeka: J.S. Parks, 1899) 3.

In his penmanship handbook Stevenson's Plate Book, Stevenson introduces his "slant" on correct penmanship. "Natural slant" dealt with the angle/slant of the pen in hand to the paper. Stevenson argued that, instead of worrying about the exact angle chosen such as 30 degrees or 60 degrees, just find one that is comfortable and always use it so the slants stay uniform.³⁵ Hence, "natural slant" got its name. This natural slant should be used in conjunction with a correct arm position of a 90 degree bent elbow where the pivoting for the hand centers, keeping the hand off the paper at all times. Though natural slant may seem like common sense, it was indeed revolutionary and earned him national acclaim in penmanship. Emporia schools first used his penmanship lessons, then Kansas adopted his bookkeeping and penmanship teachings and texts statewide. 36 At the 1893 World's Fair twenty to thirty bound volumes of his students' penmanship manuscripts sat in the education exhibit. One observer said, "The best test of any system is its product, and judged by this test you have reason to be proud of your book and course in penmanship."³⁷ Stevenson liked to compile albums of penmanship examples. As a facilitating class exercise started in 1895, he had each of his students at the Normal write to an important/noteworthy person and ask for a sample of his or her penmanship, mainly a letter of response. The enormous collection of correspondence from prominent people

³⁵Stevenson's Plate Book (Emporia: Rowland, 1891), 2.

³⁶The State Normal Quarterly 5, no. 3 (October 1893): 22; "Stevenson's Introductory Bookkeeping," State Normal Monthly 12, no. 2 (November 1899): 32.

³⁷The State Normal Quarterly 5, no. 4 (January 1894): 33.

he bound and displayed in the penmanship room.³⁸ Educators across the country thanked him for quality penmanship lessons, including Howard Keeler, the principal of the commercial department, Boys' High School, Brooklyn, New York.³⁹

Stevenson's participation while a professor at Kansas State Normal extended into many areas. He served as the "recording secretary" of the Young Men's Christian Association (YMCA) in Emporia in 1890.⁴⁰ He belonged to the Alumni Association since at least 1891 and most likely before.⁴¹ He was its president in 1895 and presided at the following year's banquet.⁴² He wrote columns on penmanship and bookkeeping for *The Normal Quarterly* and its later versions, *The State Normal Quarterly* and *State Normal Monthly*.⁴³ "For the purpose of economizing in our advertising and keeping in touch with absent and prospective students," President Taylor founded *State Normal Quarterly*, and

³⁸ From the albums in the Department of Bookkeeping and Penmanship," State Normal Monthly 11, no. 5 (February 1899): 80, 12, no. 4 (January 1900): 60; Students' Salute, 29 January 1895, 3.

³⁹ Natural penmanship in greater New York," *State Normal Monthly* 10, no. 6 (March 1898): 93.

^{40cc}Annual meeting, Y.M.C.A.," Emporia Weekly Republican, 21 August 1890, 1.

⁴¹ "Alumni reunion and banquet," *The State Normal Quarterly* 3, no. 2 (July 1891): 10.

⁴²KSN, *Kodak* (Emporia: KSN, 1898), 40.

⁴³Consult "A Word About Bookkeeping," *The Normal Quarterly* 2, no. 2 (July 1890): 13, "Faculty Round Table," 3, no. 2 (July 1891): 14, "Faculty Round Table," 3, no. 3 (October 1891): 12, "Faculty Round Table," 3, no. 4 (January 1892): 29, "Faculty Round Table," 4, no. 1 (April 1892): 3, "Faculty Round Table," 4, no. 3 (October 1892): 19, "Faculty Round Table," 4, no. 4 (January 1893): 27, 5, no. 2 (July 1893): 16, 5, no. 4 (January 1894): 34, "The Faculty Round Table," 6, no. 2 (July 1894): 17; "Applied Penmanship," *State Normal Monthly* 11, no. 3 (December 1898): 46.

employed Professor Stevenson to manage its business operations when it became the *Monthly*. With Stevenson at Camp Alger in the summer of 1898, a slight pause in its publication occurred. He belonged to the National Education Association, attending their annual conventions across the country and aiding in their "teachers' excursions" — trips to some part of America or Europe through the NEA. When at the NEA conference in Milwaukee in 1897, one "veteran teacher of penmanship said that it had taken him nearly forty years to determine the principles which Professor Stevenson had so successfully discovered in a few years." He remembered his old society, the Lyceum, giving its hall's program frame an "additional charm of artistic decoration" with his penmanship skills. He taught in summer sessions, "Institutes" for different counties, and the Normal school. In spite of all of these endeavors he also found time to belong to the State and National Penman's Associations, and serve as president in 1900 and 1901 of National Confederation of Commercial Teachers.

⁴⁴Taylor, 79.

⁴⁵State Normal Monthly 11, no. 1 (October 1898): 8.

⁴⁶Consult "Faculty notes," *The Normal Quarterly* 2, no. 3 (October 1890): 21, 2, no. 4 (January 1891): 30, 3, no. 2 (July 1891): 13, 3, no. 3 (October 1890): 21,

⁴⁷ The N.E.A. at Milwaukee," *State Normal Monthly* 10, no. 1 (October 1897): 10.

⁴⁸ The Societies," *The State Normal Quarterly* 3, no. 1 (April 1891): 6, 5, no. 6 (April 1893): 10.

⁴⁹ "Faculty notes," *The State Normal Quarterly* 4, no. 1 (April 1892): 6, "Summer school," 6, no. 1 (April 1894): 8.

⁵⁰"Professor W.C. Stevenson," *State Normal Monthly* 12, no. 9 (June 1900): 141, 13, no. 4 (January 1901): 56, "Professional courtesy," 10, no. 4 (January 1898): 57,

Ms. Lena Leonard, from Dover, Kansas, caught William Stevenson's eye when she entered the Normal for the 1891-1892 school year. She took a class of his in penmanship, and earned a grade of 90%. They quickly developed a loving relationship and she married William in August of 1892, taking up housekeeping full time by leaving the Normal. They spent their honeymoon taking a trip east, seeing such places as Chicago, Detroit, Niagara Falls, West Point, New York City and Washington, D.C. Together they had two children: Dorothy, born July 1896 and Shirley who came later. Professor Stevenson lived alone at 1107 Merchant before he married Lena, after which she moved in with him there. In 1895 or 1896, possibly anticipating the arrival of their daughter Dorothy, they moved into a new home at 1017 Mechanic.

He kept his heart and home open for all of his students. He held socials for them just for the enjoyment of it all. ⁵⁶ Games, food and conversation comprised the festivities. On Thanksgiving 1896, the Stevensons had Normal students over to their house for the holiday. The friends spent the night sharing stories, listening to Professor Stevenson read

[&]quot;Kansas State Penmanship Association," 12, no. 3 (December 1899): 44, 12, no. 4 (January 1900): 56.

⁵¹Her recorded grade in "Penmanship," Registrar's Office, Emporia State University.

⁵²The State Normal Quarterly 4, no. 3 (October 1892): 21. She does not appear on any class rosters past 1892.

⁵³Ibid., 22.

⁵⁴Emporia City Directory: 1890-1891 (Emporia: Ezra Lamborn, 1891), 151.

⁵⁵ Emporia City Directory: 1896 (Iola, Kansas: E.S. Davis, 1896), 208.

⁵⁶ A class social," Students' Salute, 14 December 1895, 61.

literature, and playing games such as "cracking nuts." After a swell evening, the guests bid their hosts good-night and "wended their way homeward feeling very grateful indeed for the 'good times' of this Thanksgiving evening."⁵⁷

Fulfilling a desire to excel not only in his career as a penmanship and bookkeeping instructor and scholar but also in military leadership, Stevenson utilized his opportunity as an educator in a large institution to call upon available young men to join a volunteer military battalion. He responded to a "proposition of the boys that they engage in military drill instead of baseball" and organized "The KSN Battalion" in the fall of 1889.⁵⁸ The ranks consisted of students, led by students, but could also include interested faculty, as the presence of Professors Joseph H. Hill and Daniel Ellsworth in 1893 indicate.⁵⁹ The Battalion, as it was known, gained momentum and in 1891 reached a membership of over one hundred.⁶⁰ This is the year the Battalion held its first annual banquet, which would become a grand yearly social attended by scores of celebrants.⁶¹ Stevenson was gaining the eminence he sought, building the network of able-bodied and resourceful student soldiers ready to defend their country, if need be, and under him if possible. He gave

⁵⁷ Professor and Mrs. Stevenson entertain," *Students' Salute*, 5 December 1896, 55.

⁵⁸ The Battalion," KSN, Kodak (Emporia, KS: KSN, 1898), 168.

⁵⁹Professor Joseph H. Hill taught Latin and later became KSN's president; Daniel Ellsworth taught history.

⁶⁰⁴ The Battalion," KSN, Kodak (Emporia, KS: KSN, 1898), 168.

⁶¹Ibid; State Normal Monthly 10, no. 6 (March 1898): 88; Students' Salute, 15 February 1896, 86, 29 February 1896, 96, 20 March 1897, 105; "Battalion banquet," The Oven, 17 March 1899, 1.

students the chance to hone their bodies in a joint discipline with their minds. He must have done his job as Commandant well, for the Battalion gained such notoriety as a quality militia that women found membership in it attractive. He supervised the enlistment of over one hundred female students into the Battalion's Company B in 1892.⁶² The Battalion drilled year after year, maintaining a good deal of discipline without the authority to enforce it militarily. They performed at "Field Day" exercises, ⁶³ wore ranked uniforms and carried arms supplied by the Kansas state government. ⁶⁴ They held competitive drills among its own members to foster improvement. ⁶⁵ Its fame and its size grew to include three companies that demonstrated for the public and camped northeast of the city in "Camp [Albert] Taylor," on the bank of the Neosho in 1897. ⁶⁶

Tents, and a well-organized commissary department with regular duty and the fun incident to camp life, made the occasion a most enjoyable one. The faculty came out in the evening and enjoyed the fires, and did justice to the beans. The

⁶²Ibid; also "Faculty Round Table," *The State Normal Monthly* 4, no. 3 (April 1892): 3.

⁶³Consult "Field Day," The State Normal Quarterly 3, no. 2 (July 1891): 1,

⁶⁴Fish and Kayser (Thesis), 102. These rifles ended up back in government care when the war with Spain broke out and when substitutes were issued to students after the war, cadets could have a rifle if they paid a rental fee. Board of Regents, Kansas State Normal School, "Twelfth Biennial Report: 1899-1900" (Topeka: J.S. Parks, State Printer, 1900), 18.

⁶⁵The State Normal Monthly 5, no. 2 (July 1893): 14; "Review of the military drill," Students' Salute, 12 September 1896, 6, 23 May 1896, 145, 11 January 1896, 71, 2 November 1895, 9 January 1897, 67.

⁶⁶"The Battalion," KSN, *Kodak* (Emporia, KS: KSN, 1898), 170; "Battalion annual outing," *Students' Salute*, 7 November 1896, 38.

guards were disturbed by the enemy at all hours of the night, and one was captured ... 67

The "enemy" referred to were rodents and one found its end on the point of a bayonet.

The members of the KSN Battalion so favored Commandant Stevenson's efforts through the years that they passed a resolution thanking him for his "faithfully and unselfishly" laboring and presented him with a gold medal in 1896.⁶⁸

KSN's President Albert R. Taylor reported his approval of the KSN Battalion when America found itself in the Spanish-American War:

The "battalion" has been organized for about nine years, and during that time 500 or 600 young men have enrolled for military drill. The beneficial effect of the exercise in a physical way has been most marked upon them all. When the call came last spring for volunteers, former members of the battalion in all parts of the state were among the first to respond. Their acquaintance with military tactics made them at once most valuable soldiers, many of them being given important official positions. The advantage of having a few such men ready for duty at the call of the nation needs no urging. An eminent authority estimated that thirty per cent. of the first three Kansas regiments organized in May last were school-teachers. They were found in large numbers in almost every regiment that enlisted during the civil war. Their patriotism has never been found lagging. . . .

Our Professor Stevenson, now captain of Company H, Twenty-second Kansas regiment, organized the [B]attalion originally and has been a most efficient officer in charge to this time. To his enthusiasm and tact are due its popularity and efficiency. He will, of course, resume his relation to it on his return. I might add that military drill is provided as a physical exercise for the young men in many high schools in this country and that the demand for teachers capable of giving it is increasing.⁶⁹

⁶⁷Ibid.

⁶⁸Students' Salute, 13 June 1896, 159.

⁶⁹Board of Regents, Kansas State Normal School, "Eleventh Biennial Report: 1897-1898" (Topeka: J.S. Parks, State Printer, 1898), 22-23.

President Taylor reserved Stevenson's position at KSN for him upon his return:

When the call was made for volunteers last spring, Prof. W.C. Stevenson, of the department of penmanship and bookkeeping, felt it his duty to enlist. He was at once elected captain of Company H, Twenty-second Kansas regiment, and has served in that capacity to the present time. Adjustments of classes were made and additional assistance secured so as to reserve his position for him in case he should return within a reasonable length of time. The regiment is now mustered out and he has resumed the work of the department.⁷⁰

Stevenson may have had enough of the military life for awhile to ease off a bit after the intense 1898 summer and thus appointed someone to replace him as the Battalion's commandant. He acted from then on as an advisor.⁷¹

Stevenson's military experience included not only the KSN Battalion, but the Kansas National Guard as well. Since 1895, when commissioned as a major on the staff of Governor L.D. Lewelling, Stevenson had been an active part of the Kansas National Guard. He belonged to Emporia's Company I, and later worked under another Kansas Governor's military staff. Governor John W. Leedy appointed him as his *aide-de-camp*. His rank at this time was lieutenant colonel. He would enter the war as captain of the "College Company," Company H, 22nd Kansas Volunteer Infantry Regiment. Some of the enlisted men under his command in Company H that summer in Camp Alger criticized his leadership harshly, and may have been warranted in some aspects of their complaints regarding his stern and unyielding military personality. That phase of his life remained an

⁷⁰Ibid., 6.

⁷¹⁶ The Battalion," State Normal Monthly 12, no. 1 (October 1899): 14.

⁷²Adjutant General of the State of Kansas, *Eleventh Annual Report* (Topeka: J.S. Parks, State Printer, 1899) 21.

incongruity, as it was unlike Stevenson not to be punctilious and sympathetic. Whether he commanded poorly or not can largely depend on the view point of those examining him.

After the war, he returned to the Kansas National Guard in Emporia and a year later became the captain of Company I, 2nd Infantry.⁷³

Stevenson resigned from Kansas State Normal in 1900 to accept a position at Port Deposit, Maryland, as the head of the Commercial Department there. At an alumni banquet some good-byes were said:

The "Fancy, Fate and Folly of the Alumni" was then disposed of by W.C. Stevenson, '89, with his characteristic humor. At the close of his remarks he was startled by the solemn voice of the toastmaster exclaiming, "Sir, you are our prisoner! Though you leave us, we keep you a prisoner in our hearts. You learned to 'spoon' in these halls and now, on behalf of the members of the faculty, I present to you and Mrs. Stevenson this gift [sets of solid silver spoons] as a token of our everlasting friendship." Professor Stevenson replied in a voice subdued with feeling . . ."⁷⁴

Maybe his time spent with the army in the east had warmed his heart to more modern parts of the country. Maybe he secretly harbored some embarrassment at spending years training and waiting for a prestigious military campaign that shattered with the mustering out orders of the 22nd. In Emporia he had no lack of friends or sense of community.

Perhaps his salary was not enough for him at this point in his life or professional career.

The KSN Board of Regents seemed to think this may be so when Taylor reported:

⁷³Adjutant General of the State of Kansas, *Twelfth Annual Report* (Topeka: W.Y. Morgan, State Publisher, 1900), 37; "Personals," *State Normal Monthly* 12, no. 7 (April 1900): 109.

⁷⁴"Alumni banquet," *State Normal Monthly* 12, no. 9 (June 1900): 137, "Professor W.C. Stevenson," 141.

We continue to lose some of our best instructors on account of our inability to pay the salaries offered elsewhere. . . . Prof. W.C. Stevenson, widely known throughout the country as the author of the natural-slant system of penmanship and of a course in bookkeeping, was, in 1900, called to the head of the commercial department in the Tome Institute, at Port Deposit, Md. 75

Before arriving in Port Deposit in August, Stevenson attended school at the University of Chicago.⁷⁶

Stevenson did not spend much time in Port Deposit, Maryland. Though the head of his commercial department with a reputation behind him, he remained on the faculty for only three years until 1904 when he is compelled to leave. A great deal of the impetus to move came from a tragic inheritance of his volunteering for the Spanish-American War. Sometime during his service, Stevenson contracted an ailment or conditions which caused a deterioration of his health. He believed moving back west into drier climes would relieve him. He decided upon a university in Decatur, Illinois. James Millikin University, a new institution like the Tome Institute, could use his expertise. Moreover, his friend, the once president of KSN, Albert R. Taylor, sat in the president's chair at Millikin University. Before he left the Tome Institute, he had attended the University of Virginia in 1901 and earned an LL.B. from Columbian University (George Washington University) in 1902.

At Millikin, William Stevenson did what he did best, ranking among the first business teachers in this country. His ingenuity shaped the commercial department while he served as chair: "Under the able and enthusiastic direction of Professor William

⁷⁵Board of Regents, Kansas State Normal School, "Twelfth Biennial Report: 1899-1900" (Topeka: J.S. Parks, State Printer, 1900), 5.

⁷⁶State Normal Monthly 12, no. 9 (June 1900): 139.

Clarence Stevenson, the [Commercial] School grew in numbers, equipment, esprit de corps, the latter an intangible but valuable asset in business."⁷⁷ He made friends of colleagues and colleagues of strangers, advising students in business as best he could. He managed his publications and sold them country-wide. The military spirit inside Stevenson blossomed yet again, and he placed himself as requested at the head of the formation of Millikin's student "Battalion." "The military spirit evidently has taken deep root at Millikin," the story went. "Too much credit cannot be given Professor Stevenson for his tireless efforts in creating and developing the movement."⁷⁸

The Milliken Battalion attracted a number of students which astounded the faculty and other students alike. It drilled every Tuesday and Thursday afternoons starting in 1905 complete with uniforms and rifles. Stevenson was major, the chief advisor for two companies who knew his military record and respected him. He also established the old KSN tradition of an annual Battalion banquet, the first at Millikin happening in June of 1905. The scenario was familiar to Stevenson, but he thoroughly enjoyed it.

Stevenson stayed in touch with the school that had given him so many memories. He continued to admire KSN and its willingness to keep alumni informed of the alma mater's happenings. He wrote to *The Normal Alumnus* exclaiming, "It [*The Normal Alumnus*] will be a great blessing for both the children and the mother. Put me on the

⁷⁷Millikin University, *Millidek* (1909), 27.

⁷⁸The Decaturian 2, no. 7 (March 1905): 7.

⁷⁹Ibid., no. 10 (June 1905): 4.

⁸⁰ Ibid., 9.

century list." *The Normal Alumnus* also reported that Stevenson had recently built an exquisite home in Decatur for \$4,200 that gained the attention of the city's residents.⁸¹

But all of the success he spent years building would come to a untimely end. The illness he could not shake from his time with the 22nd Kansas in Camp Alger began to overtake him. "Impaired health compelled Professor Stevenson to resign his duties entirely in December, 1908. The event has called forth multiplied manifestations of sympathy, affection, and esteem, from students, faculty associates, and the community, which beautifully express the worth of the man and his work." It was believed the break, albeit an unwanted one, would help.

On Saturday evening, September 18, 1909, William Stevenson took his two daughters for a walk. Everything seemed fine and he claimed to feel better than usual. Around midnight, he awoke with great pain and the family called for a physician. Despite the efforts of the physician, Stevenson grew worse into the morning, became unconscious, and did not wake till the time of his death at 11:30 a.m. Sunday morning September 19, 1909, Professor William Clarence Stevenson died. *The State Normal Bulletin* printed this unglamourous summary of his life:

Professor William C. Stevenson, '89, who for several years was the head of the commercial department here, died recently. Mr. Stevenson was captain of one of the companies of the Twenty-second Kansas during the Spanish-American War. This company was made up of students from the Normal, University and

⁸¹KSN, The Normal Alumnus, November 1905, 30.

⁸² Millikin University, Millidek (1909), 27.

^{83&}quot;Death of Professor Stevenson," The Decaturian 7, no. 2 (September 1909), 14.

Agricultural College. For the last few years Mr. Stevenson has been teacher of commercial work in the James Millikin University of Decatur, Illinois.⁸⁴

Kansas State Normal faculty did send flowers and a student male quartet to the funeral, however. The student yearbook of Millikin University wrote in memoriam:

In affectionate remembrance of the Organizer of our School of Commerce and Finance, whose faithful labor placed it on a high plane, and whose cheerful disposition and willingness to help endeared him in the hearts of the faculty and the entire student body.⁸⁵

The people in Decatur who knew him were devastated. A man had died long before his time, a victim of a disease adopted without an equal trade, for he never faced a human enemy as a military commander. People grieved him immensely because of the qualities they would now miss:

Prof. Stevenson was particularly popular with the entire student body at Millikin for his good humor and cheerful disposition and his willingness to help. It was always his ambition to place the school [Millikin] on a high plane and he was satisfied that he had reached that desire when he was forced to resign.

... He was known as a patriot and improved every occasion to exalt in the glory of his country. He was a popular speaker at public occasions and his enthusiasm was uncurbed.⁸⁶

His father and mother, sister Daisy (Stevenson) Polk and four brothers Irving, Oscar, and Albert, of Chicago, and Fred of Boise City, Idaho, all lived to bury William.⁸⁷ The university felt his death with such impact that it draped the campus buildings in black and

⁸⁴ Professor William C. Stevenson," *The State Normal Bulletin*, 24 September 1909, 16.

⁸⁵ Millidek (1910), n.p.

^{86&}quot;Death of Professor Stevenson," The Decaturian 7, no. 2 (September 1909), 14.

⁸⁷Ibid; "Stevenson's death causes mourning," *Decatur Review*, 20 September 1909, 10.

flew the flag at half mast. 88 All classes in the commercial department ceased for the day and afternoon classes in other departments had the afternoon free to attend the funeral. At his funeral held at 2 p.m. two days after his death in the Stevenson residence at 945 West William Street in Decatur, the university turned out en masse, no doubt crowding the property. Reverend J.C. Willits of the First Methodist Church led the services assisted by President A.R. Taylor. Taylor eulogized Stevenson:

I have known our brother intimately as a student for nearly 25 years as a private secretary, as captain in the army, and as a friend. We were quick in responding to each other, when first we met, and his great worth grew upon me with his advancing years.

Among the men I have known I do not think of one who was always so happy, who could so ingratiate himself into the confidence of the young people whom he chanced to meet, not one who found so many ways in which he could serve them. His correspondence with some kindred spirits would make a little volume of letters that would grace any series on the master passion of friendship.

... He was a rare entertainer, and his home was one of the most hospitable in all our circle. In it he was the ideal of his family and the generous host to all who entered its doors.⁸⁹

Millikin University further adopted a resolution to honor their dead professor. It included a recognition of Stevenson's contribution to the commercial department's success and his many favorable traits that kept him so well loved. It sympathized with Mrs. Stevenson by saying, ". . . we extend to his devoted wife and children our sincere appreciation of the value of the life of our former associate. May she, in her sorrow, find solace in the

⁸⁸ Ibid.

⁸⁹⁴ University turns out for funeral," Decatur Review, 22 September 1909, 10.

memory of the life so devoted and exalted in purpose." Pallbearers placed his body in Decatur's Greenwood Cemetery. 91

He certainly had collected a number of friends through his life, sharing kindness and compassion with many who knew him. His speciality in commercial matters earned him national attention. Military aptitude gained him respect and position. His family lost a loving father and husband. In his life he made mistakes, angering some people with his adamant character. But by striving for something better than mediocrity, against all odds and human shortcomings, he achieved greatness. When he passed, most people could and would remember William Clarence Stevenson as a good man.

⁹⁰ Ibid.

⁹¹W.C. Stevenson's grave marker is still in Greenwood Cemetery, block 14, lot 106, south half. It is square and of gray stone.

Chapter 3 GIFTS AND KISSES: LIFE AT CAMP LEEDY

It is the difference between a picnic and a war, and between state camps, where soldier business is a vacation, and the stern reality of warfare.

In early May those that had organized into Company H headed to Topeka's "Camp Leedy"² to be reexamined and, on May 12, were mustered into the service of the United States. Emporia that afternoon had seen its college boys off.³ Before the public demonstration, the recruits met with Kansas State Normal friends and family in the assembly room at 11 a.m. Speeches and music filled people's ears. A "company of handsome Normal girls" pinned silk flags and a rose to each soldier's coat lapel, along with the "Taylor pin" and wished each "God-speed." Before leaving the Normal, the "kindergarten filed in" and presented each soldier with a tiny flag, amplifying the hopes and anxieties that must have filled their hearts. At the depot, Professor W.C. Stevenson, among others, spoke in front of hundreds of cheering students and Emporians. The Hutchinson band played on the depot platform and the College of Emporia entered a yelling contest with Kansas Normal. People hopped on the moving train because they

¹Topeka Daily Capital, 10 June 1898, 3.

²"Camp Leedy" was the Topeka Fairgrounds in south Topeka named after the governor.

³"The Normal soldiers," *Emporia Daily Gazette*, 12 May 1898, 1.

^{4&}quot;The Normal volunteers," State Normal Monthly 10, no. 8 (May 1898), 137.

"could not bear to break away from the Normal soldiers." The company mustered in individually from other companies, but when all of the companies of the 22nd had been mustered in, they gathered near the center of Camp Leedy at noon on May 17 and the entire regiment mustered in. The companies drew up in close columns and the rolls of officers and men of each company were called. Any enlistees not present were satisfactorily accounted for. Henry C. Lindsey served as Colonel, James Graham as Lieutenant Colonel, and Alexander M. Harvey and Chase Doster as Majors.

At this time, the College Company representation included: State Normal, 36; Washburn, 17; State University, 16; State Agricultural, 11; and College of Emporia, 4.8 These numbers would grow in June when Capt. Stevenson recruited more men to fill the War Department's new size quota.

The College Company finally held elections for their officers May 13. People had wondered whether delayed elections would hurt the company's chance at success, because other companies seemed better organized.⁹ The company elected Professor William C.

⁵Emporia Daily Gazette, 13 May 1898, 1.

⁶Major A.M. Harvey's address before the Kansas State Historical Society, 16 January 1900, George W. Martin, ed., *Kansas Historical Collections: 1897-1900*. Topeka: W.Y. Morgan, State Printer, 1900, 138.

^{7&}quot;The Twenty-second," *Topeka Daily Capital*, 18 May 1898, 2.

^{8&}quot;Camp Leedy notes," *Topeka Daily Capital*, 19 May 1898, 3; *Emporia Daily Gazette*, 19 May 1898, 2.

⁹It is important to note that other companies were undoubtedly more homogeneous, comprised of a town, city, or region's citizens, while Company H shared only their status as collegians, which in fact could be argued as a detriment to cohesion as much as a commonality.

Stevenson as Captain, Henry M. Thomas as First Lieutenant, and George H. Rising as Second Lieutenant. Hoyt Cates was appointed second cook for a time.¹⁰ KSA's earlier dissatisfaction with Company H's make-up eased somewhat when one of their own earned the First Lieutenancy.¹¹ One interpretation of the proceedings asserts that Stevenson, along with the other officers, were elected by the company unanimously and contrary to what people expected, everything went smoothly and "politics was all below the surface."¹² While yet another offered a more comical story:

A combination is already said to have been effected in the school company, by which the Normal will get the captaincy, the Agricultural college the first lieutenantcy and the University the second lieutenantcy [sic], providing it lies down and doesn't make a fight. If the University kicks, it is said that the other two schools will combine and take all the offices. This combination may fall through and upset all plans. If it does it will only open the way for new ones. There is little doubt that more politics will enter into the election of officers for this company than has entered into that of any other.¹³

The resentment towards the University's position could have come from Lieut. Rising. He arrived in Camp Leedy first and apparently made himself unpopular by

having several of the students who were opposed to him being elected captain of the full company placed in the guard house on the charge of insubordination. The matter was brought to the attention of Governor Leedy and Rising was ordered deposed and Thomas placed in charge. When Stevenson arrived it was settled that he should be made captain, because of his age and his knowledge of military tactics.¹⁴

¹⁰KU Weekly, 21 May 1898, 3.

¹¹Manhattan Nationalist, 20 May 1898, 7.

¹²"Officers elected," *Topeka Daily Capital* 14 May 1898, 5.

¹³Emporia Daily Gazette, 13 May 1898, 4.

¹⁴ The College Company," *Topeka State Journal*, 13 May 1898, 2.

The men settled it nonetheless and the results did come out just as this source believed.

KSA's Professor Thomas E. Will wrote to Private Philo S. Burkholder at Camp Leedy and had this to say:

I learned only recently, thru [sic] conversation with Lieutenant H.M. Thomas, of this college, that you were in the student company. I am sure you will find Mr. Thomas a most excellent gentleman, and trust your relations with him, and will in fact all our college men, may be as pleasant as can be desired. I understand that the company has gotten over its bickering, this in fact having been confined to only a small section of the company, and that everything is in excellent condition.¹⁵

More than just these three candidates bid for the three officerships. Charles J. Watson and Eric Boyd also wanted to be officers. When Watson showed up in a KU junior law class May 12 claiming to be sent by the adjutant general to muster recruits and gave remarks "which verged on a fourth of July oration," someone asserted, "patriotism did not consist in enlisting to help elect an officer." Eric Boyd explained that Watson had not been sent by the adjutant general and only sought clout for the position both he and Boyd wanted. In the end, neither of them became officers. If politics did continue to plague the company, it usually remained "well below the surface."

Conditions at Camp Leedy differed greatly from the camp where Company H would later be stationed, Camp Alger¹⁷ in Virginia. Camp Leedy lay close to home, in familiar territory, so close in fact that the college "boys" regularly received visitors and

¹⁵Letter President Thomas E. Will to Private Philo S. Burkholder, 19 May 1898, Thomas E. Will Papers, Hale Library, Kansas State University, Manhattan, Kansas.

¹⁶"After recruits," KU Weekly, 14 May 1898, 3.

¹⁷Camp Alger was named after Russell A. Alger, U.S. Secretary of War.

gifts of "sweetmeats and dainty articles of food" from family and friends. Camp Leedy provided a semi-pleasant transition into the military service. One soldier at Camp Alger would later write, "the quarters at Camp Leedy were a paradise compared to what Camp Alger affords and the kickers have at last found a just cause for complaint." ¹⁸

Every day train loads of volunteers had arrived in Topeka and citizens greeted them with musical bands and cheers. The already established recruits greeted them with phrases like "Soldier, will you work," or "Fresh fish in camp." Soldiers trudged through mud to pitch their tents if they had one and get as comfortable as they could. Each private received two blankets and every ten men were apportioned a bundle of straw. Many of the enlistees arrived at camp wearing their "oldest and most worthless clothes" assuming that the state would issue them new uniforms. The officers of the regiment made attempts to procure the uniforms as soon as possible, only to discover that no issuance of uniform or arms would come to Kansas. The United States government arranged for this to occur at the mobilization camps, not state camps. Although they wouldn't get their uniforms and equipment until they arrived at Camp Alger, Virginia, Company H didn't suffer too terribly, with friends and resources nearby.

¹⁸⁶Word from 22nd," *Topeka Daily Capital*, 2 June 1898, 6.

^{19c}Life in Camp Leedy" a letter written by C.D. Montgomery, Co. M, 21st KS Vol. Reg., Chickamauga, Georgia, and printed in *The Students' Herald*, 22 September 1898, 2.

²⁰"Camp Leedy notes," *Topeka Daily Capital*, 2 May 1898, 4.

²¹Harvey, 139; consult also the many articles in the *Topeka Daily Capital*, *Topeka State Journal* and *Emporia Daily Gazette*.

The 22nd settled in the northeast corner of Camp Leedy. The KU volunteers of Company H who had quartered themselves in the top of the Exposition building²² now shared their space with the Normal students of Company H. Thankfully, "no reports of bloodshed" were heard.²³ The men ate a supper of beans, potatoes, hardtack, and coffee.²⁴ The rest of the 22nd who did not have tents stayed in the lower portion of the Exposition building until May 18 when Lt. Col. Graham had acquired enough tents to house everyone.²⁵ Many of the men gladly moved into the tents because the buildings had "grown rather filthy as a result of the long siege of bad weather."²⁶ The roof also had a number of holes in it and half of the windows were non-existent.²⁷ As soon as the regiment relocated Lt. Col. Graham established strict military discipline and guard lines.

That night, Washburn College hosted a reception to its students who had enlisted in College Company, inviting also commissioned officers and a few privates who had

²²"Simply vile," *Topeka State Journal*, 16 May 1898, 7.

²³Emporia Daily Gazette, 13 May 1898, 1.

²⁴ A visit to Camp Leedy," KU Weekly, 14 May 1898, 4.

²⁵The GAR supplied a great many of the tents used to mobilize Kansas volunteers, which they later expected to have returned, but through use had become disheveled. Consult Adjutant General of the State of Kansas, *Eleventh Biennial Report*, Topeka: J.S. Parks, State Printer, 1899 and *Twelfth Biennial Report*, Topeka: W.Y. Morgan, State Printer, 1900.

²⁶ Twenty-second moves," *Topeka Daily Capital*, 19 May 1898, 3.

²⁷"Camp Leedy notes," *Topeka Daily Capital*, 19 May 1898, 3.

²⁸Ibid.

friends in Washburn. The seventeen boys "greatly appreciated this manifestation of regard for them." They met in the beautifully decorated Library Hall amidst flags and bunting. A tent stood in a corner. Everyone dined on punch and wafers. After a short program later in the evening, Capt. Stevenson called the boys to rank and they formed two lines. There, a Miss Chandler on behalf of the young ladies of Washburn handed each of the soldiers a "housewife" containing necessities and conveniences that would help them in the future. President Herrich "bade the boys godspeed." Capt. Stevenson answered for his men sincerely in a now forgotten touching speech. The night closed with patriotic songs and teary good-byes.

After all the companies had arrived, the examinations occurred which for some meant "sport and idleness" and for others "severe physical tests." Different diversions for the troops included playing, wrestling, leaping, reading periodicals, or writing letters. A familiar sport around camp was an old English game:

that of tossing in a blanket and at any time during the day, the cry, "Get a blanket," might be heard; the cry might come from the most remote part of the ground, but it would be reechoed from all parts of the camp and in a very short time a crowd would have gathered around the center of excitement. There would be a pause in the roar for an instant, then it would break forth again with increased vigor, at the same instant a figure would suddenly shoot up from the dense crowd rising to a height often or fifteen feet, then with arms and legs striking wildly

²⁹Ibid

³⁰A "housewife" is a kit that women commonly gave men in the Spanish-American War including, but limited to, such things as a pocket pin cushion and needle case, chamois letter case, comb or brush, sponge, soap, compact writing case, knitted boots of Germantown wool, and soft woolen socks. Consult "Gifts must be small," *Topeka Daily Capital*, 24 May 1898, 6; "For Kansas' boys," *Topeka Daily Capital*, 17 June 1898, 8.

³¹ Washburn notes," *Topeka Daily Capital*, 19 May 1898, 6.

tumble back again, only to be thrown still higher the next time. When the victim had become thoroly [sic] dizzy and helpless, he would be released . . . ³²

This game evolved to include the constant tossing harassment of Topeka's colored citizens, which incited retaliation and inter-racial difficulties.

Running guard lines kept Camp Leedy soldiers busy as well. Running a guard line meant sneaking past the guards to go somewhere one shouldn't, namely outside camp. An unexpected guard line runner raised a stir on May 19:

There was one individual at Camp Leedy yesterday who ran in and out of the guard lines at pleasure and with impunity. She was little Dorothey [sic] Stevenson, the 2-year-old daughter of Captain W. C. Stevenson, of the college company, who with her mother was visiting the camp.

Occasionally a guard in mock seriousness would advance menacingly toward the little one and say, "Better look out. You're over the guard line," and the little girl would scamper back to her papa.

The presence of the little one in camp made the soldiers think of home. One of them, a sergeant, was overhear to remark in almost an undertone, as though to himself: "Seeing the baby makes a fellow think of his own little toddlers," and he went down to his tent half-discontentedly.

Mrs. [Lena] Stevenson and little Dorothy spent the night at the camp and will return to Emporia today.³³

The soldiers became so proficient at it that some claimed half a company could be gone at one time in squads and detachments. Their favorite destination? Uptown Topeka.

Because of the large numbers succeeding in running the guard lines, this became a problem. On Saturday night, May 21, a provost guard was sent out to round up all the strays. Nearly 300 men found their way back to Camp Leedy under guard that night

³²"Twenty-second moves," *Topeka Daily Capital*, 19 May 1898, 3.

³³"A fair blockade runner," *Topeka Daily Capital*, 20 May1898, 3; *Emporia Daily Gazette*, 20 May 1898, 1.

alone.³⁴ Thanks to the liberties taken by these volunteers, officers would not issue passes to leave camp the following day.³⁵ The boys had little to do but "lie around and growl at their luck."³⁶ Some played cards to pass the time, but most decided to swim, to "indulge in this invigorating and wholesome exercise in the limpid waters of the Shunganunga."³⁷ The companies took turns, and occasionally a soldier who really enjoyed himself would slip in with another company and return to the creek for another dip. Soldiers also alleviated boredom by spreading rumors that the regiment would leave soon, but that had been so well heard most ignored it. In all, the day couldn't be said to be too terrible, for the sun shone for once. Unfortunately, Co. H's Frank G. Brown and Charles J. Watson committed some infraction and became the company's first two to sit in the guard house.³⁸

Also on that sunny day, May 22, a Capt. Jacobs of Lawrence, a Civil War veteran, sent a fine red silk sash to Capt. Stevenson. He was to wear it when designated "officer of the day." He just so happened to be officer of the day when the sash arrived.³⁹

Visitors always remarked that the College Company looked happy. Milton Snodgrass reported that the "boys in blue" were "all getting fat and hearty, with nothing to

^{34&}quot;At Camp Leedy," Topeka Daily Capital, 22 May 1898, 9.

³⁵Ibid.

³⁶"In camp on Sunday," *Topeka Daily Capital*, 23 May 1898, 4.

³⁷Ibid.

³⁸Samuel Adams's, Co. H, diary reprinted in Judith H. Byrd and Philip R. Mason, eds., "A Story of the 22nd Kansas Volunteer Infantry: from the Diary of Samuel Adams," *The Kansas Historical Quarterly* 36, no. 4 (Winter 1970), 403.

³⁹"Camp notes," *Topeka Daily Capital*, 23 May 1898, 4.

do but eat, drink, and be merry."⁴⁰ Women brought packages for the men and extended their sympathies and adorations. Three cheers accompanied a May 18 telegram Lee Gramly received stating that the Normal girls had sent a box of "grub" from Emporia that would soon be in his hands.⁴¹ The girls "furnished the grub" while Normal boys "paid the express."⁴² Some civilian advice about edibles affirmed

... a box from home is a treat much appreciated by the volunteer, whose soul wearies of tough beef, fat bacon, and the soda biscuit of the camp cook. Eleven dollars a month does not purchase many luxuries in the way of food, and your boy is probably hungry much of his time.⁴³

The soldier had to be wary about carrying too much with him. People remembered the Kansas volunteers of the Civil War and joked about how "in 1861 that the line of march of volunteers going to the front might be traced by the things they threw away – gifts made them by fond friends, but which they were unable to carry with them." The military warned that a soldier should not be spoiled by articles of such pleasantry, that he lies on a blanket thankful the ground is not wet, his only table service consisting of a tin cup and plate, a knife, fork, and spoon. This did not stop people from offering food, though, which was easily consumed and did not have to take up space in the baggage car or burden a backpack.

⁴⁰The Students' Herald, 25 May 1898, 1.

⁴¹"Camp Leedy notes," *Topeka Daily Capital*, 19 May 1898, 3.

⁴²Emporia Daily Gazette, 19 May 1898, 2.

⁴³"Gifts must be small," *Topeka Daily Capital*, 24 May 1898, 6.

HIbid.

Old soldiers also came to pay their respects to the young men to whom they now passed the mantle. Every man enjoyed these attentions, but they each secretly longed to hear the command to roll up the tents and move out. These volunteers awaited their chance at glory.

The college comrades liked to ridicule each other when an opportunity presented itself. Co. H Private Will Drennan's letter from his sister provided ample criteria for a "joshing." In it she congratulated him for passing the examination because he could now go to the front. Pat, as he was familiarly known, read the letter to the boys as an example of his sister's "pluck." But the boys purposely chose a different interpretation of the letter, and "held him up as the first horrible example whose family was glad he was going to be shot at."

The privates spared little expense at poking fun at the officers as well. The privates joked that since the officers had become so accustomed to ordering privates around that when Camp Leedy had one of its few sunny days, a captain absentmindedly ordered a sergeant to "take a detail of men and move the sun which was shining in his tent."

The 20th Kansas left Camp Leedy first, the 21st Kansas next, and the 22nd last. The 22nd had previously been ordered east to Washington, but Captain Stevenson heard the night of May 24 orders to leave Topeka had been received.⁴⁷ The fact that the 22nd went

⁴⁵ Ibid.

^{46&}quot;Camp notes," Topeka Daily Capital, 23 May 1898, 4.

⁴⁷Adams, 403.

to Washington and not the front did not initially seem to bother the men too terribly:

The Twenty-second is about as well pleased with its assignment to Washington as the Twentieth is with its trip to Manila. Many of the members of the former have never been east of the Mississippi [R]iver, and a number have never been out of the state. The prospect of seeing the national capital almost repays the disappointment at not being pushed to the front.⁴⁸

The awarding of the transportation contract went to the Missouri Pacific and Baltimore & Ohio railways, after a fight to transport the troops took place between the Santa Fe, Rock Island, Union Pacific, and M. K. & T.⁴⁹ After trouble securing transportation ended, Col. Lindsey received information from the U.S. quartermaster in St. Louis that transportation arrangements had been affected to move the 22nd. The men could not hide their excitement at finally getting to leave. They appreciated the kindness of Topekans and their friends and family, but their time had come.

Company H left with the 22nd on May 25. At noon the call to leave was sounded and the march to the train occurred at 2 o'clock. The units marched north on Topeka Avenue, turned east on Tenth Street past the State House, where a firing of guns greeted them. They then turned north on Kansas Avenue, proceeded to Fifth Street, then finished the march to the Missouri Pacific depot.⁵⁰ Lincoln Post GAR members escorted the regiment while Topeka citizens crowded the marching line, "giving expression to their goodwill and sympathy."⁵¹ One Topeka merchant held up a sign declaring a half-price

⁴⁸"Camp notes," *Topeka Daily Capital*, 18 May 1898, p. 3.

⁴⁹⁶ Will leave today," Topeka Daily Capital, 25 May 1898, 2.

⁵⁰Ibid.

⁵¹Harvey, 139.

shoe sale in his store, tantalizing the "barefooted" men who still waited for government uniforms. ⁵² Some men who had previously served with Col. Lindsey bid him farewell, including G.G. Gage, who held Lindsey's hand, and with tears running down his cheeks exclaimed, "Hank, God bless you; how I wish I could go with you." Company H left with the 22nd via the Missouri Pacific in the second section of three, their section containing roughly eight day coaches, two baggage cars, and a Pullman sleeper named "Falkland." The men would arrive in Camp Alger, Virginia, three days later.

The men of Company H had some interesting experiences along the way. After leaving Topeka, a seriousness came over the men as the rolling train made them realize the graveness of their enlistment. They were on their way to war, and not just playing soldier anymore. What alleviated this awareness were kind receptions from citizens along the way. The trains first stopped in Ottawa, Kansas, where flags decorated nearby buildings and the national colors abounded in the clothing people wore. Two women moved among the trains distributing bouquets. As the trains moved on, the elder of the two women yelled, "Goodbye, boys, and God bless you! My son has already gone," and the other younger lady added, "And he was my sweetheart." Though doubly endearing and

⁵²"Last regiment gone," *Topeka State Journal*, 26 May 1898, 8.

⁵³Ibid.

^{54&}quot;Will leave today," Topeka Daily Capital, 25 May 1898, 2.

^{556&}quot;The Twenty-second Regiment en route," Topeka Daily Capital, 28 May 1898.

⁵⁶ Ibid.

exciting, the boys tired of saluting and shouting as the trains made their way across Kansas and Missouri.

While on the train, the soldiers only ate two meals a day, one at 10 o'clock and one at 5 o'clock. Each company received four cans of beans for each meal. The men ate breakfast in Jefferson City, Missouri, and the trains stopped there long enough to let them see the capitol.⁵⁷ For some of the men, like the College Company's Samuel Adams, train tunnels were the first they had ever seen.⁵⁸ The company started up "Rock Chalk," alleviating homesickness.⁵⁹

They next arrived at Washington, Missouri. The firm of H. Tibbe & Son which owned a factory there presented every man on the train with a red corn cob pipe, "a Missouri meerschaum." One soldier exclaimed "... we had all the red cob pipes we could want and the Missouri girls are out of sight." The men stocked up on fresh water, the only acceptable water until St. Louis. Until St. Louis, the water looked "as though it had been taken directly from the Missouri River, which is even muddier than the Kaw."

⁵⁷ Ibid

⁵⁸Adams, 403.

⁵⁹As related by Co. H's Arthur A. Greene in "With Twenty-second," *Topeka State Journal*, 27 May 1898, 7.

⁶⁰"The Twenty-second Regiment en route," *Topeka Daily Capital*, 28 May 1898; "From the front," *Manhattan Nationalist*, 3 June 1898, 3.

⁶¹As related in a letter from Arthur Merritt, Co. M, in "From the front," *Manhattan Nationalist*, 3 June 1898, 3.

⁶²⁴ The Twenty-second Regiment en route," Topeka Daily Capital, 28 May 1898.

Company H may have experienced some measles en route, as three cases in their section broke out. The men quarantined the sick soldiers in the baggage car. More sickness would break out during the overland trip and when the soldiers settled in Camp Alger many names appeared on the sick list, including Co. H's Musician John W. Noel, stricken with "fever."

The train with the College Company arrived in St. Louis around 9 a.m. on May 26.⁶⁴ They switched train companies but kept the same cars and continued on their journey to Washington, D.C., via the Baltimore and Ohio railroad as did the rest of the 22nd after a two and half hour delay. On their way to Washington, the 22nd passed through numerous towns in Iowa, Indiana, Illinois and Ohio including Davenport, Chicago, and Cincinnati. All along the people "turned out very well to see us" and "gave them roses," "gave hand-outs of cake and cookies" and wished them "God bless." At Flora, Illinois, the regimental band played four or five songs. 67

On May 27 the men reached Cincinnati, Ohio, then continued to Chillicothe, and Athens, Ohio. Major A.M. Harvey telegraphed Topeka saying, "Pulling out of

⁶³As related by Co. H's Arthur A. Greene in "From Camp Alger," *Topeka State Journal*, 2 June 1898, 3.

⁶⁴"The Twenty-second Regiment en route," *Topeka Daily Capital*, 28 May 1898; Adams, 403.

⁶⁵Adams, 403.

⁶⁶A letter from Merle Newell, Co. M, printed in "From Camp Alger," *Manhattan Nationalist*, 8 July 1898, 4.

⁶⁷Adams, 403.

Chillicothe, Ohio in good shape. Wish I had brought wife, baby and bull dog."68 At Athens, the university students offered a warm reception for the College Company including a luncheon, and a company from Athens boarded the train, many of them university students.⁶⁹ "The boys feel especially tender towards Athens, Ohio," Co. H's Sergeant Arthur A. Greene remembered when he thought of Athens' kindness. 70 As the B&O railroad ran along the Ohio River for about ten miles before it crossed the river at Parkersburg, West Virginia, men saw steam boats "plying" up and down the Ohio River. They entered West Virginia at 1 o'clock according to the time the soldiers kept, but "according to the people in Virginia we were an hour slow. Hence we have to change our time pieces to keep up with the world."71 The stop at Parkersburg lasted four and a half hours. In the meantime some of the companies went swimming, taking a plunge in the Ohio River. 72 Afterwards the regimental band accompanied by Companies L and M paraded the streets. When the train began again, the College Company's Samuel Adams and Harry Finley spent time riding on the roof of the caboose, the only disagreeable part of the ride being the "cinders."⁷³

⁶⁸"Word from 22nd," *Topeka State Journal*, 27 May 1898, 1.

⁶⁹Adams, 403.

⁷⁰As related by Co. H's Arthur A. Greene in "From Camp Alger," *Topeka State Journal*, 2 June 1898, 3.

⁷¹Adams, 403.

⁷² Word from 22nd," *Topeka Daily Capital*, 2 June 1898, 6.

⁷³Adams, 404.

The terrain changed to mountains that loomed over the men of the 22nd and many marveled at the sight. Royal Streeter, Co. M, described what he saw:

Mountains piled on mountains were all we saw and every one was covered with pine trees. You had to look almost straight up to see the tops. I wish I could use the words to describe what I saw but it is impossible.⁷⁴

As trains full of prairie soldiers pushed through dark tunnels in towering mountain ranges many Kansans experienced things entirely new.

The Kansans could hardly resist a stop at Harper's Ferry, Virginia, the morning of May 28. Though the trainmen had not planned for a stop, the Kansas soldiers demanded to see the monument to the "greatest Kansas hero." The troops marched around the John Brown Monument and "with music and song gave expression to their love and veneration" of John Brown. The band played and the boys sang the popular ballad "John Brown's Body." The next song played was "Dixie," at which the town's citizens "largely cheered," and "... Heaven only knows the noise that followed." The Kansas boys did not forget their good graces.

They reached Washington, D.C., around noon later that day.⁷⁹ From the train "the Capitol building, Washington Monument and the gilded dome of the Library building can

^{74.} News from Camp Alger," Manhattan Nationalist, 10 June 1898, 6.

⁷⁵Harvey, 139.

⁷⁶ The Twenty-second at Harper's Ferry," *Topeka Daily Capital*, 29 May 1898, 5.

⁷⁷ Word from 22nd," *Topeka Daily Capital*, 2 June 1898, 6.

^{78.} News from Camp Alger," Manhattan Nationalist, 10 June 1898, 6.

⁷⁹Harvey, 139.

be seen."⁸⁰ From there the troops traveled eleven miles via the Southern railroad to the station at Dunn Loring, about five miles from Falls Church, Virginia, arriving there at 4 o'clock in the afternoon.⁸¹ The Kansans disembarked from their transportation, unloaded their gear, and prepared to march four miles to the section of Camp Alger laid out for them.

The trip had been meaningful. It was said of the trip from Kansas to Virginia that even with cheering citizens and school children waving flags, one of the more "pleasing and satisfactory features of the trip" remained the "universal harmony that exists among the officers and men."82

⁸⁰ Adams, 404.

⁸¹ Harvey, 139.

^{82&}quot;The Twenty-second Regiment en route," *Topeka Daily Capital*, 28 May 1898.

Chapter 4 ENTER THE DOLDRUMS

There may be something waiting for us at the other end of the line that would sadden us all could we but look ahead and see. But there'll be enough of that later so hilarity alone goes here now.¹

Company H and the 22nd, later assigned to the First Brigade, Second Division,

Second Army Corps,² made it into camp at 7 p.m., May 28,³ just missing a camp review

by President McKinley. The 22nd laid out their camping ground in the southwest corner of

Camp Alger, two miles from the entrance to the camp, in an open field near trees. The

camp consisted of sections, each regiment camping about one-quarter mile from each

other.⁴ Company H's location would exist on the north side "Student's Lane." Camp

Russell A. Alger extended a distance of five miles along the Southern Railroad from Falls

Church to Dunn Loring and from the rail south in the direction of Fairfax Court House.⁶

¹As related by Co. H's Arthur A. Greene in "With Twenty-second," *Topeka State Journal*, 27 May 1898, 7.

²The insignia for the Second Division, Second Army Corps was a white four-leaf clover.

³"Kansas there," *Topeka Daily Capital*, 29 May 1898, 7; Samuel Adams's, Co. H, diary reprinted in Judith H. Byrd and Philip R. Mason, eds., "A Story of the 22nd Kansas Volunteer Infantry: from the Diary of Samuel Adams," *The Kansas Historical Quarterly* 36, no. 4 (Winter 1970), 404.

⁴A letter from Merle Newell, Co. M, printed in "From Camp Alger," *Manhattan Nationalist*, 5 August 1898, 10.

^{5&}quot;News of the soldier boys," Emporia Daily Gazette, 13 July 1898, 4.

⁶Major A.M. Harvey's address before the Kansas State Historical Society, 16 January 1900, George W. Martin, ed., *Kansas Historical Collections: 1897-1900*.

The camp was nine miles from the Potomac River and during the Civil War the region was an army and refugee camp. Their first night in camp the men slept upon hard ground without straw under shabby tents and would have had empty stomachs if not for the 159th Indiana Regiment sharing some soup, hardtack and coffee.⁷

Company H's camp lay at the base of a sloping hill that collected rain as it fell the night of May 29. A steady rain for thirty minutes deposited enough water to fill the streets and flood the tents. The men did what they could to keep dry, and huddled in the few unaffected tents to sleep. The next day Co. H's Sergeant John J. Henderson supervised resituating the tents, a proficiency that earned him many compliments.⁸ The new ditching provided a better safeguard for future rainfalls.

Within days, controversy hit the Kansas boys over an unwritten rule of claiming a water source for each regiment. The 22nd had to utilize a spring for water which was hard to reach. The closest available spring was about one mile from camp.⁹ Those springs nearer had already been condemned. The nearest water for bathing or swimming in the early part of Company H's stay at camp, a pond, lay two and a half miles from the camp near a "150 years old" mill reputed to be "where George Washington hauled wheat to," 10

Topeka: W.Y. Morgan, State Printer, 1900, 139.

⁷Adams, 405; "Word from 22nd," *Topeka Daily Capital*, 2 June 1898, 6.

⁸Ibid, 406.

⁹Ibid.

¹⁰This account is given by Frank Cornett, Co. G, "From Camp Alger," *Topeka Daily Capital*, 3 July 1898, 3; also Adams, 407.

just the right size to "make a Kansas farmer a good henhouse." On June 3, the 7th Illinois Regiment from Chicago had mistakenly felt water could be had from a spring that the 22nd had already claimed. Though the Kansans guarded the spring, the Illinois men disregarded them. The intensity of the situation increased as Kansans called reenforcements to guard their claim. Captain Charles A. Hazzard of Company A, 22nd Kansas explained the rule to the Irish men from Chicago. It could have been ugly, but the 7th Illinois slowly withdrew and the 22nd held onto the spring. This victory seemed all the better when that afternoon the 22nd finally received their hats, clothes, and shoes they had been waiting for, although their Springfield model 1879 rifles and bayonets did not appear until the last day of June, nor the regimental colors until the week of June 15.¹³ The 22nd continued to guard the valuable spring against all oncomers, and Colonel Henry C. Lindsey found himself defending its resources from his superiors. ¹⁴

These Kansas boys out in Camp Alger earned a reputation for themselves as westerners and cowboys:

The New York, Indiana, New Jersey and Ohio regiments were pretty badly scared the first two days we were here, as they thought we were regular wild west cowboys, and were afraid we would shoot them if they got funny.¹⁵

 $^{^{11}\}mbox{Clifford T.}$ Rhinehart, "Journal of C.T. Rhinehart, Co. H, 22^{nd} Kansas at Camp Alger, Virginia," 1898, 8.

¹²"The Kansas boys won out," *Topeka Daily Capital*, 3 June 1898, 4; "Camp Alger news," *Topeka Daily Capital*, 15 June 1898, 3.

^{134&#}x27;Life at Camp Alger," Topeka Daily Capital, 6 July 1898, 3.

¹⁴ Fighting news," Emporia Daily Gazette, 19 June 1898, 1.

^{15&}quot; Measles among 'em," *Topeka Daily Capital*, 2 June 1898, 6.

[The Kansas regiment] is known as the cowboy regiment and is generally popular about the camp. Many of those here from other states supposed the regiment was cavalry and much curiosity and speculation was afloat in regard to the probable aspect of the wild and woolly [sic] westerners.¹⁶

When the 22nd first arrived in camp the eastern troops openly spoke of the rugged Kansans as "Indians" and doubled their line guards.¹⁷ Indiana soldiers expressed their opinion that the Kansans consisted of "a lot of toughs and farmers" who can "never be taught anything on the drill grounds."¹⁸ The eastern boys continued to consider them "a gang of cowpunchers and 'bad men' with guns,"¹⁹ or "daring borderers and dead shots, who have been brought up among the Indians . . ."²⁰ Royal Streeter, Co. M, exclaimed,

Oh! say, you should see the people look at a "Kansas man" up town. All you have to have is a belt and six shooter and you can command anybody. Scowl at a man and he will be around the corner in a second. Those who are not so foolish are very hospitable to us.²¹

They seemed a stark contrast to the easterners stationed at Camp Alger. The way they set up their beds is one example. The Kansans relied on their western experience and constructed semi-comfortable custom "corduroy spring beds" with short poles.²² They stripped tress, namely pines in its heavy fringes around Camp Alger, for needles and other

^{16cc}Word from 22nd," *Topeka Daily Capital*, 2 June 1898, 6.

¹⁷"Sick list grows," *Topeka Daily Capital*, 25 June 1898, 3.

¹⁸Ibid.

¹⁹⁶ Fighting news," Emporia Daily Gazette, 13 June 1898, 1.

²⁰ Kansas notes," Manhattan Mercury, 22 June 1898, 3.

²¹"News from Camp Alger," *Manhattan Nationalist*, 10 June 1898, 6.

²²"Kansas boys at Camp Alger," *Topeka Daily Capital*, 10 June 1898, 4; "Camp Alger news," *Topeka Daily Capital*, 15 June 1898, 3.

plants for soft foliage for cushioning. When the rains came those who had not furnished themselves with elevated sleeping arrangements, such as the Kansans, found themselves "afloat." "Far and wide," one observer said, "through the forest of Dunn Loring the trees have been robbed of twigs and leaves as high as the soldiers can reach."

The 22nd moved plants for another reason as well. They took it upon themselves to beautify their camp. Maybe college horticulture classes and certainly farming backgrounds influenced many of them in

field is very great. The ground was rough and was covered with weeds and a small growth of shrubs and young trees. These have been cleared off and on the smooth, level streets between the long rows of tents not a vestige of grass can be seen. A broad avenue extends from the regimental headquarters through the center of the camp and it is kept clean daily by a fatigue squad. The Kansas camp is about the cleanest and neatest on the camp grounds. The idea of cleanliness and neatness has begun to resolve itself into ornamentation and around some of the tents have been planted small plats of moss and ferns and even small fir trees are being placed in parts of the camp.²⁴

Company H's first inspection came Sunday, June 5.25 With the preparation of battalion commander Major Chase Doster, the company donned their new uniforms, polished their boots, and presented themselves for battalion inspection under the scrutiny of the regimental commander Colonel Henry C. Lindsey:

I think Co. H made a pretty good showing for the first time. We marched into the wide street in the middle of camp and formed company front toward the

²³Ibid.

²⁴"Camp Alger news," *Topeka Daily Capital*, 15 June 1898, 3.

²⁵Adams, 407.

west end of the street. When the ranks opened there was plenty of room for inspection both front and behind.²⁶

Kansans began to show more concern over the camp soldiers' situation. Soldiers complained of horrible camp conditions that contributed to rampant sicknesses like typhoid fever, measles, and malaria. Diarrhoea posed an unwelcome threat as well. Army food with "so much grease in it" that a soldier "could hardly eat it" did not sit well in some of their stomachs. Open sores on men's faces led one army doctor to diagnose Eczema due to "too much fat pork and & not enough vegitables [sic]. Impure water led the Kansans to drill a well. This well added another water source, but the water quality seemed as bad as the spring's and it eventually was condemned. Soldiers took the water supply problem seriously. A guard watched the "John Brown" spring day and night and the night guard maintained loaded rifles. Soldiers covered barrels that stored water, and boiled water before drinking it. Companies kept coffee on hand for this purpose. Water could also be had at the "New Jersey" spring or anywhere else they could manage. The fact that water quality was poor is further evidenced by Henry Joseph Adams sending his

²⁶Ibid, 407-408.

²⁷ From Camp Alger," *Topeka Daily Capital*, 3 July 1898, 3.

²⁸Adams, 412.

²⁹⁶Life at Camp Alger," Topeka Daily Capital, 6 July 1898, 3.

³⁰⁴Camp Alger news," *Topeka Daily Capital*, 15 June 1898, 3.

³¹"Sick list grows," *Topeka Daily Capital*, 25 June 1898, 3.

³²Adams, 408-409.

brother Samuel Adams a water purifier. 33

Apparently Kansas soldiers had an opportunity to "run saloons" to raise money for hospital equipment, but "refused."³⁴ A movement to gather camp and hospital supplies and send them to the troops in the field involved people across the state. Groups such as the Christian and Sanitary Commission, the Women's Relief Corps, the Young Men's Christian Association, and others organized collections of muslin, linens, clothing, bandages, and delicacies. Some sent the supplies with visitors or representatives directly to the camps, or gave the donations to recruiting stations for distribution.³⁵ Wives of high ranking officers also served in collection and distribution capacities in camps, like Major A.M. Harvey's wife at Camp Alger.³⁶

The Women's Relief Corps moved to institute Army Relief Societies to aid in comforting the troops. They believed it a time for the patriotic women of Kansas to organize and send assistance.

These societies should be largely organized among the young ladies of the state, many of whom are not corps members, but are the sisters and friends of the boys now in the field.³⁷

The object of the society should be to furnish each volunteer with a "housewife" or "comfort bag" containing sewing supplies, but variably also: an identification badge with

³³Ibid., 413.

³⁴"To help the Kansas soldiers," *Emporia Daily Gazette*, 9 June 1898, 1.

^{35&}quot; Supplies for the troops," Topeka Daily Capital, 12 June 1898, 7.

³⁶"For sick soldiers," *Topeka Daily Capital*, 23 June 1898, 6.

³⁷"For Kansas' boys," *Topeka Daily Capital*, 17 June 1898, 8.

name, company, and regiment at the price of \$.475 each (\$4.75 per hundred); reading material of newspapers or illustrated magazines; "Sabbath" school lessons; light muslin or tennis flannel night shirts, gingham pajamas for convalescents, and light flannel bandages. It could also contain sweet tobacco and brier pipe, and writing material including stamps. These articles could be sent directly to the soldier, his company, the chaplain, or the hospital to remind the soldiers that "They belong to a noble race, unconquered and unconquerable," and the Army Relief Societies "the wives and mothers, the sisters and sweethearts" would help them "keep their faith. The soldiers of Kansas will be what the loyal women of Kansas desire them to be." All of these efforts meant to better the soldier's situation so far away, where sick soldiers,

[a]ccustomed as they have been at home to the daintiest sheets and the softest pillows, there, sick and suffering, have nothing between them and the hard, hot ground but a blanket! There, in that land of blazing suns and crawling reptiles – lizards and tarrantulas – stretched on the bare ground, with no pillows for their aching heads and nothing to eat but hard tack, bacon and beans, the strength of their manhood, – of their splendid nobility of principle is indeed put to a severe test ⁴¹

Emporia merchants added to the effort by contributing boxes of supplies.⁴² The War Department, however, discouraged the sending of delicacies such as "pickled onions and cocoanut [sic] cake" to the soldiers because "boxes of them are not calculated to improve

³⁸ Ibid

³⁹"For the volunteer," *Topeka Daily Capital*, 30 July 1898,8.

⁴⁰ For Kansas' boys," *Topeka Daily Capital*, 17 June 1898, 8.

⁴¹ Lyon County Soldiers' Aid Society," Emporia Daily Gazette, 16 June 1898, 1.

⁴²Emporia Daily Gazette, 21 June 1898, 1.

the digestion of men who are obliged to submit daily to the rigid military discipline and training." Supplies from aid societies, citizens, family, and friends thankfully found their way to the boys throughout the summer. Private Clifford T. Rhinehart wrote, "I received a fine box of grub from home to-day & it will go down the fourth [of July]."

The Young Men's Christian Association alleviated the pains of everyday military camp life among the regiments. Each regiment received a large tent, an organ, writing table, and reading and writing materials free of charge from the Army Commission of the YMCA. Additionally, a barrel of ice water rest inside the cool tent. The YMCA also looked after the sick when they could and helped out in other ways when possible. Milton Snodgrass worked with the YMCA and helped the Manhattan volunteers organize a Sunday School with himself as superintendent. They offered entertainment for the troops. Chess and checker boards could be found there. On June 14 Company H attended a banjo concert with singing and "impersonating." The impersonator (actor) played an old woman, a young man, and a boy, captivating the soldiers with short

⁴³"Plain food for the troops," *Emporia Daily Gazette*, 30 June 1898, 3.

¹¹Rhinehart, 3.

⁴⁵Each tent operated at an expense of \$20 a week, and therefore the Kansas State Executive Committee urged citizens to make a \$1.00 contribution through Kansas newspapers for their support. "Army Christian Commission of the Y.M.C.A.," *Students* 'Salute, 27 July 1898, 3.

⁴⁶The Students' Herald, 28 September 1898, 3; "Camp Alger news," Topeka Daily Capital, 15 June 1898, 3.

⁴⁷The Students' Herald, 27 July 1898, 5.

⁴⁸Adams, 409.

narratives spoken through the mouths of different characters.

Soldiers complained that the 22nd hospital at Camp Alger left much to be desired.

The sick list grew daily. Staff often lacked enough quantities of the proper medication.

Some of the sick men said they would "return to duty rather than be treated with remedies which gave neither relief nor cure." Company H did receive vaccinations June 8.

Though beneficial, the process taxed individual fortitudes:

Company [H] was vaccinated this afternoon. [Will] Drenn[e]n[,] [Charles A.] Peddicord and several other boys fainted this afternoon when they were vaccinated. Almost all the boys were more or less sick today. This was the cause of the fainting.⁵⁰

A similar experience awaited the rest of the 22nd in later vaccinations:

We were vaccinated the other day and I tell you that tested our nerve; at least 100 fainted and lots of the boys got sick. My arm is all swollen up and as sore as can be from the effects of it.⁵¹

Some of the men, including those in Company H, claimed the vaccinations made them sick.⁵² The number of men on the sick list subsequently lowered due to a new rule that all those who reported sick must remain in quarters until returned to duty. To leave, a sergeant's permission was required with a ten minute absence time limit.⁵³

While at Camp Alger, the War Department raised the maximum number of enlisted

⁴⁹ "Sick list grows," *Topeka Daily Capital*, 25 June 1898, 3.

⁵⁰Adams, 408.

⁵¹This account is given by Frank Cornett, Co. G, "From Camp Alger," *Topeka Daily Capital*, 3 July 1898, 3.

⁵²Emporia Daily Gazette, 23 June 1898, 1.

^{534&#}x27;Life at Camp Alger," Topeka Daily Capital, 6 July 1898, 3.

men allowed in each company to 106, and therefore some officers returned to Kansas for recruiting purposes.⁵⁴ Captain W.C. Stevenson surprised everyone in Emporia when he suddenly showed up the afternoon of June 10, apparently having made the trip from Camp Alger in under two days.⁵⁵ He supervised the recruitment of more enlistees from KSN.⁵⁶ He opened a recruiting office in Emporia June 14.⁵⁷ Capt. Stevenson looked well with his new life at Camp Alger.⁵⁸ He reported that the boys were well and enjoying drilling. He could have been hiding the severity of the daily regimen of drills in upwards of five hours in an unfamiliar climate. He also recruited in Lawrence and Topeka from June 18 until his departure:

The recruiting for the "college company" with the Twenty-second Kansas, at Falls Church, Va., was done in Lawrence this morning by Captain W.C. Stephenson of Emporia, captain of the company. There was a good response to the call for recruits, despite the fact that the school has closed, and no trouble was

⁵⁴Adjutant General of the State of Kansas, *Twelfth Biennial Report*, Topeka: W.Y. Morgan, State Printer, 1900, 218.

⁵⁵Sam Adams cites Capt. Stevenson leaving Camp Alger June 9, Adams, 408.

⁵⁶KSN students enlisted then included Fred A. Stevenson, Emmet D. George, Hubert C. Griswold, Albert P. Sommers, and Albert I. Decker. *State Normal Monthly* 10, no 8 (May 1898): 135. The following also joined during Capt. Stevenson's recruiting trip: George E. Davis, Benjamin D. Palmer, Theodore E. Boone, Wesley H. Duncan, Howell D. Ferguson, Alfred L. Graham, Carl T. Hogue, Merlin Hudson, Lot P. Keeler, Oscar J. Lane, George M. Nichols, William C. Orrill, Ode L. Rankin, Harvey C. Seal, Benjamin A. Simmons, Edward B. Spiers, Lloyd L. Stahl and Charles E. Starr.

⁵⁷ Recruits at Emporia," *Topeka Daily Capital*, 15 June 1898, 3.

⁵⁸Sadly, this would take a turn for the worse. W.C. Stevenson died in September 1909 from an illness (non-sexual) contracted in his volunteer service that worsened through the years.

experienced in getting the desired number of men.⁵⁹

Captain W.C. Stevenson of Company H, Twenty-second Regiment Kansas Volunteers, will be in Colonel Lindsay's office in the latter's livery barn at 2:30 p.m. today, to recruit soldiers for his company.

Company H is made up of college boys, and Captain Stevenson wants about ten more students. Students from any college will be eligible.⁶⁰

When he left for Camp Alger he had recruited twenty-five more men from the state schools. Emporia sent off their new recruits with celebrations as they had when the first men left. Travel arrangements for these new recruits included boarding special tourist sleepers on the Union Pacific and making their way to Camp Alger riding also on the Rock Island or Santa Fe. Company H back at Camp Alger anxiously awaited news of who had enlisted, eager to discover whether or not their friends had heeded some soldiers' advice not to enlist, or others' to enlist. Men shouting "Fresh fish!" and incessant drilling to familiarize them with military life awaited them at camp when they arrived the morning of June 24. One of the new recruits, Private George E. Davis, was reported to be the

⁵⁹ "University recruits," *Topeka Daily Capital*, 18 June 1898, 3.

⁶⁰⁶ Meet college boys," Topeka Daily Capital, 18 June 1898, 3.

⁶¹⁶ Itinerary of Company H," State Normal Monthly 11, no 1 (October 1898): 12.

^{62&}quot;Last night's reception" and "They have gone," *Emporia Daily Gazette*, 21 June 1898, 1.

⁶³ The Twenty-second," *Topeka Daily Capital*, 19 June 1898, 5; *Emporia Daily Gazette*, 20 June 1898, 4.

⁶⁴"Sick list grows," *Topeka Daily Capital*, 25 June 1898, 3.

⁶⁵⁶ Their pay day," Topeka Daily Capital, 30 June 1898, 3.

youngest man in the 22nd at age 16.⁶⁶ He was a "big and healthy boy, and with his mother's consent, has gone to the front."⁶⁷

People back home received the majority of the camp news from newspapers. But the material for print did not come from professional correspondents sent along with the 22nd, but from those "amateur" correspondents – the men of the 22nd themselves and their visitors. The 22nd possessed a one hundred percent literacy rate. Soldiers letters home, telegraphs to friends and family, comprised the majority of coverage. Moreover, to fill the absence of stories, papers commonly borrowed stories from other contemporary weeklies and dailies across the state. In fact, people often favored reading an amateur's simple yet full accounts of daily proceedings and the like over the muddled or dense words of a correspondent who may not be involved in what he is reporting.

Visitors remarked that the 22nd men maintained excellent conduct and a superior discipline and shied away from drink.⁷⁰ Congressman Jeremiah Simpson ate dinner with

⁶⁶Emporia Daily Gazette, 16 September 1898, 1.

⁶⁷ "Kansas' youngest soldier," Emporia Daily Gazette, 27 June 1898, 1.

⁶⁸Harvey, 138.

⁶⁹For more on the Kansas soldier serving as a war correspondent, consult Alan J. Stewart, "The Kansas Soldier as a War Correspondent: 1898-1899," (Master's Thesis, University of Kansas, 1957).

⁷⁰One could argue that a great many Kansas soldiers supported prohibition, but some did not. It is possible drinking was largely ignored (or subdued) in war reporting to the temperance-oriented state of Kansas. Camp canteens existed with available alcohol until the Second Corps commander Major General William M. Graham issued his Orders Number Five, May 27, 1898, outlawing the sale of alcohol to soldiers. Noel Garraux Harrison, *City of Canvass* (Missouri: Walsworth Printing Company, 1988), 43. Alcohol could be had illicitly from anyone daring enough to capitalize on soldiers' desire for beer,

the 22nd, possibly Company H, the day after their arrival in camp.⁷¹ Some KSN travelers appeared the night of Camp Alger's first grand dress parade and took pride in the College Company's fine show. The men treated the visitors congenially.⁷² KSA's Professor Weida visited Camp Alger in July and said the boys looked rather tired after incessant drilling and that the company shared its high opinion of Lieut. Henry Thomas and thought he would make a good captain.⁷³ Samuel Adams's relative, Frank Adams of Baltimore, spent time with him in camp, having a good time and taking pictures with his "Kodak."⁷⁴

or found legally in Washington. Co. H's Private Rhinehart wrote that on his return from a trip to Washington, "Many of the soldier boys were drunk on the cars . . . " Rhinehart, 34. Arthur Merritt, Co. M, reported that on the trip to Camp Alger in Parkersburg, Virginia, "free beer flowed freely for those who would drink it." "From the front," Manhattan Nationalist, 3 June 1898, 3. Royal Streeter, also from Co. M, described the drinking in Parkersburg: "... we marched by the bars and each and every man who drank beer was served a glass: Some [sic] think this is a disgrace. I think that, under the circumstances, it was all right. It is not against the laws of the state of West Virginian and many of the boys liked a glass of beer." "News from Camp Alger," Manhattan Nationalist, 10 June 1898, 6. Indeed, even the troops left Topeka, in front all the cheering citizens, two men rushed to the trains and handed a case of beer to soldiers through a window. A shout, "this car next," could be heard following the giving, but no more beer came. "Last regiment gone," Topeka State Journal, 26 May 1898, 8. Bootleggers had such a successful business at Camp Alger that Col. H.C. Lindsey made attempts to round up "bootleggers" and "moonshiners." "News from Camp Alger," Topeka State Journal, 20 July 1898, 4. When the men realized the war was over, they indulged in drink, possibly to relieve their dissatisfaction or to celebrate. Rhinehart, 101.

⁷¹A Populist, Simpson heralded from the 7th district, Kansas. Adams, 405.

⁷²State Normal Monthly 11, no 1 (October 1898): 11.

⁷³The Students' Herald, 27 July 1898, 5.

⁷⁴Frank Adams is not to be confused with Samuel Adams's father Franklin. Adams, 411.

Charles Curtis visited the 22nd in camp on July 3.⁷⁵ When the National Education Association convention took place in Washington the week of July 7-12, a Professor Davidson of the Topeka schools came out to see the company on July 7, and the next day a number of "school-mams" visited. That same day, Company H named their mascot dog "Mollie" in honor of Mary Elisabeth Lease, a well-known member of the Populist party in Kansas. 77 On July 9, the "teachers," such as Sergeant Bert R. Smith and Corporal Frank R. Ritchie, attended the "Convention." KSN President Albert Taylor and his wife, as well as other professors, stopped by after the convention in Washington.⁷⁹ Privates John Cunningham and William Hollandsworth "went up against a barber" in order to be recognized by visitors. 80 Some other visitors included: Mrs. J.H. Wiggam and daughter, of Emporia; President Boyd, of Oklahoma University, accompanied by Miss M. Boyd; Professor Bailey, his wife and daughter; Professor Wilkinson, his wife and two daughters; a Miss Black, of Kansas City; Superintendent W.M. Davidson, of Topeka; Superintendent F.P. Smith, of Lawrence; Superintendent Bowen and Principal Bowen, of Ft. Scott; and the editor of the Western School Journal, Topeka's John McDonald. 81 Rev. Barkus, of

⁷⁵⁶ From Camp Alger," Emporia Daily Gazette, 6 July 1898, 1.

⁷⁶Adams, 413; for more on the convention, consult "The National Educational Association," *State Normal Monthly* 11, no. 1 (October 1898), 10.

⁷⁷Ibid., 413.

⁷⁸Adams, 413-414.

⁷⁹Rhinehart, 35, 37.

News from the soldier boys," Emporia Daily Gazette, 13 July 1898, 4.

⁸¹ Ibid.

Lawrence, also visited.⁸² KSN's President Albert Taylor and his wife showed up as well.⁸³ Mrs. Lena Stevenson, wife of Captain Stevenson, visited her husband in camp the week of August 1, and may have been there many more times or for extended periods of time, as was customary among officer's wives.⁸⁴ She had brought their daughter, Dorothy Stevenson, along to camp to see her father. They and other officers with their wives took a field trip to Point Comfort, Virginia one Saturday morning.⁸⁵

The college boys could find luxuries if they could afford them. Virginians soon learned to sell the Kansans food far better than their army rations:

Those who have the price can purchase berries, biscuits, gingerbread, eggs and milk from farmers who daily come up to our lines. It is wonderful how quickly recruits learn mess call, recall and reveille. All other calls seem to stagger them.⁸⁶

An ice cream vendor set up shop inside the Kansas lines, a welcome treat on summer days in Virginia. Unfortunately, he left his two fifteen gallon freezers stocked full of ice cream alone one day and unidentified throngs of perspiring soldiers raided the goods. The vendor appealed to Col. Graham for compensation, but he could not do much about it.⁸⁷

⁸²From Camp Alger," Emporia Daily Gazette, 2 August 1898, 4.

⁸³⁶ From Camp Alger," Emporia Daily Gazette, 21 July 1898, 1.

⁸⁴⁶ From Camp Alger," Emporia Daily Gazette, 21 July 1898, 1; 1 August 1898, 4.

⁸⁵From Camp Alger," Emporia Daily Gazette, 2 August 1898, 4.

⁸⁶⁶ News from Alger," Emporia Daily Gazette, 6 July 1898, 1.

^{87&}quot;Sick list grows," Topeka Daily Capital, 25 June 1898, 3.

Company H's first payday came the afternoon of June 24.88 The paymaster paid the men according to rank and the number of days they had served to this point. The annual wage for a private equaled \$167.20, a corporal's \$216, a sergeant's \$365, a second lieutenant's \$1,392, a first lieutenant's \$1,500, and a captain's \$1,800. Each company, starting with Company A and following in order to the last, filed into headquarters throughout the afternoon. Just before payday, Captains anticipating the arrival of the soldiers' money, issued credit vouchers for merchandise to soldiers that merchants gladly recognized. Vendors took advantage of the men's heretofore absence of assets by selling sweets and luxuries everywhere. Some merchants made upwards of \$100 or more. 89 Soldiers settled previously acquired debts honorably in most cases. They gathered in hopes of amassing a larger fortune with the aid of "dice or cards." They also chose to spend their pay in the nation's capital. Many "spent the day and incidentally their money in seeing the sights" of Washington and "climb[ed] the Washington [M]onument." The splendor of the Capitol fascinated them.⁹³ Some paid for tin-type photos of themselves which looked like "the pictures taken in '61 which you see in the back part of the photo

^{88&}quot;Their pay day," Topeka Daily Capital, 30 June 1898, 3.

⁸⁹ Ibid.

⁹⁰ Ibid.

⁹¹Ibid.

⁹² Emporia Daily Gazette, 30 June 1898, 4.

⁹³A letter from Merle Newell, Co. M, printed in "From Camp Alger," *Manhattan Nationalist*, 5 August 1898, 10.

album."⁹⁴ The arrival of the pay incidentally delayed a two days march to the banks of the Potomac, where the men would have slept in dog tents, which the men doubtlessly cheered. When it was all over, most of the men had empty pockets and sore stomachs to last them to the next pay day for the 22nd in early July, and Company H's on July 11, when they received a full month's pay totaling an average of \$15.60 or more.⁹⁵

The delayed march would have begun at night. The officers wished to train the men to be ready for anything at any given moment. On any marches the men observed the rules of marching through an enemy's territory. Often, other soldiers such as the New York cavalry would attack the marching column to simulate real warfare, their object being the capture of supply wagons. ⁹⁶

In late July, either because of plans to move the camp, a summer full of vendors taking advantage of the soldiers, the "fermented spirits" foothold, unsanitary or cramped conditions, or a combination of these factors, corps headquarters ordered 107 of the stands doing business in the camp to cease doing business. One soldier had reported earlier that,

Of all the curses in this camp, the two prominent ones, in our judgement, is allowing the robbers who conduct the stands to give the boys credit and that the clerk to the chaplain is allowed to loan money at 25 per cent from pay day to pay

day. Between the hold up prices of these stands and the Shylock at the post office,

⁹⁴Emporia Daily Gazette, 13 July 1898, 1.

⁹⁵ Life at Camp Alger," *Topeka Daily Capital*, 6 July 1898, 3; Adams, 414.

⁹⁶"Their pay day," *Topeka Daily Capital*, 30 June 1898, 3.

the boys won't have a cent left.97

The closings left just a single vendor in the Kansas camp. He refused to give credit to the boys and 22nd captains signed passes giving their men permission to cross guard lines and purchase from the Indiana canteen.⁹⁸

The soldiers nicknamed Camp Alger "White City," presumably because of the multitude of white canvass tents as far as the eye could see, covered with the thin layer of pulverized yellow clay which whirling dust clouds deposited everywhere. A typical day at Camp Alger started with the trumpeter's "first call" upon which the volunteer would rouse himself out of bed, get dressed, gather his arms and head for the company parade grounds.⁹⁹ There the "assembly" stood in formation and the roll was taken – any stragglers received fatigue list for the day. The bedrolls would then be tidied and it would be time for breakfast consisting of beans, a potato, a piece of bread, and a slice of fat pork.¹⁰⁰ Any complainers received extra clean-up duty. After breakfast "sick call" occurred where unlucky soldiers drew their allowance of quinine and pills – "two whites

⁹⁷⁶ News of the soldier boys," Emporia Daily Gazette, 13 July 1898, 4.

^{98&}quot;At camp Alger," Topeka Daily Capital, 2 August 1898, 3.

⁹⁹Adams, 406; "A day at Camp Alger," as related by Sergeant R.B. Mitchell, Co. C, 22nd KS Vol. Reg. in *The Students' Herald*, 2 November 1898, 3; "Camp Alger news," *Topeka Daily Capital*, 15 June 1898, 3; "Letter from Camp Alger," *Topeka State Journal*, 10 June 1898, 4; Harrison, 23-26.

¹⁰⁰A private corporation out of Washington, D.C., had the government contract to supply bread to the soldiers, 30,000 loaves a day delivered. "Bread for soldiers," *Topeka State Journal*, 1 July 1898, 2.

and a black, light duty, pass on." A clean-up of the grounds commenced while some troops struggled through "setting up exercises," an "eye-opener" for the day's work. They then studied rules of war in "theoretical instruction" for a couple hours until it was time to march and drill, the most dreaded part of the day's activities. After hours of marching with minor breaks and a noon lunch that resembled breakfast, the army received its mail. The men looked forward to hearing from loved ones back home and sometimes when a man went without a letter, "a sudden and strange moisture would spring to the eyes . . . "102 Periodicals for joint company use could incite "free fights" for reading possession. 103 After mail, men collapsed and tried to hide themselves from the sun in their scorching tents. After this, companies would practice battle maneuvers, hold mock battles complete with blank ammunition and fixed bayonets, or use the rifle range for a few hours until supper. Enlisted men had rifles and bayonets only, while officers were permitted to carry a sidearm. Each company had one or two cooks. Supper usually meant beans, pea soup, pork, potatoes, hard tack and coffee. On rare occasions, the men received rice, beefsteak or tomatoes. 104 The dress parade followed with polished shoes and quick steps, and after that people rested and read, or talked to their fellow comrades, or sang songs

¹⁰¹"A day at Camp Alger," as related by Sergeant R.B. Mitchell, Co. C, in *The Students' Herald*, 2 November 1898, 3.

¹⁰²Ibid.

¹⁰³As related by Co. H's Arthur A. Greene in "From Camp Alger," *Topeka State Journal*, 2 June 1898, 3.

¹⁰⁴ From Camp Alger," *Topeka Daily Capital*, 3 July 1898, 3.

that reminded them of home like "On the Banks of the Wabash" 105:

Round my Indiana home-stead wave the cornfields
In the distance loom the woodlands clear and cool
Often times my thoughts revert to scenes of childhood,
Where I first received my lessons, nature's school
But one thing there is missing in the picture,
Without her face it seems so incomplete,
I long to see my mother in the doorway
As she stood there years ago, her boy to greet.

Chorus-

Oh, the moon-light's fair to-night along the Wabash
From the fields there comes the breath of new mown hay
Thru [sic] the sycamores the candle lights are gleaming
On the banks of the Wabash, far away
Many years have passed since I strolled by the river
Arm in arm with sweetheart Mary by my side
It was there I tried to tell her that I loved her,
It was there I begged her to be my bride.
Long years have passed since I stolled thru the churchyard
She's sleeping there, my angel Mary, dear
I loved her but she thought I didn't mean it
Still I'd give my future were she only here. 106

"Taps" came at around 9:30 pm and as the talking died down, the call of the whippoorwill carried the soldiers into the night and another similar day. The Kansas men, crammed sometimes at eight men per tent, 107 dreamed of "delicacies as are furnished by an unlimited market." 108

¹⁰⁵ A day at Camp Alger," The Students' Herald, 2 November 1898, 3.

¹⁰⁶"On the Banks of the Wabash," United Spanish War Veterans, *Favorite Songs*, n.d., 7, Kansas State Historical Society.

¹⁰⁷Harrison, 26, 56.

¹⁰⁸ Letter from Camp Alger," *Topeka State Journal*, 10 June 1898, 4.

How did the "College Company" regard their captain? Initially, the men seemed overjoyed to have William Clarence Stevenson as their Captain. He was competent, accomplished in his profession and had prepared his entire life for active military service. He had organized citizen militias, tested for West Point, organized and served as commandant of Kansas State Normal's student battalion, and was an officer in the Kansas National Guard. He had ample experience and drive, yet something about him troubled some of the College Company:

About the time we enlisted he couldn't do enough for us and we all thought he would make a good captain, as he was a professor in the State Normal.

... Our company is drilled as well as any in the regiment, due to the good work of Lieutenant Thomas, while the captain was on recruiting service. Our captain actually don't know a thing about the manual of arms, much less how to drill a company properly. But the worst of all is that he can't learn anything. He had charge of the battalion at the State Normal and we thought he would be a capable man for captain. 109

His weeks away from Camp Alger recruiting in Kansas robbed him of precious time to solidify relationships with his men. Being away from the strict camp regimen left him slightly untested. "The Captain is very rusty," Samuel Adams said of Stevenson the day after his return following their morning drill. Another soldier wrote, "Our company is well drilled, but it is not to the credit of the captain."

As to be expected, Capt. Stevenson, just like any other soldier, clashed at times with other officers or the men under him. Sometimes he was at fault, other times the fault

¹⁰⁹ The case of Professor Stevenson," Emporia Daily Gazette, 4 August 1898, 4.

¹¹⁰Adams, 411.

¹¹¹"The professor in trouble," Emporia Daily Gazette, 27 July 1898, 4.

lay in others. He could have been struggling with the reality of military service. Though an officer, he regularly found himself subject to the demands of others – back in civilian life he had a great deal more authority, and presided over others:

... Professor Stevenson says he feels embarrassed every time he goes in front of his company because he should have had a better position. . . [He] is "called-down" by his superior officers as much as Captain [Jack] McGinley [Company E] for "balling up" the orders of the drill. Captain Stevenson used to pride himself on his drill while in command of the Normal militia. 112

Stevenson seemed to want a higher office than the one assigned him. He did serve as major when Major Doster was absent on at least two occasions. The responsibilities of his office could have taxed him. Was war different than what he believed, or did the stress of knowing his last chance at military success rotted away with each day spent in Camp Alger bother him so much as to have him act unfriendly or incompetently? Stevenson, who took pride in his uniform, and most likely stricken by the heat, entered the dress parade on June 27 with his coat off. Major Doster noticed it, and trouble ensued. On Wednesday July 6, an enormous intra-company fight took place after Stevenson rebutted Major Doster's comments:

Ernest Clark, who is in Company H, Twenty-second Kansas, Camp Alger, writes as follows: "We have been having trouble with our captain. Hardly anyone in the company likes him, for he is no drillmaster at all, and our major is a very good drillmaster from West Point; but he has a bad temper, and the other day the captain didn't hear his command and gave it wrong. The major didn't like it, and told the captain to wake up and pay attention. The captain talked back to him, and

¹¹²As related by Lieut. Will Weaver in the Emporia Daily Gazette, 1 July 1898, 4.

¹¹³ From Camp Alger," *Emporia Daily Gazette*, 21 July 1898, 1; "From Camp Meade," *Emporia Daily Gazette*, 9 September 1898, 1.

¹¹⁴Adams, 412.

that made the major mad and he gave the captain a good raking. That made the captain very angry and he reported it to the colonel after the drill. Last Sunday [July 10] he sent a request to the colonel to get the company transferred to another battalion. We didn't want that to happen for we knew we had the best major in the regiment, and we would have to give up the colors, too; so we got up a petition to allow the company to remain where it is. Then the captain came around to each tent and said that anyone who signed that petition was not his friend, and that he would keep the company where it was if we wanted to, but if we did he would resign; that he just would not serve under a man who treated him as Major Doster had. Every man in the company except three or four signed the petition, so if the captain's word is good we will soon have a new captain. 115

There is a severe [fight] be-tween our Capt. & our Maj. & our Capt. is trying to get transferred to another battalion.

Our Capt. is not very well liked among our boys it seems & is getting worse every day. He is not the man for the place. Our Second Lieutenant is the man to replace him [17] should he resign & I do not believe that one in the co. would say "stay" if he offered to resign. 116

Capt. Stevenson "made a great speel [sic]" to his soldiers but it did not seem to "cut much ice." The majority of the College Company on that day wanted a new captain, so he refused to sign passes for his men that afternoon. He never resigned. This incident did not pass smoothly. When word reached Stevenson that Private E.M. Clark had written home relating the experience, Stevenson arrested him on the grounds that it was illegal for enlisted men to complain about their officers in correspondence. The boys were pretty stirred up over the matter" when the captain imposed Clark's sentence of a \$10 fine and

¹¹⁵Kansas in the Spanish-American War: 20-23 Regiments Scrapbook, vol. 2, 272; Rhinehart, 14.

¹¹⁶Rhinehart, 16-17.

¹¹⁷Adams, 414.

¹¹⁸Ibid

¹¹⁹ From Camp Alger," Emporia Daily Gazette, 2 August 1898, 4.

30 days in the guard house without filing "regular papers" and the "Lieut. imposed the fine without authority." Clark asked for a court-martial. Major Doster presided and lessened the sentence to \$2 and no imprisonment. Samuel Adams expressed the hope that "the Captain . . . feels better but honestly I believe he does not." Clifford Rhinehart defended Ernest Clark. "Clark is a young innocent boy who never did any harm in his life when he knew it. His letter was nothing more than anyone else would do, & he should come clear."

Capt. Stevenson had trouble with the commissary sergeant and the company's cook as well. Stevenson had requested sugar from the commissary and the sergeant refused him saying he only had enough for the men. Stevenson asked a second time and the sergeant again refused him. After this refusal, Stevenson fired him. Later, on July 22, Sergeant Arthur A. Greene ordered the company cook to have fried potatoes ready for breakfast but the cook refused. Stevenson then wanted to fire the cook. These actions on the part of the Captain caused one member of Company H, concealing his identity, to write, "A petition to have him resign would be signed by two-thirds of Company H and if he does not think so let him try it." An addendum to this complaint stated:

¹²⁰Adams, 415.

¹²¹Ibid., 416.

¹²²Rhinehart, 63.

¹²³Adams, 415.

¹²⁴ The professor in trouble," Emporia Daily Gazette, 27 July 1898, 4.

It may interest the professor's many friends in town to know that since the sugar incident, he has ceased living off of Company H and has joined he officers' mess. There he is compelled to pay for his sugar. He doubtless thinks with General Sherman that war is hell.¹²⁵

The company's cook, Bennie Venn, resigned, which troubled everyone. 126

The comments on Capt. Stevenson's performance did not make sense. How could his many years of training and military zeal fail him? If these accusations were correct, what went wrong? Was Stevenson unfit, or did some of his men who did not like him spread their discontent, reflecting poorly on the captain? One possible answer lies in the seriousness with which he carried himself while in the military. In civilian life, he was widely known as compassionate, kind, never neglecting anyone who asked for his personal attention. His capability running other militias had already been proven. But, it seems he refused to allow this "splendid little war" to be a child's game of democracy. When the company talked about firing the cook, and some protested the action, Stevenson

gave the boys to understand that "H E" was running the Co. & said it was not a "political convention," & it was not for the "Co. to decide." He did not think (he never does) that it was we who elected him to this office (Capt.) that he was not filling & the way we had our caucus & "convention." 127

He doubtlessly held himself in high regard, carried himself standoffishly, and meant business. His company had a problem with him not being friendly and acting apathetic:

A man for Capt. who holds himself aloof from his men & who is hard to approach by anyone is not a fit man to govern men.

It is now that some of the privates find out that many who had borrowed

¹²⁵ Ibid

¹²⁶From Camp Alger," Emporia Daily Gazette, 29 July 1898, 4.

¹²⁷Rhinehart, 48.

money of them at home—& lived upon charity now are, Capt. Lieut. or in some other position where they will not speak to them. In fact it is the hardest part of my soldier life to salute persons whom I know to be damned rascals despised by every-one. I have no use for this "form" "tin soldier" & other damned foolishness that tortures us to death. 128

They might have expected an easy adventure, complete with compliant leadership – their popular election of officers may have misled them. Stevenson, on the other hand, readied for war. Indeed, there were officers that should not have been officers, and military etiquette could be tiresome. The most popular of Company H's officers was Second Lieutenant George H. Rising, the only officer who had not had previous military training in college, which may say something as to the enlisted mens' basis for complaint.

A lengthy defense of Capt. Stevenson by another private of the company, Ode L. Rankin, written July 28, 1898, shows that the dislike of Stevenson was not universal. Rankin attempted to dispel the myths regarding Stevenson's performance through a concise examination of the College Company's drilling success by "disinterested" parties, along with his own assertions as one of those being drilled:

Concerning the criticisms of Captain W.C. Stevenson of company H, which have been printed in several Kansas papers, charging him with lack of military ability, it is necessary only to say that his company is considered by many to be the best drilled one in the regiment, and which has been accorded the honor of carrying the flag and regimental colors because of its superiority, when the honor properly belonged to another company by right of position. This does not argue any lack of military ability on his part.

I visited our neighboring regiments to find someone who had taken especial notice of our company at drill or on parade and from them to obtain a disinterested opinion. I found Captain R.C. Simpson of the One Hundred and Fifty-ninth Indiana regiment, who had watched company H on drill, and who testified to the ability of the captain as well as to the superior execution of orders by the men. He also took especial notice of the company while it was passing in review during

¹²⁸Ibid., 17.

brigade inspection and did not hesitate to say that the company presented an appearance second to none in the brigade and the best in the Twenty-second regiment.

Considering the fact that the Indiana and New York regiments have been drilling longer and came here fully equipped and had no recruits in their companies, this is no insignificant compliment for this company.

I had conversations also with several in other regiments who saw the review from advantageous positions. Some gave us the compliment of ranking first and others said that we were second to Indiana alone, and with but a very few exceptions all agreed that we were ahead of New York. Considering, too, the fact that the company is composed of college boys, who are always noted for their ability to "kick," and that they are from different schools, it is to the captain's credit that he has held the elements together as well as he has. 129

Rankin concludes with his professional credentials as "Former Editor of Strong City Derrick," as if to add validity to his statement as more than just a college "kicker."

Stevenson cannot be regarded as faultless, but the large degree of his ineptitude could have been highly exaggerated.

The men usually got along well, the main anxiety being the desire to have a "scalp of a Spaniard as a trophy of his military service." Rumors constantly abounded among these soldiers who so desperately wanted to get to the front and make something come of the effort for which they had signed on. Regimental and company reviews, inspections, and appointments all sparked debate over when and where they would end up. At times people believed they would soon be sent to Puerto Rico, or Cuba, or even used for a coast guard off the Atlantic coast – somewhere better than where they now found themselves

¹²⁹⁶ Kansas beats New York," Topeka State Journal, 1 August 1898, 2.

¹³⁰ Life at Camp Alger," Topeka Daily Capital, 31 July 1898, 5.

consigned. False hopes kept their minds racing. As a peaceful alternative soldiers passed the time trading and collecting militia buttons from as many states as possible.¹³¹

Soldiers passed the time in a variety of ways. Boxing entertained them¹³² and boys raced each other through the company streets. Some played baseball, in which Kansans often did well.¹³³ "Kansas" played the 159th Indiana, the 2nd Tennessee, as their camps lay in close proximity to the 22nd.¹³⁴ Games such as "quoits" and "base planking" also kept them occupied.¹³⁵ Company H's Private Charles A. Peddicord won fourteen out of sixteen prizes in field athletics at the July 4 competition.¹³⁶ When he contracted Malaria in late June, another soldier joked he got it from "too much high kicking on the Fourth."¹³⁷ Others made music. Private William A. Hollandsworth was "doing a cake walk in front of the Second Regimental band as drum major."¹³⁸ Kansans organized several quartets in the different companies, but whether Co. H had one is not certain. The 22nd also had two or

¹³¹ Sick list grows," Topeka Daily Capital, 25 June 1898, 3.

¹³²Nearly every company had its own set of boxing gloves. *Topeka State Journal*, 16 May 1898, 7.

¹³³For a funny story about one Kansan's luck at betting on baseball in a game after the 22nd had left Camp Alger (probably near Lexington, Ky.) consult "Lucky Kansas soldier," *Topeka Daily Capital*, 26 August 1898, 3.

¹³⁴Harrison, 12.

¹³⁵From Camp Alger," Emporia Daily Gazette, 29 July 1898, 4.

¹³⁶ News of the soldier boys," *Emporia Daily Gazette*, 13 July 1898, 4; "At Camp Alger," *Topeka State Journal*, 7 July 1898, 8; Rhinehart, 12.

¹³⁷ From Camp Alger," Emporia Daily Gazette, 29 July 1898, 4.

¹³⁸Emporia Daily Gazette, 12 July 1898, 1; "From Camp Alger," Emporia Daily Gazette, 21 July 1898, 1.

three guitars in the regiment. The nearby camp of the 159th Indiana even possessed a piano in the YMCA tent, which made many who heard it homesick. Soldiers also took their turns traveling to Washington. The week of June 6, Company H planned their first trip in six squads of thirteen each. He trips halted one day after they started because the company had to serve guard duty, doubtlessly disappointing those who did not yet have a chance to go. The squad that had managed it on June 6 saw the Capitol, the Library of Congress, the Smithsonian Institution, the Washington Monument, and reportedly visited McKinley himself and shook hands with him. He Before their time at Camp Alger ended, all of Company H had gone to Washington, many more than once, and had seen, in addition to the places mentioned, the "Army and Navy building" and "Medical Museum," and numerous mundane sites. Private Rhinehart after seeing Washington wrote:

It was worth many \$ to me to see these things as they were. I had read & studied of these things all my life but I had not the least conception of what they looked like nor what they were. One may read himself blind & crazy, but he will learn more in one hour, of actual fact than he will in a lifetime by the former.¹⁴³

Corporal William M. Barrett had a photo of himself taken in Washington in July that the

¹³⁹ Camp Alger news," *Topeka Daily Capital*, 15 June 1898, 3.

¹⁴⁰Adams, 407.

¹⁴¹Ibid., 408.

¹⁺²Ibid., 414.

¹⁴³Rhinehart, 33.

photographer passed off as Corporal Barrett of the Rough Riders, selling hundreds.¹⁴⁴ On July 30, Private Adams and then Private Ritchie bought a "Kodak" for \$25. With their new camera, they took photos of Mount Vernon.¹⁴⁵ Some traveled throughout the region daily on an ever-vigilant hunt for berries, observing the different culture that surrounded them:

The quaint old buildings, the odd looking people, the old plantations were sights for us Kansans to see. Every way one would look he could see the <u>modern</u> of <u>ancient</u> years. On all sides was in sight the progress of decay. Fields that had been under cultivation for 200 years, had long since gone back to forests & the old cabins where once dwelled the African slave had now become the home of bats, & desolation. Generation after generation had lived on the same plantation without building a house setting an orchard or taking a trip out side of the Co.

The roads in this state do not run straight for any distance but turn in all ways to run in, but one direction – always up hill. 146

As they wandered, soldiers might approach a Virginia farm and partake of their Southern hospitality:

About noon something told to us to inquire after a good square meal; so we stopped at an old Va. plantation where clung & clustered the quaint forms of many ages & where the hospitality of a Southern home bids a stranger welcome. The shrewd old man glanced a the hungry squad & kindly invited us to go to [9] his raspberry patch to "fill up" before dinner. We paid a generous compliment to his first "course" & returned to the house with our appetites keener & much better prepared to wield the knife & fork more graceful & a much more becoming manner. At last dinner was spread & we were invited to partake. The way the boys made blunders in trying to sit about the table as they once remembered in days gone by, at home, on real chairs, was laughable in the extreme.¹⁴⁷

¹⁴⁴ From Camp Alger," Emporia Daily Gazette, 21 July 1898, 1.

¹⁴⁵Adams, 416.

¹⁴⁶Rhinehart, 7-8.

¹⁴⁷Ibid., 8-9.

It is a very familiar sight to parents, the looks, which bears, the age of many generations. It seems that families are reared married live to old age to die in the same house, on the same plantation. Never-theless we find them generous, kind-hearted & hospitable. A soldier may intrude to a great extent without a murmer from the occupant. A person may think he is not with-in miles of a house or habitation, but all at once a hut or house can be seen through the clump of bushes, & houses that looks like sheds may reveal a dozen "kids" all white-headed & "cross-eyed." 148

They could travel to the Fairfax Courthouse south of camp to visit the battlefield there. Soldiers also fished at the old mill near camp for pickerel. And, on days when the spirit came upon them, the boys from Kansas physically clashed with boys from other states:

The other day, a crowd of soldiers from Tennessee got off their territory, and began gaying the boys from Kansas. The Jayhawker boys turned in and gave a grand free-for-all fight for the benefit of the visitors. The Kansas boys whipped the Tennessees easily.¹⁵¹

Oddly enough, when it came to fraternizing with women, a majority of the 22nd recruits had more interest in the girls at home then the women anywhere southeast of Ohio. An unidentified Manhattan soldier said in a letter that the soldiers lacked more than "good old home grub":

We are camped off here in the woods ten miles from nowhere and we don't see a female on an average of once a week and then they are not like the ones at home. In fact, I haven't seen a good looking girl since the night we crossed the Alleghanies, over a week ago. . . .

One more favor, too, while I am at it. Tell the girls they must do like the

¹⁴⁸Rhinehart, 39.

¹⁴⁹ From Camp Alger," Emporia Daily Gazette, 21 July 1898, 1.

¹⁵⁰Adams, 410.

¹⁵¹Emporia Daily Gazette, 4 June 1898, 4.

large firms in the East are doing for their men – they must hold our places for occupation on return with a clean record. 152

Other men shared his opinion, keeping their hearts allied to their "sweethearts" back home, if not also their eyes. Kansas women visiting them in camp really provided a welcome treat for the men, because "few pretty girls were seen any-where." ¹⁵³

Pranks also kept Company H entertained. Before drill on July 5, Private Samuel Dolby loaded his rifle with a blank, and when the practice command to fire came he

discharged his piece so that the wad went right over the men in the rank a few feet in front. The Second Lieut. [George H. Rising] was greatly Shagrinned [sic] by the act and saide that his hair was burned. He was so excited that the Captain [Stevenson] told [Sergeant John J.] Henderson to conduct Dolby to the Guard house where he now is. Dolby did it for a joke and a joke it was.¹⁵⁴

It must have been something to see hearts skip a beat when the gun fired.

The oppressive heat troubled many at Camp Alger. Drilling became more and more burdensome throughout the summer. Thousands of marching feet wore away the grass and packed the yellow clay earth into a mirror that reflected the sun's heat. "The heat," Private Clifford T. Rhinehart wrote, "is becoming so intense here that many fall prostrate at drill & all of us are more or less affected by the heat." A occasional respite came when it rained. Sometimes, if the day had been hot enough, the men would strip and

¹⁵²A letter from an unidentified Manhattan soldier in "How goes camp life?," *Manhattan Nationalist*, 17 June 1898, 6.

¹⁵³Rhinehart, 39.

¹⁵⁴Adams, 413; see also "At Camp Alger," Topeka State Journal, 7 July 1898, 8.

¹⁵⁵Rhinehart, 2.

enjoy a rain shower in the company street. 156 Officers and enlisted men often fainted under the glaring sun while drilling, and some (none from Company H) even died of the heat's effects on a protracted march. Visitors and soldiers held two versions of Kansas' ability to cope: some said they couldn't have experienced any worse weather conditions, while others said the Kansas climate prepared them for Virginia. Company H publicly held it could withstand it, yet in private complained like others. The khaki uniform adopted by the United States army helped as it provided better summer wear for those who later had it:

The commissioned and most of the non-commissioned officers of the regiment have purchased the Kahkie [sic] uniforms for wear in the summer. The uniform is an attractive as well as a serviceable one. It is made of light brown duck and the trimming are of light blue of the same material. These uniforms are worn on all occasions except regimental parade. 157

Rigid discipline governed the daily life of the men at Camp Alger. Men soon learned not to dare "raise his hand, or turn his head, or spit,"¹⁵⁸ let alone be absent from the drill muster roll. An infraction could be punished by a trip to the guard house, or binding the unfortunate individual to a rail and exposing him to the sun for a number of hours. The "saw horse" offered another form of punishment, albeit a cruel and not widely condoned instrument. The guilty party had to sit astride a wooden plank for a

¹⁵⁶⁴ At Camp Alger," Topeka Daily Capital, 2 August 1898, 3.

¹⁵⁷⁴ Gossip of the 22nd," Topeka Daily Capital, 26 August 1898, 3.

¹⁵⁸⁴ At Camp Alger," Topeka Daily Capital, 2 August 1898, 3.

^{159 &}quot;Sick list grows," Topeka Daily Capital, 25 June 1898, 3.

¹⁶⁰ 'Army 'saw-horse'," *Topeka Daily Capital*, 29 June 1898, 8.

length of time, his feet not touching the ground. Soldiers also "ran the guard line" here as they had in Camp Leedy, going where or when they should not. Running the guard line at Camp Alger proved a more difficult task than at Camp Leedy, where soldiers had "worked the guards at will." Guards felt a real threat from Spanish spies and sabotage. Private Charles J. Watson, "one of the prominent attorneys in Company H," was "run in" for running the guard line. 162

Second Lieut. George Rising of Company H, adjutant of the second battalion, trained the entire regiment on proper guard procedure. Being relieved of all other duties because of the task ahead, Rising spent his time making sure that those on guard knew their duties. The guard line separating the 22nd from the other regiments was strictly maintained by Rising and the sentries, requiring roughly seventy-five men to guard the enormous boundary in a twenty-four hour period.¹⁶³

First Lieutenant Henry M. Thomas wrote home to Manhattan from Camp Alger. He spoke of how he and others handled themselves and how the constant drilling on the clay soil under the hot Virginia sun should prepare them for Cuba. He mentioned that passes could be acquired sparingly to leave camp. He went to Washington for a day. The company earned high honors and became the "color" company of the regiment, with Miron White of Washburn titled "color sergeant." The strife anticipated between different

¹⁶¹As related by Co. H's Arthur A. Greene in "From Camp Alger," *Topeka State Journal*, 2 June 1898, 3.

¹⁶²From Camp Alger," Emporia Daily Gazette, 29 July 1898, 4.

¹⁶³"At Camp Alger," *Topeka Daily Gazette*, 2 August 1898, 3.

collegians rarely surfaced, in fact, the "greatest harmony" and "best of feeling prevails." His anticipation showed when he wrote, "As the regiment is now fairly equipped, there is a growing desire to be ordered to the front before the fighting is all over." ¹⁶⁵

Unsatisfactory and unsanitary conditions including a major typhoid epidemic during July that would eventually claim the lives of two officers and thirteen enlisted men in all 166 at Camp Alger led the War Department to relocate the troops elsewhere, as it planned to "break up the large camps and spread the troops about the country." It would eventually decide on Camp Meade, Pennsylvania, but for now purposefully moved the 22nd Kan. and other regiments out of camp to elsewhere in the South. On August 3, Company H soldiers packed up their gear, took down their tents, and headed out with the 22nd. Private Miron White fulfilled the role of a "color bearer," while Corporal George C. Lucas took charge of the company's tents and baggage. Major Charles A. Hazzard, Co. A, stayed behind with 100 men to watch over a large portion of the equipment that had to be left. Their destination was a temporary camp and ultimately the train station at Thoroughfare, Virginia, a distance of about fifty miles. After two months of Camp

¹⁶⁴Henry M.. Thomas, "Life at Camp Alger," *Industrialist* 24, no. 7 (July 1898): 519.

¹⁶⁵ Ibid.

¹⁶⁶Harvey, 140.

¹⁶⁷ Scattering the army," Topeka Daily Capital, 11 August 1898, 1.

¹⁶⁸"Moving Camp Alger," *Topeka Daily Capital*, 4 August 1898, 8.

¹⁶⁹From Camp Alger," Emporia Daily Gazette, 9 August 1898, 4.

¹⁷⁰ Harvey, 140.

Alger life, waiting and hoping to do something to make it all worth while, the first opportunity for action loomed just ahead over the horizon. Once Company H could get there, maybe then it could go to war. Unfortunately, some had given up hope going anywhere other than Alger and asserted that, "Our officers or most of them are wholy unfit to lead men into battle," claiming this was the result of "appointing men for such positions for political reasons." ¹⁷¹

Burke Station, a point on the main line of the Southern Railway southwest of Camp Alger, served as the first camp of the march the same day, August 3. Company H had to carry their "full knapsacks" in addition to all other accounterments. Marching in the overwhelming heat took its toll. The route lay along a narrow road directly into the sun, with high timber on each side and not the slightest breeze to alleviate the high temperature and humidity. Hundreds of soldiers dropped out or required support. Some, none from Company H, died from exhaustion. On the way to Burke's Station, the company passed "Gen. Lee's Sons [sic] widow's mansion." The troops did not move at all during August 4.

The 22nd Regiment left August 5 proceeding so rapidly to Clifton Station on the

¹⁷¹Rhinehart, 65.

¹⁷²From Camp Alger," Emporia Daily Gazette, 9 August 1898, 4.

¹⁷³Harvey, 141.

¹⁷⁴Adams, 416.

east bank of the Bull Run River that camp setup finished by 10 a.m. ¹⁷⁵ On this move the College Company served as guards "along the road at side ways and at houses." ¹⁷⁶ The camp lay on some of the ground fought over in the Battle of Bull Run. Roland H. Parks, Co. G, 22nd Kansas, whose company marched with Co. H at times related the trek from Camp Alger to Bull Run:

We left Camp Alger at 11 o'clock last Wednesday, the hottest day of the year, and had gone not more than a mile before were overtook some of the Indiana boys who had been stopped by the heat. . . .

Our travel rations consisted of a spoonful of coffee, two potatoes, an onion and a half dozen hard tacks, but the boys foraged a little as we went along.

One of the boys rustled three eggs and I kindly consented to let him use my cooking utensils for one of them. Another lad had filled his canteen with cream from a farmer's milk house, and when he arrived in camp, had a canteen full of butter. It tasted mighty good.

During the sixties this section was occupied by both Union and Confederate soldiers, and the boys have picked up many relics of the old war times – muskets, bayonets, sabres, bullets, and pieces of shells. . . .

. . . the boys are taking advantage of the stay to thoroughly explore the country. 177

Orders to move from Camp Alger "at once" despite Col. Lindsey's protest had left the trainmaster and quartermaster unprepared, cutting short soldiers' rations during the march. Kansas soldiers went thirty-six hours without rations, and this forced many to forage, which resulted in damage to corn fields, gardens, chicken roosts, and the killing of cattle.¹⁷⁸ Private Samuel Adams also related the damage:

¹⁷⁵Harvey 141.

¹⁷⁶Adams, 417.

¹⁷⁷ How he franked it," *Topeka Daily Capital*, 13 August 1898, 3.

¹⁷⁸ At Bull Run," Topeka Daily Capital, 26 August 1898, 8.

broke, and so take apples, and chickens and despoil the milk houses for milk and butter. It is reported to-night that they did not stop with smaller damaging. But killed beefs, robbed graves for relics¹⁷⁹ and molested the inhabitants.¹⁸⁰

Officers soon stopped this practice, but the

... remarks and retorts which thereafter passed between the men of different companies fully told the story. Some of them were: "Who stole the cow?" and the answer, "Company M." "Who stole the chickens?" and again, a full toned answer: "Company K." "181

Col. Lindsey defended McKinley's administration against the rations blunder and other problems that occurred to the soldiers in camp, saying that "there has been some mismanagement in the campaign, but it has been by men far below McKinley and Alger." According to Lindsey, rations at Camp Alger had not nearly been as bad as soldiers claimed. "There were always some kickers in every body of men" Lindsey said, ". . . [but] the bread which was furnished them in camp was just as good as any baker's bread in Topeka, and the loaves were of generous size." He also spoke of how the men gave their rations away to visitors in Camp Alger as souvenirs, so brought it on

¹⁷⁹When camped at Bull Run, a small group of unidentified soldiers, supposedly not of the 22nd, desecrated the marked graves of Major J. T. Duke, 5th Alabama Cahaba Rifles, C.S.A., and one Humphrey, C.S.A. They cut off Major Duke's shoulder straps, pulled out his gold teeth, and broke his skull to pieces and distributed them. Lious C. Duncan, Assistant Surgeon, 22nd Kan., was court-martialed for not doing anything to stop it. A military court found him guilty of failing to arrest the plunderers. Harvey, 142. Consult also the numerous accounts of the incident and his trial in the Kansas press.

¹⁸⁰Adams, 416.

¹⁸¹"Gossip of the 22nd," *Topeka Daily Capital*, 26 August 1898, 3.

¹⁸²"Col. H.C. Lindsey," *Topeka Daily Capital*, 18 September 1898, 1.

¹⁸³ Ibid.

themselves. He failed to mention how an officer's and enlisted man's rations differed. He further commented on how the 1898 soldier did not know hardships, compared to what the "old soldiers" had experienced in during the Civil War. Major A.M. Harvey had this to say: "I have no patience with the people who raise their hands in horror when the government is criticized for its treatment of the soldiers. The private soldier has good cause for complaint." 184

Here they remained until 6 a.m., August 7, when they marched westward, crossing the Bull Run River.

The day was Sunday. The route lay directly through the city of Manassas. Although years had intervened since the city's history had been made, and the evidences of industry and peace were everywhere, it was not hard for one to read in the faces of the townsfolk a dread and dislike of the army. This was further suggested by the next issue of the local paper, containing lines throughout its editorial page like the following: "Federal troops marched through town on Sunday," "The country is full of blue-coats," etc." 185

Not surprisingly, the mobilization of tens of thousands of troops from northern and western states at camps throughout the south could and did generate a resentment in Southerners living with the Civil War's legacy. The journey through West Virginia and Maryland had not been "marked by the show of generosity as was that through Indiana and Ohio." Any mistreatments of the region or its citizens by soldiers only compounded

¹⁸⁴Major Harvey spoke openly of the conditions the Kansas soldier faced after the 22nd had mustered-out. He criticized the negligence and incompetence his regiment faced during the war in Camp Alger. Consult "Can talk now," *Topeka State Journal*, 5 November 1898, 2.

¹⁸⁵Harvey, 141.

¹⁸⁶ Word from 22nd," *Topeka Daily Capital*, 2 June 1898, 6.

the problem. But, on the whole, the Spanish-American War brought the North and South together again. Soldiers from across the country marching together in a national struggle against a common enemy changed preconceived notions of enemies into friends. A small example of this can be shown in a conversation between a member of Company E and a Virginia soldier:

. . . "Where you'uns from?"

"Emporia, Kansas. Where're you?" "Culpeppa cotehouse, suh. Airy you all in the late wah, suh?"

"Oh, Yes. Lots of Union soldiers in this regiment."

"All of my folks, suh, were in Pickett's cavalry. I was too young, suh, and I reekon you was, but, suh, we can go to Cuba and whop those Spaniards under the same flag now, suh." . . . And thus did a proud scion of the F.F.V.'s make the weary sentinel's heart glad. 187

Private Harry Makemson, not in Company H, wrote in his diary:

And there is a touch of poetic sentiment in the fact that the decendents of those contending armies are marching and camping together onthe ground made sacred by the blood of thir heoic ancestors. "Dixie" and "Yankee-doodle," once hostile, are now cherished and cheered by all. 188

The line of march after leaving Manassas took Kansans past a red stone monument memorializing confederate dead. Three and half miles southwest of Manassas near

Bristow Station the men camped on the right bank of Broad Run. Here an outbreak of typhoid and malaria cases necessitated the establishment of a field hospital. 189

¹⁸⁷ From Camp Alger," Emporia Daily Gazette, 21 July 1898, 1.

¹⁸⁸ From Camp Meade," Emporia Daily Gazette, 2 September 1898, 1.

¹⁸⁹ Word from 22nd," Topeka Daily Capital, 2 June 1898, 6.

During all of this the boys found time for baseball games. Kansas beat Indiana in two of three games with a victory game score of 12 to 4.¹⁹⁰ A purse of \$20 was raised for the winner of the third game. Not surprisingly, the Kansas team contained a member of the College Company, Charles H. Barnes of Emporia, as pitcher. He certainly won the day for Kansas. Even though he was a "little wild" in the second inning and the "Hoosiers" got two hits and secured three scores, the "Jayhawk" Barnes did good work. Both teams played extremely well. The game remained a tie until the sixth inning when Kansas took the lead. A huge crowd full of opposing fans "yelled and roasted until a well seasoned 'Fan' would have resigned in their favor." ¹⁹¹

Heavy rains for five hours during the march worsened the men's condition as they left Bristow on August 9 for Thoroughfare Gap at the base of the Bull Run Mountains.

While camped here the company heard of the United States armistice signed with Spain August 12, the day after it occurred. The men spent their days swimming, gathering berries, buying food from nearby farmers, taking pictures, seeing the sites, dodging guards to do as they pleased, and waiting to go home. Samuel Adams admired the beauty of the place when he wrote, "Would give a good deal to spend a week or two running free through the country around here. It is about the most beautiful I think that we have yet

¹⁹⁰⁶ Won from Indiana," Topeka Daily Capital, 7 August 1898, 7.

¹⁹¹ Ibid.

¹⁹²Samuel Adams mentions the "Peace protocol" and immediately thereafter mentions the pay cut that peace brings. Adams, 418.

passed through."¹⁹³ After a long and sometimes unpleasant stay at Thoroughfare Gap with frequent rain, and a bout of semi-starvation answered with a mass protest on August 22,¹⁹⁴ the College Company along with the 22nd boarded the train to Middletown, Pennsylvania on August 27 at 9:30 a.m. and enjoyed a fine lunch en route served by a Women's Relief Corps.¹⁹⁵

Camp George C. Meade, ¹⁹⁶ like Thoroughfare Gap, proved a better temporary camp for the soldiers. It was situated near Middletown, Pennsylvania, on the left bank of the Susquehanna River between Middletown and Harrisburg. ¹⁹⁷ The men enjoyed the region much better. Jack Roberts, Co. E, wrote, "Here, we can hear the locomotive and see in the distance Middletown, and we realize that once more we are within the lines of civilization." ¹⁹⁸ Another soldier had shared his opinion of the Virginia residents' living conditions he witnessed by writing, "Say, you couldn't hire me to live in this country. They are about forty years behind the times – use double-shovel plows to farm their little patches with and they never saw a cultivator here." ¹⁹⁹ Private Charles H. Barnes had also expressed that "that people of Kansas are forty years ahead of the people of Virginia in

¹⁹³Adams, 418-419.

¹⁹⁴ Stack their arms," Topeka State Journal, 22 August 1898, 6.

¹⁹⁵Adams, 420.

¹⁹⁶Named after George C. Meade, of Gettysburg fame.

¹⁹⁷Harvey, 142.

¹⁹⁸From Camp Meade, Pa.," Emporia Daily Gazette, 23 August 1898, 4.

¹⁹⁹This account is given by Frank Cornett, Co. G, "From Camp Alger," *Topeka Daily Capital*, 3 July 1898, 3.

civilization."²⁰⁰ Still another had written, "The farming was on a smaller scale, the tools more old fashioned, and the people more and more the 'put it off till tomorrow' kind. . . . those who care only for themselves, read little and are content to go through their monotonous routine daily, knowing nothing of the broad world beyond."²⁰¹ Clifford T. Rhinehart wrote summarized it all when he wrote,

After we had cross into Md. things bore a different look. We saw no foolish looking women, kids, men & other animals that, so often met our eyes in Va. The country was fine, the farmers prosperous, factories going, & all busy. The farther we came north, the better were the improvements, both of people & country. Pa. is much ahead of Md., as Md. is ahead of Va. All express themselves as tired of Va, & would not stay there for the state. For my-self, I have enough of the dry, hot, sandy, d— old state. ²⁰²

Kansans left Virginia happy to say the least.

The high and rolling landscape around Camp Meade provided good water sources. Privates Loren G. Disney and Daniel L. Patterson nearly died August 28 while swimming in the Susquehanna River on account of the strong current, 203 something new to the Alger veterans. Company H bided their time swimming, reading, shooting craps, or entertaining visitors. President William McKinley toured the camp for one hour on his way to Somerset, Pennsylvania August 27. 204 On September 5, Corporal Frank R. Ritchie's

²⁰⁰Manhattan Mercury, 8 June 1898, 3.

²⁰¹A letter from Merle Newell (not Company H) printed in "From Camp Alger," *Manhattan Nationalist*, 8 July 1898, 4.

²⁰²Rhinehart, 104.

²⁰³Adams, 420.

²⁰⁴ At Camp Meade," *Topeka State Journal*, 27 August 1898, 6.

"lady" spent time with him and "he seemed to have a very enjoyable time." On August 29 or 30, due to an infraction now unknown, Corporal Benjamin D. Palmer was reduced in rank to private. Private Philo S. Burkholder became a corporal in his place. Corporal George C. Lucas left early on a furlough home to recuperate from an ailment. Market School Company H's Musician James M. Todd had fine "views" of camp and his comrades purchased some of them to "exibit to the folks at home. The American Tobacco Company gave every man in the 22nd a pound of chewing tobacco and two sacks of smoking tobacco, making the boys happy. The American Tobacco

At Camp Meade, Company H and other Kansas soldiers in the 22nd learned for certain they would be mustered out.²¹¹ According to Major Harvey:

The order was received with satisfaction by men and officers. All had taken pleasure in the service as long as the war continued or there seemed to be a prospect of service outside of the United States, but under the conditions then existing the general desire was to be mustered out.²¹²

Company H, which had lived the military life since May and earned a reputation as "one of

²⁰⁵Ibid, 421.

²⁰⁶Adjutant General of the State of Kansas, *Twelfth Biennial Report* (Topeka: W.Y. Morgan, State Printer, 1900), 202; Adams, 420.

²⁰⁷Ibid.

²⁰⁸"From Camp Meade, Pa.," Emporia Daily Gazette, 23 August 1898, 4.

²⁰⁹ From Camp Meade," Emporia Daily Gazette, 6 September 1898, 4.

²¹⁰Ibid.

²¹¹For a list of the more important features of the mustering-out order, consult "Muster out order," *Topeka State Journal*, 23 August 1898, 3.

²¹²Harvey, 142.

the best companies in the regiment" headed back home to Fort Leavenworth with new uniforms to make them look respectable²¹³ in one of four sections, arriving there the night of September 11. Here, the men of Company H along with others of the 22nd Regiment were furloughed while waiting to muster out on November 3, 1898.²¹⁴ The College Company would never see combat.

²¹³Rhinehart, 107.

²¹⁴"Itinerary of Company H," *State Normal Monthly* 11, no 1 (October 1898): 12; Adj. Gen. Kan. *Twelfth*, 218.

Chapter 5 THEY CAME BACK MEN

Never promise to do what you are not sure to do, because you happen to have the effusive muchness of feeling that prompts you to promise, even to carry off the gates of a certain tropical city, with no limits as to time or circumstances.¹

A delightful and likely fictional tale explaining why the War Department mustered out the 22nd arose claiming that a sergeant-major in the 22nd appeared at the White House and demanded an audience with the President:

I told the President that every enlisted man in the regiment was a Republican, and every officer appointed by Governor Leedy, a Populist. As often as the men would sign a petition to be mustered out, so that we could get back to our farms and shops, the officers would tear it up and tell the war department officials that we were just dying to go to the West Indies or to Manila – anywhere to get out of the country. They wanted to do us politically, by keeping us out of the state until after election is over. Well, I got in my work and the President says the regiment shall be mustered out.²

The sergeant-major's opinion in the story reflects two conflicts in the Kansas volunteers. One, the politics of the day did separate men between Populist and Republican lines, and many contended that the majority of the 22nd indeed voted Republican:

A careful canvass of the Twenty-second regiment of Kansas volunteers shows that its political complexion is Republican by 250 majority, and the majority against John W. Leedy is still greater.

Companies G, H, I, K, L, and M are more than two-thirds Republican, giving the opposition credit for every doubtful voter.

Now that the war is over, fully nineteen per cent of the volunteers desire to return to their homes, and no act of Congressman Curtis will make him more

¹William Clarence Stevenson in "Faculty Round Table," *The State Normal Ouarterly* 3, no. 2 (July 1891), 14.

²"His argument won out," *Topeka Daily Capital*, 28 August 1898, 2.

popular with the boys than the effort by him with the war authorities to secure their speedy release. Congressman Curtis is held in high esteem and is very popular with men of all shades of political opinion.

President McKinley's course during the war has also won for him the confidence of the volunteers, as well as all fair-minded Americans, and it is nothing unusual to hear Democrats and Populists say they did not vote for him before, but would only be too willing to do so now.³

It is not certain if Company H was Populist or Republican. They had after all named their mascot after a Populist, which could be interpreted either way, because Private William Hollandsworth, was "no yap – he knows a dog from a dog," and he had initiated the naming of the mascot from "Tom" to "Mary Lease." Added to this rift is the second conflict, the age old battle of enlisted versus officer, and politics gave a soldier a scapegoat or vent to deal with rank difficulties. Republicans argued that Populist officers methodically suppressed the desires of enlisted men to go home when the war ended. Indeed, some members of Company H signed a petition to get out of the war. One can almost sense the fortitude in the following telegram:

from Lieutenant Colonel Graham of the Twenty-second regiment, which is now at Thoroughfare Gap, VA.:

Washington, D.C., Aug. 22.

Topeka Capital: The officers of the Twenty-second Kansas volunteered unanimously today to go to Cuba if called upon and, requested the Secretary of

³"How will they vote?" *Topeka Daily Capital*, 27 August 1898, 5.

^{4&}quot;From Camp Alger," Emporia Daily Gazette, 21 July 1898, 1.

⁵Consult "Mustering out of Kansas troops," *Topeka Daily Capital*, 30 August 1898, 4.

⁶Samuel Adams's, Co. H, diary reprinted in Judith H. Byrd and Philip R. Mason, eds., "A Story of the 22nd Kansas Volunteer Infantry: from the Diary of Samuel Adams," *The Kansas Historical Quarterly* 36, no. 4 (Winter 1970).

War, through Chas. Curtis, to send them there.

LIEUT. COL. GRAHAM.⁷

Did he feel the resentment of the enlisted men under him who no longer wanted to stay in service with a war over, or were the complaints of a few who could not handle military service defining the opinion of the majority who still wished to stay in? For certain, no war meant no more enlistment for many, Populist or Republican – especially if "garrison duty" resembled anything like how they had spent their summer:

The men in the ranks are now generally in favor of returning to Kansas rather than going to the front. So long as there was a chance to see active service, the men were eager to go but they are not so anxious to do garrison duty in Cuba.

If put to a vote, there would hardly be two companies left in the regiment.8

A report in the *Topeka State Journal* explained, "Volunteer soldiers are willing to serve as long as there is a possibility of having to fight Spaniards but they object to remaining to fight every form of fever known to the medical profession."

The 22nd arrived in a Kansas that looked just like they left it – rainy and muddy.

One of the 22nd observed, "It rained before we left Kansas, it has been raining every place we went and now it rains when we come back. I guess we must be sure rainmakers." On the evening of September 11, the Missouri Pacific carried the 22nd into Leavenworth in five sections. The first section arrived shortly after five o'clock, the second section at

^{7&}quot;Kansas boys ready," *Topeka Daily Capital*, 23 August 1898, 1.

^{8&}quot;Gossip of the 22nd," *Topeka Daily Capital*, 26 August 1898, 3.

⁹Topeka State Journal, 1 September 1898, 1.

¹⁰ Came in the rain," Leavenworth Evening Standard, 12 September 1898, 3.

5:40, but delays kept the last section from arriving until nearly midnight. 11 The people of Leavenworth had expected the entire regiment in the afternoon, and made preparations to greet it by decorating the city with elaborate bunting from the station to the city limits. Even though a cold rain fell that turned the decorations into a horrible state and the train came late, an immense crowd of thousands welcomed the first two sections containing Companies A, B and C in the first, and D, E and F in the second. A huge sign hung at the depot with the words, "We Surrender Unconditionally. The Town is Yours." A cannon fired a volley of five shots to greet the heroes.¹³ The soldiers responded by "sailing" (flinging) hard tack into the eager audience looking for souvenirs. Some of the soldiers had the ladies in mind and planned ahead by writing their personal information on the hardtack in pencil, or messages like "The Kansas people are the kind of people to be with." Men could then leave the train if they did not stray too far, and began "forming acquaintance, especially among the fair sex." The citizens of Leavenworth had expected the boys would be hungry, and offered a wagon full of sandwiches and hot coffee:

The coffee was not the "weak sister" variety but of the kind talked of as "strong enough to bear up an egg." The sandwiches were sandwiches, each made of a loaf of bread cut in two with a good-sized beefsteak nicely cooked between

¹¹"Home, sweet home," *Topeka Daily Capital*, 13 September 1898, 1.

¹²"Came in the rain," *Leavenworth Evening Standard*, 12 September 1898, 3; "Return of the Jayhawks," *Emporia Daily Gazette*, 13 September 1898, 3.

^{13&}quot; Came in the rain," Leavenworth Evening Standard, 12 September 1898, 3.

¹⁴Ibid.

¹⁵ Ibid.

the halves. One man with a mouth swelled out with a big bite said: "Thith ith thom thing like it. Kan thath thity gave uth pothtage thtamph for thandwitheth." ¹⁶

The crowd went home to eat some dinner themselves and await the next sections.

The third section with Companies G, H and M arrived shortly before nine o'clock, the last section closer to ten o'clock with Companies I, K and L.¹⁷ They all received the same reception. Only after all had arrived did the crowd eventually die down and go home knowing that due to the stormy weather and the late sections, the soldiers would not leave their quarters at the station until the following morning. Col. H.C. Lindsey ordered the men to sleep in the cars. Having them march a mile and a half to the camp ground, then make camp and sleep in the damp quarters, would have been just short of "murder." 18

At around 9 a.m. on September 12, the weary soldiers paraded in the rain down Leavenworth's Delaware Street to their camp, "Camp Lindsey," a small and short-lived camp on the military reservation just south of the fort, north of the main wagon road running from the main post to the city and directly east of the wooded tract. ¹⁹ They looked liked "regulars." Months in the military camps had given them the distinguished edge of a real soldier. They would have been insulted to be considered anything less. Though no doubt disappointed that the war ended while they resided at "peace camp," the

¹⁶Ibid.

¹⁷Ibid.

¹⁸Ibid.

¹⁹"Home, sweet home," *Topeka Daily Capital*, 13 September 1898, 1; Major A.M. Harvey's address before the Kansas State Historical Society, 16 January 1900, George W. Martin, ed., *Kansas Historical Collections: 1897-1900*. Topeka: W.Y. Morgan, State Printer, 1900, 142.

satisfaction of getting to leave the service and return home surely filled many of their hearts. They again stood on Kansas soil, this time as patriots who had served their country.

The order to grant immediate furlough to the 22nd came on September 13.²⁰ While furloughed, the men of the College Company could return home and reestablish their former lives on the condition that they still belonged to Uncle Sam and could be called upon at any moment. This period before mustering out also allowed officers ample time to "prepare the accounts and get the papers in sha[p]e."²¹ The soldiers already scattered across town mustered as a regiment so muster rolls could be created by the officers to keep track of the men. Those furloughed could take all of their personal gear with them, including their gun. An enlistee could also choose to stay in camp and receive either "\$.75 a day commutation or the regular army rations."²² They also could join the regular army and have their pick of any regular regiment.²³ Charles H. Barnes, Co. H, chose to re-enlist and found himself in Company M, 6th United States Infantry, at Bacolod, Philippines.²⁴ Major Harvey, along with two other officers including Capt. Stevenson and five privates

²⁰"Off to their homes," *Leavenworth Evening Standard*, 13 September 1898, 3; "Get home today," *Topeka Daily Capital*, 14 September 1898, 1.

²¹ "Kansans are ready," *Topeka Daily Capital*, 3 September 1898, 2.

²²"Get home today," *Topeka Daily Capital*, 14 September 1898, 1.

²³Volunteers depart," Leavenworth Evening Standard, 14 September 1898, 3.

²⁴ State Normal Boys in the Army," *State Normal Monthly* 12, no. 3 (December 1899): 37.

from each company remained to look after the camp until the final muster out,²⁵ although Stevenson went home temporarily with Company H. All soldiers had to return October 14, as the furlough expired, to prepare and complete the mustering out process.

The College Company had left at the end of a school session and returned at the beginning of one after a summer in the military – not exactly how the company would have it if they had a choice in the matter. The schools on the other hand were delighted at the fact their students had returned. Washburn made immediate attempts to reclaim its football players in the College Company: Harry L. Finley, quarterback; Lloyd L. Stahl, end; Clarence W. Stahl, end; Curtis H. Gephart, full back; Miron White, guard; Frank G. Brown, half-back; Frank R. Ritchie and Ralph E. Skinner, substitutes. Charlie Finley, the team manager, went to Leavenworth to get the Washburn football team members.

Emporia residents put enormous effort into the homecoming for Company H and Company E in Emporia.²⁸ They planned to receive the returning soldiers with the gallantry of ceremonial circumstance that returning veterans could expect from proud citizens. The fact that the men had not entered battle did not lessen their devotion in the Emporians' eyes:

To an Emporia girl, every blessed boy that went off to the war and drilled in the mud of Camps Alger and Meade is a Hobson or Dewey. And why not? All

²⁵Volunteers depart," Leavenworth Evening Standard, 14 September 1898, 3.

²⁶ College players coming," *Topeka Daily Capital*, 14 September 1898, 2.

²⁷Ibid.

²⁸"When Johnny comes marching home," *Emporia Daily Gazette*, 14 September 1898, 1; "Welcome Home," *Topeka Daily Capital*, 15 September 1898, 3.

they needed was a chance such as the glorified had. That is the reason the town turned out to honor the boys on their return today.²⁹

The "old soldiers" could have been the initiators of the celebrations.³⁰ Most of the businesses and all schools closed while streets filled with throngs of people made a straight line from the Santa Fe depot to KSN. Emporians and college students alike in the crowded streets waited to greet the returning heroes. Cannons signaled the arrival of the "boys in blue," as the companies arrived in Emporia around 3 p.m. the afternoon of September 14.³¹ Elaborate decorations of flags and bunting marked the march line. Charles Harris served as chief marshal; the mayor, city council, board of education, faculties of the Normal and College of Emporia and the Women's Relief Corps and other patriotic orders led the parade.³² The GAR showed respect for the student soldiers and remembered their own miltary past by acting as honor escorts, riding "as if the fate of the nation depended on the angle their backs made with the saddle."³³ Then

came the men whom the town honored – the boys in blue – every mother's son of them being watched and gloated over by their kin, who "pointed with pride" from the crowd. Captain McGinley was in command of the two companies, which had been formed into one. The boys carried their guns, knapsacks, canteens and ammunition. Captain Stevenson rode in a carriage and, when the crowd cheered the boys, he felt important enough to stand up in his glory

²⁹"When Johnny comes marching home," *Emporia Daily Gazette*, 14 September 1898, 1.

³⁰"To welcome troops," *Topeka Daily Capital*, 14 September 1898, 3.

³¹"Welcome home," *Topeka Daily Capital*, 15 September 1898, 3.

³²Ibid.

³³"When Johnny comes marching home," *Emporia Daily Gazette*, 14 September 1898, 1.

and bow to the crowd. His steel smile is still fixed in the memory of those present.³⁴

On campus, Mayor Addis greeted the soldiers and President Taylor delivered a ten minute address. Capt. Stevenson graciously responded for Company H. After the formal ceremonies, everyone attended a feast in the old gymnasium sponsored by the Women's Relief Corps, the Red Cross, and other auxiliary organizations of Emporia. The boys heartily consumed the dishes of "piping hot" fried chicken, old fashioned potato salad, sandwiches, apple pie, and cheese. The day ended joyously with reunions and conversations, kisses and embraces. The next day the men spent their money buying new shoes, exchanging war stories and "suffering from colds" caught the night of their return because they were "not used to the cold sheets." No doubt a joke, many shared their elatedness at being back home and reentered KSN during the furlough. The companies stayed semi-cohesive as bodies, participating in meetings, practices and demonstrations in Emporia such as "guard mounts" simulating changing of the guard and drilling until the final mustering-out. 37

Interestingly, the College Company had arrived home in time to see Buffalo Bill's Wild West Show in Emporia on September 17. When Charles Harris and J.E. Evans of Emporia's committee planning the soldier homecoming traveled to Topeka to prepare

³⁴Ibid. One cannot tell if the *Emporia Gazette* is attacking Capt. Stevenson or saluting him.

³⁵State Normal Monthly 11, no. 1 (October 1898): 9.

³⁶Emporia Daily Gazette, 15 September 1898, 1.

³⁷"The guard mount," Emporia Daily Gazette, 20 September 1898, 4.

Company H and Company E for the September 14 festivities, they happened to chat with Major John M. Burke of the Wild West Show.³⁸ After learning what errand Harris and Evans were on, Burke asked how many men they expected to return to Emporia, and the two men told him about 150. Major Burke asked to borrow the "order tab" Mr. Evans carried to take notes with for a moment. Burke scribbled something on the paper and promptly returned it. The message read: "Buffalo Bill's Wild West – please admit 150 furloughed soldiers of the Twenty-second Kansas. John M. Burke."³⁹ Major Burke had "reached the height of liberality . . . in the way of complimentary favors to a show."⁴⁰ The Emporia soldiers planned to march in a body to the show, and provide an addition to the show's attractions, whether they did so remains uncertain. The show did take place, and Colonel Cody praised Emporia for the reception it gave him and the show.⁴¹

KU felt pride for their members of the College Company, despite the fact that they "did not have the opportunity to face the Spaniards," and claimed "there never was braver body of young men or one that responded more readily to the country's call." Some KU students entered school upon returning as well. Privates Harold E. Hoyt, Hoite Cates,

³⁸"Free for the boys," *Topeka Daily Capital*, 17 September 1898, 3.

³⁹Ibid.

⁴⁰Ibid.

⁴¹Cody had been in Emporia before, most likely in 1872, and remembered it as a trading post that handled the shipping for this section of the country. "Buffalo Bill's Show," *Emporia Daily Gazette*, 19 September 1898, 1.

⁴²KU Weekly, 17 September 1898, 2.

Edward B. Spiers, Eric Boyd and Corporal Philo S. Burkholder could be seen around campus once again.⁴³

What did the members of Company H do when they returned home? Students could now get back to football or baseball, scholarly pursuits, or the responsibilities of a job and family. As early as July 27, the *Emporia Gazette* had printed: "There is an Emporia girl who gets a letter every day from Camp Alger. The GAZETTE prints nice wedding invitations and expects business when the war is over." KU's 2nd Lieutenant George H. Rising obtained a position as instructor in the Salina military school. KSA's 1st Lieutenant Henry M. Thomas overcame illness, considered instructing military science but instead decided on a successful farm business turning "the sword into a plow share." On October 7, W.C. Stevenson returned to teaching and the developing of commercial studies that had already earned him national acclaim. He would soon leave KSN for a position at the Thome Institute in Port Deposit, Maryland, and later organize a student battalion and help build the commercial department at James Milliken University in Decatur. Illinois.

⁴³KU Weekly, 24 September 1898, 3; 1 October 1898, 3.

⁴⁴Emporia Daily Gazette, 27 July 1898, 4.

⁴⁵*KU Weekly*, 24 September 1898, 3.

⁴⁶Students Herald, 12 Jan 1899, 3.

⁴⁷Emporia Daily Gazette, 7 October 1898, 1.

⁴⁸Civilians adored W.C. Stevenson. His efforts at James Milliken University expanded the success of the school immensely and they loved him for it. After he died on September 19, 1909, the University showed up in strength at the funeral and written

Back at Leavenworth, troops at the 22nd camp had difficult times facing the winter weather in October. All of the 22nd had returned October 14 for the mustering out process. The men suffered from a lack of necessities. The infamous heavy, damp Kansas snow "weighed down the tents and loosened the pegs in the sodden ground until they pulled out and allowed the cold north wind to drive the snow in upon the wind." Provisions spoiled in the dampness, and those at camp had to procure meal tickets at a nearby hotel at their own expense. The muddy roads did not make for easy walking. Men found dry shelter where they could and the captains continued to work on the pay rolls.

Company H gathered with the rest of the 22nd Kansas Volunteer Infantry Regiment and officially mustered out November 3, 1898. Train rates for furloughed soldiers before November 1 had been at half-fare in honor of America's fighting men, but abuses of this policy and the mustering-outs of regiments led the western rails to end it.⁵⁰ The mustered-out soldiers on November 3 did receive a half-fare, however, to return home.⁵¹ The disbanding of the 22nd occurred without much ceremony. The final muster roll was called at 7 o'clock for the last time. The men pulled down the tents and piled them for the Leavenworth quartermaster who would take charge of them. The camp looked like a

memorials appeared in many publications. Consult Milliken University's student newspaper, the *Decaturian*, Milliken's yearbook the *Millidek*, and Decatur's newspaper the *Decatur Review*, from 1904-1909.

⁴⁹ Bad as Camp Leedy," Topeka Daily Capital, 19 October 1898, 5.

⁵⁰⁴ Rates for soldiers," Topeka Daily Capital, 29 October 1898, 8.

^{51&}quot;Mustered out," Topeka Daily Capital, 4 November 1898, 3.

"cyclone" hit it with men going this way and that, articles in hand to turn in or to sell to opportunists buying up what they could. 52 The blankets belonged to the men and went home with them. 53 At 8 o'clock Major Hammer, the paymaster, received the long lines of men looking for their pay and discharge papers. Most earned "excellent" and "good" remarks for their military service. 54 Most of the enlisted men took home \$50, but some left with nearly \$90 depending on how much they had previously been paid to compensate their time. 55 It took most of the day to pay everyone and the officers picked up their pay at the end of their day's duties. Some hurriedly left Leavenworth, having "enough soldiering to last them for a long time," while about a dozen of the 22nd joined the regular army after mustering-out. 56 Major Harvey said of the men he had spent six months with:

It had seen [just under] less than six months of service, yet had become well drilled, hardened, and disciplined. It had been favored by being composed of strong, vigorous and intelligent men, and by a spirit of generosity, harmony and desire for cooperation among the officers. Without having sighted an enemy and without having fired a hostile gun, its record was made, and is finished.⁵⁷

The members of Company H must have been disappointed they did not get to face the Spanish and only spent time in camp. They surely dreamt the same dreams as others of their day: the glory of battle, the chance for bravery and the badge of patriotism they

⁵²⁴²²nd mustered out," Leavenworth Evening Standard, 3 November 1898, 2.

⁵³ Ibid.

⁵⁴ Ibid.

⁵⁵ Ibid.

⁵⁶Ibid.

⁵⁷Harvey, 143.

could wear for the rest of their lives. Deep inside, they must have felt some sorrow when they heard of the military exploits of others in the Spanish-American War. But their time in the service had been of value to them. Their physical strength had improved – though their constitutions often paid the price for poor conditions, their patriotism found an avenue, and experience imparted some wisdom. They had seen distant parts of the country for the first time. They visited famous Civil War battlefields, saw the sights of Washington, D.C., and cherished the monument to John Brown where the 22nd Regiment band played odes to his memory. Some would say that they could have few regrets of their service other than not being able to fire a shot at the enemy and the fact that two men of the College Company had died.

One of the soldiers was Private Richard M. Coulson. His parents came to see him at the Fort Leavenworth hospital on September 21. The doctors reported "he is much better today, and believe the worst is over." The worst was not over. Typhoid took him only two days later. This Washburn student gave his life in answer to the nation's call.

Clifford T. Rhinehart of Kansas State Normal also died of typhoid fever at his home southwest of Columbus, Kansas, on September 28, 1898. Known as "Cliff" by his friends, he came home southwest of Columbus, Kansas, on the furlough and the disease developed further to the point of killing him. He too paid for patriotism with his life.

The fact that these men died from disease and not combat did not lessen their deaths at all. Their bravery lay in their enlisting, their devotion in their loyalty to

⁵⁸⁶ Kan. soldiers in hospital," Topeka State Journal, 21 September 1898, 4.

America's need for soldiers. They did not have a chance to prove themselves in combat, but fought instead with a killer that claimed more American lives than bullets.

Both Washburn and KSN hung memorials to honor these two and others who once walked through the halls but now rested forever, ⁵⁹ and wrote poems to their memory:

God of battles, watch above them –
Soldiers brave who calmly sleep;
Breeze of heaven, come, caress them,
Where they bide in silence deep.

Duty called; they answered quickly;
Raised their country's flag on high,
Where the gloomy shadows thickly
Stole across the battle-sky.

Some are resting in the Southland,
Where the Cuban zephyrs play;
Some across the mighty billows,
In Luzon, so far away.

Maryland skies and Kansas sunshine
Watch o'er others while they sleep;
And they're all at rest up yonder,
Where the angels bivouac keep.

Hail, O loved K.S.N. heroes!

We shall not bide long apart;

⁵⁹Washburn placed a memorial window in the campus chapel that read, "Richard M. Coulson, Co. H, 22nd Vol. Inf.; died in Hospital, Sept. 23, 1898." KSN had several plaques to their war dead which included Clifford T. Rhinehart, including the Philomathian Society which placed two brass tablets on their hall's wall, one of which was his. *State Normal Monthly*, June 1899, 145; George W. Martin, ed., *Transactions of the Kansas State Historical Society*. Topeka: State Printing Office, 1910.

Soon where sweet reveille wakes you, We shall greet you heart to heart.⁶⁰

Throughout the years men would reminisce and people would remember the exhilarating days when Kansas college students boldly banded together to fight America's enemy and citizens greeted trains with shouts and cannon fire, bearing gifts for the "boys in blue." Company H, 22nd Kansas Volunteer Infantry Regiment, would be recorded as the "College Company," the only one of its kind in Kansas.

⁶⁰ To the Dead Soldiers of K.S.N." written by Charles M. Ware in KSN, *Kodak*, Emporia, KS: KSN, 1898, 55.

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Roster of Company H, 22nd Kan. Vol. Inf. Reg. (Names appearing twice denote promotion or demotion during service)

Name & Rank	Residence	<u>School</u>
Captain Stevenson, William C.	Emporia	KSN faculty
First Lieutenant Thomas, Henry M.	Melvern	KSA
Second Lieutenant Rising, George H.	Salina	KU
First Sergeant Whipple, Abner D. Orendorff, Arthur D.	Olivet Benedict	KSA
Sergeants Derr, Homer Greene, Arthur A. Henderson, John J. Orendorff, Arthur D. Smith, Bert R.	Lukfalla, Indian Territory Lecompton Smith Center Benedict	KSA
Whipple, Abner D.	Emporia Olivet	KSN KSA
Corporals Amyx, Henry B. Barrett, William M. Boyd, Eric Brown, Frank G.	Clifton, Oklahoma Wamego Newton Fall River	KSN College of Emporia KU
Burkholder. Philo S. Lucas. George "Carroll" Lyman. Frederic T. Palmer. Benjamin D.	Harper Emporia Topeka Lawrence	KU KSN
Pratt, Harry Ritchie, Frank R. Stevenson, Fred A.	Hoxie Topeka Chicago, Illinois	KSA KSN
Strahl. Otho Watson. Charles J. Wright. John C.	White City Alva, Oklahoma Appanoose	KU
<i>Musician</i> Noel. John W. Todd. James M.	Cherryvale Dover	College of Emporia
Artificer McConkey, Clarence M.	Burrton	KSN

Wagoner

Pieper, Thomas A. Olcott

Privates

Adams, Samuel Topeka

Alexander, Raymond Emporia KSN
Bailey, Arthur Waverly KSN

Barnes, Charles H.

Boone, Theodore E.

Brooke, Fred M.

Bryan, Ora E.

Emporia
Lawrence
Lecompton
Lawrence

Boyd, Eric Newton KU

Burkholder, Philo S. Harper

Carnine, David F. Emporia College of Emporia

Carson, David F.

Casad, Earl P.

Cates, Hoite

Urbana

Emporia

KSN

KSN

Chanute

KU

Clark, Charles C. Macksville

Clark, Ernest M. Garlington KSA

Cooper, Ernest E. Weskan
Cunningham, John A. Emporia

Coulson, Richard M. Harper Washburn

Davis, George E. Emporia

Decker, Albert I.

La Fontaine

KSN

Disney, Loren G. Topeka

Dolby, Samuel Lexington, Kentucky KSA

Douglas, William R.

Draper, Charles H.

Drennan, Will

Duncan, Wesley H.

Colony

Hutchinson

Blue Rapids

Lawrence

Ferguson. Howell D.

Finley. Harry L.

Memphis, Tennessee
Hennessey, Oklahoma

Fisher, DeWitt C.

Gasaway, Carl D.

George Emmet D.

Alfred
Spring Hill
Ionia

George, Emmet D. Ionia KSN

Gephart, Curtis H. Valley Falls

Graham. Alfred L.

Gramly. Lee F.

Griswold. Hubert C.

Hanson, Hakon

Quenemo

KSN

Gvery

KSN

Emporia

KSN

Guy

KSN

KSN

KSN

KSN

KSN

Hart, R. Frank Parsons College of Emporia

Hogue, Carl T.

Hollandsworth, William A.

Howell, Clarence W.

Emporia

Emporia

Lawrence

Hoyt, Harold E. Cambridge, New York KU

Hudson, Andrew Fredonia Fredonia Fredonia

Hudson, Merlin
Huev. Charles S.

Fredoma
Brownington, Missouri
KSN

Ireland. Otto B. Topeka

Irwin, Edwin P. Lawrence

Keeler, Lot P. Centropolis KSA

Keeler, Roscoe R.	Centropolis	KSA
Lane, Oscar J.	Lawrence	
Loomis, Eugene F.	Emporia	KSN
Lyman, Federic T.	Topeka	
Lucas, George "Carroll"	Emporia	KSN
McFall, Burge	Eureka	
Minnick, David L.	Thayer	
Moore, Mayton W.	Maxson	
Neff, Merton B.	Hiawatha	
Nichols, Andrew C.	Spring Hill	
Nichols, George M.	Vinland	
Orrill, William C.	Dayton, Ohio	KSN
Palmer, Benjamin D.	Lawrence	
Patterson, Daniel L.	Maxson	
Peddicord, Charles A.	Williamsburg	
Porter, Ray O.	Stafford	KSA
Pyles, Calvin L.	Colbert, Indian Territory	KSN
Rankin, Ode L.	Mt. Pulaski, Illinois	
Roe, Eugene V.	Purcell	KSA
Rhinehart, Clifford T.	Columbus	KSN
Seal, Harvey C.	Meriden	
Shearer, Lawrence M.	Cawker City	KSA
Shearer, Osborne P.	Cawker City	KSA
Sheedy, Dennis J.	Fredonia	KSN
Shelton, Albert L.	Anthony	KSN
Simmons, Benjamin A.	Burlington	
Skinner, Ralph E.	North Topeka	
Sneegas, William W.	Lawrence	
Sommers, Albert P.	Abilene	KSN
Spiers, Edward B.	Lawrence	
Stahl, Clarence W.	Topeka	
Stahl, Lloyd L.	Topeka	
Starr. Charles E.	Eudora	
Stevenson, Fred A.	Chicago, Illinois	KSN
Strahl. Otho	White City	
Tomlinson. Elber J.	Willow Springs	
Torrance, Luke E.	Eureka	KSN
Temple. Harry P.	Kansas City, Kansas	KU
Van Meter. Will J.	Parsons	
White. Miron	Pratt	
Woodmas, Clarence S.	Maxson	
Wyse, John	Yates Center	KSA
Watson, Charles J.	Alva, Oklahoma	KU

Selected Photographs



W.C. Stevenson as Commandant KSN Battalion. (Kodak, 1898, 167)



W C. Stevenson, Captain. (State Normal Monthly, May 1898, 137)



Henry M Thomas as KSA student. (*The Students' Herald*, 25 May 1898, 2)



Abner D. Whipple as KSA student. (*The Students' Herald*, 9 Feb. 1898, 3)



Fred Stevenson as Lieut. KSN Battalion. (Kodak, 1898, 167)



Henry Amyx as Sergeant KSN Battalion. (Kodak, 1898, 167)



Samuel Adams at Camp Alger. (Byrd and Mason, "A Story of the 22nd . . .," insert)



Clifford T. Rhinehart as Philomathian member. (Kodak, 1898, 83)



Emmet D. George as Oratorical Association member (Kodak, 1898, 92)



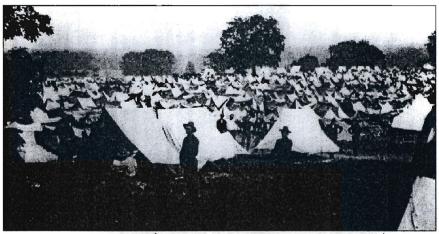
James M. Todd as C of E student (College Life, 4 June 1898, 6)



William M. Barrett as C of E student (*College Life*, 4 June 1898, 6)



John N. Camine as C of E student (College Life, 4 June 1898, 7)



The 22nd at Camp Alger (Byrd and Mason, "A Story of the 22nd . . .," insert)



Southern Hospitality (Byrd and Mason, "A Story of the 22nd . . .," insert)



A Company H soldier (Byrd and Mason, "A Story of the 22nd..," insert)

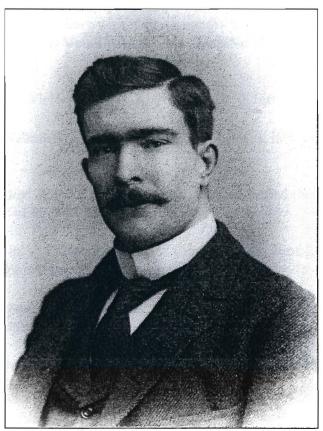
William C. Stevenson Remembered

"See?"

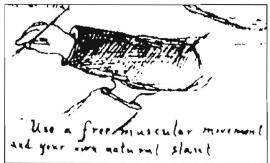
"Natural slant."

"Now, if you don't laugh, I'll tell you a story."

"Get that grapevine twist out of your back."



Professor William Clarence Stevenson in 1893. (ESU Archives)



"Use a free muscular movement and your own natural slant."

The "natural slant" style of penmanship Stevenson made famous. (From the Kodak 1898, 189)



His grave in Greenwood cemetery, Decatur, Illinois. (Photo: Harrell W. Ellis, Superintendent)

Company H Members' Selected Personal Information

Adams, Samuel: also served in 353rd U.S. Infantry during World War I; died Tacoma, Washington, December 1, 1926.¹

Barnes, Charles B.: also served in Company H, 20th U.S. Infantry; died October 3, 1946, died Fort Scott, Kansas; buried there with military honors in Maple Grove cemetery; member of United Spanish War Vets Howard Olds Camp No. 26, and former member of Jos. A. Wahl Camp No. 17.²

Boone, Theodore E: died Wichita, Kansas, March 15th, 1959; member USWV Camp 17.3

Carson, David F.: died February 12, 1950, Kansas City, Kansas; late member of USWV Malolos Camp No. 6.4

Cunningham, John A.: died July 23, 1950, Emporia, Kansas; buried there in Maplewod Cemetery; late member of USWV Harry Easter Camp No. 16.5

Drennan, William: died in V.A. Hospital, Kansas City, Missouri, June 22, 1953; late member of USWV Malolos Camp No. 6, Kansas City.⁶

Duncan, Wesley: died Dec. 7, 1953, St. Paul, Minnesota; buried in Forest Lawn Cemetery, St. Paul, Minnesota.⁷

Erwin, Edwin P.: died July 27, 1939, San Francisco, California; buried there with military honors.⁸

¹"Dr. Adams is dead," *Topeka Daily Capital*, 2 December 1926, 11.

²United Spanish War Veterans Bulletin 40, no. 5 (October 1946): 8.

³Ibid. 52, no. 11 (April 1959): 5.

⁴Ibid. 43, no. 9 (February 1950): 5.

⁵Ibid. 44, no. 3 (September 1950): 4.

⁶Ibid. 47, no. 2 (December 1953): 5.

⁷Ibid. 48, no. 2 (July 1954): 3.

⁸Ibid. 33, no. 5 (October 1939): 16.

Fisher, Dewitt C.: died March 13, 1941, presumably Seattle, Washington, presumably buried there; late member of USWV Camp No. 2, Department of Washington. Graham, Alfred L.: died August 3, 1957; member USWV Camp No. 40. 10

Hollandsworth, Wiliam A.: died December 26, 1949, Belleville, Kans; buried with military honors in Belleville, Kansas, cemetery; late member of USWV Camp No. 14.¹¹

Ireland, Otto B.: died March 6, 1944, in Veterans Hospital, Muskogee, Oklahoma; buried in Chelsea, Oklahoma; late member of USWV Frank C. Armstrong Camp No. 3.¹²

Keeler, Roscoe: also served in Co. M, 40 U.S. Vol. Inf.; died May 28, 1948; late member of USWV Gen. McArthur Camp No. 25, Department of California.¹³

Lane, Oscar J.: a Department of Kansas USWV commander for 1938-'39; died September 12, 1951, Big Springs, Kansas; buried in Oak Hill cemetery, Lawrence, Kansas; late member of USWV Joseph A. Wahl Camp No. 17.¹⁴

Lucas, George C.: his brother Charles E. Lucas also enlisted to fight in the Spanish-American War by joining Company E, of the First Illinois.¹⁵

Nichols, George M.: died March 15, 1940, Fort Dodge, Kansas; buried with full military honors in a cemetery at Fort Dodge; late member and past camp commander of USWV Charles Diemart Camp, No. 39, and past Department of Kansas USWV historian.¹⁶

Peddicord, Charles A.: died in the hospital at Veterans' Home in Leavenworth, Kansas, August 16, 1935; buried with military honors in a cemetery at Williamsburg, Kansas; late

⁹Ibid. 34, no. 12 (May 1941): 4.

¹⁰Ibid. 51, no. 7 (December 1957): 3.

¹¹Ibid. 43, no. 7 (December 1949): 10.

¹²Ibid. 37, no. 10 (March 1944): 14.

¹³Ibid. 42, no. 3 (August 1948): 5.

¹⁴Ibid. 45, no. 5 (November 1951): 4.

^{15&}quot;Camp Leedy notes," Topeka Daily Capital, 19 May 1898, 3.

¹⁶United Spanish War Veterans Bulletin 33, no. 11 (April 1940): 14.

member of USWV Captain Edmund Boltwood Camp No. 40.17

Roe, Eugene V.: died February 2, 1944, Manhattan, Kansas; buried with military honors in Wichita Park cemetery, Wichita, Kansas; before his death he had recently been installed as junior vice commander of USWV Wilbur Samuels Camp No. 32.¹⁸

Shearer, Lawrence M.: died Aug. 22, 1947, in Winter Veterans Hospital, Topeka, Kansas; buried with military honors in Maplewood cemetery, Emporia, Kansas; late member and past commander of USWV Harry Easter Camp No. 16.¹⁹

Shearer, Osborne P.: died in Wichita, Kansas, December 7, 1953; buried in Wichita; late member of USWV Lawton Camp No. 18, Wichita.²⁰

Sheedy, Dennis J: died October 14, 1946, Independence, Kansas; buried with military honors in Sacred Heart Cemetery, Fredonia, Kansas; late member and past camp commander of USWV Orlin L. Birlew Camp No. 24.²¹

Skinner, Ralph E.: died July 22, 1949, Topeka, Kansas; buried in Rochester cemetery, Topeka; late member of USWV Frank C. Armstrong Camp No. 3.²²

Smith, Bert R.: died May 10, 1951, in Veterans Hospital, Ft. Logan, Colorado; buried in Leon cemetery, Leon, Kansas; late member and past camp commander of USWV Harry Easter Camp No. 16.²³

Sneegas, William W.: died Jan. 15, 1957.²⁴

Stahl, Clarence: died Aug. 30th, 1958, Topeka, Kansas; late member of USWV Camp No.

¹⁷Ibid. 29, no. 4 (September 1935): 6.

¹⁸Ibid. 37, no. 9 (February 1944): 8.

¹⁹Ibid. 41, no. 4 (September 1947): 4.

²⁰Ibid. 47, no. 2 (December 1953): 7.

²¹Ibid. 40, no. 10 (March 1947): 10.

²²Ibid. 43, no. 3 (August 1949): 4.

²³Ibid. 45, no. 1 (June 1951): 4.

²⁴Ibid. 50, no. 11 (April 1957): 3.

Stevenson, Fred A.: most likely brother to Captain W.C. Stevenson; died in San Mateo, California, May 6, 1950; buried with military honors in Golden Gate cemetery, San Bruno, California.

Thomas, Henry M.[arsden]: died July 6, 1943, in Veterans' Hospital, Marion, Indiana; buried with military honors in Washington Park cemetery, Indianapolis, Indiana.²⁶

Todd, James M.: died April 6, 1947, San Antonio, Texas; buried in San Antonio; served for ten years as the National Chaplain of the USWV, and was a member of USWV Eugene J. Hernandez Camp No. 1, Department of Texas.²⁷

Van Meter, William J.: died June 8, 1945, Parsons, Kansas; body cremated with no funeral services, except commitment at grave; buried in Oakwood cemetery, Parsons, Kansas; late member of USWV Funston Camp No. 23.²⁸

Whipple, Abner D.: died July 23, 1944 in Portland, Oregon; buried in Portland, Oregon.²⁹

White, Myron: weighed 200 pounds in 1898, stood "six feet in his socks" and had "no superfluous flesh." ³⁰

²⁵Ibid. 52, no. 4 (Semptember 1958): 5.

²⁶Ibid. 37, no. 2 (July 1943): 7.

²⁷Ibid. 40, no. 11 (April 1947): 4.

²⁸Ibid. 39, no. 2 (July 1945): 6.

²⁹Ibid. 38, no. 3 (August 1944): 8.

³⁰"Camp notes," Leavenworth Standard, 13 September 1898, 3.

Journal of Clifford T. Rhinehart

This is the second half of the journal (the first part is lost) that Co. H Private Clifford T. Rhinehart kept during his stay at Camp Alger, Virginia. It shows Rhinehart has a critical mind and objected to ignorance, naivety, most officers in what he calls a "tin soldier" war (including Capt. W.C. Stevenson), and Populists.

Rhinehart wrote as if he knew someone besides himself will read it. He placed a title and disclaimer on the cover page, another title on the back of the cover page, and throughout the journal inserts commentary that is superfluous if meant only for himself. If he meant for others to read it, he certainly did not allow that to hinder his candidness. It may have only amplified it.

The journal is a prize for its author recorded experiences as he saw them in great detail, including his thoughts. It captures for any reader an era in American history when the country went to war for varied reasons, some believing in its righteous cause, others in the opportunities to be had. It amply provides images of cultural transitions as mobilized recruits found themselves leaving home and traveling to foreign lands – in their own country. Lastly, it shares the daily struggle of a young man attempting to make sense out of the frenzied world around him.

It is reproduced here with the spelling, syntax, and spacing as they are on the original pages. The brackets contain the page number. In attempts to preserve continuity, paragraphs continued from one page to the next are kept whole here with a page number inserted for clarity.

[cover page]

Property of C.T. Rhinehart, Co. H. 22 Kans. Vol., Camp Alger Va.

P.O. Columbus Kans. (Cherokee Co)

In this book is found the daily doings of camp life as I see it, & it is my intention to keep as near the truth as possible, & not writing a word that I do not see for my-self.

C.T. Rhinehart

[back of cover page]
Spanish-American War
from
April 1898-1898
C.T.R.

[1] July 1st. 1898. Friday

The month opened by being the warmest day we have had in camp. In the morning we took our guns for the 1st time & hunted Spaniards through the woods for a few miles but found none but lost one man in a berry patch; berries were ripe. It was through the thick pine woods & tangled underbrush that we made our <u>debut</u>, & it was trying on all of us.

This P.M. we marched to the woods again & had drill with our guns & we are making rapid progress since we received our guns; before we were nothing more than a "mob" but feel more confidence in ourselves now.

There is not much sickness in camp now. I am doing part work, rheumatism is better.

[2] Saturday, July 2nd, 1898.

I was detailed for the first time to help cook, to-day, but it is not much of a job as the few thing we cook needs, but to put them on the fire & then take them off again, of cours, it is not the way to cook, but every thing is done opposite in the army to what it is in a free country. Such as we eat & drink here would not be allowed in doors at home, but we do not complain for it is the very best we can expect.

The heat is becoming so intense here that many fall prostrate at drill & all of us are more or less affected by the heat. It was so hot this P.M. that drill was deferred till evening. The weather is still very dry.

[3] Sunday, July 3d, 1898.

Last night at 12 we were all called out to form in line as some of the Pa. troops had deserted & started for home for the fourth. We were compelled to "fall in" many of us without cloths on & not even a gun. It was owing to the extreme ignorance of the officers, as they would not allow us time for anything of the kind. If we had been attacked by the enemy it would have been all the same with them but it would have been different with us, for all would have been killed or captured, not having a gun.

It is still very warm to-day but can stand it very well when we do not have to drill. I received a fine box of grub from home to-day & it will go down the fourth.

[4] Monday July 4th 1898.

This the 4th of July. 122 years have passed since freedom dawned upon our Nation. Its birth, its groth its power; is marvelous. We are stronger to-day than ever before. No nation on the face of the earth has made so rapid progress, has advanced so far in civilization, has shown to the world the value of freedom, & liberty, given man his first rights, his liberty of thought, his free speech, his religious views about myths & myracales nymphs & maids, ghosts & goblins. Man is no longer burned at the stake for dis-belief of gods, or tortured for the rejection of myracles.

Near this camp, lived the father of our Country. Upon these grounds were fought the Indian, the English, the South; the Indian for land; the English for Freedom, [5] the South for the preservation of our Union. But to-day the Indian is peaceful, the English our friend, the North & south one united Nation. Proud are we of our Nation, our country & our flag. The woof & warf that binds the American heart & hand to hamlet & home, are the ties of friendship that cannot be broken.

Under these banners success & preservation of our Nation are ours. This is the most exciting, the most enthusiastic, the most patriotic & glorious fourth of July the younger generation has ever seen. At this writing canons are booming, men are hollering, & running about camp shouting the great victory of Sampson [6] at Santiago. It looks like it was ordained for Santiago to fall for the Soldiers in the field to have a grand jubilee. Patriotic words fall from every lip-spoken from every tongue. At every new word from our arms brings fourth new applause. Every heart beats the same sentiment—all speak the same words.

Yet, our nation can improve, can learn the rights of man & tell where his neighbor's rights begins & where his ends.

Civilization has just begun to dawn. The horizon of free thought & belief is a welcome right & soon every <u>free</u> man will have his <u>liberty</u>.

[7] How I spent the Fourth.

With a few companions, in the morning I started for the country to view the sights of the old fashion ways & customs of the people of Va. Through the thick pines we marched for a few miles dodging the <u>provost</u> guard on many occasions marching through the hot sun far into the country.

The quaint old buildings, the odd looking people, the old plantations were sights for us Kansans to see. Every way one would look he could see the <u>modern</u> of <u>ancient</u> years. On all sides was in sight the progress of decay. Fields that had been under cultivation for 200 years, had long since gone back to forests & the old cabins where once dwelled the African slave had now [8] become the home of bats, & desolation. Generation after generation had lived on the same plantation without building a house setting an orchard or taking a trip out side of the Co.

The land is poor & sandy & the few acres that are cultivated by negroes & whites are of old shapes, taking many fields to make an acre.

I visited the old mill, where Washington had his milling done. It was a small structure & would make a Kansas farmer a good henhouse, if they would take out the little "joint" that was in the corner, where they sold "moonshine" whiskey. From the old mill we trudged [9] along the hot dusty road each one "falling out" when he saw a ripe berry, while the rest marched on as before. Negroes swarmed from every hut to see a "blue coat" & to learn the "wah" news.

The roads in this state do not run straight for any distance but turn in all ways to run in, but one direction – always up hill.

About noon something told to us to inquire after a good square meal; so we stopped at an old Va. plantation where clung & clustered the quaint forms of many ages & where the hospitality of a Southern home bids a stranger welcome. The shrewd old man glanced a the hungry squad & kindly invited us to go to [10] his raspberry patch to "fill up" before dinner. We paid a generous compliment to his first "course" & returned to the house with our apetites keener & much better prepared to wield the knife & fork more graceful & a much more becoming manner. At last dinner was spread & we were invited to partake. The way the boys made blunders in trying to sit about the table as they once remembered in days gone by, at home, on real chairs, was laughable in the extreme.

Some of the boys although from good homes & having good training in these early days, did some things that was not in accord with good manners [11] & up to date With the latest etiquette. Some even went so far as to say "please" & when waited on by anyone, would say "thanks." This was of course in direct violation of the etiquette of camp.

Our P.M. ramble was through more of these back woods or realy a continuation of the same. Greatly to our surprise in the p.m. we saw a real mowing machine & of course we boys crawled through the fence & began querying him what the machine was, what it was for, how it worked, & then he looked much surprised and said: "what state are you from" & we said: "Mo." at the same time telling him: "we cut our grass in Mo. with a crooked knife". He said there was another man on the pike road about 5 miles from there that owned [12] two of them."

His horses as well as the machine was of the old make but he thought them good & new.

Our curiosity was well night surfeited by evening & after a bath in the clear stream a few miles from camp, we trudged back to our old tents where supper something like we had seen before, stood before us.

In the evening we had field sports & many took part, but Co. "H" has a man who will always take the prizes when he is not barred out.

[13] Tuesday July 5th, 1898.

All were ready for work this morning as we had had good news & a good time the fourth. In the p.m. we went out for the first time at sham battle through the woods; & if we don't have more time to "load" "aim" & "fire" we will not hit many in battle unless it be those of our own men; for all was done in a hurry rustle bustle & excitement.

We pitched tents (dog tents) for our first time this evening & did first rate as few mistakes were made & it was done on quick time.

Field sports again this evening & the same man took every one of them. [14] Wednesday, July 6, 1998

Last night we had a fine rain the first in many weeks.

I did not drill to-day because the rheumatism was bothering me again.

Our Capt. & our Maj. Had a few words when drilling & all thought that a fight was eminent, but was some-what smoothed over for the time being.

Thursday, July 7th 1898.

Today was another skirmish drill through the woods & it showd much improvement.

In the evening many teachers from Kans. who were attending the National Association at Wash. City came out & gave us a call. Some complimented us on our fine display of arms & thought we were in [15] a fine home; but I only requested them to come to partake of our fare once & they declined saying they had not time. It would be a little different from what they had in Wash. D.C.

Friday, July 8, 1898.

This was another day for hard drilling & marching. We have begun to act more

like daemons than ever before & it will not be long till we are perfect ones if soldiers make them

Not many are now on the sick list as we have become more accustomed to the climate.

Most all are anxious to go from this Camp to Cuba. [16] Sat., July 9th, 1898.

This was the regular day for inspection & we had no drill. In the a.m. we cleaned our guns as the order was: if spots of rust was found on the arms any-where we would be charged up with them. We are not furnished oil or any-thing to brighten them with & it is a hard job to keep them clean.

Our co. fared well, as only one or two received a reprimand from the officer about his gun. Many of the other co's got a reproof & were compelled to burnish his gun again.

There is a severe be-tween our Capt. & our Maj. & our Capt. is trying to get transferred to another battalion.

Our Capt. is not very well liked among our boys it seems & is getting worse every day. He is not the man for the place. Our Second Lieutenant is the man to replace him [17] should he resign & I do not believe that one in the co. would say "stay" if he offered to resign. A man for Capt. who holds himself aloof from his men & who is hard to approach by anyone is not a fit man to govern men.

It is now that some of the privates find out that many who had borrowed money of them at home—& lived upon charity now are, Capt. Lieut. or in some other position where they will not speak to them. In fact it is the hardest part of my soldier life to salute persons whom I know to be damned rascals despised by every-one. I have no use for this "form" "tin soldier" & other damned foolishness that tortures us to death.

[18] Sun. July 10, 1898.

Last evening I went on guard again but as supernumerary so I had little to do in the fore-part of the night. In the a.m. several had to be relieved for being sick.

A person's main duty on guard is: to "salute" officers & give them due attention. At guard mount is the most obnoxious feature of the whole game. One has to stand, at "attention" while a whole lot of those little petty officials fools go through a whole lot of red tape that makes any-one so very tired. All of this may be necessary for a good army to whip Spain but I cannot see it that way & to me it only makes us mere tools in the hands of idiots.

[19] The Presidents "Proclamation."

Today I read the proclamation for "prayer" in all of the churches of our Nation & to give thanks to the "Almighty God" for his help & success of our arms. And not only that, but I read the response to the P. by all the ministers in Wash. to many all over the Country.

It seems to me that it was the most silly thing ever indulged in by such a high official. It is a pitiful condition that a man gets into when he even believes that him-self, & a great deal worse when he presumes upon the ignorance of the people of an enlightened nation. It is too childish for men of sense & men of thought to ever spend his time & energy at any such foolishness.

In olden times they consulted [20] the Oracle before entering battle; in modern times they prayed to "gods" for success in arms & at the present time they give thanks when we have success in arms. Such is the ignorance, the superstition, & foolishness of some people. It is time for men to learn that: the biggest guns, the best guns, the most proficient men, the highest science & all other conditions the same in proportion, is what makes the battle go that way. It is an insult to the intelligence of a free people to teach them other-wise.

As long as men depend upon "gods" & other super human "deities" to fight their battles, they will make [21] an utter failure; & they should.

Gods have nothing to do with battles or anything else except to strain peoples' imagination, who thinks little and eats much. God never fights battles & an honest man will say so. He never performed myracles for man by fighting battles. Joshua was a myth & so were his myracles. Moses was a fake & we should know it. Christ never performed a myracle & no sane man ever thought he did. Why does not God stop the cruelties of Spain; why has he let them go on so long? Awaiting on the U.S. to act 'spect, & then give him the glory. There are two kinds of religions. One who is [22] educated & lives off the ignorant & one kind who are ignorant & support themselves & the church.

Some of the divines now try to reconcile science & religion & a few years back they were at swords point, & theology was trying to stamp out science in every conceivable form. It made little difference how it was done. Darwin, Humboldt, Voltaire & all those men of science had not only fight the rotten superstition of the Churches but had to fight for their lives. The church & its influence has kept back the world in civilization 10,000 years. "Hell's fire" has been its text & scare word.

[23] Mon., July 11th 1898.

Today was pay day & not many were there but what were able to "drill" up to the paymaster's tent & get their tempting morsel.

In fact there are but few on the sick list at present although I have drilled but one day in 3 weeks not more than 3 at the outside.

Most of the boys were busy spending their money to-day for every foolish thing that could be brought into camp. When soldiers have money they will spend it quicker than any people in the world.

Many were busy trying to get passes from the Col., Capt., & in every way possible to go to W. City. I was one of the lucky ones & will go tomorrow.

[24] Tuesday, July 12 1898.

Early this morning I arose to take my second trip to W. City. Seven of us started at 5 a.m. walking to Falls Church, 4 miles from camp. I described the country in my first volume on my first trip & will say nothing about the country.

We ate a few things we bought on the road to Falls C. but did not get breakfast till in W. The first thing I did on arriving at the depot was to buy a ticket & leave it on the counter therefore I had to pay my way the second time.

We soon reached the City & taking the car at the depot (electric car) we went down Pen. Ave. to 13½ St. to the depot leading [25] out to Mt. Vernon, Alexander, to the home of Washington.

It is about 16 miles & the first part of the trip is through low swampy ground covered with tall grass & small willows. We soon strike small hills where it is very poor, the land is fit for nothing but for making brick & for sight-seerers because of historic grounds. We travel through glade & glen, over hills & vales, large timber small underbrush.

We soon found ourselves at the depot at the very entrance of the old home of Washington. Things around the place looked some-what worn out but when one entered through the

gates (after paying a quarter) he soon found [26] himself in fine grounds walking on fine side walks surrounded by the most beautiful foliage of trees.

A small cornfield on the left a small meadow on the right (west) (as we go into the grounds to the S) to a high brick wall surrounds the garden.

One is struck by the very air of emotion when he realizes that he is walking on the very ground of the Father of his Country. It is to all Americans a sacred ground.

We notice as the walk turns to the E. on the left side we see a few building smoke houses & wood house & all along this walk we see all kind of forest [27] trees that make shade that cannot be penetrated by the sun. In fact the foliage of the trees are so thick that one cannot see the large mansion of W. till he is quite close. Then looms up before him the familiar picture that we are of used to seeing in our books of the home of W. It is to us as familiar as our own homes & is a beautiful house imitating marble but is nothing more.

As one enters the west door into the hall he sees on either side the parlor, sitting room, dining room & all have the same furnature in them as they had in W. time.

Near the stair way hangs a key about 8 in. Long & [28] as big around as a finger & is the Key to the Bastille presented to W. by Layfett. It was the key that locked the prison in which so many of the people of France was confined.

Every room in which I entered seemed to be sacred with the remembrance of the life & work of the patriotic Wash., especially when in these war times we hear the roll of the drums & the silver notes of the heroic bugle. As we entered those sacred halls I could not help thinking that in that house once lived a man who had been a man of peace, of war, & great in his Country. In a south room up stairs, [29] was the room where W. died & many of his war articles were setting about in the room.

We next passed through the hall to the north where rooms were furnished for different members of his family.

Many of the rooms are furnished with furnature brought from abroad, but is quaint & old. All of the rooms or each one is furnished with an old fashioned fireplace. Everything is

honest-like & inviting in the extreme.

After seeing all the sights on the upper stories we went into the library on the lower floor. It is as every thing else, ancient but well chosen. I saw in those alchoves such books as [30] Sakespeares' works in 10 vol., Blackstone's works, Laws of Va., Military tactics & a great many vol. likely 500 in all, & were well preserved.

The walk next led us to the kitchen where in olden times W. ate his meals or at least they were cooked.

The waiters & manager of the place still eat here.

We next visited the stables where W. kept his fine horses but none were there. It is a very large brick barn 50 by 40 ft is well preserved. This is to the S.W. of the house about 100 yds.

A few yds. north of the barn is the old chariot shed & in that stands the family chariot of W. It might have been a fine [31] carriage in his day, but it is to us very ancient; although much like the ones still in use at this place. (Va.)

Our walk led us to the old tomb of W. which faces to the north, on the bank of the Patomic. It is not a large structure, being built as on the same plan as a cave, having a wooden door. The tomb is overgrown with large trees which shows that the T. is very old; going to the s. in a few rods we came to the new tomb of W. & his wife & all of his relatives. It is a brick structure about 20 by 30 & just inside of double iron doors, we could see the solid marble caskets of W. & his wife, one on each side of the door. Back of this inclosed by a [32] brick wall & iron door were all the relatives (40) buried. When the last one was buried the door was locked & the key thrown into the Potomic.

We saw trees near the tomb, planted by the Prince of Wales, Don Pedro, & several other noted men.

A fine summer house stands nearly in front of the house over looking the P. In all, in all, the site for a home was well chosen. It is high & dry above the P. & overlooks it to the far east.

The last thing looked at was the deer park just in front of the house running down to the P.

Half past one was up the bell rang which [33] gave warning that the steamer was at the wharf & we bid fare-well to Mt. Vernon & its surroundings.

It was worth many \$ to me to see these things as they were. I had read & studied of these things all my life but I had not the least conception of what they looked like nor what they were. One may read himself blind & crazy, but he will learn more in one hour, of actual fact than he will in a lifetime by the former.

The trip back to W. was a pleasant one. I was invited to dine with some friends on board the ship & it was the most palatable meal that I had eaten for some time.

The steamer was about 125 [34] ft long, 50 ft. wide & was 3 stories high. It was as fine as a parlor & made good time.

The banks of the P. are covered with forests so dense that one would suppose that he were in a wilderness, away form civilization.

I met some young ladies on the steamer, who were teachers from Penn. All strangers are apt to say something to a soldier & will soon make his acquaintance.

On reaching W. City I went to the zoological park where animals of every conceivable nature & clime, is found.

After taking supper, I started home or to the camp.

Many of the soldier boys were drunk on the cars & it is a shame that they will make a fool of them-selves.

[35] Wed. July 13th 1898.

My trip to W. yesterday fitted me for rest to-day & I was so low from my rheumatism, that I could scarcely stir.

Most of the day was spent in answering letters & writing in my diary what I had seen in my second trip to the City.

Many visitors were in camp today who had been to W. City to the Teachers Association. Among the many were Pres. Taylor & wife from Kans. Also Prof. Iden. We were all glad to hear

from Kans. & to see our old time teachers.

The news this evening is that Santiago will soon fall but we cannot tell how true it is.

[36] Thurs. July 14th, 1898.

Today was my first day of chill & I stood it pretty well till this evening, when I began to feel very tired & lame.

I can see that our troops are improving in health as well as drill. Not many are sick except those who have sore arms.

Today we learned that Santiago had actually fallen & the troops are in a great fever of excitement.

The hospital Corps of the Tenn. leave tomorrow for Cuba on the account of so much sickness among the troops.

There is some talk of us moving but it is such an old story that it has lost its savor. [37] Friday, July 15, 1898.

This A.M. our capt. acted as maj. in battalion drill & was to my opinion a poor drill-master, lacking in commands, thought, & sense of duty.

Some more of the Prof. were out from W. again this evening & shook hands good by.

Sat., July 16, 1898.

No drill to-day as it was inspection of arms camp & person.

Inspection is a farce in a great measure & tends more than any-thing else to make "tin" soldiers of men i.e. such work as this.

Some of our guns were in a poor condition, but as a Co. we fared well.

The weather is very dry & warm again.

[38] Sun. July 17, 1898.

Sunday was a welcome visitor to all the boys for hot weather had exhausted our vigor for work & we wished to get out side the camp & fill up on "country" grub.

Early this morning I got a pass with 2 others & made for the country cups & spoons in hands to gather berries & have a feast. We soon struck the beries about 3 miles from camp & proceeded to fill our tin-cups to "baskets," both holding—.

The country is the same in all directions. The same sights may be seen at all plantations; that is to say, old people, old houses, old wagons, old barns, horses, & in fact every-thing that has age at all, is old indeed.

[39] It is a very familiar sight to parents, the looks, which bears, the age of many

generations. It seems that families are reared married live to old age to die in the same house, on the same plantation. Never-theless we find them generous, kind-hearted & hospitable. A soldier may intrude to a great extent without a murmer from the occupant. A person may think he is not

with-in miles of a house or habitation, but all at once a hut or house can be seen through the clump of bushes, & houses that looks like sheds may reveal a dozen "kids" all white-headed & "cross-eyed." Few pretty girls were seen any-where. Most of them are slim, black, & talk like the "colored" folks.

[40] The fourth of July was not observed by the people as any-thing more than a passing event. They went no-where, they said nothing to the Children about it, but lived right on as any other day. Such I am not used to. Kans. & the whole north is used to go on all such occasions & know more of the world in general.

Our berries being picked we went to the nearest house, where we bought some milk & with the bread & cookies we brought along, made a full meal; afterwards taking a good sleep under the large walnut trees where we ate.

Soldiers could be seen [41] moving in all directions – foraging i.e. gathering berries & some looking for some-thing to drink. It is a sight to see so many who are almost crazy for some-thing to drink, & make them sick, & mean. One would think that no one had enlisted in the army, but hobos & bums; but many are not that way.

After a long rest & sleep, we started for camp & on the road found an old stone bridge where the clearest & purest water flowd & the temptation was too much for us to resist, so we took a good bath for the first time in the army. We next picked our cups full of berries & sped back to camp.

The weather is very warm.

[42] Mon. July 18th, 1898.

Nothing but drill, drill, attracts our attention now.

There are a great many on the sick list to-day but it is nothing but vaccination.

Today was "brigade" inspection for the whole camp. N.Y., & then Ind. & then Kans. filed by. Ind did the best then came Kans. The 22 Kans did the poorest that they ever did on a parade; & Co "H" my own Co. was a sight of excited fools yet we tied for first place with "E."

All of our Co. was mad for the way we did. Our Capt. proved his incompency more than he ever did before as he never called "port arms" till reminded by a <u>private</u>. [43] Tues. July 19th, 1898.

To add to the sick list this morning, Co. "A" had been fed on soured meat, & about 10 o'clock they began to fall sick all about the grounds.

Sixty in all were carried from all about the grounds to the surgeons tent were many were detailed to help care for the sick. No on ever saw so many sick at the same time.

I was on guard last night to to-day. It is a farce. Our posts are so far apart that any-one could go through.

Some of the Ind. fellows wanted to go through our lines & I asked them if they had passes & they said: "no," so I told them they could go through if they had no pass but if they had one, they could not.

[44] Wed. July 20, 1898.

The sick of Co. "A" are better but one is not expected to live; they were removed to their quarters last night.

Today Tenn. & Ind. Had a sham battle & before the guards could restrain the mobs from the 22 Kans. & the 159 Ind. They had run past the lines over the hill about half a mile to where the battle was being fought. But their fun was ended when they attempted to return to the Camp. They had turned out the guard making it too close for many to escape back. Many came back by squads, but some unlucky ones became separated form the rest. One of our men was lucky? enough to get [45] into the guard house. That is a place that bears a great resemblance to a jail. Also the inmates look somewhat like those who always frequent those places.

In the looking over those who are in these places one cannot help but think that Uncle Sam had hired men were not worthy of their position. No doubt many are enlisted who are worse than any spaniard whom they are fighting against.

Some of the boys became much excited because of the news: that they were thrown into another brigade, but like other news of the kind, was not so.

Some are ignorant enough to still believe every-thing. [46] Thurs., July 21 1898.

Fatigue was my duty for today. It consisted of work & double rest. Each man made himself a broom from brush, then proceed to sweep the whole grounds. It looked to me some-what foolish but that is necessary for tin soldiers.

One has a good time when on this duty. I swept for a few moments then carried off some trash & then stayed out in the woods for a few hours, for a while. In the Pm. I reported for duty, but no officer came near so I did not touch a thing till supper & then not much as our supper was slim.

We were blessed yesterday with a good rain. [47] Friday, July 22, 1898.

Our batalion drill was at 8 o'clock this morning & it was long & hard. If constant drill, & work & feet will make good soldiers, then we will be perfect ones.

Last evening the commissary sargent & the cook had trouble about frying potatoes for breakfast. The cook claimed that he could not "fry" them in the time allotted for him. The capt. was consulted & he upheld the sargeant. Some 2 or three in the co. want the job, & to my mind, are trying to oust the cook to get his job.

The Capt. is being worked by them & he is too soft to see it. His head is so thick that nothing like reason can penetrate it. It was brought before the co. this evening, but [48] three fourths of the boys were in favor of keeping the cook, & this made the Capt. mad & he gave the boys to understand that "H E" was running the Co. & said it was not a "political convention," & it was not for the "Co. to decide." He did not think (he never does) that it was we who elected him to this office (Capt.) that he was not filling & the way we had our caucus & "convention."

A few weeks before this he had discharged the best commissary sargent that we ever had because he (sargent) would not give him (Capt.) double rations of sugar.

Three fourths of this Co. would have him resign [49] if it were possible, but he has

not sense enough to know when he exhonorated by the Co. He does not seem to know that all the boys hate him.

I do not say this because he never gave me a cross word in my life; but it is because I dislike to see the boys treated as if they were dogs.

Our Co. would never be fit for battle as along as he knows as little as does at present.

How an officer will abuse his power is beyond my comprehension. I believe in obedience, but when an officer is in competent for the position he is trying to hold he is not a man if [50] he tries to hold it.

I was a witness against a Smith the Battalion Adjutant of the third battalion this A.M. He on the day before in my presence went across the guard line without showing his pass & when the guard said "halt!" he turns around & tells the guard to "go to hell" & a few other sentences that are not fit for this diary but which I freely swore to in the "field court." Five of us were sitting near the guard line at the time of the occurrence. I asked the guard if he were going to take that? He said: no.

So we wrote our[51] names, co. & Regt on a slip of paper & gave it to the guard. Smith had one witness, we or guard had five.

Smith tried to prove that the guard was not a good soldier & did it for "spite."

I was much surprised at White for the testimony he gave & the quibble he did to make it sound in favor of the known guilty man.

Smith is one of these ignorant, bombastic, sycophant of a whiffet, that had no principle & much less sense. He thought because he held a little position, gotten by a friends infernal populist pull, that he could do as he liked.

[52] Sat., July 23, 1898.

Today is the time for inspection but we had battalion drill all morning.

It is according how drunk our Maj. is, the amt. of drill depends on that; but our Maj. is the only man that is fit to govern men because he knows how.

Our p.m. was well spent at rest, but were looking at all times to hear the bugle blow for drill.

At "dress parade" last evening many of Co. F was mentioned as being fined for dis-orderly conduct & will be allowd no privilage for 60 days. This co. is from my home town, but not all are angels. The offences were drunkeness & disorderly conduct. They have poor examples.

[53] Sun., July 24, 1898.

Inspection this morning of quarters. It consists of all the privates standing in front of their own tents with cloths all on, shoes backed, "head to eyes to the front" to breathe 18 to 19 times per min; not too loud nor too low. It is one of the scenes "of the first act" of the "tin" soldier.

The trouble we have been having in our Co. has been communicated to many of the home paper viz. the "Otawa Journal", "Emporia Gazett", State Journal, & the "Topeka Capital." In the Otawa Journal was an article written by one Ernest Clark, who had only written a letter to his father in a way that was truthful in [54] the extreme but

was not written for publication. It exhasperated our Capt. very much, & wished some one to communicate a refutation to the same papers, but so far, has not succeeded.

The letter was in substance as follow: "The Maj. gave an order the Capt. did not under stand it & gave the wrong order" A dispute followed & the language of the Maj. made the Capt. wish the Maj. court martialed, & his Co. 'H' removed to another battalion. He (Capt.) said if his Co. was not removed that he would resign & wished the expression of the Co.; they voted for him to resign."

[55] Mon, July 25th, 1898.

The first thing on the programme this morning was for the Capt. to send Ernest Clark to the guard house for "insubordination", that is to say, for telling the truth, that is to say, for spite more petty than tongue can tell.

This p.m. he had his trial in "field court" before the Lieut. Colonel, he gave him a fine of \$10. & sentence of 30 days in the guard house. The whole Co. is in a state of rebellion, & will appeal to a higher court.

The co. is clamorous for the capt. to resign & go back to Kans. or some-where.

This p.m. we were ordered to "pack" all our goods in our haver sacks, & prepare for a long march. We were soon [56] ready with a load large enough for a pack mule besides our guns. Then we started for the old mill about 3 miles away. The trip was not so hard as was expected & none gave out on the way. We reached the mill in about an hour & after a little rest marched on to the "swimmin hole", a little farther on. This is an opportunity that we can not often boast of & are always glad to make the trip.

In marching back, I was late in dressing & some 8 of us fell behind & took our time in coming to camp. Therefore we missed the dress parade.

[57] Tues., July 26, 1898.

This was my day for carrying water & if one works it rightly, he will miss drill. Each man takes 2 buckets & carries 20 per day. The distance ½ quarter.

The weather is very warm again & is getting very dry.

The war is still on in our co. & do not know when it will be off.

The boys are not in the humor for peace.

This p.m. was brigade inspection for our brigade 159 Ind. 22 Kans., & 3d NY. We were compelled to blacken our shoes put on all our cloth & have our guns in fine order. The day was sweltry but a tin show had to be made before Sec. Alger, Porter et al. [58] After marching about 2 miles through the dust & heat we were not in a very good condition for the fastidious eye of our Sec. but we made a very good showing.

It was amazing to see the number of officers that confronted us on the parade grounds. I do not know where they take the lead that way in battle or not.

Most all rode fine horses & were a fine looking set of men.

Co. "H" was mentioned to our colores by the brigadier Gen. as the best looking, & had the best line in the brigade.

I think it is watched more closely because it is the color co. [59] Wed., July 27, 1898.

I was for the first time placed as guard at Hospital head quarters to-day. Its for

the division H. Q. It is an easy job but one has to be there all the time. It is the same as guard at our Regt. but we go on in the morning & come off in the morn. (7:30)

It rained most all night & our little dog tents were not worthy of the name, when the "flood came." I had never seen it rain that way before.

I took my "& walked" into a large tent & made my bed on a table that was 4 ft. high & 1 ft. wide; & I had to stay awake half the time to see how to sleep & stay on the board.

It is the business? Of the Corporal to wake one up every 5 min. [60] There are many strange sights to see among different men. A casual observer can see & tell the dif. between or among the N.Y., Tenn., Kans., Mo., & many other states even before they speak.

[61] Friday, July 28 1898.

Very damp this morning but on this soil of Va. it is impossible for it to get muddy. We could find no better camping ground in the world as to that respect.

I beat drill all day & am feeling fine over it, but may get in the guard house for my being funny. The rest of the boys come in puffing like cattle & said they had to drill like H—.

Although I have beaten many drills I never have been reprimanded by the Capt. yet.

The weather continues his usual heat with unabated Severity.

Sham battles are being fought by the Ind. & Tenn.

[62] Friday, July 29, 1898

We drilled 24 hours this morning or it seems that way. In fact drill has become a drag, it being kept up so long. Our co. is drilled more than any other Co. on the ground & it is because; it is though we like to drill.

I was a witness this morning on the trial of E. Clark Co. "H"; our co. for the offense committed a few days ago, by writing home about the inefficiency of our Capt. as a drill master. The Cap. wished to prove by me that Clark laughed at him in the evening when the Capt. & he were in my tent & he (Capt.) was showing the article to Clark. I [63] could testify to nothing of the kind as I was paying close attention to both so as I could see all that took place. Clark treated the Capt. with all the respect that could be shown an officer; therefore I could not swear to a lie. Clark is a young innocent boy who never did any harm in his life when he knew it. His letter was nothing more than anyone else would do, & he should come clear.

A letter came out in the Emporia Gazette to-day with no name signed to it & it was a roast sure enough on the Capt. It told of the "sugar" incident & other "great" events.

[64] Sat., July 30 1898.

Our <u>usual</u> drill this morning was <u>unusually</u> long & our Reg'tal drill was harder than at any time since we enlisted. It may be because the war seems to be near at end & need to be well drilled to go home.

Regimental inspection this p.m. of guns, knapsacks, haversacks, canteens & cloths. This is the first of the kind & was done satisfactorily to our Maj. who is the inspector.

We were ordered to fix beds off the grounds by Sun. evening. Ours being already fixed we were not compelled to do so.

A welcome rain came last night as it kept us from dress parade. [65] Sunday, July 31, 1898.

We were out early this morning fixing tents & our is the best fixed on the grounds.

Nothing of interest takes place on the grounds except base ball, & that is about as little thing as one can mention.

Sunday School catches but few of the boys, while most of them are out picking berries & escaping the monotony of the long hot days in camp.

We have given up going to any other place than Camp Alger. In fact our officers or most of them are wholy unfit to lead men into battle.

This is the result of appointing men for such positions for political reasons. [66] August 1st, 1898.

Monday was a hard day for Co. "H" as all of us were lined up to accept a spade, shovel, or ax & march to the division head quarters & clean of the trash & underbrush from an old dirty swamp. In the a.m. we did not hurt ourselves; but in the p.m. it was warmer for us.

Each corporal had in charge a squad of 8 men, & some swelled up like a calf full of butter-milk.

The longer I stay in the army, I see more bombastic rule from those whose authority? & commands vary directly, & in proportion to his damned ignorance. [67] As we had no drill to-day the Maj. took us out on dress parade as usual & of all the marching we ever done, we did the poorest this evening, we ever did. On account of this, we were "double timed" about ½ mile carrying those old heavy guns & it so warm. Many could not stand the run, so they dropped out or some fell out of line. I could outrun the maj. horse if it were not for my gun, but it is hell to carry gun & do so.

Some claim he was drunk & did not care. I would hate to follow a drunk man in a parade, saying nothing about in battle. A drunk man is not fit to call hogs; & such men should never be given responsible positions.

[68] Tuesday, Aug. 2nd 1898.

Another day of "fatigue"; this time, it was clearing off grounds about 1 ½ mile from old camp, for a new one. It is a fine shady place, but the most essential thing — water, is not nearer than the old camp. All are glad to make the change even if not to the "front." Our brigade has never been together before & will be much handier than before.

This p.m. we learn that the "new" camp grounds will not be occupied by us, but on the other hand we'll move to some distant camp; near Manassas, on the old battle field of "Bull Run."

We are to have: tents, canteens, ponchos, canteens, knapsacks, haver-sacks, guns & 2 days rations. This will make a good load if not; it's a myracle.

[69] Wed., Aug 3^d, 1898.

Rained all night last night, & our tent did not fill the position that it should – leaking on the least provication.

Every thing was bustle & rustle this morning. All we're glad the time had come

for us to leave this camp for good. Not all left but most all 12000 men. The Va. & N.Y. (1) were left in camp.

In the early morning the camp was a-stir. Wagons moved in all directions. Soldiers began to pack their "purties" throwing away all but the most highly prized; & giving away to negroes all old traps & cloths that they could not take or send with the wagons. Negroes were seen backing off loads on their backs that would take a cart to hold. We were given bacon, hardtack, coffee, sugar, (all now) for our meals on the road. The big tents [70] were left as they belong to the state; & will be sent back to Kans. The most of them are not fit for any-thing.

About A.m. or 10 o'clock we were formed in co.; then batalion, then Regt., then brigade, N.Y. leading of then Ind. then Kans.

It was a sight to see so many men lined up with humps on their backs that looked like they might weigh 100 lbs. But most about 30-45; & after an hours march 100, 200, 300 & increasing 100 lbs. every mile or hour. The day, as luck would have it: hot as sun could make it, & greatly to our comfort, water was scarce.

At last our Regt. marched into line, the bands playing the liveliest music. All felt gay as they bid farewell [71] to the old hot, dusty, detestible camp & drill grounds, for a more exciting time, & a more merry chase; & as the boys saw the last tent fade from their sight, a sigh of relief came to them. Ever since the last of May, we had been kept in quarters to drill, drill, drill, till all hated the calls for drill & the more we drilled the more despised it was, & the less we cared.

As usual the boys made their usual rade on the stands before leaving & also on vendors milk wagons & such – other nuisances as infect the camp.

The usual delays, disappointments & of course have to be met.

No more than started than guards, men overheated, & sick, could be found along the route. The Ind. which had gone [72] "before" had many men "fall out" that could no longer stand the march.

Our march was toward the south east till noon; or till we had gone 5 miles. It was a constant up grade with but a little rest. The farther we went the heavier our packs got & the warmer the day was, & the less we had to eat. Men would "fall out" to get water, roasting ears, & other thing to eat & towards noon was hard to keep the men in line. At last noon came with its usual severity. A farmer had the good fortune? to have most of us to stop on his farm. All were thirsty, tired, & hot. Some cooked a bite, some ate what they had, all drank water & rested. One hour [73] had passed, & we were again on the road. Much to our chagrin, we were told it was 25 miles from Manassas & that we had made no progress since morning & were no nearer than when we started.

We soon trudged on along the hot roads darting into every shady place, constantly looking for water. In the p.m. more fell out than in the morning. Whole squads were seen along the roadside nearly & some wholy given out, most of them from Rhod-Island.

Hills became so numerous & steep that they considered them no longer jokes or treats, but "cussed" all the way up (being no down). It was in such places & under such circumstances that we "remembered the Maine." Some even regreted that the Maine had ever been [74] blown up. Some "cussed" the Va. miles, all "cussed" Spain. It was on

this trip that I found out that a man on a horse was "superior" in every way, to a man a-foot. He can ride faster, straighter, & longer without resting than any other animal. He is a fair example what a man can stand? when placed on horse-back.

The road still went on, so did we. Every "native" we met we asked: "how is it to camp?" He would say sometimes 2-5-10 or sometimes 20 miles. At last we knew that no Va. man knew a mile from an inch. The country passed through this morning was a better c. than where we had been camped. Some farmers had barns, horses, & likely ate white bread once [75] a day. All seemed satisfied with their lot as it had fallen to them. Roads run in all directions; all up hill.

At last we were in sight of the little station of Burke where the "Southern" R.R. passes through. It is a small station of 100 but the land marks a better appearence than any we have seen. A little stream flows through the village & was used by the soldiers in a most hearty manner. A cornfield was near camp & the soldiers were very desirous that the corn should be taken care of so they helped with hands & hearts.

This is my first night as a soldier tramp. A piece of fat bacon, 2 hard tack & some coffee. I soon found out that some men could not cook, & I was one of them. As I lay down that night I thought [76] one victory had been gained.

Water was scarce & some nearby suffocated for a drink.

Next morning the sun rose on a bloodless battle field.

Most of the soldiers know enough to lay down & go to sleep when the time comes, but some have little respect & much less sense.

While we stopped for dinner at the farmhouse, of course the boys were very thirsty, but such actions as they had, I had never seen hogs act as they did, unless it were some Arkansas pigs. When a bucket of water was brought out all at once jumped into it with tin cups wasting half of it. When 20 of the pigs drank out of the tin cup they crowded nothing; but the men did when after the water.

[77] Thurs., Aug. 4 1898.

Nothing but rest, sleep, to fast to-day. Hundreds of soldiers were seen going in all directions early in the morning. No doubt they were looking for <u>friends</u> & <u>relics</u>. It has been a long day for most of us because of the lack of food & water. Nothing in the way of water was provided & what was in the wells soon gave out & were compelled to drink creek water that was muddy.

All last night the ambulances kept busy bringing men in who had fallen by the wayside. The wagon train did not get in till 3 this morning.

A good bath & a long sleep in the woods gave one quite a rest. Orders for an early march was given this evening, & will cook 3 meals ahead.

[78] Friday, Aug. 5, 1898.

At 3 o'clock this morning the bugle blew for us to arise & get ready for the days march

It had rained all night & the men got little sleep & their blankets, tents & cloths were all wet; which made a very heavy load. After a short bite of fasting, we started on the long march over the slippry road on our journey. The color Co. ("H") (my Co.) led the division. We set a merry pace for those behind. Our co. was made rear guard along

the route. Nothing changed the monotony of the march save a little rest & filling our canteens. The country is densely wooded, having once been in cultivation, but not since the war. Houses are scarce & they are small filled with large families. The mystery is: how do [79] they all live. The land is of red sand but trees grow dense owing to the rains & to the great underflow. Our travels are still up hill. Not so many straglers on to day's march as in the first day the sun not shining so hot.

Soon an open field is seen to the right & high hills with no trees on most of them are circling to the west. This is the old battle field of Bull Run. As we draw nearer towards these hills we observe that they are covered with old rifle pits & breast-works. We soon were pitching our tents on the rocky hill & our flag was planted on the mound where in 61 stood an old S.C. batery. It was a very appropriate place. No sooner was I turned loose than I [80] began to look for relics about the grounds. I found nothing so I began to look for something to eat. The rebel position held in 61 was a fine location & how the union men made any advance is more than I can tell. The hill where the batery stood is 600 ft high to almost a half slope. At the bottom of this slope to the west is Bull run. It is not a large stream but runs very swift. I soon found some apples & roasting ears & apples. These are quite a treat when hard-tack has been the mess for a while.

In the p.m. I was placed on guard in an orchard, but as luck would have it the apples were all green. Water at this place was scarce also, but [81] not like it was at Burk.

Each man did his own cooking here as before & were getting more used to it.

An incident occurred just as we were going on guard when we reached camp. Our Maj. called on our Co. to guard the cornfield opposite the camp. As we were falling in to get our guns the Capt. became somewhat excited & hit one of the men & shoved 2 others into line. "What will come of it quoth little Peterkin."

I am learning some-thing new every day about cooking. My 3 meals cooked & put in my knap-sack were mashed into every conceivable shape when I looked at them. Hardtack with me starvation, but maybe will get used to it. I am not complaining, [82] in the least, as I expected to have worse times.

My whole aim was to get through the guard lines & visit the sights & pick up relics on the old battle fields. Of Bull Run. I succeeded the morning of the second day. As soon as my early breakfast was finished I made a sneak through the lines, past the provost guards, & far into the country. Breast works could be seen on all the hills, where they were over-grown with trees since the war. It was a strongly fortified position during the war. How human indurance could have stood the shot & shell from such strong positions is more than I can tell.

All the time I was looking for relics, but found nothing till I had gone over a strong [83] position where two strong works came together at a right-angle; and in a little ravine, where it was said many union men were killed, I found 14 long lead bullets. I was much elated by my success & continued for quite a while, but found nothing else.

All over the fields could be found bottles or half bottles which were filled with gin for the soldiers in time of the war. I am much indebted to an old Southerner for the information I received from the different positions of the states N & S. He was living in

the same house that he occupied when the battle occurred. Evidently he was still a Southerner & did not try to conceal it. If he were taken to the northern states & see the progress of civilization compared to the S. he [84] would surely open his eyes to the sloveliness of the South & the business of the N. It is marvelous how some will shut there eyes to the progress of the world & not even turn their heads to see it march by.

All of the battle grounds which cover an area of five miles square is as poor as time & wear will make it. The fields they farm, is nothing but piles of small rock. They talk of the number "barls" they will reap from their fields as glibly as the populist politicians of Kans. talks of the many ways of making the millions; & are just as likely. In fact all the people (whites) are pops & look like their brothers in Kans.

All of the soldiers had [85] little to eat on the road & less when they came into camp. Some had nothing to eat for 24 hours & of course would take any-thing that came in the way. The next morning after the first day's camping found men scattering in all directions to find relics & some-thing to eat. It was not long till some of the companies were most all out. Some had gone miles, some not so far; but from the top of those high hills one could see men in squads on all other hills, looking through the cornfields, shaking apple trees, & chasing chickens & turkeys. Provost guards were seen in all directions but non of them tried to stop a man. After I had gathered some corn, picked some apples, I began to build a fire & get some dinner? which was soon gotten & served.

It was not long after this [86] that worn out by rambling about I began to make my tracks back to camp.

On my way back, I was captured by guards, that had been sent out to "run in" those who were out. The night before some of the soldiers had killed a cow for a man & the officers after the mischief had been committed, were very strict. But I was not all the one as I came within a mile of camp where some guards were, I found 360 captured in the same way. This was 4 p.m. & they kept us waiting till 8 p.m. when all of us were marched in & lectured by our colonel & turned lose. This 360 was from the whole camp, but Kans. & Ill. Had most of them.

While I was gone that day some men under the direction of Dr. Duncan of our Regt. dug into [87] one of the graves that was near camp & took out the remains of a confederate officer that had been killed. It was done for "relics" but they wished them badly for to rob the grave.

It kept the boys busy to tell what they had seen, what they found & what they had stolen. Some had quite a feast on what they had.

This evening all were getting ready for the march the next day. Two meals were to be cooked & placed in haver-sacks. All were glad to leave as one dos not care to stay in the same place very long at a time; besides the people where we camped were glad to get rid of us, as we were little to their credit.

In the morning N.Y. will take the lead & Kans. the rear. [88] Sunday, Aug. 7, 1898.

It is a beautiful day & all are in good spirits to march. We were about the last ones to leave camp & of course not a over early start. It was first through the dense wood up

hills crossed Bull Run, where we struck open country. Far to the west we could see Mts. & were 25 miles away. Between these high elevations was to be our camp.

No one dropped out this time as it was a cool day & we had something to eat. People along the route had their Sun. cloths on & some were going to church. At last a level open country came to view & we could see the little town of Manassas. It was near this town the 2nd battle of Bull Run was fought. It is a beautiful little town of 600 with some fine [89] residences, churches, & stores. Just west of the town stands a monument of red sand-stone 50 ft. high, to the memory of the dead Confederate Soldiers. It does not look like this country is much better blessed than the other places we have been as to water

It might be said that a Va. mile meant 2 common miles & their way of measuring soils is from tree to tree.

The fantasies of hope fade a-way on the march just as a <u>mirage</u> does on the desert, & leaves the same desolate feeling. One thirsty, tired & hungry believe every-thing that looks like relief or will bring success. Credulous men are in the army the same as elsewheres. The more gigantic an un-truth, the more followers among ignorance & foolish.

[90] As we drew near the new camp grounds, all caught a glimpse of the little muddy creek, & the scarcity of water had already been learned. It was then the whole division swore their best. Each one thought that an officer or set of officers that would place a body of men in a desert like this was not competent for such a position. We soon pitched our tent but not in very good humor. No sooner was this done than we began a search for water & some-thing to eat. Neighbors had little water, but was soon given away. A good wash in the muddy creed was no small treat as it had been quite dusty.

It was my turn to go on guard & I was stationed about 2 miles from camp, back [91] the same road we came.

The folks were typical Southerners & soon began to tell their woes. It did not take long for the old man to tell of his part in the "civil war". He was quite an old man but had never been out of the state or even out of the co., or had he ever been in Wash. City. His wife was a grand niece of Jefferson Davis & she seemed proud of it. They had many relics of the old traitor.

That night I had no supper & they knew it, but did without till 12 o'clock & then I milked one of their cows.

In the morning I got 2 pancakes by asking for it. I had loaned all the money I had to some of the boys in my co. & I was left to beg or starve. [92] Although on constant watch at this place some thoughtful person or persons took 4 of his best turkeys.

At noon they gave me a hunk of cornbred which was good to a person hungry. I was soon relieved from duty by a new guard & so I went back to the old dry hot camp.

I soon learned that we were to abandon the place at once. All were ordered to cook 3 meals ahead for a march 14 miles to the Blue ridge Mts. at Thorough Gap. A set of men were never gladder than when it was known that we were to leave a camp where there were no water, shade or but little to eat.

No doubt but what this camp grounds will haunt me for half a century. [93] Tues. Aug. 9 1898.

Last night the rain felt old fashion & these little tents sifted water through as fast as it fell. It was not long before every-thing was as wet as could be & we lay there as still as suckers in water till day dawned & we were called in line.

We had to roll our blankets, tents & every-thing up wet & it weighed heavy. We started about 8; & had not gone far before it began to rain again & continued to do so for 7 miles. We were in a fine flight as we passed through the little town of Hay market 5 miles from our destination.

Soon after the start we could see the mountains & they looked but a few miles away but were quite a ways off.

This is a better looking [94] country than we have been used to seeing. People are better dressed & look more intelligent as we get farther from Wash. City. This did not last long for we soon struck poverty & ignorance again.

Our next town was Thoroughfare & is near our present camp. It is within 1 mile of the Blue Ridge. It is picturesque beside the places we have been camped & is to us quite a change.

Our camp was soon made & each one was cooking his supper of meat & potatoes. It soon began to rain & of course no one was prepared in the least for it & all got wet. Captains, Lieut. & privates all shared alike. The tents were fixed the best way possible & we lay down to sleep as if we were in feather beds.

[94] Wed., Aug. 10th 1898.

Rained all night but stopped this morning to let us get breakfast. As soon as b. was over, I took a walk toward the Mts. I found some fine springs, lots of ripe huckleberries & started to the top of the Mts. It was quite a walk, but I was well paid. The top of the Mts. did not give me a good enough view of the place so I mounted a tree which was king of the forest, & 70 ft. from the ground. I could see for a great many miles in all directions. It was worth the trouble in climbing to the top. I soon returned to camp where a good dinner was about ready. I say good, because it was not touched by me in preparing it. It does not look like we were going to stay here long. [94] Thurs., Aug. 11, 1898.

These days are un-eventful as nothing but rain, eating, roll call, & trying to keep dry, is in order.

We now have orders to move to Middleton, Pa. & will start in a few days. Rumors of all kinds go through the camp but none believe them but the credulous.

Friday, Aug., 12, 1898.

I never have had such a cold & sore throat as I have had in the last few days, but it is due to exposure in rain, getting feet wet because of no shoes & constantly sleeping in wet blankets on the ground.

We are now fareing better as the cook is here & is doing his duty have some one to help him.

[97] Sat. Aug. 13 1898.

This is the first clear day we have had since we have been on the grounds.

All the other Ridgements have been paid except us, but we will be in a few days.

Our camp does not bear the look of a place where we will camp long, as the streets are full of stones & do not pretend to police them.

Sun., Aug. 14, 1898.

We have had no drill yet & is very pleasing to us all as the war is over & one does not care to exercise himself.

[98] From Mon. Aug. 15 to Wed. 17.

Monday we did nothing but clean up the streets & will stay here for a few days. All are getting anxious to hunt a new camp, but not until they are paid.

Tues. I took a walk to-wards the mts. where Thorough gap is but had not time to go all the way. The streams in the Mts. are fine & if we had had such a place to bathe when at Alger we would not have not been so much sickness.

A casual glance at the people here still says we are still in Va.

Wed.

We were paid to-day & it was welcome to most of us as it had been 6 weeks since last pay day. Some [99] had all their money spent long before pay-day. Some borrow money of a Shylock on the grounds & pay him 25 c. for the use of \$1. till pay-day. Some buy every-thing that comes along; it makes no difference where it is needed or not.

We drilled some to-day but the ground is so rough & rocky & the men so indifferent that they don't care. It is just to keep health in the army, or some would not take exercise if they were not made to do so.

All received shoes, & other wearing material this evening & it was not too soon as some were nearly naked & many were barefooted.

All the straw was burned in the streets to-day to prevent fever.

[100] Thurs., Aug. 18th 1898.

I was put on guard this morning the first for quite a while.

It was reported that we leave to-day, but reports are many, & very untrue.

The camp is getting to be very monotonous. Fri. Sat. went by with the usual routine of tin-soldier business.

Sunday morning we re'd orders to move closer to the Mts. And in the p.m. all packed his belongings for a move. It was only a mile, but the warmest, dryest, hotest one of all our marches. We were lucky in getting next to the timber where shade & water is more plentiful. It shows the usual lack of fore sight in the officers, in not placing us here in the first place. [101] the air is much purer here than in our last camp, where we were in low muddy ground.

It was announced that one Reg't would leave per day till all were transferred to Middletown Pa. that will make the Kans. move about next Sun.

Mon., Tues., Wed., moved by with nothing except the officers most all were drunk; in fact they (most of them) have been drunk ever since we have been to this camp.

A petition has been circulated for the last few days to have one Regt. disbanded & sent home but the officers have fought it all the time because of their salary.

I would either go home or stay in the army, it makes little difference to me. I will never sign a petition to go home.

[102] Thurs. Aug. 25th 1898.

I went to the top of the mts. again today & took a view of Thoroughfare Gap. Most of the co. is absent from drill & it takes great effort to get them out.

Friday Aug. 26

Today I was on guard & I had a good post where I had nothing to do but sit down & keep my eyes open. But when night came so many of the men & officers were drunk that instead of sleep we were compelled to parade the streets for 3 hours. Many were arrested & thrown into the guard house, but it was as much fault of drunk officers as men. One man from Co. "E" was stabbed with a bayonet & hurt quite badly. All are glad that we are going to leave this camp tomorrow.

[103] Sat. Aug. 26th [sic 27th] 1898.

All were awakened by the bugle at half past 3 for an early start to Middletown Pa. All were glad to arise so early in order to leave.

After breakfast we bundled up our articles & marched to the R.R., mounted th train & soon were steaming back the same way we had come afoot a few weeks before. Many times I saw the places we had camped, marched, & rested, & fasted. It was much easier than when we trudged through the rain, the boiling hot sun, & took us so long to go a little way.

We came by the way of Alexander, Manassis, Wash. City, Baltimore, York, Harrisburg, then to Middletown.

At Wash. D.C. we were well fed by the Red Cross & it was [104] the first square meal that we had had since we left camp Alger Aug. 3^d. After we had cross into Md. things bore a different look. We saw no foolish looking women, kids, men & other animals that, so often met our eyes in Va. The country was fine, the farmers prosperous, factories going, & all busy. The farther we came north, the better were the improvements, both of people & country. Pa. is much ahead of Md., as Md. is ahead of Va. All express themselves as tired of Va, & would not stay there for the state. For my-self, I have enough of the dry, hot, sandy, d— old state.

This evening at 9 o'clock we came into Middletown, but did not leave the cars for [105] camp till morning. It was somewhat tough sleeping, but it was better than marching a mile in the dark to camp.

Sun. Aug. 27 [sic 28], 1898.

This is a beautiful morning, a beautiful country, a beautiful camping ground,& a fine lot of people. We see no virginian here, but well dressed & intelligent looking people.

With no breakfast we was led to our new camp ground where tents were pitched, fine water from a tank on the hill is run to the head of every Co. St. & every thing is an ideal model for a good healthy camp. The finest thing is the Susquehanna river which is within a mile of camp & that is something we did not have [106] at Camp Alger. Why they did not have sense enough to get a place like this in the first place is more than I can tell. The weather is much cooler here than in Va. & the ground much higher ground. We still have little to eat & what it is, is mostly hard tack & bacon with some black coffee.

Mon. Aug 28 [sic 29]

All are well pleased with our camp; as our first good bath was in the Sus. River the first good one the boys have had since last summer.

Our orders are to move to Kans. as soon as the business is straightened up; & that will be about Sunday next. We are to have a furlough for 30 [107] days but have to report back to Topeka or Leavenworth at the expiration of that time.

Tues. Aug. 30

We have nothing to do now, but to sit around & eat sow belly & caned beans. We drill some every day just to keep up tin soldier business.

Wed. Aug. 31st 1898.

All are busy fixing up his clothing acct & other things for the trip to Kans.

This evening I failed to go on dress parade & will likely be punished for it.

Lots of new cloths, shoes, hats, blankets, & other things came in for the soldiers this evening & will be fitted out tomorrow. Some are in much need of cloths, as they want go back respectible looking.

[108] Thurs. Sep. 1st 1898.

I was taken before the col. this morning for not being on dress parade last night. I fixed it up all right & he said I was in the right so he let me off without punishment.

All are busy getting Clothing & fixing their acct. We had little to eat this morning as usual.

[109-113 are blank] [114 at bottom of page]

The End

I, Justin Christian Souser Knutson Evans Dragosani-Brantingham, hereby submit this thesis to Emporia State University as partial fulfillment of the requirements for an advanced degree. I agree that the Library of the University may make it available to use in accordance with its regulations governing materials of this type. I further agree that quoting, photocopying, or other reproduction of this document is allowed for private study, scholarship (including teaching) and research purposes of a nonprofit nature. No copying which involves potential financial gain will be allowed without express written permission of the author.

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