

Untangling *Campaigning in the Philippines*

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Spend any time exploring the Spanish-American War and one soon finds mention of *Campaigning in the Philippines* by Karl Irving Faust. Published in 1899 by San Francisco's Hicks-Judd Publishing Company, the book has enjoyed remarkable longevity, in large part because the publisher's marketing plan was knocked askew by unexpected events on the ground. Those events shaped the book into something more than the publisher had intended, and added to its value as an interesting resource today. On the other hand, a feature that was originally supposed to make *Campaigning in the Philippines* special – the appended service histories of Volunteer units sent to the Philippines – created a confusing tangle of editions that can stand some straightening out.

AFTER SPAIN AND THE U.S. ended their hostilities in the Spanish-American War on August 12, 1898, several weeks of negotiations followed to shape a peace treaty. During that time, relations in the Spanish colony of the Philippines grew prickly between Filipinos and Americans, because the Americans refused to recognize the government Filipinos established as a new, independent republic. In late September, President McKinley assented to the demands of so-called “expansionists” that America take possession of the Philippine Islands as part of the final peace settlement. Following more weeks of stalemate in the peace talks, Spain finally agreed to cede the Philippine Islands to the U.S. in exchange for payment of \$20 million in gold.

When news that Spain had “sold” the Philippines and its people to the U.S. reached Manila in early December 1898, Filipino reaction was immediate, and angry. Philippines President Emilio Aguinaldo had hoped to reach an accommodation that would give his people self-rule, while allowing a limited U.S. presence in the islands. Now, however, he announced that Filipinos would resist with force of arms any American attempt to seize Philippines territory beyond that which Spain had originally surrendered the previous August – “the city and defenses of Manila and its suburbs.” At the close of 1898, Americans and Filipinos were in a diplomatic and military standoff.

Some 22,000 U.S. troops – the majority of them members of the U.S. Volunteer Army – were arrayed against a Filipino army of at least 30,000, mostly on a perimeter of trenches and blockhouses around Manila and on the fortress island of Cavite.

THIS WAS THE SITUATION when 30-year-old Karl Irving Faust sailed to the Philippines to pursue publication of *Campaigning in the Philippines*. Whether the book was the idea of San Francisco's Hicks-Judd Publishing Company or Faust is unknown. A printer by occupation, Faust may have numbered among the 170 employees of Hicks-Judd, but he was an entrepreneur by inclination. For certain, he went to Manila under the sponsorship of Hicks-Judd.

Campaigning in the Philippines was to be a series of special editions, one edition for each state that sent soldiers to the Philippines as part of President McKinley's Volunteer Army. Each such edition would have two parts. The first part would be common to all – “an accurate description of the campaign, from Dewey's great victory to the return of the volunteers, and, in addition, a brief description of the islands.”² The second part would be “a detailed account of the experience of [each state's Volunteers] from date of mustering into service...to their return to the United States.” The projected work would total about 200 pages.

On Christmas Eve 1898, when Faust sailed from San Francisco on the *Gaelic* to pursue his publishing project, “the war clouds had nearly all disappeared from the horizon.” However, two days after he arrived in Manila on February 2 of the new year, all hell broke loose, and knocked awry the Hicks-Judd publishing plan. Shots exchanged with Filipino soldiers at an American outpost on the edge of Manila the evening of February 4 led to an all-out, two-day battle along much of the Manila perimeter, and the beginning of the Philippine-American War.³ With that initial battle, “the real campaign...commenced in dead earnest.”

Uncertain now when the Volunteers might be returned to the States, Hicks-Judd realized that preparation of the *Campaigning* series would involve “time and labor far exceeding that which had been anticipated and provided for.” The publisher served notice to “thousands” of Volunteers who had already made a down payment

of fifty cents for a copy of their state's special edition that publication would be delayed. Also, because of the book's expanded scope, its price was going to increase, from \$1.50 to \$2.50.⁴

There was indeed much material to add. Previously, a chapter titled "The Capture of Manila" was to have described the last U.S. military operation in the Philippines. That event on August 13, 1898 had seen some ten Volunteer units involved in the action that led to Manila's surrender and the American occupation. Now, Faust had to describe the tense, months-long standoff with the Filipinos that followed, the outbreak of hostilities, and then cover several campaigns intended to compel an unconditional Filipino surrender – material that in the end would add some 150 pages. The need to expand the scope of Faust's project provided the most comprehensive history of those operations to appear for some time.

Faust hurriedly arranged with on-the-scene journalists and photographers to share their coverage of the battlefield experiences of the Volunteers, now numbering nineteen infantry, artillery, and cavalry units. Critical to the success of his enterprise would be the assistance of Peter MacQueen, a Boston clergyman whose reporting of the war in Cuba had proved widely popular.⁵ Although MacQueen did not reach the Philippines until early March, he probably provided much of the material concerning the Volunteers' field operations, whether it was his own writing or that which he expropriated or inveigled from other correspondents. With the help of MacQueen's *bona fides*, Faust secured the cooperation of Volunteer commanders in getting access to their unit records to construct the "official" histories of the Volunteer units. How Faust selected Volunteers to write the histories is unknown, but most of them were experienced journalists. Whether Faust and/or Hicks-Judd edited the work of the Volunteer historians is also unknown.

When the last of the nineteen Volunteer units embarked for home nearly eight months later, their discharges long overdue, the Philippine-American war still raged, but Faust and Hicks-Judd must have felt great relief that they could finally bring their *Campaigning in the Philippines* project to an end.⁶

SEVENTEEN STATES sent Volunteer units to the Philippines – including one cavalry troop and two light artillery units. In the American Annual Catalogue of U.S. books for the year 1900, Hicks-Judd indicates that it published seventeen editions of *Campaigning in the Philippines*. One of those editions, intended for purchase by libraries and the public, numbered 314 pages and sold for a dollar less than the state editions, whose price had risen to \$3.50.⁷

The state editions append from 59 to 119 pages for the “official” histories. The length of the histories vary mostly from the size of the rosters, which were an important part of the state editions. A full infantry regiment numbered twelve companies and more than 1,300 men, but several Volunteer units were much smaller.

I have discovered fourteen state editions, probably all that Hicks-Judd actually published. Collectively, they are found in the Library of Congress, the Army Heritage and Education Center in Carlisle, Pennsylvania, in the libraries of major universities and state historical societies, and for sale by private parties. Originally, each special edition had a unique cover. The fourteen “official” histories that were appended to *Campaigning in the Philippines* (with their authors indicated) are:

1. **California:** Charles R. Detrick, *Official history of the operations of the First Regiment U.S. Volunteer Infantry in the campaign in the Philippine Islands*. Includes "A brief historical sketch of the California Heavy Artillery, U. S. V. and the operations of Batteries A and D in the Philippine Islands." 111 pages.
2. **Colorado:** Arthur C. Johnson, *Official history of the operations of the First Colorado Infantry, U.S.V. in the campaign in the Philippines Islands*. 106 pages.
3. **Idaho:** Private James G. Camp, *Official history of the operations of the First Idaho Infantry U.S.V. in the campaign in the Philippine Islands*. 59 pages.
4. **Iowa:** Private John Snure, *Official history of the Fifty-first Iowa Infantry, U.S.V. in the campaign in the Philippine Islands*. 85 pages.
5. **Kansas:** J.M. Steele, *Official history of the Twentieth Kansas Infantry, U.S.V. in the campaign in the Philippine Islands*. 105 pages.

6. **Minnesota:** Lt. Martin E. Tew, *Official history of the operations of the 13th Minnesota Infantry, U.S.V. in the campaign in the Philippine Islands*. 111 pages.
7. **Montana:** Alexander Laist, *Official history of the operations of the First Montana Infantry, U.S.V. in the campaign in the Philippine Islands*. 94 pages.
8. **Nebraska:** F. D. Eager, *Official history of the operations of the First Nebraska Infantry, U.S.V. in the campaign in the Philippine Islands*. 96 pages.
9. **North Dakota:** Sgt. Phillip Shortt, *Official history of the operations of the First North Dakota Infantry, U.S.V. in the campaign in the Philippine Islands*. 64 pages.
10. **Oregon:** [Private] William D.B. Dodson, *Official history of the operations of the Second Oregon Infantry, U.S.V. in the campaign in the Philippine Islands*. 119 pages.
11. **Pennsylvania:** [Attributed to Col Alexander Hawkins] *Official history of the Tenth Pennsylvania Infantry, U.S. Volunteers in the campaign in the Philippine Islands*. 72 pages. Hawkins, regiment commander, died at sea while returning to the U.S. with his regiment.
12. **South Dakota:** Capt. Frank W. Medbery, *Official history of the operations of the First South Dakota Infantry, U.S.V. in the campaign in the Philippine Islands*. 107 pages.
13. **Tennessee:** Allan L. McDonald, *The historical record of the 1st Tennessee Infantry, U.S.V. in the Spanish War and Filipino insurrection*. 97 pages.
14. **Washington:** Adj. William L. Luhn, *Official history of the operations of the First Washington Infantry, U.S.V. in the campaign in the Philippines Islands*. 4 pages front matter, 116 pages, 1 page errata.

The other three states that sent Volunteer units were Nevada, Utah, and Wyoming. I failed to discover copies of *Campaigning in the Philippines* that included “official” histories for these units, although two stand-alone publications were set up to be included as special editions.

One such publication was for Utah’s two batteries of light artillery. Sgt. Charles R. Mabey wrote a 30-page *History of the operations of*

the Utah Light Artillery, U.S.V. in the campaign in the Philippine Islands, a title that indicates it was part of Faust's project. In fact, this work by Mabey includes page headers for *Campaigning in the Philippines*. Hicks-Judd may have decided that his history was too short to justify a special edition. However, Mabey himself published a work of 130 pages in Salt Lake City in 1900 that appears to be similar in content to the other "official" histories. Mabey titled this work, *The Utah Batteries, a history: A complete account of the muster-in, sea voyage, battles, skirmishes and barrack life of the Utah batteries, together with biographies of officers and muster-out rolls*.

The other stand-alone publication is for Wyoming's battalion of infantry, for which Madison U. Stoneman wrote *Official history of the operations of the First Battalion Wyoming Infantry, U.S.V. in the campaign in the Philippine Islands*. This work was also set up with page headers for *Campaigning in the Philippines*. It consists of a title page, a one-page preface, and 50 pages of text.

Nevada sent Volunteer Cavalry Troop A, which was mustered into service on June 8, 1898 with 3 officers and 81 men. There appears to be no "official" history for this unit, which went to the Philippines in the Fifth Expedition and served in the 1st Division under General Lawton. It left Manila on September 29, 1899, and was mustered out of service in San Francisco on November 15, 1899.

Neither does there appear to be an "official" history for Wyoming's Volunteer Light Artillery Battery, which was mustered into service on June 16, 1898 with 3 officers, 122 men. Along with its muzzle-loading guns, the Wyoming Battery also sailed with the Fifth Expedition. It left the Philippines on July 30, 1899, and was mustered out in San Francisco on September 23, 1899.⁸

A NEWSPAPER REVIEW of *Campaigning in the Philippines* in February 1900 was mixed, but generally favorable. The reviewer said the work was "vigorously written and exhibits great energy and ability in bringing a great mass of scattered material into a connected whole." Of Faust's plan to produce special editions for each state's Volunteer organization, the writer said "the book will interest all volunteers and their personal friends — that is,

everybody,” a compliment of the marketing plan for *Campaigning in the Philippines*. However, the reviewer noted that the work “is not broadly planned or consecutively presented, and there is no geographical analysis of the different movements of the forces....” Obviously, the reviewer was unaware of or did not appreciate how the outbreak of fighting two days after Faust reached the Philippines so changed his plan and had him scrambling to rescue his project. The review also took Faust to task for the tasteless captions of some

OFFICIAL

HISTORY OF THE OPERATIONS

OF THE

FIFTY-FIRST IOWA INFANTRY, U. S. V.

IN THE

CAMPAIGN IN THE PHILIPPINE ISLANDS

WRITTEN BY

PRIVATE JOHN SNURE

WHO WAS WITH THE COMPANY THROUGHOUT THE CAMPAIGN.

THROUGH COURTESY OF

COLONEL JOHN C. LOPER

MR. SNURE WAS PERMITTED TO USE THE
REGIMENTAL RECORDS IN COMPILING THIS HISTORY,

1 This representation of the title page of John Snure’s “official” history of the 51st Iowa is another “boilerplate” feature of Faust’s unit histories.

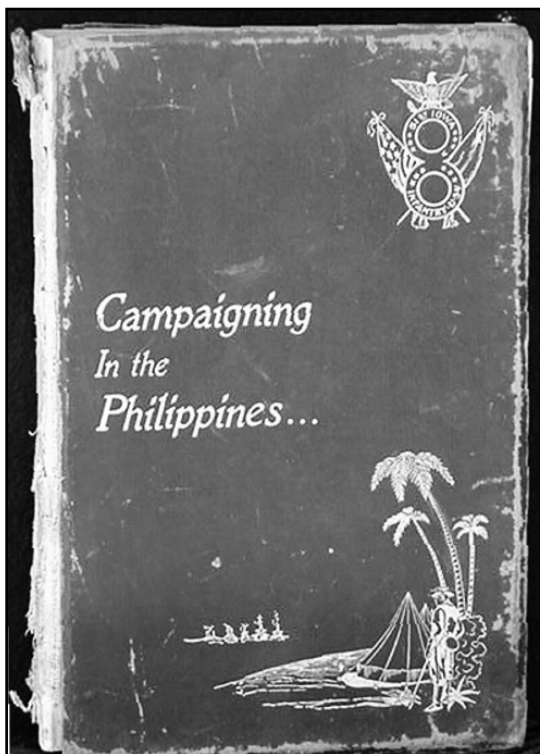
of the pictures of dead Filipinos, and for some of the pictures themselves, which the writer said “appeal to and foster a depravity of taste....” He criticized Faust as well for glossing over the “discreditable mortality at Camp Merritt [and the] incompetence of many volunteer officers....” In general, he thought Faust’s work lacked a coherent development, and showed a lack of respect for Filipinos who paid the ultimate price for “devotion” to their cause.⁹

BY NECESSITY, Faust’s “official” histories were formulaic. The narratives, seldom more than 10,000 words, include numerous photos that are common to all the histories I examined. Next in order are a few pages for sketchy biographies of the unit’s staff and field officers. Then, if applicable, come a few pages for the rosters and photos of the unit’s band and hospital staff, and a group photo of all the commissioned officers. Faust then allocates four pages for each company (or battery): one page for a posed photo of the company (which hardly ever shows the complete complement of men), one page for brief biographical information concerning the company’s commissioned officers, and two pages for a company roster that included the soldier’s rank, civilian occupation, and hometown.

EARLY IN 1900, a newspaper advertisement soliciting “agents” to sell *Campaigning in the Philippines* in California indicated that advance sales had already exceeded 6,000 copies.¹⁰ Today, depending on condition, original copies range in price from \$50 to \$400. Reproductions are also sold as digitized reprints, both off the shelf and as print-on-demand, and as e-reads. Some original editions are also available as free e-reads on the websites of the HathiTrust Digital Library, Archive.org, and other websites. *Campaigning in the Philippines* seems to be today’s most popular contemporary account of the early days of U.S. military operations there.

While the body of *Campaigning in the Philippines* is popular, the “official” histories appear to be of little interest. Some sale copies of *Campaigning* do not even indicate if it is one of the special state editions. A few “official” histories can be found as rare, stand-alone publications in libraries, and some are available as e-reads.

To the serious inquirer of the Philippine-American War, the “official” histories have dubious value. They provide dates for



2 A battered, spineless copy of *Campaigning in the Philippines* shows the custom imprint on the cover for a state unit in the upper right. The top words read, **51st Iowa**. The bottom reads **Infantry U.S.V.** This copy was priced at \$85.

experience. In a larger sense, the vision of Faust and Hicks-Judd to pursue publication of the *Campaigning in the Philippines* series has provided us with a body of touchstone material that can be useful in exploring that troublesome time in our nation's history.

significant events for the various units, but the narratives are unevenly written. Some are breezy and anecdotal, and all appear to skim over or ignore matters such as jealousy and quarreling among the officers, misconduct of the men, and discipline problems. Clearly, the "official" histories were superficial works crafted to appeal to a particular audience of a particular time.

Nevertheless, Faust's near-heroic efforts to rescue his project resulted in thousands of Volunteers being able to own a handsome volume that included a history of sorts of their military

¹ This work copyright 2014 by John Durand.

² Quotes are from the Preface, *Campaigning in the Philippines*, Karl Irving Faust, Hicks-Judd Publishers, San Francisco, 1899. Google digital copy, Harvard College Library. "Dewey's great victory" occurred May 1, 1898, when the commodore steamed into Manila Bay with his Pacific squadron and sank eleven Spanish warships, all that had been assembled to defend Manila.

³ At the time, the protracted conflict (1899-1903) between the U.S. and Filipinos was officially called the "Insurrection in the Philippine Islands." (See

Correspondence Relating to the War with Spain,” etc., Washington: Government Printing Office, 1902. Only recently did the U.S. rename the conflict the “Philippine-American War.” Brian McAllister Linn holds that by labeling the conflict an insurrection, the McKinley administration could justify using U.S. militia forces, which constitutionally could be used only to suppress invasion and insurrection. See “The Spanish-American War and the Philippines War,” *Footnotes*, Foreign Policy Research Institute, September, 2008.

⁴ Papers of H.G. Proctor, North Dakota State Historical Library, Bismarck, ND.

⁵ MacQueen went to Cuba on behalf of *The Congregationalist*, a church publication, probably to report on church-related relief efforts. He also had commissions to write for *Leslie’s Illustrated Weekly* and *The National Magazine*. In Cuba, he attached himself to Theodore Roosevelt’s Rough Riders. Returning to the U.S., he received a leave of absence from his pastoral duties, and sailed for the Philippines in January 1899 on the Army Transport *Grant* with General Henry Lawton, whose acquaintance he had made in Cuba. His reporting for *The National Magazine* on the voyage of the *Grant* (the first U.S. military vessel to transit the Suez Canal), and on the fighting in the Philippines furthered his reputation as an intrepid journalist who went where the action was.

⁶ The U.S. Congress meanwhile had authorized the formation of new Volunteer regiments that were part of the U.S. Regular Army. States had mustered their National Guard units as part of the U.S. Volunteer Army.

⁷ The digital copy from Harvard College Library, cited above, is such an edition.

⁸ The battalion boarded the Army Transport *Grant* on July 30, but the ship did not sail until late afternoon July 31.

⁹ *San Francisco Call*, February 11, 1900.

¹⁰ *Amador Ledger*, February 23, 1900.