



Turner

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# STORY

OF THE

# FIFTEENTH MINNESOTA VOLUNTEER INFANTRY

---BY----

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#### DEDICATION.

TO MY FRIENDS—The Officers and Enlisted men of the Fifteenth Minnesota Volunteer Infantry, whose names are not mentioned in this narrative; because, perhaps, they did their work so well that they needed no mention; who were good soldiers because they were good citizens, and who, if the opportunity had offered, would have been good warriors, because they loved peace, this volume is most respectfully dedicated, by the

Author.



# PREFACE.

THE purpose of this little volume is twofold: first, to preserve some records
which would soon be lost; second, toefface some records which ought to be lost. Interesting facts which are now very clear in
the minds of the participants will grow surprisingly indistinct with the lapse of a few
years.

Early in the history of the command it was suggested by a fellow officer that a detailed account of its experiences should be written. Subsequent events greatly emphasized this suggestion. The exciting occurrences at Camp Mackenzie directed the eyes of the whole nation to this one organization and that incident has been so misunderstood in military and civil circles that censure has fallen where it does not belong and reputations have suffered injustice. This has increased the demand that some one, personally familiar with the acts and the actors as well, should write a brief biography of the Fifteenth.

The work has been undertaken in a spirit of fairness to all concerned.

In his treatment of subjects and persons the historian must be nobody's attorney. He has a right to his opinion and has a right to express it as vigorously as he please; but his chief duty is the reproduction of actual conditions so that others may have a reliable basis for their opinions.

If, therefore, there should appear in the following chapters some seemingly severe reflections upon those with whom his personal relations have always been pleasant, the author's only apology is that it has seemed to him to be truth, and truth which is pertinent to the parrative.

In the quest for facts the obstacles met have been quite considerable.

Heroes are proverbially modest; very few of those appealed to for data concerning themselves have made a frank response.

This indifference has locked up some things that would illuminate, and many that would enrich the story.

Similarly historians on a larger scale have found it impossible to write the best history until a century after the death of the actors, for the fear of injuring their political or professional prospects, together with a zeal for their own good name, have made those who were best qualified to speak the least generous in their contributions to history.

T. A. TURNER.

St. Paul, Minn., Aug. 23rd, 1899.

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# CHAPTER I.

#### THE CALL.

N the 25th day of May, 1898, just one month after the declaration of war between the United States and Spain, President McKinley issued his second call for troops. It required 75,000 men to serve for two years (unless sooner discharged).

At that time David M. Clough was Governor of Minnesota and Herman Muchlberg was his Adjutant General.

The Hon. A. S. Crossfield, of Browns Valley, who was temporarily in Washington City, had wired the news to Gov. Clough a day ahead of the official notice, and, estimating on the basis of population, it was known before the arrival of the call that Minnesota's quota would about suffice for two regiments. Thus early the Governor began preparations for organizing two commands. He had no lack

of material: Two hundred men stood ready to die for their country—if the necessary commission could be secured. Sixty companies in various parts of the state, each with its complement of officers, were crowding for a place in the 15th or 16th volunteers.

The patriotic fervor which under the first call had swept into the service the entire body of militia was now to be tested in the matter of purely volunteer organizations, and Minnesota is an example of the results of that test.

There are individual states of the Union which would have welcomed the privilege of furnishing the entire 75,000 and when that number had been apportioned among the several states, one of which alone had a population of seven millions, the quotas were so small that the scramble became distracting. It is easy to see that Gov. Clough would have to face great perplexities where sixty organizations representing all parts of the state were clamoring for recognition and only twenty-four could be recognized. It is also easy to understand how, in a short time, he might have made promises or given intimations of preferment sufficiently numerous to cover the patronage of the two regiments.

Somebody is going to be disappointed, but even the Governor did not know how great

that disappointment was to be, for an unwelcome surprise was awaiting him as well as many who hung on his favors. three regiments which went out from Minnesota under the first call had but 81 enlisted men to a company. It was subsequently decided by the War Department that these regiments should be recruited to 106 enlisted men to the company and on June 1st, an order was issued from Washington providing that "no new organizations shall be accepted into the service from any state, unless the organization already in service from such state are as near to the maximum strength as the president may deem necessary." The terms of this order made it impossible to muster in another regiment from Minnesota until 900 recruits had been sent forward to fill vacancies in the ranks of the three regiments which had left the state on May 16th. It was now evident that Minnesota could have but one new regiment. This was interesting not to say exciting intelligence. Instead of 24 new companies there could be but 12: instead of 92 commissions there could be but 46. The promises which the Governor had made when the larger patronage was expected now rose up to add to his vexations.

To quiet some of the importunate applicaants he had recourse to the expedient of asking them to wait for the third call. The Governor and other state officials protested that this "third call" was quite imminent but most of those seeking commissions preferred "a bird in the hand." A whole month of uncertainty prevailed; recruiting for a company already in the service is noticeably different from organizing a new one. the end of June before the recruiting officers had sent on the last of the men and cleared the way for a more agreeable form of patriotism. All the while anxiety was at a fever heat and Gov. Clough was liberally charged with responsibility for these days of suspense. The state convention of the republican party was about to occur; an event in which the Governor was taking an active interest, and many believed that he was purposely delaying action in the matter of the new regiment that he might use the prospective appointments as lures for his political ends.

If this be true he was undoubtedly met half way by some of the applicants for his favor, for not a few professed a zeal for his plans and his candidates which was by no means honest.

In the light of the order to which we have referred it seems unjust to hold the Governor responsible for the delay in calling the regiment, for it could not be received, nor a single company mustered into the United States service until the 12th, 13th and 14th had the maximum number of men; but there was nothing to forbid his selecting the officers and companies which were to constitute the new command, and informally announcing the same. A little frank statement bearing upon the subject would have saved many days of fruitless effort and avoided many a highly seasoned charge of double-dealing. Many men who had reasonable hopes of commissions had to be excluded altogether, and some who had the promise of commissions as field officers were obliged to accept positions in the line.

The selection of field and staff officers evidently involved much thought on the part of the Executive. The applicants were numerous, their friends were also numerous, and besides some of those already selected had their preferences as to their associates.

It was early understood that John C. Shandrew, of St. Paul, would be colonel and Captain H. A. Leonhaueser, military instructor in the State University, lieutenant colonel. For Majors, the names of E. D. Libbey, D. A. Hand, P. H. Gotzian, O. H. Rask and others were urged and for all the staff officers, not excepting Chaplain, the supply was much in excess of the demand.

Colonel Shandrew favored the candidacy of Major Libbey, but the Governor could not be induced to make the appointment. At one time it was believed by those near the appointing power that D. A. Hand had been finally chosen as quartermaster, and W. E. Coe, of Minneapolis, who was a candidate for a commission, would, if commissioned at all, receive a place in the line.

The Governor however, was keeping his own counsels, even the Adjutant General's office having little knowledge of the prospective appointments. The names of Libbey and Rask were dropped from consideration, but upon the assurance of his friends that Rask would accept lesser honors he received a 1st Lieutenancy. For the Medical Staff, Dr. H. L. McKinstry, of Red Wing, had been selected as Surgeon, with Drs. O. A. Trace, of Little Falls and S. W. Mowers, of St. Cloud, as assistant surgeons. But of these Dr. Mowers was the only one who successfully passed the required examination, and Drs. W. A. Dennis, of St. Paul and C. W. Fry, of Minneapolis, were hastily summoned to appear before the Board; they, having passed, were appointed to the vacancies. But these last incidents did not occur until July 5th and 6th. On Saturday July 2nd, a meeting was held in the Governor's private room, at the State House, at

which were present besides the Governor, J. C. Shandrew, Captain Leonhauser, Lieut. T. Q. Donaldson, of the 8th U.S. Cavalry; Lieut. H. P. Howard, also of the 8th U.S. Cavalry and John W. Fineout, of St. Paul, who was collecting a company for the regiment. Lieut. Donaldson had been designated by the government as mustering officer and Lieut. Howard as temporary quartermaster.

The Governor's appointments were not all made public at this meeting but he announced his purpose to call out the regiment immediately and before midnight the news had gone to all Minnesota that this would be the event of next week. Due notice was served on the twelve fortunate captains; their men were gathered and held in readiness for transportation to St. Paul, and the towns of the state were all alive with patriotic devotion. Sunday intervened; a day made forever historic by Admiral Schley's destruction of Cervera's fleet off Santiago, and on Monday July 4th, while the whole nation was engaged in the annual celebrations, the official call was sent forth. The regiment destined to be the last furnished by Minnesota for the Spanish American war was ordered into existence under the name of the "Fifteenth Minnesota Volunteer Infantry."



### CHAPTER II.

# ASSEMBLING AND ORGANIZING.

WHEN the Governor had finally completed his list of field and staff officers it read as follows:

J. C. Shandrew,		-		-	-	-	Colonel
H. A. Leonhauser	,		-	]	Lieuten	ian	t Colonel
P. H. Gotzian,	-		-				- Major
D. W. Hand, -		-		-	-	-	Major
F. M. Catlin,	-		-				Adjutant
W. T. Coe, -		-		-	Qτ	ıart	ermaster
W. A. Dennis,	-		-				Surgeon
S. W. Mowers -		-			Assist	ant	Surgeon
C. W. Fry, -	-		-		Assist	ant	Surgeon
T. A. Turner, -		-		-	-		Chaplain

Of these the Surgeon ranked as Major, the the Adjutant, Quartermaster, and two Assistant Surgeons as First Lieutenants and the Chaplain as Captain. The three former regiments had been mobilized on the State Fair Grounds, which was designated "Camp Ramsey" in honor of the first Governor of Minnesota. The new regiment was to assemble at the same place. These grounds lie about mid-way between St. Paul and Minneapolis and besides being near to several lines of railroad are reached from both cities by the Como and Harriet electric line and from St. Paul by the Hamline line. The camp ground proper was a small elevated site in the N. E. corner of the inclosure, with a sloping green in front and high picket fences shutting it in on the other three sides.

Early on the morning of Tuesday, July 5th, Col. Shandrew with a few of his subordinate officers appeared here to receive the incoming commands.

At 10 o'clock the notes of a band announced the first arrival and a company from Minneapolis under command of Captain James Elwin, and accompanied by Gov. Clough, alighted from the Interurban cars and marched upon the grounds. It was followed immediately by a company from St. Paul under Captain J. W. Fineout. The two companies began at once their preparations for military housekeeping and were joined during this

and the following day by nine others from various parts of the State, namely:

Litchfield. Captain J. G. Morrison M. W. Spicer Willmar. Browns Valley. A. S. Crossfield East Grand Forks, I. F. Brandt L. S. Nelson Luverne Edward Dolan Worthington -Pipestone, -C. W. Gilmore and two others from Minneapolis under Captains E.C. Vancleye and Thos. Leonard. The last company to arrive came from Duluth, under command of Captain G. E. Gibson and reached camp at 9 o'clock Thursday morning.

The air was charged with patriotic enthusiasm as these successive crowds of ununiformed, undisciplined men came upon the grounds and eagerly set about to make of themselves perfect soldiers. Guard lines were soon established and men with sticks or little pieces of boards in their hands were set to patroling them.

There were tents to pitch, pits to dig, bags of potatoes and onions and baskets of bread to carry from the commissary store, three hundred yards away. There was wood to be carried, chopped and split, roll calls and drills to attend, and all was promptly and cheerfully undertaken. The first dinner upon

the grounds was an Irish stew enjoyed by the two companies first arriving.

The formidable task of subsisting, examining and organizing fifteen hundred men was now at hand. The surgeons did not lack subjects for the medical examinations, the applicants in some companies being far in excess of the requirements. Captain Fineout's company came upon the grounds with 67 men but in twenty-four hours the number had increased to 144.

Individuals or little squads under some future non-commissioned officer were constantly arriving at the camp, and the anxiety at this time to get in was only equaled by the anxiety of some of the same men, at a little later period, to get out.

The building where the medical staff was at work was the scene of incidents pathetic as well as amusing, when every few minutes a boy would emerge with sorrowful countenance, perhaps even in tears, to confess that he had failed and must return home. About 90 per cent however came forth smiling and exultantly announced that they had passed.

At 7 o'clock on Friday evening (July 8th,) the muster roll of Captain Elwin's company was complete;

Lieut. Donaldson administered the oath and the camp had its first body of United States soldiers. The Governor had already decided that this should be the ranking company. It was accordingly designated Co. "A." While Co. "A" was first to arrive and first mustered in these facts did not determine the rank, the Governor having decided the rank of several of the more important ones independent of these incidents.

The work of mustering in proceeded with a deliberation which gave Col. Shandrew no small annoyance and it was not until Saturday the 16th that the last two companies, "G" and "M", were received.

On Monday, July 18th, the regiment was mustered in as a body.

The several companies were drawn up in the open space between the two lines of tents occupied by the officers; their right resting upon the row occupied by the line officers. The colonel and his staff stood upon the bluff overlooking the race track at one extreme of the camp, and the columns of soldiers reached clear across the camp to the fence beyond. As Col. Shandrew cast his eyes back over the ranks of men he uttered an expression of astonishment at the magnitude of the command. This expression was many times repeated in after days. Everywhere the 15th Minn, went during its continuance in the service its size arrested attention and evoked

words of wonder. The number of course was conspicuously large, for 1326 men stood there, a larger number than had ever before been mobilized in the state under one organization; a number almost equal to a whole division towards the close of our civil war. But this was not the only striking feature of this young regiment.

The size of the individual men was yet more noticeable. They were giants; their average height exceeded that of the regular army by three-fourths of an inch. It is doubtful if any other regiment entering the service for the Spanish-American war could exhibit such large physical proportions. This fine body of men had come from the woods, fields and shops of a new and rugged state, where the development of physique is the most natural feature of progress. It was composed predominantly of that Scandinavian element which furnishes to our Northwestern population its powerful foreign contingent. But this regiment was no mere collection of athletes, for that same foreign element has proven itself a most formidable rival of our native population in the intellectual and social evolution of this section. Only those who have lived a few years in Minnesota or the Dakotas can comprehend the extent to which the Swede and Norwegian is

coming to the front in all matters affecting political and commercial interests there. In the ranks and in the offices as well were to be found many of the best of these "European Yankees" and side by side with them were also many sons of the most honored families of the state.

The proportion of highly educated men was notably large. Among the field and staff officers there was scarce one who had not graduated from a liberal or professional school, most of them from both. While in the Line, among the non-commissioned officers and in the ranks men of established professional standing, bright young college graduates, doctors, teachers, students were so common as to attract no notice. A knowledge of the personel of this regiment might well recall the declaration of Mr. Lincoln during the civil war that many a regiment had gone to the front from which he might have chosen his entire cabinet and the country would have been well served.

To take this body of citizens, brainy, virile, self-assertive, accustomed to original and independent activity, and convert them into soldiers, disciplined, obedient, submissive to the will even of those who knew less than they, was the work now set for the hot days of July and August. Considerable progress

had been already made in that work. Drills began with the first days in camp and had been faithfully maintained. Officers had found enough to do, drilling, making out rolls, keeping accounts, selecting non-commissioned officers, listening to complaints, attending to the manifold details of reports, roll calls, passes, study, looking after the uniforms, entertaining scores of visitors, and even then receiving an occasional rating from the commanding officer for negligence, they began to realize the proportions of the essay. On the evening of the 7th the first guard mount was held in front of headquarters. On the 10th C. E. Bond, of Minneapolis, was appointed Captain of Company "I" in place of E. C. Vancleve, who had been unable to pass the physical examination.

On the 16th, when the regiment was about ready for the final muster in, the announcement was made that it was under orders to proceed to Havana. The weather at this time was quite suggestive of residence in a tropical country, but, so far as was ever known this was the only ground for the report.

Seventy-five men had answered sick call that morning and the surgeons attributed the troubles chiefly to the copious drinking of water induced by the hot weather. Three days later a heavy wind visited the camp, prostrating some of the canvas, the temperature showed a marked improvement; only six patients were in the hospital and the rumor of going to Havana had blown over.

George H. Snowball, of Minneapolis, a talented young orchestran, had received the appointment of chief musician and set about the task of organizing a regimental band. The instruments arrived on the 19th, and after a few days practice Prof. Snowball and his troup appeared at guard mount, thus relieving the Danz band which had been temporarily employed by Gov. Clough.

On the sloping ground at the south-west corner of the camp was seen the Red Cross flag of the hospital corps. Two tents had here been erected under the direction of Major Dennis, one for the dispensatory and one for the accommodation of patients.

The Red Cross societies of the Twin Cities and other towns of the state sent considerable supplies for the use of the hospital, and stewards Kehoe, Giere and Gallagher, beside the three surgeons, were on the ground for duty, but the demand for their services was light.

Sick call, which occurred in the morning, was sometimes numerously attended, but the troubles were only such as are incident to camp life in its earlier stages. Sore toes and

heels, the result of drilling; sore stomachs, the result of over eating or drinking, and such temporary derangements as are of constant occurrence in camp, were all that required treatment. A day's exemption from drill was the prescription usually sought and most frequently given, and the hospital had little to do but serve as a curiosity to benevolentminded visitors.

The appointment of Rev. T. A. Turner, a Congregational minister of St. Paul, as chaplain, was unofficially announced on the day the regiment began to assemble. The following day, July 6th, he reported in camp and took direction of the moral work Y. M. C. A. under the management of the state secretary, Mr. Francis, rendered valuable assistance, fitting up and equipping one of the buildings upon the grounds where meetings were statedly held and where tables, magazines and writing materials were provided for the soldiers. This work was continued by the society during the greater part of the regiment's existence and was a source of great material convenience as well as moral profit to the men.

Chaplain Turner made a brief address at the above-mentioned building on the first Sunday in camp and preached in the same place on Sunday evening July 17th. On July 24th, he held the first regimental service in front of headquarters, Col. Shandrew sending his orderly to the several company commanders with the request that they and their men should, as largely as possible, attend. The response was generous and, seated upon the grass in a semi-circle about a store-box pulpit, the soldiers and a goodly number of visiting citizens took part in this novel meeting.

The-open air meeting with band music and with little of the formality or primness which accompany ordinary church-going was the most popular form in the field. This of course was oft-times impossible, the weather being such that religious exercises must be held in a tent where the interest was perceptibly diminished.

From the date of muster in down to the latter days of July the work of the camp went on with no notable incident. There was drill in the early morning, drill in the forenoon, drill in the afternoon and for a time, drill in the evening. For the officers there was school in the forenoon, school at noon and school in the afternoon. There was band practice, bugle practice, study, inspection, letter-writing.

Visitors were never wanting; they lingered until taps, they were in camp again with the

early morning. This was particularly true on Sundays when the usual crowds were augmented by multitudes who now had leisure, and by loaded excursion trains from the towns which were represented by companies in camp. The soldier had no seclusion; company streets were througed with curious crowds. Friends new and old invaded his tent and inspected his accourrements. Groups of spectators stood about the kitchens, watched him mess and exchanged opinions upon the variety and quality of his fare. Solicitous friends looked after his comfort so closely that he had no opportunity to be comfortable.

There was a gala season for each day, guard mount was held in the evening followed immediately by Retreat, and a band concert in front of headquarters. The evening hours were therefore made the occasion for a great outpouring of people from the two cities who came by all kinds of conveyances to, greet their friends and enjoy the spectacular features of army life. From four o'clock until dark the camp was a veritable Fair Ground.

A detail of reporters, ever at the regimental elbow kept the public informed of all things real, probable and improbable. Six representatives of the city dailies, Messrs Towsley, Hillhouse and Jackson, of the St. Paul Globe, Dispatch and Pioneer Press, respectively. Messrs. May, of the Minneapolis Journal, Arnold, of the Tribune and Miss "Lieut." McFadden, of the Times, made everyday visits and sustained the reputation of the craft so well that the regiment not unfrequently knew what it had done before it had done it. The soldiers however had reason to welcome the work of the reporters, for in spite of their occasional publication of premature and speculative matter they at times rendered a real service. Their anxiety to see the regiment leave the state was especially acceptable, for just then he who was most active in the effort to send the 15th abroad was its best friend.

July 27th was made eventful in Minnesota history by the laying of the corner stone of the new capitol, and the eminent address of Senator Davis, who was chairman of the committee on foreign relations in the United States Senate. An extensive parade was a feature of the occasion and the young regiment here made its first appearance. Eleven hundred men boarded a special train on the tracks near camp and were conveyed to the union depot, St. Paul, where forming, they proudly marched over the appointed course before the admiring eyes of parents, sisters, sweethearts and an enthusi-

astic concourse of citizens from all parts of the state. The fruitage or at least the blossom of hard days of drill were now seen in the superb showing made by this body of men. Veterans of the civil war were surprised at the excellent marching of these soldiers who were as yet scarce three weeks old. It had been realized that Col. Shandre w was no easy drill master and some fears had been entertained that he would be over-exacting in this respect; but it is fair to presume that the reputation for thoroughness maintained by this command in all its later history owed not a little to the foundation laid at Camp Ramsey.

On Friday, July 29th, an incident occurred which was destined to exert an incalculable influence upon the future history of this regiment. While standing beneath the fly in front of his tent, examining some articles which had recently arrived for the headquarters mess and conversing with a few officers present, Col. Shandrew was noticed to falter in his speech and it was at once discovered that his articulation was impaired. He was taken into the tent of Chief Surgeon Dennis and an examination showed that he was suffering from cerebral hemorrhage, causing a partial paralysis. A carriage was called and he was sent to his home in Merriam Park.

The news of his illness spread rapidly and its nature was such as to arouse serious apprehensions of the result. Regret was widespread and general, for in this short time Col. Shandrew had impressed the command as a man of admirable poise, good common sense and much reserve strength, which with his business experience and military training, running through thirteen years, inspired much confidence in his prospective leadership. Sunday the 31st, the first monthly muster day, found a shade of uncertainty and sadness over the camp on account of this first misfortune. At 2 o'clock, Chaplain Turner held regimental services before the closed tent and officers and men alike listened with great respect to the petition for the restoration and return of their absent chieftain. Aside from this, the first month was rounding out successfully and hopefully under the efficient management of Lieut. Col. Leonheauser.



## CHAPTER III.

## THE GREAT EPIDEMIC.

S early as the 25th of July a few men had reported at sick call whose symptoms excited some uneasiness on the part of the surgeons, but, as usual in such cases, several days must elapse before even an experienced physician could determine the exact nature of the trouble. The days went by and no improvement was noted; on the contrary the symptoms became more pronounced and similar cases were constantly occurring. The cots in the hospital began to multiply and new tents had to be erected for the accommodation of the patients.

The first week in August showed a steady increase in the number of "suspects" while none of the earlier cases were recovering. On Saturday the 6th eighteen men were under treatment in the hospital. The physicians

were not yet fully agreed upon the diagnosis and it was reported that an "ephemeral fever" prevailed, but the surgeons had reason to suspect something more significant as well as more scientific than "ephemeral," and upon consultation with leading authorities in the cities, their suspicions were confirmed. Camp Ramsey was in the grip of typhoid fever.

Stealthily as an assassin crept upon the camp that dire epidemic which, before it ceased its ravages two months later, resulted in the prostration of 400 men and the death of 18.

No two words in any language have so ominous a sound for the members of the 15th Minnesota as the words "Typhoid Fever."

Measures for locating the cause had been promptly employed.

On the date above mentioned, Dr. Mowers took water from the barrels which supplied three of the companies, and also a specimen of the ice used in the camp, to Dr. A. W. Miller, assistant commissioner of health for St. Paul, with a request that he make an analysis of the same. This analysis failed to demonstrate the presence of the typhoid germ, although the possibility of its existence in the water was admitted. July 27th, Dr. Miller visited the camp in person, in company

with Mr. Sinks, inspector of contagious diseases, and obtained specimens of water from the hydrants, pumps and hose of the portable tank which was used for distributing water to the barrels throughout the camp.

In the last specimen he found the typhoid germ. It was impossible even yet to positively declare that the water was contaminated, for this water had passed through the tank on the wagon and then through the hose and this might have been contaminated by contact with the driver's hands, the ground or other object; but there were at least reasons for suspecting the water, and at any rate, it was now known that the deadly little demon had invaded the camp and the uncertainty of its location only made the situation more alarming.

On Tuesday Aug. 9th, ten of the more advanced cases were sent to the City Hospital, St. Paul, but their beds were speedily occupied by new men. About this time all drinking water was ordered boiled, the use of ice was prohibited, certain articles were excluded from the ration and the soldiers were forbidden to patronize the refreshment stands which had sprung up so numerously within the fair ground enclosure. A loud outcry arose against these restrictions, both from the keepers of the stands and the men in camp.

The order against drinking water unboiled was largely disregarded. The extreme heat created a demand for the coolest drinks obtainable and the men continued to quaff it in enormous quantities direct from pumps, hydrants and barrels. This continued until the 14th, when the use of this water was discontinued altogether and the supply brought from the mains of St. Paul. A thorough system of disinfection for the clothing was adopted, but found impractical for the whole command. More scrupulous policing was also ordered, but like all the new regulations, it was largely neglected. Meanwhile the disease constantly increased in extent and virulence. Aug. 13th, twenty-two more victims were sent to the city hospitals. On the 15th the first death, that of Everet Calvared, of Co. "H" occurred in the City Hospital, St. Paul; the morning sick call ran up to 178 and 45 had to be removed from camp. There were not enough ambulances in the two cities to meet the requirements and the street cars had to be called into service. The surgeons and hospital stewards conducted men in groups down to the tracks, those who were yet able walking slowly, assisted by companions, while others were carried on litters; thence they were conveyed to the various hospitals where ward after ward might be seen filled with long lines of suffering soldiers.

Hoping that a slight change in location might prove beneficial the camp was at this time (Aug.1<sup>-</sup>th),removed to the open field along the Interurban track while companies "F" "M," "K" & "H" in which most of the cases were now occurring were isolated on the grounds immediately north of the club room.

This little camp, which was jocularly termed the "Immunes," was put under command of Major Hand and closely quarantined. But all expedients seemed to fail; men in both camps continued to fall before the relentless enemy.

On Sunday, the 21st, 180 had been sent to the city hospitals and they were taking down at the rate of 20 per day. A gloom pervaded the camp, and the friends of the regiment were greatly discouraged. In much alarm Col. Leonhauser wired the war department for permission to remove his command to the Ft. Snelling Reservation. The request was granted and Aug. 23rd, the entite regiment, except Co. "G" which remained a day to police the grounds, once more broke camp and marched 8 miles across the country where the main body encamped upon the rifle range, and the detached companies two miles further, upon an elevated spot near the river. Here they had unlimited room, pure soil and running water for bathing, as well as a change of water for drinking. Six days later Major Hand's command returned to the main camp. Within a few days there were signs of diminution in the number of cases, but not sufficient to bring any assurance of a speedy cessation of the epidemic. Lieut. Bitner of Co. "H" had been attacked while yet at Camp Ramsey and gone home on sick leave. Lieut, Nelson of Co. "C" became ill on the march and was sent to the Post Hospital where a large proportion of the cases thereafter occurring received treatment. Other companies beside the four named, began to furnish their share of the cases; Co. "G" in particular, suffering very severely. Steadily the numbers grew; two hundred! three hundred! three hundred and sixty! Where would this end? The crisis in the earlier cases had now arrived and the wards of the hospitals held many a noble fellow who was fighting as bravely as the men who marched against the environs of Santiago. But all could not win; with painful frequency, reports of deaths were wired from the hospitals to camp. On Aug. 25th, Wm. Kenney of Co. "G" died in the Northwestern Hospital, Minneapolis, and two days later Ove Knudson, of the same Co. died at St. Joseph's, St. Paul. The following day (Aug. 28th), Peter Byhre of Co. "F" and Louis Wold of Co. "L" died, the former at Bethesda

and the latter at St. Lukes, St. Paul. Sept. 5th, Co. "H" lost two more men. Joseph R. Moffett dying at St. Lukes and Geo. R. Michael at the Northwestern. It seemed as if the whole command might yet march by way of the hospitals and how many dead they would leave there was only a matter for gruesome conjecture.

The subsequent deaths from this disease should here be noted. They were Wm. H. Dinney, Co. "G", Sept. 13th; Severt O. Nelson, Co. "G", Northwestern, Sept. 15th; George Van Riper, Co. "C", Post, Sept. 16th; Daniel D. Roberts, Co. "E", Post, Sept. 17th; Hans P. Pederson, Co. "M", St. Mary's, Minneapolis, Sept. 19th; Joseph Schwabacker, Co. "K", Bethesda, St. Paul, Sept. 21th; Godfrey Zimmerman, Co. "G", Northwestern, Sept. 21st; Robert Dudley, Co. "I", Nortwestern, Sept. 25th; Chris Neslund, Co. "M", Asbury, Minneapolis, Sept. 28th; Fred. C. O. Smith, Co. "C," St. Barnabas, Minneapolis, Oct. 18th; Fred Christian, Co. "G," Presbyterian Hospital, Chicago, Ill., Oct. 22nd.

The 360 men left in the ten hospitals of St Paul and Minneapolis when the command went east was swelled to full 400 by the addition of those afterward sent to the hospitals of Chicago, Philadelphia, Harrisburg and Reading.

Such a calamity as this cannot honestly be passed with no attempt to locate the responsibility. The question of army sanitation has never before engaged public attention as during the last war, and the secret of this popular interest is out. It lies in the conviction that somebody is accountable for the larger part of the sickness. It is no longer a visitation of providence; it is a visitation of ignorance or indifference. It will no longer suffice to tell the public that disease and death are the fortunes of war and must be accepted as a natural consequence. public has learned better and proposes to hold someone besides providence responsible for the havoc and death wrought by epidemics.

The terrible inflictions which armies have had to endure from these sources have suggested to all thinking persons that it is time to ask some questions. The records of our civil war show that even with its vast mortality in battle disease dug two graves where the battlefield dug one, and the Spanish-American war has fairly startled us with its record of eleven deaths by disease to one by battle. The most formidable enemy an army ever has to face is disease, and the fitness of an army to meet another army depends upon the care of its physical condition. Battles are fought in mess-kettles. Soldiers are made

ready for battle by the brains and consciences of their quartermaster and medical departments. Surgeons, nurses, cooks and commissaries must be as great as drill-masters, colonels and generals or the battle is lost.

Next to Manila and Santiago the most sensational episode of this war occurred in the quartermaster's department, and almost the only good result of the long, tiresome investigation which followed was in calling public attention again and again to the great need of intelligence and conscience in this department.

The responsibility for army sanitation naturally divides itself up among quartermasters, cooks, nurses and surgeons.

In the volunteer army it is, of course, impossible that these shall all have a preparation for their peculiar duties, and the evils of the system by which they are appointed are off-times keenly apparent. To pick up a young lawyer, real estate dealer or insurance agent for an army quartermaster because, perhaps, he is a successful politician does not promise great efficiency. This method may, and no doubt did, in many instances, secure good men, but as a principle, it cannot be commended. Could a quartermaster-sergeant or even a quartermaster's clerk from the regular army be appointed to the position

of regimental quartermaster in the volunteer service it would more nearly secure the knowledge needful for the best results. These words are directed at the system and not at the quartermaster of the 15th. Lieutenant Coe possessed many of the qualities demanded by his office. His temperament was adapted to the vexations incident to that work. With a disposition to let the other man do the worrying and a fund of good nature which rarely forsook him, he was able to meet the multiplied complaints, questions and impossible demands without loss of sleep or appetite. He had a mind vigorous and quite able to grasp the significance of a business proposition, but was somewhat embarrassed by lack of system and too great dependence upon his memory for details. His talkativeness was excessive for an army man, and if he forgot or neglected anybody it was not those who were presumed to have influence. In view of the little attention he had given to such business, his work was of a good quality.

As to cooks, the military authorities must be credited with an intelligent appreciation of their importance. A general order of the war department issued July 12th,1898,provides for enlistment, after thorough examination, of competent cooks, but it is safe to say that

only one out of ten of the volunteer regiments ever heard of this order.

The army ration has a perpetual right of action against the public, for slander. It is worthy of a far better reputation than it sustains. It is the product of many years of experiment and study and it is much to the credit of our government that short-sighted ideas of economy in the matter of soldiers' food do not hold the place that they once did. As now provided, the army ration is a wholesome and sufficient article of food, and if properly cooked, it meets well the demands of an army; but half-cooked beans, sodden potatoes, raw rice, burned meat and generally dirty cooking cover a multitude of ills. A school for the education of army cooks, with ranks, honors and promotions for merit deserves to stand alongside West Point as indispensable to an efficient military system.

The manner of procuring army nurses well illustrates the evils of a temporary system. Recruiting officers went into towns and gathered up at random young men for hospital service. Boys whose knowledge of nursing was confined to the little that their mothers had given them, who despised the sight of a sick room and were wholly destitute of all the tact necessary for such a business, applied for enrollment in the hospital corps,

because they wanted to go into the army and this was their only opportunity. Men with little better qualifications were drawn from the companies for service in regimental hospitals; these young men without experience and with little instruction had to be put upon the most critical cases because competent nurses could not be, or at least had not been, provided. The work of the Red Cross society is worthy of the highest commendation. Like all other departments, it needed experience but its purposes were unselfish and its contributions to the comfort and health of the army, great. The employment of female nurses proved to be a wise expedient and it is safe to say that the government is convinced of the economy of a much larger use of trained female help in the hospitals. With 400 cases of typhoid fever, the 15th Minnesota may be counted singularly fortunate in having lost but 18 men, but it is to be remembered that it was all the while accessible to hospitals in neighboring eities, where the best trained nurses and most approved methods are employed. This was also true of many other regiments and had it not been so the mortality, even in our home camps, must have been appalling. City hospitals of course cannot be carried with an army but even for field service there would be an actual saving in a much larger use of their appointments and their nurses.

But the most crying need in army sanitation is not that of hospitals, but of measures to keep men out of hospitals. Here is where the strictest accountability is demanded and the demand is reasonable. Typhoid and malarial fevers are coming to be recognized as the most destructive enemies of the soldier, and it is now known that they are both avoidable. This is particularly true of the worst of all perils, the typhoid. When we consider the conditions existing in some of the larger as well as smaller camps during the war, all wonder that so many took sick gives place to wonder that all did not take sick. There were camps occupied by large armies, through which one might drive for hour after hour without being able to escape from the stench which arose from open sinks. Men lived day and night for weeks in the torrid heat of July and August ever breathing this poison-laden atmosphere, while all the time swarms of flies passed at will from sinks to mess tables; water was brought from most questionable sources and thrown into open barrels whence it was dipped for use with pans, kettles and even wash-basins, and during these same weeks 90 per cent of the men were perfectly innocent of any such thing as an all-over bath. There must have been something wrong in the location and management of such camps; and what was true here was true to a greater or less extent of all the camps in the country. The location of the camp of the 15th Minn. was a grievous blunder for which somebody was responsible

No camp should be established until the proposed site has been examined by a competent medical board composed of regular army surgeons who are presumably independent of all political and mercenary influences.

The government both state and national will have to answer in the day of judgment for indifference or incompetency in this matter of selecting camps for the soldiers.

But however excellent might be the site, this alone was insufficient to counteract the effects of slovenly management after troops were on the ground. The details of sanitation must at last, fall upon the regimental surgeons and here was where the greatest failures occurred.

It was no easy matter to obtain competent medical men for the volunteer army. There is no salary paid to any member of the regimental staff sufficient to induce men of both first class ability and first class experience to leave an established home practice for a precarious position in the army. The result is

that the places are usually filled either by men who are failures at home or by young men who are lacking in the knowledge which is here particularly demanded. They may be full of promise, but promise is not a sufficient compensation for lack of wide experience and power in handling men. A large proportion of them are attracted by the superior opportunity to learn surgery which the army is supposed to afford; but surgery is the least part of their duties, and this was particularly true of the last war. The large number of young and inexperienced men occupying positions in the medical department where foresight, thoughtfulness and tact were needed was a most common and most disquieting fact in the late army. This condition of things was not improved, but rather aggravated by the contract system, which, for some reason, was the least satisfactory feature of the medical service.

The medical staff of the 15th Minn, would certainly compare favorably with the best among the volunteer regiments. Dr. Fry, a man of middle age and accustomed to dealing with men of the more reckless and excessive classes, was decidedly popular and influential with the rank and file.

Drs. Dennis and Mowers belonged to that

class of physicians who are well versed in modern methods and give promise of most successful careers.

Major Dennis, upon whom devolved the chief responsibility, was a man of exceptional talent. His mental alertness was notable and his aptness very pronounced. His knowledge of professional matters was likewise accurate and discriminating. He had much of that secretiveness which is supposed to be valuable in the medical profession, but which is not so congenial to associates. His manner gave the impression that he was conscious of superiority in mentality and rank. He was inclined to be pessimistic in his views of life, but did not permit this to influence his professional work. He did not manifest that sympathy which would give him a personal hold upon the average man of the command, but was loyal to the best interests of the soldier in his administrative acts.

There is now little doubt that every case of typhoid fever in the 15th was incurred at Camp Ramsey and traceable more or less directly to the water used before Aug. 14th. This water, as we have seen, fell under suspicion in the latter part of July when the symptoms first began to appear. Had the camp at this time been removed or the use

of the water wholly discontinued it is probable that one-half the scourge would have been avoided; but it was several days before the drinking water was ordered boiled, and several days more before the supply was shut off altogether, and meanwhile the damage had been done. The orders for boiling the water and for better policing, when issued, were wise and had they been rigidly enforced would likewise have proved a great protection.

When everything is considered, the responsibility for this epidemic must be divided between the failure of the state administration to properly locate the camp; the failure of the men to obey orders; the failure of the regimental authorities to enforce orders; and the failure of the medical staff to adopt more prompt and vigorous sanitary measures.



## CHAPTER IV.

## DOUBTS AND HOPES.

POR the month of August the history of the typhoid fever, is the history of the regiment; but some happenings during that time, both at home and abroad were of decided significance, while others, less important, deserve a place here as necessary parts of a full narrative. On the afternoon of Sunday the 7th, four Grand Army Posts, of St. Paul made a formal visit to the camp and the regiment was massed in front of headquarters to welcome them and participate in the exercises of the occasion. The old and new were drawn up facing each other, and all were surrounded by a vast crowd of citizens.

Addresses were made by Major Epsey, Judge Egan and Ex-Mayor Doran and a brief welcome was spoken by Lieut. Col. Leonhauser, after which ranks were broken and for the remainder of the evening veterans and young soldiers freely mingled together in social converse. The addresses upon this occasion represented the sentiment which at that time was practically universal in the Northwest. They were characterized by a hearty indorsement of the cause in which the new generation of soldiers had enlisted; but at the same time expressed the hope that their services would not be needed for actual warfare. Five days later, August 12th, the peace protocol was signed and hostilities between our country and Spain ceased. The era of speculation began and many an anxious inquiry arose as to what was to be done with the soldiers who had not yet gotten out of instruction camps.

While these questions were pending another pretty ceremony was arranged for the camp. An elegant stand of colors had been prepared by the Commercial Club of St. Paul and on the evening of Aug. 18th a large delegation appeared to make the formal presentation to the regiment. Mrs. J. J. Hill read a very appropriate presentation address, and was followed by Mr. Conde Hamlin, president of the club, and others.

Col. Leonhauser fittingly expressed the gratitude of the command and Gov. Clough,

who was present with his entire staff in uniform, made the closing address. The remarks of the visitors took the tone of uncertainty just then prevailing, the thought being that peace had now come and there would probably never be any use for these soldiers. The speakers therefore complimented them upon what they desired but would not have the opportunity to do. Gov. Clough however threw a little brand of enthusiasm into the meeting by declaring that all the talk of "muster out" was without foundation, and giving it as his opinion that they would yet see service. This was an end to which both the governor and Senator Davis were persistently working, and it is in no small degree owing to their efforts that the regiment at last saw a partial realization of its hopes.

The Governor always displayed much interest in the Fifteenth. It was popularly styled the "Governor's Regiment." This was of course due to the fact that its organization and the selection of its officers were more directly in his hands.

The other three regiments, having belonged to the National Guard, were necessarily, not so largely the creatures of the Executive, nor were they so thoroughly representative of the state. Governor Clough's frequent visits to the command and the energy and thought-

fulness with which he looked after its comfort and advancement were worthy of the sincere gratitude of the entire body. These favors were not wholly unmixed with annoyance, for the "War Governor" was not a military man and naturally lacked knowledge of matters which are sometimes essential to good discipline. His proposed assistance was therefore, in some instances, equivalent to interference in things which were better left to those who were officially responsible for them. He was also given to occasional outbursts of ill-temper, very unseemly in one of his official dignity and very humiliating to his appointees.

The most important official event of this month was the resignation of Col. Shandrew and the promotions which followed. The fears of a fatal termination of the Colonel's attack, which at first prevailed, had been somewhat allayed by favorable reports from his bed-side, but the improvement had been slow and he had reluctantly abandoned the hope of resuming command. When therefore he tendered his resignation Aug. 15th, it was promptly accepted by the Governor and Lieut. Col. Leonhauser advanced to the place. At the same time Major Gotzian became lieut. colonel; Major Hand senior major and Captain Elwin of Company "A".

was promoted to a field office as junior major. This was the only change which occured among the field officers during the regiment's term of service.

Major Elwin was a man of middle age, having been for many years a citizen of Minneapolis, where he was favorably known in business and political circles. He was generous, public-spirited and honest; a good story-teller and a pleasant companion. He was thoroughly innocent of any knowledge of military affairs when he entered the army, and lacking in all aptitude in these lines. He was consequently not a success as a tactician. He was unassuming in matters of rank, but loyal to his superiors, and faithful to his duties. He was very susceptible to flattery, unfeignedly boastful of his popularity and influence, and confident of his abilities. No one said aught against him personally, but his election to the field inspired no enthusiasm throughout the command.

First Lieut. Fred. K. Barrows, of Co."A," was promoted to the captaincy, 2nd Lieut. F. A.C. Vincent became 1st Lieut. and John C. Sweet, of Minneapolis, was commissioned 2nd Lieut.

As before noted, the alarming spread of the fever induced the change of the camp on the 15th from its first location to the open field

along the Interurban car line, and just inside the fair ground enclosure, while the four companies most afflicted were isolated on the slope a little off the old ground. Here they remained one week, little of interest occurring except the increasing ravages of the scourge, when the welcome order arrived for removal to Ft. Snelling. Accordingly, on the morning of the 23rd, the tents once more came down and the entire effective force, bidding a final farewell to old Camp Ramsey, marched the 8 or 9 miles across the country to the new site.

The scene now was widely different from anything they had yet known. The Ft. Snelling reservation has 1800 acres of land, most of which is unoccupied, and lying in a state of nature with irregular surface, grassy plain, dense wood and spongy lowland. The camp of the 15th was upon the rifle range, a wide plain covered with coarse grass, backed by a heavy wood and shut out from all symbols of civilization, except an occasional glimpse of the flag which floated over the barracks, a mile away, on one side, and a water tank an equal distance on the other. The nearest public conveyance stopped at the bridge near the old fort, or at Minnehaha Park, either point being not less than a mile and a half from camp. They were no longer

within the confines of a city; no longer obliged to eat, drink, sleep, dump offal and entertain thousands of visitors upon a little back yard; and it yet remains a mystery why this immense idle tract, the property of the government, a military reservation for the express purpose of accommodating its soldiers, should have been the last place thought of as a fit camp for the government troops. They were now near enough to the Mississippi river to take a bath in running water, and accordingly were marched down by companies and battalions to enjoy this luxury.

Within a week the four companies which had been detached on account of their extraordinary sick report returned to the main camp. All tents were now floored and in a few days the regiment was once more settled to regular work. Skirmish drills were at this time the particular form of practice. The number of fever patients was slightly diminished and a more cheerful feeling pervaded the camp; but the prostrations were yet too numerous and constant to permit of any settled confidence. There was reason to believe that hundreds of men now in camp had been exposed to the infection, and it would require two weeks or more to decide the effect which this would have upon such cases.

The present location was christened Camp

Snelling. Secluded though it was, the hundreds who had friends there were not long in striking the trail and appearing upon the grounds.

The influence of a home camp upon the soldier had a thorough test in the case of the 15th. It was more than ten weeks from its assembly until it left the state, and all this time it was encamped in the most accessible part of the state and within a few minutes' travel of the homes of a large percentage of the soldiers. It is difficult to decide whether such circumstances are fortunate or unfortunate. Social functions, basket picnics and the entertainment of friends are not the discipline that makes good soldiers. A young regiment encamped near its friends, like a young man living near his mother-inlaw, is in danger of hearing too much good advice. The military authorities are embarrassed by a superfluity of sympathy. Wellmeant, but ill-directed efforts to exhibit patriotism and do something for the soldiers are legion. Delegations from benevolent societies, committees from social bodies, bands from churches, self-constituted boards of health, solicitous mothers and pastors, sympathetic women who want to help the poor soldiers are ever tendering advice and assistance, which only distracts from the essential

business of soldier-making. But these disadvantages are not without their compensations. The presence of such social influences furnishes wholesome restraints for the men, and tends to keep the officers reminded of the fact that these boys have fathers and mothers who are looking to them as the guardians as well as commanders of the men under their orders.

Camp Suelling was now a pleasant place to reside and but for the continued depletion of the companies by fever everything was going well. Still it is not the wont of the volunteer soldier to be long content when there is no immediate prospect of activity. The men who enter such service are usually of the more adventurous type, to whom any change is more acceptable than waiting in idleness. Peace with Spain now seemed almost certain, and the question of continuance in the service was again uppermost.

"Shall we go to the Philippines?" "Shall we go to do garrison duty in Cuba?" "Shall we go home?"

Everybody had a preference. Not a few said, "We enlisted to fight. We did not leave our homes to lie in garrisons. If there is to be no more fighting we want to go home."

Some of the men were so anxious to fight that they had no relish for drilling or even for bathing, but there was unfortunately no opportunity to test the sincerity of this desire. In the absence of definite knowledge impressions and partial expressions of opinions were published. One day it was reported that a majority of the men wanted to be mustered out and the next day it was denied; and all this went on just as if it might, in some way, affect the result.

In official circles the strongest influences were yet at work to get the regiment into active service. August 25th Senator Davis had an interview with the President and Secretary of State after which he announced that the 15th would probably be retained in service. On account of Senator Davis' official relation to the administration, this statement was regarded as quite significant, but it was ten days before anything was known beyond this brief hint and ten days is a long time in an army camp.

But on the 4th of September (Sunday) came the most stirring news that the regiment had heard since the day, just two months before, when it was called to assemble at camp Ramsey, for that day the papers reported an order from the war department, issued the day before, directing the removal of the command to Camp Mead, Pa. Expectation was at once on tip-toe and

everybody awaited with interest the confirmation of the announcement. Even military orders are sometimes illusory. Col. Leonhauser here encountered obstacles which caused him misgivings as to the final success of the enterprise.

On the 3rd fifteen patients had been sent to the Post Hospital making a total of 83 which had been received by this and other institutions in the ten days which had elapsed since the removal from Ramsey. With scarcely an exception these 83 men were the victims of fever and it was evident that the end of this trouble was not yet in sight It was reported that a contract doctor at Snelling, affecting an importance quite in excess of his authority. had declared that the regiment should not leave camp in its present condition of health. It was feared that some intermeddling might yet arrest the order, even if it had been issued. It will be seen hereafter that such fears were not groundless.

On Wednesday evening Sept. 7th, Col. Leonhauser stood out in the twilight back of his tent intently considering a telegram which had just come to hand, and Chaplain Turner a little way off stood regarding the scene. He finished the reading and coming close to the latter and speaking in an exultant subtone said "Chaplain don't you say a word,

but I have the order!" The chaplain promised to say "not a word" and retired to his quarters. A few minutes later a call to arms broke upon the heavy, misty air and the companies, pouring out into the darkness, formed and hurried to headquarters. By direction of the Colonel, Adjutant Catlin announced the news that was too good to keep.

The command was ordered to proceed, as soon as possible, to Camp Mead and it was hoped to be ready in the early part of next week.

Then pandemonium broke loose! Cheer followed cheer until the recall was sounded. and, hoarse with cheering, the men hurried away, and extemporizing all kinds of melodious instruments, returned to continue the din. The band came out to take part in the celebration, and the most chronic grumblers seemed to have forgotten about muster-out. Judging from the magnitude of the demonstration, everyone in camp must have been intoxicated with delight. The mere prospect of change; the doing something other than what they had been doing; the possibility of seeing something of the world, though they had little prospect of ever seeing anything of war had come like a tonic to minds which had grown languid by two months of waiting. All roads now led to Camp Mead. Preparations for departure which had been under consideration already began in earnest. The quartermaster's department was the scene of the greatest activity. Officers were busied in arranging their private affairs, as well as the business of their commands, and all were putting their business in shape for a long stay abroad. The weather about this time lent encouragement to the desire for escape to another clime. A most uncomfortably cool spell set in, lasting two or three days. Ice formed in tents at night, and the soldiers had their first experience around the camp fire.

At the earnest solicitation of the state fair management, Col. Leonhauser had consented to give a skirmish drill upon the grounds during the annual exhibition. Accordingly on Saturday, Sept. 10th, two battalions visited the fair, then in session, for that purpose. The race track was the scene of the exhibition. The command was drawn up in several detachments at the western extremity of the inclosure, facing the bluff at the other end, which had been the site of Camp Ramsey; there the enemy was supposed to be located. These operations were no doubt designedly planned, being directed against the fever germ, that invisible foe which but a few weeks before had so disastrously defeated the regiment upon this very ground,

The day of vengeance had now come. The ranks of soldiery advanced in splendid order over the irregular ground, occasionally halting and sweeping the field on flank and center with their volleys, now dropping and firing, now going forward with a rush, but never faltering in their progress; driving everything before them, they at length reached the other end of the enclosure where they were massed in front of the bluffs. Here occurred the hottest engagement of the day: the whole force advanced to the very foot of the hills, their blood boiling and their enthusiasm rising ever higher, while with loud and repeated cheers, they poured volley after volley of point blank cartridges into the ranks of the hated bacillus typhosis, which, presumably, hung over the brow of the hill. A moment later not an enemy was to be seen. The firing ceased, and, with one final cheer of triumph, the gallant boys faced about and marched from the grounds and back to camp. Some months later the regiment received \$100 from the State Fair Association in compensation for their valuable achievements on that day.

Thursday, the 15th, had been finally fixed as the day for leaving, and Col. Leonhauser was pressing the preparations, lest some contingency interfere. The 11th was the last

Sunday in the state. Passes were unlimited, and hundreds went to their homes or the homes of friends near by to complete arrangements for their departure and bid adieu. Less than the proverbial corporal's guard attended the religious services held in front of the chaplain's tent at 10:30, but in the afternoon the camp began to fill up, and until late at night, a procession of vehicles and foot passengers from both cities streamed into and out of camp. The day was warm, the roads across the reservation dusty, but in camp the grass had held its own and the ground within the lines was in good condition. Through the enterprise of Governor Clough, company mess tents had been lately secured, sufficiently large to accommodate the entire company at one time. These were provided with tables and benches and henceforth became a source of general convenience for the men.

When the regiment was first organized the battalion arrangement was as follows: 1st Bat., "A", "H", "L", "D"; 2nd, "B", "K", "M" "E"; 3rd, "C", "I", "G," "F." After the resignation of Col. Shandrew and the consequent promotions the order was, 1st Bat., "B", "K", "M", "E"; 2nd, "C", "I", "G", "F"; 3rd, "D", "L", "A", "H".

Contracts were made with four railroads

for the transportation of the regiment and baggage to Camp Mead; it being arranged that the colonel and staff and the first and second battalions should go over the Northwestern Line to Chicago, and thence via the Pennsylvania to Middletown, Pa., while the third battalion was to proceed by the Wisconsin Central to Chicago and thence via the Baltimore & Ohio to the same point. The cost of transportation averaged 13 dollars per man. The effective force of the regiment was at this time about 950.

The camp was astir early on Thursday morning. Baggage wagons were promptly on hand, breakfast was dispatched, tents struck, equipage rolled and tied, wagons loaded and companies moving toward the bridge which crosses the river at Ft. Snelling within a few hours. The point of departure was the Union and St. Louis depots, St. Paul. The citizens of St. Paul, who had always manifested such a kindly and helpful interest in the command, had made preparations for a wholesale god speed. Smith Park, a short distance from the depot, had been selected as the place of the formal farewell. Here 180 gallons of coffee were stewing and a large express wagon loaded with sandwiches was driven upon the grounds. ton-hole bouquets for each man were in read-

iness, and committees waited to serve them. The Governor and his staff and a throng of friends from St. Paul, Minneapolis and all parts of the state were on the grounds. The extravagant enthusiasm which characterized the departure of troops at the beginning of the war was no longer to be expected, but the sober and abiding interest in the welfare of the 15th which brought these thousands of friends to see them off was a source of great gratification. After lunching, decorating, shaking and administering volumes of wholesome advice to the men, the greater part of the crowd followed them to the depots, where the trains were in waiting. The day had worn away with these numerous and informal ceremonies. The soldiers boarded their trains; the crowd stood outside and talked through the open windows. Five o'clock came; the train at last moved; the band struck up "The Girl I left behind me;" everybody cheered, many wept and the 15th is gone!



## CHAPTER V.

## BEYOND THE ALLEGHANIES.

S the military trains sped across the state line there was a sigh of relief that, in any event, the regiment had not died in its cradle. The avowed suspicion of Col. Leonhauser that something would yet thwart the movement now seemed to have been unfounded and it was a fortnight later that the 15th learned how narrow an escape it made that day. It then came to light that, before the command left Ft. Snelling, another order had been issued in Washington, this time, forbidding the proposed removal until two weeks after the last case of fever had developed. For some reason this order was delayed in transmission, not reaching St. Paul until the 17th, by which time the command was nearing the end of its journey. Had it come sooner, its final effect upon the future

history of this regiment can only be conjectured. But it is too late! by some magic, the soldiers marched and the trains ran faster than the electric current and the 15th outsped the fatal stroke of lightning.

The biography of that message has never been written. Whether the delay was purely accidental; whether the war department resorted to a little piece of duplicity to gratify the vanity of a harmless old medical officer in the department of Dakota; or whether the dispatch was arrested and hung up by some friend high in authority has not yet been disclosed. However that may be there is now no question that the regiment has a new lease of life, and the night closed down upon a thousand happy men. The next morning found the trains in Chicago, within the fragrant precints of the stock yards, where with startings, stoppings, backings, shiftings, parleys with car inspectors and like important ceremonies, the greater part of the day was spent. nine men who were taken down with fever on the way were removed to the Presbyterian hospital.

The two trains carrying the colonel and staff and the 1st and 2nd battalions here took the Pennsylvania road, going through northern Ohio and via Pittsburg, while the 3rd Battallion, taking the Baltimore and Ohio, went the

longer route via Cumberland.

The former reached Pittsburg about noon, where after an hour lost by delay and another hour lost by turning watches forward, the journey was resumed. And now erelong they struck the interesting part of the road and the soldiers began to find some compensation for the many weeks of monotonous camp life. Here was food for enjoyment as these children of the prairies caught their first glimpse of the mountains and lost themselves in contemplation of the new scenery. As the long line of coaches, at a surprising speed, rolled up the steep grades, hundreds of delighted men hung out of the windows. gazing up at the swells which rose yet above them or down the perpendicular walls beneath. On and on climbed the iron wheels, over tree-tops and mountain streams, around curves, through gorges, amid constantly changing views, until they reached the summit ranges where the eye looked out over successions of bold rounded peaks which stretched away into dimness and out of sight and where they could see, down the wide valleys, the little mountains cradled under their sheets of haze. train swept round the famous Horseshoe Curve by daylight and pulled up at Altoona in the twilight, where a halt was made for supper. Then as they dropped down the eastern

slope into the deep shadow of the Alleghanies the beautiful autumn day closed and the weary sight-seers once more fell asleep.

Most of the enlisted men had heads clear enough to appreciate the scenery, for intoxicants were carefully excluded from their list of accommodations, but it is to be feared many officers were not so well favored, for in their coaches liquors were freely provided and freely used. It is but fair to say that this false idea of luxury, which so largely prevails in traveling, did not however result in serious demoralization and all things considered the trip was a very pleasant one.

About midnight the trains passed through Harrisburg and stopped at Middletown eight miles beyond, where they were side-tracked and left undisturbed until morning. The 3rd battalion arrived safe several hours later.

Sunday morning rose clear and hot. Col. Leonhauser had duly reported his arrival and at 8 o'clock an officer appeared to guide the way to camp. The location was some four miles distant. After a lunch upon the trains, rather light and "mussy" (for the bottoms of haversacks and lunch baskets were now reached), the companies formed, and marching out by a road deep in dust, proceeded through woods, over hills and, part of the way, through open fields to the appointed place. On the

way were seen the camps of several regiments and detachments scattered here and there among the hills and upon reaching its destination the new arrival found itself set down in view of eight or ten other regiments whose canvas villages spread over a little upland valley walled in by a circle of gentle hills. This larger camp centered about a crossroads leading out to the surrounding villages It occupied several large farms whose excellent improvements gave evidence of unusual thrift. Stately farm houses with capacious dutch barns and surrounded by large orchards and well tilled fields sat at dignified distances from the several camps. A mile to the east floated the red cross flag of a division hospital, while northeast, southeast and south on knolls or hillsides, surrounded by little clusters of tents, were seen the pennons of brigade and division commanders. The location was admirable and in the light blue atmosphere of a September or October day the scene was charming. Two months from the day of its muster in, the 15th found itself, for the first time, part of a great military camp. About the middle of the afternoon the 3rd battalion under the command of Major Elwin marched upon the grounds and was greeted with hearty cheers from its fellows. The day passed with a compound of men, mules, wagons, bundled canvas, tent-furnishings, cooking utensils and quartermasters stores all in a ferment under a cloud of dust. No religious services were held, though sacred terms were not unfrequently employed. A sudden dash of rain in the afternoon added somewhat to the interest of the day; but by night tents were placed and everything under shelter.

Camp George Gordon Mead (named for General George G. Mead, the hero of Gettysburg) was one of the sober second thoughts of the war department which followed the experience of Alger, Chickamauga Park and other illy located and illy managed camps. The site was selected by General Wm. M. Graham, commander of the second army corps and his command transferred from Camp Alger to this place August 15th—18th, (Gen. Order No. 68, 2nd army corps). This corps consisted of three divisions, the first being under the command of Gen.S. M.B. Young. Upon its arrival in camp, the 15th Minn. was assigned to the third brigade of this division (General Order No. 90). The Brigade commander was Gen. S. P. Gobin and the other regiments of the command were the 8th and 13th Pennsylvania, under command of Cols. T. F. Hoffman and H. A. Coursen respectively. The ground upon which the 15th was located lay along the south side of a

wood heavily timbered and dense with underbrush: the soil was a tough, red clay, and a slight inspection revealed the alarming fact that it had been, quite recently, occupied by another regiment. The policing of the grounds and adjacent woods, after the withdrawal of the regiment, had been superficial, and most unwelcome discoveries were speedily made. In view of its unhappy experience at Camp Ramsey the 15th had a strong prejudice against second-hand camp grounds. In a matter of such importance Colonel Leonhauser felt that juniority was not sufficient reason for his taking a back seat; and so, armed with a certificate from the chief surgeon setting forth the unsanitary conditions, he proceeded to headquarters and made such a vigorous protest that he obtained an order to take up a new location. Accordingly, on Wednesday, 21st, the regiment once more pulled up stakes, loaded its baggage and, marching east a half mile, encamped in a field near the road leading to High Spire, and upon clean, slightly rolling ground. This location put the regiment some distance from Gen. Gobin's quarters and the other regiments of the brigade, but in most respects it was quite satisfactory and the 15th remained here during all its further stay at Camp Mead. The division hospital occupied the neighboring hill-top, and the first brigade, consisting of the 10th Ohio, Col. Axaline, 1st Maryland, Col. Lane, and 35th Michigan, Col. Irish, lay between the camp of the 15th and that occupied by the other regiments of the \$d brigade.

From this time on the history of the regiment must be, in a measure, the history of an army, for new obligations came with these new relations. The command is no longer an army of itself as it was when it was the only regiment in the Northwest between the Mississippi River and the Rocky Mountains. It must take its orders from corps, division and brigade commanders. It must furnish brigade and division officers of the day. It must be subject to requisition for the staff of generals, recruiting officers, hospital service and various other kinds of detached duty. It must furnish details for guard and provost duty outside its own lines. Its various departments must make reports to and do business through superior authority. It must obtain leaves of absence and report goings out and comings in to brigade and division adjutants, and it must hunt up and conform to a long list of orders which were issued before it came into the camp. Naturally the regiment experienced no little inconvenience in adapting itself to these new

requirements. Officers' call sounded daily, sometimes oftener, and the sessions were occasionally enlivened by a vigorous essay on "red tape." It was not long, however, before things fell into their places and the military machine moved smoothly. Tents were floored, water pipes were laid throughout the camp and the companies once more began their regular drills.

Anxiety about the typhoid fever was not yet entirely relieved Besides the nine men who had been left in Chicago, others had been taken ill on the way and were ready for the hospital upon arrival in camp. Four days atter reaching Mead thirty patients had been sent up to the division hospital, most of whom had the typhoid symptoms. Lieut. McMahon, of Co. "K," was prostrated by the march to camp on Sunday morning, and a few days later Lieut. Eckles, of Co. "G," was obliged to go on sick report, both cases resulting in protracted sieges of typhoid. Reports of deaths among the men left in the h me hospitals were coming in with a frequency which quite increased the uneasiness. It soon appeared, however, that some of the cases now occurring were only a mild type of malaria, and, to the great joy of the regiment and its friends, the first week at Camp Mead saw the last case of typhoid

fever. This last victim was Napoleon Snapp, of Co."B," who went on sick report Sept. 24th.

Coming from the immigrant State of Minnesota, many members of the regiment now found themselves near the old family home, and the fever epidemic was succeeded by an epidemic of "leaves," which resulted in the temporary absence of a great many officers and men.

The question of selling intoxicating liquors in the regimental grocery, commonly termed the Canteen, here came up for a decision. Col. Leonhauser introduced the matter at officers' meeting, calling for a free expression of opinion, and after a frank discussion at two sessions, the sentiment seemed so largely against the proposition that nothing further was heard of it. It was much to the credit of the colonel and his officers that the enlisted men were spared this infliction, but the favorable results were not so pronounced as they would have been had surrounding regiments been as considerate of their men, or as neighborly as courtesy demands; for either in spite of, or in ignorance of the timely warning of the war department, many regimental authorities set about preparing their commands for service in the tropics by inoculating them with alcohol, and the saloons established by these regiments were as freely open to men of other regiments as their own.

Soon after arriving at Camp Mead requisition was made on the regiment for several officers to perform detached duty; Lieut. Griggs of Co. "L" was made quartermaster of the 3rd brigade and Lieut. Elliott of the same Co. became assistant ordnance officer on the staff of the corps commander; Lieut. Vincent of Co. "A" was detailed for duty at the 1st division hospital and soon after sent to Minneapolis as recruiting officer. These three officers were absent from the command, virtually, during the remainder of its service. Lieut.Rask of Co. "M" was subsequently sent to recruit for hospital service and Lieut. Mitchell of Co. "B" was also detailed on the staff of the 3rd brigade as engineer. Surgeons Fry and Mowers were both sent on detached service for short periods and, while yet at Camp Ramsey, Lieut. Hubbard of Co. "H" went south as aid on the staff of his father, Gen. Hubbard, and was present with the regiment for only brief periods thereafter.

After getting settled at Camp Mead, the regiment again began hard work in the daily drills and for a month there was but little variety in its life. The typhoid fever patients in the western hospitals, after recovering sufficiently to travel, had each received a furlough of thirty days by order of the government. These now began to return and, for

the two months succeeding, the effective force constantly increased.

On October 7th and 14th the regiment took part in the corps reviews held upon the two parade grounds near the water tanks.

In the early days of October the war department was evolving some plans, the significance of which was soon to appear. On the 7th an order (Gen. Order 163) was issued directing the discontinuance of the 3rd, 5th and 6th army corps and the rearrangement of the 1st, 2nd and 4th. It provided further that the troops of the 2nd corps should be transferred to the south and distributed to camps in South Carolina, at Columbia, Greenville and Summerville, and in Georgia, at Athens and Augusta. The 1st and 3rd brigades of the 1st division were to go to the latter city. This order was received at Camp Mead on the 13th. It meant another move for the 15th and one which should land it further from home and nearer the Islands. Expectation again had the right of way and none doubted that they were still the sons of destiny.

But whatever might be the import of these military movements, the country was convinced that peace had really come and a great celebration in honor of the fact was preparing to take place, quite appropriately, in the Quaker City on the 27th. Camp Mead was

to be represented, but as it was impossible to take an army, the corps commander ordered the four Pennsylvania regiments then in camp, and eon battalion from each of the other commands, except the 203rd New York. This battalion was to be made up, at the pleasure of the commanding officer, either by taking companies entire or by drawing men pro rata from all of the companies. Col. Leonhauser decided that the four companies making the most favorable showing on paradeshould go. When this purpose was known the work of the companies assumed a competitive nature and the daily drills displayed unusual proficiency. For several successive evenings previous to the 26th, Col. Leonhauser critically reviewed the command on The selection fell upon companies "B", "E", "F" and "L" much to the honor of Captains Fineout, Crossfield, Brandt and Gibson and their respective commands. As eight sets of fours were required to a company the other captains enjoyed the privilege of furnishing several men to fill vacancies. These naturally selected what they considered their finest soldiers and when the battalion was complete, for physical appearance and even for superior marching, it might well try conclusions with any body in the United States, service. Col. Leonhauser, Lieut.

Col. Gotzian and Adjutant Catlin accompanied the expedition in their official capacity. Sergeants Stone of Co. "C" and Otis of Co. "G" were color bearers and Corporals Scarp and Solberg of the same companies color guards. About 9 o'clock on the morning of the 26th, the battalion left camp in heavy marching order, also in a heavy rain, and proceeded to Camp Mead Station three miles distant, where, soaked to the skin and covered with mud, they waited, still in the rain, one hour for their train. A dreary ride of. seven hours brought them at last to Philadelphia, where, together with the Pennsylvania regiments, they were quartered for the night in the "sugar house," an immense wareroom occupying a dock which extends 400 feet into the Delaware river. The last of the three days' rations which had been provided before leaving camp were issued for supper, and a muddy liquid, seasoned with black strap, was drawn hot and well flavored from recently emptied whiskey barrels and served as coffee. The wet, chilled men drank it eagerly and then coiled up to spend the night as best they could in the noise and disturbance created by the drunken fellows who had been visiting the neighboring grog shops.

Assembly sounded at 8:30 next morning, and leaving their rendezvous soon after the

battalion was on the move almost three hours before it finally entered the real line of march on Broad street. In company front the men now marched down this magnificent thoroughfare, forgetting all the tribulations of yesterday in the enthusiasm inspired by splendid decorations, swelling music, floating flags, the measured, magnetic tramp of ten thousand soldiers and the ceaseless plaudits of countless spectators; the crowds grew denser and the applause louder every step, until they reached the Court of Honor just in front of the city hall, where in a beautifully decorated and draped balcony stood President McKinley surrounded by his cabinet. That moment is finely described by one of the color sergeants, who in writing of the event to friends said: "I shall remember the President's face as long as I have memory, and it is one of the few things that I have to tell about that I have dipped the stars and stripes to one of our greatest presidents; the very wind itself seemed to keep its nervous touch off the silken folds long enough to allow them to droop in honor of the president and when we had passed the stand and they were again raised to the breeze, Old Glory waived more gloriously than ever."

Minnesota, whose gallant old 1st regiment had won a deathless name when, at Gettys-

burg, thirty-five years before, she threw herself into the breach and died to check the advance of a foe which was about to capture Philadelphia and lay waste the north, might well be proud when, in this same city, her splendid last regiment, composed in part of the sons of the first, made its bow to the chief magistrate of the reunited nation.

The procession passed through the court of honor, fell into columns of fours and marched around several blocks when it again turned into Broad street and resumed company front, passing the stand where Generals Miles and Wheeler were receiving the review, and at 4 o'clock the pageant was over.

Tired and hungry the men now looked forward to a good supper and a little freedom to see the city; but instead, they were marched away to the depot and aboard their train, their baggage thrown in to them pell-mell and they left to scramble for their individual blanket-rolls while the train pulled out and carried them, supperless, back to camp. This outrageous treatment was due to some unexplained blunder or negligence, as it is known that the ladies of the city had prepared an ample supply of choice provisions, and it is said that cartloads were allowed to spoil. The returning train reached Camp Mead Station at 1:30 on the morning of the 28th, the trip

ending with another muddy tramp into camp.

The soldier is made for war; he is not supposed to enjoy the festivals of peace.

On November 2nd, by order of the president, Gen. Graham relinquished command of the 2nd corps, turning over the command to Gen. Young, who since September 15th, had been in command of the 1st division. Notice of these changes was embodied in General Order No. 133, 2nd army corps.

Two days later, word of a much more interesting character came from Washington. General Order, No. 176, required that the 1st and 2nd divisions of the 2nd army corps be held in readiness to proceed to Havana, move ment to take place from time to time according to future instructions. The large majority of men in these two divisions probably never heard of this order, but it is a historic fact that the 15th was once under orders for Cuba and the man of this command may boast that the brief phrase "from time to time" was the only thing that stood between him and this long coveted distinction. "from time to time" is a military prestidigitator; it has blasted many expectations; let us wait and see what will come of this order.

Along the 40th parallel of latitude November is not a reliable month for tenting out, and the frosty nights which visited the regiment,

before it quit Ft. Snelling were now repeated to warn the men that their second autumn was ending. The quartermaster's requisitios four the means to keep comfortable were very tardily honored and the cold nights on the uplands caused no little suffering. It was with great satisfaction that the troops once more heard of the long-delayed order to move south.

Nov. 7th, Gen. Young issued orders (No. 137) for the beginning of this movement. By a noticeable coincidence the 15th was scheduled to leave on the 15th, as it had left Camp Snelling on the 15th and as it had left its first site at Camp Ramsey on the 15th.

While waiting its turn the 2nd battalion was detached for provost duty, Co. "C" going to Harrisburg, Co. "I" to the street cars running from Middletown to Harrisburg, Co. "F" to Camp Mead Station, and Co. "G" to the various farm houses about camp. The soldier who does provost duty in a city near an army camp is a sentinel on the very guard line of hell, and the experience of many of these men during their last week here will be more vividly remembered than any other part of their military history.

The 15th was the last regiment to leave for Augusta and the last but four to leave Camp Mead. The canvas homes had nearly all disappeared from the little valley, when on that

Tuesday morning the men bid adieu to the scenes which had become so familiar during their two months sojourn and, picking up their effects, marched over the hills to the village of High Spire. Here they boarded three trains and after a tedious ride in common day coaches via Harrisburg, Baltimore, Washington and Richmond, reached Wheeless near Augusta at 9 o'clock on the morning of Thursday, November 17th.



## CHAPTER VI.

## CAMP MACKENZIE.

IVE miles west of the old city of Augusta and two miles from the beautiful suburb of Summerville, with its pretty modern residences, its stately arsenal and winter hotel, arose the tents of Camp Mackenzie. The situation is high, being above the steeples of the city, but reached by an easy grade. The ground slopes gradually east to the plain of the Savannah River, upon which Augusta stands, and south to the tracks of the Georgia railroad, about a mile away, and the camp stood upon a gentle swell, almost a plateau. The soil is sand to the depth of twelve feet or more. At the time of its selection for a military camp the surface was covered with a growth of red oak saplings, about fifteen feet in height. These were cut down by convict labor, leaving the

stumps to be grubbed up by the soldiers, either as amusement for prisoners or ordinary fatigue duty. When this had been done and the surface leveled there was a single tract of 120 acres having the appearance of a sandy plain. Through the middle of this tract running north and south was the Wheeless road. On opposite sides of the road were established the camps of the 1st and 3rd brigades, 1st division, 2nd army corps. The 1st brigade lay east of the road, the 10th Ohio being farthest north, the 1st land next, and the 35th Michigan, last. On the west side lay the 3rd brigade, the 15th Minnesota being farthest north and opposite the 10th Ohio, the 13th Pennsylvania, next, and the 8th Pennsylvania last.

A few days after the camp was formed orders were given the several commands to move back 500 feet farther from the road, thus making a parade ground 400 yards in width, with the road, slightly above the general surface, dividing it directly in the middle. A road leading to Augusta ran along the north side of the field here described, and upon this road, one-fourth of a mile below the 10th Ohio, was the camp of six troops of the 3rd U. S. Cavalry, under command of Major Sweigart. A short distance below this was the 1st division hospital, and oppo-

site the hospital on a road leading to Summerville were headquarters of the 1st division. A mile from the latter and two miles from the place assigned to the 15th were the headquarters of Gen. Young, commander of the 2nd corps. A small camp of the Reserve Hospital Corps near division headquarters, and a small camp of the Engineering Corps near corps headquarters, with the commands already enumerated, numbering in all about seven thousand, made up the famous Camp Mackenzie. The site was selected on account of its supposed healthfulness, and in this respect it may be said that the wisdom of the selection was justified. It is true that jaundice prevails to a considerable extent in this part of Georgia, and the sallow complexions of the residents indicate that its effects are quite persistent. The soldiers were soon made acquainted with it. Slight bronchial affections were also common; but as a winter camp it was unquestionably superior to any locality in more northern latitudes, while its elevation, excellent drainage and sandy soil, drinking up so quickly the heavy winter rains, made it one of the most desirable camps of the south.

Here then, on Thursday, Nov. 17th, in the extreme northwestern corner, the 15th Minn. pitched its tents for its fourth and last camp,

and for the most memorable events of its history. The men from the land of ice were not long in discovering that a southern winter is not a northern picnic. Their first week in camp made them take to their overcoats, and this experience was, during their stay here, many times repeated, not unfrequently with a vigor which made them almost long for their Minnesota homes. The first occasion of interest was Thanksgiving. It was a crisp, cool, but not uncomfortable day, and the soldiers had their liberty, no work being required save the necessary guard and police duty, and there being no ceremonies except a brief religious service held just before the dinner. Thanksgiving is not Thanksgiving if certain things are absent, but these things were not absent. Turkey, cranberries and even plum pudding abounded throughout the camp, which, with the regular rations, made up an extensive menu. Officers helped to make the day home-like by taking part in the preparations for a good meal, in some instances the captains carving the turkey and making themselves generally useful about the kitchens and mess tents.

Up to this time the camp had been without a name. Signs hanging on the electric cars which ran thither read "Camp Young," but this was never the official name, and an order (No. 143) issued from corps headquarters on Thanksgiving Day gave it the name Mackenzie, in honor of General Ranald S. Mackenzie, a graduate of West Point in the class of '62 and an officer of distinction during and after the war of the rebellion.

All the troops ordered to this camp were now on the ground, and corps headquarters had been transferred from Camp Mead and established at Summerville. 15th had at this time 1100 men in camp and the return of those who had recovered from the fever was continually increasing the number. It was hoped that by the time the order should come to move to Cuba the entire command would be effective. Of course there was now and then a discharge granted, but the command as a whole was now rapidly coming to its best. Nov. 29th the regiment, in compliance with the order before noted, moved west 500 feet, increasing the width of the parade ground by that much and obtaining for itself the privilege of pulling up another 8 acres of stumps to make room for its new camp. This was not so unpleasant a task when thirty stalwart fellows with a rope were converted into a stump-puller, but when one stump was pitted against one man with only an unsympathetic mattock to assist him, no encouragement from loud hurrahs, no enthusiasm of numbers, it was without attractions.

All the old tents had been condemned and about this time the new issue began to arrive. These were of improved pattern, those for the officers especially being made much higher than the old, and fitted over substantial frames. Those for the men were arranged in suites of three, the middle one being intended for the accomodation of a stove and the two end ones being floored and furnished for bed-rooms. The objectionable feature of the whole issue was the color of the canvas, it being so dark as to render it impossible to read or write when the tent was closed as it must be in cold weather. Many of the officers met the difficulty by inventing windows of various patterns, ripping or cutting the canvas to suit their convenience.

It soon began to appear that the troops might remain here much longer than was at first expected. Extensive improvements were planned. Water pipes were laid throughout the entire camp; electric lights and telephones were put in; the old mess tents were supplanted by substantial frame halls; permanent kitchens with large brick ovens were built, bath-rooms were erected; the barns roofed and the tents supplied with stoves. It was difficult to see the grim visage of war

through all these appointments and a strong suspicion arose that this was to be something more than a short stop on the way to Cuba. But many were still offering wagers that the regiment would be in Havana before the 1st of January.

General S. S. Sumner had been assigned to the command of the 1st division, 2nd army corps by special order from the adjutant general's office (No. 283) dated Dec. 1st. He reported in camp Dec. 17th, and took command of the division, thus relieving Gen. Gobin who resumed command of the 3rd brigade.

On Monday, Dec. 19th, President McKinley paid a visit to Augusta and the troops at Camp Mackenzie took a prominent part in the ceremonies which had been planned for the day. Orders had been issued for a review of the six infantry regiments, to occur in the forenoon at Augusta. The two brigades left camp about 9 o'clock, marching to the city by way of the road which ran past the division hospital. A rain setting in about the time they reached Augusta lent refreshing variety to the occasion. Passing down Green street the column crossed to Broad and turning north marched by the reviewing stand which had been erected in front of the Dyer building, and where Gen. Young received the review. They returned

by way of Summerville. On this review the 15th won special mention from the reviewing officer and also much favorable comment from the press and general public on account of the splendid physique of its men and its excellent marching. One paper called attention to the "large number of men" turned out by this regiment, when, as a matter of fact, the number was limited by order to so many sets of fours to each command; so the number in the 15th was the same as that of each of its competitors, the seeming superiority in number being due to the size of the individual men and the observance of the proper distance in marching. In the afternoon the entire body of troops again turned out to receive the president whose train was scheduled to arrive at Wheeless Station, a mile away, at 3 o'clock. On this occasion Col. Leonhauser had, for the first and last time, his entire commissioned staff. The two brigades were drawn up on either side of and facing the road. The presidential party in carriages and escorted by the 3rd cavalry passed up the road, the several commands coming to a present arms as the distinguished guests swept by. This momentary ceremony constituted the soldier's part in the great event, he not being permitted even to turn his head to see the procession as it came or went.

The Colonels fell in behind the carriages to follow them to the city and formally meet the president, the companies were marched back to their streets, and the celebrated function was at an end.

Christmas was coming, and rumors were also coming as usual, of the prospective visit of St. Nicholas from the regions of the north. All were hoping that the order to proceed to Cuba would now be deferred until after Dec. 25th. This wish was gratified. Preparations for the annual festival, both at home and abroad, went on unmolested. For the Minnesota boys it was a novel christmas. The snow and ice, which had never before failed, did not come this year. The temperature was mild and the camp had the appearance of a miniature northern town in midsummer. In the open courts and down the company streets had been planted young pine trees, Spanish daggers and other evergreens which were so abundant in the neighboring woods. Elaborate arches and other designs were reared at the entrance to the streets and patterns unique and beautiful were wrought in the sand in front of tents, with berries, pinecones and little green plants. Mess halls were decorated with long, hanging ropes of evergreen. It had been announced that the Auxiliaries and numerous friends at home were

preparing boxes of uniform size and similar content to be sent to each member of the The little tin treasure houses, about 1200 in number and weighing in the aggregate more than 5000 pounds, arrived by special car during the week and were brought to camp in wagons sent for the pur-On Saturday evening the men were called into their company mess halls where these tokens of home affection were distributed, and the delight and merry-making well recalled the Christmas Eves of yore. Christmas day (Sunday) was appropriately observed by religious services held in the mess hall of Co. "E," which was the Church for the winter. The attendance was large and the interest was increased by the presence of a band of colored singers from Paine Institute, a school, for the education of young people of this race, located in Augusta.

The Christmas dinner, like that of Thanksgiving, partook of the nature of a banquet rather than the proverbial hard fare of the soldier. Col. Leonhauser, who was always considerate and disposed to liberality in matters of recreation, had ordered that the passes should be unlimited, and after all had eaten to satiety, a great majority of the men left camp for a visit to the City or a stroll along the roads and through the woods about

Mackenzie. Holiday week was chiefly noticeable for heavy mails and a fine review of all the troops in the camp, held on the 29th (Thursday) by Gen. Young, accompanied by Gen. Sumner.

The end of the year had now come. The last six months had witnessed the organization and development of the regiment from the rough, undisciplined material which gathered from the woods, prairies and towns of Minnesota in early July. It may be safely said that the commanding officer and his associates felt much satisfaction in the results. The camp contained a body of strong, intelligent, well-disciplined soldiers whose record for deportment was exceptionally good, and who had not been found wanting in any place where they had as yet been tested.

The men of the command likewise felt that the six months' experience had been of much value to them. They had learned facts, seen sights, formed friendships with which they would not willingly part.

No one expected at this date to see any actual warfare, yet it is certain that the average man of the command still wanted to see service in a foreign country. The war department had on Dec. 22nd ordered the mustering out of 50,000 volunteers, but it was not

thought that the 15th would be included in the number. The policy of the government to muster out troops as soon as it became evident that they would not be needed was well known. The administration was not deluding these regiments with false hopes. They were kept waiting here simply because the president and secretary of war were kept waiting. But at this time it seemed that there would be need of a considerably larger force in Cuba, and the 15th went on hoping.

Eighteen-ninety-eight went out with song and dance in the mess halls where the men were wont to meet in the evening for such amusement. The day was warm, almost sultry, and a thunderstorm at midnight ushered in the new year and brought a blustering cold New Year's Day. The winter here, as everywhere in the country, proved to be one of extraordinary severity. Ice and snow were no uncommon sights in Camp Mackenzie, but the precipitation was chiefly in the form of rain, and the six weeks following the first of January was a season of frequent and heavy falls. This constantly recurring inclemency caused the suspension of drills and reviews during a great part of the time. The soldiers thus enjoyed much leisure and a very large correspondence was maintained between them and friends at home. But these

were not the only social relations which they cultivated. The opportunity to become acquainted with social conditions in the southland was by no means neglected. Unfortunately, too many were content to become acquainted with the worst elements, seeking the society of negroes of the lowest class, or of whites who were no better; but these were, after all, the exceptions which are always found among a body of soldiers. On the other hand, there was a large proportion of officers and men who mingled freely with the better classes of southern society and were cordially welcomed there. Entertainments in Augusta were almost countless, and the soldier patronage was a necessity to their life. The general business interests of the southern cities lying near military camps had a marked revival during this winter. The easy-going indifference of the business classes was, indeed, a curiosity and even a disgust to these northern stalwarts whose whole lives are best described by the word "hustle." But even the sleepy southerner saw his opportunity to make money off the soldiers and was not always slow in improving it. The churches as much as any institutions in the south were alive to the advantage of having the soldiers among them and, by reason of these social and semi-social relations, many intimacies sprang up between citizen and soldier which were, for the time at least, most pleasing to note. The citizens were certainly not to blame for wanting the soldiers' money, and the soldiers who were such willing victims are the last men who ought to complain. There was occasional complaint on the part of officers that there was here a petty inner circle to which they were not admitted, but the same complaint might be urged, and perhaps by the same parties, in St. Paul or elsewhere, for there is scarcely a city, town or village in the land which does not have its petty aristocracy. It would be untruthful to deny that prejudice existed on both sides. The southerners preferred southern ways and southern soldiers and could not help showing it. The northerners were just as decided in their preferences. A young lady at a review was overheard saying, "Theah is moah music in one bah of Dixie than in the whole of Mahching through Geohgia." This little jest represented a real vein of feeling which ran through even the young generation, and which, when stirred up, was capable of producing trouble. The spirit of the average southerner toward the negro and the issues of the civil war has in it yet much of the old-time injustice and rancor, but he is more averse to discussing these matters than the northerner, and as long as they are left out of the conversation, the southern people are very much like other people—good, bad and predominantly medium.

Early in January the old rifles were exchanged for new Krag-Jorgensens and about the same time an order came forbidding the issue of leaves of absence to officers except in extreme cases and stipulating that if, at the expiration of their leave, the regiment was in a foreign country, they should rejoin at their own expense. Expectation was once more in the saddle. The whole division was still under the general order (173) which directed it to be in readiness to proceed to Havana, and these facts taken together afforded good grounds for believing that within a few days the 15th would go down to the sea. But the days were away and nothing further came. Gen. Sumner ordered the cultivating of athletic sports as a means of diversion and for a time the greatest interest was taken in these Contests of various kinds were arranged for each Saturday and much of the week was consumed in preparation. Baseball, both indoor and outdoor, became a craze. Upon the parade ground and in every company street the big, unwieldy indoor ball was being beaten about to the accompani-

ment of loud shouts and vigorous expletives. A practice march of eight miles into the country was another of the pleasant occurrences of this time. But the volunteer soldier is not long content with merely playing soldier. Life with him has a serious side and when recess is over he feels that he ought to be doing something. Long delay once more brought restlessness. Twelve petitions, circulated among the twelve companies and very generally signed by the enlisted men, prayed for the muster-out of the regiment. These werê forwarded to Washington, where a vast pressure was already being exerted by friends at home to secure the muster-out of this and other commands. There was in this act no slightest thought of disrespect for authority. These same men would have voted on the same day to stay had it been shown that the service needed them. It was simply their way of saying "If there is nothing for us to do we prefer to go home."

They were obedient to the call of duty, as they had ever been, and up to this time no regiment could have exhibited a more manly deference to its officers than had the 15th Minnesota.

The tragedy which next befell came like lightning from a cloudless sky.

## CHAPTER VII.

## MURDER AND MUTINY.

BOUT 4 o'clock Saturday evening, Feb. 4th, Dennis F. O'Connell, a private of Co."F," with his brother James and two other companions, Hogan Olson and Martin Purcell, entered a grocery and saloon at 2040 Broad street, Augusta. The district here is called Harrisburg, being a little beyond the actual limits of the city. The place was kept by one Brown Hadley a well-known character in the neighborhood. Three of the party had been drinking and were boisterous. The fourth, James O'Connell, who was sober, was trying to conduct them to camp without trouble. They called for drinks, which were served by a boy in Hadley's employ, and while at the bar they indulged in some loud talk and laughter, when Hadley, who was in the front room, came through the door and

tried to quiet them. While standing thus on opposite sides of the bar Hadley and Dennis O'Connell became involved in a quarrel. James O'Connell tried to quell the disturbance by telling Hadley to leave the room and he would get his brother out. Dennis used an opprobrious epithet, when Hadley, quickly drawing a revolver, fired, and the soldier, clapping both hands to his breast, fell dead. Hadley passed into the back yard, and mounting a horse made his escape from the city. When the news reached camp it created intense excitement. O'Connell had borne an excellent reputation, among both officers and men. Quiet, good-natured and accommodating, as well as faithful to his duties, he had won the esteem of his fellow soldiers, and was regarded as one of the last men who would get into trouble. It was not even known by many of his intimate associates that he ever became intoxicated. The conclusion was natural, therefore, that this was a cold-blooded murder, and the shock caused by his death was speedily followed by a storm of indignation. As news of the shooting spread through camp men from other companies hurried to "F" street and the incident was discussed with great energy. As is usual on such occasions many immature opinions were expressed. It was declared that the citizens of Augusta were prejudiced against the soldiers; that they cared only for their money; that it was the southern way to shoot a man down upon the slightest excuse, and that this murderer would never be brought to justice.

In less than an hour after the message was telephoned to camp a crowd had gathered in front of Captain Brandt's tent talking loudly of revenge. Col. Leonhauser, who had been out of camp during the day, returned about seven o'clock, and seeing this crowd in "F" street sent an orderly to inquire the cause. Word was brought back that a man of that company had been murdered down town, and at the same time the crowd, now numbering about 300, moved up in front of the colonel's quarters and called for him to address them. The colonel thereupon sent word that he would not publicly address them, but would speak with a few men whom they might choose. Accordingly, a few representatives from the crowd went into the colonel's tent, and, after a brief interview, they were sent back to say that the colonel would do all in his power to see that justice was done, and to order the crowd, in his name, to disperse. Captain Gibson, who was officer of the day, Captain Crossfield, brigade officer of the day, and Lieut. Haley, officer of the

guard, also ordered the men to return to their companies, and, although many exhibited reluctance to obey and some even protested that they would not, they all finally retired. But they were in no mood to remain quiet. Shortly before 9 o'clock a large number again collected, and about 150 proceeding east broke through the guard line and started toward the city with the avowed purpose of capturing the murderer. Officer Haley hearing of this hastened in pursuit, overtaking them when they had gone one-fourth the distance to the Wheeless road. After thrice inducing them to halt and listen to him, all were again prevailed upon to return to camp. Soon after came the call to quarters; the men quietly retired, and an hour later the camp was reposing as peacefully as if it had never known a moment's excitement. When news of the tragedy first reached camp, Major Hand, Captain Brandt and Chaplain Turner hastened down town, and going directly to police headquarters, held a consultation with the constabulary. Later Captains Bond and Spicer, who had been dispatched by Col. Leonhauser, arrived at the same place. The authorities expressed themselves as anxious to apprehend the criminal and apparently set about in good faith to do so. These officers returned to camp about midnight and

reported to Col. Leonhauser whom they found in consultation with several of his captains and lieutenants upon the situation. The opinion was generally expressed by company commanders and others that there would be no further demonstration of the men, at least until the following night. At a late hour the conference broke up and the colonel retired.

Sunday morning (February 5th) broke dark and rainy, a heavy shower falling before mess call, followed by light sprinkles during all the early hours of the day. Breakfast at officers' messes, which usually occurred at 7:15 to 8, was late, and this over, guard mount was somewhat hastily dispatched, on account of the threatening weather. The camp routine went on languidly. Col. Leonhauser had been called the day before by Gen. Sumner for a consultation upon some question connected with the provost service. He left his tent, dismounted, about half past nine for a visit to division headquarters, a mile away. The occurrences of the previous evening were by no means forgotten. O'Connell's death was the main theme of conversation in the camp. Considerable restlessness was noticeable in "F" street, where small groups were seen here and there engaged in earnest conversation, but an officer who visited the

street and talked with the men three times during the morning observed nothing more than the curiosity to hear particulars common to such affairs.

Captain Brandt was preparing to attend the inquest upon O'Connell's body, which was set for eleven o'clock and about twenty of his company had applied for passes to go down town. A rumor, apparently set in circulation by a newsboy, had gone through the camp that Hadley had been arrested and lodged in jail in Augusta. There was some bantering among the men, more or less serious, to begin another movement, and taunts of cowardice from companions and men who had come over from other regiments. At one time a number of men began falling in ranks but, there being no leader and no very definite purpose, they broke up and their more staid fellows looked upon it as merely an instance of that brayado so common among the soldiers. No commissioned officer seems to have noted anything save what might be seen any day in the company streets. At 10 o'clock a heavy down-pour of rain drove everybody under shelter, but the water was quickly absorbed by the sand and in half an hour the streets were again alive with men. At 10:40 a company was once more seen forming in "F" street. The men

were hurrying together with guns and bayonets, most of them coming from the tents near by, but some from other companies. A moment later Peter Foley, a private of Co. "F," who had apparently assumed leadership, gave the order "fours right" and the men, numbering something over a hundred, marched out of the street, flanked and followed by a great crowd of curious spectators. Lieut.-Col. Gotzian, who had left camp on Saturday evening, had not yet returned, and Major Hand was in command. He saw the column as it marched by the officers' tents going south-east, and at once suspected mischief. Judging from the direction they took, he inferred that they had designs upon the ammunition stored in the commissary building, and at once hastened thither, followed by Lieut. Haley, Adjutant Catlin and other officers who happened to be near. He overtook the men just as the order "fours right" was again given to bring them in front of the door. Major Hand commanded "fours left," but the latter order was disregarded and the two ranks halted in an irregular line about fifteen paces from the door of the commissary. Major Hand stepped in front of the men and ordered them to retire. Not a man stirred except Foley, who advanced and made an answer, the purport of

which was that they had come to secure a supply of ball cartridges and go in quest of the man who had killed Dennis O'Connell. At this time Co.'s "B" and "K" were on provost duty in Augusta and with them were Captains Fineout and Leonard and Lieutenants McMahon, Bookstaver, Schroeder and Eckles. Other officers were absent for various reasons, so that the actual number of commissioned officers in camp, including surgeons and chaplain, did not exceed 31.

News of the uprising now flew through the camp and the whole regiment rushed toward the commissary; the great majority of the commissioned and a few of the non-commissioned officers pushed through the crowd and joined Major Hand. Chaplain Turner mounting a box, briefly exhorted the men in ranks, warning them to desist from such a hopeless and dangerous course. Captain Barrows, officer of the day, seeing the commotion, ran up from the guard house to inquire the meaning. He took in the situation and asked Major Hand if he should order up the guard; receiving the assent of that officer he returned with all speed toward the guard house. Captain Nelson came from the hospital, where he had been lying sick for a few days, and began a vigorous exposulation with his men, half commanding, half, exhorting them

to come out of the ranks. Many other officers were similarly engaged and, under these efforts, men were constantly falling out and slipping back to their streets. But others were becoming more determined and crying "don't let them talk you out of it," they pushed up nearer the door. The unarmed crowd pressed densely on every hand, looking with intense interest upon the scene and expressions of sympathy were occasionally heard saying "this or that regiment is with you." Foley shouted "well boys we'll have to go in and take this ammunition,"and a number from the ranks moved out toward the door. All was uproar and confusion. Officers had been arriving and armed men gradually working nearer until the entire space in front of the door was filled with an arguing gesticulation threatening mass. Major Hand, pushing off a man who advanced toward him stepped back and stationed himself near the door and beside him stood several officers. Lieut. Tenney and Corporal Sloane had mounted the steps and placed their backs against the door; the presence there of these officers tended rather to exasperate the mob. One man, Patrick Cahill, climbed upon a box beside the door and struck Sloane with the butt of his rifle. He was then seized, pulled from the steps and handed roughly back through the crowd. Tenney was

also struck and thrown from his place, falling toward the earth but was protected by some of his fellow officers Two other officers were struck, either accidently or purposely, at about this time. Major Hand was thrust aside, his arms being bruised in the struggle. most critical moment in the history of the 15th was at hand. Some of the officers were armed with loaded revolvers but no weapon was shown. Employes of the commissary were seized and pitched out of the way and, applying bayonets and rifle butts to the door, the mutineers burst it open amid cheers from their associates. The leaders now entered, secured the cartridges and distributed them to the men outside and at precisely eleven o'clock the deed was consummated.

Where all this time was the guard for which Captain Barrows had hurried away? There were little over a dozen men available but Lieut. Edwards who was officer of the guard, had collected these and advanced to within about 200 feet of the commissary when they were halted by command of Lieut. Col. Gotzian who had just come into camp; Col. Gotzian remarking to Captain Barrows that they could do no good now.

At the hight of the trouble, Lieut. Catlin had rushed to the telephone and calling up Col. Leonhanser at division headquarters in-

formed him of the uprising. Hurrying forth the colonel came as rapidly as possible to the camp. He was too late! He met the column after it had shouldered arms and marched half way to the Wheeless road. Lifting his hand he bade the men halt. They stopped, and a glance at the ball cartridges was sufficient to advise him that his appeal must now be to reason rather than authority. The colonel and mutinous band were at once surrounded by a great crowd of unarmed men, and officers and all listened quite respectfully while, in tone and manner indicating most intense solicitude, he addressed the law-breakers. He declared that the mission of the soldier is the observance and enforcement of law rather than its violation, the very essence of the mil itary system being obedience to authority. Moreover they were citizens as well as soldiers. He would not believe that any member of the command was here merely for the paltry fifteen dollars and sixty cents he was getting out of it. He was not indifferent to their grievances in this case, having just come, breathless, from a consultation with the general upon the subject and having the assurance that the civil authorities were making a sincere effort to secure the punishment of the criminal. He was a soldier by profession and stood ready to lead them anywhere that duty called but this act, persisted in, would be a vote of no confidence in him. Their deed had already amounted to mutiny, the penalty for which is death. He was older than they old enough to be the father of many of them, and they should be admonished by those of more experience. He closed with an appeal to the older, cooler heads among them to stop and think, as the column was now beginning to move on toward the road, and then gave a peremptory order to all to return to camp.

This address, which appealed at once to their loyalty as soldiers, their patriotism as citizens, their personal regard for their commander and their fear of consequences, well illustrates with what true eloquence a man unaccustomed to public utterance may speak when under the stress of a great crisis. During its delivery a few fell out of ranks and went back to camp but Foley was engaged in distributing cartridges from a carton which he held in his hand, and toward the close some expressions of impatience were heard as the armed men, now 67 in number, shouldered their rifles and resumed their march. Reaching the Wheeless road they turned north and crossed the Augusta road; then, heading toward Summerville, they broke into double time and disappeared among the oak shrubberv.

Proceeding to camp, Colonel Leonhauser now ordered out companies "L" and "H". Putting them under command of Captains Gibson and Bond respectively, and arming them, he gave the whole in charge of Major Hand, ordering him to conduct his command down town by the quickest possible means and endeavor to intercept the mutineers. Marching across the parade ground, Major Hand took possession of two street cars on the nearest track and proceeded to Augusta.

Meanwhile news of the outbreak had been communicated to the surrounding commands. Before meeting the crowd upon the parade ground, Col. Leonhauser had met Adjutant Catlin, whom he dispatched to division headquarters with a report of the uprising. Lieut. Col. Gotzian had already sent Lieut. Tenney to the camp of the 3rd Cavalry with a request for assistance. Before the incorrigibles had fairly gotten out of sight stirring scenes were witnessed in the cavalry camp. The veterans of Santiago had scented the prospect of another "scrap" and were buckling up for the encounter. At the call of the bugle they galloped into line, forming in successive troops. At another bugle blast, with carbines out and ready for action, they dashed across the road, and, deploying on the north side, went scouring through the wood

in pursuit of the mutineers. These heard them as they came crashing through the brush, and knew what it meant. A moment later and the cavalry was upon them. Coming up in three divisions, the pursued were all at once hemmed in on the right, in front and rear, while their left was obstructed by the high board fence which ran along the south side of the arsenal. Lieut. Halev, who had followed with the men and continned entreating them to return, now came forward to say that they had all consented to go back and if not disturbed for a few minutes would return peaceably. Captain Morgan, in command of the cavalry, replied that they must surrender at once and without parley. He then ordered them to fall in line, which they did. They were marched back to their camp under the escort of the cavalry, where their names were taken and their arms deposited, after which they were taken to division headquarters and placed under guard. Foley and Kelley, of Co. "F," and Williams, of Co. "L," were put in irons and confined in cells in the guard house of the 35th Michigan. The non-commissioned officers were sent to the guard house of the 3rd cavalry, and six others to the guard house of the 10th Ohio.

All the commands had been ordered under

arms, and a detachment of cavalry sent down town. An order now came from Gen. Sumner that all soldiers except those on provost duty, should return to camp, and the cavalry in the city, together with the two companies under Major Hand, were charged with its enforcement. They scoured the city, picking up every man in uniform except those who wore the big tin star of the provost, and at 2 o'clock, with the exception of the two companies thus employed, the gates of Camp Mackenzie had closed upon every soldier.

Thus ended the most momentous episode in the annals of the 15th.



## CHAPTER VIII.

## WHO WAS TO BLAME?

N the present chapter the writer proposes to consider, dispassionately, the question of responsibility for the grave breach of discipline just related. And it is first desirable to notice the character of the men who incited and joined in the movement. Here some surprising facts appear. These men were not of the criminal class nor even of the class who had a guard house record. A few of them did not have the reputation of good soldiers, as that term is used in camp, and perhaps three or four might be classed as "Crooks" or "Cranks" but by far the greater number never missed a roll call, nor neglected a duty in the common run of camp life. Many were thoughtless and easily led and not a few were afraid of the ridicule which they would have to face if they failed to join

the venture or if they forsook it after having once started. Foley, the man who passed as leader, was a man of ordinary ability, and no discreditable record. Considered as a whole they represented neither the highest nor the lowest elements of the command. They were men with about an average record and a little less than average intelligence.

Of the magnitude of their offense, as it is regarded in military circles, they had a most inadequate idea. Doubtless they had all heard the articles of war read by some of their officers and had listened as men usually listen to a perfunctory performance. They knew it was their duty to obey their officers, but hardly one in ten of the men who fell in line that morning could have defined the word mutiny or named the penalty for the insubordination of which they were finally guilty. They indeed set out with no deliberate purpose to disobey their officers. This disobedience, although in the end quite positive, was only incidental to their main undertaking. The worst of them would have avoided any disrespectful deportment toward their officers could they have slipped by and obtained the ammunition without it. They were thinking of the nurder and feeling that their act, although not regular, was not monstrous and their animus toward the miserable slaver of

one of their comrades, is easily understood and easily excused. It cannot for a moment be maintained that their misdeed should be overlooked on account of such facts, but it would be manifest injustice to them to leave these extenuating considerations out of the account. One other fact, which bears alike upon the case of the men and the officers, deserves notice, and that is the impossibility of estimating the real size of the movement. From the crowds which had gathered the previous evening, and from the loose declarations which they had heard throughout the camp, these men might have easily believed that, when they had once made a determined effort, they would be backed by almost the entire regiment and even by other regiments in camp, and it has never yet been determined, nor cani't ever be, just how many did secretly sympathize with them, or how many might have taken their side had a conflict between officers and men occurred.

But the responsibility of the officers in this case is the question which has precipitated a wide and bitter discussion in army circles and throughout the state from which this regiment came. In an order subsequently issued by General Young, an account of which will be given in its appropriate place, after suggesting that some of the men concerned in this mutiny ought to have been shot, he went on to speak of the offices as follows:

"The deplorable inefficiency, incapacity, weakness and timidity exhibited by nearly all those commissioned officers present at the disgraceful and violent outbreak in the camp of the 15th Minnesota Infantry on February 4th and 5th, 1899, is incredible except on the abundant sworn testimony of said officers themselves, which testimony pervades the records of all the cases promulgated in paragraph I. Every officer present with the regiment including all the field officers must have known the night of the 4th that a mutiny had actually broken out in camp that evening, and although checked for the time being the men were still in an excited and dangerous mood. Under such conditions each such officer should have armed himself and kept up a vigilant and unremitting watch on the movements, behavior and temper of his men. But instead of this and despite the whole night of warning, when the outbreak was renewed next morning only two or three of the officers who observed it were armed, no ammunition had been issued to the guard, nor had the guard been strengthened, and although the armed mutineers numbered not more than about one hundred men and were

without ammunition, yet of ten or twelve commissioned officers present not one opposed any effective force to the attack on the ammunition store house, nor, indeed, at any other time. These ten or twelve officers stood there expostulating, exhorting, pleading, but not one attempted to shoot or fell the two or three leading men who only were actually breaking in the store house door, and this attack succeeding and the men having taken all the ball cartridges they desired, all authority in the camp seemed paralyzed with fear and the armed squad(for many had fallen away) was permitted to march out of camp without the least show of resistance and go on its murderous and defiant errand. These are merely the salient facts, but these courtmartial records are filled with astonishing details of incapacity on the part of the officers, details only incidentally elicited, too, for no commissioned officer was by the responsible officer brought to trial. These sworn details are, it is thought, enough to dismiss a number of the officers of the regiment, and in two cases it is believed, a court-martial would have awarded the extreme penalty of the law. Finally the order from superior authority requiring the immediate muster out of this regiment, is all that precludes the bringing before a court martial those officers

who during the mutinous outbreak, proved themselves thus recreant and it is with profound regret that the corps commander finds himself thus constrained to punish enlisted men while through circumstances beyond his control, certain officers unworthy of the comcommissions they hold are permitted to go home with a clean record."

According to this order, it was the opinion of Gen. Young that,

1st. General Sumner, the responsible officer referred to, had failed to do his duty in not court-martialing some of the commissioned officers.

2d. The court-martial had failed to do its duty in not sentencing some of the men to be shot.

3d. The officers should have attempted to knock or shoot down the men advancing upon the store house.

4th. Some of the officers, he does not say who, should be shot.

5th. Nearly all the officers, he does not say who are excepted, exhibited deplorable inefficiency, incapacity, weakness and timidity.

General Young's opinion was met by the opinion of the condemned officers and others, who believed him to be extreme, undiscriminating and untruthful, both in statement of fact and in imputation. They felt that such

censure, based confessedly upon incidental evidence where they were given no opportunity to be heard in their own behalf, was highly unjust, and to rest under such charges and insinuations from an official source with no privilege of reply seemed very little like bearing a "clean record."

These different views deserve candid consideration. It had never before been intimated to the officers of the 15th that they were generally inferior to the officers of other volunteer commands. Ás far as could be seen, they were at least an average. It is difficult to believe that these captains and lieutenants, most of them middle-aged, experienced men of affairs, occupying prominent positions and held in high esteem at home, known to be men of intelligence and always supposed to be men of courage, and having a reasonably good knowledge of military affairs, were really a band of incapable, timid weaklings. It is impossible to give character sketches of the line officers, but no one who knew them would believe them worthy - of a general charge of inefficiency and incapacity. In accordance with the plan of this narrative, something more personal will be said in this chapter of the field and staff officers concerned.

F. M. Catlin, regimental adjutant, was a

man in mid-life, with a well-disciplined mind and large experience with men and business affairs. In his profession he was much inclined to misanthropy and occasionally talked loudly of the need of severer discipline, but his practice was better than his theory, and in both official and social relations he was considerate and even generous. The exacting duties of his office were met with commendable fidelity. The part which he took in this particular instance has already been told.

Paul H. Gotzian, lieutenant-colonel, began his career as an officer of the 15th with a fidelity to duty and an evident enjoyment in his work which promised an excellent record. This promise was doomed to a painful disappointment. With natural abilities social powers which might have made him the most popular officer in the regiment, he united a coarseness of manners, which compromised the better elements of his nature. Loving to exercise authority and apparently unaccustomed to its restraints, he was domineering when he could command and sullen when he had to obey. To these unfortunate traits were added the capricious effects of habitual intoxication. All this transformed what ought have been popularity into contempt

and left him with little influence. He reached the scene of action on this occasion about the time the store house was broken in, but took no prominent part beyond what has been related.

D. H. Hand, senior major, who at the time of this outbreak was in the position of greatest responsibility, was the very man, who next to the colonel, would have been selected to meet such a crisis. He seemed to possess all the instincts and temperament of the soldier. He was quiet, composed, observing and thoughtful; quick to recognize a situation and prompt to find an expedient. He was familiar with tactics and regulations and instant to detect and punish violations of discipline. He also possessed peculiar knowledge of the troublesome elements in camp, having been the police officer for many months. It is not surprising that a superior officer should have regarded the camp safe when he was in command. His failure to successfully meet this emergency was a little surprising to his friends.

The fact is, Major Hand and other officers with him made the mistake of believing that this uprising would be suppressed without any show of force; he further believed that a resort to force was not only unnecessary but in danger of defeating the very object

in view. When he became convinced of this mistake it was too late to correct it. One who saw the conditions as they actually existed can readily understand this statement. When the men first appeared at the door of the commissary the officers who met them there were so impressed with the foolishness of their proposition that it seemed to them very little reasoning would suffice to convince them of its futility. Moreover the men themselves hesitated about their project and, at the instance of their officers, many did fall away. But meanwhile the officers and men, almost imperceptibly, became so mingled and all so densely surrounded by innocent on-lookers, that the firing of a shot was in danger of killing three friends, where it might kill one enemy. To a man who viewed the spectacle at the distance of two miles and on paper, it might seem easy to shoot the "two or three leading men who were breaking in the store house door," but to one who was on the ground and saw things as they were, such an attempt would have savored of lunacy.

Had Major Hand at first called about him such officers as Captains Crossfield, Bond, Brandt and Gilmore and Lieutenants Catlin and Haley, who should have ranged themselves in front of the door and drawn their revolvers, it is quite probable that the movement upon the store house would have been frustrated. He may have made a mistake in not doing so; opinions may justly differ here; but in any event it is difficult to censure them because they did not instantly think of shooting men when they thought there was no necessity for it.

In making up our estimate of the conduct of these officers it is to be remembered that they were not facing a gang of foreign outlaws who had come to blow open their safes and carry off their treasure. They were looking into the eyes of men whom they had respected as fellow citizens and fellow soldiers; they probably saw in those ranks young men whom they had known from childhood; boys who had been given into their care as fathers, and whose parents were their neighbors and life-long friends, and to expect them to thrust loaded revolvers into the faces of those men, is to expect an act neither brave nor humane. Had Major Hand been wise enough to foresee that milder measures would fail, had he been skillful enough to shoot down three or four leaders without endangering the lives of scores of innocent men, and had he done this without bringing about a bloody riot in which hundreds would have become involved and indiscriminate slaughter resulted, his course might have met the approval of this reviewing officer; but it is yet to be proven that, everything considered, his course was not the most fortunate that could have been adopted. Maybe it were better, after making a positive and vigorous protest and finding the odds against them, to permit these men to take the ammunition, trusting to other means, which were known to be available to arrest the results, than to ask volunteer officers to shoot down their men at the imminent risk of a vastly greater calamity.

This view of the case may not be military and to one who knows only military law it may be rank heresy, but military law is no deity in this country, nor do those who make the laws purpose that it shall ever become such, and if the behests of mercy and even common sense are to go unheeded to gratify the traditional sanctity of militarism, the people are going to insist on less militarism and more common sense. Here we must leave the store-house incident to the judgment of the reader with the final remark that one who knew the officers of the 15th would not be easily convinced that they would ever be guilty of cowardice.

H. A. Leonhauser, Colonel, was a graduate of West Point in the class of '81 and a captain in the regular army, his regiment being the 25th Infantry (colored). His knowledge of matters pertaining to his profession was remarkably full and accurate. Possessing a memory which retained surprisingly the details of army regulations and military history, the vast minutiae of camp life were ever at his command. He knew well the place and duties of each of his subordinates and was quick to observe the character of his work. He did not create the impression of great breadth or much reserve force, all his powers being immediately in hand and his tension high. He was occasionally dominated by a gust of ill-temper, indulging in strong invective and making dire threats, but no harm resulted, his second thought being better than his first; and having started out to apply drastic measures to some remiss officer he usually ended by administering a mild rebuke. In social life he was approachable. He had a good supply of general information and in perception and wit he was frequently brilliant. He was scrupulous in matters pertaining to diet and health.

In his administration he was most alert and provident. He was first to foresee approaching difficulties, and the measures which he employed to provide against them at times seemed quite superfluous. He was also

painstaking and laborious: He cared little for public ceremony and little for society; took little recreation, and while other officers were attending public functions and receiving fulsome newspaper notices, Leonhauser was in his tent personally attending to his correspondence or directing the affairs of the camp. That such an officer should have happened to be absent from camp on two successive days at the time of greatest need seems like the work of an evil genius.

Colonel Leonhauser made a mistake on Saturday night in not going out and addressing the men upon their request, for in spite of his sparing association with the enlisted men he was popular with them, and had he at that time delivered substantially the speech which he did the next day upon the parade ground, it would doubtless have been more effective. But he is not to be blamed for refusing to do so, for such acts are not regarded as military, and although Colonel Leonhauser had a very adequate conception of the difference between a volunteer and a regular command, the audience which he gave to their representatives and the promises which he made them seemed sufficient. When he met the armed men on the parade ground next day the speech was too late, but it was his only weapon.

The suggestion that has been somewhere made that he should have pulled out his revolver and if necessary, made an attack on 67 armed men is too ridiculous to need more than a mention.

General Young's statement that after the attack on the store house had succeeded "All authority in the camp seemed paralyzed with fear and the armed squad was permitted to march out of camp and go on its murderous and defiant errand" is too partial to be true or just. The men had barely passed guard limits when Colonel Leonhauser met them, and as quickly as possible after they refused to obey him he armed two companies and sent them to coerce obedience. What more could he or any other officer have done? If no other precautions had been taken to arrest the mutineers these two companies would probably have overtaken or intercepted them and brought them back. This fact does not seem to have had sufficient recognition anywhere in the discussion. The failure of Colonel Leonhauser, Major Hand and all other officers concerned was not after the event: not on the parade ground, nor even before the store house door; but at the very beginning of the movement in the company streets. Here the uprising might have been nipped in the bud, and here there seems to be some

legitimate ground for criticism. Colonel Leonhauser was away to be sure, but he would not have gone away had he suspected any need of his presence. The vigilance which he had displayed the night before and which was characteristic of him played him false for a single hour and that hour was fatal. The morning was unfavorable for going out; the conduct of the men seemed much as usual; it was daylight and the failures of the night before created a presumption that the mob stage was past, but, in spite of it all, it is hard to find an excuse for so general a failure to observe the beginning of this concerted action. General Young's suggestion of insufficient vigilance seems well taken. This is particularly true of Captain Brandt whose deportment amounted to heedlessness. He afterwards admitted that Foley had declared to him his purpose to lead a company down town for some kind of a demonstration: that he had forbidden his doing so, and thereafter supposed that Foley would not do it. Captain Brandt did not report this threat to his superiors.

It is not the mission of this chapter to condone any real offense. That there was one or more officers who exhibited incapacity on this occasion is not denied. That those in the most responsible positions were worthy of criticism for putting too great confidence in their men and remitting their watchfulness is readily admitted. That every officer of the command regarded the episode as a humiliation and reproach is true; but, when all the facts are considered, the order of General Young appears as an intemperate diatribe against everybody concerned (except himself), lacking in discrimination, accuracy of information and candor of statement.

It has been thought that this order was not wholly innocent of "army politics." General Sumner who was alluded to as the "responsible officer," though temporarily subordinate to General Young, was really his ranking officer in the regular army, and report said there existed a more than friendly rivalry between the two commanders and Colonel Young would not slight a good opportunity to discredit Colonel Sumner.

This gossip may or may not be true; but it is certainly true that General Sumner and some other most excellent regular officers did not share General Young's views in this case. General Young evidently outranked General Sumner several points in fondness for "shooting", at least in times of peace. The extreme culpability of these men of the 15th and the "deplorable inefficiency, incapacity, weakness, timidity, fear and recreancy"

of its officers which had so "astounded" General Young did not apparently make the same impression upon General Sumner, although both before and after the occurrence he visited the regiment much more frequently than did General Young.

# CHAPTER IX.

### THE WAR IS OVER.

HE days immediately succeeding February 5th were cheerless ones for the 15th Minnesota. The skies wore a gloom and the clouds wept repeatedly over the luckless camp as if in sympathy with the spirits of its inhabitants. The feeling of regret was universal and there was a vague dread of what yet might be. The regiment was technically under arrest, no going-out or coming-in being permitted except in cases of manifest necessity, and then only under most rigid restrictions. The entire camp was for a few days limited in its intercourse with the outside world. Officers and men alike were forbidden to leave camp limits unless some special duty demanded it. This measure was doubtless adopted to avoid disturbances which the discussion of recent oc-

currences might stir up between soldiers and citizens. It had a speedy effect upon the Augustans. The absence of that large display of uniforms which was a daily spectacle at the business counters, hotel tables and places of amusement was so perceptible that the citizens at once felt lonesome and sent delegations to division headquarters to protest the peaceable disposition of the town folks and pray for the removal of the embargo. An order removing these general restrictions was issued on the 8th. A few days later the arms which had been taken from the 15th were restored and a week after the uprising the entire camp had relapsed into its usual round.

On the 9th the 50 men who had been confined at division headquarters were brought back to the regimental camp under guard of Co. "E" with loaded rifles. A large mess tent was pitched just north of the guard house and there these prisoners were placed under special restrictions. Their experience since their confident departure on Sunday morning had been well calculated to produce the dejection which was now visible in every face. After being captured, disarmed and marched away in disgrace, as related, they had been located on the hillside near the car line. There they were furnished with only the small

shelter tents, and the violent rains beat and washed through their camp, soaking their clothing, and this was succeeded by a cold wind which swept the barren hillside and chilled them to the bone. They were all prepared to admit that they were now full four days wiser than when they went away. Immediately after the suppression of the outbreak Gen, Sumner ordered Col, Leonhauser to bring charges against the offending parties. It was evidently no light duty. The men who had been arrested with arms in their hands were not the only guilty ones. There were many men at large in the camp, and in the camps of other regiments as well, who had been in sympathy with the movement, and not a few had openly encouraged it while lacking the manliness to take an active hand in the adventure. Quite a number had appeared in the ranks of the mutineers who had been induced by the persuasion or the commands of their officers to withdraw, and it was suspected that one or two had actively incited and even acted as leaders of the movement, who, through sheer cowardice, had abandoned it at the last moment. Moreover among the 67 men arrested there were some, of course, far more blameworthy than others, and all these facts must be considered in deciding who should be brought to trial. For several days Col. Leonhauser was laboriously engaged in making these investigations.

Meanwhile matters in camp were going on as of old. The incident was little thought of: jokes were renewed about the mess tables, base ball upon the parade grounds, drills and parades went on and southern cousins, of all colors, came and went as before. The 1st Maryland had received mustering-out orders, but there had been no intimations as to what was to become of the 15th. There had, indeed, been some misgivings that the late unpleasantness might exert an unfavorable influence upon the future of the entire command, and there was naturally a little curiosity to know how it was regarded in army circles, but with the exception of a few minor officials, the officers of surrounding regiments and the camp authorities in general apparently preserved the same high opinion of the regiment as heretofore.

On February 11th an order (No. 40) was issued for a general court-martial to meet at headquarters of the 1st Division on February 14th. The main business of this court was to try the prisoners engaged in the uprising of February 5th. The detail was as follows: Lieut. Col. Edward O. Dana - 10th O., Pres. Major O'Brien Atkinson - 35th Mich.

Capt. Hazen B. Norton - 10th O. Capt. E. D. Shurmer - - 10th O. Capt. L. K. Emmerson - - 10th O. Capt. N. P. Simpson - - 35th Mich. Capt. Gilmore G. Scranton - 35th Mich. Capt. Wm. G. Fleischhauer - 35th Mich. 1st Lieut. J. H. Caunter - - 10th O. 1st Lieut. J. L. Kramer - - 35th Mich. 1st Lieut. H. A. Ripley - 35th Mich. 1st Lieut. G. H. White - - 35th Mich. Capt. Albert S. McCabe, 35th Mich., Judge Advocate.

This court met on Thursday, the 16th, and proceeded to the trial of Peter Foley. Lieut. B. S. Bennett, of Co. "F," acted as attorney for Foley. The prisoner was charged with conduct to the prejudice of good order and military discipline, and with the violation of the 22nd article of war which forbids inciting or joining in a mutiny. The testimony of Major Hand, Captain Crossfield, Lieut. Haley, Captain Brandt and other officers was conclusive against the prisoner and the defense had little to stand upon, save technical motions and mitigating circumstances. These, in this as in all the subsequent cases, were skillfully employed by Lieut. Bennett. The court freely used its prerogative here and in the following trials to enter upon a

series of questions and cross-questions, many of which had little relevancy to the case in hand. The effect of this action of the court was to virtually put some of the officers on trial without giving them the privilege of introducing testimony in their own behalf, and this record, unmodified, was destined to go before the reviewing officer and form the basis of Gen. Young's subsequent strictures.

The beginning of the trials had revived interest in the subject of the uprising, for the fact that 67 men were in the guard house, some of them in chains and cells, could not be wholly forgotten, and there had been no little anxiety among their friends in the regiment and at home to know what would be done with them. When, therefore, the trial of Foley was concluded there was much curiosity to know the result. This, however, was kept rigidly secret while the court proceeded with the trial of other cases. Meanwhile events of the greatest moment were occurring in the camps of other regiments. The 1st Maryland was to be mustered out on March 1st. Orders had arrived for the mustering-out of the 8th and 13th Penn, and the day of their departure had been fixed for March 7th and 11th respectively. This would break up both the brigades and leave only the 10th Ohio, 35th Mich, and 15th Minn,

The optimists still clung to the hope that these three fine young commands would now be brigaded together and given yet the opportunity to win their spurs in some kind of foreign service. Twas a vain conceit. On Monday, February 20th, word went forth from Washington that the war department had decided upon the muster out of all volunteers in this country, and two days later the official order came which sealed the fate of the 15th. And now every voice caught up the new note: "going home! going home!" All other ambitions were laid down, and visions of glad days ahead made the camp one vast scene of merriment and song. No rightminded man cared to see these demonstrations suppressed. It was the thing most natural to the hour and as creditable as it was natural.

War is the abnormal condition. Peace is the proper thing and home is the proper place for men, and when the security and happiness of home no longer require that a man should live a one-sided and unnatural life in field and camp, he has a right to shout.

"I am not sorry that I enlisted; I am sorry we did not get into active service; but I am glad we are going home," are the three sentences which expressed the feelings of these men and, no doubt, a hundred thousand others who, like them, never passed beyond the limits of the United States. The 4th of July, the day the 15th was ordered into the service and the 22nd of February, the day it was ordered out, are the two patriotic pillars which mark the cradle and the grave of many a military longing, but these two days stand for peace even more than for war, and military ambitions may well afford to die in the interest of peace. And now questions of tearful import began to agitate many a manly bosom.

The saddle-bags, what was to be done with them? The kahki uniforms not yet worn? the corps badges? The brave equipage which was going to strike such terror to Spanish hearts and be borne back home all covered with unwritten records of adventure and valor? These were problems which called for serious jocularity about the mess tables.

Mustering out a regiment of United States volunteers is no light work. The examining, reviewing, settling accounts, making rolls, turning in property, making out discharges and meeting like requirements is something to be dreaded.

There must be virtually a little history written of the services and business relations of each man of the command. Roll after roll to the number of five or six must be made out in prescribed form, on prescribed paper,

with prescribed ink. All must be subjected to the most rigid scrutiny and a part of the pay due to the company commanders and other officers responsible for property is withheld by the government until their accounts have all been satisfactorily rendered. An authorized agent of the government, called the mustering officer, is set over the regiment to see that every exaction is respected, and a day is fixed when all must be completed. The bulk of this work falls on the captains of companies, the quartermaster's department and the adjutant's office. March 1st, the mustering officer, Lieut. E. W. Evans, late Lieut. Col. of the 1st Maryland, appeared and designated March 27th as the day for mustering out. The final work now began in earnest. Drills were suspended except such as were deemed necessary for heathful exercise, and the men generally settled down to quiet and patient waiting for the end. Colonel Leonhauser and Adjutant Catlin were both confined to the hospital for a few days and there were, among officers and men, a few other cases of temporary illness, but the general health of the command was the best it had ever been. and in all the history of the 15th the men had not been so brawny and fat, the cooking so good, the kitchens so tidy, the camp so neat, the effective body so large and everything working so efficiently and smoothly as to-day. The month of March sustained its reputation quite well for blustering weather, but there were many pleasant days and on the 12th the plum and peach trees were blooming beautifully about Augusta.

The trial of the men arrested for mutiny which, as noted, began on the 16th continued through three weeks, during which time nine who had been selected as ringleaders were brought to trial. The last man tried was Herbert Johnson, of Co. "F", who, at the time of the uprising, was provost sergeant. It was reported that he had encouraged the demonstration both Saturday night and Sunday morning. He was therefore charged with exciting a mutiny. In addition to this, being an officer, he was charged with a failure to "use his utmost endeavor" to suppress the uprising. Lieut. Bennett shrewdly moved to strike out the first charge as being too general. The court sustained this motion, as it had in some of the former cases. Sergeant Johnson was thus tried on the single charge of failure to perform his duty. All the other men, including several non-commissioned officers, were now, after a month's confinement, released and returned to their companies. Their rejoicing was great, for, since the announcement that the regiment was to be mustered out, many a poor fellow had been asking even more anxiously than before, "what is to become of me?"

The trials were now ended, but as yet no whisper of the result had been heard. The whole record must go to Gen. Young for review before any action could be promulgated. Gen. Young's movements in the case were extremely deliberate and much impatience arose over the long delay, but when it finally came it was sufficiently interesting to compensate for all. Sunday, March 19th, was another never-to-be-forgotten day in the history of the 15th. Like the Sunday of six weeks before, it was preceded by a storm whose violence was prophetic of the other storm which was approaching. A fall of rain, accompanied by heavy wind and thunder, visited the camp Saturday night and at times the tents seemed in imminent danger of being lifted and carried away. A mess hall in the vacated camp of the 13th Penn., standing near the line of the 15th, was torn up by a bolt of lightning, which seemed to vault through every tent in camp, and the peal of thunder which succeeded was more startling than a call to arms. Sunday was a cold day. A high west wind caused much temporary discomfort, but a colder wave was coming when at retreat the entire command was called to hear the long-awaited order of Gen. Young in the mutiny cases. The court-martial had convicted 8 of the 9 men tried and sentenced them "to be dishonorably discharged from the service of the United States; to forfeit to the United States all pay and allowances due them, and to be confined at hard labor" for terms as follows:

Patrick Cahill	-		-		-		-		6 years.
Peter Foley -		-		-		-		-	5 years.
James Kelley	-		-		-		-		5 years.
William Williams		-		-		-		-	5 years.
Robert Smith	-		-		-		-		1 year.
Oliver Robidoux		-		-		-		-	1 year.
Fred Wagner	-		-		-		-		1 year.
Theodore Haynes		-		-		-		6	months.

In each case the reviewing officer remarked upon the inadequacy of the penalty. In one case, that of Patrick Cahill, who was convicted of striking both a commissioned and non-commissioned officer, the court was severely criticised for not imposing the "extreme penalty" (death). After designating St Francis Barracks, Florida, as the place of confinement for the prisoners, the order proceeded to administer to the officers the reprimand which has been quoted in Chapter VIII. No mention was made of the case of

Sergeant Johnson, and the fact that he was neither sentenced nor released was a matter of much surprise and curiosity. It afterward developed that the court-martial had pronounced him not guilty, but Gen. Young, not being satisfied with this action, had returned the case to the court with instructions to revise its findings. This the court declined to do, and persisted in its determination, although Gen. Young returned the case twice more. Sergeant Johnson was kept in confinement until mustering-out day, when he was permitted to return to the regiment.

The effect of this order upon the officers of the regiment has already been indicated. It came as a great surprise and the surprise was succeeded by great indignation. Col. Leonhauser at once made application for a court of inquiry and his example was followed by several of his subordinates. But it now lacked only a week of the date fixed for mustering out, and the time was insufficient for such an investigation. Gen. Young telegraphed the war department requesting that the muster-out of these officers be postponed until time could be had for the inquiry, but on the following Friday an order was received from Adj. Gen. Corbin denying the request of Gen. Young and refusing to grant a court in the case of the volunteer officers. In the same order Gen. Young was advised that if Col. Leonhauser, as an officer in the regular army, insisted on an inquiry he (Gen. Young) was authorized to convene a court for the purpose. So far as the volunteer officers were concerned this closed the incident. Of Col. Leonhauser we shall see more in a final chapter.

Preparations for the last day were now hastening. The two Pennsylvania regiments had gone according to the appointed schedule, and the three then remaining, had been placed temporarily under command of General Chambers McKibben, General Sumner and General Gobin having already been mustered out.

On the 23rd, the 10th Ohio received its discharge and departed for its home in the Imperial Buckeye state. All the cherished neighbors save the 35th were gone, and a lone-some silence was settling down upon the old camp, which only intensified the desire to be away. But the camp was too busy to indulge long in reflections sentimental, for not a moment must be lost when the breaking up should come. Railroad ticket agents, valise peddlers and photographers were now the most important men in camp, and clothing stores the most popular institutions down town; for in spite of the reflections which some soldiers

had cast on the mercenary nature of southern courtesy, officers and men were now vying with each other to see who could give the Augustans the most money. Spring suits by the hundred were being bought in which to make the trip to Minnesota, where fur overcoats were still a comfortable commodity. Souvenir peddlers galore, crowds of men listening to the oration of a ticket man upon a box, lofty wagon-loads of trunks and valises driving down the streets, and cameras planted everywhere about the camp, opening fire upon squads, companies, messes, and everything in sight, were the spectacles of the hour.

On Thursday afternoon Colonel Leonhauser was called out upon the parade ground where he was surprised and, for a moment, alarmed to see the entire regiment drawn up in a hollow square, and the officers, with a goodly number of citizen friends, standing in a group by themselves as spectators of the scene. When the Colonel had suffered himself to be led into the court, Sergeant Stone advanced and in a most fitting address presented him with a magnificent sword and casket, the gift of the enlisted men of his command.

On the following Sunday morning, Captain Crossfield performed a like office for the commissioned officers, presenting him with an elegant gold watch. These two articles, costing together something over \$400, represented also much of genuine admiration for Colonel Leonhauser as a soldier and a friend.

All government property had now been turned in except the tents. Even the tin plates, knives, forks and big coffee cups of the men had been carefully counted and turned over to "Uncle Sam". Since Thursday evening the men had been fed by contract in one of the vacant tents of the 13th Pennsylvania. One last impressive meeting was held at 2 o'clock Sunday afternoon on the parade ground just back of headquarters, when the friends of the twenty men who had died in the service met for a memorial observance. In addition to the large number of soldiers present, there was also an attendance of citizens surrounding the congregation which brought reminders of the old days when meetings were held in the open air at Camp Ramsey. Memoirs of the men who had died in their companies were presented by Captains Crossfield and Nelson, Lieut. McMahon, Musician Gleason, Corporal Cook and Sergeants Moberly and . Faulkner. The band of the 35th Michigan supplied the music, the instruments of the 15th having been surrendered. The service closed with an address by the chaplain upon the significance of these deaths and the achievements of the Spanish-American war.

Sunday night was sultry. Monday morning. March 27th, came clear and calm and the 15th arose promptly to the notes of its last reveille. Breakfast over, the pay wagon soon drove upon the grounds. In long happy files the companies passed through mess halls, where each man's pay was counted out to him and his discharge placed in his hands. Then passing through another hall he laid down a part of the money for a railroad ticket, and, picking up his effects, the new citizen hurried away to Augusta. There boarding the trains 1155 men turned glad faces toward the North Star State, where almost nine months ago they had joined hands to form the Fifteenth Minnesota Volunteer Infantry.



# CHAPTER X.

### ECHOES.

THE 15th Minnesota was no more, but it had died a natural death. All intimamations that its muster-out was hastened by any of its fortunes are groundless. It went out just as all the other regiments and in its regular order. It was the youngest but one of the regiments at Camp Mackenzie and it was the last but one mustered out, the 35th Michigan following it four days later. But "after the battle of arms comes the battle of history." This story would be incomplete without an account of two subsequent courts which resulted from the tragedy of February 4th and 5th.

Immediately after being relieved from duty as colonel of volunteers, Captain Leonhauser proceeded to Washington, where he renewed his application for a court of inquiry to investigate his conduct on that occasion. March 31st an order (No. 75) was issued from the war department granting the request and designating St. Paul in the Department of Dakota as the place where such investigation should be conducted. This court was composed wholly of regular army officers, as follows:

Brig. Gen. A. C. M. Pennington, President; Lieut.-Col. Edward Hunter, Recorder; Lieut.-Col. A. L. Wagner; Lieut.-Col. Theodore Wint.

The sessions began April 10th in the Armory Building on Robert street. Col. Leonhauser was present in person and had as his legal advisers Adjutant Catlin and Captain Crossfield. Gen. Young, who was not present, was represented by Lieut. Col Wm. P. Duvall, who had been his chief ordnance officer and acting Judge Advocate at the time of the mutiny. Col. Duvall was noted for intellectual keenness and extensive information in military affairs. He had been Captain Leonhauser's tutor during the latter's cadet days at West Point, but it soon became evident that this fact was not going to bias him in favor of his former pupil as against his late chief. In truth it seems that Col. Duvall's interest in this case was more than that of an attorney or a personal friend. It

was understood that the court-martial records in the now famous mutiny trials had been first referred to him for an opinion, and after an examination, he had made a report which led to the caustic criticisms of Gen. Young. His own reputation for good judgment and fair dealing was therefore at stake, and he might be depended on to make a hard fight for what was really his own offspring.

By this time the differences over General Young's order had assumed the nature of a contest between the State of Minnesota and the war department. The legislature of the state had just passed a concurrent resolution condemning Gen. Young's censure of the officers without a hearing and requesting the president and war department to expunge it from the records. The newspapers of Minnesota were conducting a vigorous defense of Col. Leonhauser and his officers, while on the other hand, reports were circulated from Washington that inside the war department he and Major Hand were regarded as thoroughly incompetent. It was manifest that this investigation would throw light upon the whole question and probably re-write some important history. The public awaited the outcome of the proceedings, which were held in secret, with decided interest.

The court went into the matter very thor-

oughly, calling witnesses from several army posts; from Pennsylvania, Ohio, Washington City, Augusta and many towns in Minnesota. Most of those who had given evidence before the court-martial at Augusta were recalled and repeated their testimony with many amplifications, while a large list of new witnesses was introduced, particularly in the interest of General Young. The records of the trials at Camp Mackenzie were produced by Col. Duvall, and while they were not admitted as evidence, he was permitted to read them as a part of his final argument. Almost three weeks were occupied by these proceedings, the fight between opposing counsel being maintained with much spirit. The court then took the evidence under advisement and adjourned to Washington, while the public, particularly Col. Leonhauser, who had been under a severe strain for six weeks, settled down to another harrowing season of waiting. Two months more passed when silence was at last broken, and July 6th the war department published its findings.

Col. Leonhauser had won! The report was a lengthy document, recounting the history of the uprising and its attendant circumstances and making occasional references to other officers, but only such as had a bearing

upon the case of the one man on trial. The conclusion in full was as follows:

"The court is of the opinion that Capt. H. A. Leonhauser, Twenty-fifth United States Infantry (late colonel Fifteenth Minnesota Volunteer Infantry), was justified in assuming on the night of February 4th, 1899, that there was no danger of further trouble, the full gravity of certain occurrences not having been reported to him by officers having knowledge of the same and the camp having quieted down; that on the following morning, Feb. 5th, the camp being quiet, he was not only justified in going to division headquarters, but that it was his duty to do so, in obedience to orders of his division commander; that he was justified, under the circumstances, in going afoot and unarmed; that when he encountered the mutineers he made every effort possible, under the circumstances, to suppress the mutiny, except that he failed to put the loyalty of the men to a practical test by ordering them to arrest the ringleader, who was engaged in distributing cartridges, and that the measures subsequently taken by him were energetic and judicious. The court is, therefore, of the opinion that the rebuke administered to and the strictures passed upon certain officers of the Fifteenth Minnesota Infantry in general orders No. 22, March 16, 1899, from the headquarters of the second army corps cannot be justly held to apply to or to be merited by Capt. H. A. Leonhauser."

This was published in General Orders No.

127, Adjutant General's office, and approved by Secretary Alger. It was in effect a complete vindication of Col. Leonhauser; and his old command, together with a large circle of outside friends, rejoiced that justice had at last been done him and his military record once more stood unblemished. It is still a source of regret that this court, which was so conversant with all the facts, could not also promulgate a specific opinion in the case of the volunteer officers, for, with the slightest exceptions, they were equally entitled to exoneration; and simple justice to them as a body demands that the resolution of the Minnesota Legislature should yet prevail and the misstatements of Gen. Young be blotted out.

What of Brown Hadley, the miscreant whose murderous deed had brought such far-reaching results? After making his escape, as has been related, he lurked in hiding a short distance in the country, where he was able to communicate with his friends, and through them, with an attorney. On Sunday evening his counsel held a conference with the deputy sheriff and chief of police, at which it was agreed that Hadley should surrender to the authorities on condition that he be taken to a place of safety. Accordingly, by pre-arrangement, he was delivered to

the officers at a small station on the Georgia railroad and taken to Atlanta, where he was confined to await the action of the Superior Court, which was to convene in Augusta on the third Monday in April. At the session of the grand jury Hadley was indicted for murder and his trial set for June 6th. Before the departure of the regiment a fund had been raised to assist the prosecution. It was intended to pay the fee of associate counsel and meet the expenses of the witnesses who must be detained in Augusta until the trial. One hundred dollars was contributed from the regimental fund for this purpose. Besides this, Co.'s "E," "B," "D," "I," "H" and "M" each gave amounts ranging from twenty to forty dollars, which sums were turned over to Captain Bond and Lieut. Mitchell, who secured the services of the Hon, M. P. Carroll as assistant to Solicitor Davis, and paid, in part, the board bill of the three men who had been the companions of Dennis O'Connell at the time of the shooting. Hadley's friends had not been idle. The day following the murder his brother Will Hadley, of Thompson, Ga., arrived in Augusta and began a systematic effort to save him from the gallows. He was unremitting in his work. While, of course, he had no scruples about inventing such testimony as

might suit his purpose, his assiduity in finding everything that would contribute to the defense was worthy of emulation. Eminent attorneys were employed in Hadley's behalf. The Hon. Boykin Wright, who stood at the head of his profession in Augusta, was leading counsel and with him were associated Messrs. Henry Hammond and C. H. Cohen.

A few weeks before the day fixed for the trial Hadley was brought from Atlanta and lodged in the Augusta jail. These preparations for the trial recalled public attention to the tragedy and the exciting incidents which attended it and when the proceedings began on June 6th the court room was thronged with an eager crowd of spectators. Judge Brinson of the Superior Court presided and the work of selecting a jury began at the morning session. Popular sentiment in the case exhibited a curious condition. Among the better classes it was strongly opposed to Hadley and this pronounced prejudice worked in his favor. It soon became apparent that a jury of reputable men could scarcely be secured. Almost everybody of any standing seemed to be convinced that Hadley should be hanged. Of 84 names drawn from the panels 42, or just one half, were disqualified on the single question, "Is your mind perfectly impartial between the state

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and the accused?" The attorneys for the defense were persistent in their challenges, their constant motto being "call the next." The greater part of the day was consumed in this effort, a jury at last being secured, composed of ten white men and two negroes, and it was finally apparent that Hadley had obtained his constitutional right, a jury of his peers.

The state opened its case by presenting the evidence of the three ex-soldiers, Martin Purcell, Hogan Olson and James O'Connell. They testified that at the time of the shooting there was no one in the room but the four soldiers, Hadley and his bar tender. They admitted that three of them were intoxicated and that they were cursing and bandying coarse words among themselves: that Hadley told them not to use such language, as his wife was in the adjoining room: that one of them had said "then you had better move her out;" that Dennis O'Connell had set his glass upon the counter and used a very common, but scurrilous expression, when Hadley drew his pistol and fired. Olson declared that at the time the shot was fired O'Connell was looking at Purcell and not at Hadley. They were positive that O'Connell's hand was hanging at his side and he had nothing in it, and James O'Connell testified further that his brother had no weapon with him and did not own one. They said that James O'Connell had taken a soft drink instead of beer and the loud talking had been about that. They were each in turn subjected to a rigid cross-examination by attorneys for the defense, but no contradictions were developed. This closed the direct evidence for the state.

Hadley's counsel now set up the plea of self-defense, and, to the surprise of the state, produced two negroes and a white man who declared on oath that they were in the room at the time of the killing; that Dennis O'Connell used a long series of profane and vile words to Hadley, ending with the threat, "I'll fix you," at the same time throwing his hand to his hip pocket as if to draw a weapon, whereupon Hadley fired. The boy, Joe Hunt, who was Hadley's barkeeper, gave the same testimony and the formula of words was repeated by all these witnesses with such striking similarity that a court room of spectators exchanged incredulous smiles. The great body of hearers entertained no doubt that this testimony had been forged and put into the mouths of suborned witnesses. The cross-examination developed the fact that one of these witnesses had been before a court on a larceny charge, and another was

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unable to say whether he had been 5 feet, 50 feet or 50 yards from the bar at the time of the shooting. It was also shown on rebuttal that the boy Hunt had, shortly after the shooting, stated that there was no one in the room but Hadley and the soldiers when the killing was done.

Hadley was put upon the stand and told his story in a strain similar to that of his witnesses, and James O'Connell was recalled and emphatically denied that his brother had used such language to Hadley as had been testified to. The arguments before the jury were notably brilliant, the prosecution occupying two hours and a half and the defense about six hours in presenting their respective sides. Hadley's attorneys made great capital of the vile language and threatening gestures as testified to by their witnesses. The attorneys for the state sought to convince the jury of the falsity of this evidence and further to show that even if it were admitted it was not a sufficient defense. In the latter position the law was clearly in their favor. The criminal code of Georgia declares that "words, threats, menaces and contemptuous gestures shall in no event free the person killing from the guilt and crime of murder." This declaration had come before the supreme court in the case of Malone vs. the

State (in 49th Ga.) and the court had held that this principle was unalterably fixed in the jurisprudence of the state. The Malone case was almost indistinguishable from this, as testified to by the defendant's witnesses. The words were the same, the gestures the same as those said to have been used by O'Connell, and Malone was hanged. Judge Brinson emphasized this point in his charge and also admitted every other principle contended for by the state. There was no legal escape for Hadley.

The case had occupied almost three days when the judge finished his charge and the jury retired. Court was adjourned to 4 o'clock, but the spectators had not left the room when a rap was heard at the door, and ten minutes after receiving the case the jury returned with a verdict of "not guilty."

One attempt to tamper with the jury during the course of the trial was discovered and punished by the court. Whether there were other and more successful efforts of this nature must be left to the conjectures of the reader. The attorneys for the state felt that no clearer case of murder had ever been made out in a court room. That the better sentiment of the community was disappointed in this outcome may not be disputed, but that there was among the more vicious

and degenerate classes an ignorant hatred of the northern "bluecoats" is no less true; and perhaps the most charitable explanation of this verdict is that the jury was made up from these vicious classes, who either could be bought or whose sectional prejudice could be inflamed by the argument of a skillful lawyer until they should override all law and evidence. Hadley walked out of court a free man and thus the arch criminal in this whole series of misdemeanors and misfortunes goes unpunished. The man who, by his own confession, sells liquor to drunken men, contrary to the laws of his state, and kills them while drinking it; the man whose business is to make drunkards and whose pleasure is to shoot them down when they act like drunkards, is turned loose to continue his outlawry. while, as a result of his deed, an honest, manly soldier is murdered, a warm-hearted Irish home in Wisconsin is desolate, a score of faithful army officers is discredited, an extravagant amount of time and money is consumed in investigations and trials and eight men, any one of whom is far better than he, are convicted felons, toiling out under a southern sun an aggregate penalty of twenty-four years and six months.

If such outrages on justice as this were the occasion of Georgia lynchings those lynch-

ings would be less worthy of condemnation than they now are.

THE END.

# FIFTEENTH MINNESOTA VOLUNTEER INFANTRY.

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GENERAL MUSTER OUT MARCH 27, 1899 1898 GENERAL MUSTER IN, JULY 18,

NOTE I. The names of Non-Commissioned Officers, Musicians, Artificers or Wagoners, are placed with the given name first, while the names of Privates have the surname first. NOTE 2. In all addresses where the state is not designated Minnesota is understood.

# COMMISSIONED OFFICERS Commissioned July 2, 1898

FIELD AND STAFF

St. Paul Vernon, Pa Washington Paul H. Gotzian.† Lieut, Colonel. Harry A. Leonhauser,\* Colonel. Daniel W. Hand, Major,

Minneapolis Warren A. Dennis, Surgeon and Major, Tell A. Turner, Chaplain and Captain, ames Elwin. Major,

S. W. Mowers, Ass't Sig'n and 1st Lieut., Brainerd Chas. W. Fry. Ass't Sig'n and 1st Lieut., Minneapolis Promoted from Lieut.-Col. and commissioned Aug. 17, 1899.

\* Promoted from Major and commissioned Aug. 17, 1898.

\* Promoted from Capt. Co. "A" and commissioned Aug. 17, 1898. St. Paul Minneapolis St. Paul Frederick M. Catlin, Adj. and 1st Lieut, Wm. T. Coe, Q. M. and 1st Lieut.,

Minneapolis Minneapolis Frederick A. C. Vincent,† 1st Lieut., Frederick J. Barrows,\* Captain,

Sleepy Eye Promoted from 2nd Lieut, and commissioned Aug. 17, 1898. Promoted from 1st Sergeant and commissioned Jan. 2, 1899. Promoted from 1st Lieut, and commissioned Aug. 17, 1898. Walter C. Von Hagen, 2nd Lieut.

COMPANY "B."

George C. Bookstaver, 1st Lieutenant, William D. Mitchell, 2nd Lieutenant, John W. Fineout, Captain

Litchfield Grove City Litchfield \* Pronoted from 1st Lieut. and commissioned Jan. 1, 1899.
† Promoted from 2nd Lieut. and commissioned Jan. 1, 1899.
† Promoted from 1st Sergeant and commissioned Jan. 1, 1839. Ernest W. Campbell, 2nd Lieutenant, COMPANY "C." Rupert C. Dewey,\* Captain, Nels P. Nelson,† 1st Lieutenant,

COMPANY "D."

Willmar Willmar Willmar

Cushman A. Rice, 1st Lieutenant, Philip J. Haley, 2nd Lieutenant, Mason W. Spicer, Captain,

COMPANY "E."

Browns Valley Browns Valley Emil C. Schroeder, 2nd Lieutenant, George I. Becker, 1st Lieutenant, Amasa S. Crossfield, Captain,

St. Paul

East Grand Forks Brayton S Bennett, 1st Lieutenant, Harry F. Conners, 2nd Lientenant, COMPANY "F." Iohn F. Brandt, Captain,

Fosston

St. Paul

Frank Ferguson, 1st Lieutenant, . George W. Eckles, 2nd Lieutenant, COMPANY "G." Louis S. Nelson, Captain,

St. Paul

St. Paul

St. Paul

Luverne Magnolia

St. Paul

Anderberg, Otto A., Grove City, Co. C,...July 30, '98
Brown, Frank P., Northfield, Co. I,....July 30, '98
Dunn, William I, Northfield, Co. I,....July 30, '98
Flynn, George E., Morris, Co. E,....Aug. 3, '98
Gibbs, Bert W., Taylor's Falls, Co. B....Oct. 5, '98 July 30, '98 ...... Dec. 12, '98 Hockett, Caduac, Owaronna, C. C., Charles, Horstein, Alnan B., Minneapolis, Co. K., July 30, 98. Hutchins, Alnan B., Minneapolis, Co. K., July 30, 98. Hutchins, Allan B., Minneapolis, Co. K., July 30, 98. Lyttle, Louis L., Madison, Co. A., July 30, 98. Peterson, Bernhard R., Winthrop, Co. H., July 30, 98. Peterson, Bernhard R., Winthrop, Co. L., July 30, 98. Path, Walter H., Dodge Center, Co. L., July 30, 98. Savage, John A., Minneapolis, Co. A., July 30, 98. Sweet, Harry N., Dodge Center, Co. L., July 30, 98. Sweet, Harry N., Dodge Center, Co. L., July 30, 98. Wachtra, John A., St. Paul, Co. K., July 30, 98. Wachtra, John A., St. Paul, Co. K., July 30, 98. Wachtra, John A., St. Paul, Co. K., July 30, 98. John C. Shandrew, Colonel, St. Paul; resigned Aug. | Private Andreas K. Steen, Jasper, transferred from Private Clarence E. Young, Litchfield, transferred from Company C July 30, 1898; transferred back to Company C at his own request Oct. 28, 1898. Company M July 30, 1898, discharged for disa-Discharged for Disability. Hewitt, Claude, Owatonna, Co. B,... moted to Sergeant September 2, 1898. Transferred. ability December 21, 1898. Worthington .. Red Wing Adrian Minneapolis Minneapolis Minneapolis Minneapolis Faribault Minneapolis Duluth St. Paul Minneapolis Pipestone St. Paul Minneapolis J. Stanley Wilson, commissioned 2nd Lieut. Co. "A" annes G. Kennedy,† 2nd Lieutenant, Adrian Promoted from 2nd Lieut, and commissioned bec. 31, 1888. Promoted from 1st Sergeant and commissioned Dec. 31, 1888. Promoted from 1st Sergeant and commissioned Dec. 31, 1888. John C. Sweet, Minneapolis; commissioned 2nd Lieut. Co. "A, Aug. 17, 1898; resigned Oct. 15, 1898. \* Promoted from 1st Sergeant and commissioned Nov. 25, 1898. Joseph G. Morrison, Captain Co. 'C," Minneapolis, William A. Steward,\* 2nd Lieutenant, Edward Dolan, Captain, Lucius V. Hubbard,\* 1st Lieutenant, Nov. 1, 1898; resigned Dec. 22, 1898. Charles E. Bond, Captain, . . . William A. Edwards, 1st Lieutenant, Edward J. McMahon, 1st Lieutenant, George E. Gibson, Captain,
Theodore W. Griggs, 1st Lieutenant,
Clark W. Elliott, 2nd Lieutenant, Charles S. Pattee, 2nd Lieutenant, David D. Tenney, 2nd Lieutenant, COMPANY "H." COMPANY "K." COMPANY "L." COMPANY "M." COMPANY "I," Olaf H. Rask, 1st Lieutenant. Clark W. Gilmore, Captain, Thomas Leonard, Captain,

Fred. A. Bitner, 1st Lieut. Co. "H," Worthington resigned December 13, 1898 resigned Dec. 21, 1898.

John T Tones 2nd Lieut Co "W" resigned Novem-

Burton G. Tileston,\* Minneapolis, Co. A,..July 30, '98 Rank at Muster-out, Company transferred from, and \* Mustered in as private Company "A;" appointed Hospital Steward Sept. 2, 1898. Mustered in as private Company "I;" appointed Hospital Steward Jan. 29, 1899. .... Dec. 23, 1898. .. Sept. 1, 1898. Patrick J. Foley,† LeSueur, July 16, 1898. Edmund H. Metcalfe,\* Minneapolis,....July 9, 1898. George H. Snowball, Minneapolis,.....July 18, 1898. Chief Musician. .. July 18, 1898. .. July 18, 1898. ... July 18, 1898. Sergeant Major.
Shaman, St. Paul,.....July 6, 1898. Edward M. Van Duzee, Jr., St. Paul, ..... July 6, 1898. Discharged by order of Secretary of War. Rank at Muster-in and date of discharge. Rank at Muster-in and date of discharge. Rank at muster-out and date of muster-in. NON-COMMISSIONED STAFF Discharged for disability. Quartermaster Sergeant. Robert Hutchinson, Minneapolis,... - Hospital Steward. Frank Bark, Minneapolis,...... Principal Musician. Principal Musician. Frank R. Gallagher, St. Paul,..... Hospital Steward. date of transfer. Hospital Steward. Hospital Steward. Hospital Steward. Thomas M. Kehoe, St. Paul,..... Joseph C. Giere, Minneapolis,.... Sergeant. LOSSES. BAND.

Olson, Louis, Pepin, Wis., Parks, William F., Minneapolis, I Potter, Ensley, Minneapolis, I Rudd, John M., Sheridan, Richard B., Simpson, Robert C., Smith, Charles E., Montevideo, Smith, Charles E., Montevideo, Smith, George H., Minneapolis, I Thomas, William E., Truesdell, Albert, Minneapolis, Ward, Lincoln J., Westby, Hans S., Madison, Wharton, Oren D., Minneapolis, Williams Frank, Zasadil, John J., LOSSES.  Bark at unstaring and data of the	Whitney Charles Cook, Irr Carney, Curley, Moosma Dis
COMPANY "A."  Rank at muster out.  Edward J. Smith, Minneapolis. First Sergeant John F. Hefferin. " John F. Hefferin. " John F. Hefferin. " James H. Chalmers, Madison, " William Stevens, Minneapolis. " William Jepperson. Minneapolis, " Homer Bourque, Minneapolis, " Mylliam Jepperson. Minneapolis, " Alfred E. Hubbell, " Alfred E. Hubbell, " Alfred E. Hubbell, " Alfred E. Nelson, " Charles J. Britton, " William Cronan, " Ohn Fuerst, " Louis M. Class, " John Lundquist, " Russel J. Tibbetts, " John Lundquist, " Russel J. Tibbetts, " Loseph S., " Los	Joseph Smitth,  John Waller, Jay W. McCune,  Harry M. Martin,  John B. Fourniea,  John B. Fourniea,  John B. Fourniea,  Benjamin Butler, Wheaton,  Magoner Allen, Oliver, Minneapolis,  Beck, Walter, Polo Hill, Ill.  Bemis Fred G. Waupaca, Wis  Bodh, Andrew C., Kindred, N. D.  Bradd, Arthur C. Lisbon, Iowa,  Bruce, Oscar H., Minneapolis,  Gassidy, John T., Minneapolis,  Cassidy, John T., Minneapolis,  Cassidy, Roy P.,  Cochler, Otto, Pargell Lake

Consoblin, John. " , , , "	Walter Charles Von Hagen,lan. 1, 1889
Davis. Clinton D., Madison,	(To accept commission.)
Duchene, Peter A., Minneapolis "	
Featherstone, James F., Mason City, Ia	Miller, Ernest A., Watertown,Jan. II, 1899
Gilvear, George H., Minneapolis,	Sale Toke Missess vis
Grave, Charles A., Long Lake,	olis
Gravel, Karpu E., Long Lake, Gravell, Clements H., Minneapolis,	
Haggerty, Edward J., "	
Hanson, Carl L.,	Frank W. Fond, Minneapolis,Feb. 16, 1655
Hegberg, Francis O., "	Breit, Joseph W., MinneapolisFeb. 22, 1899
Hoover, Anthony M., Madison,	
Horan, Michael J., Minneapolis,	Rank at muster in and date of loss.
Hughes, John B., Kellogg,	Privates.
Huntzinger, Alfred E., Minneapolis, "	Lyttle, Louis L., Madison, July 30, 1898, to band
Hymer, George, Minneapolis,	Savage, John A., Minneapolis,July 30, 1898, to band
Jarvis, Matthew J., Faulkton, S. D.,	Tileston, Burton G., Minneapolis, July 30, 1838, to band
Johnson, Avel Minneapolie	Don't I Clark Minneapolis Sant 9 1898 to Co. I
Torkison Fred "	: .
Kitchel, Warren L., "	Metcalfe, Edward HSept. 2, 1898, to N. C. S.
Klingman. Charles, "	
Krieger, Adam, "	
Lee, Andrew, Eau Claire, Wis.	
Lee, Eugene, Jersey City, N. J	
Lynch, Michael, San Jose, Cal.	
McDonough, James S., Minneapolis,	
Miller Fred Mora	
Nelson, Charles A., Minneapolis, "	
Nelson, Nels, Cottonwood,	
Oakes, James D., Minneapolis,	
Oliff, Flair,	

COMPANY "B."	Peterson, Oscar J., Alexandria, Private Reaney, Scott. R., St. Paul
Charles M. Bunker, St. Paul, . First Sergeant	Rysdal, Peder, "", "Rouning Henry T. Alexandria "
Peter R. A. Kelly, " Qm. " John V. Edlund. "	Schiler, George J., St. Paul.
James A. Collins, " " "	Schwede, Robert H., St. Faul, Saapp, Napoleon, Shelbyville, Ind.
Joseph J. LeMay, Mendota	Small, Frank J., St. Paul,
Harry G. Brant, St. Paul Corporal Oscar R. Frev.	Starkey, Warren F., St. Paul,
Leo Brown, "	Tauscher), "
Asa P. Brooks, Alexandria	Therrien, Dennis J., White Bear,
Benjamin F. Gaskill, Alexandria	Thour, Robert D., Owatonna,
George R. Hazzard, Taylor's Falls	Warner, Andrew W., St. James,
John Philip Neller, St. Paul	Watz, Andrew, St. Paul,
Robert Pinkus, St. Paul	Walden, Frank,
Otto Sandtrock " "	Wiesinger, Bernard, St. Paul,
Gustav F. Weyer, " Waslaw W Willey Diamond Bluff Wis. "	Wright, Merritt H., "
No musicians at muster-out.	Wright, William E., " "
	LOSSES.
Thomas V. McDermott, St. Faul Wagoner Abbott Clarence I. White Bear Private	Discharged for Disability.
Beaudet, Alphonse, Mendota	Rank at Muster-in and Date of Loss.
Besck, George, St. Paul	Sergeant.
Berringer, John R., Appleton, Wis.,	John A. McNamara, St. Paul, Feb. 13, '99
Bjorkman, Erik, Dawson	Corporal.
Bekker. Bendix N, Alexandria	Joseph Stary, St. Paul, Nov. 21, '98
Browne Louis M. Gladstone	Artificer.
Rick Angust Dawson	Iohn L. L. Chauncey, St. Paul, Dec. 19, '98

Burlingame Ernest, Evota	Private,
Burns, Frank D., Minneapolis	Murphy, Jack H., St. Paul, Feb. 14, '99
Carlson, Edward, St. Paul	
Claus, Raphael A., ""	Discharged by order of Secretary of War.
Downs, William P., "	Sergeant.
Eilek, Frank, "	Robert H. Fisher, St. Paul, Jan. 30, '99
Florman, Brik, Alexandria,	ate.
Gauthier, William, Alexandria,	Weisser, Charles A., St. Thomas, Jan. 28, '99
Greeley, Thomas J., St. Paul,	
Gullett, Henry A., Maquon, III.,	LeClaire, George A., St. Paul, Feb. 18, 39 Mockania William F. Pook Crook Feb. 13, 39
Hassel, Peter, St. Paul.	
Hicks, Samuel C., St. Paul,	capolis, .
Howard, Thomas W., Windom,	Transferred.
Hutchson, Allie W., Diamond Binn, Wis.	Corporal.
Jacobson, George F., St. Latt.,	Guy C. Chapel. St. Paul Tuly 28, '98, to Co. L.
Jensen, Martin, Alexandria,	nsician
Kohout, John, St. Paul,	Claude Hewitt Dec. 12, 98, to Band.
Lott, Fred W., " "	
McDermott James St. Paul.	Private.
Magner, Frank, St. Peter,	Alderman, Earnest E., St. Paul, Dec. 9. '98, to Hospital
Minke, George,	Corps, U. S. A.
Miller, William F., Alexandria,	Hammon, Albert, White Bear, July 30, 38, to Co.M.
Morgan, Harry I., White Bear,	Deserted.
Muedeking, Leslie, A., Owatonna,	Private.
Myers, David, Alexandria,	Brown, James, Anoka, Oct. 9, 3e   Lange, Albert, Princeton, Jan. 13, 99
O'Farrell, John, Alexandria,	ly Discharged.
Owens, Leo J., St. Paul,	Private.
Pederson, Inar A., "	Hassler, David, St. Paul, March 20, '99

COMPANY "C." Rank at Muster out	Olmstead, William A., Eden Valley, . Private
	O'Hearn, Morris, " " Dielor Roust " " "
Aldine C. Eastman, Litchfield,	Parin, Henry C., Smith Lake,
Rufus F. Wolff, Litchfield,	Peterson, Victor C., Litchfield,
Edmind I. McCabe. Litchfield.	Peterson, Frank A., Grove City,
James F. Houk, Litchfield, ', Corporal	Quinn, Joseph H. Waverly,
John Bertelson, Litchfield,	Ryan, John J., Morris,
William R. Maynard, Kimball,	Sargent, Edwin W., Red Wing,
Olaf Ribb, Kingston,	Sargent, Waverly B., " "" "
John O. Scarp, Litchfield,	Steele, John, East Grand Forks,
John W. Chrran, Darwin	Schrag, Elind J., Morris,
John O. Peterson, Darwin,	Shoultz, Fred D "
Frank Casey, Forest City,	Sodergren, Olaf L., "
Charles M. Casper, Litchfield,	Sorenson, Louis, Rosendale,
Ivine Hoar Crow Piver	Sullivan, Eugene, Omaha, Neb.,
Christian Stokstad, Canby.	Samstad, Andrew Madison
James P. Wells, Herman, Musician	Thomsen, Marius, Rosendale.
ian at muster-out.)	Troup, Fred D., Dawson,
	Wood, Earnest, Walker,
Anderson Avel E Litchfold Wagoner	Worman, Charley, Manannah,
	Willi, relet, Young, Clarence E. see below Litchfield "
Baum, Clarence C., Litchfield,	TOSERS
Boettcher, William F., St. Paul,	Doming of Mandamin and data of last
Bronson, Ole A., Breckenridge	wank at Puster-m and date of loss. Discharged for disability.
Buckman, Charles W., Howard Lake, "	Private.
Cates, Robert M., Forest City,	Harrison, Alfred E., St. Paul, Sept. 3, '98

Coombs, Louis N., Cedar Mills,	Swansfrom Gustaf, Dassel.
Culp, Loxley, Smith Lake,	
Clow, John F., Montevideo,	First Sergeant.
Davis, William, Litchheld,	Frnest W. Campbell, Dec. 30, '98
Day, Hally W., Awely, Dougherty, Thomas R., Litchfield.	(To accept commission.)
Dunlaney, Edward, Morris,	
Elling, Valentine, Litchfield.	
Foroerg, Charley E., "Galvin John Morris"	
Giblin, Joseph F. Waverly,	
Gorton, Milo R., Litchfield,	Williams, Oscar, Rosendale,Jan. 30, '99
Hagerman, George A., Morris,	Transferred.
Hesler, Charley T., Morris,	Office A Academic and Trainer 20 708 42 Decade
Hersney, Hiram K., Litchheid,	Hernan G. Holstein. July 30, 38, to Band
Hine, Benjamin, Litchfield.	
Holm, Theodore A., ", ", "	Prothero, Charles, Home, Ind Dec. 9, '98, to Hosni-
Holmberg, Frank A., Dassel,	tal Corps, U. S. Army.
Jacobs, James T., Litchfield,	Stillman, Guy L., Dawson, Jan. 21, '99, to Signal
Johnson, Theodore, Dassel,	Corps, U. S. Army.
Lane George A., Litchheld,	Young, Clarence E., transferred to band, July 30, 98
Larson Chris Morris	and transferred back to Co. "C", at his own re-
Liedholm, Edward G., Grove City,	quest, Oct. 25, 35,
Lindell, Otto A., Grove City,	
Linnell, Albert T., "	
Marshall, Lewis C., Litchheld,	
McCarthy, William M., St. Paul,	
Miller, Herman F., Hutchinson,	
Mickelson, Louis A., Grove City,	
Monaghan, Charles F., Dawson,	
Nelson, August, Minneapolis,	

Private ::
Nordlaf, Brik, Nordlaf, Brik, Nordlin, John O., Kerkhoven.  Nyeman, Ole J., Norway Lake. O'Brien, Thomas E., Atwater. O'Brien, Thomas E., Atwater. O'blinger, Samuel L., Irving. O'blinger, Samuel L., Irving. O'Neil, Frank H., Chicago, Ill. Regen, Richard P., Ontario, Canada. Regen, Richard P., Ontario, Canada. Rogers, Arthur E., Perth, N. D. Rogers, William P., Glenwood. Rogers, William P., Glenwood. Rogers, William P., Berth, N. D. Rogers, William P., Grewe, George W., Murdock. Sandberg, Leonard, Willmar. Santergren, Oskar, Willmar. Santergren, Oskar, Willmar. Santergren, Oskar, Willmar. Somith, Rex, Owatonna. Sonith, Rex, Owatonna. Sonith, Rex, Owatonna. Can W., Glenwood. Can W., Glenwood. Torgeson, Carl W., Glenwood. Torgeson, Anton, Raymond. Walsh, Harry D, Willmar.  LOSSES. Rank at Muster-in. Date of Loss.
Rank at Muster-out.  Fred U. Davis, Mankato

Discharged for Disability.

Carter, John, Atwater .......

Toby Minneapolis

Cederstrom

	Nelson, Nels E.,
	Mortensen, Arthur B., Willmar
	Morgan John A. " Morin, George, Aitkin "
	\$
	Martin, Robert W., Minneapolis
	McLaughlin, Harry E., Willmar
	Larson, Carl C., Willmar
Merritt, S. A., Kaymond	Kirchner, Wilhelm, Clara City
Hokinson, Nels, WillmarJuly 30, 1898 to Co. I	Johnson, Nelson, Lake Lillian
Private.	Johnson, Ben, Lake Liman
Transferred.	Jacobson, Aaron, Willmar
Edwin T. Thorson, BensonDec. 23, 1898	Hultgren, Theodore G., Minneapolis
Sergeant.	Huldin, Andrew, Atwater
Wagner, Fred, Havanna, IllMarch 16, 1899	Holmberg, Frank E., Kandiyohi
Gilbertson, Martin, WillmarFeb. 7, 1899 Hanson Newell Rush City	Harms, John Iron Mountain, Mich
Nystedt, Abe, CokatoFeb. 21, 1899	Hardy, Harry H., "
Private.	Gorton, Chitord,
Discharged by order of Secy. of War.	Gilbertson, John, Willmar
Ring, Christian D., WillmarMarch 7, 1899	Flykt, Nels N., Wilmar Geoghegan, Thomas, Webster
Barg, Marcus L., Kiver Falls, Wis	Fixan, Ole, ". ". ". ". ". ". ". ". ". ". ". ". ".
B 1 1 2 2 2 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1	:: O == 0   W(:)  == 0

## Myers, Charles E., Myers, Edward Montour, Julius David D. Kridler, Graceville ......First Sergeant Rank at Muster-out. COMPANY "E."

Olson, Frank, Browns Valley O'Phelan, Thomas F. Graceville ....

Van Gordon, Browns Valley ..... Louis V. Hurd, St. Paul.....

Private

	•	•	•	•	•	•	-	•	*	•	•
O Fileran, Luomas F. Grace Ville	Pearson, Walter W. Browns Valley	Peterson, Andrew. Minnear olis	Phalen James Browns Valley	Price Walter B Reardsley	Reynan, John M. Browns Vallev.	Riter, William S. Wheaton	Roberts, Joseph A. Browns Valler	Rucker, Marion, " "	Schultz, Fred A. " " Schultz, Fred A. "	Scott, Harry G. " "	Seaquist, John, Wheaton
,,	,,	•	orporal	:	: :	, ,,	•	:	;	**	9.9
True Comment December Wollow	Uni S. Duncan, Browns Valley	George M. C. Place, Beardsley	Renwick T. Sloane, Browns Valley	William B. Mitton, " "	John T. Deady, Graceville	Frank W. Anderson, W heaton	Carlos Cooley, Browns valley	Harry V. Litenbeld	James W. Dougherty	Carl K. Fielding, Graceville	Frank H. Bordwell, Wheaton

•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	
Smith, Elmer C. Beardslev	Snyder, Charles M. Wheaton	Somerville, Howard L. Browns Valley	Storres, Dennis, Wheaton	Thompson, Oliver W. Wheator	Thorgerson, Julius T. "	Torgerson, Christ, "	Turner, William E. Browns Valley	Urich, Ray, " "	Yost, John, Wheaton	LOSSES.

.....Wagoner

Brennan. John P., Wheaton.....

Bolin, Emanuel "

Baird, Wayne,

Carlton, Edward, Browns Valley..... Cavanaugh, John W., Wheaton.... Cleven, Ole M., Beardsley.....

Blad, Oscar, Wheaton.....

..... Artificer

Geo. B. Shillston, Browns Valley .......Musician

Andrew R. Mitton,

John H. Lindt, Luke Watters,

Victor J. Cabana, Browns Valley..... Michael J. Lannon, Graceville..... Theodore A. Grahn, Minneapolis ..... Robert S. McBrady, Graceville. ..... Callow, Arthur W. Browns Valley......Oct. 29, 1898 Clark, Walter, Morris......Nov. 21, 1898

Private.

Rank at Muster-in. Date of Loss. Discharged for Disability

Cregan, Tim.		Commont
Cremers, Henry, Browns Valley	1.	
Deal, George, Wheaton	CTo Ac	(To Accept Commission as Act. Asst. Surg. II. S. Army.)
Dillon, George F., Browns Valley	T ( T )	Corporal
Durchie Andrew Wheaton	Mosion	Mosion I Ellermosth Recurse Vollar
Earsley, Leslie E., Wheaton	ן אממווטוו ן	Drivote
Ekblom, Alex., Beardsley		וואמור.
Farrell, James, Wheaton	Lureen,	Lureen, Ole, Wheaton
Flaherty, Lawrence, Wheaton	Fisher, Sidney,	יייייייייייייייייייייייייייייייייייייי
Cikkle William R Wheaton		
Goodnough, John R., Browns Valley		Transferred.
Hald. Louis I., Wheaton		Private.
Harberg, Christian, Wheaton	Flynn, G	eorge E., MorrisAug. 3, 1898
Harper, Peter, Browns Vallev		To Band.
Hetherington, Walter A. B., Browns Valley	McLaird	1, George L., Browns ValleyDec. 12, 1898
Hoban, James, Graceville		To Hospital Corps, U. S. Army.
Hunder, I homas, Browns Valley	Welker,	Welker, Charles W., Browns Valley Aug. 3, 1898
Izon, John Wheaton		To Band.
Johnson, Carl, Browns Valley		Died
Johnson, John " " Johnson, John		Dicu.
Jones, Alex., Wheaton		Private.
Karg, John, Browns Valley	Roberts	Roberts, Daniel D., Browns ValleySept. 17, 1898
Kaufmann, Jacob W., Wheaton		k, Ia.
Kleven, Gunder, Wheaton	Van Rip	Van Riper, George, WillmarSept. 16, 1898
Laing, Ellici A., Blowns vancy	Bur	Buried in Laurel Grove Cemetery, Paterson, N. J.
Lundblad, Fred, Wheaton.		Deserted.
McCarty, Thomas Browns Valley		6
Mezick, Louis, Browns Valley	- 1	
Mliler, Henry W., Browns Valley	Clark, J	Clark, Joseph A., Browns ValleyAug. 19th, 1898
	_	

## Pierce, Gaylord G., E. Grand Forks..... Purcell, Martin, E. Grand Forks..... Ritchie, William, E. Grand Forks..... Rodgers, Samuel S, E. Grand Forks...... Rohrer, David W, E. Grand Forks .... Hans Ellingson, E. Grand Forks ......Sergeant Herbert P. Mark, Fosston......Qm. Rank at Muster-Out. COMPANY "F."

Seymour, Charles A, Fosston...... Steele, John, E. Grand Forks..... Treflin, Ludwig, Fosston Tracy, Wm. B. St. Paul. Warner, Peter, Fosston..... Wills, Ralph, Grand Forks, N. D...... Whalen, John, E. Grand Forks ..... Young, Matthew J. E. Grand Forks..... Shellady, Guy, Springer, Theodore, ......Musician .............. Albert S. Norman, Fosston.... Grand Forks ..... 

Schudlich, Iohn, E. Grand Forks .....

Lars P. Resvick, E. Grand Forks......Corporal

Frank E. Bonham,

ohn M. Dawley, William Boeger,

Gordon Momb

Edward Eustan,

Frank Leeson,

Ole J. Wistad, E. Grand Forks.....

Rosenquist, Harry H, St. Paul ...... Ryan, John A. Grand Forks, N. U. Ryd, Berndt J, E. Grand Forks..... Ryland, Oscar, Foston..... Rank at Muster-in. Date of Loss. Discharged for Disability.

Artificer

Edward Guy, E. Grand Forks...... Wagoner

Only one Musician at Muster-out.)

Charles Gleason,

ohn O'Brien, E.

Frank E. Orton, Edward I. Rice,

William Pierce, acob E. Skarr, Hogan Olson, Fosston .....

Anderson, August, Fosston.....

Anderson, Andrew W., E. Grand Forks......

Anderson, John B,

Fish, James E., Fosston.....

Christianson, Frank,

3ryant, Oliver

Dean, William A.,

Shady, Raymond C. Fosston.......March 4, 1899 Watson, Charles, E. Grand Forks.....Feb. 6, 1899 Private.

Discharged by Order Secretary of War.

Christ A. Brown, E. Grand Forks......Dec. 4, 1898

Sergeant.

Fraser William F F Grand Forks	First Sergeant.
Grinde Conrad Fosston	Benjamin R. Norwood, E. Grand Forks Dec. 21, 1898
nd Fo	Musician.
Hanson Andrew E., "	William A. Hurst, E. Grand ForksDec. 21, 1898
Hoyt, George M., "Illes Joseph Fosston"	Lowe, Herbert G. E. Grand Forks
and Forks.	Dishonorably Discharged.
Jones, William, Fosston	0
rand Forks.	Cahill, Patrick, E. Grand ForksMarch 16, 1899
Kolstad, Ardrew A., "	Foley, Peter, E. Grand Forks
Koontz Stanlev "	Corporal.
Grand Forks, N.	Decodore J. mayne, E. Grand FolksMaich 10, 1033
Learned, John, Waverly	
Leet, Richard, Fosston	Robidoux, Oliver, Foston
Lukkason, Lukkas K., E. Grand Forks	ks
۲.,	
3	
Moen Christian Revnolds N. D.	Downey, Walter, E. Grand ForksJuly 30, 1898
	Evenson, Ole, Northland
Nelson, Thomas, E. Grand Forks	Deterson Peter Fosston
Newton, George H., Fosston	•
Nimocks, Will J. E. Grand Forks	Smith, Robert B., E. Grand Forks
O'Connell James K, Fosston	To Co. I.
Olson Anton M. "	Died.
, ,,	Privates.
E. Grand Forks	Byhre, Peter A., Fosston August 28, 1897
Olson, Ole, ", ", Ole, ",	Buried in Post Cemetery, Ft. Snelling.
Olson, Thomas, " "	O'Connell, Dennis F., E. Grand Forks 4, 1033
Ponzram, William, '	I sen Simon O Fosston
Perron, Nelson J , Fosston	Lectify Simon Cry 1 descent

## Blaker, William W., St. Paul.......Oct. 22, 1898 Rogers, Scott G., Luverne... Running Olof B., Beaver Cr.ck Sustacek, Louis, Havana..... Sward Nick, Nelson Station..... Swenemson, William A, Graceville..... Vance, Albert E. Winona..... Pickett, Charles, Magnolia.... Pickett, William D., Edgertor Scott, Eugene, E, Luverne..... Senum, Torguin, Fosstor. Shurr, George W., Kanaranzi.... Shuros, Bendick P. Highlandville, Ia..... Simpkins, Samuel, Luverne..... •••••••••••••• Severson, Martin, Highland, Wis..... Smuser, Henry, Luverne..... Townsend, Warner, Magnolia.... Ishudder, Adolph, Edgerton..... Wilson, Wilmot O., Browns Valley .... Wood, John B., Luverne.... Peterson, Nick, Audubon ..... Rutter, Lee, Ash Creek..... Zikmund, Joseph E., St. Paul..... Peterson, Anton, St. Paul..... Discharged by order of Secy. of War. Rank at Muster-in. Date of Loss. LOSSES. Snook, Harry H., Woodle, Guy B., Stephens, Steve, Thorsen, Chris, Ovey V. Shippey. Alexandria.......Musician Artificer Luther J. Bush, Kanaranzi..... Wagoner William E. Preston, Luverne.....First Sergeant ......Corporal Harry D. Ayer, Iohn M. McCormick, Graceville John H. May, Keokuk, Ia Emil Reddel, Aitkin.... George A. Otis, St. Paul...... Charles J. Becklund, "Charles J. Solberg, Luverne..... Roy Ollson, Magnolia..... George E. Munch, Edgerton..... lohn W Mueller, Luverne ..... Markus M. Chatfield, Kanaranzi..... Frank M. McKenzie, Redfield, Ia..... Walter H. Snook, Luverne..... William Niederberger, Magnolia..... 3arnard, H. Delos, Chandler..... Sergerson, Nick, Luverne Sirmingham, William W., E. Grand Forks..... Jamphell, Chauncey A., Pine Island...... Chatfield, Guy C. Kanaranzi..... Mathias Baldwin, Sherman, S. D..... Dale R. Terril, Edgerton.... Barclay, Frank E, Magnolia..... Baur, Edward H., St. Paul..... Brewster, Hiram, Vassar. Mich..... Rank at Muster-Out, COMPANY "G." Arneson, Halvor, Luverne ..... Frank Irvine, Luverne..... Patrick Miller St. Paul ..... ohn H. McMillan,

Dahl, Carl E., Luveine	" Transferred.
Downs, William A., Alexandria	Private.
	Crossman, George H., Beaver CreekJan. 20, 1899
Fish, George A., Alexandria	
Gant, John A., Magnolia Could, Frank, Des Moines, Ia	Died.
Groot, Edward, Rockelm, Wis	Sergeant.
Hobert, Frederick J., Chicago Ill	Severt O. Nelson, LuverneSept. 15, 1898
Holstein, Axtel P., Minneapolis	, Corporal.
Hoven, Carl, Luverne	Ove C. H. Knudtson, LuverneAug. 27, 1898
Humphrey, George W., Nevada, Mo	Buried at Beaver Creek, Minn.
Johnson, Leefer, Ash Creek	"   Godfrey Zimmerman, St. PaulSept. 21, 1898
Kelly, Daniel, St. Paul	Private.
Kelly, Daniel J, "	" Christian, Frederick D, KanaranziOct. 22, 1898
Kelly, Jeremiah, "	Buried West Side Cemetery, Nobles, Minn.
King, Carl J., Alexandria	Dinney, William H, Little Falls Sept. 12, 1898
Klungness, Ingorigt G., beaver Creek	Buried in Post Cemetery, Ft. Snelling, No. 3, Row 1.
Lampman Edward P., Alexandria	". Kenney, William J
Lampman Frank L., "	Deserted
Lundquest, Alexander G., Luverne	
Lundquest Charles J, Luverne	
McLean, Thomas, St. Paul	
Osetreich, Herman, Hardwick	williams, William, Cittelant, Ouy 13, 1536
Oleson, Ole M., Luvene	
	29

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	13, 15, 12, 24,
Monree. David L., Adrian  Mundwei'er, Walter, Adrian  Naegell, Herman J., St. Cloud  Nancy, Herman J., St. Cloud  Palmer, Roscoe B., Worthington  Pattenson, William A., Worthington  Paulson, Joseph, Adrian  Paulson, Louis, Minneapolis  Peters, Henry F., Browns Valley  Peters, Henry F., Browns Valley  Peters, Andrew, Worthington  Pike, Albert C., Spofford  Phrindable, William, Adrian  Richar, Ralph, Worthington  Roberge, Henry M., St. Paul  Sundstrom, Theodore, Worthington  Voucht, Lionel, Windom  Welsh, Robert G., Morris  Wighan, Barl C., Adrian  Wighan, Barl C., Adrian  Winchell, John A., Marion, Ind.  Warren, Ivan M., Owatonna  Warren, Ivan M., Owatonna  Warren, Ivan M., Owatonna  Uscharged for Disability.	Corporal.  Edward Brooke, Owatonna
COMPANY "H."  Rank at Muster-out.  Loren B. Town, Worthington	

	Discharged by Order of Secretary of War.  Sergeant.  James G. B. KennedyDec. 30, 1898  To accept commission.  Privates.
Cox, Fatrick, Aurian. Cox, Timothy, " Dahlberg, John A., Rushmore DuBois, Nelson, Graceville Eastman, Joseph S., Brainerd Eastman, William A., " Ebaugh, Simon, Worthington	Burmeister, Harry H., Mankato
Edwards, John, Brhardt, Lincoln M, White Bear. Farragher, Clarence T., Adrian. Forder, Henry W., Rushmore. Gallager, Tames F., Waukesha, Wis	Black, Walter E. Pipestone
Green, Garrick M., Worthington Hanson, Olaf, Rushmore Hawkinson, Charles G., Worthington Herzig, Louis H., Kimbrae. Holton, Clarence C., Lakefeld	May, William J, GracevilleDec. 22, 1898, to Hospital Corps. U. S. Army. Musician. Fred E. Tuttle, WorthingtonFeb. 25, 1899, to Signal
Hovey, George v., Worthing com. Kilpank, Graceville Kilpank, Graceville Kilpank, Kilunder, Charles, Toledo, Ia. Knuth, Frederick, Brewster Libaire, Edward E., Adrian	Corps. U. S. Army. Private. Walsh, James J, St. PaulJan. 2, 1899 to Co. B. Died. Private
Lund, Amos. Adrian Lundquist, Gust, Worthington McChord, Otto R., Rushmore. Markham, Vernon. Bigelow. Miller, Morris E, Worthington Moberly, Archie L.,	Calvert. Bverett, Plattsville, Wis

Rank at Muster-out.	Huffert, George F., Minneapolis
Edward H. Hauck, Le SueurFirst Sergeant	Jones, Eugene F., "
George E, Dix, Lodge CenterQm	Jones, Harry, " Kelly, William, "
ames L. Mogford, St. Paul.	Kristianson, Bernt, "
Dantan W. Rockey, Minneapolis	Larsen, Edward, Monticello
William F. Friedrich, Winthrop	Lindberg, Andrew, Minneapolis
George H. Lauderdale, Minneapolis	Lockerby, Benjamin F., Northfield
Michael Bockman, Minneapolis	McFarland, Frank, St. Paul
Roy Dragoo, Royalton	Merritt, Samuel A., Raymond
Charles C, Jackson, Dodge Center	Moor, Charles F., Minneapolis
Axel P. Johnson, Minneapolis	Rice, Edward P., Minneapolis.
n	Roberts, Joseph A., Le Sueur
	Schloss, Charles M., "
Phorvald Thompson, Hutchinson	Spencer, David E., Rice
Allen B. Danaldson, Marristown	Vernon, Charles G., St. Tames
Willam E. Johnson, Minneapolis	Wertenbach, Reuben F., Dodge Center.
	Wagner, George E., Le Surur
Achterling, John, St. Paul	Wylde, Sidney L., "
	LOSSES
	Rank at Muster-in. Date of Loss.
Bayless, Bugene M., Minneapolis	Norwood W. Brockett, Minneapolis, Sergeant, Sept. 3, 1898 Mangles, William, Minneapolis, PrivateSept. 3, 1898
Black, Walter E., Pipestone	

Hanley, Phillip, Still water
John J. Frazee, Minneapolis, Corporal

COMPANY "K," Rubk at Muster-Out,	Pribule, Andrew, Minneapolis	
Max Bolin, MinneapolisFirst Sergeant		
Albert A. Anderson, " """, "	Roberts, Alvin F., " "	
"	Seller Peter "	
Wesley C. Bryant.	Big Lake	
: 3	Sjorgren, Knute E., Minneapolis	
Charles H. Bostwick.	Smith, James W., "	
	: :	
j	Thihodean Ceorge A "	
erly,		
Charles Colstrom, "	Turner, Henry L., Dubuque, la	
Girton A. Gerard,	I weedal. Louis. Minneapolis.	
Sidney B. Gerard	Wallace, George H., Navan	
	Way, Howard C., Minneapolis	
John J. Malcolm,	Werner, Ioseph D.	
: :	V., Buffalo	
. 33		
varioer,		
Only one Musican	Rank at Muster-in. Date of Loss.	
John S. Anderson, " Artificer	Discharged for Disability.	
"	Corporal.	
. 33	Matthew M. Ledwein, MinneapolisNov. 12, 1898	868
3 6	Private.	
7.	Geinzer, Charles, MinneapolisJan. 10, 1899	66
Cartwright, Foster F., " """""""""""""""""""""""""""""""""	Barrett, John, MorrisJan. 10, 189	66
Clarke, Ralph E, "	Kissack, Thomas A., Bangor, WisJan. 20, 1899	99
Connoly. Patrick H., Minneapolis "	Miller, Fred C. G., MinneapolisFeb. 11, 1899	66

Dean, Ernest L.,

Dianam Charles F Minneaulis	6. Private.
Downs Archibald S "	
Drake Benjamin Ir., Manle Plain	'. St. Arnold. William A., Monticello
Freeze Geo W Minneapolis	
Furman Adelhert D "	
,,	"Fremming, Elvind T., St. Paul Feb. 18, 1899
	.:
Grover, Alvin E., Osage, Ia	" Frank C. Campbell, Minneapolis
Hansen, Onn M., Minneapons	". Transferred.
Hammerback, Charles, Chicago, III	
Holmes, Frederick A., Minneapolis	" Internity August, Minneapons July 30, 1838
Hover, Jacob J.,	
•	
Johnson, Charles F.,	
Nannt, George F., west noboken, M. J.	
Knutson, Benjamin, Minneapous	" Kohlhase, Otto, Webster, S. D. Dec. 22, 1898
Lanus, Willis E., Larson Haabon Ashby	" To Hospital Corps U. S. Army.
Larson, Andrew Minneapolis	Christoferson, Oscar C., MinneapolisJan 25, 1899
McDonald, Angus, "	To Signal Corps U. S. Army.
McLaughlin, Frank G., Minneapolis.	
Mackey, James P., Stillwater	"Charles F. Moofe, Milhiea Dolls
Maxwell, Ralph T., Minneapolis	Musician.
Melgard, Sumner,	George M. Palmer, MinneapolisJan. 25, 1899
Moon Fred C	To Signal Corps U. S. Army.
Moor, Daniel W "	" Died.
". "I	" Private.
3	Schwabacker, Joe, St. PaulSept. 21, 1898
Olson, Harold W., "	Buried at Post Cemetery, Ft. Shelling.
Olson, Nels, Minneapolis	Deserted.
Patterson, George, Minneapolis	" Whitney Daniel I Minneanolis Oct 23, 1898
rlann, nerman n., st. raul	

COMBANY "I "	Motteon Matt Fly
COMIT AND AS	O'Donnell Daniel   Dututh
ank at Muster-Out.	Pavne Perry I. Smithville
aulFirst Sergeant	Pederson Cornelius M. Euribault
DuluthQm. "	Pete Andrew Elv
Mumeapolis	Peterson Emanuel Moose Lake
	Peterson John A Hibbing
Winthrop	Ouinn Edmond A., Duluth
Duluth,	Ramsey, James G., Oconto, Wis
r, St. FaulCorporal	Rivers Peter, Lakeport, Mich
11111 H	Robinson, William C., Duluth
Duluth	Ruper, Frank, Ely
73	Showalter John I St Cloud
er, Duluth	Siegert, Frank, West Superior, Wis.
	Spring, Albert I., Duluth
. Faul	Stines, Albert, Osage, Ill
Minneapolis	Templeton, Roy, Saginaw, Mich
	Thompson, David, "
Donale Wie	Widell, Charles A., Duluth
st Duluth	Vicary, Walter, Ishpeming, Mich.
Harbore	Von Bergen, Edward, Englewood, Ill
Only one Musician	Whiteside, Robert J., Ely
Howard Lake	Wilson, William N., Tower
Duluth Wagner	Winteroad, Frank, Cloquet
Elv	Woelk, Gustai M., Duluth
77	Wyman, Kobert S., Chicago, Ill
77 77	LOSSES.
Buth Daluth	Rank at Muster-in. Date of Loss.
kerson	Disharged for disability.
St. Paul	D. Carried
ewa Falls, Wis	rrivate.
nuet	Ingleston, Floyd L., Saugatuck, MichNov. 14, 1898

Rank at Mı

Walter B. Nettleton, Municap

Louis R. Wright,

Guy C. Chapel, St. Paul..... Joseph R. Mitchell, Duluth.... Adolph C. Peterson, Winthrop

Charles A. Mackey, Duluth, ... Matt M. Staudacher, St. Paul Otto A. Poirier, Duluth......

Edwin A. Cooke, Ely.....

Alexander A. Trottier, Dulutl

Emil Kjall, Duluth.....

Martin G. Maginnis, Duluth.

William W. Gallup, Minneapo

Charles L. Scott, St. Paul.....

Andrew P. LaDoux,

ack Bedford, Ely..... William Evans, Reading, Pa. Henry H. Trotz, West Duluth

Roy J. Minet, Camp Douglas, George Cusick, Two Harbors. William F. Strache, Howard Ed Machling, West Duluth .... Anderson, Joseph A., Ely.....

Anderson, Nels, Ely....

Balke, Fred, South St. Paul. Boyd, Archie, Chippewa Falls

Rerigan. Tames. Cloquet....

Ballard, Olof G., Nickerson....

Baker, William A., Duluth... Abel John, Onluth..... Arneson, Halvor, Duluth .....

charg	
Gibbs, Edward H., Taylors FallsJuly 30, 1898  McNaughton, Abner, DuluthJuly 30, 1898  McDaniel, William, Albert LeaJuly 30, 1898	, Wie
Cograve, John R., St. PaulFeb. 6, 1899 MacKenzie, Alexander C., DuluthFeb. 20, 1899 Ryan, John H., DuluthMarch 4, 1899	Holm, Amund, Pipestone.  Harri, John A., Ely.  Howe, Cornelius, North Branch.  Hofer, Matt H., Duluth.
e. nt.	Finn, William, Duluch. Fitzgerald, William H., West Superior, Wis. Flake, Blijah W., Duluth. Forsman, Carlos, Ely. Gustafson, Peter.
Gudomirez, Eli, Ely	Crostk, Avitami, Dundii Crosby, John, Phillips, Dixon, George, Cloquet Dufault, David, Ashland, Wis
	Bryant, Uliver K., Minneapolis

:::::::::::::::::::::::::::::::::::::::	1, 1898
Riddell, George F., Minneapolis. Salm, John, Slayton. Schick, Joseph, Glenwood. Savard, Frederick, Eau Claure, Wis Shelton, George, Minneapolis. Smith, Harry P., St. Cloud. Smith, Henry, Ft. Snelling. Smith, William M., Edgerton. Steindorf, August, St. Cloud. Steindorf, August, St. Cloud. Steindorf, August, St. Cloud. Steindorf, August, St. Cloud. Steins, Joseph F., Jr., St. Cloud. Thomson, Leonard S., Lake Wilson. Thbs. Charles W., Minneapolis. Tibbs. Charles F., Pupestone. Williams, Charles F., Pupestone. Wiltiams, Charles F., Pupestone. Ziemann, Gustav M., Chandler. Ziemann, Theodor O., Lake Wilson. LOSSES.	Mark, Julius, New York Mills
COMPANY "M."  Rank at Muster-out.  Mark N. T'isdale, Slayton Charles E. Faulkner, Jr , Minneapolis LeRoy C. Hutchius. Ira C. Peterson. Slayton Sewart M. Wensole, Minneapolis Stewart M. Wensole, Minneapolis Stewart M. Wensole, Minneapolis Stewart M. Wanter, Minneapolis Stewart M. Wensole, Minneapolis Stewart M. Wensole, Minneapolis Stewart M. Wanter, Minneapolis Stewart M. Wanter, Fraul Leonard C. Frober, Minneapolis Codin Loseth, Underwood Benoch H. Lindstrom, St. Paul Codin Loseth, Underwood H. William G. Manthato William H. Abbott, St. Paul Ohn M. Howland, Mankato William H. Abbott, St. Paul Cyrus Logan, Hudson, Wis. Oyuw Logan, Hudson, Wis. John W. Stewart, Montevideo Matk M. Sanders, Bly. Marvin A. Northrup, La Crosse, Wis. Marvin A. March, Sly. Alayton	Ascher, Joseph F., St. Paul Bjornelid, Svend F., Cottonwood Blomberg, Peter, New York Mills Bowles, George M., Minneapolis. Budler, Henry, St. Cloud Chestelson, Carl, Wascea Christensen, Lars E., Cottonwood Clark, Robert, Jr., St. Paul

00

00

Ole Sathre, Cottonwood.....Feb. 11, 1899

Corporal.

Collins, Bernerd, Collins, Michael,

........................

Gent H. Bacon, Hastings Gent H. Bacon, Hastings Kinde, Martin, Mankato, Kinde, Martin, Mankato, Hammon, Albert, White I Cousens, Donald A., St. William F. Iltis, Chaska William F. Iltis, Chaska Steen, Andreas K Steen, Andreas K	Anderson, Carl F., Minneapolis	Kung, Frank F., Boyu Lewis, Thomas Wheaton. Loundberg, Kuute, Minneapolis.  Maki, Isaac K., New York Mills.  Martin, Charles A. Brandon, Manitoba.  Miller, George, St. Paul
***********	Anderson, Carl F., MinneapolisFeb. 7, 1899 To Hospital Corps, U.S. Army. Grahn, Theodore A., MinneapolisFeb. 9, 1899	ank F., Boyd
Gent H. Bacon, Hastings	" Opsahl, Olaus A	Israelson, Theodore C., Montevideo
: 2 2 2 3 3 3 3	Transferred.  Musician  William F. Hitis, Chaska	Gregery, George G., Geneva, N. Y
Gent H. Bacon, Hastings	" Johnson, Charley, Doon, Ia. 1899 "Rinde, Martin, Mankato. 15, 1899 "Rinde, Martin, Munkato. 15, 1899 "Hamon, Albert, White Bear Feb. 20, 1899 "Consens, Donald A., St. Cloud. Feb. 24, 1899	
110 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1		Cross, William C., Merrill, Wis Crossman, Sewell S., Luverne













