

# Imperial Entrepreneur: Masculinity, Race, and the Memory of Frederick Funston

By  
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**Imperial Entrepreneur: Masculinity, Race, and the Memory of  
Frederick Funston**

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## Abstract

This work examines Major General Frederick Funston's life and subsequent memory. It seeks to answer two questions: first, how and why individuals/media makers constructed various identities of Funston during his life? Secondly, this work seeks to answer how and why individuals harnessed these identities after Funston's death to support various causes? I argue that Frederick Funston became part of a larger narrative about imperialism, and that the conflict between imperialists and anti-imperialists formed the basis for two competing memories of Funston over the next century.

Funston started his career as an explorer and used the local newspapers to gain acceptance for his chosen profession. Funston became an entrepreneur of imperialism. He promoted the idea of expansionism and with it he sold himself and his story. His early writings reflect the use of racial and gendered language to pit the "civilized" against the "savage." Funston used the language of white civilized manhood to demonstrate his superiority over "other" non-white groups. During the Spanish-American War, Funston served in the Kansas 20<sup>th</sup> and later in the regular army. Imperialists and anti-imperialists used similar language to build support for their respective causes. They used Funston as a symbol for the larger debate over imperialism and cast him as either the melodramatic hero or villain.

The way media makers wrote about Funston during his life, reflects the memory of Funston throughout the twentieth century. As long as white martial manhood was hegemonic, the memory of Funston the hero remained dominant. In the 1960s and 1970s the hegemony of white manhood faltered as other groups, like African Americans, Hispanics, homosexuals, feminists, all contested what it meant to be a "real American." The contest over Funston's memory continues today in places like Chicago, San Francisco, and Iola.

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This is a pointed break.... If you're still reading this for some reason, you're either family or some grad student looking for sources. I'm going to take this moment to thank some awesome dogs. Of course, Princess Holly, Baroness of Barkington Manor, and Lord Cooper, First Earl of the Wiggle Bottoms they are the heir to my academic fortune. Winston, Nellie, Special, Osa, Sierra, Lucky, and Izzy, keep wagging your tails. Alongside them, I'd like to thank, Shadow, Pudge, Happy, Jeffery, Ellie, Soldier, Dupree, Reina, Iceman, George, and Albert; like all dogs, they were good dogs.

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“It seems to be expected nowadays that everyone who writes a book, unless it is a society novel, will use up a page or more of valuable space in explaining why he did it. In this particular case, the publishers are largely to blame, as they had not a little to do with hatching the conspiracy. At least, they are where the public can get at them, while the writer, being on the other side of the world, assisting in a small way in bearing the white man’s burden, is safe.”

-Frederick Funston, 1910



Credit to the Kansas State Historical Society

## Introduction

On February 20, 1917, thousands of black-clad mourners flocked to the Alamo, crowding the grounds, and jostling for a glimpse of the open casket at the center of the somber throng. Regardless of gender, class, or ethnicity, Texans gathered to pay tribute to Major General Frederick Funston. Flowers filled the Alamo and some newspapers reports claimed over 10,000 people attended. The flowers and record attendance complemented the honor bestowed on Funston, who, on that day in 1917, he became the first person to lie in state in the Alamo. Since then only four others have received that honor.<sup>1</sup> At first glance, one might assume the ceremony commemorated a native Texan, a founder of the Republic of Texas, or even a Confederate general. Funston, however, was none of these; Texas was not even his final resting place.

After the ceremonies at the Alamo, a military guard escorted Funston's body onto a train. On February 23, 1917, Funston's body had traveled across the country and arrived at another ceremony in San Francisco. Like San Antonio, San Francisco bestowed its highest honor, and Funston became the first person to lie in state at San Francisco's City Hall. On February 24, over 2,000 artillerymen marched alongside Funston's casket to the Presidio. Upon his burial, the entire city stopped and stood in silence for two minutes, eventually rocketed awake by the sound of the saluting cannons.

Almost a century later, in 2009, I first encountered Funston in the small town of Iola, Kansas. Iola proudly boasts possession of "the nation's largest town square" and so it too honors

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1. Pvt. David B. Barkley, World War I Medal of Honor recipient. Died Nov. 9, 1918, lay in state April 6, 1921. Antoinette Power Houston Bringhurst, daughter of Sam and Margaret Lea Houston. Died Dec. 5, 1932, lay in state Dec. 6, 1932. Clara Driscoll, past president of the Daughters of the Republic of Texas and "Savior of the Alamo." Died July 17, 1945, lay in state July 19, 1945. Staff Sgt. William J. Bordelon, World War II Medal of Honor recipient. Died Nov. 20, 1945, lay in state Nov. 19, 1995.

Funston on its most important space. Flanked by century-old storefronts stands a modest statue next to a seemingly nondescript farmhouse. A picturesque white picket fence cordons off the statue and house from passersby. The small statue and humble farmhouse stand in stark contrast to the grandiose ceremonies at the Alamo and San Francisco. Funston himself was not a tall man; most reports have him around 5'4", and thus, the almost life-sized statue seems fitting of his diminutive stature. Five flags surround the statue: those of Texas, Ohio, Alaska, California, and, oddly, Cuba.

This dusty corner of history and memorial to Funston instantly intrigued me. This memorial was not a century-old memorial but a recent production. The Allen County Historical Society moved the house to the square in 1995 and erected the statute and flags in 2006. Why build a monument to a man who has become little more than a footnote in most textbooks? Why did the town choose to fly the Cuban flag? Historically, it made little sense: Funston only fought as a *filibustero* in Cuba, and he achieved national fame and his promotion to general in the Philippines. Why not fly the Filipino or Mexican flag? Certainly, these regions featured just as prominently in Funston life. Funston earned his general's star serving the country in the Philippines, and after commanding the occupation of Vera Cruz, President Woodrow Wilson appointed him the highest-ranking officer in the Army. Meanwhile, his filibustering in Cuba was, in fact, illegal.<sup>2</sup>

The Funston monument embodies a series of larger questions about the formation of the public memory of Frederick Funston and the Spanish-American War. It is not just a small

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2. Iola attorney and local historian, Clyde Toland, the driving force for moving the house to the town square, claims the choice of flags was based on where Funston was stationed and flags he fought under. The choice of flying the Alaskan and Ohio flags still seemed odd in that he was only born in Ohio and Alaska did not become a state until well after his death. Furthermore, for a brief time Funston was stationed in Hawaii, why not fly the Hawaiian flag?

farmhouse in a small town in the heart of the United States. Memorializations of Funston occurred across the nation, from Funston Avenue and Fort Funston in San Francisco, to Funston Elementary School in Chicago. During WWI, Camp Funston, Kansas became the largest training center in the U.S. In WWII, the *USAT Frederick Funston* was the first Army transport commissioned and came to symbolize American commitment to winning the war in the Pacific. When and why did the nation forget about the first person to lie in state at the Alamo?

### Arguments

At its core, this work seeks to answer two questions: first, how and why individuals/media makers constructed various identities of Funston during his life?<sup>3</sup> Secondly, this work seeks to answer how and why individuals harnessed these identities after Funston's death to support various causes? I argue that Frederick Funston became part of a larger narrative about imperialism, and that the conflict between imperialists and anti-imperialists formed the basis for two competing memories of Funston over the next century.

Further, this work contends that during Funston's life imperialists and anti-imperialists used the language of gender and race to create two fictional versions of Funston: Funston-the-hero and Funston-the-villain. Imperialist media makers like Thomas Edison, William Allen White, and Everett T. Tomlinson cast Funston in the role of melodramatic hero. Anti-imperialists like Mark Twain, Ernest Crosby, and Herbert Welsh used every opportunity to question Funston and his motives in order to create a more nefarious character. What is unique about Funston is the degree to which he became a symbol for imperialism to both groups.

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3. Following, Bonnie M. Miller's, *From Liberation to Conquest: the Visual and Popular Cultures of the Spanish American War of 1898*, (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2001), 2, I use the term "media makers" to encompass "editors, journalists, cartoonists, playwrights, filmmakers, advertisers, photographers, and showmen [who] set the frames of reference."

Thomlinson and Crosby both created fictional caricatures that place an imaginary Funston into the debate over imperialism.

Popular media utilized the language of white manhood to underpin the image of Funston the hero. It created a shorthand of symbolic virtues that the public readily recognized from other popular works. Funston and other media makers used the language of race and masculinity to create a fictional version of Funston that promoted American imperialism while at the same time reinforcing gender and racial stereotypes. These stereotypes allowed Funston, as well as other media makers, to sell American imperialism as a “benevolent service” to the American public. The imperialists attempted to cast Funston as an ideal example of white American manhood. If Funston was righteous in his actions, then by extension the entire imperialist endeavor was righteous as well.

Anti-imperialists attempted to demonstrate the folly of war. They also used the language of manhood to depict Funston as deceitful and dishonest. Media makers often attempted to portray Funston and the entire imperialist cause in the terms of a melodramatic villain. Funston was greedy and self-serving. Honest men fought honest battles, but Funston and the imperialists picked on the weak, the unarmed, and the defenseless.

This work also examines the biographical foundations of the hero and villain. In Funston’s early years, he courted the media in order to cement his identity as an explorer and *filibustero*. The language of race and gender underscored both early professions. The way Funston and other media makers wrote about him early on continued throughout Funston’s life and into his memory.

Lastly, I argue that Funston’s memory remained largely static, despite the efforts of anti-imperialists, as long as white middle-class men maintained hegemonic masculinity. From 1917

through the 1950s, Funston remained an ideal of righteous American intervention and manhood. During the 1960s and 1970s, the quagmire of Vietnam challenged the ideal of martial manhood. African Americans, Hispanics, homosexuals, and various other groups all staked their claim to citizenship and asserted they too were “real men.”

#### Who is Frederick Funston?

One of the main problems with the current body of knowledge on Funston is that writers have compartmentalized him. The scholarship on Funston often falls into a variety of categories but fails to examine his entire life. Scholars will include him in works about the Spanish-American War, the Philippine Insurrection, the San Francisco Earthquake, or the Occupation of Vera Cruz. Separating Funston into various sub-events ignores the important role he played in American politics. Examining the entirety of Funston’s life adds depth and insight to late 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> century America. Further, looking beyond Funston’s life at his memory reveals the important role Funston had in shaping the debate over imperialism for a century.

This work seeks to illuminate how and why media makers wrote about Funston, and the biographical aspects seek to contextualize both Funston’s effort to insert himself into media as well as the license media makers’ with their subject. For a biography, I would recommend Thomas Crouch’s *A Yankee Guerrillero: Frederick Funston and the Cuban insurrection, 1896-1897* and *A Leader of Volunteers: Frederick Funston and the 20th Kansas in the Philippines, 1898-1899*. Unlike Crouch, this work examines how and why Funston and others constructed his identity as the hero and the villain. This work seeks to illuminate when, where, and why society chose to remember and eventually forget Funston.

Just as Matthew Restall uses the term “armed entrepreneur” to explain the Spanish explorers and conquistadors, I use the term “imperial entrepreneur” to describe Funston’s ability



to navigate the changing military needs and obligations. Funston used his skill and cunning, often at great personal risk, to catapult himself into national celebrity. Restall notes that the conquistadors often financed their own adventurers and did so in hopes of becoming governors, viceroys, and securing rank. Similarly, each time Funston risked his life he used the daring feat to gain rank, fame, and fortune. Funston's experiences as an explorer gained him access to regional audiences. He parlayed his regional celebrity status to promote his time as a *filibustero* in Cuba. Using his experience in Cuba, Funston jumped the formally trained military officers to gain command of the Kansas 20<sup>th</sup>. Funston continued this trend within the regular army and, despite never attending military college, he became the highest-ranking officer in the United States.

Frederick Funston lived during one of the most transformative periods in American history. Between 1865 and 1917, urban and western populations swelled. In 1856, Henry Bessemer invented a cheap and effective way to make steel. The Bessemer converter transformed urban and rural landscapes. Factories churned out goods at an unceasing pace and Americans hungrily consumed them. High-rises and tenements housed the millions of new workers employed by the factory. Stronger steel allowed for longer bridges, stronger rails, and resulted in railroads crisscrossing the west. Subsequently, the railroads moved people and products across the nation at greater speeds than ever. The steel plow and the tractor allowed American farmers to cultivate millions of new acres. Twelve states entered the Union leaving the continental U.S. void of territories, and Americans looked abroad for new territories and markets.

Funston was a unique individual and yet he made conscientious efforts to conform to the standards and expectations of white Victorian men of his era.<sup>4</sup> He was a product of his environment, and he shaped the national discourse. Born in Ohio in 1865, a young Funston moved to Iola, Kansas, in 1868. The political, economic, and social unrest of the 1850s-1890s deeply influenced his upbringing and, subsequently, the remainder of his life. Like many Union officers, Funston's father, E.H. Funston, moved west in search of land, and yet Funston's upbringing was different from that of a typical Kansas settler. Raised on a farm, Funston was not simply a farmer's son but was also the son of an important congressman (R-KS).<sup>5</sup> E.H. possessed a massive library and Funston thoroughly enjoyed reading Romantic and adventure literature. Like many young men, Funston tied his identity to his career, but Victorian Era economic uncertainties and mechanization left those young men searching for a profession and sense of self.

Victorian society was full of angst. Economic boom and bust cycles led to escapism in movies, theater, and literature. The Victorians obsessed over manhood, race, and civilization. They inextricably bound the ideas together to help soothe and reinforce white middle-class men about their placement on the top rung of society. Popular culture centered on the melodrama and the popular romance novel. Writers churned out countless novels about chivalrous knights swooping in and saving the damsel in distress. Audiences hooted and hollered at the white hat

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4. I use the term Victorian and Victorianism similar to historian Gail Bederman in *Manliness and Civilization* to note a dichotomy and often a paradox of views. Middle-class Victorian men, believed they were both the pinnacle of civilization and feared they had become overcivilized. They abhorred the violence of war but celebrated the nobility of dying in battle for one's country. They appropriated activities that were deemed feminine, such as an active interest in fatherhood and raising their children, and coopted working-class "rough activities" like prizefights.

5. Funston chaired the House Agricultural Committee and thus wielded significant power. In 1892 a small now defunct town Funston, Kan., named after E.H., officially incorporated, in the southern part of Allen County

who saved the helpless female and booed the dastardly villain for tying her up. The Spanish-American war fit neatly into these tropes, and so Edison made films about Funston's heroism.

From a seemingly nondescript rural upbringing, Funston became a controversial figure. While many young men from the plains of Kansas or in the factories back east daydreamed of adventure, Funston's wanderlust left him searching for the adventures about which he had read in his father's library. Starting his career as an explorer, Funston constantly sought out fame and adventure. He wrote tirelessly to news outlets in hopes of gaining public acceptance. Funston had two key allies in promoting his explorations: newspaper men William Allen White and Charles F. Scott.<sup>6</sup> With the help of White's *Emporia Gazette* and Scott's *Iola Register*, Funston became a regional celebrity.

Between 1865 and 1917, newspapers played a central role in American social and political life. Newspapers of this period made no pretenses toward journalistic objectivity and openly supported the Republican or Democratic Party; fair and balanced reporting was a feature for later news networks. Funston tirelessly wrote home in hopes of gaining acceptance for his newfound profession: he wanted his peers to recognize him as an "explorer." Both White and Scott promoted Funston and his explorations. On the same pages they promoted Funston, they endorsed E.H. All three used the language of white manhood and civilization to discuss the explorations. These themes continued as others wrote about Funston during the Spanish-American War and until his death.

Democratic media makers criticized Funston and E.H. E.H. chaired the House Committee on Agriculture that oversaw the Department of Agriculture. Funston's explorations

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6. William Allen White edited the *Emporia Gazette* and Charles F. Scott edited/owned the *Iola Register*. Both men supported the Republican party, and eventually the Kansas Press Association inducted them into their Hall of Fame.

were ostensibly scientific missions for the Department of Agriculture to chart the flora and fauna. Many Democratic newspapers, like the *Wichita Daily Eagle*, criticized both Funstons for the perceived nepotism and graft. Further, upon Funston's return he entered the lecture circuit and attempted to cash in on his fame. "Real" men, they argued, did not use their fame for financial gain.

The lecture circuit across Kansas proved lucrative and Funston earned enough money to purchase a small farm. However, he did not settle down. Instead, in 1896, he enlisted in the Cuban Army as a *filibustero*. As a *filibustero*, Funston received national attention and cemented his status as regional celebrity. In 1897, before the U.S. formally declared war, Funston returned home, weighing ninety-five pounds, shot several times, and stricken with malaria.

While most stories end from such injuries, Funston again proves unique as he recovered from them. Between 1898 and 1902, Funston went on to enlist in both the Kansas 20<sup>th</sup> Volunteers and the regular army in the Philippine theater of the Spanish-American War and later during the Philippine Insurrection/Philippine-American War. Despite his war record, Funston's appointment was both political and controversial. The Populist governor, John W. Leedy, appointed Funston to command the Kansas 20<sup>th</sup> even as E.H. sought the Republican nomination to challenge Leedy in the general election.

All three parties supported the Spanish-American War, but the Republicans supported imperialism. The Democrats and Populists saw the war as just, but despised Republican plans to expand American territory overseas. Between 1896 and 1902, no issue dominated American politics more than the issue of imperialism. Funston became an outspoken proponent of and symbol for American imperialism. Imperialist media makers depicted Funston as righteous and noble. They used the language of manhood to justify American intervention abroad, often

depicting Cubans and Filipinos as women who needed saving or as children who needed to be taught a lesson.

Secretary of State John Hay declared the Spanish-American War a “splendid little war,” but, in its aftermath, the Philippine Insurrection dispelled this notion. While the Spanish-American War lasted less than four months, the Philippine Insurrection lasted three years. Disease and guerrilla warfare demoralized troops on both sides. In response Funston and other media makers Africanized the Filipino rebels to justify intervention. The process of Africanization allowed media makers to proclaim that the Filipino race was incapable of self-government.<sup>7</sup>

Imperialists, particularly in the Midwest, proclaimed Funston *the* hero of the war and a model of American manhood. They reveled in Funston’s successes in the Pacific. In 1899, Funston swam the Bagbag River to overrun a heavily fortified position and earned the Medal of Honor and the rank of brigadier general of the Volunteers. In 1902, Funston captured the leader of the Filipino rebellion, Emilio Aguinaldo, by disguising himself as a P.O.W. During his time in the Philippines, Roosevelt promoted Funston to the rank of brigadier general of the regular Army. Imperialist media makers heralded Funston as a frontrunner in the Kansas gubernatorial election and even a possible presidential candidate.

Funston’s national attention and praise from the imperialists made him a target for the anti-imperialists. Author Ernest Crosby wrote *Captain Jinks: Hero* as a “modern” *Don Quixote* to lampoon Funston and the imperialists. While many imperialists drew the ire of the anti-imperialists, none drew the contempt of Mark Twain like Funston. Twain and Funston had a

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7. See Miller, *From Liberation to Conquest*

personal and public feud, with Twain sarcastically writing *A Defense of General Funston* and Funston accusing Twain of treason. Twain, of course, relished Funston's label of traitor.

Anti-imperialists questioned Funston's tactics and every other aspect of the war. The debate over Funston's Bagbag River swim demonstrates the degree to which anti-imperialists challenged the image of Funston the hero. Between 1902 and 1906, anti-imperialists carried out a campaign to obfuscate Funston's record, going so far as to question not only whether Funston swam the Bagbag, but also whether he could swim at all. They attempted to cast Funston as a greedy villain who lied about his war record in order to secure rank and exploit the war for financial gain. Ultimately, they succeeded and, in 1906 schoolbooks around the nation removed Funston's swim from their pages.

However even as anti-imperialists literally erased Funston from history, he would regain his place in the textbooks on April 18, 1906. Funston was stationed at the Presidio when a massive earthquake struck San Francisco. As the ranking officer, and unable to communicate with Washington, Funston took matters into his own hands. He declared martial law and ordered the army to dynamite buildings to create a firebreak and to shoot looters on sight. Media makers throughout the country proclaimed Funston savior of the city. They mocked the anti-imperialists for doubting Funston's bravery. Even with the praise, Funston again entered a public row, this time with a powerful union boss, O. A. Tveitmoe, about the necessity of firebreaks. The feud dragged on publicly as Funston declared that he would rather hire convicts over organized labor to rebuild the city. Tveitmoe responded by making it appear as if Funston had single-handedly canceled the Fourth of July parade.

In 1914, the U.S. again debated the merits of imperialism and intervention. As crisis struck, Funston again entered onto the national stage and became a symbol for the larger debate.

Funston led the forces that occupied Vera Cruz in 1914 and he gave the commands to send Gen. Pershing into Mexico during the punitive expedition. As Funston's military reputation grew, Woodrow Wilson favored him to lead the American Expeditionary forces in WWI. However, massive heart attack in 1917 cut short Funston's life and resulted in Gen. Pershing leading the American forces in Europe.

Funston was unique due to his rank in the military. As a brigadier and later major general, he interacted with Roosevelt, Taft, and Wilson regularly. Historians have rightly noted Funston as an outspoken and boisterous character. Funston's braggadocious style resulted in his becoming a symbol for the larger debate. Much like his contemporary, Theodore Roosevelt, Funston loved the limelight and actively sought media attention. Even from his time as an explorer, Funston courted media attention. Funston wrote to his friends in the newspapers and actively sought authors who would immortalize him as a character in children's literature.

Lying in state at the Alamo demonstrates the success of the imperialists at casting Funston in the role of national hero. Funston and his allies were obsessed with image making. They wrote tirelessly about him. Not only did the nation mourn Funston, it also bestowed upon him a truly impressive honor. Over the next century, however, the nation forgot about Funston. Some communities passively forgot him letting his memory fade entirely, while others, like San Francisco, Chicago, and Iola actively debated how to remember or whether to forget Funston.

#### Topics: Manhood

Manhood is a central topic throughout this work. Like Kristin L. Hoganson, Bonnie M. Miller, and Michael Kimmel, this work discusses manhood in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. How media makers wrote about Funston reflected Victorian beliefs in the superiority

of white men. Funston's personal writings also illuminate his motivations, namely his quest to secure his masculine identity and social standing through his profession.

While earlier scholarship credited the sensational sinking of the *Maine* as the cause of the Spanish-American War, Kristin L. Hoganson's *Fighting for American Manhood: How Gender Politics Provoked the Spanish-American and Philippine-American Wars* contends any proposed causes for the war are subsumed by a larger debate within American society. Hoganson argues that re-evaluating prevailing explanations of the Spanish-American War through the lens of gender studies reveals a unifying theory: "reassessing the existing explanations for these conflicts with gender in mind reveals common cultural assumptions among jingoist businessmen, annexationists, strategists, politicians, *Cuba libre* supporters, psychic crisis sufferers, and Darwinian theorists."<sup>8</sup> Adding gender to the existing framework offers a thematic unity to previous arguments. Hoganson, however, stops short of assessing the aftermath of the Spanish-American War. Hoganson views the conflict in terms of shifting visions of masculinity where politicians and editors often portrayed Cuba and Cubans as either feminine in need of saving or childlike and in need of guidance. By examining Funston specifically one can see that the debate over American manhood continued throughout the century and did not just apply to Cuba and the Philippines but also to Mexico and to the broader argument over imperialism.

Bonnie M. Miller's *From Liberation to Conquest: The Visual and Popular Cultures of the Spanish-American War of 1898* examines newspapers, cartoons, and other visual representations of the Spanish-American and Philippine American wars. Likewise, this work focuses on public discourse and media portrayals of Funston. Miller demonstrates that, in 1896, the visual representation of Cubans and Filipinos as noble men fighting for their freedom in

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8. Kristin L. Hoganson, *Fighting for American Manhood: How Gender Politics Provoked the Spanish-American War and Philippine-American Wars* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1998), 13.



order to build sympathy had, by 1898, changed to representations of damsels in distress to justify intervention. Eventually, media makers Africanized and infantilized Filipinos and Cubans to rationalize occupation.

Miller recognizes the importance of Funston to media makers. She states that “the press singled out Funston more than any other U.S. general serving in the Philippines as the turn-of-the-century manly martial ideal” yet Funston does not receive extensive examination in her work.<sup>9</sup> This work will specifically examine Funston’s role as a symbol for both the imperialists and anti-imperialists. However, Funston is more than a case study. Funston actively participated in casting himself as the hero of the war and thus deserves serious scholarly attention on how and why he was successful.

Many historians and sociologists have examined the idea of manhood and the question of what makes a “real man.” Like E. Anthony Rotundo’s *American Manhood: Transformations in Masculinity from the Revolutionary to the Modern Era* and Michael Kimmel’s *Manhood in America: A Cultural History*, I argue that the definition of manliness is a societal invention. Both study masculinity and changes in societal views about manhood. Rotundo explains the changes between the self-made man of the 1770s-1860s and the angst that riddled Victorian Americans. Both examine how and why white martial manhood came to dominate American society and how other groups came to contest the dominant view that white middle-class men were the pinnacle of manhood. Examining Funston reveals the practical and widespread ramifications these changes had on society. The forces that contested the core of American masculinity also allowed challenges to the memory of Funston the hero. Understanding how, why, and when

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9. Bonnie M. Miller, *From Liberation to Conquest: The Visual and Popular Cultures of the Spanish-American War of 1898* (Boston, MA: University of Massachusetts Press, 2011), 255.

Americans remembered Funston illuminates the debate over what it means to be a “real American” and a “real man.”

#### Topics: Race

One cannot discuss gender at the turn of the century without discussing race. Historian Gail Bederman’s *Manliness and Civilization: A Cultural History of Gender and Race in the United States, 1880-1917* notes that Victorians used the terms “civilization” and “civilized” as synonyms for white middle-class manhood. Fundamentally, when Funston discusses the “savage Indian” or “savage” Filipino, he is doing so in racial and gendered terms. Further, imperialist media makers used race and manhood simultaneously to support their cause. Cartoons depicted Funston as “civilized” and manly and simultaneously Africanized Filipinos as “savage others.”

Similarly, Mathew Frye Jacobson argues in *Barbarian Virtues: The United States Encounters Foreign Peoples at Home and Abroad, 1876-1917*, that domestic racial anxiety defined American interactions abroad. Jacobson demonstrates how Theodore Roosevelt argued in favor of keeping some of the “barbarian virtues.” As Jacobson argues, in the eyes of white America, “others” abroad lacked the western “civilized” virtues necessary for self-government. Paradoxically, white western “civilized” men needed to cultivate some of the “barbarian virtues” to retain their manhood and extend civilization to the rest of the world. Funston proves an interesting character because at the same time media makers cast Funston as “civilizing” the “savage” they also used him as a foil against the “overcivilized” and “effeminate” office worker.

Funston proves a beneficial addition to Jacobson’s argument. Not only did Funston argue in favor of Cuban self-government, but he did so explicitly on the grounds of their racial makeup. Further, Funston became a key figure in disallowing Filipino self-government and argued against Filipino nationalism largely by invoking racial and gendered stereotypes.

Funston perceived the “whiteness” of some elite Cubans as justifying their ability to self-govern, while he viewed the Filipinos as “racially inferior.” Ultimately, Funston actively fought to end the Philippine rebellion, both on the ground in the islands and in the minds of his American audience. This work expands on Jacobson’s arguments by looking at the imagery used across multiple mediums and how they formed a coherent acceptance of expansionism.

*The Anarchy of Empire in the Making of U.S. Culture* by Amy Kaplan challenges existing assumptions about the influence of the Spanish-American War in the United States. Kaplan explores how “international struggles for domination abroad profoundly shape representations of American national identity at home, and how, in turn, cultural phenomena we think of as domestic or particularly national are forged in a crucible of foreign relations.”<sup>10</sup> Employing post-colonial theory, Kaplan notes imperialism is not unidirectional where the stronger power simply imposes views on a weaker state: rather, imperial endeavors deeply shaped American culture through a conflict of ideology and ambiguities that formed in the imperial relation. Funston discussed Native Alaskans, Filipinos, and Cubans in racial terms. The imperialists used racial ideologies and the ambiguity of “non-white” groups to paint them in terms familiar to a domestic population. Likewise, Funston’s letters home about the “noble children of the forests,” “white Cubans,” and “savage Filipino” all influenced domestic audiences about racial qualities of “others” abroad.

#### Topics: Memory

Eschewing the parts of history that might be uncomfortable while venerating the nobler parts of a public figure’s life illustrates the process of constructing public memory. In this case, the Allen County Historical Society brought ideals of service and patriotism to the forefront

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10. Amy Kaplan, *The Anarchy of Empire in the Making of U.S. Culture* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press. 2005), 1.

while erasing the Filipino flag from the memorial because it might draw attention to the local hero's role in committing war crimes. The study of public and private attempts to shape the public's ability to remember history falls into the field of "memory studies."

In 2001, David W. Blight's pioneering work *Race and Reunion* brought memory studies to the forefront of U.S. history. While Blight was not the first scholar to use the concept of memory his work received wide scale acclaim and demonstrated the power of memory as a methodology. Blight's *Race and Reunion* identifies the ideological battle at the core of history making: Blight argues that history is "primarily concerned with the ways that contending memories clashed or intermingled in public memory."<sup>11</sup> Though Blight brought memory studies to the forefront of U.S. history, historians, particularly in Holocaust and European studies, already employed the methodology of collective memory. I intend to use a similar methodology to examine how Funston went from national hero to forgotten footnote.

In his work "Collective Memory and Cultural History: Problems and Methods," historian Alon Confino succinctly describes the methods, aims, and dangers of memory studies. Confino views memory "as a subjective experience of a social group that essentially sustains a relationship of power. Simply stated, it is who wants whom to remember what, and why."<sup>12</sup> In this case who wants to remember Funston and why? For the purpose of this project, one can define memory as the information individuals and communities pass to successive generations. When Confino says, "who wants whom to remember what, and why" he is looking for the political, social, economic, or cultural purpose; or, the power in the discourse surrounding the construction of a particular memory.

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11. David W. Blight, *Race and Reunion: The Civil War in American Memory* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2001), 1-2.

12. Alon Confino, "Collective History and Cultural History: Problems of Methodology" *American Historical Review* 102, No. 5 (Dec., 1997): 1393.

Iola, Kansas chose to memorialize Funston rather than some other notable figure like Buster Keaton or Walter Johnson.<sup>13</sup> The Allen County Historical Society actively chose to depict Funston as the hero of Cuba and not the Philippines, and in doing so they also “remembered” the Spanish-American War in the Caribbean and not in Asia. One must look at why in that particular moment the town constructed this particular memory of Funston and the Spanish-American War. In Iola’s case, a fire had destroyed part of the old town square, the town continued to lose population, and many feared the town had become irrelevant. Constructing the monument to Funston served to create an image of Iola as an important part of American history, the home of the hero of the Spanish-American War. Each field trip to the museum and monument served to impart the legacy and importance not only of Funston and the Spanish-American War, but of Iola itself.

It is important to differentiate between public and private memory. As James M. Mayo notes, war memorials serve an important political function, communities choose “a particular sentiment and [choosing] a particular purpose provides alternative possibilities for the remembrance of past wars.”<sup>14</sup> These monuments provide a community service; they either reinforce the existing narrative, or contest it and seek to replace it with a new one. When the Allen County Historical Society chose to build a monument to Funston, they chose a set of ideals, hence not flying the Philippine flag, and they sought to remember Frederick Funston as the hero. Similarly, books, newspapers, posters, movies, and things designed for mass

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13. Buster Keaton was a star of the silent film era and actually born in Piqua, KS, up until 2017 an annual Buster Keaton festival was held in Iola, KS. Walter Johnson was one of the first inductees to the baseball hall of fame and born on the farmland around Humboldt, KS. Both Piqua and Humboldt are within ten miles of Iola. The point is that both were born on farms near Iola. Similarly, Funston’s boyhood home was actively moved from outside the city of Iola and yet Funston was declared to be Iola’s native son, despite being born in Ohio and only raised in Allen County.

14. James M. Mayo, *War Memorials as Political Landscape: The American Experience and Beyond* (New York: Praeger, 1988), 4.

consumption all attempt to use a particular memory, whether new or old, to further a community function, to legitimate a political action through historical discourse (“truth”).

### Chapter outline

Chapter 1 examines Funston’s formative years from 1865-1894. I argue Funston’s upbringing and Victorian culture sent him in search of adventure, and that the same culture made him keen on fashioning his identity in the public eye. Between 1890 and 1894, Funston became an explorer but always ensured he wrote home. Examining Funston’s writings demonstrates how he attempted to gain acceptance for his profession and, thus, his identity. Funston used the indigenous peoples and the environment to demonstrate his manliness. Funston’s letters reveal how race and manhood underscored the notion of “civilization.” When discussing the indigenous populations, Funston uses the terms “civilization” and “savage” to “other” the “natives,” demonstrating the superiority of white men. Those that promoted Funston did so for political reasons and so this chapter examines the politics behind the first active effort to discredit him.

Chapter 2 examines Funston’s life between 1896 and 1902. Chapter 2 argues that by epitomizing Funston as an ideal of manhood, it gave media makers a fashioned vessel to promote imperialists politics. Imperialists and anti-imperialists wrote about Funston in terms of the melodrama and the romance novel, casting him as the hero or villain. Although the war with Spain ended in 1899, the Filipinos revolted and Funston returned to quell the uprising. In 1902, Funston became a national celebrity after leading the controversial raid that captured rebel leader Emilio Aguinaldo. Despite imperialists proclaiming Funston *the* hero of the war, the Philippine Insurrection became a bloody quagmire that led to a formal Senate investigation over Funston and the war.

In Chapter 3, I argue that the anti-imperialists sought to undermine the image of the masculine Funston by questioning the very foundation of his heroism, the Bagbag River swim. Ultimately, the anti-imperialists successfully tarnished Funston's reputation, but Funston's actions in the San Francisco earthquake and the U.S. intervention in Mexico solidified the image of him as hero. Race and masculinity underscored the creation of Funston as hero. Funston and other media makers depicted the Mexicans as subhuman "others" in need of "civilization" and white education. Even Democratic President Woodrow Wilson accepted the image of Funston as a dashing hero and appointed him to be the highest-ranking officer in the Army, Major General. Wilson in fact favored Funston to lead the American Forces in Europe but a sudden heart attack in February of 1917 ended Funston's life at fifty-one. Funston's funeral services at the Alamo and the Presidio illustrate his success as casting himself the manly war hero. The nation mourned and bestowed upon him the honor of lying in state at the Alamo.

Chapter 4 examines the fictional Funstons. By paying particular attention to fictional portrayals of Funston in novels, children's literature, cartoons, music, and film, I argue that imperialists and anti-imperialists used racial and gendered language to build support for their causes. Imperialists Africanized, infantilized, and "othered" native populations in the Philippines and Mexico in order to gain support for American intervention. They used the themes of the "coon songs" and "coon cartoons" to depict foreign populations as needing white civilization. Anti-imperialists countered the imperialists' efforts by creating their own version of Funston, the villain. The anti-imperialists used satire to lampoon Funston and the imperialists as foolish, greedy, and deceitful.

The final chapter looks at how the image of Funston the hero and villain dominated his memory over the next century. Between 1917 and 1960, white males claimed a monopoly on

American manhood and so the image of Funston the hero remained the dominant public memory. However, between 1960 and 1999 as Vietnam escalated and movements like the Chicano, LGBTQ, and African American Civil Rights movements gained acceptance, the idea of manliness frayed and split apart. White middle-class male hegemony faltered and Funston's memory became contested. In San Francisco, citizens held a mock trial and debated renaming Funston Ave. In Chicago, the school board openly admitted to forgetting Funston, and in Iola, Kansas, the public debated moving his boyhood home to the town square.



## Chapter 1: Funston the Explorer

Roughly halfway between Tulsa and Kansas City, in the southeast corner of Kansas, sits Iola, the county seat of Allen County. In 2010, the population of Allen County stood at 13,371, slightly less than it did in 1890. However, in 1890, Allen County and Iola sat on the cusp of a natural gas and smelting boom, which saw the county population double by 1910 and the population of Iola jump from 1,700 to over 9,000.<sup>15</sup> The late 1880s and early 1890s saw the births of Walter “Big Train” Johnson, George Sweatt, and Buster Keaton.<sup>16</sup> But, by 1920 the gas wells dried up, the mines closed or flooded, and the boom became a bust. Since 1920, the population of Iola and Allen County has continued to decline.

Although today Iola and Allen County are not nationally prominent, between the middle of the nineteenth century and the beginnings of the twentieth century, Iola, much like the rest of Kansas, sat at the heart of American political, economic, and social turmoil. Allen County had to navigate Bleeding Kansas, the Panic of 1873, and the Industrial Revolution. Cultural changes—namely, the redefining of masculinity, the closing of the frontier, and the rise of consumer culture—radically altered social life in Iola, Allen County, and the nation.

Just as Iola has faded from the national consciousness, so too has its most famous resident, Major-General Frederick Funston. Like many young men of the 1850s-1890s, Frederick Funston spent his early life in search of meaning. As the century drew on, the economic, political, and social uncertainty left Funston restless and dissatisfied with a multitude of careers but also seeking social acceptance and identity from his chosen professions.

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15. Allen County Census Data, Allen Historical Society.

16. Walter Johnson (1887-1946) and George Sweatt (1893-1983) were famous baseball players born in Humboldt, Kansas which is ten miles south of Iola in Allen County. Buster Keaton (1895-1966) was born ten miles west in Piqua, which is in Woodson County, but experiencing the same economic growth as Allen County. Iola held an annual Buster Keaton festival through 2017.

This chapter examines the formative years of Funston's life, from 1865 to 1896, and argues that the economic strains, political upheaval, and Victorian mores that tied profession to manhood resulted in an inner restlessness that sent Funston searching for a success. It is important to recognize why a young Funston sought out his career and identity as an explorer, because the forces that drove him in on an unceasing quest for success continued to shape his actions for the remainder of this life. In order to understand Funston's life, one must understand the realities of Funston's world. The social values that dominated the late nineteenth-century during Funston's childhood deeply influenced his life. The economic strains and political upheaval resulted in Funston being unable to follow his father's profession as a farmer and politician but the Victorian notions of manhood implanted the notion that without a respectable career Funston could not be a respectable man. Funston's world helped shape him, but he was not merely a passive participant; he actively sought out media and interacted in ways he thought would further his career and social standing.

#### The Funston Family and Allen County

To understand Funston's life, one must understand his childhood and how his father, Edward Hogue (E.H.) Funston, rose to national prominence so quickly, and the political climate of Allen County and Kansas in the immediate years preceding E.H.'s relocation from the Buckeye State to the Sunflower State. Prior to white settlement, Allen County lay in the heart of Osage Territory. The Osage ceded land to the federal government multiple times but remained an active presence in the area until the late 1870s.

During the 1850s, Kansas became a national battleground and precursor to the Civil War as pro-slavery "Border Ruffians" and anti-slavery "Free-Staters" descended on the territory. Both sides passed a number of state constitutions to legitimize their claim on the government and

the disagreement quickly became violent. In 1856, pro-slavery forces sacked the Free-State capital of Lawrence and burned the printing presses along with several other buildings.

Nationally, Senator Charles Sumner (R-MA) railed against the violence in his “Crimes against Kansas” speech to which Representative Preston Brooks (D-SC) infamously “brow beat” him on the floor of the Senate. Violence continued across the state but no act shocked the nation more than abolitionist John Brown’s attack on Pottawatomie Creek. Brown sought vengeance for both the attack on Lawrence and Brooks’ assault on Sumner by massacring five pro-slavery men at Pottawatomie Creek.<sup>17</sup>

While battles raged around Kansas, Allen County had a much more pragmatic approach to the issue of slavery that often avoided violence. Sitting in the southeast corner of Kansas, Allen County lay roughly a day’s horse ride from pro-slavery Missouri, sixty miles from the pro-slavery Cherokee Nation in Oklahoma, and seventy miles from the Free-State capital at Lawrence, yet violence never erupted in the county.<sup>18</sup> Despite its founding by pro-slavery forces in 1855, few slaves entered Allen County and it did not take long until those slaves that did “were either liberated [emancipated by Free-Staters] or taken from the county by their masters.”<sup>19</sup> The low number of slaves and the non-confrontational approach of the Free-Staters in Allen County ensured the political struggles lacked the violence of other parts of the state. Generally, the Free-Staters in Allen County purchased slaves for emancipation and were “Western men, who were moderate and conservative in their views, and were willing to allow

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17. Some local county residents make an unsubstantiated (and probably false) claim that John Brown hid out in Allen County in a small cave known locally as “John Brown’s Cave.”

18. A day’s horse ride is generally considered around 25-35 miles and Iola is 40 miles from the Missouri border. The nearest settled outpost Fort Scott is 20 miles from Iola or halfway between Iola and the Missouri border.

19. William G. Cutler, *History of the State of Kansas* first published (Chicago: T. Andreas, 1883), Kansas Book Collection. <http://www.kancoll.org/books/cutler/allen/allen-co-p2.html>.

the Pro-slavery men the right to their own opinion, so long as no open demonstration of violence was made.”<sup>20</sup> So long as violence did not occur in the county, an uneasy peace remained.

Ultimately, however, violence, or at least the perceived threat of violence, undid the pro-slavery forces in Allen County and resulted in Iola becoming the county seat. Allen County’s first county seat, Cofachique, already plagued by geographic challenges that made settlement difficult, floundered as pro-slavery forces descended upon it. An armed band of pro-slavery men located themselves there and in so doing “created a feeling of enmity toward the town.”<sup>21</sup> As more Free-Staters entered the county, the original seat began to dwindle and by 1858 most of the town removed itself to nearby Iola, which became the county seat in 1859.<sup>22</sup> In the same years, the county overwhelmingly rejected the Lecompton proslavery constitution by a 28-268 vote and the following year passed the Wyandotte anti-slavery constitution 244-159.<sup>23</sup>

During the Civil War, only a few minor skirmishes occurred in the county, but most able-bodied men enlisted in the Union Army.<sup>24</sup> One battalion from Iola and five separate companies from around the county formed and served regionally in the Kansas 9<sup>th</sup> and 10<sup>th</sup>, and saw limited action in Kansas, Arkansas, and Missouri. On the southern edge of the county, Confederate forces raided the town of Humboldt in September 1861, and in retaliation for Free-Stater raids into Missouri, burned most of the buildings in November 1861. Aside from the raids in 1861, little else of note occurred in Allen County during the war.

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20. Ibid.

21. Ibid.

22. Originally the county seat moved to Humboldt but quickly moved to Iola by an act of the legislature in 1858.

23. I must note that many boycotted the constitutional referendums and violence and intimidation to suppress opposition were commonplace. Cutler, *History of the State of Kansas*.

24. Ibid.

Even so, the Civil War profoundly affected Kansas and the rest of the nation, and so too did it leave its mark on the Funston family. Born in Ohio in 1836 to Irish immigrants, E.H. Funston, Frederick Funston's father, lived the typical childhood of a farmer's son. For the remainder of his life, E.H. Funston always considered himself a farmer despite considerable education and his twenty-year career in politics. After a short time as a traveling salesman, E.H. Funston graduated from New Carlisle Academy and went to Marietta College. In all likelihood, had the war not occurred, E.H. would have finished school and continued to live in Ohio, but two years into his education the war erupted and E.H. Funston promptly enlisted in the Union Army.<sup>25</sup> By the end of the Civil War, E.H. Funston rose through the ranks eventually becoming a first lieutenant in the 16<sup>th</sup> Ohio artillery battery.<sup>26</sup>

Although the war shattered lives and destroyed families, in Frederick Funston's case it created his. In the same year E.H. Funston enlisted, he also met and married Ann Eliza Mitchel, the cousin of the captain commanding E.H.'s battery. E.H. Funston's bride was a petite and attractive young woman from a respectable family. Ann Mitchel proudly claimed her direct ancestry included the sister of Daniel Boone. E.H. returned from the war and by November of 1865 Ann Mitchel bore the first of seven children. Ann Mitchel imparted both her petite size and feminine facial features to their son, Frederick Funston. Ann Mitchel also brought a level of Eastern sophistication and middle-class culture to the Funston farmstead. For example, upon moving to their new farmhouse in 1868, Ann Mitchel brought a huge rosewood piano and other

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25. Thomas W. Crouch, "Frederick Funston of Kansas: His Formative Years, 1865-1891" *The Kansas Historical Quarterly*, (Summer, 1974), <http://allencountyhistory.weebly.com/frederick-funston-of-kansas-his-formative-years-1865-1891.html>.

26. *Ibid.*

expensive furnishings, along with her two young sons.<sup>27</sup> Despite the fineries that decorated the household, politically E.H. maintained the public aura of a hardworking common farmer.

While it is uncertain exactly why E.H. Funston chose Allen County, the county had considerable ties to Ohio that undoubtedly helped his political fortunes. Like millions of others after the war, E.H. Funston used his earnings from the Civil War to seek out a new life in the West. In 1867, E.H. purchased a small farm outside of Iola. The original founders named the county after the Democratic-expansionist representative and later senator from Ohio, William Allen. William Allen opposed the Civil War and eventually became the governor of Ohio in 1874, the same year Allen County sent representatives to solicit aid from Ohio and Indiana due to a devastating crop failure.<sup>28</sup> In 1868, a year after E.H. Funston moved to repair the farm, he sent for his wife and two sons, Frederick and James Burton.<sup>29</sup> Although E.H. Funston moved to start a life as a farmer, he quickly entered the realm of politics.

Unlike the Union officers who moved to the South to run for political office, E.H. Funston was no “carpetbagger.” E.H. Funston’s pro-Union Republican politics, steadfast focus on agrarian interests, and military career resonated well with the Free-State pro-Union population of Allen County, and within four years of relocating his family, E.H. Funston won a seat in the Kansas house in 1872. He served three terms and during his last term functioned as speaker.<sup>30</sup> E.H. easily won a seat in the Kansas Senate and continued his rise through Kansas politics during the 1870s and 1880s and by 1884 earned a seat in the U.S. House of Representatives.<sup>31</sup> Even after E.H. Funston lost his seat in 1894, he never strayed far from

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27. Ibid.

28. Cutler, *History of the State of Kansas*.

29. Crouch, “Frederick Funston of Kansas.”

30. Ibid.

31. E.H. Funston cultivated the image of “Farmer Funston,” but his detractors often referred to him as “Foghorn Funston” due to his boisterous nature. Crouch “Frederick Funston of Kansas.”

politics: he sought to regain his seat and the Republican nomination for governor and “continued to use his powerful voice to speak out on issues of interest to him” until his death in 1911.<sup>32</sup>

While a young Frederick Funston disliked the constant political callers that frequented his father’s farmhouse, E.H.’s political career influenced Frederick Funston’s entire life. Political supporters and detractors of E.H. Funston gave him two monikers, “Farmer Funston” and “Foghorn Funston,” respectively. Just as his father developed a brash and vigorous style of debate, Frederick Funston became an outspoken proponent of imperialism and the gold standard.<sup>33</sup> Although Frederick Funston evaded a political career throughout his adult life, newspapers and politicians around Kansas and the nation attempted to draft him onto the Republican ticket. Funston never accepted the offers to run for office, but he at various points debated running and often spoke and wrote on political issues.

Despite the fact Frederick Funston never ran for political office, his public life never strayed far from the political sphere. From a young age, Funston understood the power of words. In 1881, at age sixteen, Funston attended a political meeting that opposed the candidacy of E.H. Funston. After the speakers had torn “Foghorn” Funston to pieces, a young Frederick Funston rose to speak. The boisterous crowd jeered at the young Funston, but it quieted down when he began telling stories about his father.<sup>34</sup> Funston learned the power of captivating audiences with storytelling and, as an adult, continued to do so in his lectures, writings, and speeches. After Funston finished the first story, he told another, then another, and continued to tell stories about his father. Eventually “in vain did the organizers of the meeting howl for adjournment, [but

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32. “Kansas Memory: E.H. Funston Home in Allen County, Kansas,” Kansas State Historical Society, accessed April 4, 2019, <http://www.kansasmemory.org/item/226872>.

33. Crouch, “Frederick Funston of Kansas.”

34. Ed. Marshall Everett, *Exciting Experiences in our Wars with Spain and the Filipinos* (Chicago: Book Publishers Union, 1899), 428-429.

Funston] now had the audience with him, and by the time he had finished a brief well put statement of the political situation it was a Funston audience, and the effect of his oratory was very evident on election day.”<sup>35</sup>

After graduating high school in 1886, another drought year, Frederick Funston did not remain in the county for long, despite his natural speaking abilities and political connections. Even though Funston remained popular throughout the county, a series of economic crises in the 1870s, 1880s, and 1890s did not allow him to stay and follow in his father’s footsteps. Like millions of other young men across the nation, the economics of the late 1800s forced Funston to find work outside the family farm. Although there was a boom in smelting and gas production in Allen County, the agrarian sector there floundered. Between 1870 and 1880, land prices dramatically plummeted from \$20 per acre to just \$12. The price recovered to \$20 per acre by 1890 but the growth remained flat and by 1900 the cost still averaged only \$21 per acre.<sup>36</sup> In Southeast Kansas, the overall prices rose from \$11 to \$19 between 1880 and 1890 but fell to \$17 by 1900.<sup>37</sup> Across the nation, the period was one of persistent political and economic unrest. While specific concerns varied with each crisis, the core of the farmers’ complaints remained the same—their perceived deteriorating political and economic status.<sup>38</sup> The economic problems sent millions of young men searching for new careers and new identities, including a young Frederick Funston.

Across the nation, the boom and bust cycles hit the agrarian sector particularly hard, and Kansas, Allen County, and Iola sat at the center of the unrest and could not avoid the economic

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35. Ibid.

36. Wilfred H. Pine, “100 Years of Farmland Values in Kansas,” *Bulletin 611*, Sept. 1977: table 2, 5, <https://www.ksre.k-state.edu/historicpublications/pubs/SB611.pdf>.

37. Ibid.

38. James Stewart, “The Economics of American Farm Unrest, 1865-1890,” Economic History Association, accessed April 1, 2019, <https://eh.net/encyclopedia/the-economics-of-american-farm-unrest-1865-1900/>.



onslaught. Farmers across the nation sought relief from the economic bust but the Plains states saw the most political and economic turmoil. A series of droughts between 1870 and 1900 created recurring hardships, and in Iola several economic boom and bust cycles only exacerbated the problems. Allen County's population boomed following the Civil War and from 1860 to 1870 rose from 3,082 to 7,022, with most arriving after 1865. From 1870 to 1873 thousands of new acres came under cultivation and the 1880s historian William Cutler wrote that the "period was perhaps the most progressive one in the history of the county; money was plenty and nearly everyone did business, or bought property to the full extent of his capital. The result was that with the financial panic of 1873... nearly all improvement stopped, [and the] value of property depreciated."<sup>39</sup> The financial crisis occurred just as poor crop yields meant the heavily leveraged farmers could not repay their loans. As banks repossessed farms, the land prices plummeted and compounded the problem. Following the Panic of 1873, two plagues of grasshoppers destroyed most of the crops in 1874. Thousands of settlers returned back east under the motto "in God we trusted, in Kansas we busted." In Allen County, the devastation resulted in over one-third of the population leaving and the county commissioners paying two men twenty-five dollars to solicit aid in Ohio and Indiana.<sup>40</sup> It was in these years of crisis that E.H. Funston's pro-agrarian message resonated with the population and allowed him to win election and re-election to the Kansas House.

Eighteen seventy-three also marked another important milestone as Iola made its entry into the Industrial Revolution with the drilling of the first commercial gas well, which sowed the seeds for the next boom and bust. By the 1900s, the gas fields flourished across Allen County and Southeast Kansas. Perhaps nothing typifies this boom as much as the emergence in 1898 of

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39. Cutler, *History of the State of Kansas*.

40. *Ibid.*

the community aptly named “Gas City,” fewer than three miles from Iola. By 1899, the wells produced up to fourteen million cubic feet of natural gas a day.<sup>41</sup> With an abundant source of cheap natural gas, new factories opened across the region to manufacture bricks and cement and smelt lead and zinc that, in turn, attracted the railroad to ship the products east and west.<sup>42</sup> By 1903, the smelters in Iola produced thirty-five percent of the total zinc production in the United States. At its peak, Iola produced sixty percent of the nation’s zinc or roughly forty percent of the world’s total.<sup>43</sup> These new industries altered the demographics of the region as immigrants from Germany, Scandinavia, and the Balkans descended on the region and eventually led to the unseating of E.H. Funston. But, like the boom that preceded the panic of 1873, most of the wells dried up by the 1920s and the industries left. The zinc and lead smelters left another indelible mark on the city of Iola: throughout much of the 2010s, the E.P.A. continued to remove lead and smelter waste from neighborhood yards and schools as the companies had simply dumped it freely across the outskirts of the city or sold it as cheap fill dirt.

#### Victorian America: Literature, Manhood, and the Commodity Culture

Outside of politics, E.H. Funston still deeply affected Frederick Funston’s childhood, particularly his education. E.H. Funston owned “reputedly the best [library] in Allen [C]ounty, this collection--with its volumes of the English jurist Blackstone, Carlyle's *French Revolution*, the *Federalist Papers*, Macauley's *Essays*, Plutarch's *Lives*, Shelley, Burns, Dickens, and others--gave the younger Funston an unusual array of talent that stimulated his mind.”<sup>44</sup> As a boy, Funston enjoyed reading in his father’s library that also contained the works of well-known

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41. In 2004 the average home in the U.S. used 77,500 cubic feet a of gas a year or 214 cubic feet a day. “A Brief “History of Allen County,” Kansas Towns, August 2006, <http://www.kansastowns.us/iola/history.htm>

42. Crouch, “Frederick Funston of Kansas.”

43. Michael Haen, “The Boom Years of Iola, Kansas 1896-1907,” (Masters thesis, University of Kansas State, Manhattan, 1968), 1, [https://archive.org/stream/boomyearsofiolak00haen/boomyearsofiolak00haen\\_djvu.txt](https://archive.org/stream/boomyearsofiolak00haen/boomyearsofiolak00haen_djvu.txt)

44. Crouch, “Frederick Funston of Kansas.”

Romantics like Robert Burns, William Cullen Bryant, James Fenimore Cooper, Nathaniel Hawthorne, Edgar Allen Poe, and Will Carleton.<sup>45</sup> After reading through his father's library, Funston often borrowed books from the neighbors to continue his readings. Funston's three favorite genres were botany, military histories, and "heroic fiction," all of which shaped his future professions.<sup>46</sup>

Funston's writings as an explorer echoed many of the themes of Romantic literature: subjectivity; an emphasis on individualism; spontaneity; freedom from rules; a solitary life; the awe, terror, and beauty of nature; and a fascination with the past.<sup>47</sup> When writing about the Rockies, Funston declared they presented a "rugged grandeur excelled by none."<sup>48</sup> Additionally, Funston used the language of the Romantics, like James Fenimore Cooper, to describe the indigenous peoples as "the noble red man" and "simple children of the forest."<sup>49</sup> His childhood education's literary legacy of adventure instilled the Romantic ideas about the sublimity of nature that became evident in his future writings.

During the late nineteenth century, notions of manhood changed, middle-class male writers began to assert their masculinity in the form of the spectacle, i.e., in their writings for consumption. Men established an intellectual and social authority through self-presentation to an audience.<sup>50</sup> The perceived feminization of the world resulted in male writers, such as Thomas

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45. There is no certain way to ascertain whether Funston read any of these books or when they were attained by the Funston family, only that many are inscribed with the names of E.H. Funston and other family members and were present in the house. However, since Funston admittedly was a prolific reader, there is a strong likelihood he would have been familiar with many of them. Library List E.H. Funston. Allen County Historical Society.

46. Crouch, "Frederick Funston of Kansas."

47. J.A. Cuddon. *The Penguin Dictionary of Literary Terms and Literary Theory*, Third Ed. (London: Penguin Books, 1991), <http://www.uh.edu/engines/romanticism/introduction.html>.

48. Frederick Funston, "Storm Bound Above the Clouds", *St. Nicholas Magazine*, July 1891 p. 657.

49. "Fred Funston Heard From," *The Iola Register*. (Iola, Kan.), September 16, 1892, *Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers*. Lib. of Congress. <http://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn83040340/1892-09-16/ed-1/seq-8/>.

50. James Elis Adams, *Dandies and Desert Saints: Styles of Victorian Manhood* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1995), 12.

Carlyle, creating numerous works about the concept of manhood and the means to achieve it.<sup>51</sup> The dandy and the “hero,” or the idea of manliness, operated as foundational symbols of opposites in Victorian discourse.<sup>52</sup> Carlyle attacked the dandy as a self-absorbed parasite unlike the “heroic man,” the professional engaged in productive labor.

Along with the great Romantic authors, Funston’s education also exposed him to works that instructed him in securing his “proper” manhood. While Funston pored over the great histories of Virgil, works on Napoleon, the quintessential Romantic hero, and various selections of American oratory, Funston’s childhood library also included Thomas Carlyle’s *Heroes, Hero-Worship and the Heroic in History*.<sup>53</sup> Carlyle’s work essentially became an instruction manual on manhood by using various examples of great men throughout history to describe the “Hero.” The Hero defined masculinity and what every man should emulate.<sup>54</sup>

Carlyle described several ways for men to secure their manhood and become “the Hero.” For Carlyle “the Hero, [is] a man who stretches across eras, speaks to generations beyond his own. A Hero is the embodiment of manhood, the ultimate male, masculinity incarnate. A Hero is a great man, one to whom every man looks up and feels a sense of awe.”<sup>55</sup> Carlyle notes that there is a Hero in a man of letters “so long as the wondrous art of \_Writing\_ [sic] or Ready-writing which we call \_Printing\_ [sic] subsists, he may be expected to continue, as one of the

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51. Ibid.

52. Ibid., 21.

53. Napoleon was a favorite subject of the Romantic authors as he symbolized the romantic problem of “‘overreacher’ who fails due to his glorious success, and thus blurs the line between triumph and failure.” Paul Stock, “Imposing on Napoleon: the Romantic appropriation of Bonaparte,” *Journal of European Studies*, (36.3, 2006). 363-388.  
<http://eprints.lse.ac.uk/29371/1/Imposing%20on%20Napoleon%20the%20Romantic%20appropriation%20of%20Bonaparte%20%28LSERO%29.pdf>.

54. Bryce Covert, “Masculinity in Thomas Carlyle’s *On Heroes, Hero-Worship and the Heroic in History*,” Brown University, Spring 2004, <http://www.victorianweb.org/authors/carlyle/heroes/covert17.html>

55. Ibid.

main forms of Heroism in all future ages.”<sup>56</sup> Carlyle specifically mentions Romantic writers like Rousseau and Burns as examples of the heroic in writing. Men should write and tell their stories because literature offered a way to larger truths about God and nature.

Not only was the Hero a man of letters but also a “prophet in the wilderness.” Carlyle places central importance on the prophet as the opposition to the “dandy” and “dandyism.” The prophet became a “figure of masculine vocation defined in antagonism to the marketplace, or (more broadly) the influence of ‘circumstances’—whether those be physical constraints or the more subtle undermining of autonomy inherent in the pressures of respectability, that anxious middle class decorum that Carlyle contemptuously called ‘gigmanity.’”<sup>57</sup> For Carlyle the prophet leaves civilization to find wisdom and while Funston never proselytized, he did escape both the marketplace and the pressures of the middle-class when he left college in 1889 to become an explorer.

Like Theodore Roosevelt, Funston entered the wilderness to find his career. Funston’s writings follow the pattern of other writers who sought to gain acceptance for their chosen profession, and thus their masculinity, by escaping the trappings of civilization and writing media makers back home. Although he did not employ the term “dandy,” Funston’s own writings often pitted his heroism against dandyism. Roosevelt, Funston’s contemporary, most famously rejected dandyism by venturing into the wilderness of the Dakotas and seeking male authenticity as the “Cowboy of the Dakotas” and later the “Rough Rider.”<sup>58</sup> As historian Gail Bederman notes, “Throughout his political life TR would actively cultivate this political persona

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56. Thomas Carlyle, *Heroes, Hero-Worship and the Heroic in History* (New York; A.L. Burt Publisher, 1840), Chapter 5, <http://www.online-literature.com/thomas-carlyle/heroes-and-hero-worship/5/>.

57. Adams, *Dandies and Desert Saints*, 25.

58. *Ibid*, 21.

of masculine denizen of ‘Cowboy Land’.”<sup>59</sup> In much the same way that Roosevelt actively cultivated his “cowboy” identity, Funston wrote to local, regional, and national print media to create a public record of his explorer credentials. In “Over the Chilkoot Pass to the Yukon,” Funston begins the story with a description of “the Alaska of the tourists” versus the Alaska of the explorer. Unlike the neatly manicured tourist Alaska, Funston journeyed to “a great lone land where winter reigns supreme... and whose inhabitants are roving bands of fur-clad savages.”<sup>60</sup> Funston differentiates his experience from the dandy’s leisurely experience. Funston’s labors as an explorer brought back valuable information. Funston the explorer faced “savages”; meanwhile, the tourist faced no danger and contributed nothing to the body of knowledge in his travels. Funston’s own letters and writings, like Roosevelt’s, became crucial in his ability to assert his male prowess.

Funston invoked Carlyle’s language to describe his life. In 1913, Funston wrote a letter stating that after fifty years in the “Vale of Tears” he had learned many things.<sup>61</sup> As a young man, he thought of himself as a prophet, but time had proved different and he learned not to speculate on the future. After losing money investing in a “sure thing,” he realized that he was “neither a prophet, nor the son of a prophet.”<sup>62</sup> Funston realized at fifty he bent to market pressures and allowed outside circumstances to influence his life. While Funston rejected the prophet label, he only did so later in life after achieving success and he did so by invoking Carlyle’s ideas.

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59. Gail Bederman, *Manliness and Civilization: A Cultural History of Gender and Race in the United States, 1880-1917* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996), 177.

60. Frederic Funston, “Over the Chilkoot Pass,” *Scribner's Magazine*

November 1896, <https://hdl.handle.net/2027/aeu.ark:/13960/t5p84sm64?urlappend=%3Bseq=6>.

61. The “Vale of Tears” is a Victorian term for the Christian idea that the world is full of sorrow and pain.

62. Frederick Funston, “From General Funston,” *Life Magazine*, Vol 62. 1913, p 558

<https://books.google.com/books?id=daRAAQAAMAAJ&pg=PA558&ots=eOkx2IiSjK&dq=Funston%20%E2%80%9Cneither%20a%20prophet%2C%20nor%20the%20son%20of%20a%20prophet.%E2%80%9D&pg=PA558#v=onepage&q&f=false>

Victorian men consistently thought and worried about their masculinity, but even more so for Funston. Funston wanted his peers back home to understand his “male prowess” because physically, the diminutive Funston paled in comparison to his father, who towered above crowds at 6’2” and weighed more than two hundred pounds. E.H. “Farmer Funston” was a “boomingly masculine image who never shied from any kind of a fight.”<sup>63</sup> Frederick Funston stood at only 5’5” and weighed between one hundred and one hundred and twenty pounds but there “is little doubt that Frederick the small son who stood in awe of this towering figure of a father early learned to emulate some of this pugnacity and combativeness... Like his father, Frederick Funston early developed the image as one who never backed away from any kind of a fight.”<sup>64</sup> Funston’s size directly contradicted the ideas of manliness as the late Victorian culture had identified size, particularly the heavyweight prizefighters as the epitome of manhood.<sup>65</sup> Frederick Funston could achieve the grand stature of his father, and at the same time overcome the effeminate stereotype, by demonstrating his strength and physical prowess in the wilderness.

Explorers, regardless of physical size, were larger than life and the embodiment of masculinity. Young boys grew up reading stories about Lewis and Clark and Captain Cook’s adventures and explorations and sought to emulate their actions. Funston always ensured that the readers back home understood the dangers he faced and that his size never stopped him from conquering nature. In “Over the Chilkoot Pass” Funston describes two ways to pass a dangerous rapid: by a “slavish” four-day portage or a harrowing white-water trip “dreaded by Yukon travelers. [In 1894] an even dozen of men had their boats swamped or crushed like eggshells... and not one of them has come out alive.”<sup>66</sup> Only the biggest and bravest men could

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63. Crouch, “Frederick Funston of Kansas.”

64. Ibid.

65. Bederman, *Manliness and Civilization*, 8.

66. Funston, “Over the Chilkoot Pass.”

make the trip via water and after watching a former “Wisconsin lumberman... who announced in the most lurid language he was going to run the cañon [sic]” Funston decided to do the same.<sup>67</sup> Funston noted only the strength of his “frantic paddling” saved the boat from smashing into the rocks and “the sensation was akin to riding a bucking broncho [sic].”<sup>68</sup> Both descriptions noted his strength compared with the manliest men. Regardless of size, Funston succeeded where others failed.

The discussion of manhood in the late nineteenth century also implies a discussion of race. Sociologist Michael Kimmel argues that racism, nativism, and “antifeminism” preserved white middle-class men’s gender identity.<sup>69</sup> White middle-class men could not consider blacks, women, Native Americans, and immigrants “real Americans” and subsequently, they could not consider them “real men.” Historian Gail Bederman notes the term “civilized” became a synonym for white Anglo-Saxon and “savage” a synonym for “other” non-white. The term “civilization” denoted characteristics of race and gender.<sup>70</sup> Funston often spoke in terms of civilization and savage, declaring one group of “natives” as “ten parts of barbarism to one of civilization” and referring to them paternalistically and pejoratively as “rascals.”<sup>71</sup> In Funston’s estimation, white middle-class men embodied the height of civilization. He used the terms “civilized” and “savage” to demonstrate other groups as racially and masculinely inferior while asserting his own racial and masculine claim to “real American” and “real manhood.”

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67. Ibid.

68. Ibid.

69. Michael Kimmel, *Manhood in America: A Cultural History* (New York: The Free Press, 1996), 90.

70. Bederman, *Manliness and Civilization*, 23.

71. Frederick Funston, “FROM FRED FUNSTON,” *The Iola Register*. August 25, 1893 *Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers*. Lib. of Congress  
<<https://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn83040340/1893-08-25/ed-1/seq-1/>>.



Before beginning his career as an explorer, between 1886 and 1891 Funston intermittently attended the University of Kansas.<sup>72</sup> Despite frequently taking semesters off and leaving Lawrence, he made several influential contacts. While not a great student, he joined Phi Delta Theta fraternity and created lifelong friendships with William Allen White, Vernon Kellogg, and Charles F. Scott.<sup>73</sup> Both William Allen White and Charles F. Scott became important journalists writing about and promoting Funston to regional and national audiences. Charles F. Scott became publisher and owner of the *Iola Register* in the 1880s and White served as longtime owner and editor of the *Emporia Gazette*.<sup>74</sup> White and Scott often wrote about Funston and became prominent Republicans, with Scott even winning the seat E.H. Funston held in 1901.<sup>75</sup> Vernon Kellogg became an evolutionary biologist working first at the University of Kansas and later at Stanford. Kellogg's early travels to gather specimens with Funston in Colorado gave the expeditions scientific credibility. For the remainder of Funston's life Scott, White, and Kellogg remained close friends.

From the 1870s through much of the twentieth century, fraternities were more than places to make business and social contacts. Fraternal organizations acted as a bastion against the perceived feminization of society. Through both their inclusion of members and exclusion of others, fraternities became the "hegemonic form of masculinity on college campuses, the

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72. Thomas Crouch, *A Yankee Guerrillero, Frederick Funston and the Cuban Insurrection* (Memphis: Memphis State University Press, 1975), 8-9.

73. William Allen White eventually became a famous editor of the *Emporia Gazette*, Vernon Kellogg became a renowned evolutionary biologist who spent most of his career teaching at Stanford, and Charles F. Scott edited the *Iola Register* in 1880s, between 1891-1900 was a regent for the University of Kansas, and served in the House or Representatives from 1901-1911, "Charles F. Scott," Kansas State Historical Society. Accessed April 5, 2017, <https://www.kshs.org/kansapedia/charles-frederick-scott/16960>.

74. "Charles F. Scott," Kansas Press Association, accessed December 1, 2018, <http://kspress.com/165/scott-charles-f>. "William Allen White," Kansas Press Association, accessed December 1, 2018, <http://kspress.com/182/white-william-allen>.

75. Born in 1860 Scott and Funston both grew up around Iola, Kansas and with Scotts work with the *Iola Register* in the early 1880s the two undoubtedly had contact and knew of each other, but it is uncertain with the five year age difference if they were more than acquaintances

standard by which all other college men were measured.”<sup>76</sup> During the second half of the nineteenth century, millions of men joined fraternal orders, which were not just as cultural or social organizations, but powerful as symbols of manhood.<sup>77</sup> Lodges acted as a space for men to reclaim masculinity from the “‘feminization’ of the nation’s Protestant churches.”<sup>78</sup> For Funston and millions of other men, lodges, secret rituals, and fraternities “provided solace and psychological guidance during young men’s troubled passage to manhood in Victorian America.”<sup>79</sup> Fraternities even co-opted the very term “Greeks,” to associate “their manliness with a cultured and civilized historical past and berate their nonfraternity classmates as less manly ‘barbarians.’”<sup>80</sup> Fraternities in their very makeup displayed both the racial and gendered characteristics that Victorians attributed to the term civilization; they were bastions for white “civilized” men. Funston’s future writings demonstrated concepts of civilization and manliness that his fraternity years had fostered.

Another hallmark of late nineteenth century was a new commodity culture whereby the mundane act of exchange became a spectacle that fostered an obsession with commodities. Globally, the creation of mass media gave voice to this obsession and, in fact, encouraged it. Advertisements became central to the life of magazines and newspapers as producers attempted to convince consumers to purchase their products. Everyday objects sprang to life in Dickens’ works; brass bands punched out notes in the same fashion new machinery punched out brass

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76. Nicholas L. Syrett, *The Company He Keeps: A History of White College Fraternities* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2009), 3.

77. Bederman, *Manliness and Civilization*, 16.

78. Mark C. Carnes, *Secret Ritual and Manhood in Victorian America* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1989), 1.

79. *Ibid.*, 14.

80. Bret E. Carroll ed. “Fraternities,” *American Masculinities: A Historical Encyclopedia*, (New York: Sage Press 2003), 178.

instruments; and city planners built auditoriums, banks, and stock exchanges dedicated to the trafficking of things.<sup>81</sup>

Advertisements connected the consumer and producer, and advertisers became experts at their trade by connecting ideology to their consumable. Advertisers quickly found which ideologies worked and often used nationalistic pride to fuel purchasing and consumption. Print media quickly realized it could garner higher profits by expanding its circulation; more readers resulted in higher rates for advertisements, and thus print media published stories of the spectacle and sensational life.<sup>82</sup> Newspapers and magazines printed exclusive stories, often serialized, that offered readers an escape. The Industrial Revolution shrank the cost of production and saw circulation numbers increase. Both Hearst's and Pulitzer's New York City papers had daily circulations of over a million in 1900 and by 1914 at least a dozen magazines in the U.S. reached over three million homes.<sup>83</sup> With larger audiences, mass media became both a product and producer of the commodity culture.

Print media did more than simply peddle the latest wares; newspapers in the nineteenth century played a key role in the creation of public perception. Journalists, editors, writers, and newspapers in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century played a crucial role in politics. Journalists actively engaged in political discourse: they took government jobs, lobbied, advised politicians with whom they sympathized, attended conventions, and attempted to unseat political opponents.<sup>84</sup> Journalists and newspapers freed themselves from the partisan press of the early

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81. Thomas Richards, *The Commodity Culture of Victorian England: Advertising and the Spectacle 1854-1917* (Stanford: Stanford University, 1990), 2.

82. *Ibid.*, 3.

83. Rose F. Collins, "The Press at the century's turn: Cultural Icon, Corporate Behemoth, Corrupted Arbiter" *North Dakota State University*, (Nov. 2013): 2, <https://www.ndsu.edu/pubweb/~rcollins/gildedagepress/gildedagepress.pdf>

84. Mark Wahlgreen Summer, *The Press Gang: Newspapers and Politics 1863-1878* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina, 1994), 5.

1800s, but even so, they often toed the party line. Starting in 1878, a second period of sensationalism began in American newspapers with the “new journalism” of Joseph Pulitzer.<sup>85</sup> Newspapers reported sensational scandals and the latest feats of human daring, but also championed causes for workers’ rights, the gold standard, and expansionism abroad. The newspaper industry attracted those seeking to become famous writers or journalists. Writers and journalist began their careers in smaller newspapers in hopes of attracting larger audiences and righting social wrongs.<sup>86</sup> Similarly, Funston’s letters and career writing started with his local paper, *The Iola Register*, and expanded to national magazines and papers with wider circulation and prestige.

Like others, Frederick Funston wrote to the press because “everyone who was anyone” wrote to the media, so young men of ambition used the press to promote themselves and their careers.<sup>87</sup> The success of Theodore Roosevelt’s “bully pulpit” relied on the press reporting his words and deeds. Winston Churchill corresponded to the sensationalist *Daily Mail* during the Boer War, and much like Roosevelt and Churchill, Frederick Funston used local and national media to promote himself, his career, and his political ideas. Historian Mark Summers notes that many historians rightfully use newspapers from the late 1800s and early 1900s as sources but with an under-appreciation of the risks of the source. Summers argues those papers reflect the most obvious biases of race, class, and partisan affiliation, but also ideological and occupational biases such as what constitutes news, and intuitional biases—namely, “what does it suit the financial and personal political fortunes of the paper’s owners to see published.”<sup>88</sup> Funston wrote

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85. Mitchel Stephens, “History of Newspapers,” New York University, accessed December 20, 2015, <https://www.nyu.edu/classes/stephens/Collier's%20page.htm>.

86. Ibid.

87. Collins, “The Press at the century’s turn,” 2.

88. Summer, *The Press Gang*, 6.

to various media outlets in hopes of promoting his career and media makers willingly published his stories in hopes of increasing circulation and profit.

Although Frederick Funston claimed to dislike politics, he never strayed far from them as evidenced by his career as a reporter.<sup>89</sup> Partly due to his insatiable appetite for adventure and inner restlessness and partly due to financial considerations Funston tried his hand at a number of careers. Funston taught for a year after high school but found the profession “humdrum” and so he left Iola and entered the newspaper business. Growing up, his father often used newspapers, including the *Iola Register*, to gain acceptance for the political persona of “Farmer Funston.” Funston also saw the power of papers to create a counter to “Farmer Funston” in “Foghorn Funston.” Funston worked as a journalist in Kansas City and in 1887 took a position with the *Fort Smith Tribune* (Arkansas). Funston directly knew the power of newspapers and almost started a riot in order to get himself fired from the pro-Democratic *Tribune*.<sup>90</sup>

Days before a local election, the editor of the *Tribune* left Funston in charge of the paper. Funston’s new responsibilities included the makeup of the next day’s edition, which shocked the public when they “learned that the *Tribune* had performed a political about-face overnight.”<sup>91</sup> Funston printed a series of editorials that “assaulted the national Democratic Party, denounced the state Democratic organization, and derided the western Arkansas ‘Democracy’ in stinging passages that closed with an ecstatic eulogy to the Republican Party.”<sup>92</sup> As Funston shrewdly predicted, “there were threats to attack and burn the Tribune offices, and Funston and the newspaper’s staff armed themselves and prepared to defend their shop.”<sup>93</sup> Only after the editor

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89. Funston returned to journalism after his time as an explorer in 1896 and wrote several pieces promoting the gold standard that this work will later address specifically.

90. Crouch, “Frederick Funston of Kansas.”

91. Ibid.

92. Ibid.

93. Ibid.

made a hasty return, fired Funston, and reassured the populace of the papers pro-Democratic stance did the threats subside.

Funston became restless because according to societal mores men gained a sense of identity from their work, and without the ability to become a farmer, Funston had to create a new path. As historian E. Anthony Rotundo describes, by the late nineteenth century the republican manhood that centered on communal living and family had given way to the notion of the “self-made” man. By the late nineteenth century, “a man’s work role, not his place at the head of the household, formed the essence of his identity.”<sup>94</sup> Funston’s early life followed a typical pattern for the nineteenth century, for as a young man trying to “shake free from the powerful grip of his past” he faced a host of problems including “economic uncertainty... inner restlessness, and the vague requirements of entry into the middle-class.”<sup>95</sup> Funston’s friend, Charles F. Scott, noted that Funston’s restlessness resulted in his frequent career shifts. As Scott recalled, partly because of finances but “chiefly and perhaps because of the restless spirit within him he left the University at the end of his sophomore year.”<sup>96</sup> As an explorer, Funston could find work and satisfy his desire for adventure, leaving the middle-class mores while maintaining middle-class respectability.

Not just his close friends, but also many media makers noted Funston’s restlessness. The *Kansas City Journal* described Funston’s early life as “yearning to ‘cut ice’ [which] manifest[ed] in all the movements of the restless, tireless, always moving [Funston]. He has searched for his

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94. E. Anthony Rotundo, *American Manhood: The Transformation of Masculinity from the Revolution to the Modern Era* (New York: Basic Books, 1994), 3.

95. *Ibid.*, 58.

96. Charles F. Scott, “Frederick Funston,” *The Independent* New York, N.Y. Jan 3. 1901, 817-818  
<https://books.google.com/books?id=18NZAAAAYAAJ&pg=PA817&lpg=PA817&dq=frederick+Funston+the+coon+hunt&source=bl&ots=bZwjn47-im&sig=Qac7zqTXw6Koa33jqTBcu51B7yo&hl=en&sa=X&ved=0ahUKEwiWtLPph7bRAhXn3YMKHco2BuEQ6AEIJTAC#v=onepage&q=frederick%20Funston%20the%20coon%20hunt&f=false>

opportunity from the arctic to the equator. Never staying anywhere long, he dropped one thing after another in a fashion that made his friends fear he was a changeling and unstable.”<sup>97</sup> The *Journal* went on to note that Funston’s restlessness was the result of a “mighty ambition” that would not allow Funston to rest until he achieved success.<sup>98</sup> While many young men changed professions, Funston seemed to do so quickly, brashly, and always desperately searching for a career that satisfied his inner ambition.

Funston’s early careers are typical of many young men during the 1880s and 1890s who changed jobs often and displayed dissatisfaction with middle-class life. Aside from the pro-Democratic politics, Funston explained he left the *Tribune* because “I was tired of the rotten politics, and tired of the rotten town, and tired of the rotten sheet, and ready to go anyway, so I thought I might just as well wake the place up and let’em know I was alive before I left.”<sup>99</sup> Economic uncertainty coupled with the notion of manhood that tied identity to occupation resulted in many, like Funston, trying their hands at various careers only to find them ultimately unfulfilling. Funston’s description of why he left displayed the “restlessness” many young men had in the 1880s and 1890s and his other careers continued along the same pattern. Funston wandered for a year after his tenure at the *Tribune*, in perhaps the most restless profession: a railroad conductor. Funston’s job as a conductor moved him from city to city but always in-transit and always within civilization.

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97. “Determined to Cut Ice,” *Kansas City Journal*, May 09, 1899, 4.  
<https://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn86063615/1899-05-09/ed-1/seq-4/>.

98. Ibid.

99. Frederick Funston, as quoted in Ed. Marshal Everett. *Exciting Experiences in Our Wars With Spain and the Filipinos*, (Chicago: Book Union Publishers, 1899), 429.  
[https://books.google.com/books?id=8j0OAAAIAAJ&dq=I+was+tired+of+the+rotten+politics,+and+tired+of+the+rotten+town,+and+tired+of+the+rotten+sheet,+and+ready+to+go+anyway,+so+I+thought+I+might+just+as+well+wake+the+place+up+and+let%E2%80%99em+know+I+was+alive+before+I+left.&source=gbs\\_navlinks\\_s](https://books.google.com/books?id=8j0OAAAIAAJ&dq=I+was+tired+of+the+rotten+politics,+and+tired+of+the+rotten+town,+and+tired+of+the+rotten+sheet,+and+ready+to+go+anyway,+so+I+thought+I+might+just+as+well+wake+the+place+up+and+let%E2%80%99em+know+I+was+alive+before+I+left.&source=gbs_navlinks_s)

The final decades of the nineteenth century saw a dramatic and rapid change in the American frontier. The transcontinental railroad connected the East and West Coasts, a trip that took weeks or months now took a few days. Not only from his brief stint as a conductor but in many other ways, Frederick Funston experienced the effects of the railroad and the closing of the west first-hand. In 1870, Allen County had two rail-lines, both of which ran north-south and hugged the western portion of the county. A young Frederick Funston learned to loathe the sound of the train because two whistles meant some constituent or political caller would disembark and drive the family from the home while he discussed politics with E.H. As his father gained prominence and the trains became more frequent, more often than not, the young Funston heard the screech of two whistles.<sup>100</sup> By 1885, a new east-west line ran through Iola and by 1890 a third north-south line ran through the eastern portion of the county. By 1899, roughly every twenty miles a railroad traversed the county north-south.<sup>101</sup> These lines ushered into the county newly arrived migrants from Denmark, Germany, Sweden, and the Balkans.<sup>102</sup> While many of these new immigrants became farmers, others worked in the new smelting and gas industries. Funston witnessed the once agrarian Allen County become an industrial hub in the larger region. By 1900, with the onslaught of new migrants, Southeast Kansas earned a new moniker, “the little Balkans.”

Even as the West was undergoing settlement, a new, emerging conservation movement advocated for protecting the natural beauty of the wilderness. Men like John Muir captivated the

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100. Crouch, “Frederick Funston of Kansas.”

101. Colton Township map of Kansas, 1870, G.W. and C.B. Colton. A Collection of Digitized Kansas Maps, Wichita State University <http://specialcollections.wichita.edu/collections/maps/detailsframes.asp?var=1870-0001>, Kansas Rail Road Map, 1885, Rand McNally, Kansas Memory, Kansas Historical Society <http://www.kansasmemory.org/item/209282> Map of Kansas, 1890, Mast, Crowell, and Kirkpatrick, A Collection of Digitized Kansas Maps, Wichita State University <http://specialcollections.wichita.edu/collections/maps/detailsframes.asp?var=1890-0001> accessed 12/15/2016

102. Crouch, “Frederick Funston of Kansas.”



nation with depictions of Yosemite. By journeying to the most hostile places on earth, Funston attempted to demonstrate the dangers of the west rather than accept the rapidly forming reality of its pacification as articulated in Turner's thesis. Funston followed in the footsteps of Muir and channeled the Romanticism that influenced Muir's letters.<sup>103</sup> One cannot be certain that Funston ever read Muir's letters or articles, but before returning from his Death Valley expedition and reporting to Washington D.C. Funston decided to detour and embark on a new uncontracted task in Yosemite. As Muir's letters left an indelible link to Yosemite, Funston, too, left his mark on the park by becoming a member of the first group to scale down the northeast mountains and create a "backdoor entrance" into the area.<sup>104</sup>

The late nineteenth and early twentieth century saw a movement to return to wilderness in order to regain an essential element lost in the urban and "civilized" environments. Organizations like the YMCA and the Boy Scouts flourished. Both organizations attempted to mold men's physical bodies alongside their intellectual and spiritual minds. Funston's explorations echoed the myth of the American pioneer overcoming an untamed wilderness and bringing "civilization" to the indigenous populations. As these movements began, Funston captivated audiences with his tales of the wilderness. Funston, just as Theodore Roosevelt did, courted the ideas of a redefined masculinity found in the untamed American West.

#### Funston the Explorer: Career, Identity, and Victorian Angst

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103. "The Letters of John Muir," The University of California, accessed April 5, 2019 [http://www.calisphere.universityofcalifornia.edu/themed\\_collection/john-muir-letters/](http://www.calisphere.universityofcalifornia.edu/themed_collection/john-muir-letters/). See, specifically, Letter from John Muir to [Jeanne C.] Carr, [1874 Sep] <http://oac.cdlib.org/ark:/13030/kt667nf0xm/?brand=oac4>

104. Luis Stanley Young and Henry Davenport Northrop, *Life and Heroic Deeds of Admiral Dewey ... Together with Thrilling Accounts of Our Great Victories in the Philippines* (Philadelphia: World Bible House, 1899), 344. <https://books.google.com/books?id=rnFHAQAAMAAJ&lpg=PA343&ots=mzbzMiz0jw&dq=Backdoor%20entrance%20to%20Yosemite%20Funston&pg=PP1#v=onepage&q&f=false>

It is important to examine Funston's time as an explorer because for the first time Funston found a career that satisfied his lust for adventure. As an explorer, Funston wrote home in hopes of legitimizing his chosen profession. Funston also relished the opportunity to become a regional celebrity and, as his contracts with the government ended, he continued to seek out the limelight. In part due to financial reasons and in part to document his exploits publicly, Funston published works about his explorations. Like many young men of the 1890s, Funston's writing reflect his search to secure his profession and in so doing, secure his manhood.

Just as Theodore Roosevelt sought manly authenticity as the "Cowboy of the Dakotas," as opposed to the rich New York socialite, Funston sought refuge in exploration. As an explorer, Funston began working on the plains of the Dakotas without mention of his father's influence in securing the contract. Funston's early careers as a teacher, railroad conductor, and journalist did not satisfy his need for adventure, and so he returned to KU in 1889 only to take leave and travel with Kellogg to explore Colorado. By 1890, Funston received a contract with the U.S. Department of Agriculture to gather grass seeds and animal specimens.<sup>105</sup> At the time, E.H. Funston served as the chair of the House Committee on Agriculture and undoubtedly helped obtain Frederick Funston a spot in the expedition.<sup>106</sup>

The Dakotas expedition lacked some of the dangers of his later expeditions, but it gave Funston the necessary credentials to further his career as an explorer. From 1890-1894 Funston remained under contract with the government to explore and catalog various regions of the United States. The 1890 expedition also marks Funston's entry into the public sphere: Funston's identity no longer rested on his simply being the son of a congressman: he was now "an

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105. "Hunting for Specimens," *Bismarck Weekly Tribune* (Bismarck, Dakota [N.D.]), October 10, 1890, *Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers*. Lib. of Congress, <<http://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn85042588/1890-10-10/ed-1/seq-7/>>.

106. Scott, "Frederick Funston," *The Independent*.

explorer.” Funston left the comforts of Kansas and journeyed into the wilderness, because in the 1890s “both ‘manliness’ and middle-class identity seemed to falter, partly because economic changes had rendered earlier ideologies of middle-class manhood less plausible.”<sup>107</sup>

Mechanization along with the boom and bust cycle in farm prices between the 1880s and 1890s resulted in Frederick Funston seeking out the exploration business instead of following his father as “Farmer Funston.”

Funston formed a symbiotic relationship with the *Iola Register*. Funston could gain legitimacy and publicize his explorations and the *Register* could increase its profits. The new mass media relied on two new sources of revenue, sales and advertisements, and with intimate knowledge of the newspaper industry, Funston knew he had to give papers a reason to report on him. Higher circulation resulted in higher profits, so mass media began to cater to the public’s demands. In order to entice readers, mass media frequently sensationalized the news. Readers wanted stories of men doing the seemingly impossible and central to Funston’s writings was an air of invincibility. The *Iola Register* noted, “Fred Funston is evidently too tough for even Death Valley.”<sup>108</sup> Similarly, Funston made sure the public knew the dangers of his expedition, “We found the place where the emigrant train was lost in 1850. Nothing is left but wagon tires, ox-bows etc. The seventy bodies were buried in 1860... More of these die of heat than thirst.”<sup>109</sup> Funston portrayed this expedition as a march fraught with peril through the endless desert of Death Valley.

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107. Bederman, *Manliness and Civilization*, 12.

108. “Local Matters,” *The Iola Register* (Iola, Kan.), March 13, 1891, *Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers*. Lib. of Congress, <<http://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn83040340/1891-03-13/ed-1/seq-5/>>.

109. Ibid.

The editors at the *Iola Register* had ample reason to promote Funston as an explorer. Not only would the stories increase sales and promote a local to regional or national fame, but it continued their political agenda. Frederick Funston's friend and political ally, Charles F. Scott, became publisher and eventual owner of the *Register* during the 1880s. Scott maintained control of the *Register* until his death in 1934.<sup>110</sup> Editors at the *Iola Register* endorsed the candidacy of E.H. Funston in 1882 and continued to support E.H. Funston's Republican policies despite a rising tide of Populist sentiment and "fusion" tickets.<sup>111</sup> Throughout his life, Frederick Funston remained a stalwart of the gold standard and the Republican Party. A famous Frederick Funston only helped his father's career and the political agenda of Scott and the *Iola Register*.

The late nineteenth century saw the press released from the political patronage that dominated the early 1800s, but they remained political, and on the same page as Frederick Funston's letter home, the *Iola Register* reported favorably on E.H. Funston. The *Register* that noted as the chair of the Agricultural Committee, E.H. had "secured more legislation favorable to the agricultural and stock interests of the country than has ever before been done."<sup>112</sup> Both Funstons captivated local audiences and sold papers. A famous Frederick Funston helped his father's political career by garnering headlines and acting as another mouthpiece for Republican politics. Besides supporting E.H. Funston and Republican politics, the editors and writers at the *Iola Register* stood to gain prominence amongst other state and regional papers by popularizing Funston via his letters. Funston used the paper to report on his actions and the paper used Funston to sell papers.

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110. "Charles F. Scott," Kansas Press Association.

111. "E.H. Funston," *The Iola Register* (Iola, Kan.), May 19, 1882. *Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers*. Lib. of Congress <<http://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn83040340/1882-05-19/ed-1/seq-1/>>

112. "Local Matters," *The Iola Register* (Iola, Kan.), March 13, 1891.

As Theodore Roosevelt sought the “Cowboy of the Dakotas” by keeping New York newspapers apprised of his actions, Funston actively wrote the *Iola Register* to gain acceptance back home as a modern-day explorer. Funston’s actions mirror the ways historian Gail Bederman describes Roosevelt’s process of becoming a cowboy. Bederman notes that Theodore Roosevelt succeeded by removing himself from politics and purchasing a ranch in South Dakota, but that he “made certain the folks back East knew he was now a masculine cowboy.”<sup>113</sup> Funston’s reports on his Death Valley expedition implanted in the public mind the notion of him exploring one of the most hostile places on earth. In order to gain authenticity Roosevelt described his Dakota ranch as “remote as living in an age long past...having little in common with the humdrum, workaday business world of the nineteenth century.”<sup>114</sup> Funston described Death Valley as a “veritable *Terra Incognita*” where the heat is “so intense the animals do not decompose.”<sup>115</sup> For Funston, the stories gave him the ability to assert his manliness and demonstrate his indomitable fighting spirit and it gave print media a reason to publish him. Media makers needed to sell copies and serializing Funston’s letters increased circulation, but only if the story engrossed the reader. The notion of Death Valley as a “veritable *Terra Incognita*” also contradicted the 1890 census idea of the “closed” West. In California there still existed a place where men dare not journey, the maps were generalizations at best, and scientific knowledge of the flora and fauna was nonexistent.

Charles F. Scott recalled that growing up Funston always displayed fearlessness trying to demonstrate his manhood. Defending Funston from his detractors, Scott noted that Funston’s

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113. Bederman, *Manliness and Civilization*, 175.

114. TR As cited in Bederman, *Manliness and Civilization*, 176.

115. “Local Maters,” *The Iola Register* (Iola, Kan.), December 26, 1890. *Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers*. Lib. of Congress, <<http://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn83040340/1890-12-26/ed-1/seq-9/>>.

heroism during the Spanish-American War had a long-standing precedent; Funston “was born with keen intelligence, high ambition, inflexible purpose, tireless energy, unbending will and kingly courage.”<sup>116</sup> Scott went on to defend Funston, noting that even as a boy Funston had acquired a fearless reputation. At the age of ten, Funston organized a “coon hunt” with some of the “smaller boys” but when some larger, older boys discovered Funston’s plans, they developed their own and intended to hide in the woods and frighten them off. As the smaller boys entered the woods, they began hearing strange noises in every direction, so they quickly ran off, but Funston remembered how earlier the older boys had ruined a similar hunt with his brother, and so he began to fire his small rifle. The noises immediately stopped and the older boys scurried off in terror.<sup>117</sup> According to Victorian notions of manhood men did not back down from fights, even with larger opponents, and the young Funston never shied from a fight.

As an explorer, Funston’s size remained a consistent issue that cast a shadow over his “manly conquest.” The *Hartford Republican* and *Semi-Weekly Interior Journal* in Kentucky republished a joke about Funston’s daring, which echoed the Victorian assumptions about size and manliness. Two of Funston’s female classmates were discussing why he would want to go to Death Valley a place that causes even the bravest of men “wither up into mummies” to which one classmate responded, “‘How perfectly awful!’ and then with a tone of enthusiasm in her voice she added ‘But what a dear sweet little mummy Fred would make.’”<sup>118</sup> The joke underscored the ideas about manliness so that even though Funston survived and “conquered”

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116. Scott, “Frederick Funston,” *The Independent*, 818.

117. *Ibid.*

118. “A Sweet Mummy,” *Semi-Weekly Interior Journal*, (Stanford, Ky.), August 8, 1893, *Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers*. Lib. of Congress, <<http://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn85052020/1893-08-08/ed-1/seq-4/>>. Also printed in *The Hartford Republican* (Hartford, Ky.), August 18, 1893. *Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers*. Lib. of Congress, <<http://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn86069313/1893-08-18/ed-1/seq-4/>>.

Death Valley, the idea that he would make a “dear sweet little mummy” pejoratively denounced him based on size alone.

Like Theodore Roosevelt’s letters home, Funston’s do not simply detail the scientific or daily accomplishments; he also battled the 19<sup>th</sup> century idea that identified manliness with size. Just as Roosevelt was “an intuitive master of public relations, [and] knew that his effeminate image could destroy any chances for his political future,” Funston, too, had to overcome the fragility associated with his size.<sup>119</sup> Funston inherited his mother’s looks and “distinctive features” so that “at first glance, Frederick Funston seemed almost sensitive and delicate in appearance.”<sup>120</sup> Smallness was associated with being fragile, petite, and feminine; “the emerging sense of physical vulnerability was especially novel and threatening to men. Manliness, always an issue in Victorian culture, had by the 1880s become an obsession.”<sup>121</sup> Even at a young age, Funston’s friends recalled how he challenged the notions that tied manliness to size.

For Funston, rejecting the notions that tied his size to manhood continued throughout his life. Even after achieving the rank of general, Funston’s size remained a consistent attack. One Missouri editor noted, “Those Filipinos are Missourians” in that they doubted the tenacity and fighting spirit of the Kansas-raised Funston, and “on the question of Funston’s size, you’ve got to show them that the little general tips the beam at less than 100 pounds.”<sup>122</sup> Just as he would make a “dear sweet little mummy,” in this case Missourians and Filipinos could not fathom losing a fight to someone so small—and even worse for the Missourians to lose a fight with a

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119. Bederman, *Manliness and Civilization*, 170.

120. Crouch, “Frederick Funston of Kansas.”

121. Jackson Lears, *Rebirth of a Nation: the Making of Modern America, 1877-1920* (New York: Harper Collins, 2010), 29.

122. “They Don’t Believe It,” *Kansas City Journal*, June 05, 1899, *Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers*. Lib. of Congress, <<http://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn86063615/1899-06-05/ed-1/seq-4/>>.

Kansan. Regardless of his career and success, Funston's height always seemed to detract from his exploits.

#### Manhood and Exploration: Storm Bound above the Clouds

Just as Theodore Roosevelt moved west to become a cowboy and, in doing so, demonstrate his manhood, Funston did something similar with his stories as an explorer. Bederman describes how Roosevelt told stories to authenticate his cowboy status; the ranchman was civilized but also possessed a "natural" strength and "by telling a few stories about his run-ins with Indians, in which only his own manly coolness and facility with a rifle saved his scalp, Roosevelt further cemented his new identity as a modern Western hero."<sup>123</sup> Nineteenth century mores tied identity to profession and Funston's work "Storm Bound above the Clouds," worked in the same fashion as Roosevelt's letters back east. In 1889, Funston and Vernon L. Kellogg undertook an expedition to map and gather natural specimens from Colorado for the University of Kansas, yet not until 1891, after Funston had formally become an explorer for the U.S. government, did Funston print the story. Funston received local acclaim for his expedition in Death Valley, but he did not seek to publish "Storm Bound" directly with the *Iola Register*; instead, he sought a national children's magazine, *St. Nicholas* (even so, the *Iola Register* did reprint the story and referred to it numerous times).

Funston wrote to *St. Nicholas* because it acted as a stepping-stone to larger more prominent national publications and helped solidify his career as an explorer. Founded in 1873, *St. Nicholas* operated as a "junior partner" to *Scribner's Monthly* (later *The Century*), which gave it access to the best writers, illustrators, and production facilities.<sup>124</sup> *St. Nicholas* was a magazine

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123. Bederman, *Manliness and Civilization*, 176.

124. It should be noted that *Scribner's Monthly* became the *Century* in 1881 and later *Scribner's Magazine*. Peter Hutchinson, "A Publisher's History of American Magazines: Major Publishers Enter the Magazine Market" *the Magazinish*, 2011, p. 26. [http://www.themagazinish.com/uploads/References\\_for\\_Chapter\\_Five.pdf](http://www.themagazinish.com/uploads/References_for_Chapter_Five.pdf).



with national readership whose editor published the works of America's most prominent authors which included Louisa May Alcott, Frances Hodgson Burnett, and Mark Twain. Other notable authors like F. Scott Fitzgerald, E. B. White, and Edna St. Vincent Millay all published as juveniles in the magazine.<sup>125</sup> For Funston, *St. Nicholas* allowed him to gain national exposure as a real-life explorer who conquered the West and defied danger.<sup>126</sup>

The style and substance of both magazines also appealed to Funston's upbringing and, likewise, Funston the explorer furthered the magazine's nationalistic goals by extolling the virtues of American manhood. Mary Mapes Dodge, the long-serving editor and driving force behind *St. Nicholas*, explained the purpose behind the magazine in forthright bullet points: "To give clean, genuine fun to children of all ages. To give them examples of the finest types of boyhood and girlhood.... To foster a love of country, home, nature, truth, beauty, sincerity."<sup>127</sup> Likewise, *The Century Magazine* often invoked the ideas of nineteenth century Romanticism to foster the American identity and nationalism.<sup>128</sup>

Publishing Funston's "Storm Bound" fit neatly into *St. Nicholas'* objective and its parent magazine's mission. "Storm Bound" promoted the nationalistic ideas of the uniqueness and splendor of the American wilderness and demonstrated how, despite size, the young readers could still achieve and demonstrate the ideals of manhood. Funston's "Storm Bound" uses the concepts of Romanticism by describing the mountain's splendor and enormity while also noting that his description does not give nature its full glory, declaring "any tempt of art to imitate them

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125. "The Magazine That Taught Faulkner, Fitzgerald, and Millay How to Write," *American Heritage*, December 1985.

126. While Funston always denied being a journalist and always proclaimed he was an explorer by 1895 he actively pursued the career.

127. Mary Mapes Dodge, "Editorial Policy," *St. Nicholas Magazine*, November 1873, <http://ufdc.ufl.edu/nick>.

128. J. Arthur Bond, "'Applying the Standards of Intrinsic Excellence' Nationalism and Arnoldian Culture Valuation in the 'Century Magazine,'" *American Periodicals* Vol. 9 (1999), 55.

can be but mere mockery.”<sup>129</sup> Funston also describes how he escaped danger, not through sheer physical strength but also through intelligence. Funston writes that while climbing the mountain a sudden blizzard overtook them. The mountain became icy and difficult to move but they could not stay, as there was no shelter in the immediate area. Caught in the storm and facing death from exposure, Funston and Kellogg came up with a plan to use their rifles to smash through the ice and make footholds and “although very weak physically, our minds were much clearer than an hour before.”<sup>130</sup> Ultimately, their collective wits proved lifesaving. Much as Roosevelt’s “manly coolness and facility with a rifle saved his scalp,” as a lesson to young readers so Funston’s story demonstrated the importance of remaining calm and never giving up in order to succeed.<sup>131</sup>

Funston’s writings also demonstrate a paradox of Victorian cultural notions of manhood between the dandy and the hero. Both carved out spaces in the public and needed an audience, but the “hero” claimed his work only existed to demonstrate the value and productivity of his labor. Funston wrote to the public to assert his manliness or “heroism,” and needed an audience to do so, but the dandy also needed an audience to the point that he craved attention and became a theatrical being “dependent on the recognition of the audience he professed to disdain.”<sup>132</sup> In order to prove his “heroism” while eschewing the perception of the need for accolades, Funston’s writings had to establish the value of his expeditions. Much as he did in “Over the Chilkoot Pass to the Yukon,” Funston differentiated between himself and the tourists in several other works. In “Storm Bound above the Clouds” Funston claims that, “few tourists have the hardihood to scale the great peaks and risk life by exposure to the storms which almost

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129. Funston, “Storm Bound,” 662.

130. *Ibid.*

131. Bederman, *Manliness and Civilization*, 176.

132. Adams, *Dandies and Desert Saints*, 22.

constantly sweep them.”<sup>133</sup> Funston did not take a leisurely stroll through Colorado; rather, he explains the choice to face a very real and ever-present danger. Likewise, in Death Valley, Funston makes certain the readers understand the usefulness of the endeavor by explaining, “There is reason to believe that there are rich gold and silver mines in the region.”<sup>134</sup> Further, even if they failed to find riches, “scientific men will map and procure specimens.”<sup>135</sup> Despite writing to the public, Funston sets himself apart from the dandy’s need for public approval by demonstrating the danger and value of the expeditions.

Funston’s “Storm Bound above the Clouds” also directly challenged the idea of a pacified West. In contrast to the assertions of Frederick Jackson Turner’s frontier thesis, danger lurked with every step. Funston made certain to point out that the train could not reach the remote wilderness of Colorado but the explorer in him overcame nature with luck and undeterred spirit. Funston demonstrated the wildness of nature and his resilience in overcoming the hazards of the expedition by writing: “the winter of 1889-90 will long be remembered by the inhabitants of the Rocky Mountain region for its great severity and unusual snowfall... Despite the arctic surroundings Kellogg and I determined to explore the great chasm without delay.”<sup>136</sup> Nevertheless, Funston’s descriptions always emphasize the enormity of nature and the insignificance of men in their relation to their surroundings, a staple of Romantic literature. By providing his narrative exploits to a national children’s magazine, Funston situated himself within the canon of other tales of folkloric and literary heroes. This contrast, ironically, served to underscore Funston’s achievements. As a mere man he triumphed over the elements of a vastly more powerful external world.

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133. Funston, “Storm Bound,” 657.

134. “Local Maters,” *The Iola Register* (Iola, Kan.), December 26, 1890.

135. *Ibid.*

136. Funston, “Storm Bound,” 658.

For the remainder of his life, Funston never shied away from other children's publications, which often had similar nationalistic and gender modeling goals. Boys and "boy culture" greatly differed from the "civilized" manhood of "proper society," as "source after source describes boys as 'wild' and 'careless,' as 'primitive savages' full of 'animal spirits.'" <sup>137</sup> Young adult literature and other children's publications attempted to instruct them on how to be proper men. As Funston's life continued, he openly understood the importance of young adult literature and encouraged others to write about his adventures. In 1916, shortly before Funston's death, the prolific children's author, Everett T. Tomlinson, wrote to him about turning him into the subject of his next work. In response to Tomlinson's letter, Funston expressed a "keen interest" and suggested Tomlinson write about "Some of the adventures of my early life, for instance those in the arctic regions."<sup>138</sup> Funston continued throughout his life to encourage individuals to tell his adventure stories to children and even called his own memoirs "a contribution, such as it may be, to the literature of adventure."<sup>139</sup> While Funston and others covered the subject of his military career, he encouraged Tomlinson to write about his time as an explorer.<sup>140</sup>

One concept central to the late nineteenth century ideal of manhood was the belief that a man had to demonstrate his strength—a man had to test himself. Like Theodore Roosevelt's *The Strenuous Life*, which extolled the manly virtues of hard work and labor, Funston's writings also underscored the necessity of hard work and physical strength that tied masculinity and work to a

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137. E. Anthony Rotundo, "Boy Culture: Middle-Class Boyhood in Nineteenth-Century America," in *Meanings of Manhood; Constructions of masculinity in Victorian America*, Ed. Mark C. Carnes and Clyde Griffen, (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1990), 15.

138. Everett T. Tomlinson, *Scouting With Funston*, (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, Page, and Co., 1917), VI.

139. Frederick Funston, *Memories of Two Wars: Cuban and Philippine Experiences*, (New York, Charles Scribner's and Sons: 1911), VII.

140. Ultimately, Everett T. Tomlinson's work, *Scouting With General Funston*, is a semi-fictionalized account of Funston's time on the Mexican border and will be covered in depth in later chapters

sense of self. Funston's writings reflect the idea that he tested himself not out of necessity but in line with the notions of "self-testing" and "proving his worth." In all of Funston's writings about his explorations, he ignores advice about safety and timing. In "Storm Bound," an "old stage driver" warned the pair to wait at least six weeks until the mountain had thawed and further stated, "even then it won't be any picnic."<sup>141</sup> Likewise, when traveling the Yukon he ignored advice not to take a canoe out in the storm. By ignoring the warnings of other men, Funston showed his strength. What other men dare not do and where they dare not go, Funston did and went and showed no fear in the process. Regardless of his size, Funston overcame the Rockies and Death Valley and these feats were commendable badges of manly honor.

Ultimately, Funston told and retold his stories to gain social standing because social status and identity came from a person's achievements.<sup>142</sup> In 1891, Funston published "A Wedding in the Mohave Desert" in the University of Kansas publication *University Review*.<sup>143</sup> Overcoming an awe-inspiring natural world and surviving one of the most inhospitable places on earth demonstrated his social worth as a man, but only if others read about it. Funston survived and crossed one of the last untamed places in the United States.

Funston sought to promote his career not only with children but also with his peers. He wanted the public to see no distinction between his explorations and Funston as an actual man. As Rutondo notes, a man's profession tied an "inner sense of self with his identity in the eyes of others, and the expectations of others were bound to larger social conditions."<sup>144</sup> In "A Wedding in the Mohave Desert," the dangers are subtler than "Storm Bound" but the piece still notes the

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141. Funston, "Storm Bound," 658.

142. Rotundo, *American Manhood*, 7.

143. Published by students, the *University Review* was one of several local publications that reported current events about the campus, students, and alumni that published for over 70 years. The *University Review* and the other publications were so known for their pettiness and fighting amongst each other that by 1895 the University Faculty called for an official University sponsored newspaper.

144. Rutondo, *American Manhood*, 168.

wildness of the American frontier. Funston describes the Mohave as “totally cut off from intercourse with the whites more than any other Indians in the United States. They do not live on reservations, and have no connection whatever with the government, roaming freely all over the country which the white man has never wanted to take from them.”<sup>145</sup> The explorer could only exist if there were still places left to explore, untouched by the government and American society.

#### “Natives,” Race, and Authenticity: Funston in the Territories

Funston relied upon his own stories in order to the public of his explorations, and so he made sure that readers understood the authenticity of his explorations. In 1892, while Funston was exploring Alaska, he apologized for the delays in his letters. Funston declared “that letter writing is the most unsatisfactory of all occupations” but he would continue to give readers “an idea of life here at the jumping-off place of the world.”<sup>146</sup> An avid writer who aspired at multiple times to become a journalist, Funston downplayed his abilities in order to seem more adventurous. A journalist in Alaska was a tourist or dandy; Funston cultivated the aura of the explorer because “male callings rested on power, pride, and public eminence.”<sup>147</sup>

Danger in Alaska came not only in nature but—much like in the Mohave—at the hands of the indigenous peoples, and just as Theodore Roosevelt described the tribes in the Dakotas, Funston wrote to local papers to ensure that local readers knew of the dangers. Funston described how, upon entry to the trading post, the “Native Alaskans” left their weapons at the gate. He declared that the treatment of the “natives” “indicated a distrust of the noble red man

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145. Frederick Funston, “A Wedding in the Mohave Desert”, *The University Review*, Nov. 1891 Vol 13 no 2. p. 67. Funston Archives, Iola KS Section A Shelf 1. Image 8524

146. “Fred Funston Heard From,” *The Iola Register* (Iola, Kan.), September 16, 1892. *Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers*. Lib. of Congress, <<http://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn83040340/1892-09-16/ed-1/seq-8/>>.

147. Rutondo, *American Manhood*, 170.

that pained me greatly, and shows the hard-heartedness of this great monopoly which has in such a ruthless manner put a stop to the great biennial looting of the trading post and massacre of the employees which in years past has furnished so much amusement for these simple children of the forest.”<sup>148</sup> Funston’s discussion of indigenous populations also underscores the authenticity of his explorations; the railroad had not tamed the Mohave, Death Valley, Colorado, or Alaska, and while these “natives” had stopped raiding the trading post, he positioned himself as the “civilized man” against the “noble savage.”

The idea that the indigenous population found “much amusement” in massacring the employees of the trading post underscores their “savagery.” “Civilized” men did not kill for fun. Yet Funston also demonstrates the paradox of the “civilization.” By ending the “biennial looting” the company received greater profits but, in return, the “simple children of the forest” lost an essential tradition. The company placed more value on profit and this money-driven approach deprived the indigenous Alaskans of a needed outlet to release their “barbarian virtues.”

Civilization and barbarism helped create a sense of self and “other.” Funston represented a symbol of the civilized man who harnessed the primitive virtues in order to meet the challenges of untamed wilderness while simultaneously providing a contrast to the over simplicity of indigenous people. Theodore Roosevelt’s discussion of civilization and barbarism “indicated not only a pattern of extraordinary self-certainty and a contempt for national outsiders but a plaguing—if quieter—sense of self-doubt.”<sup>149</sup> Funston, like Roosevelt, harnessed the “‘primitive’ traits of vigor, manliness, and audacity” that had given way to “effete

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148. “Fred Funston Heard From,” *The Iola Register*.

149. Jacobson, *Barbarian Virtues*, 3.

overcivilization.”<sup>150</sup> These “barbarian virtues” allowed Funston to explore the lands “untraversed by civilized men” and become a powerful symbol of manhood while simultaneously extending “civilization” to the remote wilderness of Alaska.

Cultural and racial superiority underscored the idea of civilization. Civilization pitted Funston’s whiteness against others. As Bederman argues, civilization and progress implied whiteness, manhood, and imperialism, and Funston’s writings reflect these views. Funston described a group of indigenous Alaskans, the Thlinkets, as “a queer mixture—ten parts of barbarism to one of civilization.”<sup>151</sup> Funston goes on to explain how the Thlinkets took good care of the sick and the infirm, and how “thieving is almost unknown,” yet he still viewed white civilization as fundamentally superior.<sup>152</sup> Funston notes that at the missionary school the native children “are taught the English language, and compelled to keep clean and live like the whites.”<sup>153</sup> In order to civilize the Thlinkets, missionaries, schools, and the government had to ensure that the natives acted and lived like “the whites.”

Funston viewed the indigenous peoples of the north as superior to those in the mainland United States based on their complexion. He states that when dressed for holidays the young Thlinket men and women “are by no means bad looking” and that when the “children are kept clean [they] are remarkably pretty.”<sup>154</sup> In contrast to the darker-skinned peoples in the United States, “the Thlinkets bear little or no resemblance to the Indians in the United States; the complexion is lighter and clearer and the features more regular and pleasing.”<sup>155</sup> Funston’s letters reveal his underlying racial attitude by declaring lighter skin more pleasing than darker

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150. Jacobson, *Barbarian Virtues*, 3.

151. “Fred Funston Heard From,” *The Iola Register*.

152. *Ibid.*

153. *Ibid.*

154. *Ibid.*

155. *Ibid.*



skin. Funston categorizes the Thlinkets as uncivilized when compared to his own whiteness, but more civilized than the darker tribes of the mainland U.S.<sup>156</sup>

As historian William John Bridges argues, Funston described the indigenous tribes differently for different public audiences. In Funston's official reports and national articles he rarely makes deprecating remarks; whereas, in letters to the *Iola Register* Funston wrote harsh opinions to an audience that had some experience with natives and generally distrusted them.<sup>157</sup> In his official report for the U.S. government, "Field Report: In Botany of Yakutat Bay, Alaska," Funston describes the "Indians" as "uncivilized, though apparently well-disposed to white people."<sup>158</sup> When describing the indigenous Alaskans years later to a national audience, he often describes the natives as hardworking and industrious.<sup>159</sup>

Funston's views for local audiences reflect and invoke the stereotypes many Kansans held about local tribes. The Osage had a long history in Kansas and their territory encompassed most of south east Kansas. A series of treaties diminished their claims and by 1870 the Osage formally ceded the remainder of their lands in Kansas but remained in the area until the late 1870s when they purchased a reservation in Oklahoma.<sup>160</sup> Throughout the late-1860s and 1870s, the Osage actively sought to enforce the Federal Treaties and repel encroachment by white settlers.

From the 1850s on, white settlers in south east Kansas and Allen County frequently infringed on the Osage reservation. Essentially, white settlers believed "Indians had no rights

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156. Victorians were obsessed with "the Great Chain of Being" and categorized all manner of things, including civilization. Unsurprisingly the top tier of the concept was white/Anglo-Saxon civilization.

157. William John Bridges, "Dauntless: The Life and Times of Frederick Funston," (PhD diss, University of Nebraska 2002), 53.

158. Frederick Funston, "Field Report: The Botany of Yakutat Bay," *U.S. National Herbarium*, (Washington D.C.: Washington National Printing Office, 1896), 326.

159. Bridges, *Dauntless*, 53.

160. "Osage - Treaties with the United States," Kansas State Historical Society, accessed May 20, 2019, <https://www.kshs.org/kansapedia/osage-treaties-with-the-united-states/19293>

which should be respected by white men.”<sup>161</sup> They illegally settled in the Osage reservation and promptly formed militias to protect their illegal settlements. White settlers in the region would steal between five and twenty horses a day with impunity.<sup>162</sup> Any resistance from the Osage to enforce their legal claims resulted in swift and violent retaliation.

Many Kansans described the Osage in terms of “full bloods” and “half breeds.” Americans constructed these identities outside of Osage realities. The removal of the Osage allowed some “half breeds” to retain some ceded land, because white settlers viewed them as inherently and racially more civilized than the “full bloods.”<sup>163</sup> As historian Tia S. Edwards notes, “Americans liked to believe that intermarriage diluted native ‘blood’ and resulted in more ‘civilized’ offspring that inherited superior ‘racial’ traits.”<sup>164</sup> Growing up in the heart of Osage territory undoubtedly exposed Funston to such beliefs.

Funston’s letters display the suspicion many Kansans held about the Osage and other indigenous peoples. Funston’s letters depict the indigenous people as lazy or inept compared to civilized white men. In 1893, on his final Alaskan exploration, Funston describes an incident where one of the “Indians of the previous day had shown an unruly disposition and an inclination as to usurp my position as Moses of the outfit.”<sup>165</sup> After threatening to leave and return to his family, Funston issued a stern rebuke and the “Indian” “shouldered his pack again with what might be termed indecent haste and from that time on was a model of meekness.”<sup>166</sup> The notion that Funston could easily and permanently make the indigenous people return to work displayed

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161. *Ibid.*, 109.

162. *Ibid.*, 110.

163. Tia S. Edwards, *Osage Women and Empire: Gender and Power* (Lawrence: KS, University of Kansas Press, 2018), 99.

164. *Ibid.*

165. Funston, “From Fred Funston,” *The Iola Register*.

166. *Ibid.*

the idea that the civilized white male could tame the unruly savage. After one run-in with Funston, the “savage” became a quiet and obedient worker.

Describing the indigenous as childish underscored the necessity of white intervention. Writing to the *Iola Register*, Funston describes the Thlinket as children to whom he needed to teach a lesson. Even though he is only speaking of one individual, he is implying the entire tribe needed the benefits of white civilization by declaring that the “unruly” needed only one lesson to become a “model of meekness.”<sup>167</sup> Funston does not actually say what he did to force the indigenous person back to work—“well, maybe I had better let the others [members of the expedition] tell you what happened”—leaving the violence or lack thereof to the readers imagination.<sup>168</sup> In general, Funston describes all “natives” as “rascals” whom he was glad “to see depart so we were no longer dependent on their whims and caprices.”<sup>169</sup> In Funston’s assessment, entrusting the indigenous Alaskans was as risky as trusting a child due to their fickle nature.

In all of Funston’s stories, the “natives” underscore the realness of his explorations. In “Across the Great Divide in Midwinter,” Funston explained to national audiences in *Harper’s Weekly* that the natives often enjoyed the gifts of the civilized man. The only photo in the article shows Funston shooting a “big buck” and when the natives “saw the big buck down in the snow they all tried to embrace me at once.”<sup>170</sup> Funston’s rifle allowed him to kill the large animal, something the natives usually could not, so the natives enjoyed the benefits of civilization by eating for several days.

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167. Ibid.

168. Ibid.

169. Ibid.

170. Frederick Funston, “Across the Great Divide Mid Winter,” *Harpers Weekly*, December 1900. Funston Archives.

Even though many of the indigenous peoples accepted some aspects of civilization—leaving their guns at the gate of the trading post and often assisting Funston on his journeys—they retained their “savage” spirit. In “Across the Great Divide” Funston entered an “Indian camp” and upon announcing his presence “was promptly attacked by a pack of dogs... [who] had me [Funston] down in a trice.”<sup>171</sup> Ultimately, the “Indians” “knocked the dogs left and right” and “as soon as it was found that I was none the worse for the scuffle there was an all-around good laugh.”<sup>172</sup> The indigenous peoples, though friendly, lived amongst a wild pack of dogs and laughed at the spectacle of them attacking an outsider.

Funston absorbed the ideas about natives as “noble red man” and “simple children of the forest” from the American Romantic authors found in his father’s library. Funston imagined the native peoples in the same way other Romantics had: noble, natural, and disappearing. Using the language of Romanticism also played on cultural touchstones familiar to his readers. Audiences accepted the Romantic tropes that gave authenticity to the notion that Funston explored an untamed West.

Similar to his utilization of Romantic and racial concepts regarding “Indians,” Funston discusses himself in Carlyle’s historic terms by placing himself as the heir to more established explorers. Funston reminded readers that in 1794, “when the little American Republic was an infant in long dresses just learning to crow, its late guardian and protector, King George the Third sent out...George Vancouver one of the boldest of England’s navigators.”<sup>173</sup> Funston’s letter not only reminded readers about Vancouver, who had previously explored the region and

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171. Ibid.

172. Ibid.

173. “Our Alaskan Letter,” *The Iola Register* (Iola, Kan.), October 28, 1892, *Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers*. Lib. of Congress, <<http://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn83040340/1892-10-28/ed-1/seq-8/>>.

was one of the “boldest” navigators, but he also told readers that Vancouver started under the legendary Captain Cook. Carlyle espoused the great man approach to history declaring, “Universal History, the history of what man has accomplished in this world, is at bottom the History of the Great Men who have worked here.”<sup>174</sup> Here, Funston creates a direct line from himself to more famous explorers. Funston reminds the readers of the legitimacy of his explorations by explaining the would-be apostolic succession of Alaskan explorers: from Cook to Vancouver to Funston with grandeur intact and unbroken.

Newspapers writing of Funston’s 1893 return to Alaska demonstrate that Funston succeeded in his goal of gaining acceptance as an explorer. The *Iola Register* predicted “it is an expedition that will attract the attention of scientific men the world over[;] it will make Fred Funston famous.”<sup>175</sup> As Funston continued his expeditions, other newspapers began expanding on the image of Funston as an explorer, helping him achieve the public perception he wanted. The *Phillipsburg Herald* reported that Funston “will explore the whole length of the Yukon River, a region hitherto untraversed by civilized men.”<sup>176</sup> The *Iola Register* and several other Kansas papers continued to promote Funston’s expeditions. They wanted Funston to receive national attention in order to gain prestige for the state, but underscoring each article was a notion of manhood and civilization that furthered Funston’s self-image, the same notions that underscored Roosevelt’s Dakotas letters.

While Funston explored Alaska for scientific purposes, his one scientific writing stands in stark contrast to his other writings and highlights how Funston’s primary focus was on gaining

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174. Thomas Carlyle, *On Heroes*, [http://history.furman.edu/benson/fywbio/carlyle\\_great\\_man.htm](http://history.furman.edu/benson/fywbio/carlyle_great_man.htm).

175. “Fred Funston’s Great Trip,” *The Iola Register* (Iola, Kan.), March 24, 1893, *Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers*. Lib. of Congress, <<http://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn83040340/1893-03-24/ed-1/seq-4/>>.

176. No title, *Phillipsburg Herald* (Phillipsburg, Kan.), April 13, 1893. *Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers*. Lib. of Congress, <<http://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn85029677/1893-04-13/ed-1/seq-2/>>.

public acceptance for of the legitimacy of his explorations. Funston, ostensibly, explored for scientific purposes, but ultimately he published only one report, “Field Report: In Botany of Yakutat Bay, Alaska” published in the *U.S. National Herbarium* in 1896. Funston departs from all prosaic descriptions and depicts Yakutat Bay in the driest scientific terms. He describes blueberries, black currants, and numerous other plant species in detail but not with a sense of awe.<sup>177</sup> “Field Report” demonstrates Funston’s active awareness in differentiating between audiences during his other writings. In “Storm Bound,” Funston described the Rocky Mountains as a “chain of stupendous peaks reaching into the clouds” and that “many have compared them favorably with the world famed glories of the Alps and Caucasus.”<sup>178</sup> Yet, in the *National Herbarium* Funston describes the Yakutat Bay as lying “approximately in latitude 60 N and 140 West” and that the bays width at the entrance “between Ocean Cape on the east and Point Manby on the West, is about 20 miles, and it’s length, from the capes to the entrance of Disenchantment Bay, about 30 miles.”<sup>179</sup> Missing in “Field Report” are the stories of death defying feats, the description of the vastness of nature; Funston barely describes his role in collecting these specimens.

#### Funston and Friends: Fame and Publications

Not only did Charles F. Scott and the *Iola Register* help promote Funston’s adventures, but so, too, did William Allen White, the owner and editor of the *Emporia Gazette*. In 1895, William Allen White noted the uniqueness of Funston’s story and declared, “generally speaking, tales of travelers are not listened to by the world today. It is taken for granted that the best and

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177. Funston, “Field Report: The Botany of Yakutat Bay,” 328.

178. Funston, “Storm bound,” 657.

179. Funston, “Field Report: The Botany of Yakutat Bay,” 326.

the worst have already been told.”<sup>180</sup> As a converse to this assumption, White described the exceptionality and authenticity of Funston on the national stage. Published in both *Harper's Weekly* and *Current Literature*, White had access to national attention and declared Funston's Alaska adventure had “not been excelled by any other on the American continent in the last century.”<sup>181</sup> Funston earned the right to the moniker, “the explorer.” White goes on at some length to describe Funston's exploration, something Funston himself did not do in *Harper's* until 1896.

White's language indicates that he accepts Funston as an explorer and an ideal of masculinity. From the early days of Funston's explorations White, Scott, and others wrote of Funston as an entrepreneur. As an entrepreneur who helped extend the American empire into the vast uncharted territories of Alaska. By using the phrase “before he went into the exploring business” when cataloguing Funston's earlier pursuits, White demonstrates that he accepts the authenticity and validity of Funston as explorer since “business” implies a legitimate, and perhaps essential, enterprise. Funston leveraged the capital of civilization and manhood to engage in the “business” of exploration. White also notes Funston's strength and tenacity, both manly characteristics, declaring that if one were to “throw him off the Tarpeian heights he will come down on his feet and have a mortgage on the base of the rocks.”<sup>182</sup> White wrote of Funston in masculine terms of overcoming danger and adversity; even in the most dangerous situations Funston landed on his feet.

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180. William Allen White, "Frederick Funston's Alaskan Trip," *Current Literature*, v. 18 August, 1895, 120-121. From *Harper's Weekly*. <http://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=uc1.32106019921243;view=1up;seq=130>

181. Ibid.

182. “Speaking of Mr. Funston in the KC Star,” *The Iola Register* (Iola, Kan.), October 5, 1894. *Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers*. Lib. of Congress, <<http://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn83040340/1894-10-05/ed-1/seq-5/>>.

White was able to capitalize on the “restlessness” of middle-class men in the sale of papers detailing Funston’s adventures. Readers clamored for romantic adventures and Funston sold papers. White noted that when the man at “the plow, the desk, the shop counter [read about Funston they] observe the money-devil hasn’t the world in his clutches... they leave their work and follow the bugles into knighthood with Funston, and make all their dreams come true.”<sup>183</sup> Having a close connection with Funston gave White credibility and insight into Funston that few others had. Although White had already gained national attention with his “What’s the Matter with Kansas?” editorial, Funston stories allowed White to expand his audiences.

White writes of Funston to promote both Funston and himself but does so in a way readers wanted, as an escape from the daily monotony of their jobs. One of the key aspects of the nineteenth century spectacle was an escape from the mundane routine. White continued to write of Funston in the terms of manly honor and civilization that characterized Funston the explorer. After the Alaskan expeditions, White noted Funston “only stood the monotony of civilization for less than a year” before he embarked on his next adventure.<sup>184</sup> In 1901, after Funston reached national prominence as a Spanish-American War hero, White described him as “a dynamic knight-errant of great voltage, with a nimble wit and cavalier’s courage.”<sup>185</sup> Through Funston’s stories, readers could escape the daily humdrum of the working life.

### Politics and the Lecture Circuit

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183. William Allen White, "Funston--the Man from Kansas" *The Saturday Evening Post*, May 18, 1901, 2-3. <https://books.google.com/books?id=cmAwAQAAAJ&pg=RA8-PA2&lpg=RA8-PA2&dq=%22Funston--the+Man+from+Kansas%22+White&source=bl&ots=mGWJ10muAB&sig=vlI5hK8-tkEnIdKIEeTfASaM3ps&hl=en&sa=X&ved=0ahUKEwjDtqaAu-DRAhXGIlQKHZfNDFwQ6AEIGjAA#v=onepage&q=%22Funston--the%20Man%20from%20Kansas%22%20White&f=false>

184. Ibid.

185. Ibid.



Just as Roosevelt returned from the Dakotas to win a seat in the New York assembly, Frederick Funston returned from the wilderness of Alaska and attempted to use his fame to influence the outcome of multiple elections during the 1890s. Despite his lack of contact with “civilization” during his explorations, Funston’s letters to the *Iola Register* demonstrate his awareness of the political climate and reveal how the *Register* used his fame for their own ends. While describing the use of canoes in Alaska and his relative inexperience with this conveyance, he noted as they set off that the weather was fine but “the Alaskan weather resembles the Kansas democracy, inasmuch as one never knows what freak to expect next.”<sup>186</sup> Funston could have easily described the weather’s likelihood to change as something similar to Kansas, but to underscore the ferocity of the Alaskan weather he related it to electoral politics. Alongside Frederick Funston’s letter the *Register* ran its endorsements including one for E.H. Funston for congress and Charles F. Scott for state senate. Those following Funston’s adventures read both his assessments of Kansas electoral politics and the *Register’s* endorsements.

In Kansas, the public clamored for Funston’s stories and between 1894 and 1895 Funston found a way to capitalize on his explorations by entering the lecture circuit. Few Kansans had journeyed to Death Valley or Alaska and to explore both in a few years made Funston truly unique. After returning from Alaska, Funston went on a speaking tour that only furthered the public association between his *profession* as an explorer and his *identity* of explorer. The *Topeka State Journal* reported in three months Funston made \$1,200 from his lecture tour.<sup>187</sup> The *La*

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186. “Another Alaskan Letter,” *The Iola Register* (Iola, Kan.), October 14, 1892. *Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers*. Lib. of Congress, <<http://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn83040340/1892-10-14/ed-1/seq-8/>>.

187. 1200 dollars could purchase roughly 60 acres in Allen County at the time. On average a pair of shoes ranged from 2.00 to 4.00 in the 1897 Sears catalog. <https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=uc1.31158001963940;view=1up;seq=245;size=125> pg 193-204 and “Familiar Kansas Names,” *The Topeka State Journal*, (Topeka, Kan.), May 3, 1895. *Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers*. Lib. of Congress. <<http://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn82016014/1895-05-31/ed-1/seq-4/>>.

*Cygne Journal* kindly asked Funston to place his Alaska letters into book form and include the previous expeditions to Death Valley and Alaska.<sup>188</sup> Though White and others told stories, Funston still largely controlled the narrative through which the public perceived him. The stories, after all were, *his* stories.

The lecture circuit opened a political line of attack on Funston that reveals another paradox of Victorian male identity. Male identity rested on profession but the professional rejected the entrepreneurial marketing of his professional skills.<sup>189</sup> While white middle class notions of manhood tied work to identity, “the professional professed to disdain narrowly economic interests.”<sup>190</sup> Funston’s detractors criticized him for entering the lecture circuit and capitalizing on his adventures. In 1901, his close friend and political ally, Charles F. Scott, eventually acknowledged and excused the inappropriateness of Funston capitalizing on his time as the explorer and *filibustero*. During the winter of 1894-1895, Funston entered the lecture circuit to which Scott testified, “Altho [sic] this work was remunerative, it was to the last degree distasteful, and was abandoned at the earliest moment his finances would admit.”<sup>191</sup> Even so, Scott waited to air his criticism of Funston until after Funston reached another plateau of success, by becoming a general in the U.S. Army, and had fully abandoned the lecture circuit. In 1901, Scott wrote about Funston after he had reached national prominence, tying his relationship to Funston’s fame. In the same year, Scott ran and won a statewide at-large seat to the House of Representatives.<sup>192</sup>

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188. “Additional Local,” *The Iola Register* (Iola, Kan.), November 23, 1894 *Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers*. Lib. of Congress, <<http://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn83040340/1894-11-23/ed-1/seq-4/>>.

189. Adams, *Dandies and Desert Saints*, 6.

190. *Ibid.*

191. Scott, “Frederick Funston” *The Independent*, 817-818.

192. Scott served in the House from 1901-1911. After the state eliminated at large seats in 1907, Scott won the seat for Iola, the same seat E.H. held.

Frederick Funston's critics did not simply dislike his entering the lecture circuit; they also attempted to portray him and, more importantly, his father, as corrupt by associating his journeys with the grafting of office. Those who sought to discredit Funston did so largely by attacking the political system and Funston's father's role within it. The *Western Kansas World* critiqued Funston's father, Representative E.H. Funston, as a cold, distant individual who cared only about money. The *Western Kansas World* noted E.H.'s displeasure with Frederick and that it was not until Frederick Funston received a "big check" that "they became cronies again."<sup>193</sup> The word "cronies" in particular emphasized the idea of graft and deceitfulness of both Funstons. The *Wichita Daily Eagle* criticized the spoil system and declared that Frederick Funston "is a better man to hustle offices than his dad."<sup>194</sup> These papers attacked Frederick Funston but, more so, his father's character. Newspapers used Funston the explorer to detract from "Foghorn Funston's" political career. However, unlike later challenges, these early attempts to influence the perception of Funston did not receive effective traction with the public until Funston became a national icon and household name.

### Conclusion

In order to understand Funston's life and his subsequent public memory, one must understand the realities of Funston's world. The social atmosphere that dominated the Victorian era during Funston's childhood and early adult life remained largely intact for the next twenty years. Funston returned from the wilderness and entered the lecture circuit, but he did not remain in "civilization" long. The restlessness he displayed early in life continued through the

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193. "STATE NEWS," *Western Kansas World* (WaKeeney, Kan.), July 11, 1891, *Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers*. Lib. of Congress, <<http://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn82015485/1891-07-11/ed-1/seq-6/>>.

194. "Sunflower Silhouettes," *The Wichita Daily Eagle* (Wichita, Kan.), April 17, 1892, *Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers*. Lib. of Congress, <<http://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn82014635/1892-04-17/ed-1/seq-4/>>.

1890s and 1900s. Funston did not return to the family farm, but instead he tried his hand in a number of careers: managing a coffee plantation, journalist, *filibustero*, and soldier. Largely through his writings, Funston interacted with the public as an explorer and even afterward always ensured that the public knew of his experiences. Funston used the media to promote his explorations and tied his manhood and sense-of-self into his profession.

The spectacle and consumer culture that fostered publication of his stories of exploration fueled Funston's meteoric rise as a national figure for imperialism. During his time as an explorer, Funston relished the limelight and never strayed far from the political sphere, tendencies that continued until his death. During Funston's life, the media played a central role in the creation of popular opinion, a lesson Funston learned as a young child that influenced the remainder of his adult life. Others, like Scott and White, saw the power of Funston as a symbol, and used his stories to further their political agendas. As Funston gained national fame more prominent politicians and media makers, like Thomas Edison and Mark Twain, followed suit.

The closure of the frontier sent Funston in search of a wild untamed wilderness. Funston explored the Dakotas, Death Valley, and Alaska and even though he never returned to the exploration business, Funston's life as a soldier continued on the fringes of American legal authority and in the wild frontiers and borderlands. As an explorer, Funston symbolized American manhood overcoming the savage.

Just as the boom and bust economic cycles changed Iola and E.H. Funston's political fortunes, the politics and economics of the era continued to influence the Funstons' lives. Funston used his celebrity as an explorer to support the gold standard but drew immediate criticism from Kansas newspapers. Similarly, Funston would go on to use his national celebrity

from his time in the Spanish-American and Philippine-American Wars to support imperialism and draw an even sharper and harsher rebuke.

## Chapter 2: Funston the Adventurer, the Hero, and the Villain

Between 1896 and 1902, Funston became a symbol for larger national debates and gained a life in the media outside his own actions. Media makers cast Funston into a series of roles—what this author has termed the role of the adventurer, the hero, and the villain—in order to coopt his image to promote their political ideologies and commercial agendas.<sup>195</sup> As in his first profession as explorer, white middle-class ideas of masculinity and Victorian notions that tied manhood to profession underscored all three public identities. However, unlike the explorer, politicians and media makers utilized Funston’s identity as an adventurer, hero, or villain to relate to a larger narrative about American nationalism and imperialism.

This chapter examines Funston’s life from 1896-1902 and how Funston’s childhood continued to affect his career choices. Literary culture, particularly the melodrama and the popular romance novel, underscore how Funston and other media makers wrote about his experiences in the Cuban war for Independence, the Spanish-American War, and the Philippine Insurrection. Although embellished, Funston’s career as an explorer remained grounded in facts, unlike the remainder of his life. Understanding why media makers created versions of Funston for public consumption illuminates the political nature of Funston’s public identities. I argue that by epitomizing Funston as an ideal of masculinity, it gave media makers a fashioned vessel through which they could project their political ideologies. Accepting Funston as a symbol of virtuous manhood validated the Republican platform and American imperialism. The anti-imperialists cast Funston as a villain and a dishonorable man in order to diminish his political authority and by extension, criticize American intervention abroad.

The War in Cuba

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Between the 1860s and 1880s, Cuban nationalists engaged in a series of bloody wars that culminated in the swift and brutal crackdown of the 1895 rebellion. The Spanish victories in the Ten Years War (1868-1878) and the Little War (1879-1880) instilled a belief in the Spanish government that strong and decisive use of force could crush the rebellion. However, a quick victory eluded the Spanish. The insurgents' guerilla tactics of launching attacks and blending back into the local population frustrated Spanish forces. General Valerian Weyer ("the Butcher" as the American press cast him) moved civilians into "reconcentration camps" in order to combat these guerilla tactics. Undersupplied and poorly planned, the camps became cesspools of disease and starvation. Some estimate as many as 300,000 civilians perished in the camps as a result.<sup>196</sup> With the rising death count, the reconcentration camps became key pieces of propaganda for Cuban nationalists in the United States and other proponents of American intervention.<sup>197</sup>

Perhaps in no other prior war did the media play a more central part in starting the conflict than in the Spanish-American War. Popular journalism played a crucial, if not primary, role in galvanizing the public to support U.S. intervention. William Randolph Hearst and Joseph Pulitzer sensationalized the events unfolding in Cuba in order to increase newspaper circulation. Hearst purchased his first New York City newspaper, the failing *Morning Journal*, in 1895, and his strategy to create the most sensational newspaper worked. Within a year of his coverage of the unfolding events in Cuba, the circulation of the *Morning Journal* increased from eight thousand to over one million.<sup>198</sup> Not only did Hearst and Pulitzer engage in sensationalism, but small local papers across the country, like the *Iola Register*, noticed the successful commercial

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196. John Lawrence Tone, *War and Genocide in Cuba: 1895-1898* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina, 2005), 210.

197. "General Valeriano Weyer," *The World of 1898: The Spanish American War*, Library of Congress, last modified June 22, 2011, <https://www.loc.gov/rr/hispanic/1898/weyer.html>.

198. Stephen Kinzer, *The True Flag: Theodore Roosevelt, Mark Twain, and the Birth of American Empire* (New York: Henry Holt and Co., 2017), 30.

strategy and fanned the flames of “patriotic outrage.”<sup>199</sup> Before the *Maine* exploded and the United States entered the war, journalists realized they could harness the drama of the Cuban rebellion for their own ends.

Media coverage of the Cuban Insurrection often fit into the script of the melodrama or popular romance novel with Americans playing the part of the savior.<sup>200</sup> The war provided a stage to dramatize the “themes of battle, martyrdom, and suffering.”<sup>201</sup> The media also portrayed the war as a “spectacle” for consumption, and Cuba became a popular setting for both the popular romance novel and the melodrama. The stage melodrama and popular romantic fiction “offered the narrative ingredients for framing the Cuban crisis through the formula of romantic rescue.”<sup>202</sup> Media makers, including Funston himself, often portrayed his service in the terms of the “savior” and employed the stock themes that revolved around “suspenseful ‘situations’ that featured extravagant rescues and escapes.”<sup>203</sup> Much like the larger war, media makers framed Funston’s time in Cuba and the Philippines in the terms of the popular romance novel and melodrama.

The Cuban cause was immensely popular and across the nation. Americans not only read about the war but also actively participated in armed expeditions to help foment revolution. They purchased ships and munitions and sent them to Cuba to support the expeditions and fledging government. By June of 1895, these filibustering expeditions had become so problematic that President Grover Cleveland issued *Proclamation 377—Neutrality of Citizens of*

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199. Amy Kaplan, *The Anarchy of Empire in the Making of U.S. Culture* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2002), 94.

200. Bonnie M. Miller, *From Liberation to Conquest: the Visual and Popular Cultures of the Spanish American War of 1898* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2001), 20. It should be noted that the Romanticism (capital ‘R’), which focused on freedom from constraints, nature, and recklessness, differs from the romance (little ‘r’) novel, which often focuses on taming the wild heart and living happily ever after.

201. Ibid.

202. Ibid.

203. Ibid.



*the United States in the Civil Disturbances in Cuba* that urged American citizens against participating and reminded them they violated federal law if they did.<sup>204</sup> The proclamation did little and a year later Cleveland issued *Proclamation 387* that reiterated the previous proclamation.<sup>205</sup>

In Kansas, Funston became a celebrity and a means to bridge the distance between the international events in Cuba and the Kansas plains. While others around the nation engaged in filibustering expeditions, Funston's prominent family, relative fame as an explorer, and friendship with two well-known editors ensured that he received the lion's share of local and regional media attention. Local papers focused on Funston not only because of his surname but because the stories of his time in Cuba demonstrated that even those on the remote plains of Kansas still had an important role to play in the war. Casting Funston as the manly, melodramatic hero echoed stock themes the general population understood and accepted. Funston as the adventuring *filibustero* sold papers and sold the idea of American intervention in Cuba.

The way media makers like Charles F. Scott, William Allen White, and numerous newspapers around Kansas and the nation wrote about Funston mirrored their language about the righteousness of the American intervention. Instead of focusing on nature and natives, Funston's writings focused on the politics of intervention. Serving in the Army of Maximo Gomez, the public viewed Funston as a swashbuckling adventurer. While on his filibustering adventure,

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204. Grover Cleveland, June 12, 1895“Proclamation 377—Neutrality of Citizens of the United States in the Civil Disturbances in Cuba,” *University of California Santa Barbra: the American Presidency Project*, <https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/documents/proclamation-377-neutrality-citizens-the-united-states-the-civil-disturbances-cuba>.

205. Grover Cleveland, July 27, 1896, “Proclamation 387—Neutrality of Citizens of the United States in the Civil Disturbances in Cuba,” *University of California Santa Barbra: the American Presidency Project*, <https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/documents/proclamation-387-continuing-neutrality-citizens-the-united-states-the-civil-disturbance>.

Funston harnessed Victorian notions of war depicted in “high” forms of culture like Tennyson’s *Charge of the Light Brigade* and “low” forms such as the popular romance novel and the melodrama.<sup>206</sup>

The politics of Funston’s filibustering expedition did not necessarily need to consider territorial expansion. As historian Amy Kaplan discusses, with the closing of the frontier, national power became disembodied from territorial expansion “and often in the same breath, masculine identity was reconceived as *embodied*—that is, cultivated—in the muscular robust physique,” counter to Turner’s assertion that the closing of the frontier signaled the end of American exceptionalism.<sup>207</sup> Territorial expansion became more about access to markets and political influence, and “the spatially unbound quality of the New Empire promised to reconstitute national uniqueness.”<sup>208</sup> The image of American nationhood no longer rested on westward expansion and instead underwent a reincarnation in the image of the American man. Fighting alongside and for the Cuban nationalists, Funston did not have to promote annexation merely intervention. When the United States finally ended the Spanish-American War, the U.S. did not need to annex Cuba to demonstrate the superiority of American manhood so long as it had men willing to fight to protect “the damsel in distress.” Victory itself was the ultimate spoil of war.

#### Funston the *Filibustero*

After Funston’s contract expired with the government in 1894, he again demonstrated the restlessness that plagued many young men in the 1890s. Funston earned \$1,200 and enough

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206. Miller, *From Liberation to Conquest*, notes that “Beginning in the last decades of the nineteenth century, as cultural critics began distinguishing between ‘high’ and ‘low’ forms of cultural expression, these genres [Melodramas and popular romance novels] were increasingly categorized as ‘lowbrow,’” 20.

207. Kaplan, *The Anarchy of Empire*, 97.

208. *Ibid.*

fame to make him a regional celebrity. Along with his stardom, Funston had enough capital to purchase a small sixty-acre farm in Allen County, which was large enough to live on but too small to commercially farm and secure a middle-class lifestyle.<sup>209</sup> Despite his successes, for the remainder of Funston's life he continued to seek out adventure. After his near-death experiences in the Alaskan wilderness, Funston's wanderlust continued and so he attempted to leverage his lecture circuit capital to undertake a new project: a Central American coffee plantation. At the end of 1894, Funston moved to Mexico, but for several months he failed to raise the remainder of the necessary capital, and the plantation idea floundered. As middle-class mores tied profession to identity, this failure hit Funston particularly hard.

Although dejected by the commercial failure, hands-on experience in Mexico no doubt gave Funston another tool in his arsenal as an imperial entrepreneur. The coffee plantation failed, but Funston excelled in Spanish. Even before leaving for Mexico, Funston studied Spanish in high school.<sup>210</sup> During his time in Mexico, Funston acquired a level of fluency that would eventually open doors and create new contacts. With the "rebellion" in Cuba expanding, Funston could directly communicate with the Cuban leadership and Spanish authorities. Funston left Mexico, but instead of returning home to Kansas, he returned to journalism and moved to New York City in 1896.<sup>211</sup>

This move to New York City proved fortuitous; Funston saw relative success as a journalist publishing three stories in two well-known national publications, *Scribner's Magazine* and *Harper's Weekly*. A revolution had started in Cuba in 1895 and New York City served as

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209. The average farm size in Kansas was 160 acres. The rise of big agrarian businesses coupled with mechanization meant even most of these farms were too small for commercial purposes. "Agriculture in Kansas," Kansas Historical Society, accessed April 1, 2019, <http://www.kshs.org/kansapedia/agriculture-in-kansas/14188>.

210. "MG Frederick Funston," *Kansas National Guard Museum*, <https://ksngmuseum.wordpress.com/2013/06/27/mg-frederick-funston/> accessed

211. Scott, "Frederick Funston," *The Independent* (New York, N.Y.), Jan 3. 1901, 819,

home to an exiled shadow government. Just as it had in previous rebellions, the “*Cuban Junta*” attempted to gain American sympathies and U.S. support for their independence.<sup>212</sup> As a journalist, Funston became acquainted with the junta’s leadership and “engaged in promoting in all possible ways the revolt against Spain.”<sup>213</sup> Despite his publications, Funston exhausted both the remainder of his lecture circuit capital and his earnings as a journalist. Again, Funston’s inner restlessness prompted him to seek out a new career and within six months of his move to New York, he accepted a commission as a captain in the Cuban artillery.

Rejecting the farming profession, the war in Cuba gave Frederick Funston another route to emulate his father and assert his masculinity. Like his choice to become an explorer, Funston’s upbringing deeply affected his desire to become an adventurer. Upset with the failure of his coffee plantation, the war offered Funston a means to escape his disappointments and bitterness that tainted his sense of self.<sup>214</sup> During the Civil War, E.H. Funston served as a second lieutenant in a Union artillery battery. Funston grew up with relics of his father’s service around the house and E.H Funston “would reminisce with his family about events that had occurred on the smoke-covered battlefields of the 1860s. An impressionable young Frederick drank in his father's emotionally charged military resurrections.”<sup>215</sup> Funston later acknowledged that he “had been brought up on stories of fierce struggles in which the old brass Napoleons [cannons] of... [the Civil War] had done their part.”<sup>216</sup> By the 1890s, romantic notions about war recast the American Civil War with a unique Victorian perspective, both bloody and cruel but at the same time noble and heroic.

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212. Within the exile community two groups formed many supported independence but a sizeable contingent of Cubans also favored full annexation and statehood

213. Scott, “Frederick Funston,” *The Independent*, 819

214. Crouch, *A Yankee Guerrillero*, 21.

215. Crouch, “Frederick Funston of Kansas.”

216. Funston, *Memories of Two Wars*, 5.

While a spirit of restlessness plagued young men in the late nineteenth century, historians have noted that these young men obsessed over what they perceived as a crisis of masculinity. Like his contemporaries, Funston suffered from both the restlessness and the “crisis” and sought to imitate his father to ensure his masculinity. Funston grew up hearing stories of the Civil War that instilled the belief of “heroic romance” in war, specifically as described by Thomas Carlyle in his work *On Heroes, Hero-Worship, and the Heroic in History*.<sup>217</sup> Carlyle’s fourth lecture describes the hero as a “commander over men,” as a hero king and military figure. Funston wanted to emulate his father’s “booming masculine” stature and upon hearing that the Cuban army needed artillery, Funston noted, “This struck me favorably, as my father had been an artillery officer in the Civil War.”<sup>218</sup> Funston traveled to Cuba in 1896 and became a *filibustero* in the Cuban army raising to the rank of captain in the artillery.

Just as Funston courted a profession in exploration to escape the pressures of middle-class life, he left New York City in search of the war stories he grew up reading about and listening to. Funston remained an “incurable romantic whose lust for adventure, memories of his father’s Civil War vignettes, and close reading of martial history and literature had bred in him a desire to experience actual combat.”<sup>219</sup> Since the 1850s, media makers depicted the *filibustero* with a “revolutionary masculinity.”<sup>220</sup> For almost half a century, newspapermen developed an ideal male-centered revolutionary fighter. As writers questioned whether a “man of letters” could effectively end Spanish colonial rule, they created a masculine revolutionary around the idea that a “man of action” could finish what the “man of letters” started.<sup>221</sup> Upon his return

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217. Crouch, “Frederick Funston of Kansas.”

218. Frederick Funston, “To Cuba as a Filibusterer,” *Scribner’s Magazine* Volume 4, 1910, 306.

219. Couch, *A Yankee Guerrillero*, 21.

220. Rodrigo Lazo, *Writing to Cuba: Filibustering and Cuban Exiles in the United States* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2005), 12.

221. *Ibid.*, 17.

from the war, Funston invoked this idea of revolutionary masculinity and the idea that a “man of action” could liberate Cuba as he enthralled local audiences with his time in Cuba and tied the current rebellion back to the Ten Years War.<sup>222</sup>

Funston’s restlessness fueled his desire to fight while Victorian ideas about the “heroic romanticism” of war led him to view the war in Cuba as a noble and worthy adventure. The war fascinated Funston because it allowed him to escape the trappings of civilization and simultaneously display his masculinity. Funston could easily do the former by fleeing his responsibilities or becoming a hermit in the mountains, but those occupations did not come with middle-class acceptance and respectability. Funston noted, “Since the outbreak of the insurrection I had taken considerable interest in its progress, and had indulged myself in a vague sort of idea that I would like to take part in it.”<sup>223</sup> While Funston acknowledged that he “shared the prevailing sympathies of my countrymen,” he also revealed the reasons he actually went to Cuba: “fear[ing] as much a love of adventure and a desire to see some fighting as from any more worthy motive.”<sup>224</sup> Funston’s own words describe both the restlessness—“fearing as much a love of adventure”—and the romanticism of war—“and a desire to see some fighting.”

Funston did not intend to get rich in Cuba, but he understood he could capitalize on his experiences there. As an imperial entrepreneur Funston understood that the Cuban Army offered him a means to capitalize domestically on his foreign experience. For Funston, a vague idea of achieving success motivated him as much as money to enlist in the Cuban Army.<sup>225</sup> Writing to a friend, Funston stated he “had no ambition to get rich...I’m afraid I have no settled aim or

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222. Couch, *A Yankee Guerrillero*, 145.

223. Funston, *Memories of Two Wars*, 3.

224. Funston, “To Cuba as a Filibusterer,” 305.

225. The Cuban Army was several different groups that worked together but they had to secure most of their financing and supplies from exile groups.

clearly seen ambition. But nevertheless I want to cut some ice in the world, and I intend to keep hustling until my time comes.”<sup>226</sup> By cutting some ice and “hustling until my time comes,” Funston viewed the war in Cuba as a means to success. He could achieve a clear ambition and make something of himself in Cuba; in essence, he would show the world he could “cut the mustard.”

Although Funston knew the Cuban war would not make him rich, he also knew he could make money on it. A symbiotic relationship between Funston and media makers soon developed. Just as editors, musicians, artists, and directors used Funston’s stories to sell their work, Funston understood he could monetize his adventures. The Cuban army could barely afford provisions and what little pay they offered was often in worthless bonds or self-printed rebel currency, but while in New York, Funston spoke to a friend and stated the lack of pay did not concern him because he could “sell some letters to high class publications” about his time in the Cuban army.<sup>227</sup> Funston knew people would pay money to read his adventures so long as they told a compelling story. Funston entered the public sphere as an adventurer with an understanding that he had to make himself an adventurer by literally selling his story. Over the next eighteen months, Funston engaged in four major battles including the battle of Los Tunas and dozens of skirmishes. After each engagement Funston made sure to write home.

Casting the war in chivalric terms sold papers, and Funston, a local Kansan, had firsthand accounts of the “action.” In 1896, Funston’s enlistment in the Cuban army garnered headlines around Kansas. The *Topeka Advocate* wrote, “Fred Funston is Captain of a battery of Hotchkiss

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226. No Title, *NY Times*, May 13, 1900, Funston Museum and Research Library, Eckdall Scrapbook Section A-II.

227. Charles A. Gleed, “Romance and Reality in a Single Life: General Frederick Funston,” *Cosmopolitan*, July 1899, 327.

guns in the Cuban Army. He is quite the adventurer..."<sup>228</sup> The adventurer had a political dynamic as the *Kansas City Daily Journal* noted "that the intrepid young explorer is now training Gatling guns against the Spanish soldiers and fighting for the cause of freedom."<sup>229</sup> The *Daily Journal* accepted Funston's mission as righteous in declaring the adventurer as "fighting for the cause of freedom." One key shift away from Funston as explorer to Funston as adventurer is that others wrote about Funston without his encouragement. While the concepts of danger and courage still played an important part in the narrative, editors and journalists also used the elements for their own ends. The *Daily Journal* identified with the Republican Party and later openly supported McKinley and expansionism.

The regional and state papers focused on Funston because he easily fit into a national and international narrative and brought those events to life on a local level. Many newspapers, like Hearst's and Pulitzer's, cast General Weyler as "the Butcher" in the role of "melodramatic villain." Newspapers around Kansas like the *Iola Register*, *Chanute Blade*, *Topeka State Journal*, and *Kansas City Daily Journal* followed the theme by casting Funston in the manly role of adventurer and "savior." Kansas readers delighted in the stories of a local boy standing up to fight a cruel empire.

Hearst and other media makers used the war and Funston's stories to increase circulation. The commercial success of the "spectacular melodrama more than any political agenda that turned the Cuban rebellion into... the latest theme of entertainment."<sup>230</sup> Between 1896 and 1897, as Funston fought for the Cuban army, newspapers around the state, like the *Chanute*

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228. "Some News About Kansas," *The Advocate* (Topeka, Kan.), July 15, 1896. *Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers*. Lib. of Congress, <<http://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn85032018/1896-07-15/ed-1/seq-8/>>.

229. "Sunflower Seed" *Kansas City Daily Journal*, September 01, 1896. *Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers*. Lib. of Congress, <<http://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn86063624/1896-09-01/ed-1/seq-4/>>.

230. Miller, *From Liberation to Conquest*, 20.



*Blade*, used Funston in the role of the adventurer to increase their circulation. Newspapers reported on the necessity of American intervention and harnessed Funston to their cause. The *Chanute Blade* noted, “Fred may yet be to Cuba in her struggle what Lafayette was to America.”<sup>231</sup> Much like the French who supported the American cause of independence, Funston became a symbol to support the necessity of American intervention. Funston never credited himself as the “sole liberator” of Cuba, but newspapers shaped a version of him as such in order to sell papers.

Masculinity and bravery remained central themes in all the accounts of Funston. The *Kansas City Daily Journal* reminded readers of Funston’s bravery: “It will indeed be a grief to the thousands of Mr. Funston’s friends should he get into the clutches of the cruel Spanish... So brilliant and courageous a young man as Mr. Funston cannot well be spared by the rising generation.”<sup>232</sup> The paper had little direct stake in Funston’s career, but its language about the “cruel Spanish” echoed other stories of Spanish atrocities occurring on the island. The writers and editors constructed the image as “brilliant and courageous” in order to promote righteous American intervention versus a “cruel Spanish” empire. The belief that fighting for liberty and freedom made for a just and righteous war directly reflected the Victorian ideal of nobility in war. The paper also utilized the melodramatic stock plot of the savior swooping in to defeat a cruel villain.

Accepting Funston as a “brilliant and courageous young man” that could not “well be spared by the rising generation” elevated his manliness in relations to others. Other men of

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231. As cited in, “This Weeks News,” *The Iola Register* (Iola, Kan.), December 04, 1896. *Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers*. Lib. of Congress, <<http://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn83040340/1896-12-04/ed-1/seq-5/>>.

232. “A Kansas Man in Peril,” *Kansas City Daily Journal*, September 21, 1896. *Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers*. Lib. of Congress, <<http://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn86063624/1896-09-21/ed-1/seq-4/>>.

Funston's age and time lacked his manly traits, and the *Kansas City Daily Journal* reminded readers of Funston's bravery and courage. Funston's peers stayed at home, while Funston did the manly thing and defended liberty against "the clutches of the cruel Spanish." Newspapers declared, "Fred Funston of Kansas is a big gun among the Cuban insurgents"<sup>233</sup> and "Weyler began to weaken as soon as he heard that Fred Funston of Kansas joined the insurgents."<sup>234</sup> For hawkish publications, adventurer-Funston embodied the entire war for Cuban independence, highlighting how the Cuban army desperately needed American help, help that was easy for Americans to muster and morally acceptable.

Funston acted as a bridge between the international crisis in Cuba and the local happenings in Kansas. While other Kansans fought and received attention, Funston received considerably more press. Not only as the son of a prominent Kansas politician and former Congressman, but also from his time as an explorer, the populace recognized his connection to the state. Newspapers serialized Funston's letters, which encouraged readers to purchase the subsequent editions. One article from the *Topeka State Journal* ends on a cliffhanger as Funston's horse was "shot dead under me [Funston] forty yards from the Spanish line and I cut my saddle off and got out."<sup>235</sup> The *Topeka State Journal* openly acknowledged that its publication only contained portions of Funston's letter and chose to end Funston's story there. The editors included the portions that fit the stock melodramatic plot device of "harrowing

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233. "News Boiled Down," *Barbour County Index* (Medicine Lodge, Kan.), November 25, 1896. *Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers*. Lib. of Congress, <<http://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn82015080/1896-11-25/ed-1/seq-4/>>.

234. "Ex' Rays," *The Topeka State Journal*, November 26, 1896, *Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers*. Lib. of Congress, <<http://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn82016014/1896-11-26/ed-1/seq-4/>>.

235. "Funston's Peril in Cuba," *The Topeka State Journal*, November 18, 1896, *Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers*. Lib. of Congress. <<http://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn82016014/1896-11-18/ed-1/seq-1/>> .

escapes.” In essence, the editors told the reader to tune in next week for more stories of Funston’s daring escapes.

Funston wrote his friends and family but probably none more so than his friend, and *Iola Register* editor, Charles F. Scott. In October 1897, Funston described to the *Iola Register*, at length, a major victory for the Cuban army with the capture of Los Tunas: “we have just won the biggest victory of this or the other revolution, by capturing Los Tunas...and taking its entire garrison with a great quantity of rifles, ammunition, etc. The fight lasted three days and two nights and was a fearfully bloody affair.”<sup>236</sup> The three paragraphs, which follow this description, detail the shelling of the fort, destruction of the cavalry, and storming of the town. The paper portrayed Funston not only by his own words but also by how they chose to edit them and print his accounts. The paper portrayed Funston as a noble man fighting for the cause of Cuban independence, an adventurer with a cause.

Funston’s writings imitate the Victorian beliefs in the dichotomy of war and his literary upbringing. Media makers around Kansas, including the *Iola Register*, infused Funston with the facets of virtuous warfare—fighting for what was right while abhorring violence—against a melodramatic villain. While Funston did not like the bloodshed, evidenced in his reference to the war as a “bloody affair,” he saw no other option if freedom was to prevail in Cuba.

Despite the horrors of war, Funston invoked popular poetry to reinforce the nobility inherent in combat. Alfred Lord Tennyson’s “Charge of the Light Brigade” encapsulates the duality of Victorian notions of war as righteous but callous, and Funston’s own writings reflect the Victorian ideal that war is both noble and brutal. As a boy, Funston “learned early to take great pleasure from habitual wide reading and he especially enjoyed historical and fictional

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236. “Fred Funston Will soon Quit the Struggling Cubans: The Gallant Young Kansan Now a Lieutenant-Colonel,” *Iola Register*, October 15, 1897, The Funston Papers: Iola Public Library (Micro Film C-3).

accounts of wars and battles. By memorizing extensive excerpts from poetry, Frederick Funston developed an amazing memory which enabled him to recall verbatim long passages of prose and also bundles of statistics.”<sup>237</sup> In Alfred Lord Tennyson’s “Charge of the Light Brigade,” the Light Brigade received inadvertently disastrous orders and “charged into the jaws of death,” yet despite the folly of war there is the inherent nobility of dying for a cause. Funston invoked Tennyson’s imagery and wrote, “as there was no ammunition for the artillery we fought as cavalry and much to my horror I got mixed up in some ‘light brigade’ business.”<sup>238</sup> Even though men died around Funston, Funston faced the jaws of death for liberty.

Funston accepted and promoted the nineteenth century notions that tied masculinity to war. Funston’s letters reflect this connection in terms similar to those expressed by Thomas Carlyle. Carlyle specifically noted men should not feel fear on the battlefield: “the first duty for a man is still that of subduing ‘Fear.’ We must get rid of Fear; we cannot act at all till then.”<sup>239</sup> Funston described his experiences during battle by noting, “there is something to be said of this business that I like... I am so busy during the time fighting is in progress I don’t have to time to be scared; I don’t feel any fear until it is all over, and then I get scared at what has been gone through.”<sup>240</sup> Funston could feel fear, but only after the battle ended. Funston made sure the readers understood the dangers of war: “one bullet split open the sole of my left shoe, and half an hour later one of my men...handed me the screwdriver and as he did fell dead, shot through the

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237. Crouch, “Frederick Funston of Kansas.”

238. “Funston’s Peril in Cuba,” *The Topeka State Journal*.

239. Carlyle, *On Heroes*, <http://www.online-literature.com/thomas-carlyle/heroes-and-hero-worship/1/>.

240. “A Kansas Man in Peril,” *Kansas City Daily Journal*, September 21, 1896, *Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers*. Lib. of Congress, <<http://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn86063624/1896-09-21/ed-1/seq-4/>>.

heart.”<sup>241</sup> Funston wrote home to detail his experiences but also to demonstrate that he was engaged in actual combat.

The language of Funston also echoes the language of Tennyson. Where Tennyson described the cannon that “volly’d and thunder’d; stormed at with shot and shell,” and the light brigade charging “into the mouth of hell,” Funston described his charge as “a perfect hellbroth of smoke, horses and men, with a deafening noise.”<sup>242</sup> Both invoke similar ideas about combat. The battlefield is loud, smoky, and hellish. Even so, the characteristics of war make it a fitting scenario to prove one’s manliness by overcoming danger.

#### Politics and the Election of 1896

Throughout his life, Funston never ventured far from politics so it is important to understand the political climate of Kansas and the nation. Between 1892 and 1898, Kansas underwent several dramatic political shifts. In 1893, a “legislative war” erupted as both the Populists and Republicans claimed a majority in the state house. The Republicans eventually gathered an armed force and stormed the state house. The governor called out the militia to restore order, but many militiamen remained unwavering Republicans and disobeyed orders. Eventually, the courts sided with Republicans, but the session had essentially ended.<sup>243</sup> The national politics of Kansas proved no less dramatic, and the Republicans went from holding all of the congressional seats in 1890 to holding two of the eight in 1892, seven of the eight in 1894, two of the eight in 1896, and seven of the eight in 1898.

E.H. Funston’s political fortunes could not escape the state’s intense political swings and he lost his congressional seat in a similarly dramatic fashion. Midwestern grain farmers faced

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241. “Funston’s Peril in Cuba,” *The Topeka State Journal*.

242. *Ibid.*

243. “Legislative War,” *Kansas Historical Society*, accessed January 10, 2016, <https://www.kshs.org/kansapedia/legislative-war/12174>.

growing price competition from producers abroad, and despite support for a high tariff, E.H. Funston ultimately lost his congressional seat in 1892. In response to the series of crises, farmers pushed for bimetallic currency and by the 1890s formed the independent People's or Populist Party to challenge the dominance and alienation of the Republican and Democratic parties.<sup>244</sup> The Lawrence-based Democratic-Populist, H.L. Moore, ultimately unseated E.H., but E.H. declared victory in 1892 by a narrow plurality.<sup>245</sup> The "losing" fusionist ticket challenged the results and the dispute raged for two years in front of a congressional inquiry. The inquiry ultimately decided the Republican Party machine engaged in fraud in several districts and across many polls. The court ruled in favor of the Lawrence banker H.L. Moore, but not until August of 1894.

While E.H. never regained a political seat, Frederick and E.H. remained active during the pivotal election of 1896. The election of 1896 pitted Republican William McKinley's gold standard against Democrat William Jennings Bryan's bimetallism and "many contemporaries [particularly political scientists] consider it the most important political event since the election of Abraham Lincoln in 1860."<sup>246</sup> Bimetallism dominated national politics; the election revolved around several issues but none more crucial than whether the U.S. should adhere to the gold standard or permit the free and unlimited coinage of silver.<sup>247</sup> The issue spurred the rise of fusion

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244. Stewart, "The Economics of American Farm Unrest, 1865-1900."

245. E.H. Funston received 22,898, H.L. Moore 22,817, and D.W. Houston 696 votes. Congressional Series of United States Public Documents, Volume 3272 U.S Congress, U.S. Government Office of Printing 1894. Report No.1164. 1.

[https://books.google.com/books?id=gixHAQAAIAAJ&pg=PA1&lpg=PA1&dq=E.H.+Funston+election+of+1892&source=bl&ots=i1d6VdNdt&sig=JWWMJBfTgXOMVZQ\\_2JsroBlxV5k&hl=en&sa=X&ved=0ahUKEwjCtY2N74\\_SAhXmwVQKHSzRBHQQ6AEILjAD#v=onepage&q=E.H.%20Funston%20election%20of%201892&f=false](https://books.google.com/books?id=gixHAQAAIAAJ&pg=PA1&lpg=PA1&dq=E.H.+Funston+election+of+1892&source=bl&ots=i1d6VdNdt&sig=JWWMJBfTgXOMVZQ_2JsroBlxV5k&hl=en&sa=X&ved=0ahUKEwjCtY2N74_SAhXmwVQKHSzRBHQQ6AEILjAD#v=onepage&q=E.H.%20Funston%20election%20of%201892&f=false)

246. Rebecca Edwards, "The Election of 1896," *OAH Magazine of History* Vol. 13, No. 4, (Summer, 1999), 28-30. According to realignment theory, the election of 1896 marks one of five political realignments and helped cement Republican domination of the White House through the early 20th century. The other realignments occurred in 1800, 1828, 1860, and 1932.

247. Edwards, "The Election of 1896," 28-30.

tickets with both the People's (Populist) Party and the Democrats supporting William Jennings Bryan. Bimetallism also split the Republican Party and "after six years of attempting to force concessions from their eastern brethren, the Silver Republicans bolted from the 'business dominated' McKinleyite, eastern Republicans and allied with the Democrats from 1896 to 1901."<sup>248</sup> Ultimately, the Republicans and McKinley prevailed and, with the exception of Woodrow Wilson, cemented Republican control of the White House until 1932.

Aside from personal connections, both White and Scott had reasons to promote Frederick Funston, especially White in 1896. Funston was not just a close friend but also a close political ally. In 1896, White, a staunch Republican, published "What's the Matter With Kansas" in which he attacked the Populists policies. White claimed the Populists had driven some half a million people from Kansas and ruined the economy.<sup>249</sup> When White promoted Funston as the explorer, he also helped promote Republican politics and the very real possibility that Frederick Funston could retake his father's seat.

Even before Funston left for Cuba, he used his explorer celebrity to support Republican politics and immediately drew fierce criticism. Always the entrepreneur, Funston used his celebrity as an explorer as a means to gain access to political audiences. Funston's political writings marked a shift in his relations with the public, because the explorer rested on being away from civilization and in the remote wilderness disconnected from society while politics places him front and center in the public arena. Funston proclaimed that all of Kansas supported the gold standard, but Funston's writing as a political expert drew the ire of the *Topeka State Journal*, which declared Funston was "away from Kansas most of the time, and only claims

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248. Bradley J Young, "Silver, Discontent, and Conspiracy: The Ideology of the Western Republican Revolt of 1890-1901," *Pacific Historical Review*, 64 (2). University of California Press: 243-65. <https://doi.org/10.2307/3640897>, 244.

249. White, "What's a Matter with Kansas."

citizenship when it is convenient.”<sup>250</sup> The *Topeka State Journal* also actively challenged the politics of Funston. The editor rebuffed Funston as “either woefully ignorant or is purposely falsifying” his information.<sup>251</sup> Funston’s fame rested as an explorer not a political expert and mixing the two realms drew the ire of the *Topeka State Journal*.

Frederick Funston remained a stalwart of the gold standard and, despite the rise of Populist politics, claimed the state agreed with him. Funston ignored the Populist surge and rise of the western Silver Republicans in Kansas and their support for bimetallism. Funston claimed the *Topeka State Journal* agreed with his assessment that not one Republican supported silver coinage, but the *Topeka State Journal* rejected Funston’s attempt to enter the political sphere noting his “ignorance may be excusable, but his misrepresentation of this paper is not.”<sup>252</sup> The *Topeka State Journal* lashed out at Funston using his fame for overtly political reasons. Funston had claimed that Kansas would elect Republicans in the fall and that they supported the gold standard. The *Wichita Daily Eagle* “hoped his judgment is better now than it was six months ago when he told the *New York Evening Post* that there was no silver sentiment in Kansas.”<sup>253</sup> Both papers criticized Funston because he departed from his professed expertise as Kansas’ celebrity explorer to take advantage of his prestige in a move designed to directly insert a self-fashioned larger-than-life personality into local politics, much as Roosevelt did in New York. In Kansas, three issues stood at the heart of the election of 1896: the gold standard, regulation of the railroads, and Cuban independence. All three issues continued to dominate Kansas politics for the remainder of the century. As in much of the rest of the nation, the debate over the gold

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250. “Fred’k Funston,” *The Topeka State Journal*, June 2, 1896, *Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers*. Lib. of Congress, <<http://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn82016014/1896-06-02/ed-1/seq-4/>>.

251. Ibid.

252. Ibid.

253. No title, *The Wichita Daily Eagle*, November 19, 1896, *Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers*. Lib. of Congress, <<http://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn82014635/1896-11-19/ed-1/seq-4/>>.



standard dominated the political landscape of Kansas. The Populists wanted the coinage of bi-metallic currency, “free-silver.” They hoped to cause inflation and thus ease the burden of debtors, chiefly farmers, especially regarding mortgages. Both Funston and E.H., however, were adamantly pro-gold standard. While in New York as a journalist in 1896, Frederick Funston predicted Kansas would overwhelmingly support the gold standard and the Republican candidate. However, Kansas in fact voted for William Jennings Bryan and “Free Silver.” The second major issue was regulation of the railroads. Populists demanded the regulation of railroad freight fares and in many cases outright government ownership of the rails. Fred Funston had no public statement on the rails, but old party Republicans, like E.H., ignored calls for regulations. Lastly, all three parties called for Cuban independence, but Frederick Funston symbolized the willingness of the Republicans to act on the matter.<sup>254</sup>

As the son of a prominent Republican politician, Frederick Funston represented the larger Republican policies across the state. Media makers, like White and Scott, heralded Funston as a brave and righteous man who fought for the cause of Cuban liberty. Left unchallenged, Funston’s celebrity gave him a platform to help other Republican candidates, like E.H. Funston and Charles F. Scott., win office. Many media makers and politicians attempted to draft Funston into running on the Republican ticket and some Republicans even saw him as a viable alternative to Theodore Roosevelt.

Kansas played an oversized role in the American political imagination. As settlers flocked to the Midwest to find a new life, and as they left in the 1870s and 1880s it also became a place where dreams died. By the 1890s it represented the heart of political unrest. White’s “What’s the Matter With Kansas?” thrust him onto the national stage and he became a

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254. “1896: The Populist Party Platform,” Vassar College, accessed April 5, 2019, <http://projects.vassar.edu/1896/populists.html>.

spokesman for “small-town America.” Meanwhile, Funston became a symbol of the common man’s role internationally.

Even while Funston remained in Cuba, politicians and media makers around Kansas recognized Funston’s political power. In 1896, The *Kansas City Daily Journal* described the political power tied to Funston’s stature as a heroic adventurer. The editors mused that Funston’s rising fame had “Billy Morgan advising W.J. Bryan to hurry up with his lecture tour, for one of these days Fred Funston will come back from Cuba.”<sup>255</sup> As a staunch Republican, Funston supported American expansionism and directly challenged the Populists and Democrats in Kansas. The popularity of the democracy-loving adventurer could easily undermine the chances for the Democrats and Populists to hold onto the state. The *Kansas City Daily Journal* argued that given the choice between listening to perennial presidential candidate William Jennings Bryan or Frederick Funston the populace would overwhelmingly choose Funston.

Realizing Funston’s political power, Democratic-leaning papers critiqued him as a greedy opportunist inventing his heroism for personal gain. Attacks on Funston were often indirect attacks on his father. Kansas 2<sup>nd</sup> district remained highly competitive and Lawrence was the home of the Representative Horace Ladd Moore (KS-D), who had ousted E.H. Funston (KS-R) in 1892. From 1894-1900 the district seat switched parties from Democrat to Republican in 1894, to the Populist Party in 1896, and back to the Republican Party in 1900. The *Hutchinson Gazette* republished a story claiming the *Lawrence World* made “fun of Fred Funston’s claims of heady valor.”<sup>256</sup> The *Lawrence Journal* also sarcastically challenged the importance of Funston

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255. “Kansas Topics,” *Kansas City Daily Journal*, December 6, 1896, *Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers*. Lib. of Congress, <<http://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn86063624/1896-12-06/ed-1/seq-4/>>.

256. “Kansas Items of Interest,” *Hutchinson Gazette* (Hutchinson, Kan.), December 3, 1896, *Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers*. Lib. of Congress, <<http://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn85030687/1896-12-03/ed-1/seq-6/>>.

in Cuba, claiming, “There was a report sent out yesterday to the effect that Butcher Wyler [sic] has resigned. He had perhaps read the *Journal* and discovered that Fred Funston was in the field against him.”<sup>257</sup> The *Journal*’s article claims that Weyler’s resignation had as much to do with Funston as it did with a story in a Kansas paper.

Despite media makers sensationalizing the Cuban rebellion with language of the melodrama, readers still wanted accounts that felt genuine. Editors and journalists descended on Cuba to provide firsthand accounts, but Funston offered the public something unique by sending home images of himself dressed in the uniform of the Cuban army. The *New York Herald* “gave almost an entire page of pictures and descriptions of the events in Colonel Funston’s career. The pictures and ‘Little Colonel’ and the story of his romantic life have appeared in the most unexpected quarters.”<sup>258</sup> Funston’s *filibustero* uniform became an iconic image and gave him the authenticity of an adventurer, just as Theodore Roosevelt’s photos as “Cowboy of the Dakotas” and “Rough Rider” lent authenticity to Roosevelt as a rugged outdoorsman and military hero.

Shot through both lungs, fighting malaria, and weighing only ninety-five pounds, Funston left the Army of Maximo Gomez to return to the United States. In December of 1897, while leaving the rebel army, Funston encountered a Spanish patrol, swallowed the papers allowing him to pass between rebel lines, and escaped the firing squad only “by virtue of a ready story, plausibly told and tenaciously adhered to.”<sup>259</sup> Funston’s fluency in Spanish undoubtedly helped save his life. Funston left Cuba with yet another story garnering headlines.

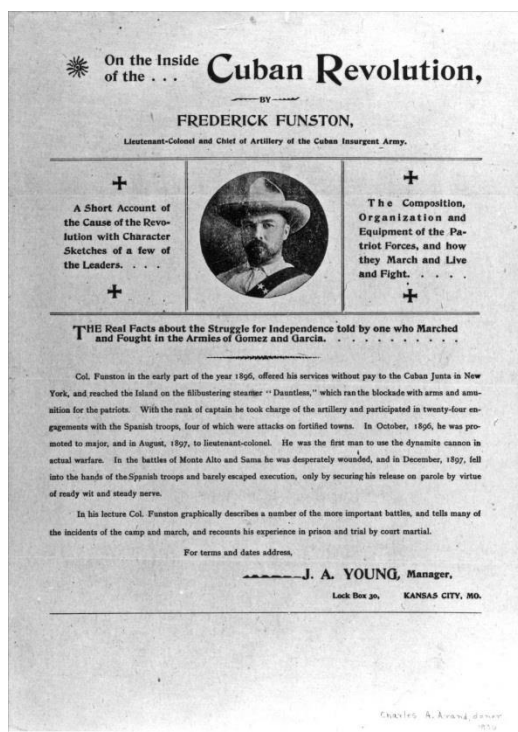
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257. “Fair Words For Fred,” *The Iola Register* (Iola, Kan.), November 27, 1896, *Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers*. Lib. of Congress, <<http://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn83040340/1896-11-27/ed-1/seq-8/>>.

258. “Colonel Funston,” *The Scroll of Phi Delta Theta*, Vol. 23, 1899, 558.

259. Scott, “Frederick Funston,” *The Independent*.

After returning to the U.S. in 1897 and recuperating for three months in the hospital, Funston began to sell his story. Funston hired a manager and took on the lecture circuit in a business-like manner.<sup>260</sup> The imperial entrepreneur would sell his story and the cause of *Cuba Libre* to sold-out crowds across Kansas. Funston's manager ensured the public knew of his story and, prior to Funston's arrival, he sent around "a printed handbill in advance of his appearances in order to build up interest in his talk among any potential local sponsors."<sup>261</sup> The handbill contained the iconic photo of Funston clad in his Cuban uniform and bore the title, "On the Inside of the Cuban Revolution" (See figure 2.1).<sup>262</sup> The handbill advertised that one could hear "The Real Facts [sic] about the struggle for independence told by one who Marched [sic] and Fought [sic] in the armies of Gomez Garcia" for thirty-five cents.<sup>263</sup>



260. Couch, *A Yankee Guerrillero*, 143.

261. *Ibid.*, 143.

262. "On the inside of the Cuban Revolution," *Kansas State Historical Society: Kansas Memory*, accessed April 5, 2019, <http://www.kshs.org/km/items/view/209778>.

263. Couch, *A Yankee Guerrillero*, 143-144. A dozen pencils cost forty cents in "Consumer Guide," *the Sears Roebuck Catalog*, 107, 1898, 331. <https://archive.org/stream/consumersguideno00sear#page/330/mode/2up>.

## Figure 2.1

Funston did not simply tell stories from his time in Cuba, the politics of intervention underscored Funston's lecture circuit. In February 1898, a short time after the destruction of the *U.S.S. Maine*, Funston arrived in Topeka to throngs of city and state officials. City dignitaries provided him a carriage from the train station adorned with Cuban flags and clamored to speak with him privately at his hotel. The local press called on him to answer political questions about U.S.-Spanish relations and the destruction of the *Maine*. At that night's speech, "Funston proclaimed he was strongly in favor of United States intervention in the war."<sup>264</sup> In cities and towns across Kansas, Funston delivered his message every other day to receptive crowds from February 16 through June 1.<sup>265</sup> With his newfound fame, Funston briefly considered entering Republican politics but with the outbreak of war, decided against it.<sup>266</sup>

The idea of honor was central to nineteenth century notions of martial manhood so many media makers hostile to Funston focused on diminishing his honor. The ability for the adventurer to legitimize expansionism and help both state and national Republicans compelled opponents to focus their attacks on Funston's masculinity. To delegitimize Funston's actions as manly and honorable defused Funston's power as a political force. Thomas Carlyle encapsulated the ties between honor and masculinity, stating, "Show me the man you honour, and I know... what kind of man you yourself are, for it shows me what your ideal of manhood is and what kind of man you long to be."<sup>267</sup> If Funston's valor was false, so too were expansionist claims. By capitalizing on his wounds, Funston violated both the sense of manliness and the romanticism of war. Men did not go to war to profit; instead, they sought to protect the weak and defend liberty.

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264. Couch, *A Yankee Guerrillero*, 145.

265. *Ibid.*, 143.

266. *Ibid.*, 147.

267. Thomas Carlyle, *Works Volume 20-21* (London: Chapman and Hall, 1872), 217.

Like Theodore Roosevelt, Funston tried to navigate the space between retelling the masculine stories and wanton boastfulness.

Many Democratic-leaning papers attempted again to associate Frederick Funston with the perceived corruption of his father. Just as the *Wichita Daily Eagle* and *Kansas Western World* did in 1891 and 1892, the *Topeka Capital Journal* attacked Frederick Funston as dishonest.<sup>268</sup> It declared that Funston “may feel somewhat rundown...and ‘all shot to pieces,’ but he can console himself with the reflection that he has the greatest lecture graft of anyone at the present.”<sup>269</sup> The *Topeka Capital* called Funston a shyster whose lectures were fraudulent. To add to its insult the *Topeka Capital* purposefully added quotes to “all shot to pieces” to insinuate that he oversold his injuries.<sup>270</sup>

Just as it had after his explorations, Funston’s tour on the lecture circuit again became a focal point of criticism. The *Wichita Daily Eagle* echoed the suspicions when it mused, “a good deal of nonsense is printed about the expense of war. It depends on how you view it. It may be made profitable; Fred Funston is billed for every night.”<sup>271</sup> A romantic hero did not profit from

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268. The *Iola Register* quoted and responded to the *Topeka Capital Journal*’s claims

269. “The Week’s News,” *The Iola Register* (Iola, Kan.), February 18, 1898. *Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers*. Lib. of Congress, <<http://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn83040340/1898-02-18/ed-1/seq-8/>>.

270. Although the *Topeka Capital Journal* identified as an independent Republican paper, it favored the Progressives. The *Journal* did not simply toe the Republican Party line and would voice criticisms of Funston and the Republican Party and go on to endorse Theodore Roosevelt as the Progressive candidate in 1912. In 1897, the *Journal* attacked both Funston and his father because they represented the old, anti-reform, wing of the Republican Party. Both men staunchly supported the gold standard. Even so, in 1899, the *Journal* took a similar stance to other Republican leaning newspapers across the state and heralded Funston and the Kansas 20th’s war record and promoted Funston as “the hero” of the Spanish-American War. The *Journal* directly countered the West Coast papers and went on to defend Fred Funston against his detractors in 1906. “About the Topeka State Journal 1892-1980,” *Chronicling American Newspapers*, Lib. of Congress, accessed April 5, 2019, <http://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn82016014/>.

271. “Along the Kansas Nile,” *The Wichita Daily Eagle*, March 11, 1898, *Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers*. Lib. of Congress, <<http://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn82014635/1898-03-11/ed-1/seq-4/>>.

his war experiences. Funston's self-promotion was the opposite of noble. Funston was no hero, merely a greedy showman, much like a carnival barker.

The *Daily Eagle* directly challenged the image of Funston as a brave knight, chastising him as a coward and openly questioned, "why isn't he fighting in Cuba today struggling for freedom, instead of gallivanting around Kansas?"<sup>272</sup> Using the term "gallivanting" invoked the image of a "gallivanting knight" yet in tones that rejected Funston's heroism and bravery. Knights did not leave while the struggle for justice remained. If the public perception of Funston as a righteous adventurer stood intact and unchallenged, the necessity of American intervention abroad also stood unchallenged. As such, the counter-narrative of the villain sought to portray the greed and self-interest in imperialism that was bundled into the public adventurer figure of Funston.

Another tactic to undermine Funston's celebrity was to question his veracity in recounting his war experiences. Despite the fact that Funston continued to portray the conflict in the terms of the melodrama, the *Lawrence Journal* noted disappointment with Funston's speech by stating, "a good many of his friends were disappointed in Fred Funston. He had no machette [sic] with him, and a careful examination of his person did not show he was carrying a dynamite cannon under his coat."<sup>273</sup> Funston's stories and the actual events differed. The *Lawrence Journal* argued that Funston's stories, and subsequent lectures, were fantasies upon examination. The *Wichita Daily Eagle* also questioned Funston's versions of events. They mocked Funston's heroism and claimed that at his lecture he "will portray with great vividness the Battle of Cien De Lay Fake where he places three barb-wire fences and a hay stack between himself and the

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272. Ibid.

273. "The Week's News," *The Iola Register*, February 18, 1898

Spanish forces in a little less than three seconds.”<sup>274</sup> According to the *Daily Eagle*, nothing about Funston’s adventures rang true; the embellishments simply built support for expansionism at large but those ideas, like Funston’s stories, were patent falsehoods. While the attacks are largely political, they are at the same time personal. Attacking Funston’s character, also attacked the politics of expansion.

In contrast, Charles F. Scott and the *Iola Register* openly engaged in a public discourse to defend Funston’s actions and his honor. Reprinting a critique from the *Kansas City Journal*, the *Register* then refuted their claims, defending Funston’s actions in the process. The *Kansas City Journal* noted Funston’s heroism in Cuba but questioned why he tempered it with “such a poor, weak [sic], retreating thing as the lecture platform.”<sup>275</sup> Men did not capitalize on their war service as Funston did. The *Iola Register* staunchly defended Funston’s actions, declaring the “lecture platform depends altogether on the man who climbs onto it. It will not be a ‘weak and retreating thing’ under the feet of Fred Funston.”<sup>276</sup> Though Republican and in support of expansionist policies, the *Journal* disagreed with the self-promotion of the lecture circuit not necessarily Funston’s actions abroad. Nevertheless, this criticism was ammunition for opponents of the American imperialist endeavor.

Scott and the *Register* took every opportunity to defend Funston. The *Iola Register* argued that Funston knew “more than any other man in America about Cuba” and her “struggle for liberty.”<sup>277</sup> In their defense and promotion of Funston, the *Iola Register* declared that he “has a story to tell that the people are hungry to hear.... In yielding to the solicitations...Mr. Funston

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274. “Along the Kansas Nile,” *The Wichita Daily Eagle*. March 4, 1898.

275. “Concerning Certain Lectures,” *The Iola Register* (Iola, Kan.), February 18, 1898. *Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers*. Lib. of Congress, <<http://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn83040340/1898-02-18/ed-1/seq-1/>>.

276. *Ibid.*

277. *Ibid.*



is not making capital of his wounds, nor undermining the splendid valor of his reputation.”<sup>278</sup>

Scott and the *Iola Register* also spoke of Funston in terms of masculine valor and sterling reputation. Men did not use their reputation and wounds for capital gain and neither did Funston; he simply gave in to the public’s demand.

Scott continued to defend Funston’s appearance on the lecture circuit even after Funston reached national prominence. In 1901, Scott wrote that Funston “loathed the platform, but the whole state was eager to hear his story, and to tell it was the quickest way to put money in the purse which was empty and so there was another lecture—which was cut short at the outbreak of the Spanish War.”<sup>279</sup> Scott’s defense in 1901 echoed the *Register*’s 1898 defense. Funston only entered the lecture circuit out of public demand and necessity. Furthermore, Scott added, he left it as soon as he could and returned to serve his country in the Kansas 20<sup>th</sup>.

Both Charles F. Scott and William Allen White continued to include images of Funston as a *filibustero* even after he achieved fame in the Philippines in 1901. William Allen White published “Funston—The Man From Kansas” in the weekly *Saturday Evening Post* (Philadelphia). The cover of the *Post* depicts Funston not as an American soldier, but as a *filibustero* readying the artillery. Likewise, Charles F. Scott included four images of Funston in his work, “Frederick Funston” in *The Independent*: as a general, an explorer, a student, and as a *filibustero*. For both White and Scott, Funston’s stories gave them access to markets outside of Kansas.

#### Funston *the Hero*: 1898-1900

In many ways, the elections of 1898 and 1900 looked much like the election of 1896. The presidential election of 1900 again pitted the perennial Democratic candidate, William

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278. Ibid.

279. Scott, “Frederick Funston,” *The Independent*, 820.

Jennings Bryan, against William McKinley. While Democrats and Populists continued to push for free silver during the elections of 1898 and 1900, the issue had little traction after 1896. New gold deposits discovered in Alaska and South Africa dramatically increased the world's gold supply and, subsequently, the Panic of 1896 ended and farmers saw higher commodity prices largely because of the gold standard.<sup>280</sup> Instead of the economics of bimetallism, the elections of 1898 and 1900 focused on the Spanish-American War and American imperialism. The Democrats opposed the war in the Philippines and viewed an American empire as contrary to the character of the nation. McKinley defended American imperialism and touted new and open trade with China.<sup>281</sup> Midwest media makers heralded Funston as the hero of the Philippines, and in doing so accepted the righteousness of American intervention.

As the impending war loomed over the nation, politicians, including E.H., sought to capitalize on Funston's celebrity and war record in Cuba. On February 22, 1898, one week after the sinking of the *Maine*, E.H. Funston again unsuccessfully attempted to reenter politics and trade on his son's fame by announcing his candidacy for governor. In a front-page cartoon, the *Topeka Advocate and News* ridiculed E.H. and his candidacy. E.H. is dressed in the scraps of a uniform and surrounded by farm animals while blowing a bugle to war.<sup>282</sup> The *Advocate and News*' depiction of "Fog Horn" Funston, invokes a military air, but also a disheveled, broke farmer attempting to capitalize on his son's name (See figure 2.2).

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280. Lewis L. Gould, "William McKinley: Campaigns and Elections," *University of Virginia: Miller Center*, accessed April 6, 2019, <https://millercenter.org/president/mckinley/campaigns-and-elections>.

281. Ibid.

282. Mayron A. Waterman, "From 'Way Down Yander in de co'n fiel,'" *Topeka Advocate and News*, March 30, 1898. The top caption reads "Iola, Kan. Feb. 22-In response to numerous petitions which have been circulating here among Allen County Republicans, Hon. E.H. Funston announces himself as a candidate for the Republican nomination for Governor." As well as <https://www.kshs.org/km/items/view/320296>.



Figure 2.2

Funston's political opponents also realized the power of his celebrity and tried to coopt it to their own ends. On April 23, 1898, as the nation mobilized for war, Populist Governor John Leedy appointed Funston to command the Volunteer Kansas 20<sup>th</sup>. The *Topeka State Journal* declared Leedy's appointment of Funston to the Kansas 20<sup>th</sup> a "Master Stroke."<sup>283</sup> An outspoken opponent of Funston, the *State Journal* criticized him for his lack of political knowledge in 1896 and his "graft" and corruption in 1897, but by 1898 they whole-heartedly endorsed Leedy's appointment of Funston. Leedy used the appointment politically to demonstrate that he was above the political fray and was merely capitalizing on Funston's "war record." Across the state,

283. "A Master Stroke," *The Topeka State Journal*, April 23, 1898. *Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers*. Lib. of Congress, <<http://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn82016014/1898-04-23/ed-1/seq-6/>>.

“Republican politicians regarded it as a very shrewd piece of political work” that might win him reelection.<sup>284</sup> The *Topeka State Journal* predicted the move “would win 10,000 Republican votes to the Fusion ticket.”<sup>285</sup> Leedy could now claim that when the nation needed men, he put aside partisan differences, and appointed the most qualified Kansan: a staunch Republican and son of a prominent Republican attempting to oust him as governor.<sup>286</sup> Two days after Funston’s appointment, the nation formally declared war on Spain.

While many claimed Funston’s 1898 appointment was “a shrewd political move on the part of Governor Leedy,” it also drew immediate and swift criticism.<sup>287</sup> Opponents understood that the appointment of Funston to command the Kansas 20<sup>th</sup> only bolstered his national celebrity and increased his political capital. They could not let Funston’s appointment go unchecked. Anti-imperialist media makers and politicians constructed their version of Funston as duplicitous, corrupt, and unfit for uniform, in essence a melodramatic villain.

The attacks on Funston sought to cast doubt on his manly honor, dispel the Victorian romanticism of war, and show the imperialist foray as uncivilized. After his enlistment in the Cuban army, Spain issued a provisional parole for Funston to allow him to return to the United States. The parole stated that Funston “shall perform no further service to the insurgent army.”<sup>288</sup> While the interpretation of officers at Ft. Leavenworth argued that Funston’s appointment to the Kansas 20<sup>th</sup> did not technically violate those conditions, if captured “the unfortunate fact remains it may be the Spaniards who will do the final interpreting, and they are

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284. Ibid.

285. Ibid.

286. E.H. did not receive the Republican nomination and instead Republican William E. Stanley went on to unseat the Populist incumbent in the election of 1898.

287. Ibid.

288. “Kansas Topics,” *Kansas City Journal*, April 24, 1898, *Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers*. Lib. of Congress, <<http://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn86063615/1898-04-24/ed-1/seq-4/>>.

not likely to make it according to American opinions.”<sup>289</sup> Even if Funston did not legally violate the parole, he certainly violated the spirit of it. A man stood by his word, but Funston used loopholes and political contacts for personal gain. The *People’s Voice*, a Populist paper from western Kansas, succinctly reiterated the problem. Funston gave his word and “when a man is released by a nation on parole, he vows never to take up arms against that country. This is what Funston did. If Spain catches him the penalty is death.”<sup>290</sup> The duplicity and untrustworthiness of Funston characterized American intervention; though many intended to spread democracy, in reality the imperialists deceived the American populace.

Others attacked Funston’s appointment as another example of graft. Funston’s appointment to command the 20<sup>th</sup> volunteers was a “direct slight to many prominent Populist ex-soldiers who came out of the Civil War with honors and who have the ability for the position.”<sup>291</sup> Funston had used his last name and his political connections to jump the rightful appointments of many who had fought for the Union during the last war. The critics focused on Funston’s qualifications and his connections to influential Republican policy makers. Funston and the war were nothing more than political graft on the world stage.

Papers quickly claimed that Funston’s appointment, like imperialism itself, enriched a few connected politicians. Adjutant General Allen of the Kansas Militia proclaimed “the vast majority of the people of Kansas are opposed to any favoritism being shown.”<sup>292</sup> The militia should face the same inspection and be as ready as the volunteers. As such, should any officer already serving in the state militia prove fit enough to lead men abroad in battle he should be

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289. Ibid.

290. “War Notes,” *People’s Voice* (Wellington, Kan.), May 05, 1898, *Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers*. Lib. of Congress, <<http://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn85032801/1898-05-05/ed-1/seq-7/>>.

291. “A Master Stroke,” *The Topeka State Journal*.

292. “On Equal Footing,” *Kansas City Journal*, April 24, 1898, *Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers*. Lib. of Congress, <<http://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn86063615/1898-04-24/ed-1/seq-6/>>.

appointed. The governor, however, gave political “appointments to no one but his ‘political chums.’”<sup>293</sup> The anti-imperialists continued to paint Funston as duplicitous and dishonest for the remainder of the war.

The criticisms of Funston jumping Union officers and officers already in the volunteers reveals an important fact surrounding Funston’s meteoric rise through the ranks of the Army. In this new imperial space, Army officials and Kansas politicians had to find individuals whose experiences met the realities of this new warfare. Funston’s appointment reflects his ability to navigate the changing political and military landscapes. To many Populists, Funston was unqualified to lead American troops. Funston applied and failed to get into West Point and there were numerous officers from the “Indian Wars” that had more experience dealing with the U.S. Army. Yet Funston’s experiences in Cuba as a *filibustero* gave him the ability to capitalize and gain command of the Kansas 20<sup>th</sup>. The imperial entrepreneur had a set of skills others did not, namely firsthand experience in Cuba. Already a household name and selling out auditoriums on a nightly basis, Funston became the logical and obvious choice to lead Kansas into the war.

With Funston’s enlistment, most Kansans expected the 20<sup>th</sup> to serve in Cuba, but instead the Kansas 20<sup>th</sup> deployed to the Philippines. While awaiting deployment in San Francisco, Funston met Eda Blankart and after only a two-week courtship, the two eventually married.<sup>294</sup> Like Frederick Funston, Eda Blankart was born in Ohio. Daughter of German immigrants, her parents became well known in the Bay area as musicians and music teachers. Her father, Otto Blankart, organized San Francisco’s first string quartet and Eda became an accomplished violinist. By all accounts Eda was described as a woman of great beauty, high cultur, and of

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293. “Time Servers,” *The Topeka State Journal*, April 29, 1898, *Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers*. Lib. of Congress, <<http://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn82016014/1898-04-29/ed-1/seq-2/>>.

294. “Eda Blankart Funston,” National Park Service, *The Presidio of San Francisco*. Accessed May 21, 2019, <https://www.nps.gov/prsf/learn/historyculture/eda-blankart-funston.htm>

strong moral character.<sup>295</sup> In his 1911 memoir Funston claimed that marrying Eda was by “all odds the smartest thing I ever did in my life.”<sup>296</sup> The Kansas 20<sup>th</sup>, with Funston in command, landed in the Philippines in November 1898. Eda arrived two weeks later. This trend continued for the remainder of Funston’s life. Wherever he was deployed Eda remained close by his side.<sup>297</sup>

In December of 1899, after only a year, Funston and the Kansas 20<sup>th</sup> garnered headlines earning the nickname the “Fearless Freddie” and the “Fighting 20<sup>th</sup>.” The 20<sup>th</sup> was a frontline division known for its bold and daring attack plans including swimming the Tulihan River in March and the Bagbag River in April, under heavy fire. Funston famously swam the Bagbag River, pulling a raft to ferry his troops across and ended up routing the Filipino forces.<sup>298</sup> The swim, along with the national headlines earned Funston and two others the Medal of Honor.<sup>299</sup> However, like most volunteer regiments, by the winter of 1899, the Kansas 20<sup>th</sup> returned to the United States and demobilized. Returning a national hero, Funston still longed for the action of combat and did not have to wait long as a rebellion and guerilla war erupted between nationalistic Filipino forces and American forces in 1899.<sup>300</sup>

Despite E.H.’s gubernatorial bid, Frederick Funston managed to gain significantly more press than his father. For many media makers in the Midwest—not just Republicans but also Populists and Democrats—Funston symbolized a regional hero who could counter the clout of the East Coast politicians and the growing power of Theodore Roosevelt. Funston’s supporters

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295. Ibid.

296. Funston, *Memory of Two Wars*, 171-172

297. Eda and Frederick eventually had four children: Arthur MacArthur Funston (1901 - 1909), Frederick Funston (1903 - 1955), Barbara Funston (1908 - 1980), and Eleanor Elizabeth Funston (1914 - 1958).

298. Crouch, *A Yankee Guerrillero*, 2.

299. There is still debate over whether Funston swam the Bagbag, another river, or even swam across any river under fire which will be addressed in chapter 3.

300. Ibid., 2.

promoted him not just as “*a* hero” but as “*the* hero.” Funston as *the* hero of the war countered Theodore Roosevelt’s affiliation with the charge up San Juan Hill and put Funston on par with Roosevelt as someone fit for national office. Funston’s fraternal magazine, *The Scroll of Phi Delta Theta*, noted, “Kansas feels rightly that her glory is not one whit less than that of New York.”<sup>301</sup> Funston’s fraternal literary magazine encapsulated the sentiment of many media makers—that Funston, not Roosevelt, should receive the hero’s welcome and nomination for VP under McKinley.

Theodore Roosevelt’s victory in securing the vice presidential nomination signaled a major change to the Republican ticket. In 1899, McKinley’s vice president, Garret Hobart, died suddenly of a heart attack and Theodore Roosevelt, the Governor of New York, replaced him on the ticket. While Roosevelt had national appeal, many media makers saw this nomination as a slight to Funston. Kansans and other Midwestern constituents promoted their own hero, a local Kansan, as wholesome and in touch with American values as opposed to a New York socialite. While many Midwest media makers disliked Funston’s self-promotion, he paled in comparison to what they saw as Roosevelt’s never-ending publicity machine.

While Admiral Dewey and Roosevelt garnered headlines across the nation, Funston was *the* hero in Kansas.<sup>302</sup> The media makers at *Kansas City Journal* bluntly stated how Kansans should feel about their hero especially when compared to Roosevelt and Dewey: “Funston, who is Kansas born and Kansas bred, is to every Kansan the biggest hero of the bunch.”<sup>303</sup> They

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301. “Colonel Funston,” *The Scroll of Phi Delta Theta*, 558.

302. Dewey became an instant American war hero with his rout of the Spanish Navy at Manilla Bay. In just six hours and with the loss of one American life he captured or sank the entire Spanish Pacific fleet. During the election of 1900, he briefly considered running for president on the Democratic ticket, but missteps and scandal plagued his brief foray into politics. He eventually endorsed the McKinley-Roosevelt ticket

303. “Funston is a Factor,” *Kansas City Journal*, February 12, 1899, *Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers*. Lib. of Congress, <<http://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn86063615/1899-02-12/ed-1/seq-6/>>.



argued that across the nation, the newly minted heroes of the Spanish-American War would soon gain political offices but Funston deserved the highest merits. The U.S. was a “nation of hero worshipers” and “every man that distinguished himself in the Spanish-American War is bound to be able to wield more or less political influence in the future.”<sup>304</sup> The media makers at the *Journal* argued Funston rightly deserved the nomination and office of any statewide position he wanted.

Although Kansans focused on Funston the most, Funston as “the hero” became a truly national public figure and, thus, useful in national political debates. The *Arizona Republican* discussed his “courage and gallantry in the engagement with the Philippine insurgents”<sup>305</sup> while the *Washington D.C. Evening Star* urged “that the hero of Malolos be made a brigadier general.”<sup>306</sup> The *San Francisco Call*, *Indianapolis Journal*, and *Salt Lake Herald* all concurred. All five papers wrote about Funston’s heroism, and, unlike during his term as an explorer or an adventurer, Funston did not have to write to the papers himself in order to see his name in print.

In 1899, Funston received the Medal of Honor and promotion to brigadier general of the volunteers. Funston’s supporters sought to capitalize on his newfound titles and valor in order to displace other national figures. One political cartoon portrayed a disgruntled Theodore Roosevelt in front of a wall of signs proclaiming “Funston For Senate,” “Funston Promoted,” and “Funston and the 20<sup>th</sup> Kansas Wonders” with the caption “Teddy: ‘I once thought I was the whole thing!’” (see figure 2.3).<sup>307</sup> Even the *Kansas City Journal*, which had previously

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304. Ibid.

305. “Types of Yankee Pluck,” *Arizona Republican* (Phoenix, Ariz.), February 18, 1899, *Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers*. Lib. of Congress, <<http://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn84020558/1899-02-18/ed-1/seq-1/>>.

306. “Want a Star for Funston,” *Evening Star* (Washington, D.C.), March 31 1899, *Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers*. Lib. of Congress, <<http://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn83045462/1899-03-31/ed-1/seq-1/>>.

307. “I once thought I was the whole thing,” *Kansas City Journal*, March 10, 1899, (Funston papers on Micro Film section C-1).

criticized Funston for entering the lecture circuit after his return from Cuba, saw Funston as preferable to Roosevelt. While many media makers and politicians noted Funston's outspoken nature, he paled in comparison to Roosevelt. Roosevelt became a larger-than-life national sensation so the portrayal of the self-aggrandizing Roosevelt humbled by Funston remained in line with the early criticisms: men did not capitalize on their war fame directly.

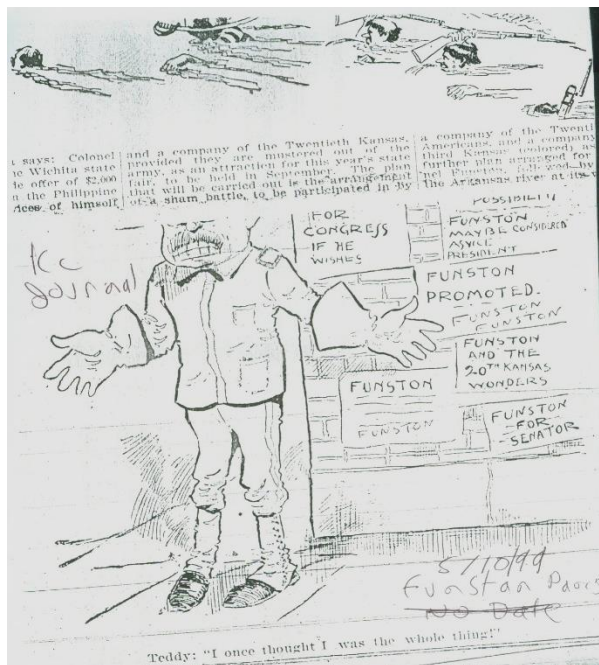


Figure 2.3

Beside, the distaste for Roosevelt's braggadocios personality, the *Kansas City Journal* had a far more practical reason to promote Funston politically. In 1899, Populists held six of Kansas' eight congressional seats, but Funston, as a Republican *and* national celebrity could easily retake a seat or help some other candidate by stumping for him. At only thirty-five years old, the distinct possibility of Funston entering national politics remained, so the *Journal* portrayed Funston as greater than Roosevelt. Unlike Funston's public identities as an explorer or an adventurer, *the hero* could even challenge the public image of Roosevelt as the hero of the

war. The Kansas papers elevated Funston to the position of hero, not only of Cuba, but of the entire Spanish-American War.

By 1899, the relatively young Frederick Funston had already become the most famous name in Kansas politics. Even though Funston never accepted the political overtures, nominations, or offices, many media makers attempted to draft him onto their ticket. The *Kansas City Journal* declared “Funston is a factor,” and while Funston had not expressed interest in politics “the recognition of the possible result is already causing some nervousness and loss of sleep.”<sup>308</sup> The *Indianapolis Journal* reported that Funston’s name “has been prominently mentioned as a gubernatorial candidate.”<sup>309</sup> Much like the fictionalized version of Funston, Funston’s utilization as a political tool had a life outside of Funston’s own words, deeds, and actions.

Even his most ardent opponents could only attempt to neutralize his political power. The *Wichita Daily Eagle*, one of Funston’s most vocal critics, could not ignore the fact that “there is some Populist talk of nominating Fred Funston for governor on a unison ticket in two years.”<sup>310</sup> The Populists hoped they could control the down ballot and by nominating Funston for governor, alongside the Republicans, remove him as a factor. If Funston ran, the only thing the Populists could do is concede the governorship.

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308. “Funston is a Factor,” *Kansas City Journal*.

309. “Col. Funston’s Reward,” *The Indianapolis Journal*, April 01, 1899, *Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers*. Lib. of Congress, <<http://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn82015679/1899-04-01/ed-1/seq-2/>>.

310. “Along the Kansas Nile,” *The Wichita Daily Eagle*, March 28, 1899, *Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers*. Lib. of Congress, <<http://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn82014635/1899-03-28/ed-1/seq-4/>>.

By April of 1899, even D.C. papers noted the “strong probability” of Funston running.<sup>311</sup> Funston faced limited opposition and even the sitting governor, William Stanley, “according to present plans... will step down gracefully with the understanding he is to be sent to the United States Senate in 1901” unless Funston “should prefer the Senatorship [sic], he can have it for the asking.”<sup>312</sup> The *Scroll of Phi Delta Theta* noted, “there is already a prophecy of ‘Governor Funston.’”<sup>313</sup> The Republican Party embraced the notion of America’s turn in the sun—American action on a world stage. A popular figure could help drown out dissidents like Twain. If Funston won the state or national office, he would promote expansionist policies. Funston never publicly spoke of wanting to run but papers attempted to draft him into politics to further their own agendas.

Funston’s political clout had ramifications outside of Kansas. Papers across the nation urged Funston’s nomination for president. *The Weekly Kentucky New Era* (Hopkinsville, KY) noted that Rev. Charles Harris, “one of the most forceful pulpit orators in Kentucky,” had nominated Funston for president on the “hero ticket.”<sup>314</sup> Though the *El Paso Daily Herald* did not directly endorse Funston, they printed stories about Funston’s daring swim across the Bagbag River, noting that unlike other famous swimmers, “Funston swam for patriotism.” While not officially endorsing Funston’s candidacy, the *Daily Herald* heard “Kansas’s cry” of “Funston for President.”<sup>315</sup> The *Marine Journal* urged Kansans to take caution and stick with McKinley but

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311. “Funston for governor,” *The Evening Times* (Washington, D.C.), April 29, 1899, *Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers*. Lib. of Congress, <<http://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn84024441/1899-04-29/ed-1/seq-1/>>.

312. Ibid.

313. “Colonel Funston,” *The Scroll of Phi Delta Theta*, 558.

314. “Nominates Funston For President,” *Weekly Kentucky New Era* (Hopkinsville, KY), April 5, *Google Newspapers*, <https://news.google.com/newspapers?id=6cEaAAAAIBAJ&sjid=gkYEAAAAIBAJ&pg=6138%2C3456519>.

315. “Some Other Noted Swimmers,” *El Paso Daily Herald* (El Paso, TX), May 9, 1899, *University of North Texas; the Portal to Texas History*, <http://texashistory.unt.edu/ark:/67531/metaph297107/m1/2/zoom/?zoom=3&lat=6026&lon=2846&layers=BT>.

“if they have any work to be done that requires courage or daring adventure they have the man to do it.”<sup>316</sup> Across the nation, there existed a very real possibility of Funston running for president.

#### Race, the Insurrection, and the Investigation: 1899-1902

With the war “over,” the Kansas 20<sup>th</sup> left the Philippines and in October of 1899 arrived in San Francisco. Funston promptly agreed to an interview with *Harpers Weekly*. Much like Funston viewed the natives in Alaska, he viewed the Filipinos through gendered and racial lenses. In the interview, Funston equates the manly attributes of honor with the racial characteristics of civilization. Funston claims, “the natives [Filipino insurgents] have no honor. In our fighting with them they have violated all the civilized rules of warfare, and know perfectly well that they were violating them.”<sup>317</sup> Americans displayed restraint and kindness to the “half-civilized” natives. The Filipinos knowingly violated the rules of war and the journalists and soldiers who reported American atrocities “are simply liars.”<sup>318</sup>

Funston’s interview reflects the paternalism that underscored the imperialist language of extending civilization. Funston declared that the Filipino’s were incapable of self-government because “they are not a homogeneous people, but a collection of tribes, differing in race, religion and language.”<sup>319</sup> Anglo-Saxon protestant native-born English speakers demonstrated the ideal homogeneity of “real Americans.” Filipino diversity resulted in their inability to self-govern and their savagery.

Just as he viewed the indigenous Alaskans paternalistically, Funston also viewed the Filipinos as children. Filipinos needed discipline and lessons in proper etiquette. Funston

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316. No Title, *Marine Journal* (San Rafael, Cal), April 18, 1901, <http://contentdm.marinlibrary.org/cdm/ref/collection/tocsin/id/13025>.

317. G.H. Fitch, “General Funston on Philippine Problems.” *Harpers Weekly*, November 11, 1899, 1143, <https://hdl.handle.net/2027/mdp.39015039259802>.

318. Ibid.

319. Ibid.

claimed the Filipinos “[were] children so far as any familiarity with independent government.”<sup>320</sup>

The various leaders and any semblance of government concerned itself with enriching their leaders’ pockets at the expense of the Catholic Church and “apparently did not consider the currency, tariff, revenue, or any other problems of practical government.”<sup>321</sup>

Despite following Funston on most of his deployments, Eda Blankart Funston remains conspicuously absent in his writings. Although Funston claimed that marrying Eda was “the smartest thing I ever did in my life,” it is the only direct mention of her in his memoirs. Funston’s writings attempt to demonstrate the ever-present danger he faced. Traveling with his wife in tow diminished this reality. If the Philippines and later posts were civilized enough for a white married woman and her children, than the dangers of service were overstated.

Eda Blankart Funston, however, was no passive participant in Funston’s life. She actively promoted Funston and the imperial cause. Her writings attempted to demonstrate the success of “pacification” and the necessity of intervention. In May 1900, Eda published a “Soldier's Wife in the Philippines” in *Cosmopolitan*. Eda describes the “odd costumes” of the Filipina women, and the “ordeal” or finding furniture in the “Chinese”-run shops.<sup>322</sup> While shopping with another Army wife, she noted the crowds as “wretched specimens of humanity.”<sup>323</sup> Just like Frederick, Eda Funston used the language of humanity and civilization to other the Filipinos.

Along with describing the Filipina women’s “odd costumes” and the clothing of high-and working-class Filipino men, Eda Funston also reveals the entrepreneurship involved in the new imperialism. She notes that, after arriving, she and several other wives had to find housing and

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320. Ibid.

321. Ibid.

322. Eda Blankart Funston, “Soldier's Wife in the Philippines,” *Cosmopolitan*, May 1900, 67-68.

323. Ibid.

so turned to an “enterprising American” “house-agent.”<sup>324</sup> The words, though brief, are telling about the enterprising spirit that surrounded the entire war. Even in the remote Philippines, “enterprising Americans” could find a new means to profit, in this case by finding adequate housing for the officers’ wives.

Further, Funston’s household used the direct imagery of imperialism to posit the civilized against the savage (see figure 2.4).<sup>325</sup> The photo of the Funston household in San Francisco shows a sitting room surrounded by the exotic artifacts Frederick acquired from around the globe. Yet, despite the decoration on the walls, the photo also reveals the “triumph” of “civilization” as three women sit flanked by American flags and surrounded by the fineries of middle-class lifestyle, including a piano. Eda sits calmly sewing and Funston stands over a pile of rolled papers and maps. Civilization was not just a term for men, but also implied the sanctity of white women.

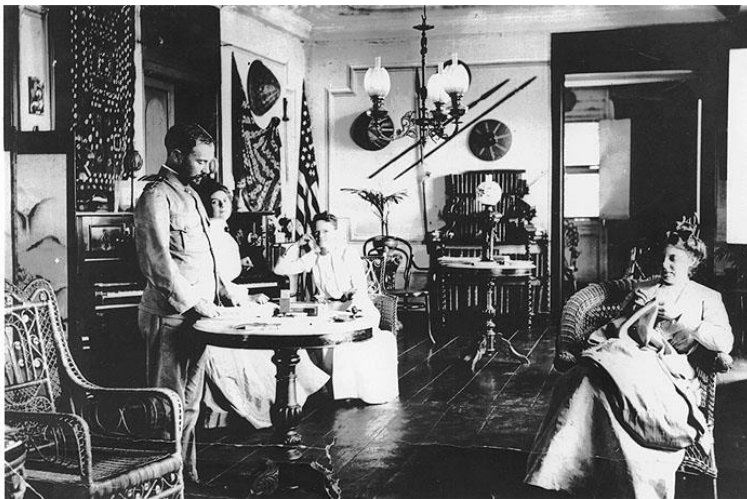


Figure 2.4<sup>326</sup>

324. *Ibid.*, 66.

325. “Eda Blankart Funston,” National Park Service.

326. This photo was likely taken in San Francisco after Frederick Funston returned from the Philippines but before the 1906 earthquake

In 1899, after the Army mustered out the volunteer regiments, Funston returned to Kansas, but held only a brief tenure in the United States as a new conflict erupted in the Philippines. Dissatisfied with the prospect of becoming an American colony, Emilio Aguinaldo launched a rebellion to remove U.S. political and military authorities from the islands. In Aguinaldo's view, Filipinos did not rebel against Spain simply to become a colony of the U.S. and he would stop short of nothing less than complete independence. Unlike the easy U.S. victory over Spain, the Philippine Insurrection became a bloody quagmire characterized by guerilla warfare, disease, and brutality. The war quickly became fodder for the anti-imperialists who noted the folly of the entire endeavor.

While Secretary of State John Hay called the Spanish-American War a "splendid little war," the Philippine Insurrection (1899-1902), resulted in cruelty by both sides. U.S. forces burned villages and tortured suspected rebels, while Filipino nationalists engaged in a guerilla campaign, terrorizing civilians who sympathized with the United States and torturing captured American soldiers. Fewer than four hundred service members died in combat during the Spanish-American War, but in the three years of fighting in the Philippines some 4,200 American soldiers, 20,000 Filipino combatants, and 200,000 Filipino civilians perished due to disease.<sup>327</sup>

Funston played a key role in capturing the rebel leader, Emilio Aguinaldo in 1901. Funston received international attention for his tactics, which both drew praise from imperialists and the ire of anti-imperialists. In order to find Aguinaldo, Funston employed the Spanish tactic of "water-curing" captives to gain intelligence (the "Spanish Water Cure" is essentially water

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327. "Milestones 1899-1913: The Philippine-American War 1899-1902," Office of the Historian: Department of State, accessed April 6, 2019, <https://history.state.gov/milestones/1899-1913/war>. Some estimates have the civilian death toll as high as 1 Million and the Philippine-American War Centennial Initiative estimates 510,000 civilian deaths. The higher estimates often include the numbers from a cholera epidemic during the war.



boarding). The American public had trouble digesting Funston's uncanny skill in asymmetrical warfare. Funston used the Macabebes, an indigenous ethnic group with a long-standing rivalry with the native Filipino groups supporting Aguinaldo, to help him enter Aguinaldo's camp under the guise of being a prisoner of war. Once Funston's men and the Macabebes entered the camp, they threw off their disguises and after a brief shootout, captured Aguinaldo. Funston graced the covers of almost every major magazine, including *Leslie's Weekly*, *Scribner's*, and *Everybody's Magazine*. The headlines across U.S. newspapers declared that Funston "Boldly executes clever strategy."<sup>328</sup> The mission was a "Complete Success"<sup>329</sup> and it "May end War in Philippines."<sup>330</sup> With clever and cunning, Funston outwitted the Philippine insurgents and embodied the virtues of American expansion.

Funston received international attention for his actions, but unlike Theodore Roosevelt's charge of San Juan Hill, many anti-imperialists like Mark Twain and Ernest Crosby questioned the necessity of Funston's tactics and American foreign policy. The anti-imperialists believed the Spanish-American War violated the very essence of the American Republic. Their ranks included Republican and Democrats, largely from eastern states, and household names like Mark Twain, Andrew Carnegie, and William Jennings Bryan. They believed the annexation of the Philippines would irreparably damage America's moral fabric and used the brutality of the Philippine Insurrection as evidence. Funston's high rank, tactics, and outspoken nature all drew the ire of the anti-imperialists.

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328. "Aguinaldo is Captured By Funston who boldly executes clever strategy in invading Chiefs hiding Place," *The San Francisco Call*, March 28, 1901, *Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers*. Lib. of Congress, <<https://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn85066387/1901-03-28/ed-1/seq-1/>>.

329. "Aguinaldo Captured and Safely Landed at Manila," *The Times* (Richmond, Va.), March 28 1901, *Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers*. Lib. of Congress, <<https://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn85034438/1901-03-28/ed-1/seq-1/>>.

330. "May End War in Philippines," *New-York Tribune* (New York [N.Y.]), March 29, 1901, *Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers*. Lib. of Congress., <<https://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn83030214/1901-03-29/ed-1/seq-1/>>.

Funston's writings acknowledge his role in the imperial endeavor and the fact that others perceived him as a powerful symbol of imperialism. In 1901, Funston actively cultivated his story in "The Capture of Emilio Aguinaldo," in which he offered "a personal account of the exploit which ended the war in the Philippines."<sup>331</sup> Note that Funston claimed that he and his men singularly ended the war in the Philippines. Funston still wrote of war romantically and cultivated similar ideas of manhood in his writings. The cover of the magazine featuring his article, "How We Captured Emilio Aguinaldo," depicts Funston prominently and heroically flanked by two figures swiftly delivering the news of his adventure. Promoting the romantic notions surrounding war advocated expansionist policies; if Funston easily defeated the insurgent opponents in a heroic and daring raid, then he eliminated the worst aspects of expansionism, namely war itself.

In September 1901, Funston wrote a private letter to President Roosevelt to thank him for his recent promotion to brigadier general of the regular Army.<sup>332</sup> More importantly, Funston repeats his views from his 1899 interview and again reveals his racial assumptions that underpinned imperialism. Funston candidly tells Roosevelt, "I wish we would throw off our mask of benevolent assimilation and rot of that kind, and rule these turbulent rebels with an iron hand. They are thieves and liars as a race."<sup>333</sup> Funston despised the idea of self-determination for the Filipino and viewed them as racial inferiors. In Funston's estimation, the Filipinos racial characteristics made them incapable of telling the truth. Funston refers to the Filipinos, paternalistically, as ignorant children noting, "they do not need self government [sic] and cannot

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331. Frederick Funston, "The Capture of Emilio Aguinaldo: a Personal Account of the Exploit Which the War in the Philippines," *Everybody's Magazine*, July-December, 1901, Vol 5. 259.

332. Funston's previous appointment was brigadier general of the volunteer Army.

333. "Letter from Frederick Funston to Theodore Roosevelt," September 2, 1901, *Theodore Roosevelt Papers: Library of Congress Manuscript Division*. <https://www.theodorerooseveltcenter.org/Research/Digital-Library/Record?libID=o34396>. Theodore Roosevelt Digital Library. Dickinson State University.

appreciate it. They need control, relentless enforcement, and a certain amount of education for the younger generation.”<sup>334</sup> Like schoolchildren, only proper guidance from white civilization could tame the savage Filipino.

In Funston’s assessment, the savage Filipinos lacked the manly qualities to govern themselves. Filipinos lacked civilization and could not govern themselves, and “the present generation needs the gallows more than the ballot box.”<sup>335</sup> Funston ridiculed the anti-imperialists for hampering the President’s ability to act, calling them “an asinine public sentiment at home, which demands that every ignorant scallywag under our rule be allowed to vote, or at least go through the motions.”<sup>336</sup> Filipinos need discipline before they could vote. Funston argued that “the idea a system of government is good for a highly civilized and reasonably law abiding Anglo-Saxon community is necessarily the thing for a lot of Malay murderers and robbers is enough to make a sensible man sick.”<sup>337</sup> Equating the Filipinos with criminals underscored Funston’s contempt for them racially. Only white Anglo-Saxons had reached a civilized-enough existence to govern themselves, non-whites still savagely robbed from and murdered each other.

While many media makers and politicians sang Funston’s praises spontaneously, Funston and his supporters also consciously solicited media attention. Even Funston’s chief critic, Mark Twain, acknowledged Funston’s awareness that others had created a romanticized version of “the hero” when he declared, “Funston has enough wit to know these good idiots are adding another absurdity to his funny story.”<sup>338</sup> In response to his critics, Funston actively defended his

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334. Ibid.

335. Ibid.

336. Ibid.

337. Ibid.

338. Mark Twain, “Mark Twain Scorns Men Who Don’t Like ‘Huck,’” *Denver Post*, August 18, 1902.

image as the hero and wrote to newspapers and magazines. Just as he let the public know of his explorations in Alaska and adventures in Cuba, Funston went on a national speaking tour to promote U.S. action in the Philippines. In 1902, Funston defended using enemy uniforms to enter Aguinaldo's camp by deception as a legitimate tactic given the nature of the war, as well as the hanging of two soldiers who he claimed deserted.<sup>339</sup>

Funston's tactics gave ammunition to those creating the counter symbol of Funston as a villain. These tactics became "evidence" against imperialism itself, and the anti-imperialists often invoked them in an attempt to discredit American foreign policy. In 1902, the Senate investigated Funston's actions in the Philippines. Central to the investigation was the question of whether or not Funston had "falsely represented that the said Metcalf was present at Quiquinto."<sup>340</sup> The committee also charged that, "Funston, in his official reports, represented himself as doing things he never did, and claimed credit for the deeds of other men."<sup>341</sup> Both charges revolved around Funston's veracity and accuracy. Not only were these issues central to determining the nature of Funston's actions but, by extension, his reliability in claiming that the war in the Philippines was winnable. If the anti-imperialists could question Funston's valor so, too, could they question the feasibility of a successful military campaign in the former Spanish colony.

The Senate also investigated whether Funston violated the rules of war. The most serious charge against Funston claimed that he "issue[d] orders to shoot prisoners, and compounded the crime of the said Metcalf ...[by] using his influence to prevent a fair and impartial investigation

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339. "Funston Will Not Retract," *New York Times*, March 14, 1902.

340. Hearings Before the Committee on the Philippines of the United States Senate in Relation to Affairs in the Philippine Islands [January 31-June 28, 1902], Volume 2, 1444.

341. *Ibid.*

of the shooting of these said prisoners.”<sup>342</sup> The single charge against Funston suggested him the villain twice: not only was Funston not a virtuous romantic hero, but he was also a liar misleading the public about the brutality of war. The hearings brought to light the lie at the center of the imperialist press. Rather than seeing war as heroic, the anti-imperialists argued that war was brutal, as evidenced in the charges against Funston.

As Funston sought to defend his heroism publicly, he invoked Roosevelt’s approval of the campaign and use of his tactics, but he drew quick and direct condemnation. Senator Patterson (D-Col.) rebuked both assertions and claimed “that all the authorities declared that the use of enemy’s uniforms was not warranted, and that a man in an enemy’s uniform who killed another man was guilty of assassination.”<sup>343</sup> Though Funston attempted to defend the image of himself as a hero, Senator Patterson dispelled these notions and called Funston a cold-blooded murderer.

Like his contemporary, Theodore Roosevelt, Funston enjoyed the spotlight and used his fame for political ends. Funston directly addressed his detractors claiming eastern editors “know more about golf than about war.”<sup>344</sup> He also directly challenged a vocal opponent and the Senate’s investigation of his methods and the occupation of the Philippines claiming Senator Hoar (R- Mass) “suffered from an overheated conscience.” Funston used the politics of masculinity to defend his position and invoked the ideas that eastern social elites were “stuffed shirts” and “over civilized,” knowing more about “golf” than the manly attributes of war.

To rebuke Funston’s comment that Senator Hoar “suffered from an overheated conscience,” the *Kansas Agitator* reminded readers “nothing of the kind will ever bother little

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342. Ibid.

343. “Replies to Gen. Funston,” *New York Times*, March 28, 1902.

344. “Funston To Denounce Newspaper Criticism,” *New York Times*, March 27, 1902.

Wind Bag Funston: he never had a conscience.”<sup>345</sup> While the *Chickasha Daily Express* lamented “Mr. Roosevelt muzzled Fred Funston too late to save him from the most severe castigation ever given an army officer on the floor of the senate.”<sup>346</sup> The public debate over Funston’s methods and his outspoken nature reached a head in April 1902 when the president ordered Funston to cease from public discussion of the Philippines campaign and publicly reprimanded him for his continued comments.<sup>347</sup> Individuals called for Funston’s court martial on far more serious charges than illegal use of deception, and the public began to debate the policy in the Philippines as articles were published which proclaimed that Funston had ordered the slaughter of prisoners.<sup>348</sup>

Anti-imperialists charged Funston with lying about his bravery for fame and fortune. They argued that money motivated Funston, noting that he still received pay from the Cuban army even while serving the U.S. army.<sup>349</sup> Greed, not service, prompted Funston’s enlistment in both Cuba and the United States. His swim across the Bagbag River, while daring, also promoted Funston to something “very akin to fame. Funston had played the wheel tirelessly and finally won.”<sup>350</sup> Even though the *Daily Eagle* had earlier praised Funston, they also noted his that actions were not selfless they attempted to secure fame and fortune. The *Daily Eagle* mockingly suggested that Funston enter politics and that his political fame thrived on “denial and

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345. No Title, *Kansas Agitator* (Garnett, Kan.), April 25, 1902, *Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers*. Lib. of Congress, <<http://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn83040052/1902-04-25/ed-1/seq-1/>>.

346. “Old Hickory Chips,” *The Chickasha Daily Express* (Chickasha, Indian Territory [Okla.]), May 03, 1902, *Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers*. Lib. of Congress, <<http://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn86090528/1902-05-03/ed-1/seq-2/>>.

347. “Gen. Funston’s Reprimand,” *New York Times*, April 26, 1902.

348. “Would Punish Funston,” *New York Times*, February 28, 1903.

349. “Along the Kansas Nile,” *The Wichita Daily Eagle*, February 11, 1899, *Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers*. Lib. of Congress, <<http://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn82014635/1899-02-11/ed-1/seq-4/>>.

350. “Along the Kansas Nile,” *The Wichita Daily Eagle*, April 27, 1899, *Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers*. Lib. of Congress, <<http://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn82014635/1899-04-27/ed-1/seq-4/>>.

antagonism and ridicule... Funston must get into politics or be yawned to death.”<sup>351</sup> Discrediting Funston’s motives became central to many papers, as it also discredited the imperialists.

Ultimately, the Senate investigation concluded in June of 1902. Led by imperialist Henry Cabot Lodge (R-Mass), the committee found no conclusive evidence of Funston’s atrocities despite testimony to the contrary. Although anti-imperialists like Hoar (R-Mass) documented a number of crimes, little action came from the committee. The election of 1902 saw the Republicans firmly maintain control of the Senate 55 to 32. With their supermajority cemented, even the few Republican dissenters could not force the majority to reopen the investigations.

### Conclusion

Between 1896 and 1902, Frederick Funston became a household name throughout the nation. Traveling to Cuba as a *filibustero* in 1896, he garnered state and regional headlines. Funston continued his trend of writing home in order to secure his identity and profession. After returning, badly injured, Funston re-entered the lecture circuit and not only sold his story but also sold intervention. When the war erupted in 1898, he enlisted in the Kansas Volunteers. His time in the Philippines earned him the rank of general and the Medal of Honor.

With a meteoric rise through the ranks of the army, Funston became an outspoken proponent of imperialism. Imperialist media makers employed the themes commonly found in the melodrama and the popular romance novel and cast Funston as a chivalric knight. They portrayed Funston as an ideal of manhood and expansionism and as protecting the damsel in distress. Left unchecked, Funston *the hero* became a powerful political tool to promote

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351. “Along the Kansas Nile,” *The Wichita daily eagle*. (Wichita, Kan.), 12 May 1899. *Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers*. Lib. of Congress, <<http://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn82014635/1899-05-12/ed-1/seq-4/>>.

imperialism and Republican politics. Anti-imperialists countered the imperialist assertions by trying to dispel the knightly aura around Funston. The anti-imperialists cast Funston as a villain and a dishonorable man in order to diminish his political authority and, by extension, criticize American intervention abroad.



### Chapter 3: The Bagbag River Debate

After the Spanish-American War ended, Filipino nationalists rejected American imperialism just as they had rejected Spanish colonialism. Between 1899 and 1902, a fierce battle between American occupying forces and, Filipino nationalists raged over the islands. The American forces quickly advanced across the island of Luzon and in March 1899, the Philippine forces retreated from the capital of Malolos.<sup>352</sup> In an attempt to slow the American forces, the Filipinos fell back to the Bagbag and Pampanga Rivers, destroyed the bridges, and dug entrenchments at the Calumpit–Apalit Line. On April 27, at the battle of Calumpit, Funston mythically swam the Bagbag River under heavy fire while pulling a raft of men. For his actions, Funston received the Medal of Honor and, eventually, the rank of brigadier general of the Volunteer Army. The event catapulted Funston to national fame and the imperialists cast Funston into the role of *the* hero. In 1900, individuals began to question the veracity of the accounts of Funston’s famous swim across the Bagbag River. Between 1903 and 1906, the accusations became public and the entire nation debated the merits of Funston’s swim. Anti-imperialists questioned all aspects of Funston’s account and, eventually, whether he could swim at all.

In this chapter, I examine Funston’s life from 1903 until his death in 1917. I argue that the debate over Funston’s famous swim became a key point of contention between the imperialists and anti-imperialists for the remainder of his life and threatened to overshadow his and other imperialists’ attempts to create the identity of Funston the hero. The San Francisco earthquake added another tale to Funston’s heroic story and allowed Funston and nationalist supporters to reframe the debate. Using the language of manhood, the nationalists claimed

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352. The Philippine forces had effectively moved the capital to San Isidro, Nueva Ecija before leaving Malolos a small garrison.

Funston's quick actions saved the city. His final assignment in Mexico demonstrates the success of Funston and the nationalists in casting Funston as the hero.

The debate over Funston's swim became an important moment in Funston's life. The debate acted as a tool with which each side could demonstrate the dishonesty of their opponents and lampoon their claims. Much like his earlier life, media makers writing of Funston did so in gendered language to build support for their respective political causes. Funston and other imperialist media makers cast Funston as a romantic hero, and so the anti-imperialists attempted to dispel the romanticism by casting doubt on the authenticity of his actions. By 1906, schools around the nation ordered Funston's swim removed from their history books and anti-imperialists had significantly cast doubt on the authenticity of Funston as the hero.

Fate, however, intervened in 1906 and Funston's response to a natural disaster thrust him back into the limelight. Despite controversy, the San Francisco quake cemented Funston's legacy as a manly hero. While stationed at the Presidio a massive earthquake struck San Francisco on April 18, 1906. The commander of the Southern District was away, leaving Funston as the highest-ranking officer, and so without orders from Washington D.C., Funston marched the army into the city, declared martial law, dynamited a firebreak, and ordered looters shot on sight. Funston once again took to the press in "How the Army Worked to Save San Francisco" to defend his actions and defend his identity as a hero. Funston's supporters claimed he had single handedly saved the city. His detractors argued that he illegally used federal troops, murdered civilians without a trial, and that the dynamite caused more fires than it prevented.

Even in mundane deployments, Funston continued to find ways to reinforce his identity as national hero. From 1906 through 1914, Funston received various posts, including serving as Commandant of the Army School in Leavenworth and, later, as Commander of the Department

of the Philippines. For a short time, the Army sent Funston to Hawaii to bolster coastal defenses against an increasingly powerful Japanese Navy. Funston did not garner much national attention in these roles. Funston, however, ensured that he maintained the national spotlight by continuing to publish about his time in Cuba and the Philippines. Between 1910 and 1911, Funston released a series of articles and his memoir, all of which offer insight into his reasons for publishing. Just as in his earlier writing, Funston invoked the language that tied his manhood to whiteness and civilization.

Funston's final assignment along the Mexican border demonstrates the wide-ranging recognition of Funston as the hero. Ultimately, President Wilson, a Democrat, accepted the premises of the heroic Funston, and in 1914, amid a growing crisis in Mexico, sent Funston to occupy Veracruz. Wilson believed in Funston's command and because of his handling of the occupation of Veracruz, appointed him Major General, making Funston the highest-ranking officer in the army. As the crisis continued, Wilson placed Funston in charge of all the troops on the Southern border. Faced with Pancho Villa's incursions, Funston ordered Gen. John Pershing and the Punitive Expedition into Mexico to capture the rebel leader. Wilson favored Funston over Pershing to lead the American Expeditionary Force in Europe, but just as suddenly as he had become a national celebrity, on February 17, 1917, Funston clutched his chest and died of a heart attack in San Antonio.

#### Did Funston Swim?

Even though the Senate investigated Funston and the war in the Philippines, anti-imperialists delivered the most damaging attacks on Funston as an iconic American hero as his Bagbag River swim became a topic of national debate. Ultimately, the Senate investigations did not find enough conclusive evidence to convict Funston on any charges, but that did not quiet

Funston's critics. His critics continued to claim that Funston committed war crimes but they also began to question the event that earned him the Medal of Honor. Discrediting Funston's swim called into question the very foundations of his heroism, honor, and manliness. Edward J. Hardy, who served in the Kansas 20<sup>th</sup> with Funston, wrote to the Topeka school board urging them to revise the official state history curriculum. Hardy declared that he and two others swam the Marilao (for which Funston had also received credit) but that Funston "informed me personally [Hardy] that he could not swim... it is quite impossible that he should have swum the Marilao or Bagbag, or any other river unless he practiced swimming" in the two days between the two events.<sup>353</sup> Claiming Funston could not even swim demonstrated the absurdity of the situation. Not only did he not swim either of these two rivers, actions upon which his reputation rested, he could not swim any river.

The debate over Funston's "swim" and his place in textbooks demonstrates how politicized his memory became during his life. Questioning whether Funston actually "swam the river" questioned the entire public persona of "Funston the hero." Anti-imperialists and Democratic media makers decried that Funston did not swim the Bagbag and asserted that, in reality, "two privates swam the river, under heavy fire, but Funston received the credit."<sup>354</sup> The Philadelphia *North American* summarized the stakes: "Considering the nature of the accusation, which affects General Funston's moral character, a technical defense is no defense... his obvious course, as an officer and a gentleman jealous of his good name is to demand a hearing before a

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353. Edward J Hardy, "Letter to the Topeka Superintended Nov. 20, 1900," *City and State* (Philadelphia, PA), February 12, 1903, 130.  
<https://books.google.com/books?id=U2JVAAAAYAAJ&pg=PA130&lpg=PA130&dq=What+river+did+Funston+swim&source=bl&ots=CHfHL5fkdC&sig=YL65eIBVhMR40nvwPw4xa45uqv0&hl=en&sa=X&ved=0ahUKEwid0JGB7pjMAhWDTiMKHamTD5oQ6AEINTAF#v=onepage&q=What%20river%20did%20Funston%20swim&f=false>

354. "Are a Lazy Set," *The Topeka State Journal*, January 26, 1906, *Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers*. Lib. of Congress, <<http://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn82016014/1906-01-26/ed-1/seq-9/>>.

board of inquiry.”<sup>355</sup> The *North American* noted the accusations did not necessarily affect Funston’s military record, but instead they attacked his moral character and his manhood. The paper argued, had Funston actually swam the river, as a true gentleman he should demand a full military inquiry to settle the matter and firmly establish his reputation because he had nothing to hide.

The *Los Angeles Herald* countered Funston not just as a public or political figure, but also as a creation of the media. The *Herald* had a working-class audience and promoted mostly Democratic politics, and, thus, ridiculed Funston as a fictional creation of Republican imperialism.<sup>356</sup> The *Herald* directly insulted Funston and his masculinity stating, “Funston scents danger in China. That smell does not come from danger, General.”<sup>357</sup> Funston the man did not stand the test of virtue; it stunk. Furthermore, the *Herald* denounced Funston as someone who “wants to go to China and fight the yellow peril. The real yellow peril he should war against is [the] lying press agent who invents such yarns as swimming the Bag-Bag [sic] when his principal can’t swim.”<sup>358</sup> Funston’s press agent and the Republican press at large—particularly yellow journalists—shared the blame for creating the patently fake image of Funston as a brave hero and using it to sell the news. Funston and his supporters in the media invented the romanticism and heroism to create a false image of Funston and imperialism. The *Herald* tied the myth of Funston swimming the Bagbag to his personal virtue noting that neither could swim.

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355. No Title, *Philadelphia North American*, As Quoted in *City and State*. February 12, 1903, 243.

356. “About Los Angeles Herald. (Los Angeles [Calif.] 1900-1911,” *Chronicling America: Historic Newspapers*. Lib of Congress, accessed February 5, <https://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn85042462/>.

357. No Title, *Los Angeles Herald*, March 02, 1906, *Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers*. Lib. of Congress, <<http://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn85042462/1906-03-02/ed-1/seq-4/>>.

358. *Ibid.*

Questioning whether Funston swam the river directly questioned the image of Funston as honorable and trustworthy. The *Abilene Democrat* assaulted not just Funston but the media makers who rallied to his side. The *Democrat* declared the *Kansas City Journal* “inconsistent.” The *Democrat* mocked the *Journal* and their hypocrisy, claiming one day they say “nobody should tell the truth of Funston and Metcalf because they were mentioned favorably in their own reports... [on the next] it says ‘If Webster and Clay played poker and Lincoln told smutty stories, let us know.’”<sup>359</sup> The *Democrat* went on to lampoon the *Journal* by sarcastically treating all five men’s sins as moral equivalents. So what if “one man liked smutty stories [Lincoln], another poker [Webster/Clay], another humbug [Funston], another the assassination of defenseless men [Metcalf].”<sup>360</sup> If Funston was a con man and Metcalf a murderer, surely, the *Democrat* reasoned, they deserved the same negative treatment in the *Journal* as Lincoln’s enjoyment of a dirty joke and Webster’s gambling.<sup>361</sup>

In another article, the *Democrat* called Funston a liar by sarcastically chastising a vocal critic, Col. W.S. Metcalf. Metcalf claimed Funston did not swim the river and that a press agent wrote all his stories. The *Democrat* bitingly declared Metcalf’s accusations “the most contemptible and lying assault on General Funston we have seen.”<sup>362</sup> The *Democrat* joked about Funston’s swim; “Of course we all know now that Funston can’t swim a river and never swam a river.”<sup>363</sup> However, Metcalf’s claim that a press agent wrote the release was “a deliberate attempt to rob him of the only fame left him [Funston], that of being a good advertising man... at

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359. No Title, *Abilene Democrat* (Abilene, KS), As Quoted in *City and State*, 243

360. Ibid.

361. In *On Bullshit* Harry G. Frankfurt ties the nineteenth and twentieth century idea of “humbug” or “humbugary” to the modern notions of “bullshit” or someone being a “bullshit artist” but essentially calling Funston a humbug called him all these derogatory terms.

362. “METCALF KNOCKS ON FUNSTON,” *Abilene Democrat* (Abilene, KS), As Quoted in *City and State*, 243.

363. Ibid.

least he did [write] his own stuff, and that he did claim to have swum the river, over his own signature, even though he claimed it. Give the devil his due!”<sup>364</sup> The joke rested on the idea that Metcalf crossed a line not because Funston did swim the river, but that Funston personally lied about it. Funston wrote his own press, because Funston fabricated his role in the entire event.

The Democratic-leaning papers attacked Funston because he acted as a symbol for the larger Republican policies. Both the *Los Angeles Herald* and the *Abilene Democrat* assailed Funston as an invention of the partisan press. The larger argument behind Funston’s swim was an idea that Funston as a hero was imaginary and created by his “press agent” to sell papers, promote Funston, and support Republican politics. With those three goals in mind, Democratic papers attempted to demonstrate Funston was a conman who lied about his war experiences and the Republican press willingly supported him to sell papers and promote the Republican agenda.

Even though Charles F. Scott won a seat in the House of Representatives (R-KS), he still found time to defend his childhood friend. In response to the ongoing debate about Funston’s swim and his tactics in the war, Scott defended Funston as an honorable and noble man. Scott called Funston “a modest and high-minded gentleman.”<sup>365</sup> Scott invoked the language of honor and manliness to defend Funston. Repeating the defense, Scott insisted “every one of the Iola men who served with him are his most enthusiastic admirers, praising not only his courage, but his care for his men and his general conduct as an officer and a gentleman.”<sup>366</sup> Those claiming Funston acted in any negative way were false because Funston’s character only allowed him to act honorably.

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364. Ibid.

365. Charles F. Scott, “General Funston Continued,” March 13, 1903, *City and State Philadelphia PA* March 26, 1903, 245.

366. Ibid.

Just as the *Herald* and the *Democrat* denounced Funston and his supporters in the press, other outlets attacked anyone who defended Funston. *City and State*, in Philadelphia, devoted an entire weekly supplement to negative coverage of Funston and, in its editorial attacked not just Funston but his chief supporter, Charles F. Scott. Herbert Welsh, the editor, devoted the weekly newspaper to the ideas of good governance and reform. Welsh, an outspoken advocate for Native American rights, saw the Filipinos as worthy of self-government. In three works—*To Lincoln's Plain People: Facts Regarding "Benevolent Assimilation" in the Philippine Islands*, *The Other Man's Country: An Appeal to Conscience*, and *The Philippine question from the Christian and American point of View*—he equates the long list of atrocities that occurred to the Native Americans under the guise of manifest destiny, expansion, and providence to American imperialism in the Philippines.<sup>367</sup>

Welsh used *City and State* to question Scott's integrity as well as Funston's by systematically deconstructing Scott's defense of Funston to the point of questioning how well Scott even knew Funston. *City and State* declared "Mr. Scott always lived in Iola, while the 'hero of the Rio Grande' resided in the country miles away; and that Mr. Scott graduated from college years before Frederick (the Great or Little) entered it."<sup>368</sup> If Charles F. Scott actually knew Funston, and was not simply trading on his fame, the paper argued that he should answer any questions for them and their readers.<sup>369</sup>

*City and State* used pointed questions to attack Funston's military record and paint him as a coward and a fake who sought the limelight. Welsh even demanded to know if "Funston

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367. Herbert Welsh, *To Lincoln's plain people facts regarding "benevolent assimilation" in the Philippine Islands*. *City and State*, 190, <https://hdl.handle.net/2027/hvd.32044086965951>. *The Other Man's Country; an Appeal to Conscience* Philadelphia : J. B. Lippincott, 1900, <https://hdl.handle.net/2027/hvd.32044037700432>, and *The "Philippine question from the Christian and American point of view : a speech delivered in Conshohocken, Media, and Wissahickon, Pa., during February and March, 1900.* <https://hdl.handle.net/2027/wu.89054815352>.

368. Scott, "General Funston Continued," 245.

369. *Ibid.*, 246.



carried with him in the Philippines a press agent, who puffed and boomed him and his favorites.”<sup>370</sup> *City and State* implied that everything about Funston’s heroism was merely a stunt for the papers. Welsh proceeded to accuse Funston of cowardice and dishonesty and insinuated that Funston should demand a military board of inquiry in order to settle the issue and that “all his friends... inside and outside the army, ought to help him do it.”<sup>371</sup> *City and State* noted that those who supported Funston without the official record were just as guilty of fabricating lies as Funston and that Scott and others like him should demand the truth.

*City and State*, echoing the sentiments of the *Los Angeles Herald* and *Abilene Democrat*, displayed a sensitivity and awareness of the politics behind Funston’s mythmaking. From coast to coast, those who opposed Republican politics and imperialism used the debate over Funston’s swimming the Bagbag River to argue against the misrepresentations of war. If Funston did not swim the Bagbag then they could question every aspect of the war, including the ideas of “benevolent assimilation.”

In 1906, after years of debate, the subcommittee of textbooks in Kansas ordered a revision of the standard textbooks. The *San Francisco Call* delighted in the fact that a Kansas state sub-committee on textbooks “ordered the account expunged from the history.”<sup>372</sup> Further, the *Call* questioned whether the president should demote Funston noting his promotion “declared in explicit terms... [was] earned by his action in swimming the Bag Bag [sic] River.”<sup>373</sup> According to the editors of the *Call*, imperialists fabricated Funston’s story, just as they lied about the necessity of war.

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370. Ibid.

371. Ibid.

372. “Funston’s Name to be Dropped,” *San Francisco Call*, May 22, 1904, *California Digital Newspaper Collection*. Center for Bibliographical Research, <http://cdnc.ucr.edu/cgi-bin/cdnc?a=d&d=SFC19040522.2.59#>.

373. Ibid.

The removal of Funston from the textbooks provided a concrete victory for the anti-imperialists and, hence, the narrative that characterized Funston as a villain by literally striking a key portion of the heroic narrative from the public record. The Kansas Text Book Commission eventually ordered “Mrs. Noble L. Prentis, who is revising the history which her late husband wrote... must expunge the statement that the Colonel of the Twentieth Kansas regiment swam the Bag Bag [sic] River.”<sup>374</sup> The removal from textbooks highlights the contest between the two dominant legacies that continued over the century. The secondary tag line in the *Chicago Tribune*’s story declared Funston “IS EXPUNGED FROM HISTORY.”<sup>375</sup> The tag line underscored the importance of removing Funston from the textbooks. Expunging the swim across the Bagbag River cast doubt on Funston’s promotion to brigadier general and his subsequent career. This conflict in the public sphere represented the core debate between the imperialists and anti-imperialists; discrediting one of Funston’s key “feats” removed a powerful weapon in the imperialists’ arsenal.

#### The Savior of the City

During the Bagbag River debate, the anti-imperialists won significant victories by casting Funston as an unethical villain who falsified his war record. Fate, however, intervened in 1906 and added another chapter to the legacy of Funston. On April 18, a massive earthquake struck San Francisco leaving death and destruction in its wake, and Funston again garnered national attention as the brigadier general and commander of the Presidio in San Francisco. The

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374. “Did Funston Swim?” *Chicago Daily Tribune* May 21, 1904, <http://archives.chicagotribune.com/1904/05/21/page/1/article/did-funston-swim>.

375. Ibid.

earthquake also started fires throughout the city and, by the disasters' end over eighty percent of the city lay in ruins.

Funston again showed an uncanny ability to deal with crisis. Funston's ability to harness the power of the federal government demonstrates his entrepreneurship. While the nation debated the proper role of the national government in business and daily life, the Army looked for individuals who could navigate the uncertainties of the growing role of the federal government. Even though Funston lacked the authority to declare martial law, he took decisive actions and ordered the troops from the Presidio to secure the city and create firebreaks. Using federal might in a crisis without waiting for proper authorization from D.C. catapulted Funston back into the national role of hero. Those who supported Funston used his action as another example of the righteousness of his character and decision-making abilities. The "overcivilized" bureaucrat dithered while the "real man" made decisions. Those who opposed Funston saw this intervention as another example of the improper use of federal power. In both cases, supporters and detractors used the incident in the larger foreign policy debate.

The idea of the "man-of-action" was central to nineteenth and twentieth century notions of martial manhood. Just as Funston supporters had argued during the Spanish-American War and Philippine War, Funston's quick response during the quake epitomized the values enshrined in the manly "doer." John Ruskin, a prominent Victorian Era critic, succinctly described the idea of the manly "doer" in his 1865 essay, "Of Queen's Garden." Ruskin declared a "man's power is active, progressive, defensive. He is eminently the doer, the creator, the discoverer, the defender."<sup>376</sup> Those who wrote of Funston as the hero of San Francisco portrayed him as the manly doer. Men did not wait for orders to defend the helpless.

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376. John Ruskin, "Of Queens Garden," Norton Anthology of Literature, accessed April 6, 2019. [https://www.wnorton.com/college/english/nael/victorian/topic\\_2/ruskin.htm](https://www.wnorton.com/college/english/nael/victorian/topic_2/ruskin.htm).

The popular romance and melodramatic themes were useful in casting Funston as savior. During the crisis, the *D.C. National Tribune* recounted Funston's life stating, "once upon a time, as all good stories began in our youth, there was a little runt of a boy living on a rather good farm out in Kansas."<sup>377</sup> All good stories start "once upon a time" and Funston the hero used his cunning, skill, and bravery to overcome his size. Despite his stature, Funston's actions made him a man. Papers described Funston in the melodramatic ideals that held men as defenders of the innocent. The *National Tribune* story continued, "Today millions of people ought to rise up and call Brig.-Gen. Fred Funston blessed. When the terrible calamity befell the city, Brig.-Gen. Funston was the first out of bed... [W]hile Gen. Funston was policing the devastated districts his wife was looking after the women and poor little babies."<sup>378</sup> As Funston's wife saved the helpless babies, Funston saved a helpless city.

Recalling Funston as "the little runt boy" from Kansas also demonstrates the outsized role Kansas played in the national imagination. Funston and Kansas became a stand-in for the nation to demonstrate its egalitarian values. Even the "runt boy" from the unimportant plains of Kansas could achieve greatness. The story continues to declare "the runt of a boy, studied hard and graduated with honors from Lawrence University."<sup>379</sup> While factually incorrect, Funston never graduated and by all accounts was not a great student, the line plays on the imagination that anyone who worked hard could go on to great things, even the "runt of a boy" from Kansas.

Politically, the *National Tribune* applauded Funston's use of force by stating that "he didn't wait to untie red tape; he didn't wait for orders from 'proper authority.'"<sup>380</sup> The *National*

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377. "The Man of the Hour," *The National Tribune* (Washington, D.C.), April 26, 1906, *Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers*. Lib. of Congress, <<http://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn82016187/1906-04-26/ed-1/seq-5/>>.

378. Ibid.

379. Ibid.

380. Ibid.

*Tribune* portrayed Funston as an outsider that did not need Washington's approval. In the *Tribune's* estimation, Funston acted forcefully and appropriately. He "did exactly the things that ought to have been done.... [H]is orders were to 'shoot on sight' those who refused to obey orders. Many were shot."<sup>381</sup> Even without a trial, media makers defended Funston's actions.

Funston became a hero like the generals of the Civil War who took the necessary, albeit drastic, measures to save the Union. Funston destroyed large swaths of the city in attempts to build a firebreak to which the *National Tribune* hailed, "doesn't that remind you of Grant and Sheridan, and Sherman and Thomas, and all the rest of our great military heroes?"<sup>382</sup> The *National Tribune* deliberately equated Funston with the Union generals of the Civil War. Founded in the 1877, the *National Tribune* focused on veterans' issues, particularly veterans of the Civil War.<sup>383</sup> Equating Funston to the great generals resonated with its pro-Lincoln Republican audience and inherently accepted his actions as righteous. According to the *Tribune*, Funston's actions, like those of the Union generals, inflicted a human and economic toll but, in the end, history accepted and applauded their necessity. The *Tribune* argued that Funston weighed the benefits and his decisive action saved countless lives. The *Tribune* noted that Funston "was Fire Chief, City Marshal, policeman – everything."<sup>384</sup> Men like Sherman and Grant acted harshly but with a greater purpose. Funston saved the city just as Sherman and Grant had saved the Union.

The story also portrays Funston's entrepreneurship. Funston did not want to watch the nation develop, "he wanted to develop it."<sup>385</sup> Further, when asked to advise President McKinley

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381. Ibid.

382. Ibid.

383. "About the *National Tribune* (Washington D.C.) 1877-1917," *Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers*. Library of Congress, accessed February 5, 2019, <https://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn82016187/>.

384. "The Man of the Hour," *The National Tribune*.

385. Ibid.

during the war, Funston refused the commission and instead opted to fight for the Kansas 20<sup>th</sup>. As an advisor to the president, Funston would not see combat. Under the Kansas 20<sup>th</sup>, however, he could solidify his reputation and employ his skills from the Cuban War for Independence. Those skills kept the Kansas 20<sup>th</sup> camps clean and resulted in them being the healthiest regiment in San Francisco, thus ensuring their role in the Philippines.<sup>386</sup> Ultimately, the *National Tribune* notes Funston's ability to coop and adapt to the new roles of the federal government. The *Tribune* argued, "Fame has a high, wide and deep niche for such a man, one who three times in less than a decade shown himself a great leader in a stupendous crisis."<sup>387</sup> Three times in a decade, the federal government had to navigate new and different crises, and each time Funston demonstrated his ability safely to pilot across the uncharted waters.

The Republican-leaning press across the country, like the *Tulsa Daily World*, heralded Funston's actions. The *Daily World* reported, "the worst damage is over, however. General Fred Funston has marched practically the entire garrison from the Presidio into the town and his soldiers are keeping the people out of dangerous districts."<sup>388</sup> The *Daily World* had ample reason to support Funston. Founded in 1905, the *Tulsa Daily World* had the express purpose of supporting Republican candidates and policies.<sup>389</sup> Despite conflicting reports on whether or not Funston's troops actually fired on civilians, the Republican editors, journalists, and financial backers did not seem to care. The *Daily World* echoed the sentiments of Republican media makers across the nation who said that in desperate times Funston acted quickly and decisively.

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386. Ibid.

387. Ibid.

388. "Tragedy Grows Darker Every Hour, Another Shock Completes the Ruin" *Tulsa Daily World*. (Tulsa, Indian Territory [Okla.]), April 19, 1906. *Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers*. Lib. of Congress, <<http://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn85042344/1906-04-19/ed-1/seq-1/>>.

389. "About the *Tulsa Daily World*. (Tulsa, Okla.) 1905-1919," *Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers*. Library of Congress, accessed February 5, 2019, <https://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn85042345/>.

Two years earlier, Funston's opponents had questioned the legitimacy of Funston's claim of swimming across the Bagbag River. Imperialists around the country lauded Funston's decisive actions and used the 1906 earthquake to chastise his opponents. The *Hawaiian Star* reprinted several reports including those from the *Portland Press* and *Kansas City Times*. The *Star* did not simply reprint Funston stories; they had a vested interest in promoting imperialism. Despite owner-operator Wallace R. Farrington's Republican leanings, the *Star* did not officially endorse a particular party, but remained staunchly expansionist. "The Star" in the *Hawaiian Star*'s masthead referred to adding another star to the union, and the *Star* supported the "Bayonet Constitution" in 1887, the 1893 overthrow of the Hawaiian monarchy, and Frederick Funston.<sup>390</sup>

Reprinting pro-imperialist news from the mainland gave the *Star*'s markup and expansionist leanings credibility. The *Portland Press* and *Kansas City Times* articles—and the *Star* by reprinting them—furthered expansionist foreign policy despite the earthquake being a domestic issue. The *Press* declared, "the good work of General Funston in bringing order out of chaos in San Francisco is grudgingly admitted by the anti-imperialist, but they will never forgive him for capturing Aguinaldo."<sup>391</sup> The *Press* railed against the anti-imperialists, who still disliked Funston for winning the Philippines War. The *Kansas City Times* prodded the anti-imperialist by stating, "the anti-Funston society has received a backset from which it will not recover for at least six month."<sup>392</sup> For the *Times* even Funston saving a city would not stop his detractors; it might slow them, but the anti-imperialist irrationally sought to attack Funston. Funston became a focal point of the debate between the imperialists and anti-imperialists. Details such as

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390. The Bayonet Constitution was an attempt to forcibly limit the Hawaiian monarchies power. "About the *Hawaiian Star*," *Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers*. Library of Congress, accessed February 5, 2019, <https://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn82015415/>.

391. "Funston," as reported in *The Hawaiian Star*. (Honolulu [Oahu]), May 16, 1906, *Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers*. Lib. of Congress, <<http://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn82015415/1906-05-16/ed-1/seq-4/>>.

392. *Ibid*.

whether he swam the Bagbag River, in an otherwise successful campaign, and later captured Aguinaldo, provided ammunition to discredit the entire endeavor.

The reprinting of articles in the *Hawaiian Star* demonstrates the widespread nature of using the domestic disaster to bolster imperialist foreign policy. Media makers at the *Star* went on to report that the *Providence Tribune and Telegram* derided the anti-imperialists by declaring, “it requires only a protest from the anti-imperialists of Boston to make Gen. Funston’s fame secure for all time.”<sup>393</sup> From coast to coast, media makers used the events in San Francisco to drive home their point. The media makers at the *Buffalo Evening News* used the event to silence Funston’s critics noting, “little Gen. Fred Funston becomes more famous than ever for his splendid work in San Francisco. There will be no more carping about his being unfit for command.”<sup>394</sup> In total, the *Hawaiian Star* reprinted eight articles from around the nation all supporting Funston.

The *San Francisco Call* had openly challenged Funston’s heroism and claimed he had not swam across the Bagbag River. The *Topeka State Journal* and the *Birmingham Age-Herald* used the earthquake to challenge Funston’s opponents. The *Call* revealed in Funston’s removal from history books. Now, the *Topeka State Journal* lampooned the *Call* and the other naysayers, suggesting Funston “ought to clip some of the things the newspapers are now printing about him... the time may come when some skeptic will rise up and assert that Funston wasn’t in San Francisco after the earthquake.”<sup>395</sup> The *Topeka State Journal* used Funston’s acclaim in San Francisco for overtly international political reasons. Media makers at the *Birmingham Age-Herald* directly mocked those who challenged the authenticity of Funston swimming the Bagbag

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393. Ibid.

394. Ibid.

395. No title, *The Topeka State Journal*, April 25, 1906, *Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers*. Lib. of Congress, <<http://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn82016014/1906-04-25/ed-1/seq-4/>>.



River by declaring, “Gen. Funston has been superseded in San Francisco but he will not go off in a huff to reswim the Bagbag River.”<sup>396</sup> The word “reswim” underscores the views of the *Age-Herald* by noting that Funston would have to swim the river a second time. The *State Journal* and the *Age-Herald* ridiculed those who had questioned Funston earlier and thus sought to reestablish the legitimacy of Funston as a symbol for virtuous action.

Funston always courted public opinion and his defense of his actions during the 1906 earthquake proved no different. Even though many papers supported his actions, others questioned his tactics and the legality of federal intervention. Funston publicly defended his response to the disaster and in July 1906, penned “How the Army Worked to Save San Francisco” for a national magazine, *Cosmopolitan*. Funston initially declined the opportunity, aware of the “seeming impropriety of such action, but reconsidered on its being pointed out to me that the public interest in the action of the military authorities.”<sup>397</sup> Funston understood that “few people ever see official reports; but hundreds of thousands read so widely circulated a magazine as the *Cosmopolitan*.”<sup>398</sup> Much like Roosevelt, who had an acute sense of the media’s power, Funston understood how to harness national attention to defend his actions.

Funston used “How the Army Worked to Save San Francisco” to answer each criticism leveled by his detractors. “How the Army Worked to Save San Francisco” details the necessity of federal intervention. Funston realized “a great conflagration was inevitable, and that the city police force would not be able to maintain the fire-lines and protect public and private property over the great area affected.”<sup>399</sup> Immediately, Funston pointed out how the police and local

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396. “Funston” as reported in *The Hawaiian Star*.

397. Frederick Funston, “How the Army Worked to Save San Francisco” *Cosmopolitan Magazine*, July 1906, [http://www.parks.ca.gov/pages/24204/files/funston\\_report\\_earthquake\\_cosmopolitan\\_july\\_1906.pdf](http://www.parks.ca.gov/pages/24204/files/funston_report_earthquake_cosmopolitan_july_1906.pdf).

398. *Ibid.*

399. *Ibid.*

authorities could not control the situation. Once he saw a need, “it was at once determined to order out all available troops not only for the purpose of guarding federal buildings, but to aid the police- and fire- departments of the city.”<sup>400</sup> In Funston’s telling of events, the army did not act alone but in concert with the local authorities to keep and restore order.

While some applauded Funston’s quick reaction to the 1906 San Francisco earthquake and subsequent fire, others (particularly the *San Francisco Call*) criticized the unauthorized use of federal troops. A reported conflict over jurisdiction arose between the mayor, Eugene Schmitz, and Funston. Secretary of War Taft telegraphed Funston to remind him that “it would be much deplored if you and Schmitz could not get along together. I rely on your good sense to avoid conflict and friction.”<sup>401</sup> Though Mayor Schmitz denied the conflict ever occurred, the press used the perceived conflict to question Funston’s authority to act. A conflict between local and federal authorities underscored the inappropriateness of sending in federal troops. Funston’s defense directly countered the idea of any friction claiming that “while not acting under the orders of the officers of the police- and fire-departments, the officers of the troops consulted them and complied with their wishes in every possible way. There was absolutely no friction.”<sup>402</sup> Directly, Funston unequivocally refuted the earlier claims.

Funston countered the assertion that the creation of firebreaks was federal recklessness. In “How the Army Worked to Save San Francisco,” Funston noted that two federal officers instructed most of the work. These two officers, “however, ascertained the wishes of the fire- and police-officials as to the buildings to be destroyed.”<sup>403</sup> The detonations were not random but

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400. Ibid.

401. Howard Taft, “Telegram to Funston,” April 21, 1906, *The Virtual Museum of San Francisco*. accessed April 6, 2019, <http://www.sfmuseum.org/1906/conflict.html>.

402. Funston, “How the Army Worked to Save San Francisco.”

403. Ibid.

benefited from the advice of the fire and police departments. Further, the men who entered the area risked their lives to defend the citizens of San Francisco: “In this work Lieutenant Pulis of the Artillery Corps was very seriously injured by a premature explosion.”<sup>404</sup>

The same criticism of the hero abroad played out domestically: just like in the Philippines, Funston used excessive force. Critics claimed the brutality of the federal troops in response to opportunistic theft demonstrated the inappropriateness of their deployment. One story in particular noted that a man looting “was discovered by a Naval Reserve man and fired upon three times. The fellow sought safety in flight, but the Reserve man brought him down by running him through with a bayonet.”<sup>405</sup> Funston and the federal government could only achieve victory by brutally charging a fleeing man and spearing him.

Funston again countered the claims of excess force and noted that the citizens of San Francisco welcomed the federal troops. The troops were “greeted with evident good-will by the crowd, and made a fine impression with their full cartridge-belts and fixed bayonets... Their presence had an instantly reassuring effect on all awe-inspired persons.”<sup>406</sup> While the army carried bayonets, their presence calmed the crowds who from Funston’s estimation feared the looters more than the soldiers. More importantly, Funston noted that, “there was no necessity for the regular troops to shoot anybody and there is no well-authenticated case of a single person having been killed by regular troops.”<sup>407</sup> Funston differentiated between the troops under his direct command, i.e. federal troops, and the other volunteer, reserve, and state troops. Violence was rare and according to Funston only involved state troops: “Two men were shot by the state troops under circumstances with which I am not familiar, and so I am not able to express an

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404. Ibid.

405. “Martial Law is Declared,” *New York Times*, April 20, 1906, ProQuest Historical Papers.

406. Funston, “How the Army Worked to Save San Francisco.”

407. Ibid.

opinion, and one prominent citizen was ruthlessly slain by self-constituted vigilantes.”<sup>408</sup> Thus, Funston states that the issue was not with the well-trained regular army but the less reliably trained local and state troops. For Funston, “If there is any lesson to be derived from the work of the regular troops in San Francisco, it is that nothing can take the place of training and discipline, and that self-control and patience are as important as courage.”<sup>409</sup>

Writer and journalist Henry Lafler wrote a twenty-page response to Funston, in which he detailed his experiences.<sup>410</sup> Lafler titled his work the same as Funston’s but noted how federal troops did little to help in “How the Army Worked to Save San Francisco.” Lafler notes that Funston dynamited structures that had already withstood the brunt of the fire as evidenced by the fact that the fire had destroyed all the surrounding houses while the structures in question remained intact.<sup>411</sup> Ordinary citizens fought the fires on “Telegraph Hill,” not soldiers: “True, there were at one time two marines, one of whom was drunk, and the other, after he had harshly fired a shot in the direction of one of the dwellers on the hill, wisely disappeared.”<sup>412</sup> The army and the federal government bumbled through the fire and did not deserve praise.

The “savior of the city” moment worked to reinforce the hero *and* villain personas. Funston and his supporters used the event to prop up his faltering reputation as papers declared him the “man of the hour in ruined San Francisco.”<sup>413</sup> Papers noted his response to an “unprecedented” crisis and his ability to think quickly, traits that later became part of the Funston

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408. Ibid.

409. Ibid.

410. Lafler was a respected magazine writer and close friends with poets George Sterling and Ina Coolbrith as well as personal friends with journalist Jack London.

411. Henry Anderson Lafler, “How the Army Worked to Save San Francisco,” July 24, 1906, The Virtual Museum of San Francisco, <http://www.sfmuseum.org/1906.2/lafler0.html>.

412. Ibid.

413. “Funston Man of the Hour in Ruined San Francisco,” *The Washington Times (D.C.)*, April 21, 1906.

myth. However, Funston's detractors recalled his orders to "shoot looters on sight" as another example of his savagery.

In January 1907, as San Francisco looked to rebuild, Funston continued to make controversial public statements, this time at the expense of organized labor. Funston, like many Republicans, disliked organized labor and declared, "The building trades in San Francisco are completely dominated by tyrannical and unreasonable labor unions which harass builders and contractors almost beyond endurance by senseless strikes and lockouts."<sup>414</sup> Funston went "so far as to recommend that Government [sic] work on this coast be done by convicts in preference to union men."<sup>415</sup> The *San Francisco Call* ran a spot that directly appealed to labor, "News of the Labor World," and fueled the antagonism between Funston and organized labor.

Openly preferring convicts to union members drew a swift rebuke from union leaders. A Union leader, declared Funston, "bases his declarations on misinformation" and the State Commissioner of Labor agreed that San Francisco had far fewer strikes and "industrial disturbances" than the rest of the state.<sup>416</sup> The president of the State Federation of Labor, George A. Tracy, issued a stern reprimand saying Funston, like many other military officers, viewed the working man "on par with a yellow dog."<sup>417</sup> Tracy went on to describe Funston as a great military leader that "shows an utter lack of tact and good judgement when he steps out of the particular sphere in which he shines."<sup>418</sup> Other leaders chimed in to deride Funston as reckless and against the working class.

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414. "News of the Labor World," *The San Francisco Call*, January 22, 1907, *Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers*. Lib. of Congress, <<http://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn85066387/1907-01-22/ed-1/seq-9/>>.

415. Ibid.

416. Ibid.

417. Ibid.

418. Ibid.

While many labor leaders criticized Funston, the dispute between the Secretary of the Building Trades Council, O. A. Tveitmoe, and Funston became personal. Tveitmoe questioned why “a man of Funston’s pretensions should assume to play the role of Don Quixote and thrust his fierce lance against imaginary giants, although it may be at the solicitation of the Citizens’ Alliance Windmills.”<sup>419</sup> Anti-imperialists Ernest Crosby and Mark Twain had spent much of the 1900s portraying Funston as a Quixotic character, bumbling away and attacking imaginary “giants.” Tveitmoe used the language of the anti-imperialists to continue to paint Funston as the unrealistic and impractical errant knight.

In the next issue of the *San Francisco Call*, Tveitmoe questioned the necessity and effectiveness of dynamiting a firebreak. The *San Francisco Call* reported that Tveitmoe declared that Funston issued “ill-considered orders, which were largely responsible for blowing up some of the best buildings and the destruction by fire of large sections of the city.”<sup>420</sup> Funston did not save the city according to the locally popular and powerful union boss; in fact, his orders destroyed the city. Funston did not save the city as a melodramatic hero who swoops in and saves the day, but instead he acted rashly and used poor judgment. According to Tveitmoe “had he [Funston] used the discretion which is generally expected from one in his high station many citizens believe at least half the city could have been saved.”<sup>421</sup> The use of federal force did not make things better; rather, it made things drastically worse. Critics could capitalize on such an account to discredit Funston the man and federal intervention in general.

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419. Ibid.

420. “News of the Labor World,” *The San Francisco Call*, January 23, 1907, *Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers*. Lib. of Congress, <<http://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn85066387/1907-01-23/ed-1/seq-9/>> .

421. Ibid.

Most damningly, Tveitmoe went on to accuse Funston of favoring the wealthy in duty distributing relief and aid. Tveitmoe argued, that perhaps in the “moment of excitement” and confusion following the earthquake one could look past Funston’s “grievous” and “ill-considered” actions to dynamite fire breaks, but one could not ignore his favoritism toward the wealthy. Funston was not a noble knight who protected the poor; rather, he was a crony to the rich. Tveitmoe claims that after interviewing several Teamsters, Funston had ordered them to haul “load after load of the best food that was sent for the relief of the stricken people of San Francisco to the residents of the Pacific and Presidio Heights... General Funston confiscated the food and clothing that belonged to the poor and gave it to the rich.”<sup>422</sup> Unlike Robin Hood who stole from the rich, Funston stole from the starving and homeless poor to relieve the slight discomfort of the rich.

Tveitmoe’s underlying point criticized Funston’s moral character. Feeding the rich before the poor revealed Funston’s true self. Naturally, a man “with that kind of mind and heart would like to see San Francisco rebuilt by convict labor. An ordinary working man, to the Funstonian concept of labor, is on par with the felon in the state penitentiary, and the only people he knows are the wealthy idle.”<sup>423</sup> Tveitmoe, and the *Call*, used class conflict to discredit Funston. The moral character of Funston, like the wealthy, did not care about the poor. Funston did not understand the working class or an honest day’s work. Funston only understood privilege.

Yet Tveitmoe’s criticisms do not seem to match the reports about Frederick and Eda Funston’s roles in the earthquake. By many accounts the Funstons worked tirelessly to ensure the city’s safety. While Frederick Funston worked with civil and military authorities, Eda

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422. Ibid.

423. Ibid.

Funston assisted Dora Thompson in directing the nursing corps.<sup>424</sup> Further, Funston was acutely aware that his actions would be examined. Much of his earlier writings focus on him as a chivalric knight and Funston's awareness of the situation makes it unlikely he would issue the orders to take food from the poor.

The feud between Funston and Tveitmoe continued into the summer, and the *Call* obliged Tveitmoe by printing his attacks on Funston. Although no longer employed at the *Call*, Mark Twain was a correspondent and journalist with the paper in 1863, and much like his feud with Twain, Funston and the editors at the *Call* openly professed a personal disdain for the other.<sup>425</sup> Funston declared the *Call* "a sweet scented organ of anarchy and disorder."<sup>426</sup> The *Call* in return published a private letter where Funston worried about troops under his command participating in a parade and called portions of the city an "unwhipped mob."<sup>427</sup> The *Call* went on to make it seem as if Funston's hesitations singlehandedly canceled the city's Fourth of July parade.

Playing to their base, Tveitmoe swore retaliation for slighting the city and used the parade as a means to enact revenge. By the time of the great earthquake and fire, the *Call* had the third largest circulation of any daily (62,000) in San Francisco, and a particularly strong following among the working classes.<sup>428</sup> To the working-class, the Fourth of July represented one of only a handful of holidays, and the *Call* and Tveitmoe used Funston's slight to further demonstrate his callousness toward working-class needs. In a series of fiery speeches, Tveitmoe persuaded the San Francisco Fourth of July Committee to reject Funston's conciliatory gestures

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424. "Eda Blankart Funston" National Parks Service: Presidio of San Francisco.

425. "About the *San Francisco Call*," *Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers*. Lib. of Congress, accessed February 6, 2019, <https://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn85066387/>.

426. "Explanatory Letter Sent By Funston," *San Francisco Call*, June 25, 1907, California Digital Newspaper Collection, <https://cdnc.ucr.edu/cgi-bin/cdnc?a=d&d=SFC19070625.2.3>.

427. Ibid.

428. Three years earlier the *Call* had the highest circulation but by 1906, both the *Examiner* (98,000) and *Chronicle* (80,000) had larger circulations. "About the *San Francisco Call*" *Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers*<sup>9</sup>



to rejoin the parade. Unsure of his exact actions, Tveitmoe declared, “I do not know what organized labor will do, but we will do something. The incident is not permitted to rest; we will carry our protests higher...,” and promised, “organized labor was going to see that the general was rebuked by his superiors.”<sup>429</sup> Ultimately, the Fourth of July Committee did take action, but only issued a stern letter that both chastised Funston and attempted to deescalate and remove the committee from the conflict between Tveitmoe and Funston.

Funston, never one to back down from a public feud, continued to provoke organized labor. In December 1907, Funston asked President Roosevelt to dispatch federal troops to Goldfield, Nevada, to “maintain order” and quell a union insurrection. Roosevelt obliged by ordering three hundred troops to Goldfield to keep the peace between striking miners and mine owners, but upon arrival the Colonel in charge, Col. Reynolds, found a peaceful situation and no reason for the soldiers to remain. Funston, however, encouraged Roosevelt to maintain a military presence, and ultimately the troops stayed until March. The mine owners subsequently cut the miners’ pay and slowly reopened the mine with nonunion workers.<sup>430</sup>

#### Funston’s Memoir: 1908-1914

Between 1908 and 1914, Funston received various posts. During the span, Funston returned to both Kansas and the Philippines. Funston served as Commandant of the Army School in Leavenworth from 1907 through 1908 and as Commander of the Department of the Philippines between 1909 and 1912. The army also sent Funston to Hawaii to bolster coastal defenses against an increasingly powerful Japanese Navy in 1913. However, Funston did not receive much national attention in these roles. Despite his absence from the headlines, Funston

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429. “Explanatory Letter Sent By Funston” *San Francisco Call*.

430. Clayton D. Laurie and Ronald Cole, *The Role of Federal Military Forces in Domestic Disorders 1877-1945* (Washington D.C.: Center for Military History: United States Army, 1997), [https://archive.org/stream/Military-Domestic-Disorders-1877-1945/CMH\\_Pub\\_30-15-1\\_djvu.txt](https://archive.org/stream/Military-Domestic-Disorders-1877-1945/CMH_Pub_30-15-1_djvu.txt).

took to writing and published a series of articles and his memoir in 1911. Funston used his experiences in Cuba and the Philippines to counter anti-imperialists attacks and to demonstrate his honor and bravery. Funston's memoir sheds light on how he viewed himself and his interactions with media makers.

Funston's critics understood the language he used as he attempted to romanticize war and imperialism. During the Bagbag River debate, media makers at *City and State* declared "A year has passed and not even General Funston, rich in romantic speech as he is, nor any other man will dare to maintain that this charge is anything but the plain prosaic truth."<sup>431</sup> The media makers understood that Funston's speech attempted to glamorize his actions but did not actually defend them. Funston attempted to portray himself as a romantic hero, a rhetorical model that lent itself to accepting him as inherently noble, and thus his opponents often attacked his honor and manhood for using the press to spread lies and blurring the lines between fact and fiction.

In 1910, Funston published four articles serialized in *Scribner's* that became the backbone of his memoir. The serialized articles for *Scribner's* detailed the war from the Cuban camps, but they also displayed the danger Funston faced in romantic terms. In "To Cuba as a Filibuster" Funston describes his entry into the Cuban army in the terms of the melodrama with the plot devices of spies and intrigue. Funston writes, "how could I have expected them to receive me, a total stranger, with open arms. I could have been a fugitive from justice seeking a hiding place, a worthless adventurer, or worst of all, a spy in Spanish pay."<sup>432</sup> While anti-imperialists attacked Funston's motives in the Philippines, there were fewer political objections to his time in Cuba.

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431. "GENERAL FUNSTON, HERO," *City and State* (Philadelphia, PA), March 19, 1903, 224.

432. Frederick Funston, "To Cuba as a Filibuster," *Scribner's Magazine*, September 1910, vol. 9, 306.

Funston directly engaged with his audience to describe how he viewed the work. In the introduction to his memoir, Funston wrote, “with the idea that he [the reader] may find therein discussions of military or tactics, or elucidation of personal views on our recent incursions into the realm of world politics, this would be an excellent moment...[to] return the volume to the neighbor from whom he borrowed it. For this is nothing more than a contribution, such as it is, to the literature of adventure.”<sup>433</sup> Funston did not write about military tactics; rather, Funston preferred readers see his life as an adventure similar to those stories he read growing up. Funston even acknowledges, “it should be understood that this book is in no sense a history of the two small wars in which the author participated, being merely an account of what he saw.”<sup>434</sup> Funston does not even see his work as a work of history; rather, this memoir is an adventure story with “Fighting Fred” as the hero.

Much like his earlier writings, Funston’s work echoes the Victorian beliefs on the dichotomy of war. While Funston wished to add his story to the “literature of adventure,” he cautioned readers. Funston warned that he “would scarcely advise a young man to follow in his own footsteps, and go into foreign lands looking for trouble merely because his own country did not furnish enough” for fear of winding up in a “forgotten grave...not known by the people for whom they gave their lives.”<sup>435</sup> The Victorian notion held war as both adventurous and noble, but costly and dreadful.

The way Funston writes about his service shed light on how he viewed his public image. Funston’s memoir *Memories of Two Wars: Cuban and Philippine Experiences*, published in 1911, tells a firsthand, if occasionally embellished, account of his activities as a *filibustero* and

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433. Funston, *Memory of Two Wars*, vii.

434. *Ibid.*, ix.

435. *Ibid.*, ix-x.

soldier in the Spanish-American War. In the opening lines, he acknowledged his complicity in the endeavor to promote expansionist policies:

“It seems to be expected nowadays that everyone who writes a book, unless it is a society novel, will use up a page or more of valuable space in explaining why he did it. In this particular case, the publishers are largely to blame, as they had not a little to do with hatching the conspiracy. At least, they are where the public can get at them, while the writer, being on the other side of the world, assisting in a small way in bearing the white man’s burden, is safe.”<sup>436</sup>

Funston acknowledges both his role and the desire to expand U.S. borders. Funston actively accepted that this work challenged people who portrayed him as a villain and, as a result, the publishers may feel the wrath of the anti-imperialists, including their wildly popular spokesperson, Twain. Further, he not only accepted the public identity of “hero” but prompted others, in this case the publishers, to assist in its promotion.

Not only does Funston retell the stories he published in various articles about the capture of Aguinaldo and his time in Cuba, he directly challenged the assertion that he did not swim the Bagbag River. Funston makes certain the readers know that he led the charge at the Bagbag River. Funston claims that he did in fact swim the Bagbag River stating, “I could see that the farthest span of the fine steel bridge had been let down into the water, so that an attempt to rush the structure and get directly into the trenches on the other bank was not practicable. I thought it might be done by swimming around the broken span, and called on the men nearest me to come along.”<sup>437</sup> Funston goes into detail about storming the bridge and jumping into the water with several other men but does admit, “[Lieutenant] Ball beat me to the bank, being a faster swimmer.”<sup>438</sup> Funston’s claim that Lt. Ball beat him to the other side works to solidify his claim; no one brags about coming in second in a race if they were not actually in the race.

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436. *Ibid.*, vii.

437. *Ibid.*, 272.

438. *Ibid.*, 274.

Funston's memoir also reveals his connection between manhood and racial identity. As historian Gail Bederman argues in *Manliness and Civilization*, civilization became synonymous with white middle-class manhood. Funston needed to let the readers know he fought to extend freedom for other "civilized" people and so describes the rebellion in Cuba as primarily a "white" rebellion. As historian Gerald Horne, notes Funston "was fixated on the racial makeup of the insurgents."<sup>439</sup> For Funston and much of the nation, including Congress, "the racial heterogeneity of the insurgents was a prime mainland concern since otherwise the United States could be accused of racial perfidy in aiding Negroes fighting 'white' Spain."<sup>440</sup> Funston's acts of bravery and displays of manhood needed to pass a racial litmus test in order to count.

Funston published his memoir almost fifteen years after he returned from Cuba, but he continued to focus on the racial makeup of the Cuban insurgents. The whiteness of the Cuban rebels solidified the nobility of aiding other men in distress from an oppressive regime. Funston notes that the composition of one unit was "nine-tenths white" and that while "negroes" made up most of the Cuban rebels from Santiago, he insisted, "take it through and through, there were many more whites than blacks in the insurgent forces."<sup>441</sup> Funston reiterates that even though many white men served under "negro officers," the "color line" still applied in "social matters."<sup>442</sup> Victorian morals required men to defend "civilization." The only way Funston could defend "civilization" in Cuba was if the norms of white superiority still applied.

Funston's opening lines demonstrate his views on the benevolence of white intervention. Funston starts his memoir by asserting he is "on the other side of the world, assisting in a small

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439. Gerald Horne, *Race to Revolution: The U.S. and Cuba During Slavery and Jim Crow* (New York: Monthly Review Press, 2014), 165.

440. *Ibid.*

441. Funston, *Memories of Two Wars*, 28.

442. *Ibid.*, 65.

way in bearing the white man's burden."<sup>443</sup> The language of the "white man's burden" underscores the necessity of "civilizing" the "non-white" populations around the globe. Funston invokes the idea that white western culture is duty-bound by its inherent superiority to tame the lesser races and bring them the "benefits" of "civilization."

The favorable reception of the work also gives important insight into the acceptance of Funston's story. Reviewers at the *Maui News* declared that "the book is a narrative of his personal experiences, and is written in a manner that will appeal especially to lovers of adventure and stories of hardship crowned at last by victory and fortune."<sup>444</sup> Book reviewers at the *New York Tribune* praised the work and, in doing so, declared Funston's career as "one probably unequaled by any other living soldier in romantic brilliancy."<sup>445</sup> Just as Funston desired, literary critics accepted his premise and praised his memoir as the romantic adventure story.

Even media makers at the *San Francisco Call* could not deny that "Funston [wrote] one of the finest books of adventure in the last decade."<sup>446</sup> The *Call's* review praises Funston's work and notes by reading his memoir the reader gained a "far more convincing view than could be discovered by months of digging at military statistics."<sup>447</sup> Editors and journalists at the *Call* had questioned the accuracy of Funston's claims of swimming the Bagbag River. The review however, lacks the same critique and declared "the author appears as a human being; every adventure is connected with himself, and the personal touch is the thing which holds the most

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443. Ibid., vii.

444. "Locals," *The Maui News* (Wailuku, Maui, H.I.), May 18, 1912, *Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers*. Lib. of Congress, <<http://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn82014689/1912-05-18/ed-1/seq-5/>>.

445. "Books and Publications: GENERAL FUNSTON TELLS OF FIGHTING LIFE," *New-York Tribune*, November 04, 1911, *Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers*. Lib. of Congress, <<http://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn83030214/1911-11-04/ed-1/seq-8/>>.

446. "Memories of Two wars," *The San Francisco Call*, February 18, 1912, *Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers*. Lib. of Congress, <<http://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn85066387/1912-02-18/ed-1/seq-31/>>.

447. Ibid.

interest.”<sup>448</sup> At least the reviewer at the *Call* accepted Funston’s claims even the one where he swam the Bagbag.

The near universal acceptance of his memoir by reviewers as “adventure literature” illustrates the success of Funston in casting himself as the manly hero. Funston uses his memoir to bolster his claims of swimming the Bagbag River, while simultaneously solidifying the necessity of intervention. White men did not foment a “negro rebellion”; instead, manhood required the intervention and extension of liberty to those other white men fighting to achieve it.

#### The Mexican Affair

In 1912, the nation elected Woodrow Wilson president, a distinctly new, idealistic leader. Wilson, the first Democratic president since Grover Cleveland, starkly contrasted Theodore Roosevelt and his successor William Howard Taft. Roosevelt, the rough riding cowboy, was an exemplary standard for masculinity and bellicose foreign policy. Wilson, the former college president, was first-and-foremost an academic, and his foreign policy reflected his high-minded morals. Despite their differences, both Roosevelt and Wilson trusted Funston. Wilson hoped to avoid war, but also ordered Funston to occupy Vera Cruz, invade Mexico, and (had Funston lived) command the American Expeditionary Force in Europe.

It seems natural that Funston and Roosevelt’s relationship bloomed; both were boisterous “war heroes” who often used the media as the “bully pulpit.” Funston and Roosevelt represented late 19<sup>th</sup> century masculinity, which required public displays of strength to demonstrate one’s manhood. In short, both Funston and Roosevelt represented “manly men” who cherished combat, feats of strength, and reveled in public accolades. Although Roosevelt chastised Funston’s outspoken defense of imperialism, Roosevelt remained confident in Funston’s

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448. Ibid.

command. Wilson, however, was the opposite of Funston and Roosevelt; he was bookish, thoughtful, and reserved. Wilson's idealism focused on rules and morality to build international laws and norms. Funston by all accounts had violated both the rules and norms of war by disguising himself as a P.O.W. Yet, Funston and Wilson had a friendly professional relationship and similar views on the superiority of American "civilization." Despite their differences, Wilson accepted the image of Funston the hero, and after proving his ability in Veracruz, Wilson appointed Funston to the rank of Major General, at the time the highest-ranking officer in the Army.

Ever the idealist, Wilson made peace in Mexico his top priority.<sup>449</sup> Contradictorily, Wilson believed in self-determination in Mexico so long as Mexicans "self-determined" a democratic government. In 1910, a crisis of succession upended the Mexican political landscape. Francisco L. Madero challenged the authoritarian regime of Porfirio Diaz and demanded a return to democracy. Madero triumphed in 1911, but poor political choices led to frustration among various factions and he never quelled the other claims to the presidency. In February 1913, with the U.S. ambassador's assurances, General Huerta seized control of Mexico.<sup>450</sup> Most European governments welcomed the stability and order Huerta's authoritarian regime offered.<sup>451</sup> However, Huerta's assassination of Madero reignited the flames of rebellion and dashed any hopes of continuity between Taft's assurances and Wilson's foreign policy. In short, Wilson simply did not like Huerta. He did not want Huerta interfering with U.S. interests,

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449. "From Woodrow Wilson's Inauguration to the Invasion of Veracruz," The Mexican Revolution and the United States in the Collections of the Library of Congress: the Library of Congress, accessed February 11, 2019, <http://www.loc.gov/exhibits/mexican-revolution-and-the-united-states/wilson-to-veracruz.html#obj005>.

450. "Victoriano Huerta as President," The Mexican Revolution and the United States in the Collections of the Library of Congress: the Library of Congress, accessed February 11, 2019, <http://www.loc.gov/exhibits/mexican-revolution-and-the-united-states/huerta-as-president.html#obj001>.

451. Saladin Ambar, "Woodrow Wilson: Foreign Affairs," Miller Center for Presidential Politics: University of Virginia, accessed April 6, 2019, <https://millercenter.org/president/wilson/foreign-affairs>.



and the assassination only reaffirmed Wilson's belief that Huerta was corrupt, unreasonable, and violent.<sup>452</sup>

In March 1913, Wilson declared Constitutionalist Venustiano Carranza president and refused to acknowledge Huerta's regime. Wilson followed his recognition of Carranza with an arms embargo and relations quickly deteriorated between all three parties. In order to supply the Federal Army, Huerta smuggled arms from the United States via Cuba, and eventually from the U.S. to Russia with a stop in Germany in an attempt to avoid detection. In April of 1914, several sailors entered a restricted area of Tampico and the Mexican government detained them for an hour and a half. Although a minor inconvenience, it gave expansionists a public incident to harness for their cause. The U.S. government demanded a formal apology and a twenty-one-gun salute. Mexican "President" Victoriana Huerta refused to offer the salute but acquiesced to the apology. In essence, the U.S. sought the twenty-one-gun salute to humiliate Huerta and demonstrate authority over Mexico.<sup>453</sup> After rejecting the twenty-one-gun salute, Wilson dispatched the Marines, in part due to the Tampico incident, and in part to stop arms shipments from reaching Huerta. From April-November 1914, the U.S controlled the port city. It appeared for a moment that Funston's mandate could expand in Mexico.

Despite considerable support to occupy all of Mexico, Wilson desired a limited engagement designed to oust Huerta. Funston, Secretary of War Garrison, Republicans in the United States, much of the press, and even the British government hoped that Wilson would give Funston the mandate to pacify all of Mexico.<sup>454</sup> Wilson, however, sought peace first, and ordered "under no circumstances [are you, Funston, to] extend those limits [of occupation]

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452. Library of Congress, "From Woodrow Wilson's Inauguration."

453. *Ibid.*

454. Robert E. Quirk, *An Affair of Honor: Woodrow Wilson and the Occupation of Vera Cruz*, (New York: Norton Company, 1967), 123.

beyond the necessities and that you do not initiate any activates or bring about of your own initiative any situation which might tend to increase the tension... without explicit orders.”<sup>455</sup>

Further limiting Funston, all orders to use force needed Washington’s approval unless an emergency arose, but “the emergency must be grave.”<sup>456</sup>

Even with the limited scope of engagement and the stern orders, Wilson still trusted Funston’s command. Wilson ordered Funston to replace Admiral Fletcher who oversaw the invasion. Further, a dispute between the Army and Navy arose over who should command the Marine detachment. The Navy argued the Marines should either return to the ships or remain under the command of the Navy.<sup>457</sup> In the end, the decision favored Funston and the Army and with Wilson’s direct approval the Secretary of War instructed the Marines to remain in Veracruz and follow Funston’s orders.<sup>458</sup>

As the crisis mounted, expansionist politics, notions of masculinity, and popular romance still defined the way media makers wrote of Funston. The *Kansas City Journal* pushed for action and prodded President Woodrow Wilson, writing, “General Fred Funston is stationed on the Mexican border. Any time that President Wilson gets tired of waiting and decides to have something done, he can have it.”<sup>459</sup> The *Washington Herald* reminded their readers of the ease with which Funston had captured Aguinaldo and that “Huerta will no doubt recall.”<sup>460</sup> Both the

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455. “Memorandum for the Adjutant General,” April 26, 1914, *The Papers of Woodrow Wilson Digital Edition*, (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2017), originally published in *The Papers of Woodrow Wilson*, Princeton University Press. <http://rotunda.upress.virginia.edu/founders/WILS-01-29-02-0486-0002>.

456. Ibid.

457. The Marines are a branch of the Navy and would normally answer to Navy’s chain of command

458. Ibid.

459. “The Passing Hour,” *Kansas City Journal* as reported in *The Hawaiian Gazette* (Honolulu [Oahu, Hawaii]), March 27, 1914. *Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers*. Lib. of Congress, <<http://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn83025121/1914-03-27/ed-1/seq-4/>>.

460. No title, *The Washington Herald* (Washington, D.C.), April 30, 1914, *Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers*. Lib. of Congress, <<http://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn83045433/1914-04-30/ed-1/seq-4/>>.

*Journal* and the *Herald* harnessed a particular version of Funston's Philippine legacy to push for intervention in Mexico. Media makers portrayed an able-bodied Funston forced to wait on a dithering Washington. Men, like Funston, acted decisively while the overcivilized stuffed shirts in Washington sat around.

The *Harrisburg Telegraph* had similar political views, but the editors viewed the situation with a witty recollection of the Bagbag River incident: "it's simply wonderful the way General Fred Funston is able to resist the temptation to swim the Rio Grande."<sup>461</sup> The *Telegraph* pushed for expansionism and quieted those who questioned Funston's actions at the Bagbag River, but in joking about the situation, they hinted at the self-aggrandizement controversy that Funston courted. The *Seattle Star* ran a full-page story titled "Romantic Hero Commands Army in Mexico."<sup>462</sup> All of these papers continued to write about Funston in terms of romantic heroism, manliness, and the virtues of American civilization because they supported expansionist policies.

As Funston and the U.S. army occupied Veracruz, expansionists promoted war. The *Tacoma Times* called on Funston to take Mexico City.<sup>463</sup> The *Ferguson County Democrat* told readers that, under Funston's command war with Huerta would be swift and just, and if "Huerta ever tangle up with Fred Funston he will know what it is like to get in contact with a full sized

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461. "Remarkable Self Control," *Harrisburg Telegraph* (Harrisburg, Pa.), March 27, 1914, *Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers*. Lib. of Congress, <<http://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn85038411/1914-03-27/ed-1/seq-13/>>.

462. "Romantic Hero Commands Army in Mexico," *The Seattle Star*, May 01, 1914, *Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers*. Lib. of Congress, <<http://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn87093407/1914-05-01/ed-1/seq-10/>>.

463. No title, *The Tacoma Times* (Tacoma, Wash.), April 30, 1914, *Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers*. Lib. of Congress, <<http://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn88085187/1914-04-30/ed-1/seq-1/>>.

buzz-saw.”<sup>464</sup> Funston represented the imperial endeavor in the southwest at this moment. The ease with which Funston could take Mexico City or stop Huerta became symbolic of the entire cause.

Acclaimed author and journalist, Jack London, described the occupation of Veracruz in glowing terms. According to London, Funston’s leadership reformed Veracruz; it cleaned the city both literally and figuratively as Funston put the “petty offenders to sweeping the streets.”<sup>465</sup> London argued that, politically, the occupation of Veracruz, and, by extension, the U.S. involvement in Mexico, had succeeded: “never in their lives had their property been so safe and so profitable. Incidentally, the disease that stalks at the heels of war did not stalk. On the contrary, Vera Cruz [sic] was cleaned and disinfected as it had never been in all of history.”<sup>466</sup> In London’s mind, the occupation of Veracruz was not imperialists interfering in Mexican politics, but a benevolent necessity that benefited the local population who could not otherwise run their own cities. “In short, American occupation gave Vera Cruz [sic] a bull market in health, order, and business... Verily, the Vera Cruzans [sic] will long remember this being conquered by the Americans, and yearn for the blissful day when the Americans conquer them again.”<sup>467</sup> Such an optimistic view suggests similar outcomes for any nation “fortunate” enough to face U.S. occupation.

Jack London’s description of the U.S. occupation of Veracruz echoed other imperialists’ arguments about extending “civilization.” In a few short months, London writes, Funston cleaned up the city much like a benevolent parent who schooled children to clean their rooms, in

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464. No Title, *Fergus County Democrat* (Lewistown, Mont.), May 05, 1914, *Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers*. Lib. of Congress. <<http://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn84036220/1914-05-05/ed-1/seq-2/>>.

465. Jack London, “Mexico’s Army and Ours,” *Colliers’ Magazine* May 30, 1914, 5.

466. *Ibid.*

467. *Ibid.*

this case the streets of Veracruz. London also suggested the population accepted this relationship and longed for U.S. intervention, a popular theme promoted by imperialists around the globe.

Despite the press's push for further intervention, Funston's reports show he dutifully followed Wilson's orders. Funston noted the challenges of occupation in *Report of Operations of U.S. Expeditionary Forces* [1914]. Funston characterized the Mexican forces surrounding the city as "irresponsible and without discipline," whose daily taunts and acts of aggression could "provoke a return that would have serious consequences."<sup>468</sup> Wilson urged restraint and ordered Funston whenever possible to attempt to deescalate the situation. Funston noted, despite the trying conditions and Mexican offenses, "our forces never forgot their instructions that the intention of the Commander-In-Chief was to avoid conflict; that they were to show by daily example to the Mexican people we had not come to conquer them, but to restore peace and order."<sup>469</sup> Funston reiterated the President's orders in his final report in order to demonstrate the success of the occupation.

Wilson thought highly of Funston and his handling of Veracruz. Before the American intervention, Veracruz lacked sanitation with no municipal trash, stray dogs roaming the streets, chickens living in kitchens, and a fine for harming the vultures that ate off the rotting trash piles.<sup>470</sup> Funston put the expeditionary forces and locals to work cleaning the city and as a result of his command the death rate in Veracruz fell from 45.9/1000 in January to May 1914 to

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468. Frederick Funston, *Report of Operations of U.S. Expeditionary Forces*, Ike Skelton Combined Arms Research Library Digital Library. 1914, 4, accessed February 12, 2019, <http://cgsc.contentdm.oclc.org/cdm/ref/collection/p4013coll7/id/919>.

469. Ibid.

470. Sanders Marble, "Joint Expeditionary Medical Support in 1914: The U.S. Occupation of Veracruz, Mexico," *Journal of Military and Veterans Health* Vol 24, No. 3, July 2016. <https://jmvh.org/article/joint-expeditionary-medical-support-in-1914-the-us-occupation-of-veracruz-mexico/>

30.59/1000 from June to November 1914.<sup>471</sup> Wilson wanted to demonstrate the benevolence of American intervention, and from a sanitation perspective Funston's command succeeded.

American ethnocentrism blinded Funston. As historian Frederick S. Calhoun argues, Wilson, Funston, and the American forces viewed the Latin Americans (all Latin Americans not just Mexicans) as primitive and incapable of self-government. The goal of any intervention in any Latin American city was to extend American principles and demonstrate the benevolence of American civilization.<sup>472</sup> Funston's report and Wilson's response illustrate the ethnocentrism. Funston declared, "we were not to change any peaceful custom, or tradition, or Mexican law" yet proceeded to close the gambling houses and outlawed bullfighting.<sup>473</sup> Part of cleaning the city meant ridding it of the vice of gambling and the barbarism of bullfighting. Funston believed in the need to clean the city, and that by doing so he could demonstrate the compassionate principles of American imperialism.

On November 23, 1914, American forces ended their occupation of Veracruz.<sup>474</sup> Wilson expressed his personal gratitude cabling Funston, "I am sure that I speak of the whole country when I commend the efficiency, the courage, and the discretion with which the expedition and occupation were carried out."<sup>475</sup> Along with the congratulations, Wilson promoted Funston to the rank of Major General.<sup>476</sup> Wilson's promotion further reveals his trust in Funston; the rank

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471. Frederick S. Calhoun, *Uses of Force and Wilsonian Foreign Policy* (Kent: Kent State Publishing Company, 1993), 56.

472. *Ibid.*, 55.

473. Funston, Report of Operations of U.S. Expeditionary Forces.

474. Huerta left office July 15, 1914, but U.S. Forces remained while a negotiated settlement occurred between various Constitutionalist factions.

475. "Wilson to Lindsey Garrison Commending Funston," December 1, 1914, *The Papers of Woodrow Wilson Digital Edition*. Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2017. Originally published in *The Papers of Woodrow Wilson*, Princeton University Press. <http://rotunda.upress.virginia.edu/founders/WILS-01-31-02-0386>

476. The official promotion came the week before on Nov. 17 and the cable arrived Dec 1.

had eluded Funston for years, and with the appointment, Funston became the highest-ranking officer in the Army.

As the imperial entrepreneur, Funston gained the highest rank in the army because he successfully managed another unprecedented event. The occupation of Veracruz was expansion of both imperial and federal mandates. The U.S. was technically at peace with Mexico yet invaded and occupied Veracruz. While deploying U.S. forces to Latin America long-term was not new, having U.S. forces physically govern a city was. Funston's success and the press's glowing response again demonstrate Funston's ability to use newfound federal powers to promote the imperial endeavor.

A year later, in November 1915, Woodrow Wilson returned Major General Funston to the Southern Border.<sup>477</sup> Huerta's removal only exacerbated Mexico's instability and, in the northern Mexican states, Pancho Villa's rebellion threatened American interests. As a stalwart of international law, Wilson originally planned to obtain Carranza's approval to enter Mexico and apprehend Villa. Carranza knew he could not allow U.S. forces willingly to enter the country, for fear of looking like an American puppet.<sup>478</sup> On March 9, 1916, Villa in turn raided the town of Columbus, New Mexico, in hopes of provoking the U.S. Army to cross the border and incite a conflict between the U.S. and Carranza. On March 15, the Punitive Expedition crossed into Mexico. For his part, Villa succeeded, the expedition failed to capture Villa but did provoke a conflict between Carranza and the U.S. expedition.<sup>479</sup>

Funston's response to Villa instilled more confidence in Wilson and as the Great War raged in Europe, Wilson placed his faith in Funston to command U.S. Expeditionary Forces in

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477. "Funston Asks Right To Cross Border," *New York Times*, November 3, 1915.

478. Some Constitutionalist supported the American intervention, while others actively helped Villa evade the American expedition.

479. Saladin Ambar, "Woodrow Wilson: Foreign Affairs."

Europe if necessary. John J. Pershing, who is long remembered as having led the campaign to capture Villa and the Allied Expeditionary Force in Europe, was actually Funston's subordinate. Until his death, Funston remained in control of the Southern Army of the United States. From San Antonio, Funston directed Pershing and regularly updated the Wilson administration in Washington.

Media makers near the border heralded Funston's expedition into Mexico. The *Deming Graphic* (Deming, NM) declared Funston "[t]he biggest little general in the United States Army" and applauded the Deming mayor, M.A. Nordhaus, for the compliments lauded on Funston.<sup>480</sup> Others, like the *Albuquerque Morning Star* followed Funston's moves south in Mexico awaiting future news of the "Punitive Expedition."<sup>481</sup> Generally, newspapers accepted the need for Funston and the U.S. Army's presence in catching Pancho Villa.

Again, the cables between Funston and Wilson reveal a courteous and professional relationship. Usually mundane, Wilson and Funston communicated often. Wilson and Funston did not communicate directly but used official channels like the Secretary of War. Wilson and his new Secretary of War, Newton Baker, showed great confidence in Funston's command. Senator Fall (R-NM) inquired about the specific troop levels in various states and border crossings. Newton told Wilson to ignore Fall's request, describing it as "a confused jumble of rumors... none of which appear to have been wholly justified by any facts."<sup>482</sup> Newton shared

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480. "General Funston Sure Likes Deming," and "Colonel E.F. Glenn and Mayor Nordhaus Present Compliments to Funston," *Deming Graphic* (Deming, N.M.), January 19, 1917, *Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers*. Lib. of Congress, <<http://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn86063579/1917-01-19/ed-1/seq-1/>>.

481. "Funston Reaches Camp of Punitive Expedition," *Albuquerque Morning Journal*, January 15, 1917, *Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers*. Lib. of Congress, <<http://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn84031081/1917-01-15/ed-1/seq-4/>>.

482. "Two Letters from Newton Diehl Baker," April 5, 1916, *The Papers of Woodrow Wilson Digital Edition*. Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2017. Originally published in *The Papers of Woodrow Wilson*, Princeton University Press, <http://rotunda.upress.virginia.edu/founders/WILS-01-36-02-0385>.



the information regarding troop levels with Wilson but requested that Wilson not respond to the Senator and that he keep the information private as not to “embarrass General Funston” or strain his “limited resources” with various requests for protection.<sup>483</sup> Newton did not want share the troop levels with Senators because he feared they would make unwarranted requests and, if Funston declined, the Senators would create a public uproar. Wilson obliged Newton’s request and, in doing, so protected Funston.

On February 19, 1917, a little over a month before the U.S. entered WWI, Funston sat down in the lobby of the St. Anthony Hotel in San Antonio, and while listening to the Blue Danube Waltz, clutched his chest, remarked "How beautiful it all is," and died of a heart attack.<sup>484</sup> Funston’s sudden death on the U.S.-Mexican border on February 19, 1917, left his legacy open to interpretation with both the villain and the hero narratives vying for preeminence in the public consciousness.

With the Great War raging in Europe, both Secretary of War Newton Baker and President Woodrow Wilson favored Funston to lead any American expedition in Europe.<sup>485</sup> Douglas MacArthur delivered the news of Funston’s death to Wilson and Baker at a dinner party. In his memoir, MacArthur recalled that he entered the room and announced to the President and his guests, “‘Sir, I regret to report that General Funston has just died.’ Had the voice of doom spoken, the result could not have been different. The silence seemed like that of death itself. You could hear your own breathing.”<sup>486</sup> Wilson pulled Sec. of War Newton and MacArthur into

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483. Ibid.

484. No Title, *Omaha World-Herald*, February 20, 1917, 1.

485. Douglas MacArthur, *Reminiscences*, (Annapolis: BlueJacket Publishing, 2012), 46.

486. Ibid.

an adjacent room and with bewilderment asked, “What now, Newton, who will take over the army?”<sup>487</sup>

### Conclusion

Between 1900 and 1906, whether or not Funston swam the Bagbag River became a focal point for imperialists and anti-imperialists. Anti-imperialists challenged Funston’s version of events and publicly questioned whether Funston actually swam the Bagbag River. Funston and other imperialist media makers cast Funston as a romantic hero, and so the anti-imperialists attempted to dispel the romanticism by casting doubt on the authenticity of his actions. Both sides used the debate to lampoon the other. The anti-imperialists argued that if Funston did not swim the river, then his claim to heroism was false.

In 1906, the debate over Funston’s swim gave anti-imperialists a concrete victory as textbooks around the nation his name from the event. However, a disaster in San Francisco thrust Funston back onto the national stage. Funston ordered martial law and the imperialists used his swift and decisive action to lampoon those who questioned the authenticity of his swim. Funston also countered his critics by writing directly to *Cosmopolitan* to justify his actions.

Funston’s writings reveal how he wished the public to view him, namely, as a character in an adventure novel. His memoir and the popular reception of it demonstrate that Funston succeeded in his goal. Even Funston’s most ardent critics accepted his version of events about swimming the Bagbag River, so long as it was an adventure story. Adventure literature did not necessarily have to be one-hundred-percent truthful. Instead, adventure literature offered the reader a break from the humdrum of “modern” Victorian life.

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487. Ibid.

Funston's final post saw him occupy Veracruz and order Pershing to hunt down Pancho Villa. The way media makers wrote of Funston's southern border command featured as many romantic themes as his earlier posts. Funston remained a symbol for expansionism and intervention abroad. Ultimately, Funston's death in 1917 cut short his military career. Had Funston lived, President Woodrow Wilson favored Funston to lead the American Expeditionary Army in WWI.

#### Chapter 4: The Fictional Funston

In this chapter, I examine the years 1898 to 1917 and argue that imperialist and anti-imperialist media makers created two competing fictional images of Funston in an attempt to persuade the public to support their foreign policy positions. For imperialists and anti-imperialists, this period witnessed the merging of the debate over empire with the symbolic Funston. Imperialist media makers used the language of chivalry, manhood, and race to create caricatures of Funston that exaggerated the both positive and negative qualities of Funston's personality and actions. The caricature of Funston as the hero became a fictionalized version of himself, a model of manhood and the righteousness of the American empire that became only tangentially related to the actual Funston or to Funston's historical actions. The heroic persona immortalized on page and stage was a commercially successful character and became a popular icon. Like Theodore Roosevelt, who became "most adept at playing the part of the 'war celebrity,'" Funston drew the attention of "media producers [who] sustained audience attention by turning war heroes into popular celebrities."<sup>488</sup> Funston's heroism became a mantle on which to display the glories of war and the righteousness of American intervention abroad. The purveyors of popular culture seized on the heroic Funston and promoted him to a public clamoring for a hero, which in turn allowed these entrepreneurs to reap commercial gains.

Anti-Imperialists used every opportunity to counter the imperialists' arguments and so created a competing image of Funston, the villain. Mark Twain and Ernest Crosby actively discussed the creation of an alternate Funston. Twain and Crosby used satire to demonstrate the hollowness of the "manly" ideals imperialists imbued in Funston, and by extension they discredited the imperialist endeavor that those ideals represented. The anti-imperialists sought to

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488. Miller, *From Liberation to Conquest*, 101.

demonstrate the falsehoods and absurdity of war and created a caricature of Funston as the villain to sell their own ideology to the public.

As historian Bonnie M. Miller notes, not just newspaper but all forms of imperialist media portrayed the war in terms of chivalry and heroism. Media makers used various mediums such as music, early cinema, stage plays, parades, Wild West shows, political cartoons, and newspapers to promote their causes. For example, media makers used the Spanish-American War to “harness the dynamics of spectacle—its elevated sensory impact, theatrical scaffolding, blend of the ‘real,’ and the imaginative, and the shock value.”<sup>489</sup> Funston became a crucial symbol that media makers used in these fictive spectacles. Funston’s reports, as well as independent sources including music, films, political cartoons, newspapers, and literature, helped construct the character of “the hero.”

While the language of melodrama proved a powerful tool, so too did the language of race. After the Spanish-American War ended, imperialist media makers Africanized and infantilized the Cuban and Filipino populations in order to justify occupation.<sup>490</sup> The racial spectacle dominated visual media in order to satisfy the population’s hunger for the exotic. Racial exclusion and nativism became the foundations to secure domestic manhood.<sup>491</sup> Representing the Filipino as a familiar racial “other” allowed the domestic population to disenfranchise and reject the idea of self-determination, much as they had done domestically to African Americans.

While the media makers worked independently, the sum of their works created a larger cohesive narrative. An “intermedial” relationship inextricably bound film, music, vaudeville,

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489. *Ibid.*, 3.

490. *Ibid.*, 18.

491. Kimmel, *Manhood in America*, 194.

and print together.<sup>492</sup> Each medium acted independently but often reinforced the others. Manliness underscored Funston's caricatures, and the depictions were powerful because "To speak and write about gender is to enter a political discourse, to become engaged with power and resistance. It is about the resources that maintain power, the symbolic props that extend power, and the ideological apparatuses that develop to sustain and legitimate power."<sup>493</sup> To write of Funston as a manly figure created a legitimacy for his actions and to delegitimize Funston's manliness destroyed his symbolic power. These images served to reinforce the historical constructions of gender and the "process through which various forms of power are reproduced and [the ways] power becomes indelibly inscribed onto everyday life. It is impossible to speak of the historical construction of gender without speaking about power."<sup>494</sup> Imperialist media makers used the language of manhood because to accept Funston as a righteous man meant accepting his actions, and ultimately, imperialism as noble. Men did not use unjust means to fight unjust wars. Similarly, anti-imperialist media makers sought to portray Funston as cowardly and unmanly and thus demonstrate imperialism as dishonorable. Men did not fight weaker opponents and they did not win through deception and by violating the rules. Each medium that promoted the symbolic Funston reinforced political ideologies that the authors, directors, producers, and artists supported.

For many Americans, particularly Republicans and imperialists, the Spanish-American War symbolized a new "West"—that is, a vast ideal where young men could place their hopes and dreams of making a fortune and a name for themselves. Pro-imperialist Americans viewed

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492. James Castonguay, "The Spanish-American War in U.S. Media Culture," George Mason University: Center for History and New Media, accessed April 7, 2019, <http://chnm.gmu.edu/aq/war/mc1.htm>.

493. Micheal S. Kimmel, "Invisible Masculinity," *Society*, vol. 30, no. 6 (Sep-Oct, 1993): 6, <https://www.sunypress.edu/pdf/61061.pdf>.

494. *Ibid.*

the Spanish-American and Philippine-American wars nostalgically and in terms of the expanding West. Historian Kristin L. Hoganson argues that many imperialists agreed with the Turner thesis about the closing of the frontier and worried about the “degenerating” character of a generation of men. Victorian men felt they needed a place to test their “mettle” and imperialists saw Cuba and the Philippines as an opportunity to replace the vanishing west.<sup>495</sup> The war in Cuba was a war in which “cowboys and Indians” would go fight.<sup>496</sup> Buffalo Bill’s Wild West show included a showcase of “fifteen Cuban insurgents on leave because of combat injuries. Their wounds enhanced the spectacle, becoming badges of courage and signs of authenticity.”<sup>497</sup> Media makers cast both wars in romantic terms of demonstrating manliness and extending civilization; much as the frontiersman had pacified the West, Funston, as an example of American manhood, would tame the world by way of victory in Cuba and the Philippines.

#### The Art of the Masses: Music and Film

In music and film, the idea of Funston the hero became the dominant image. Between 1899 and 1902, Funston *the* hero became a commercial success. Singing songs about Funston and going to the movies to watch stories about Funston blended fact and fiction into an acceptance of imperial expansion. These songs and films harnessed popular and successful patterns for portraying patriotism, masculinity, and race in order to fit Funston into a comfortably familiar position for the audience. As Secretary of State John Hay declared the Spanish-American War a “splendid little war,” media makers sought to capture the sentiment and profit from a populace hungry to escape daily life. Funston’s relative fame as an explorer and *filibustero* gave media makers a familiar name to harness. Between 1899 and 1902, Funston

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495. Hoganson, *Fighting For American Manhood*, 141.

496 “COWBOYS AND INDIANS FOR CUBA,” *Los Angeles Times*, May 8, 1898, Retrieved from ProQuest Historic Newspapers

497 Miller, *From Liberation to Conquest*, 6.

reached the height of his fame winning several battles in the Philippines and capturing the rebel leader Aguinaldo.

Popular culture existed as an escape from the everyday life and so it is no wonder countless songs and movies portrayed Funston as a righteous symbol of American manhood. Music in the 1890s played an important role in the Spanish-American War and popular culture in general. Singing and dancing defined middle-class cultural identities; so many middle-class American homes had pianos as fixtures. Advertisements for sheet music filled newspapers and magazines. During the Spanish-American War “songwriters played a role somewhat akin to that of yellow journalists.”<sup>498</sup> Just as papers promoted their vision of an American empire, songwriters also celebrated the war as an act of manliness. Men like John Phillip Sousa wrote triumphal marches, and other songwriters “sentimentalized the struggles abroad and romanticized the idea of intervention.”<sup>499</sup> As a popular icon, Funston drew the attention of songwriters across the nation who cast him in heroic sagas in which he could showcase his manly attributes.

Just as important as the war songs that praised American masculinity were other songs that sought to demean the enemy and often questioned his masculinity, race, and even humanity. As author Thomas P. Walsh notes, songs often portrayed Filipina women as dusty and in vulgar terms. The “coon songs” sought to demean along both racial and gender lines. Songs like “Ma Belle of de Philippines” mocked Filipina women, but “I Need a Filipino Man” managed to “outdo *Ma Belle of de Philippines* [sic] for offensive language and vulgarity.”<sup>500</sup> The lyrics

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498. “The Crucible of Empire: 1890s Music,” PBS: Great Projects Film Co., accessed February 1, 2019 <http://www.pbs.org/crucible/frames/music.html>.

499. Ibid.

500. Thomas P. Walsh, *Tin Pan Alley and the Philippines; American Songs of War and Love 1898-1946, A Resource Guide*, (Lanham: Maryland, Scarecrow Press, 2013), 74.



compared the Filipino man to the African American but degraded the former in terms of both race and gender. The Filipinos' nails are "self-manicuring" and the song mocks "when he's at a ball or picnic, you should see him prance, home talent stands no chance."<sup>501</sup> The lyrics mocked the Filipinos as effeminate and less fit for even the second-class citizenship of the African American male.

Songwriters sought to capitalize on Funston's fame as "the hero of the Philippines" and created a slew of songs about Funston and the Kansas 20<sup>th</sup>. These cultural creations also mark the first time that the identity of Funston as hero was out of Funston's control and largely a fictional symbol of pro-expansion sentiment. Funston could not respond in song nor create a film about himself; instead, others had taken up the project of promoting Funston. The songs about the Spanish-American war brought "the drama of the war into living rooms, parlors, and dancehalls across the United States. Ultimately, these patriotic songs made being patriotic popular.... [they] not only entertained and celebrated, but also shaped popular opinion."<sup>502</sup> "Col. Fred Funston's March" portrayed Funston as the hero of the Philippines while other songs such as "the Dare Devil's March" noted his courage. While many songs have not been properly cataloged, at least a dozen songs about Funston or the Kansas 20<sup>th</sup> created between 1899 and the early 1900s have survived.<sup>503</sup> Each of these songs portrayed war and expansionism as heroic and noble endeavors. Music promoted Funston and expansion as "triumphal."<sup>504</sup> In creating these songs, the writers inherently advocated Funston the hero and, in so doing American imperialism.

William Allen White noted the success of Funston as a commercial and musical trope.

White invoked musical allusion and declared when telling Funston's story: "He snapped the

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501. *Ibid.*, 75.

502. "Crucible of Empire," PBS,

503. Walsh, *Tin Pan Alley*, 75.

504. See "Gen. Funston's Triumphal March and Two Step"

cords of conventions. The diapason of civilization in ‘F’ becomes a quick-step, syncopated, staccato. The world begins jiggling. Poets tune up... Men wave their hats and we all ‘drink stone blind when Johnnie comes marching home.’<sup>505</sup> Funston’s tale made for not only compelling literature but also naturally fit into song. Funston’s story made the world dance, sing the most famous war tunes, and construct a new musical library about his greatness.

All the surviving songs portray Funston as heroic and masculine. “Col. Fred Funston’s March” shows Funston gallantly leading his men (see figure 4.1). It is interesting to note in the artistic depiction on the cover of the sheet music, Funston’s image looms large above his men while the names of six well publicized battles are displayed beneath.<sup>506</sup> Like Roosevelt, depictions of Funston focused on “‘manliness’ as symbolic of American military potential.”<sup>507</sup> The march also contained portions for two-steps allowing for performances of the music both in the home and in public venues.



Figure 4.1

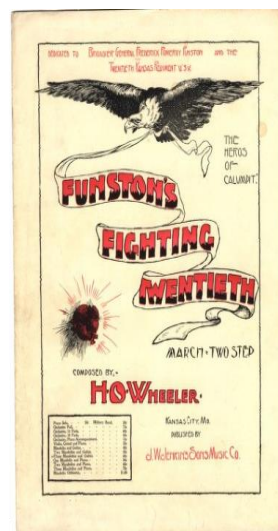


Figure 4.2

<sup>505</sup> White, “Funston—Man from Kansas,” 2.

<sup>506</sup> “Col. Fred Funston’s March,” University of Missouri Digital Library: Sheet Music Collect, accessed April 7, 2019, <http://dl.mospace.umsystem.edu/islandora/object/umkc%3A6091>.

<sup>507</sup> Miller, *From Liberation to Conquest*, 105.

In “Funston’s Fighting Twentieth” the dedication leaves little doubt of the composer’s intention, namely, support for imperialism (see figure 4.2). H.O. Wheeler inscribed the work “to the Heros [sic] of Calumpit.” “Funston’s Fighting Twentieth” cover art, while simple, also demonstrates the symbolic nature typical of such songs. On the cover of the sheet music an eagle triumphantly soars, carrying a banner with the song’s title “Funston’s Fighting Twentieth.”<sup>508</sup> Long the symbol of American righteousness, the eagle clutches the banner to advertise the story of Funston’s victory.

Most of these songs do not contain lyrics but the majority come in several different instrumental forms, including versions for pianos, two-steps, and marches. The different accompaniments reflect the variety of performance locations and hence popularity of the pieces. Individuals listened to and played these songs in homes, dancehalls, and in public displays of patriotism and, in doing so, openly supported the imperialist mission. Funston became a powerful medium to convey these ideas as the populace devoured anything with his likeness on it.

The songs that did contain lyrics used the words to instill patriotism and to insist on the righteousness of American imperialism. They used the idea that American masculinity and Victorian chivalry would ultimately lead to an American victory. In “For Victory of our Country’s Flag,” the cover celebrates the nation’s victories with photos of eleven prominent war heroes, including Funston (see Figure 4.3). The lyrics invoke the idea of an inevitable victory declaring, “Great sol-diers men, who no know fear, Cour-age, lead the braves. With ‘Egg-bert,’ ‘Fun-ston’ in com-mand, ‘Old Glo-ry’ proud-ly waves. De-feate could never be fall the arms, of

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508. “Funston’s Fighting Twentieth,” University of Missouri Digital Library: Sheet Music Collect, accessed April 7, 2019, <http://dl.mospace.umsystem.edu/islandora/object/umkc%3A6478>.

free – men in the right, the gal-lant troops of this land, shall tri-umph in the fight.”<sup>509</sup> Courage, bravery, and fearlessness defined the American soldier. Like the chivalric knight, they gallantly fought for the cause of freedom and so that right would triumph.

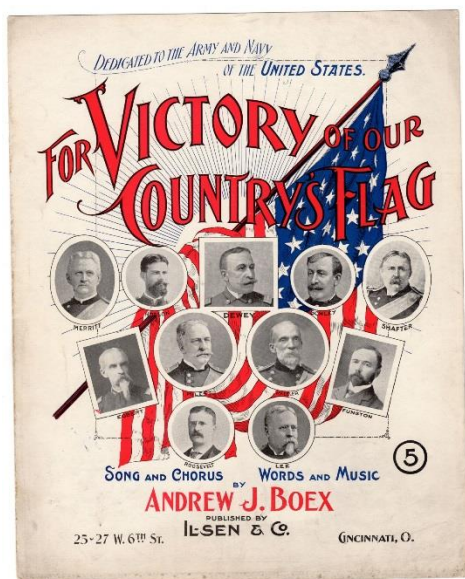


Figure 4.3<sup>510</sup>

In the “Official Souvenir History” of the Kansas 20<sup>th</sup>, another song detailed the heroism and masculinity of the entire regiment and Funston. Funston became a prominent symbol and stand-in for the entire regiment’s valor so that any virtue attributed to the colonel could be assigned to his men and the state of Kansas as well. The sixth page features a picture of Funston with a list of the battles of the regiment beside it. The next two pages contain tributes in poems and song to the Kansas 20<sup>th</sup>, including “The Raggedy Man From Kansas.” While most songs did not have lyrics, “The Raggedy Man From Kansas” described the unit fighting in the “fiercest battles” and raising the flag with “honor” so that the entire world knew the name of the Kansas

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509. “For Victory of our Country's Flag,” Dr. Danny O. Crew, Theodore Roosevelt Sheet Music Collection: Dr. Danny O. Crew Collection of American Political Sheet Music. Accessed April 8, 2019, <https://www.theodorerooseveltcenter.org/Research/Digital-Library/Record?libID=o293289>.

510. Ibid.

20<sup>th</sup>. As for those who died: “[be]fore God they’re heroes now.”<sup>511</sup> Although the lyrics do not directly mention Funston the chorus clearly invokes Funston’s actions, particularly his famous swim, as worthy of praise, declaring, “The raggedy man, the raggedy man/He swam a bit and forward ran/The raggedy, raggedy, Kansas man.” The song reinforces the nobility of dying in battle. Those who did not come back went before God, who also acknowledge their heroism. The lyrics also tie romance and love to manhood and war by declaring, “And so from tropic forest, return o’er ocean wide/to the Kansas wives and sweethearts who wait with loving pride.”<sup>512</sup> Women pridefully awaited the soldiers’ return, and those soldiers who returned all had “wives and sweethearts.”

While the popularity of any individual song is difficult to gauge, the sheer volume, different mediums, and the commercial viability of the subject matter attest to the widespread acceptance of Funston as a symbol of national pride, a pride dovetailed with American intervention abroad. The audience was not the actual soldiers as much as the larger Kansas population who consumed countless commercial items many of which were “official souvenirs” (such as the *History of the Kansas 20<sup>th</sup>* explicitly printed with the governor’s approval). Each of these souvenirs, songs, poems, and films tied the consumer to the war and acted as a display of honor and manhood in service to the ideology of imperialism.

Even Thomas Edison harnessed the idea of Funston the hero. “The Dare Devil’s March” was not only released as sheet music but also as a pianola cylinder. Edison recorded “The Dare Devil’s March” onto wax cylinders and later filmed a reenactment of the scene detailed in the

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511. W.Y. Morgan, *The Fighting Twentieth: History and Official Souvenir of the Twentieth Kansas Regiment.*, (Topeka: No publisher given, 1899), 9.

<https://archive.org/stream/thefightingwent00kans#page/8/mode/2up>.

512. Ibid.

march for Edison Films.<sup>513</sup> Edison produced the wax cylinders and film because of the popularity of the “Dare Devil’s March.” Funston was certainly no obscure symbol; rather, Edison believed he could capitalize on the character of Funston as the hero.

Music played a crucial role in developing popular culture, but a new medium brought the Spanish-American War to life. Millions flocked to the nickelodeons and theaters. Unlike established mediums such as newspapers and sheet music, “it would be difficult to overestimate the importance of the Spanish-American War to a fledgling American film industry in the wake of cinema’s putative novelty year.”<sup>514</sup> Edison’s films played an important role in American perceptions of the war and helped create a commercial audience for films. The reenactments filmed in New Jersey depict American troops easily overrunning Filipino rebels, often played by African Americans, and “thus [created] a false public confidence, and therefore support, for the idea that the white man’s burden in the Philippines was not a heavy one.”<sup>515</sup> Funston became an important icon; the ease with which he conquered the Filipinos gave Americans the confidence that they could “civilize” the “savage.”

Films also provided a visceral and emotional defense against the anti-imperialist. Mark Twain and other anti-imperialists often lampooned Funston and the imperialists in papers and magazines, but the war films offered a way to subvert their critiques and “gave newsworthy figures the power and immediacy of photographic realism that could not be matched by print.”<sup>516</sup> While Twain penned “vigorous tracts in high-brow periodicals denouncing imperialism for an

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513. Edison Military Band, “The Dare Devils March,” *Edison Gold Moulded* [Sic] *Record*: 7323, 1902, <http://cylinders.library.ucsb.edu/search.php?queryType=@attr+1=1020&num=1&start=1&query=cylinder3924>.

514. Castonguay, “The Spanish-American War in U.S. Media Culture.”

515. John R. Eperjersi, *The Imperialist Imaginary: Visions of Asia and the Pacific in American Culture* (Hanover: Universtiy Press of New England, 2005), 12.

516. Jonathan Auerbach, *Body Shots: Early Cinema’s Incarnations* (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2007), 17.

elite readership,” film became the art of the masses.<sup>517</sup> Film spoke to wider audiences. Although the films were reenactments, they carried a sense of authenticity the public craved. Twain’s “nineteenth century anti-imperialist prose could not keep pace with the moving images of Edison’s war propaganda that were ushering Americans into the twentieth century.”<sup>518</sup> Edison’s film countered the anti-imperialists by harnessing the feeling of authenticity.

Since Funston was an important symbol of the war, he drew the attention of Edison who commissioned and reenacted several of Funston’s advances. In *Colonel Funston Swimming the Bagbag River*, Edison portrayed Funston as the brave hero swimming across the river while pulling a raft with four men and then defeating the entire Filipino army on the other side. Edison capitalized on “Dare Devil’s March,” reenacting the scene it memorialized for theater audiences and selling the wax cylinders of the music to America’s consumer classes eager to own the narrative and, thus, vicariously participate in it. In *Colonel Funston Swimming the Bagbag River*, the Filipinos bumble away wasting a vast amount of ammunition and missing all their targets while Funston stands only a few yards away pulling a raft. Moments later, he defeats the Filipino insurgents.<sup>519</sup> The insurgents could not even hit a target a few feet from them. Similarly, in *Advance of the Kansas Volunteers at Caloocan*, the Filipinos advance, slowly firing at the screen, but the Kansas 20<sup>th</sup> enters the picture and repels the advancing Filipinos who quickly scatter.<sup>520</sup>

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517. Eperjersi, *The Imperialist Imaginary*, 12.

518. *Ibid.*

519. Thomas A. Edison, Inc, and Paper Print Collection. *Colonel Funston swimming the Bagbag River*. United States: Edison Mfg. Co, 1899. Video. <https://www.loc.gov/item/99407593/>.

520. New Jersey. National Guard, Inc Thomas A. Edison, and Paper Print Collection. *Advance of Kansas Volunteers at Caloocan*. United States: Edison Manufacturing Co, 1899. Video. <https://www.loc.gov/item/98501192/>.

Although fictionalized reenactments, both films had the air of legitimacy and of historical fact to audiences throughout America.<sup>521</sup> At their heart, “commercial entrepreneurs capitalized on the most publicized military events of the Spanish-American War to create exciting, pleasurable entertainments, and in turn, the press promoted these amusements as a reliable and compelling source for war news and information.”<sup>522</sup> With each reenactment, Edison portrayed the events in a manner to further his own agenda and, in no uncertain terms, “the Edison films unmistakably embody values that one could identify with [the proponents of] colonialism.”<sup>523</sup> Profit motivated Edison, but he also sought to demonstrate that the virtues of imperialism and the American soldier.

Funston served as a unique figure in Edison’s Philippine war films. Edison’s films furthered the persona of Funston the hero by taking poetic license at the expense of accuracy. In *Colonel Funston Swimming the Bagbag River*, the anecdote with the raft actually occurred two days later at the Rio Grande and involved two other soldiers in the Kansas 20<sup>th</sup>; “the Edison Film here collapses two events into one and allows Col. Funston to fill the role of the popular hero.”<sup>524</sup> *Col. Funston Swimming the Bagbag River* is the only war film to mention an individual in its title by name, and its popularity cemented in the public’s imagination the idea that Funston actually swam the Bagbag River.<sup>525</sup> The Edison Catalog called *Advance of the Kansas Volunteers at Caloocan* “one of the best battle pictures ever made.”<sup>526</sup> The films are fiction and mark the beginnings of early cinema; nevertheless, unsuspecting audiences accepted the films as

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521. The Library of Congress summary for the film opens “A fictionalized reenactment of an incident in the Spanish-American War.”

522. Miller, *From Liberation to Conquest*, 90.

523. Ed. John Fullerton, *Celebrating 1895: The Centenary of the Cinema* (London: John Libbey and Co.), 215.

524. *Ibid.*

525. See chapter 3 for a full debate over whether or not Funston swam the river

526. Edison, *Advance of Kansas Volunteers at Caloocan*.



fact much in the same way many believed in the authenticity of staged Civil War photos.

Despite largely fictionalized accounts of the events, the new technology captivated audiences and created a lasting image of Funston as the brave hero who faced death and won.

*Advance of the Kansas Volunteers* starts with the Filipino rebels marching directly at the camera, firing multiple volleys. *Edison Films Catalog* makes sure the audience knows “They [the Filipinos] are making one of those determined stands that marks Caloocan as the bloodiest battle of the Filipino rebellion.”<sup>527</sup> Edison’s own words describing the action are important because during the silent era some exhibitors used the catalog entry as a script for a hired narrator or showman to read to the audience at various points in the film.<sup>528</sup> The *Edison Films Catalog* describes the entry of the Kansas 20<sup>th</sup> into the scene as “suddenly, with impetuous rush, Funston's men appear.”<sup>529</sup> As the skirmish ensues, the American standard-bearer falls, only to have an officer, Sergeant Squires, quickly grab the flag and, while waving it, charge the rebels with his men. The *Edison Films Catalog* continues to describe the film as “one of the best battle pictures ever made.”<sup>530</sup>

Edison casts African Americans to play the part of the Filipinos in *Advance of the Kansas Volunteer* in order to reinforce the necessity of intervention. Edison used racial imagery to reassure the domestic population of the ease of victory. When faced with the American army, the Filipinos, like domestic “others,” would retreat or submit. The films helped create a false public confidence about the ease of American intervention and the “white man’s burden.”<sup>531</sup> Just

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527. Ibid.

528. “The Edison Film Catalog,” The University of Virginia: *Uncle Tom’s Cabin and American Culture*, accessed April 7, 2019, <http://utc.iath.virginia.edu/onstage/films/ficattaeahp.html>.

529. Edison, *Advance of the Kansas Volunteers at Caloocan*.

530. Ibid.

531. Eperjersi, *The Imperialist Imaginary*, 12.

as the domestic audiences had tamed the savage African and Native, they could do so to the racial “other” in the Philippines.

The film ends with an officer raising the American flag to lead the charge. The image of the American officer advancing the American flag reinforced the belief in the inherent superiority of the American fighting force. Even though men died, they did so patriotically. Describing the scene as “one of the bloodiest,” but only depicting the loss of one American life sanitized the war. In both Funston films “the natives are literally driven out of the screen and the contested space is claimed by the coloniser [sic]. Each victorious battle ends with the constant waving of hats, a rousing celebration of adventure and heroism.”<sup>532</sup> The Filipinos make a determined stand, but under the flag and Funston the American forces quickly rout the Filipino rebels.

Politically, the films reassured American audiences that the U.S. could easily win the war and that Filipino forces would crumble at the first sight of the American army—especially if Funston headed that army. The films, much like the music, were conscious creations that actively attempted to shape public opinion. Much of the public accepted the premise of American imperialism, at least in part because of the persuasive effect of these popular media productions. *Colonel Funston Swimming the Bagbag River* was “widely distributed to cheering theater audiences in the United States” and with each viewing helped solidify the righteousness of both Funston and American intervention in the Philippines.<sup>533</sup> If Funston was a brave hero then his actions, and by extension the U.S.’s, were justified and morally acceptable.

The films portrayed American nationalism and easily overcoming the Filipino rebellion. In *Colonel Funston Swimming the Bagbag River*, Funston removes his shirt and swims across a

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532. Fullerton, *Celebrating 1895*, 215

533. Walsh, *Tin Pan Alley and the Philippines*, 57.

river pulling a raft of American soldiers to the other side. As the raft nears the opposite bank the men on the raft begin to cheer and wave the American flag. Despite superior numbers, the advantage of the high ground, and the close proximity of their targets, the rebels miss Funston and quickly retreat before the raft finally arrives on the other side. Much like in *Advance of the Kansas Volunteers*, when faced with the American flag and white civilization, the Filipinos quickly retreat into the jungle.

*Colonel Funston Swimming the Bagbag River* not only reinforced the ideas about the ease of expansion but also about masculinity. Edison's films about Roosevelt and Funston demonstrate "the ways in which American boys were socialized to desire the ritual of war as a rite of passage. It is thus an ideology of 'manliness' cultivated by the ubiquitous presence of the Civil War" that motivated young recruits.<sup>534</sup> Funston removes his shirt to reveal a muscular physique and swims within a few feet of the Filipino rebels. The fact the Filipino rebels cannot shoot Funston who stands up to pull the raft across the river reinforced the notions that American men could overcome any adversity. Here, Funston's strength—in his ability to swim across a river and then pull a raft of men across it—easily defeated the rebels. The films epitomize Funston as the strong, brave, masculine figure in a romantic view of war; Filipinos were no match for the American man.

#### The Anti-Imperialists' Medium: Literature

Literature such as novels and serial publications also played an important role in daily life. While the imperialists used new forms of media like music and film, which infused the stock themes of "lowbrow" melodrama and popular romance, the anti-imperialists focused on traditional forms of literature like satire. Between 1902 and 1906, Mark Twain and Ernest

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534. Castonguay, "The Spanish-American War in U.S. Media Culture."

Crosby in particular, actively and consciously attempted to create a counter to the image of Funston as the hero. Funston the villain directly challenged Funston the hero as a man of noble character and imperialism as an honorable quest. Just as Funston the hero became a stand-in for the constellation of American expansionist policies and nineteenth century masculine mores, Funston as a villain represented a myriad anti-imperialist aims. Anti-imperialist created the villain's role to underscore the folly of war and dispel the melodramatic heroics and masculine notions associated with it. If Funston served as a powerful symbol to the imperialists, the anti-imperialists attempted to tarnish that symbol and harness it for their own ends. Just as supporters created fictional accounts of Funston as the hero, opponents used literature to critique the war by creating a fictionalized villain.

It is important to understand the villain did not attempt to create or contest the norms of nineteenth century manhood. Rather, the anti-imperialists sought to demonstrate that Funston did not live up to those standards. Mark Twain, Funston's chief critic, also promoted the norms of masculinity while lampooning Funston. Twain, also a tireless self-promoter, understood Funston and thought of him as a threat to the nation. Left unchecked, Funston and martial manhood, could become the ideal.

Literary culture played an important role in creating anti-imperial sentiment. Most famously, Mark Twain railed against the imperialists. Just as Funston the hero became a powerful proxy for pro-expansionist sentiment, Twain warned readers explicitly about following the path of imperial European powers.<sup>535</sup> Twain understood that Funston actively pushed for imperialism and by 1902 Funston "was touring the country giving speeches about his exploits

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535. John Carlos Rowe, *Literary Culture and U.S. Imperialism: From the Revolution to World War II* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 139.

and being hailed as *the* hero of the war.”<sup>536</sup> Twain honed his sights on Funston because Funston had become a symbol of the entire imperial endeavor.

Twain took particular umbrage with Funston’s capture of Emilio Aguinaldo. In order to capture Emilio Aguinaldo, Funston devised a plan where he and a group of men entered Aguinaldo’s camp masquerading as prisoners of war. Once inside Aguinaldo’s camp, Funston and his “captors” threw off their disguises and seized Aguinaldo and several other Filipino leaders. The success of the ruse brought Funston national attention as the “hero,” but Twain and others used the moment to muddy Funston’s image. Over the course of 1901 and 1902, many questioned the legitimacy of Funston’s tactics to capture Aguinaldo. Removing the badge of honor from Funston served to attack the notions of the superiority of American civilization. “Real men,” the counterargument ran, did not engage in underhanded deceit, and thus no one should praise Funston or the war.

In May 1902, Mark Twain lampooned Funston in the satirically titled article, “A Defense of General Funston.” As Mark Twain scholar Jim Zwick astutely discerns: Twain “portrayed [Funston] as a menace to society who had to be dealt with carefully to preserve the nation.”<sup>537</sup> Twain argued that American imperialism gave rise to men such as Funston and their dubious tactics and that “neither Washington nor Funston was made in a day. It took a long time to accumulate the materials. In each case, the basis or moral skeleton of the man was inborn disposition.”<sup>538</sup> That is to say, it is not Funston’s fault that he used cowardly tactics because he is merely a product of his training and environment. The real value in both Washington and

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536 Mark Twain and Jim Zwick ed., *Mark Twain’s Weapons of Satire: Anti-Imperialist Writings on the Philippine-American War* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1992), xl.

537. *Ibid.*, 177.

538. Mark Twain, “A Defense of General Funston,” originally published May 1902, accessed April 7, 2019 [http://foundsf.org/index.php?title=A\\_Defense\\_of\\_General\\_Funston](http://foundsf.org/index.php?title=A_Defense_of_General_Funston).

Funston lies on the influence of future generations. Twain continues, “if this Funstonian boom continues, Funstonism will presently affect the army. In fact, this has already happened. There are weak-headed and weak-principled officers in all armies, and these are always ready to imitate successful notoriety-breeding methods.”<sup>539</sup> Twain objected to the weak-principled strategy against Aguinaldo and saw torture and deception as unacceptable tactics. The more praise of Funston and imperialism, the more others would emulate it until torture and deceit became cultural norms.

Twain used Funston as a symbol for the entire imperialist endeavor. Twain’s attacks on Funston sought to dismantle the language of the imperialists. Funston and his guard used treachery, outnumbered their enemy, and “by his forgeries and falsehoods he had lulled suspicion to sleep.”<sup>540</sup> Like Funston, the McKinley administration had provoked the war and lied about spreading democracy. Furthermore, the U.S. outnumbered and outgunned both the Spanish and the Filipino that resulted in a lopsided war, and there was little virtue in an unfair fight. According to Twain, only once did Funston face danger when a day’s hike away from the outskirts of the insurgent camp, Funston’s party, disguised as prisoners, desperately needed food to which Aguinaldo graciously supplied.<sup>541</sup> Aguinaldo and the camp knew of the “prisoners” arrival and welcomed them with “smiles in their faces, and with hospitable hands extended for the friendly shake” to which the imperial endeavor found “nothing would be necessary but to shoot these people down.”<sup>542</sup> Twain criticized the idea of the white man’s burden in civilizing the savage. Funston repaid Aguinaldo’s hospitality “in a brand-new, up-to-date, Modern

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539. Ibid.

540. Ibid.

541. Ibid.

542. Ibid.

Civilization fashion, and would be admired by many.”<sup>543</sup> The “savage” Filipino insurgents followed a respectable code of war, cared for prisoners, and extended compassion; in return, the “civilized” imperialist mowed them down.

Twain understood the symbolic nature of Funston as a hero. Twain argued against the symbolic hero, writing, “Some may not believe it, but it is nevertheless true, that there are now public-school teachers and superintendents who are holding up Funston as a model hero and Patriot in the schools.”<sup>544</sup> He actively sought to counter Funston the hero. Twain urged people to “turn the gilt front of Funston's evil notoriety to the rear, and expose the back aspect of it, the right and black aspect of it, to the youth of the land; otherwise he will become an example and a boy-admiration, and will most sorrowfully and grotesquely bring his breed of Patriotism into competition with Washington's.”<sup>545</sup> With this, he actively sought to build a counter legacy and directly challenge American imperialism.

While Funston and his supporters wrote of war and Funston in the terms of heroic popular romances and melodrama, Twain cast Funston and his exploits as lowbrow and “as an opportunity that suggested an adventure equal to anything in penny-awful fiction.”<sup>546</sup> Twain described Funston as a “pinch-beck hero” whose appearances resembled gold, but upon closer inspection was cheap brass.<sup>547</sup> In Twain’s estimation, cheap, tired, and in general, bad fiction had created Funston the hero. The raid on Aguinaldo “was just the kind of a dare-devil exploit that appealed to the romantic Funston.”<sup>548</sup> Twain noted how reality differed from the heroic

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543. Ibid.

544. Ibid.

545. Ibid.

546. Ibid.

547. Mark Twain, “Mark Twain Scorns Men Who Don’t Like ‘Huck,’” *Denver Post*, August 18, 1902.

548. Twain, “A Defense of General Funston.”

romance as Funston tortured “Filipinos by the awful ‘water-cure.’”<sup>549</sup> War, imperialism, and Funston were unjust and uncivilized.

In 1902, a public dispute erupted after Funston gave several high-profile speeches which fueled the anti-imperialists’ attacks on him. Two letters from then Vice President Roosevelt gave Funston political confidence. In March 1901, Vice President Roosevelt personally wrote Funston and acknowledged Funston’s impending “hero worship” and that Roosevelt took “pride in this crowning exploit of a career filled with feats of cool courage, iron endurance, and gallant daring.”<sup>550</sup> On August 20, 1901, three weeks before Roosevelt became president, he wrote Funston another letter. Roosevelt recognized Funston could soon “rise to very high civil position,” but his pressing concern revolved around a rumor that Funston considered leaving the army to which Roosevelt “urgently advised” him not to, at least for “a couple more years.”<sup>551</sup> Funston and his fame represented a very real possible inter-party rivalry to Roosevelt. Roosevelt urged Funston to stay in the military in an attempt to quiet his rival, but his support gave Funston the courage to lash out against his political detractors and resulted in him delivering several high-profile speeches around the nation.

Twain despised Funston not just as a symbol but also on a personal level. Twain and Funston actively engaged in an open public discourse, each trying to discredit the other in the public sphere. Funston accused the anti-imperialist writers, including Twain, of disloyalty. Funston declared he “would rather see any one of these men hanged—hanged for treason, hanged for giving aid and comfort to the enemy.”<sup>552</sup> Twain wore the “‘traitor’ label as an

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549. Ibid.

550. Theodore Roosevelt, “Letter from Vice President Roosevelt to Frederick Funston Congratulating Him,” March 30, 1901, Allen County Historical Society, accessed April 5, 2019, <http://allencountyhistory.weebly.com/letter-from-vice-president-theodore-roosevelt-3-30-1901.html>

551. Ibid.

552. Twain and Zwick ed., *Mark Twain’s Weapons of Satire*, 113.



‘honorable badge,’ and said that “[he] would not keep still—about the war or Funston.”<sup>553</sup>

Funston and Twain both actively vied in the public arena to create competing reputations for Funston and by doing so framed the larger imperial debate.

In response to “A Defense of General Funston,” Funston gave a speech in Denver after which many began to criticize the morality in Twain’s *Adventures of Huckleberry Finn*. Twain himself a tireless self-promoter, understood how Funston controlled the limelight. Twain lampooned the criticisms as nothing more than a “few persons [who] wish to curry favor with Funston, and whom God has not dealt kindly with in the manner of wisdom.” He also stated, “[E]verybody in Denver knows this, even the dead people in cemeteries.”<sup>554</sup> Twain went on to defend his position and attack Funston declaring, “if Satan’s morals and Funston’s are preferable to Huck’s, let Huck’s take a back seat; they can stand any ordinary competition, but not a combination like that.”<sup>555</sup> Comparing Funston’s actions with Satan’s morals created a powerful symbol for the anti-imperialists. Each time Twain wrote about Funston he tied him to the notion that imperialism and imperialists like Funston destroyed the fabric of American society and the moral character of the republic.

Furthering Twain’s anti-imperialist efforts, Ernest Crosby also created a fictionalized Funston to parody the imperialists’ claims in *Captain Jinks, Hero*. Although never mentioned by name, the details of Captain Jinks’ story closely resembled Funston’s life, and attacked the symbolic nature of Funston the hero. In popular fiction, Funston and the war became training grounds for manhood, but Crosby and the anti-imperialist wanted to demonstrate that war was as a fool’s errand. Crosby satires the symbol of Funston the hero and his courting of celebrity,

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553. Ibid.

554. Twain, “Mark Twain Scorns Men Who Don’t Like ‘Huck.’”

555 Ibid.

noting of Jinks: “From that day forward the officer was colonel no longer, he was a ‘hero,’ or rather, ‘the hero.’”<sup>556</sup> The theme of Funston’s search for fame quickly becomes apparent.

Funston, like Jinks, is not “a hero” but, in his own mind must be, “the hero.”

Crosby and Twain acknowledged their roles as voices of the anti-imperialist movement and the importance of creating a counter narrative to the prevailing currents that swept Funston to national attention. In January of 1901, Crosby suggested “that Mark Twain or some other ‘genius’ should arise as a ‘new Cervantes’ to ‘make the profession of war impossible by opening our eyes to the irresistible comicality of it.’”<sup>557</sup> While Twain declined the opportunity to write the satire, he sent several notes to Crosby about *Captain Jinks*. Mark Twain scholar, Jim Zwick, noted that Twain’s comments were “presumably intended for the prepublication promotion of the novel, they are less about the book than about Funston.”<sup>558</sup> In his letter to Crosby, Twain wrote “‘Captain Jinks’ is a successful satire on General Funston—at least *almost* a successful one. No satire of Funston could reach perfection, because Funston occupies that summit himself, and all other applicants must be content with a stage below.”<sup>559</sup> To Twain, Funston embodied everything wrong with imperialism and the American system. Twain wrote to Crosby, explaining, “Funston is satire incarnated, and exhaustively comprehensive: he is a satire on the human race.”<sup>560</sup> Twain disliked Funston not just as a symbol of what humanity had become but also as a man.

After discussing the proportion of American to Filipino casualties, Twain attempts to untie the association of manliness, civilization, and war. In 1902, Twain continued his war

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556. Ernest Crosby, *Captain Jinks, Hero* (New York: Funk and Wagnalls, 1902), 6, The Project Gutenberg, [http://www.gutenberg.org/files/19353/19353-h/19353-h.htm#CHAPTER\\_II](http://www.gutenberg.org/files/19353/19353-h/19353-h.htm#CHAPTER_II).

557. Twain and Zwick ed., *Mark Twain’s Weapons of Satire*, 109.

558. *Ibid.*, 111.

559. *Ibid.*

560. *Ibid.*

against Funston in “Notes on Patriotism,” which echoed the same sentiments of Crosby; namely, that the war was “not battle, for only one side engaged—it has another name. It is massacre.”<sup>561</sup> War, and particularly the Philippine-American War, involved atrocities, not manly or civilized characteristics; “[p]lainly stated, it means that we murder the enemy’s wounded, on the field; and that the enemy spares our wounded.... In these days Civilization has enough to bear without the added burden of Funston’s approval and championship.”<sup>562</sup> Twain argued that Funston and the imperialists disobeyed every honorable code and that they did so in the name of “civilization”; the “savage” Filipino did not need Funston’s version of “civilization.”

Ernest Crosby invoked themes similar to Twain’s, especially the themes of masculinity and manhood, to disparage Funston and the imperialist cause. Crosby entered into this public discourse when he published “The Military Ideal of Manliness” in the next edition of the *The Independent*, the same magazine in which Charles F. Scott defended Funston’s action in his article “Frederick Funston.” Crosby questioned whether “Funston’s conduct throughout [the capture of Aguinaldo] was manly and credible.”<sup>563</sup> Crosby claimed that any defense of Funston violated the very idea the imperialists promoted, in particular the “centuries old” idea that the soldier “is the very custodian of honor.”<sup>564</sup> Crosby invoked the idea of chivalry to contrast Funston’s actions. Knights and soldiers were honorable, but Funston used “forgery,” “deception,” and “treachery” to capture Aguinaldo, and these traits “we are assured, are manly in the eyes of the soldier, and hereafter we are to look in the military man that distinguish the

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561. Ibid., 113

562. Ibid.

563. Ernest Crosby, “The Military Ideal of Manliness,” *The Independent*, Vol. 53, 1901, 873. <https://books.google.com/books?id=18NZAAAAYAAJ&pg=PA817&lpg=PA817&dq=frederick+Funston+the+coon+hunt&source=bl&ots=bZwjn47-im&sig=Qac7zqTXw6Koa33jqTBcu51B7yo&hl=en&sa=X&ved=0ahUKEwiWtLPph7bRAhXn3YMKHco2BuEQ6AEIJTAC#v=onepage&q=Crosby&f=false> .

564. Ibid.

forger, the counterfeiter, the bunco-steerer [swindler], and green-goods man [con-man].”<sup>565</sup>

Hailing Funston as a hero and model of American martial manhood, in essence, elevated the dregs of society to model citizens.

Crosby countered the chivalric ideals associated with martial manhood by satirizing all the “Great Powers” imperialist endeavors. Funston’s capture of Aguinaldo represented only one of a variety of changes in the “new manliness.” Previously men fought worthy opponents of similar size and strength but that idea “is a relic of a bygone era, fit, perhaps, for the prizefighter and such low folk, but altogether unworthy of an officer and a gentleman.”<sup>566</sup> The chivalric knight defended the peasants from unjust kings but German, British, and American imperialists attacked “nations of peasants, like the Boers [and the Greeks], savages like the Filipinos” under the new military maxim, “Take the smallest kid you can find!”<sup>567</sup> Rather than fighting worthy opponents, the imperialists fought the weak and those unable to defend themselves but justified the attacks as noble and manly all the same.

Twain showed a disdain for Funston that went above the imperialism debate. Twain not only disliked imperialism but also viewed Funston as a scoundrel. Twain’s notes to Crosby about *Captain Jinks* show contempt for Funston, who “has made the whole race of man ridiculous, including our government.”<sup>568</sup> The promotion of Funston to brigadier general demonstrated how the imperialists corrupted the government as they “loftily” refused “that very position to a worthier man in civil life at Sing Sing who had nothing against him except he had

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565. Ibid.

566. Ibid., 874.

567. Ibid.

568. Twain and Zwick ed. Mark Twain’s Weapons of Satire, 111.

robbed a church and skinned his grandmother.”<sup>569</sup> Twain’s satire equates Funston with the most unscrupulous and violent in society, not the manliest.

Twain continued to publish scathing articles about Funston as late as 1906, including “Comments on the Moro Massacre.” Twain countered the heroic masculinization of Funston and the imperialists whenever he could. Funston was not a chivalric hero but a dubious coward who disarmed suspicion by “forgery, by lies, by disguising his military marauders in the uniform of the enemy...by cordially shaking hands with Aguinaldo’s officers and in that moment shooting them down.”<sup>570</sup> “Real” men did not shake their enemies’ hands while tricking them; for Twain, righteousness in the Philippines war could only occur if Funston fought it honorably and honestly. Further, Twain portrayed President McKinley, despite being dead as “the meekest and mildest and gentlest and least masculine of men.”<sup>571</sup> McKinley’s appointment of Funston to a brigadier general disgraced “the uniform, the flag, the nation, and himself.”<sup>572</sup>

*Captain Jink*’s illustrations are particularly powerful anti-imperialist symbols. In a letter to Crosby, Twain wrote of the illustrations, “I cannot tell you how much I like the pictures; I think you have not made better nor bitterer ones, nor any that were redder with the bloody truth.”<sup>573</sup> In an illustration titled “War’s Demand,” a series of toy soldiers are lying near a baby’s bassinet; meanwhile, a mother cradles a young infant while simultaneously holding back a grim, skeleton-faced apparition dressed in military regalia with the caption reading “[B]ut what did he want of soldiers?”<sup>574</sup> (see figure 4.4). Another illustration depicts a cherub placing the dunce’s cap on a skeleton named “War.”<sup>575</sup> In both illustrations, war did not make men, but,

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569. Ibid.

570. Ibid., 177.

571. Ibid.

572. Ibid.

573. Ibid., 109.

574. Crosby, *Captain Jinks*, 6.

575. Ibid., 347.

rather, it stole the lives of children. The price of war came not in the lives of soldiers but in the lives of innocents corrupted by war and death. War was a fool's errand at the expense of peace. Crosby's descriptions on the futility of war reminded readers that war was a dirty business and not a romantic novel or noble cause.



Figure 4.4



Figure 4.5

Both Twain and Crosby argued that Funston and the imperialists trampled on the very foundation of American democracy. In *Captain Jinks*, the illustration “Consent of the Governed,” portrays a young patriot holding a musket and displaying a declaration that reads “Consent of the Governed” to George III, who shakes his fist angrily (see figure 4.5). Above King George III’s head a halo reads “Divine Right of King.” The words “History Repeats Itself,” separate this scene from the one beneath it in which a young man in a tropical combat

uniform, holding a stick, displays a parchment reading “Consent of the Governed” to a figure labeled “King Trust.” “King Trust” has the exact pose and characteristics of George III above except that his halo reads “Divine Right of Dollars.” In the bottom right corner appears the caption “The ‘Declaration’ Is No More. The text and signatories to the original have faded away.” The overall caption on the picture reads “What business have these people to talk about equal rights.”

The image, “Consent of the Governed,” echoed anti-imperialist arguments that an American empire undermined the entire foundations of the American republic. Both Twain and Crosby use a fictionalized Funston to demonstrate the damage imperialism did, and would continue to do, to the American moral fiber. To Twain and Crosby, Funston the villain became a caricature of one position in the larger debate. The villain character embodied all the flaws of imperialism, including the lie regarding the romanticism of war; the idea of Funston, war, and imperialism as disastrous to the American Republic continued through the wars in Iraq and Afghanistan as many anti-imperialists questioned American tactics and invoked the memory of Funston the villain to further their arguments.

#### A Picture is Worth a Thousand Words: Cartoons

While the image of Funston the hero dominated music and films, and the idea of Funston as a villain overpowered highbrow publications and satire, political cartoons—much like newspapers in general—became a contested space. The imperialists turned to Funston the hero as a powerful character to promote their ideas, and pro-Funston cartoons reinforced masculine and racial stereotypes that focused on Victorian notions of “civilized” and “savage” as well as “the dandy” and “the hero.” In order to build support for Funston and imperialism, cartoonists

portrayed Filipinos and Mexicans as racial “others.” The anti-imperialists countered this image of Funston as righteous by depicting him as small, reckless, and outspoken.

The political cartoons depict a caricature of Funston as a heroic outsider ruffling the feathers of the stuffed-shirt office workers in Washington D.C. In the 1890s, Victorian notions of masculinity were particularly concerned with action, and during the era, the terms “stuffed shirt” and “sissy” became common to describe the concept of over-civilized men.<sup>576</sup> The stuffed shirt and sissy exemplified the dandy as a parasite who did not “do” anything. Two cartoons in particular demonstrate how Funston stood opposed to the over-civilized Washington generals. The first (see figure 4.6) has General Funston knee-deep in water and surrounded by swamps on one side and General Corbin, a Civil War veteran and adjutant general, sitting in a chair, drinking tea, surrounded by socialite soldiers fanning themselves, and chatting on the other side. The caption reads “The soldiers who sneer and the soldier who dares.”<sup>577</sup> In this cartoon, Funston is the opposite of the over-civilized socialites drinking tea and fanning themselves. Corbin is cast as the dandy as he sits daintily in his chair sipping tea, while Funston as “the hero” treks through the jungles and, ultimately, wins the war. War turned Funston into a man, something the others had forgot; instead, the office job had turned them into weak “stuffed shirts.”

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576. Bederman, *Manliness and Civilization*, 17.

577. “The soldiers who sneer and the soldier who dares,” No source, no date, probably 1899 Funston papers Iola Public Library (Microfilm Roll C-1)



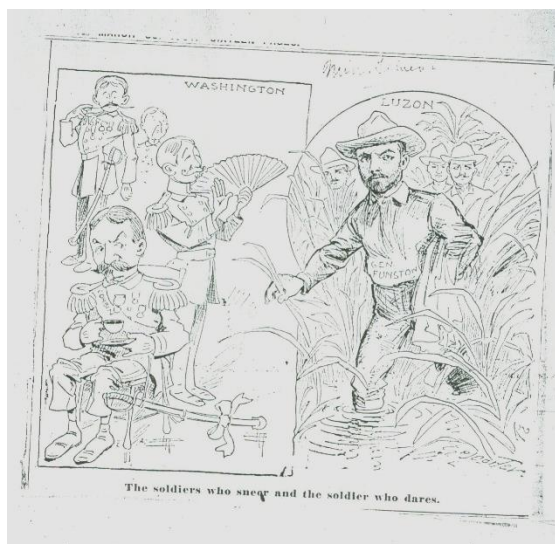


Figure 4.6

Cartoons cast Funston as the manly doer as opposed to those who sat in offices. “The Stay-at-Home War Bureau” depicts Corbin surrounded by red tape holding a bucket labeled “bureaucracy,” pouring water onto Funston. Corbin declares, “’twas nothing but the work of a scout” while a diminutive Funston stands heroically, leading a chained, weeping, and even more diminutive Aguinaldo to the president who is promoting him. The caption reads “The Stay-at-Home War Bureau throws Cold Water, but he’s a Brigadier all the same” (see figure 4.7).<sup>578</sup> Funston’s depiction again contrasts the “stay-at-home” idea with the man of action. Just like the explorer “did” things to demonstrate his manliness, the hero contrasted the other high-ranking officers who did not “do” anything by engaging in the dirty work necessary to win wars.

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578. No Title, Partial Paper \_\_\_\_\_ *Morning*, March 31, 1901, Iola Public Library Funston Papers, (Microfilm C-1).

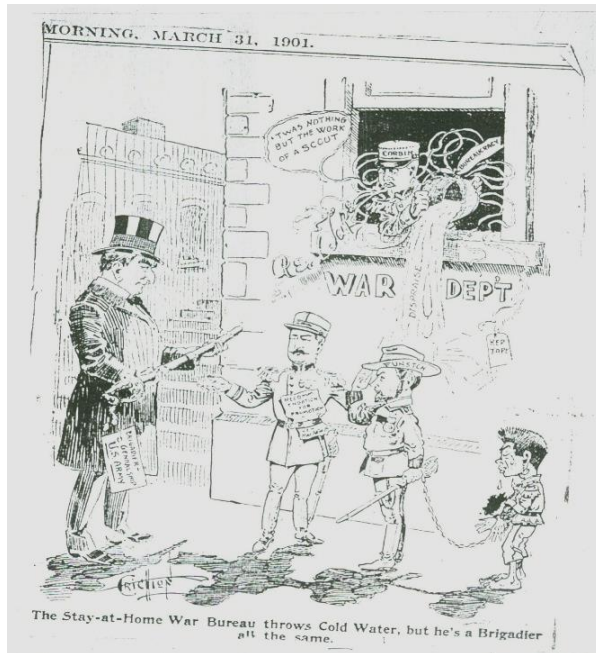


Figure 4.7

Newspapers and cartoonists made a consistent theme of Funston as a “man of action.” Published both in the *Minneapolis Journal* and in a standalone book, *Expansion: Being Bart’s Best Cartoons for 1899*, Charles Lewis Bartholomew’s cartoon depicts Funston as the larger-than-life triumphant conqueror in “Heroic Deeds for Funston Yet to Perform” (see figure 4.8).<sup>579</sup> Funston wears his bandages and a tattered uniform as many badges of honor while holding a pistol to a stuffed-shirt “magazine editor.” While Funston holds back the editor, the editor’s top hat flies in the air, and he drops a book entitled “Scribner’s Magazine War Photos and Articles of Heroes,” scattering the pages. Bart’s depiction of Funston echoed others’ notions of manliness versus the over-civilized “stuffed shirt.” The cartoon, in essence, declares that Funston will write still more history onto the pages of the war.

579. Charles Lewis Bartholomew, *Expansion, Being Bart’s Best Cartoons For 1899: Taken from the Minneapolis Journal*, (Minneapolis: The Journal Printing Company, 1899), 53.  
<https://archive.org/stream/expansionbeingb00bartgoog#page/n52/mode/2up/search/Funston>.



Figure 4.8

“Heroic Deeds” also underscores the association between “doing” and romance. In “Heroic Deeds,” Funston brandishes a sword in his other hand holding back the praise from a female suitor. The sword knocks a bouquet of flowers and Caesar-esque laurels from her hands as she stares on with a sullen look. Bart promotes the image of Funston as the masculine doer, and neither the stuffed shirt nor the praise of females could stop him. In Bart’s depiction, Funston marches forward across the earth to perform other heroic deeds, but it also underscores the idea of humility as essential to manhood. Where others had criticized “the adventurer” for seeking fame, Bart shows that Funston rejected these literal laurels to continue performing “heroic deeds.”

As Bonnie M. Miller notes, the stock themes in melodramas and popular romance novels became stock ingredients to frame the war. *The Saint Paul Globe* invoked the language of chivalric knighthood to bolster the image of Funston the hero. *The Globe* declared that Funston had “dimmed the glory of many brave knights of romance.”<sup>580</sup> *The Globe* compared Funston to Arthurian legend. The romantic formulations continued describing Funston’s bravery in the Philippines as “an atmosphere and settings as thrilling as with which fiction glorifies its heroes, he has outshone in exploits of love and daring the most fascinating characters of fancy.”<sup>581</sup> Papers imbued Funston with the chivalric notions of manliness, a stock type of the melodrama and popular romance novel.

In the newspapers, writers and artists worked together to create a version of Funston as a manly character. The imperialist cartoons consistently depicted him as a cure for the over-civilized. Acting like Funston provided a template to achieve and sustain manhood. The romanticized articles incorporated Funston’s marriage into the melodramatic plot that the virtuous hero always “got the girl.” Comparing Funston to the knight and noting his “exploits of love and daring” tied together the two themes of “doing” and “romance.”

Along with the stock themes of the melodrama, the media also harnessed the language of race to justify American intervention and occupation. Cartoonists invoked racial stereotypes as they proved visually appealing. Just like the racial “coon songs,” which sought to demean and degrade African Americans on racial lines, many cartoons attempted to do the same in the Philippines. The representations of Aguinaldo demonstrate the changes in American attitudes

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580. “Col. Fred Funston Fighter,” *The Saint Paul Globe* (St. Paul, Minn.), April 16, 1899. *Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers*. Lib. of Congress, <<http://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn90059523/1899-04-16/ed-1/seq-6/>>

581. *Ibid.*

towards colonization. Cartoonists originally portrayed Aguinaldo as white, but as the war progressed cartoonists “Africanized” the image of him.

In “Colonel Funston—‘I wants my black baby, ba-a-ack,’” the cartoonist Africanizes Aguinaldo (see figure 4.9).<sup>582</sup> In the cartoon, a gleeful Funston chases after a barefooted, sprinting Aguinaldo. The cartoonist draws the caricature of Aguinaldo with African facial features and portrays him as barefoot, directly recalled the imagery of the “coon cartoon.” In the “coon cartoons,” cartoonist drew African Americans as lazy, disheveled, and childish.<sup>583</sup> Aguinaldo’s pants are torn and his bare feet fly through the air, while the caption reads, “I wants my black baby, ba-a-ack.” The caption on the cartoon makes certain how the reader should view Aguinaldo, as a young black child running from their parent.



Figure 4.9

582. “Colonel Funston—‘I wants my black baby, ba-a-ac,k’” no source, no date, Funston Museum and Research Library, Eckdall Scrapbook Section A-II

583. David Pilgrim, “The Coon Caricature,” Ferris State University: Jim Crow Museum of Racist Memorabilia, accessed February 25, 2019, <https://www.ferris.edu/jimcrow/coon/>.

“I wants my black baby, ba-a-ack” shows the intermedial relationship that occurred. The title of the article references a popular minstrel song. At the same time, the cartoon used Africanized features to portray Aguinaldo as a domestic “other,” it also employed a familiar song to reinforce his Africanization. Using the title from a popular minstrel song as the cartoon line illustrates the relationship all forms of media had in “othering” the Filipino.

“The Stay-at-Home War Bureau” (See figure 4.7 above) also depicts Aguinaldo as childish. The cartoonist draws a diminutive Funston leading an even smaller Aguinaldo in chains. Even though cartoons consistently drew Funston as small, they drew Aguinaldo as smaller. Funston’s size remained a theme but imagining Aguinaldo as a child reinforced the hierarchy of power by implying the colonial subjects should thank Americans for intervention, the same way a child thanks their parents.<sup>584</sup>

A cartoon by the *Cleveland Plain Dealer*, “Why Not Bring Them Over on a Lecturing Tour?,” mocks the lecture circuit but also played on the melodramatic and racial themes found in other cartoons (see figure 4.10).<sup>585</sup> The front-page cartoon depicts Uncle Sam installing a billboard with a tiny and barefoot Aguinaldo beside a rugged Funston. Funston stands tall, with a full beard, wearing a cowboy hat, while an even smaller Teddy Roosevelt admires the billboard. The title of Aguinaldo and Funston’s act, “Life in the Philippines is Strenuous” clearly intended to reference Roosevelt’s “The Strenuous Life.”<sup>586</sup>

The depiction of Aguinaldo as barefoot, dark, and disheveled uses the language of race to pit the “other” against the white male, in this case Funston. Ultimately, the cartoons reinforced readers beliefs that Funston and white civilization triumphed over the savage. Like other

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584. Miller, *From Liberation to Conquest*, 207

585. “Why Not Bring them Over on a Lecturing Tour,” *Cleveland Plain Dealer*, April 6, 1901. As cited in Miller, 256.

586. *Ibid.*

cartoons, the *Plain Dealer* used the stock image of the “coon cartoon” to cast Aguinaldo as a racial inferior. Aguinaldo’s patched pants, in comparison to the immaculate Funston insinuated that the white civilization could go into the most hostile jungles and return unscathed.

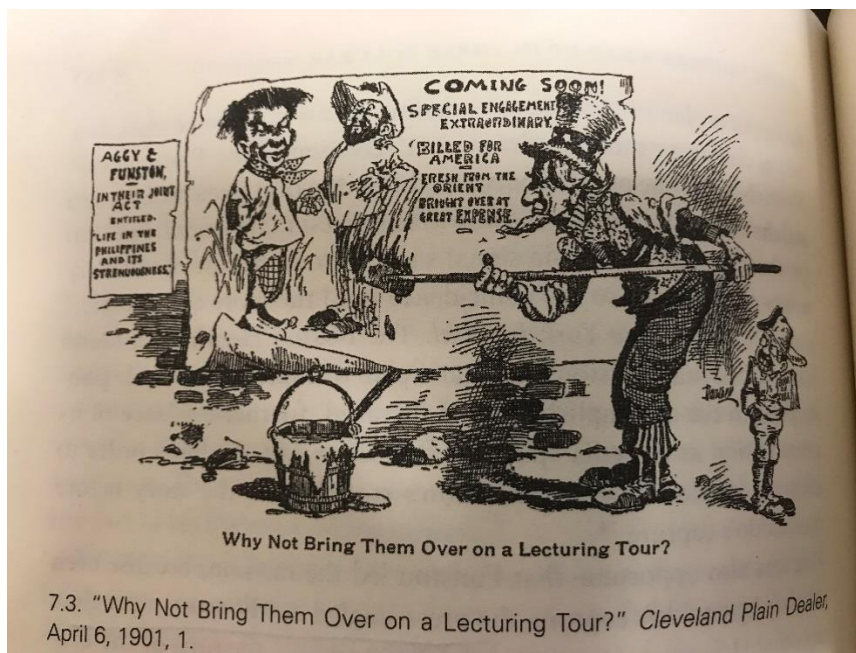


Figure 4.10

The anti-imperialists did not sit idly by. In 1902, Funston openly attacked fellow Republican and noted anti-imperialist Senator George Frisbee Hoar (R-Mass). Emboldened by letters from President Roosevelt praising his actions, Funston responded to Hoar’s criticisms of his tactics in the Philippines and accused Hoar of suffering from “an overheated conscience.” Further, Funston went on to claim, that eastern editors knew “more about golf than about war.”<sup>587</sup> President Roosevelt ordered Funston to remain silent, incensed by Funston’s criticism of a fellow prominent, albeit anti-imperialist, Republican. Just as some cartoons portrayed Funston overcoming the “stuffed shirts” and returning honor and manhood to American life, others attacked him as reckless and small. One cartoon captioned “Too Free with the Spurs” (see

587. “Funston To Denounce Newspaper Criticism,” *New York Times*, March 27, 1902.

figure 4.11) portrayed a bucking horse labeled “President’s Policy” flinging Funston through the air head-over-heels with Funston’s spurs labeled “Philippine Talk.”<sup>588</sup> Another entitled “SHUT UP!” (see figure 4.12), features an angry Theodore Roosevelt shaking his fist at a shocked Funston, and is captioned “Teddy to Freddy – ‘You’ve said enough!’”<sup>589</sup> Both depict Funston as reckless and small. In “SHUT UP” Funston cowers as an angry Roosevelt shakes his fist at him.



Figure 4.11



Figure 4.12

Another cartoon, “Little Wonder Talking Machine” (see figure 4.13), shows President Roosevelt and Secretary of War Elihu Root laughing over a “Funston talking head machine” saying things like, “Hang the traitors!,” “Fool senators” and “You can't gag me!,” with the caption “The Secretary of War – ‘Let's send it over to the Coronation. It would amuse Cousin Edward immensely.’”<sup>590</sup> Like the other cartoons that show Funston as small and feckless this

588. “Too Free with the Spurs,” no source, no date probably, 1902, Iola Public Library Funston Papers, (Micro Film C-1).

589. “Shut Up”, No Paper, no date, most likely 1902, Iola Public Library Funston Papers, (Micro Film C-1).

590. “Little wonder talking machine,” April 22, 1902. Theodore Roosevelt Papers. Library of Congress Manuscript Division. <https://www.theodorerooseveltcenter.org/Research/Digital-Library/Record?libID=0274566>. Theodore Roosevelt Digital Library. Dickinson State University.



cartoon also mocked Funston's speech as ridiculous. Further, it lampooned Funston as a mere curiosity, a gift that would amuse the future King of England—Edward VII.



Figure 4.13<sup>591</sup>

In “Corked,” Roosevelt shoves the “Gag Order” down Funston’s throat (see figure 4.14).<sup>592</sup> In the cartoon, Funston stands on a speech with the words “Senator Hoar is suffering from an overheated conscience” in front of a stack of invitations to speak at banquets. Tellingly, the sign in the corner of the frame portrays Funston as an unruly child by playing on a common phrase “Generals should be seen not heard,” while a stern Roosevelt forces him to eat the gag order.

591. Ibid.

592. “Corked,” Theodore Roosevelt Papers. Library of Congress Manuscript Division. <https://www.theodorerooseveltcenter.org/Research/Digital-Library/Record?libID=o274564>. Theodore Roosevelt Digital Library. Dickinson State University.



Figure 14.4<sup>593</sup>

Much as the imperialists portrayed Funston as a larger than life adventurer, the anti-imperialists used the language of manhood to depict Funston as childish and small. In all four cartoons, Funston’s size is a prominent feature, and, thus, anti-imperialist media makers insinuated that Funston was not manly but an overzealous child. Funston’s action had him reprimanded like a schoolchild who spoke out of turn.

The gag order effectively prevented Funston from speaking out against the anti-imperialists but it also demonstrates the debate occurring in the public sphere around the caricature of Funston. In “Rather One-Sided,” media makers noted the hypocrisy of preventing Funston from defending his good name (see figure 4.15). The cartoon depicts a gagged officer surrounded by congressmen who yell “D-D-DASTARD!!!,” “HOUND!!!,” and “VILLAIN!!!” “Rather One-Sided” argued Funston had a right to defend himself. The overcivilized

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593. Ibid.

congressmen, dressed in their top hats, who accused Funston of crimes knew little about war. The cartoon also displays the very real ongoing public debate over Funston and imperialism. In “Rather One-Sided,” the media makers attempt to portray the injustice of the gag order. A man should be able to defend himself, particularly when outnumbered.

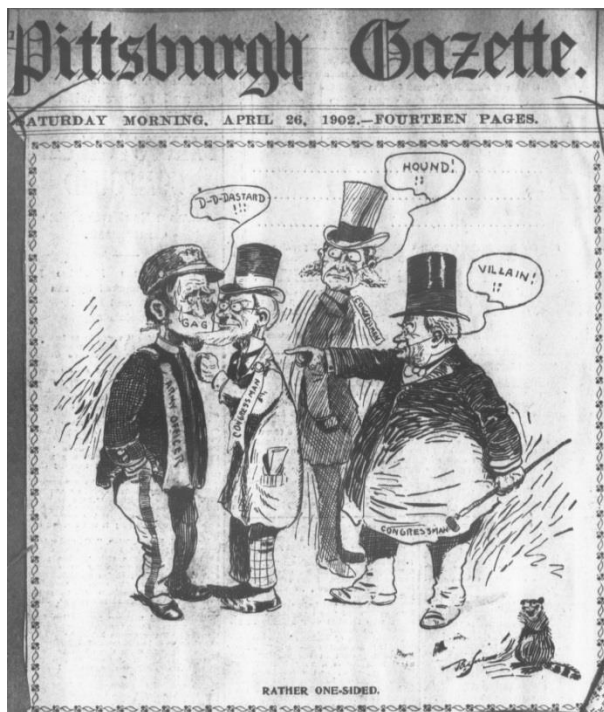


Figure 4.15<sup>594</sup>

A decade later, the language used to promote expansion in Mexico echoed the imperialists' language and demonstrates the success in casting Funston as the manly hero. The cartoons about intervention in Mexico depict a manly Funston hampered in his righteous mission by feminine Washington bueracrats. In “Watchful Waiting” (see figure 4.16) Funston drives a

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594. “Rather one-sided,” Theodore Roosevelt Papers. Library of Congress Manuscript Division. <https://www.theodorerooseveltcenter.org/Research/Digital-Library/Record?libID=o274571>. Theodore Roosevelt Digital Library. Dickinson State University.

car with Woodrow Wilson dressed as a matronly women.<sup>595</sup> The cartoon lampoons Wilson’s policy of “watchful waiting” by illustrating Wilson in a dress, shouting hesitations from the backseat. Likewise, “A Perfectly Good War Eagle” portrays Funston as the manly doer hampered by Washington bureaucrats (see figure 4.17).<sup>596</sup> The cartoon has a masculine barrel chested Funston standing in front of an erupting volcano labeled Mexico. Beside Funston an eagle representing the aviation corps sits with clipped wings. Funston could easily send the eagle over the Rio Grande and into Mexico had Washington not clipped his wings. Both cartoons portray Funston in the terms of the hero. Like the cartoons almost 20 years earlier, Funston is portrayed as the manly doer hampered by red tape.

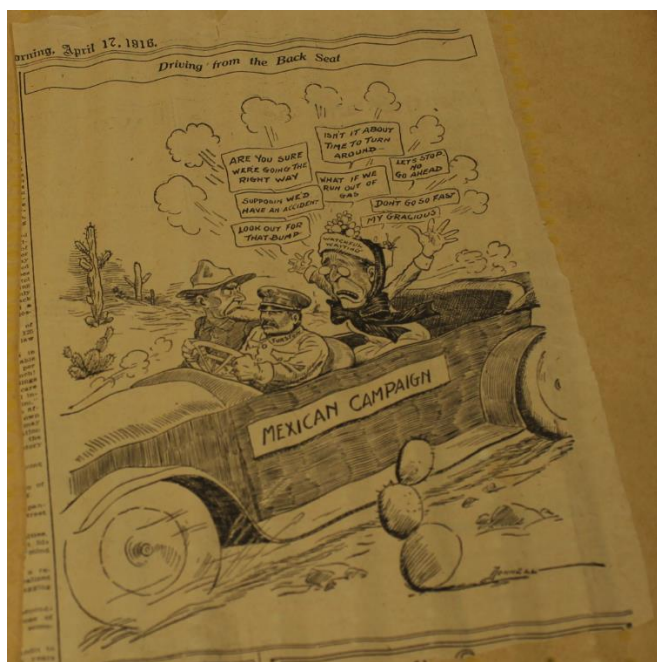


Figure 4.16

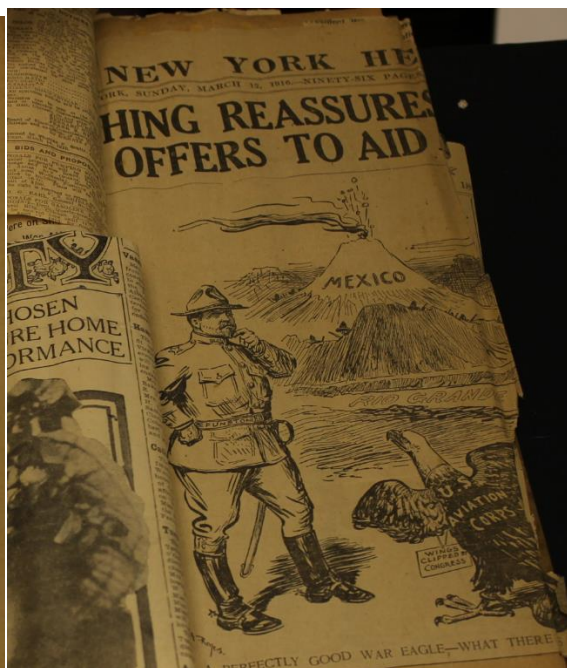
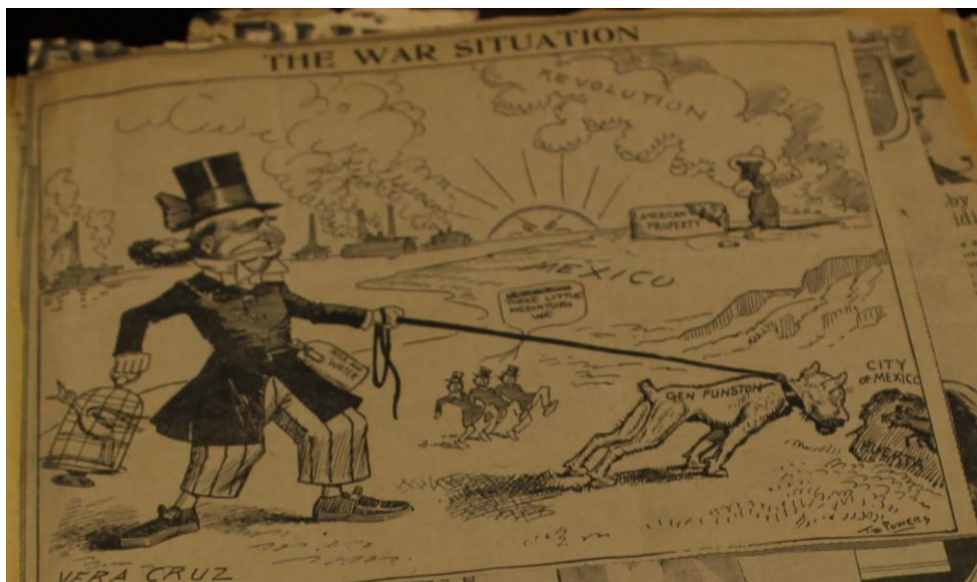


Figure 4.17

595. “Watchful Waiting,” No Source, April 17, 1916. *Funston Museum and Research Library*, Eckdall Scrapbook Shelf A-1.

596. “A Perfectly Good War Eagle,” *New York Herald*, March 16, 1916. *Funston Museum and Research Library*, Eckdall Scrapbook Shelf A-1.

Just as the cartoons used the language of gender to build support, they also used ethnicity and race to call for intervention. “The War Situation” portrays the Mexican leadership as bumbling, small, and ineffective. The cartoon depicts Huerta as a rat and Villa as a donkey in a sombrero (see figure 4.18).<sup>597</sup> Just as bureaucrats prevented Funston from crossing the Rio Grande, a formally dressed man prevents a bulldog representing Funston from going into the rats den and capturing Huerta. Meanwhile, Villa the donkey feasts on the cheese of American property. Portraying the Mexican leadership as rats and donkeys in sombreros invoked the idea of American cultural superiority. The cartoon played on the idea that Mexico was dirty and vermin-infested and that the people were stubborn beasts of burden.



#### Funston in Wonderland: Children’s Literature

Children’s literature acted as a means to instill ideals into young boys and girls. By making Funston an ideal of manhood, the authors—and parents who purchased the works—intended to instill the in their children virtues of martial manhood as exemplified by Funston and

<sup>597</sup>. “The War Situation,” No Source, No Date (probably 1914). *Funston Museum and Research Library*, Eckdall Scrapbook Shelf A-1.

the imperialists. The years 1916 and 1917 saw the fictionalization of Funston as the hero peak with the publication of two works, Frank Fowler's *The Broncho Rider Boys With Funston at Vera Cruz*, and Everett T. Tomlinson's *Scouting with General Funston*. Funston's life gave writers ample material for the creation of a fictional hero, for at times Funston's life imitated literary fiction. Funston's capture of the Filipino rebel leader, Emilio Aguinaldo, involved an elaborate ruse. "[R]emarkably, a fiction writer anticipated, or perhaps even helped formulate, this military strategy."<sup>598</sup> Duffield Osborne published "The Capture of Aguinaldo" over a year before Funston's capture of Aguinaldo yet the fictional work "eerily resembles the details" of Funston's plan.<sup>599</sup> As Historian Bonnie M. Miller notes: "we do not know for sure if Funston had prior knowledge of it [Osborn's work]..." but "the similarities between the two accounts are striking: the use of disguise, the method of capture, the number of rebels killed, and the taking of Aguinaldo alive."<sup>600</sup> Funston's life blended seamlessly with the heroic fiction circulating in popular culture and added credibility to the persona of the hero.

On the eve of World War I, as American patriotism and nationalism swelled, the fictionalization of Funston the hero reached its peak. Commanding the Southern District and actively searching for Pancho Villa in 1916 and 1917, Funston became the subject of two young adult novels: Frank Fowler's *The Broncho Rider Boys With Funston and Vera Cruz* and Everett T. Tomlinson's *Scouting with General Funston*. Just as it had in *St. Nicholas Magazine*, young adult literature played an important part in instructing young boys on how to become men. Both Fowler's and Tomlinson's works include similar themes about the righteousness of martial manhood and how to achieve it by serving one's country. *The Broncho Rider Boys with Funston*

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598. Miller, *From Liberation to Conquest*, 254.

599. *Ibid.*

600. *Ibid.*

*at Vera Cruz* by Frank Fowler is sheer fiction in that it has no biographical corollary; however, one can trace inspiration for this fictional Funston to his portrayals in music, film, and cartoons. Likewise, Tomlinson loosely bases his accounts on Funston's life but inserts fictional teens into the drama to "help" Funston and his endeavors.

Frank Fowler created the Broncho Rider Boys as a popular series, but this particular work was the only one to mention an individual in its title. In this work, Fowler romanticizes war and service in the U.S. Army, alternatively titling the book on the cover page "or Upholding the Honor of the Stars and Stripes."<sup>601</sup> Unlike the previous figure of "the hero," the entire work is fiction. In the work, the Broncho Rider Boys go on a mission for Funston. Fowler not only crafted Funston into a decidedly heroic character, he also sanitized war and imperialism to fit boys "12 to 16 years." Funston and war are fun and thrilling, and Fowler consciously constructed it as such for young audiences.

The success of Fowler's Broncho Rider Boys series also speaks to the acceptance of a martial manhood and expansionism as epitomized in Funston as the hero. Fowler began the series in 1914 and, by 1916 *With Funston at Vera Cruz* was the sixth title in the series. Funston served as a role model for youth and manhood. The work also promoted imperialism and war as a means to "uphold the honor of the Stars and Stripes." The Broncho Boys instilled ideas about the necessity of upholding honor.

The fictionalized Funston continued to live on in *Scouting with General Funston*. Everett T. Tomlinson wrote a series of young adult books that acted as instruction manuals for manhood. Tomlinson knew how to reach young adult male audiences and wrote over sixty books in the genre, several of which entered the *Every Boy's Library* series. *Scouting with Funston* quickly

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601. Frank Fowler, *The Broncho Rider Boys With Funston at Vera Cruz* (New York: A.L. Burt Company, 1916), 1.

became part of this series of books, *Every Boy's Library*, which was endorsed and republished by the Boy Scouts between 1911-1930. The Boy Scouts Library Commission selected “a series of books focused on adventure and heroism for republication under the organization’s name.”<sup>602</sup> Ultimately, the seventy-three books showed boys how to act like men and many had military themes of bravery. In the first six weeks, the series sold 71,000 copies and 175,000 in the second year and saw continued success until the Great Depression.<sup>603</sup>

In *Scouting with General Funston*, Tomlinson blends reality and fiction, creating a story based on Funston’s life that includes two young scout characters, much as Frank Fowler did with *The Broncho Rider Boys*. Much as he had done as an explorer, Funston courted the public identity of “hero” through young adult literature. Despite the fictional aspects of Tomlinson’s work, Funston wrote two letters to the author. Tomlinson describes those letters in the intro claiming, “In one letter the General expresses his keen interest in the purpose of the writer to prepare a story for young people with himself as the central figure.”<sup>604</sup> Despite Funston’s death, Tomlinson describes Funston’s character as “one that appeals strongly to the heroic element in every American boy.”<sup>605</sup> The author notes that only “death put an end to his romantic career.”<sup>606</sup>

Tomlinson writes of Funston as the manly hero and instructs his readers on how to become Funston. Tomlinson made sure to remind his audience—young males whose stature did not necessarily reflect the physical ideal of manhood—that one can overcome his diminutive stature and still become a man; “The ‘Little Guy,’ as his soldiers affectionately called him, was

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602. Corry Kanzenberg, “The Boys Scouts of America and Literature for Youth: 1910-1935,” *Bridge and Trails: News from the National Scouting Museum*, Issue 1, 2012, 4, [http://www.scouting.org/filestore/alumni/pdf/BT\\_2012issue1.pdf](http://www.scouting.org/filestore/alumni/pdf/BT_2012issue1.pdf).

603. Ibid.

604. Tomlinson, *Scouting With Funston*, 6.

605. Ibid.

606. Ibid.



the personification of daring.”<sup>607</sup> Funston came to personify the manly doer, “the man of action,” who, through military service, demonstrated his worth and acted as a manual to instruct young boys. In one scene, the characters are discussing great generals when one boy interjects, “‘Hold on,’ Tom said ‘Bert has been telling you all about General Pershing, but he hasn’t told you about the biggest man in the army,’”<sup>608</sup> The characters go on to discuss Funston, glorifying him in manly terms and describing how he defeated the Philippine “natives” thereby earning the name “*Chiquito Diablo*” (the little devil).

Tomlinson instilled in his readers the idea that manliness did not necessarily refer exclusively to size. The main character describes his encounter with Funston: “‘I think General Funston is one of the greatest men I ever saw,’ Jack said ‘He has more enthusiasm packed in his little body than I ever saw in any other man. He called us ‘Funston’s Scouts’ and I don’t care what title I get later, I never shall be as proud of any as I am of that.’”<sup>609</sup> Tomlinson uses such fictional moments to forward his agenda; in creating a fictional account of Funston, he describes exactly how boys should act to become men like Funston.

### Conclusion

It is important to understand how media makers used gendered terms to create various caricatures of Funston. During Funston’s life, his public image became a fictionalized version of himself. Imperialists and anti-imperialists merged the image of Funston and the imperialist endeavor into one cohesive symbol. The language of chivalry and masculinity created a symbolic Funston that ideologues invoked for their own ends. Race underscored the notions of civilization and masculinity as imperialists justified expansion by “othering” Filipino

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607. *Ibid.*, 5.

608. *Ibid.*, 118.

609. *Ibid.*, 243.

nationalists. Both Funston's supporters and detractors applied the language of chivalry and manhood to place an imagined Funston into a larger political debate.

The contest between Funston the hero and Funston the villain continued well after his death. In order to understand his legacy, one must understand how people like Fowler, Edison, Twain, and Crosby fictionalized Funston through a variety of traditional and new media. Funston remained a political symbol until his death, but, after his death, his memory rested largely on the idea of Funston as "the hero" or "the villain." Both the imperialists and anti-imperialists used the language of manhood and masculinity to create a symbolic Funston. Those who wrote of Funston in the twentieth and into the twenty-first century continued to use these constructs.

It is critical to understand the political importance of Funston as a symbol of manhood. To speak of gender is to speak of the political, and, as the next chapter examines, accepting Funston as a noble image of manhood validated his actions and missions as well as the codification of gender roles in line with late 19<sup>th</sup> century and early 20<sup>th</sup> century mores. Portraying Funston as melodramatic hero and adventurer advocated the legitimacy of American intervention. Those who wrote about Funston in the terms of the popular romance did so in order to reach larger audiences who already understood the cultural language and believed in the conventions.

Funston the hero became a commercial item for consumption. Writers, filmmakers, and composers all saw the ability to profit commercially from peddling in the Funston trade. As a commercial object, Funston represented part of a larger industry that sold the Spanish-American War and American nationalism. Consumers wanted an escape from the daily humdrum of life, and the fictionalized Funston offered that escape as well as a way to participate vicariously in the

war. Composers produced dozens of songs and marches that brought patriotic fervor into living rooms and town squares. Edison's films reenacted scenes with an air of historic authenticity allowing viewers to see the events. Political cartoons portrayed Funston as a manly outsider ruffling the feathers of overcivilized bureaucrats, and children's literature created a fictionalized Funston to demonstrate the rewards of service to young boys. All the media makers used the language of manhood to promote Funston and sell their works.

Likewise, Mark Twain and Ernst Crosby made concerted attempts to demonstrate Funston as the opposite of manly. The two actively engaged in a public discourse to tarnish Funston's reputation and, by extension, the legitimacy of American actions abroad. They sought to demonstrate that Funston did not represent the heroic, melodramatic figure but, rather, the villain. Funston and the imperialists sold an idea that the realities of war did not match. Funston and the entire imperialistic endeavor, rested on deceit, duplicity, and dishonesty, not the noble and chivalric values that the imperialists claimed. However, the success of Edison's films and Funston's meteoric rise through the military ranks suggest that at least in opening years of the twentieth century, the language of imperialism was the dominant dialectic.

## Chapter 5: The Memory of Frederick Funston

In this chapter, I examine the memory of Frederick Funston from 1917 to 2000. I argue that from 1917 through the 1950s, the memory of Funston the hero became the dominant public memory. The 1960s saw the dominant memory of Funston the hero fade and the memory of Funston the villain contest the collective memory for the next four decades. From the beginning, Funston's memory became a useful tool in political and social discourse, both of which used the language of masculinity to further their objectives. During Funston's life, media makers created two conflicting fictional versions of Funston, the hero and the villain. Media makers used these fictional versions of Funston during times of crisis. For nationalists, Funston served as a model soldier, an emblem of American manhood, and acted as a proxy for manifest destiny and American exceptionalism. Funston's memory became particularly useful to domestic nationalist ideologues when the United States engaged in conflicts abroad: the symbolic Funston promoted bellicose foreign policies at odds with various foreign governments, and peace and isolationist movements.

The ideals of manliness and service remained central to the memory of Funston the hero. Nationalists used the memory of Funston the hero to promote policy by defining masculine gender roles in interventionist and militarist terms. Funston represented a particularly powerful form of manhood, that of "martial manhood." Men enlisted and served their country. There were numerous challenges to the ideal of martial manhood, starting with the interwar years, as the idea of military service and brutality of trench warfare disillusioned millions. WWII reinvigorated the ideal of martial manhood and with it the memory of Funston. However, as the racially exclusionary claims to American manhood dissolved and public opinion on the use of American troops abroad during the Vietnam War changed, so too did the dominant memory of

Funston. As Americans rejected the ideal of white martial masculinity, they questioned the role of the American government at home and, abroad, the memory of Funston the hero faded and the image of Funston the villain gained prominence. In Chicago, citizens called to remove Funston's name from public schools and, in San Francisco a mock court placed him on trial.

Public memorials became key battlegrounds for the memory of Frederick Funston. Between 1917 and 1960, nationalists memorialized Funston by erecting physical monuments to “Funston the Hero”—Fort Funston, Camp Funston, Funston Street, Funston Avenue, Funston Station, the *U.S.S. Frederick Funston*, Funston Elementary School, Funston’s Boyhood Home Memorial, the Funston Medal of Honor statue, Frederick Funston VFW post, and even the town Funston, Georgia. (In fact, the Funston memorial in Iola, Kansas, inspired this author to research and write this dissertation.) Each act of memorializing Funston sought to reinforce a particular memory of Funston with the public. The physical memorial served a distinct purpose and promoted a set of political goals.

Sociologist James M. Mayo notes the significance of memorials, particularly war memorials, in his work, *War Memorials as Political Landscapes*. Mayo argues that each memorial, “a statue, a place, a building, or combination of these and other things—is, at its simplest, a social and physical arrangement of space and artifacts that keep alive the memories of those who were involved.”<sup>610</sup> Yet, Funston’s memorials are not just “war memorials,” simple tributes to the Philippine and Spanish-American War. As Mayo suggests, all memorials, Funston’s included, help to form community and national identity.<sup>611</sup> Each monument erected or pre-existing structure rededicated to Funston’s memory, not only legitimized Funston as a hero,

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610. James M. Mayo, *War Memorials as Political Landscapes: the American Experience and Beyond* (New York: Praeger, 1988), 1.

611. *Ibid.*, 6.

but promoted the role of the federal government both at home and abroad. Places like Camp Funston, *USS Frederick Funston*, and Funston Avenue in San Francisco sought to quietly reassure the public of the righteousness of American intervention abroad by tying the government's programs to the memory of Funston. During the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, the "cult of great men became an integral part... of nationhood."<sup>612</sup> Manhood as embodied by the white man came to symbolize the greatness of the nation (hence the term "Great white man history"). Physical structures depicted Funston as a manly soldier, and the "idealized version of the soldier provided one form of masculine claim on the nation, and vice versa."<sup>613</sup> Funston memorials inducted him into this cult of great men through statuary stone and honorific naming. For much of the twentieth century, Funston the hero served as a as a symbol for manliness and soldierly perfection and, in doing so promoted American nationalism.

The 1960s-2000s saw these physical spaces contested. While other contests existed before the 1960s, this period saw an active public discourse over the physical monuments to Funston. Citizens in San Francisco placed Funston on mock trial and debated the renaming of Funston Ave. In Chicago, the school board discussed changing the name of Funston elementary. These contested spaces did not occur solely in large cities. In Iola, Kansas,, Clyde Toland and the members of the Allen County Historical Society attempted to convince the city and county governments and area residents to donate funds for moving Funston's Boyhood Home memorial to the town square. All three locations debated remembering Funston or actively forgetting him. In San Francisco and Chicago, removing Funston's names from streets, parks, and schools sought to erase him from the public memory. In Iola, Toland argued that the choice to do

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612. John Horne, "Masculinities in Politics and War in the Age of Nation-States and World Wars, 1850-1950" *Masculinities in Politics and War: Gendering Modern History*, ed. Stefan Dudink, (New York: Manchester University Press, 2004), 28.

613. *Ibid.*, 27.

nothing with the home, and let it decay, was tantamount to destroying it and forgetting Funston.<sup>614</sup>

Memorializing Funston did not just occur in concrete structures; media and policy makers invoked memories of Funston on the campaign trail, in advertising, and in speeches in order to promote their own ends. Over the twentieth century, Funston the hero served as a role model for how to defeat the Kaiser, Imperial Japan, and the Viet Cong. Similarly, Funston the villain served to critique American foreign and domestic policy and underscored the folly of American imperialism, the futility of Vietnam, the horrors of war, and the brutality of armed combat. Even though the ends changed, concepts of masculinity continued to underscore both the hero and the villain.

#### The Hero Ascendant: Funston and the Great War

Funston's sudden death while serving the country reinforced the memory of him as a hero: he died while serving in the Southwest, the recent site of the conflict with Pancho Villa. President Wilson became one of the first memory makers. In a widely distributed telegraph, Wilson sent his condolences to Mrs. Funston, stating, "I feel confident that I am expressing the feelings of the whole country when I say that we have lost in him an officer of unusual gallantry,

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614. Collective memory involves identity politics and subsequently differs from history. Psychologists James V. Wertsch and Henry L. Roediger III note that collective memory is not a static set of knowledge or concepts, but a contested space where local groups engage in a struggle against elites and official institutions of the state over their control over understanding the past. Historian Wulf Kansteiner defines collective memory as a three-part interaction between intellectual and cultural traditions, memory makers who adopt and manipulate them, and, ultimately, the consumer who uses, ignores, and transforms it to their own end. At its core the formal study of history attempts to present an accurate account of the past even if it means rejecting favored interpretations and stories, but collective memory ties the past and present interpretively together. Collective memory connects history to the identity of a community. To remain relevant collective memory must have a vital connection to cultural discourse and so as Funston's usefulness in the political discourse faded, so too did his memory.

James V. Wertsch & Henry L. Roediger III (2008) *Collective memory: Conceptual foundations and theoretical approaches*, *Memory*, 16:3, Wulf Kansteiner, "Finding Meaning in Memory: A Methodological Critique of Collective Memory Studies" *History and Theory*, 05/2002 Volume: 41 Issue: 2.

capacity and loyal devotion to the interests of the country.”<sup>615</sup> Wilson’s letter summed up the sentiments of most newspapers. Media makers around the country heralded Funston’s life and solidified the memory of Funston as a hero. The sudden and unexpected death also silenced his critics. The *New York Tribune* declared, “Since the Civil War the United States had no military commander whose fighting qualities and brilliant exploits so endeared him to the people.”<sup>616</sup> Tributes from editors and journalists around the country lamented the loss, retold the stories of the hero, and ignored any criticism of Funston’s tactics. They portrayed Funston as a virtuous man who served his country.

Funston lay in state at both the Alamo and San Francisco City Hall. Both honors reflected the importance of Funston and his memory as a hero. The *Red Bluff Daily News* (CA) noted that he lay in state “where Davy Crockett and the Texas heroes of the famous massacre perished.”<sup>617</sup> *The Daily Illini*, a student newspaper of the University of Illinois, noted that the honor “was the first time this historic structure has been used for this purpose.”<sup>618</sup> The ceremonies drew thousands, filling the Alamo with flowers. Funston also lay in state in the San Francisco City Hall Rotunda, the first person to have such an honor. At his funeral the “Presidio cannons fired thirteen times in a final salute, and city activity stopped for two minutes as a show

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615. Woodrow Wilson, “Message to Mrs. Funston,” Feb 20. 1917, Funston Museum and Research Library, the Eckdall Scrapbook I pg. 4 Section A Shelf.

616. “Funston Falls Dead at Border,” *New-York Tribune*, February 20, 1917, *Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers*. Lib. of Congress, <<http://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn83030214/1917-02-20/ed-1/seq-1/>>.

617. “Nation Will Pay Honor to Funston; Lies in State,” *Red Bluff Daily Newspaper* (Red Bluff, CA.), February 21, 1917, California Digital Newspaper Collection, <http://cdnc.ucr.edu/cgi-bin/cdnc?a=d&d=RBDN19170221.2.2>.

618. “Body of Funston Lies in State Within the Alamo,” *The Daily Illini* (Champaign-Urbana, IL.), February 21, 1917, Illinois Digital Newspaper Collection, <http://idnc.library.illinois.edu/cgi-bin/illinois?a=d&d=DIL19170221.2.4#>.



of respect.”<sup>619</sup> Across the nation, official and unofficial ceremonies mourned the loss of Funston.

The ceremonies at the Alamo held particular symbolic significance. Placing Funston’s body at the Alamo represents the first physical site to memorialize Funston. In the nationalists’ consciousness, the Alamo epitomizes the memorial to the fallen soldier and the U.S. government officially considers it “hallowed ground.” Using the Alamo as a temporary resting place signaled to the nation Funston’s historic importance. The *Topeka State Journal* defined the symbolism of the honor, writing, “It was deemed fitting that the Alamo, cradle of Texas liberty and the scene of one of the most heroic incidents of all time, should shelter the body of the dead general.”<sup>620</sup> The *Topeka State Journal* succinctly encapsulated the importance of the funeral, just as the “heroes” of Texas died fighting for their liberty; Funston died a hero defending the nation.

The public’s response reveals their ubiquitous acceptance of Funston as the hero. Thousands flocked to pay tribute to him and filled the Alamo with flowers and gifts.<sup>621</sup> The *El Paso Herald* noted the popularity of Funston in Texas and that “this popularity extended to all classes as was evidence in the floral offerings, which almost filled the Alamo. Costly floral pieces were side by side with the simple tributes of the humble workmen, who hats in hand and

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619. “Frederick Funston,” National Parks Service: The Presidio of San Francisco, accessed April 7, 2019, <https://www.nps.gov/prsf/learn/historyculture/frederick-funston-page-2.htm>.

620. “Funston’s Body Lies at Alamo,” *The Topeka State Journal*, February 20, 1917, *Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers*. Lib. of Congress, <<https://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn82016014/1917-02-20/ed-1/seq-1/>>.

621. Dave Young, “Maj. General Frederick Funston: Kansas National Guard’s Greatest Soldier,” *Plains Guardian*. Oct 1997, Allen County Historical Society Funston Collection, <https://allencountyhistory.weebly.com/frederick-funstonkansas-guards-greatest-soldier.html>.

with bowed heads filed into the building.”<sup>622</sup> Rich and poor stood side by side in memorial of Funston.

Along with the ceremonies in Texas and California, the State of Kansas issued a formal request to have Funston’s body lie in state in Topeka. The Senate concurring resolution sought to remind the War Department of Kansas’ rightful claim on Funston’s legacy, noting the “love and admiration his own state of Kansas has for him.”<sup>623</sup> The resolution expressed the state’s grief and, sympathy for his family and while wanting to respect their wishes to bury him in the Presidio, reminded them of the ties to the state. The language reminded all that Funston’s legacy lie not just in his ability as a soldier but also “his sterling worth as a man, a father, and a citizen.”<sup>624</sup> The resolution reflects the ties between Funston’s memory and nationalistic manhood. Funston was not just a soldier but a model of manhood. Ultimately, the War Department rejected Kansas’ request due to an inability to find suitable transportation in a timely fashion, but Kansans still demonstrated a physical connection to Funston’s memory.

On April 6, 1917, a little over a month after Funston’s death, the U.S. formally declared war on Germany. Almost immediately, official propagandist and pro-nationalist ideologues perched on Funston’s memory as a hero to further their cause. WWI dramatically reshaped the size and scope of the American government, and Funston figured prominently in selling these new government prerogatives to the American public. Economist Hugh Rockoff estimates the total cost of World War I to the U.S. at roughly \$32 billion, or 52 percent of gross national product at the time.<sup>625</sup> The Federal government harnessed all segments of the economy to fight a

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622. “Funston’s Body is on Way West,” *El Paso Herald* (El Paso, Tex.), February 21, 1917, *Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers*. Lib. of Congress, <<https://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn88084272/1917-02-21/ed-1/seq-4/>>.

623. Ibid.

624. Ibid.

625. Carlos Lozada, “The Economics of WWI,” National Bureau of Economic Research, January, 2005, 3-4. <http://www.nber.org/digest/jan05/w10580.html>.

war which cost more than every previous federal budget combined. Government spending rapidly increased from \$477 million in 1916 to \$8.45 billion in 1918.<sup>626</sup> Financing the war increasingly involved taxation and bonds sold directly to citizens, approaches that relied upon citizens willingly submitting to the state.

In fact, historian Christopher Capozzola notes that WWI did not just alter the economy but fundamentally changed the way citizens interacted with the state. During the war, “Americans discussed their relationship to the state, they used terms such as *duty*, *sacrifice*, and *obligation*.”<sup>627</sup> Funston’s memory served as means to reinforce these values and, in so doing, prompted the citizenry to obey a wartime government. The government needed men to enlist willingly or at the very least respond to conscription notices. During the war, 4,791,172 Americans served in the military with 2,084,000 in France, and 1,390,000 seeing active combat.<sup>628</sup> Nationalists increasingly employed concepts of Christian virtue and civic duty in the recruitment of young men as well as “paternalistic notions that legitimized social hierarchies and demanded obedience to them.”<sup>629</sup> The memory of Funston the hero as a masculine figure who served his country and died defending the border fit neatly into nationalist aims. These obligations “were not just rhetorical flourishes on propaganda posters or phrases in philosophers’ tomes; they were also social practices that made it possible for America to go to war.”<sup>630</sup> Funston the hero stood as a particularly masculine figure and these “manly ideals...played a

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626. Hugh Rockoff, “U.S. Economy and WWI,” Economic History Association, February 10, 2008, <http://eh.net/encyclopedia/u-s-economy-in-world-war-i/>.

627. Christopher Capozzola, *Uncle Sam Wants You: World War I and the Making of the Modern American Citizen* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), 6.

628. Hugh Rockoff, “U.S. Economy and WWI.”

629. Capozzola, *Uncle Sam Wants You*, 6-7.

630. *Ibid.*, 7.

determining role in fashioning ideas of nationhood, respectability, and war.”<sup>631</sup> In a dialectic between man and “not-man,” Funston reinforced that men went to war and served the state.

Funston the hero easily fit into the tropes of WWI propaganda. The same language that cloaked Funston the hero—i.e. the romantic notions of chivalry, manhood, and civilization—became central themes in WWI propaganda. Propaganda depicted Americans as redeemers of civilization, rescuing their allies from the clutches of barbarism and defeating a vicious enemy.<sup>632</sup> Funston acted as one of many sources to instill in young men the notion that their manhood and the fate of civilization depended on their participation in the war.

The terms “civilization” and “savage” continued to connote white masculinity. Allied propaganda declared the German’s “Huns” and “barbarians” in an attempt to cast them as racial and ethnic “others.” Propagandists portrayed the “Hun” as dark-skinned (see figure 5.1) or as non-human (see figure 5.2).<sup>633</sup> In “Beat Back the Hun,” a dark-skinned German peers over a decimated landscape across the ocean. The dark complexioned Hun looms large over the remnants of a once great European civilization. In “Destroy the Brute,” Harry P. Hopps invokes the racial imagery associated with African “barbarism.” In “Destroy the Brute,” Hopps depicts Germans as savage apes destroying culture and violating the sanctity of white womanhood. Just as media makers did in Cuba and the Philippines, they used the language of race to “other” their opponents.

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631. George L. Mosse, *The image of Man: The Creation of Modern Masculinity* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1996), 4.

632. Susan A. Brewer, *Why America Fights: Patriotism and War Propaganda from the Philippines to Iraq* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2009), 47.

633. Frederick Strohmman, 1918 and Harry p Hopps 1917. As cited in Natasha Karunaratne. “The Anti-German Sentiment of WWI.” UCLA: *Reimagining Migration*, accessed April 7, 2019, <https://reimaginingmigration.org/the-anti-german-sentiment-of-world-war-i/>.



Figure 5.1

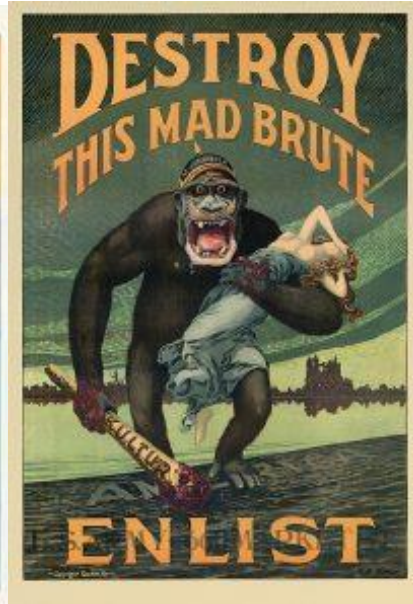


Figure 5.2

Even while Funston lay in state, media makers harnessed Funston the hero to push for intervention in Europe. The *Kansas City Star* published a cartoon, “A Life of Service in a Generation of Selfishness” (see figure 5.3), which depicted a heartbroken Uncle Sam shaking a stoic Funston’s hand while looking down from the heavens upon a line of protesters, one holding a sign reading “Our Mothers Didn’t Raise Their Boys to be Soldiers.”<sup>634</sup> The *Star* became one of the first papers to use the memory of Funston the hero to promote a policy of American intervention abroad. It also wrote of Funston in masculine terms while portraying those who did not want to go to war as selfish cowards hiding behind their mothers and shirking their duty to the state.

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634. “Our Mothers Didn’t Raise Their Boys to be Soldiers,” *Kansas City Star*, February 22, 1917, Funston Museum and Research Library, Eckdall Scrapbook I Section A Shelf II O3.23.160.

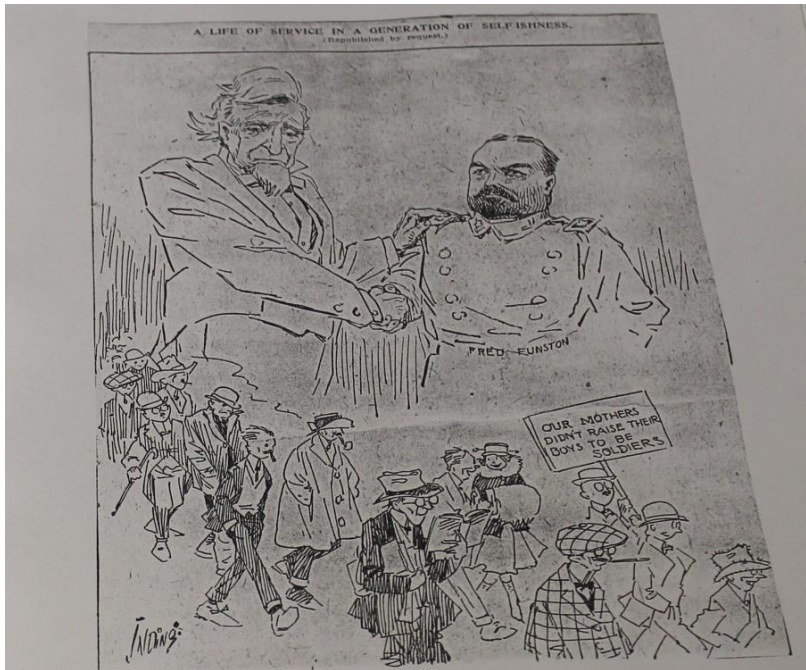


Figure 5.3

The *Star* cartoon used Funston to play on anxiety about masculinity and manhood, shaming men into accepting intervention. During the early twentieth century, “men sought to rescue their sons from the feminizing clutches of mothers and teachers and create new ways to ‘manufacture manhood.’”<sup>635</sup> By connecting men who opposed intervention, with the terms, “boys” and “mothers,” war advocates insinuated a lack of manliness motivated their isolationist opponents. By claiming the men sought shelter behind their mothers’ dresses, the paper implied they were effeminate “mama’s boys.” Becoming a soldier could make these boys men, however.

Cartoons often placed the idealized Funston beside the fictional "Uncle Sam" in an effort to garner acceptance for intervention in Europe (see figure 5.4). Another cartoon, yet again, depicts a stern Uncle Sam holding news of Funston's death, with an off panel gaze, while a

635. Kimmel, *Manhood in America*, 157.

portrait of "Fighting Fred Funston" captioned "Just When I Can't Spare Him!"<sup>636</sup> In the distance storm clouds labeled "war" gather. The cartoon uses Funston's death and his memory as a virtuous soldier to remind patriotic citizens their service to the state is needed now more than ever.



Figure 5.4

Funston became a prominent symbol for the righteousness of the American military cause abroad. Physical monuments and memorials reminded Americans about the value of service, “[F]or example, dedicating a school or hospital as a war memorial reflects the desire to better the human condition. The worthy values of war are put into practice through humanitarian services.”<sup>637</sup> Places like schools and hospitals named after Funston sought to associate manliness, especially manliness in war, with the more universally accepted virtue of service. Historian Robert A. Nye argues: “The greater process of nation building has been successful to the extent that national identity has been effectively embodied in the identity of the individual

636. "Uncle Sam: 'Just When I Can't Spare Him!'," no source, 1917, Kansas Historical Society, <https://www.kshs.org/km/items/view/208142/>.

637. Mayo, *War Memorials*, 5.

soldier as a national masculinity.”<sup>638</sup> The ubiquity of these moments reinforced masculine gender regulation by constant reminders of the appropriate roles for men. Funston monuments reinforced the idea that men had to test themselves and demonstrate their value just as the diminutive Funston proved his worth on the battlefield.

Across the nation, Americans rejected all things German. While anti-Germanism occurred before WWI and steadily increased after 1914, it suddenly and dramatically escalated after 1917.<sup>639</sup> Funston’s untimely death allowed nationalists to use the memory of the hero to further their objectives. Funston became an important symbol of this new American nationalism that denounced all things German. Many media and policy makers publicly fueled anti-German hysteria and urged opposition to and even hatred of Germany as an obligation of all American citizens.<sup>640</sup> In Chicago, a petition to rename an elementary school honoring Otto Von Bismarck (Bismarck Elementary) escalated into a protracted battle in which both sides claimed greater patriotism or authentic American identity. Changing Bismarck Elementary to Funston Elementary served as visible symbol of the war pitting a German figure against an American icon, with those holding to the status quo as “less American” and disloyal. It reinforced the “American” value of patriotic nationalism and reminded children of the virtues of serving the state.

The proposal to rename Bismarck Elementary in the spring of 1917 was ultimately a means for a group of “Poles and Bohemians” to demonstrate their Americanism.<sup>641</sup> Led by Polish school board member Anthony Czarnecki, the group lashed out at six members who

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638. Robert A. Nye, "Western Masculinities in War and Peace." *The American Historical Review* 112, no. 2 (2007), 417.

639. Capozzolla, *Uncle Sam Wants You*, 182.

640. *Ibid.*

641. Joseph Gustaitis, *Chicago Transformed: World War I and the Windy City* (Carbondale: Southern Illinois Press, 2016), 266.



argued to let the dead rest and keep the Bismarck name. Czarnecki quipped, “What difference does it make if he’s dead? Nero and Attila are dead, too, but we don’t seem to revere their names.”<sup>642</sup> The debate went deeper than simply choosing a name for an elementary school; Czarnecki noted the power in naming public places and, thus, pushed for Funston. Not only would a victory ensure standing in the community it would reinforce the “authenticity” of these immigrant groups’ status as genuine Americans.

After almost a year of debate, in May of 1918, Bismarck became Funston Elementary but Lulu Snodgrass, one of the six members opposed to the change, “huffed that Czarnecki can talk to me about patriotism when he proved that he was born in this country.... When he can prove to me that his ancestors fought for independence in 1776 then he can take me to task for my Americanism and patriotism.”<sup>643</sup> While on the surface the debate looked like a contest over school names, in reality, it allowed Czarnecki and the other immigrants to demonstrate their loyalty. However, both sides bid claim to ultimate national loyalty, one by virtue of ancestral heritage and one by virtue of demonstrable acts, such was the power of Funston and other symbols to frame the debate in patriotic terms. The picture next to the final article shows school-age boys smiling and waving army hats, climbing the building to hoist the new sign captioned “Children at Bismarck School Celebrate Action of School Board in Changing Designation to Gen. Frederick Funston.”<sup>644</sup> Funston symbolized both those qualities the immigrants wanted to demonstrate during the war years and the way in which boys became patriotic men.

In Hutchinson, Kansas, residents renamed “Bismarck Street” “Funston Avenue.”

Tellingly, the story received attention as far away as Los Angeles as it fit into the larger narrative

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642. As Cited in *Chicago Transformed: How World War I and the Windy City*, 266

643. “Bismarck Loses to Funston in 10 month Fight,” *Chicago Tribune*, May 2, 1918, <http://archives.chicagotribune.com/1918/05/02/page/3/article/theyre-glad-the-name-is-changed>.

644. *Ibid.*

of anti-German propaganda. The *Los Angeles Herald* proclaimed that “patriotic citizens” of Bismarck Street had submitted a petition to change the name.<sup>645</sup> The memory of Funston the hero created a new sense of patriotism and nationalism: patriotic citizens should be like Funston, not Bismarck, and they could serve the war by promoting Funston especially as it erased traces of German history.

During WWI and after a new fort, Fort Funston, stood watch over the San Francisco Bay Area. Although purchased in 1890 for the proposed Lake Merced Military Reservation, little occurred in the way of building until WWI provided the funding and the name change.<sup>646</sup> Fort Funston stood high above San Francisco and symbolically reassured the citizens that the federal government would protect them, just as Funston did during the great quake a decade earlier. In a few short months, engineers constructed a “temporary” battery of four twelve-inch mortars. While originally intended for temporary use, the army did not decommission the battery until 1945.<sup>647</sup>

The federal government needed soldiers and while “Uncle Sam” famously “jabbed his finger at the American public” and prodded men to enlist, Funston’s memory also served to reinforce the now famous image. The *Marin Journal* (Marin, CA) used Funston’s service with the 589<sup>th</sup> regiment company D to encourage enlistment. The *Marin Journal* instructed men that they had a “Chance to Join Company D Now,” and proclaimed that during the 1916 crisis with Mexico it has “conducted itself in such a manner as to win the praise of the late Major General F.

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645. “Want Bismarck St. to be Named Funston Avem” *Los Angeles Herald*, June 20, 1917, California Digital Newspaper Collection, <http://cdnc.ucr.edu/cgi-bin/cdnc?a=d&d=LAH19170620.2.282&srpos=1&e=-----en--20--1-byDA-txt-txIN-%22Funston+Ave%22-----1>.

646. “Fort Funston,” California Military Department: Military History and Museums, updated January 12, 2016, <http://www.militarymuseum.org/FtFunston.html>.

647. Ibid.

Funston.”<sup>648</sup> Funston’s praise lasted well after the punitive expedition and continued as a badge of honor into the First World War.

The increasingly fictionalized version of Funston, smiling from heaven and shaking hands with Uncle Sam, touted the virtues of patriotism. In Missouri, two counties held “monster patriotic demonstrations” to honor the “soldier boys.”<sup>649</sup> In a carefully choreographed display where “every scheme was studied to show the young men all possible honors,” the symbolic “Funston the hero” played a central role. The high school bands played a number of “patriotic tunes” but started with “General Funston’s March” and ended with “the Star-Spangled Banner.”<sup>650</sup> The fictionalized Funston the hero continued, after the death of the historical Funston, to promote nationalistic and patriotic fervor.

The memory of Funston served as part of a multifaceted movement that combined the ideas of masculinity with service and duty. During the “patriotic demonstration,” the Governor of Missouri, Frederick D. Gardner, declared that the young soldiers were “summoned to the colors under the terms of the law.”<sup>651</sup> One of the chief principles of the law, Gardner proclaimed was “reciprocity of duty.” Citizens had a duty to serve the state in times of need, just as the state had a duty to protect its citizens. However, although a symbolic Funston added to the anti-German hysteria, Gardner attacked the Kaiser but moderated the anti-German rhetoric when he reminded mothers and fathers of German ancestry in the crowd, “your willingness to see the boys go is but an expression of that loyalty and patriotism which has ever been a trait in the

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648. “Chance to Join Company D Now,” *Marin Journal* (San Rafael, CA), September 20, 1917, California Digital Newspaper Collection, <http://cdnc.ucr.edu/cgi-bin/cdnc?a=d&d=MJ19170920.2.9&srpos=21&e=24-04-1917---1925--en--20--21-byDA-txt-txIN-Funston-----1>.

649. “Honors for the Soldier Boys,” *Mexico Missouri Message*. (Mexico, Audrain County, Mo.), September 20, 1917, *Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers*. Lib. of Congress, <<http://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn89067273/1917-09-20/ed-1/seq-1/>>.

650. *Ibid.*

651. *Ibid.*

American citizen.”<sup>652</sup> Gardner courted German-Americans for the war effort by emphasizing their patriotism and ultimate loyalty to their adopted home. Funston acted as part of a larger propaganda function that relied on patriotism in order for citizens to subject themselves to the state, even citizens whose loyalties might initially appear divided or uncertain.

Others even used the absence of Funston to remind readers what “men” should do. In its article, simply titled “Funston,” the *New York Evening World* wrote of Funston: “when bullets fly we’ll long, you bet, for Little Fightin’ Fred,” and that he was “the man who [knew] just what to do.”<sup>653</sup> It also cloaked him in the language of patriotism and noble service. The editorial continued, “I’ll bet my life that some day when you and I will wish old Fate could give us back a certain sawed-off guy who sleeps wrapped in Old Glory in the City of the Dead.”<sup>654</sup> Funston, or at least the idea of Funston, became a prominent symbol of service and sacrifice to the state, a cogent representation of duty, obligation, and manhood

While there were numerous other memorializations of Funston, the most powerful came in the creation of Camp Funston, Kansas. Camp Funston became one of the largest training camps in the United States with between 2,800 and 4,000 buildings. Alongside the barracks, the camp contained “theaters, social centers, infirmaries, libraries, schools, workshops, and a coffee roasting house” and cost roughly \$10 million to build.<sup>655</sup> Camp Funston served as a tangible reminder of service and sacrifice. Media makers at the time understood the importance of the camps. While there were over one hundred such camps, Camp Funston, Kansas, “was the largest

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652. Ibid.

653. “Funston,” *The Evening World* (New York, N.Y.), May 14, 1917, *Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers*. Lib. of Congress, <<http://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn83030193/1917-05-14/ed-1/seq-16/>>.

654. Ibid.

655. “Camp Funston,” Kansas State Historical Society: Kansaspedia, updated October 2018, <https://www.kshs.org/kansapedia/camp-funston/16692>.

of the 16 divisional cantonment training camps.”<sup>656</sup> The *Sacramento Union* noted, “More than one hundred camps are fitting America’s youth for shock of battle.”<sup>657</sup> The rise of militaristic nationalism in the twentieth century dovetailed with defining masculinity in terms of military service. Camp Funston became a center to showcase this particular vision of American masculinity, and the camp’s rapid growth and great expense illustrated the national priority placed on regulating masculinity.

The *Bismarck Tribune* ran a headline about Camp Funston that read “40,000 Future Funston’s Being Whipped into Shape to Lead You and Your Friends in Freedom’s Fight.”<sup>658</sup> Funston became synonymous with disciplined soldiers through the paper’s cheering headline. The headline asserted the idea that at Camp Funston, where over 40,000 enlistees passed through before heading to Europe, boys became men. The *Lexington Intelligencer* (Lexington, MO) also used Funston as a symbol for masculinization when they claimed the person “most useful to the army and nation” was a “commander who can make soldiers out of American boys” and “for that reason the loss of a general with Funston’s tried capacity is a grievous one at this moment of crisis.”<sup>659</sup> Camp Funston attempted to fill the void of General Funston but the goal remained the same—to take “boys from the farm and the workshop and the college” and turn them into men.<sup>660</sup>

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656. Ibid.

657. “More than One Hundred Camps Are Fitting America’s Youth for Shock of Battle,” *Sacramento Union*, December 20, 1917, California Digital Newspaper Collection, <http://cdnc.ucr.edu/cgi-bin/cdnc?a=d&d=SU19171220.2.120&srpos=61&e=24-04-1917---1925--en--20--61-byDA-txt-txIN-Funston-----1>.

658. “40,000 Future Funston’s Being Whipped into Shape to Lead You and Your Friends in Freedom’s Fight,” *The Bismarck Tribune* (Bismarck, N.D.), May 23, 1917, *Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers*. Lib. of Congress, <<http://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn85042243/1917-05-23/ed-1/seq-6/>>.

659. “General Funston,” *The Lexington Intelligencer* (Lexington, Mo.), May 25, 1917, *Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers*. Lib. of Congress, <<http://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn86063623/1917-05-25/ed-1/seq-2/>>.

660. Ibid.

Historians, newspapers, and the government all promoted the memory of Funston as a hero, a figure who could turn boys into men. Even critics of the war did not use the memory of Funston as a villain; instead, they used Funston as a hero to shape their argument. Not long after his death, it became politically ineffective to repeat the criticisms associated with Funston the villain. Emma Goldman, a prominent anarchist, had previously argued against the government and size of the military, often directly invoking Funston. In June 1917, her protest against the draft noted the “government to be wrong and military service an insult to humanity.”<sup>661</sup>

Goldman used the idea of obligation to the state and sacrifice to protest against military service by asserting that the military created thoughtless humans. She did not directly attack Funston as a man; rather, in her argument she claimed “I am supported in this contention by no less a military light than General Funston ‘The first duty of an officer or enlisted man,’ says our noble warrior, ‘is unquestioning obedience and loyalty to the government to which he has sworn allegiance, it makes no difference if he approves of that government or not.’”<sup>662</sup> Goldman used Funston’s own opinion to reinforce her thesis in the event anyone would accuse her of misrepresenting the military mind. She argued that one should not sacrifice their thoughts and liberty and thus the problem was not Funston or his actions but what obligation to the state meant for the individual.

#### Swords to Plowshares: 1919-1936

The propaganda of WWI utilized similar melodramatic and chivalric themes as the media makers had previously employed to cast Funston as hero and villain. Posters portrayed the war as a means to secure one's manhood and brave soldiers as valiant knights defending women and

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661. “Emma Goldman and Alexander Berkman Anarchists,” *New-York Tribune*, June 24, 1917, *Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers*. Lib. of Congress, <<http://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn83030214/1917-06-24/ed-1/seq-38/>>

662. *Ibid.*

civilization from the clutches of German barbarism. Young men enlisted with the romantic notion that war was a gentleman's endeavor and that sacrificing their lives was the ultimate service to their state. The realities of trench war proved startlingly different from the romanticized portrayals of war and left a generation "lost" and disillusioned with the materialistic and social norms of the commodity culture.

Funston's vision of martial manhood faltered at the same time a host of new heroes returned from the trenches of Europe. WWI resulted in the creation of a series of monuments and memorials that recalled the "war to end all wars" which ranged from the "triumphant doughboy" to the "mournful soldier."<sup>663</sup> The realities of WWI did not reflect the stories of Funston's wars namely, war was not a proving ground for men but war was hell. Ernest Hemmingway reflected the shift in masculinity in *Men without Women* (1927). In this short collection, "weary warriors reveal biting cynicism and emptiness at the core of modern American masculinity."<sup>664</sup> The ideal of the martial man proved hollow to many American men returning from the trenches and thus the memory of Funston lost much of its clout.

After the war, Camp Funston, much like the memory of Funston the hero, lost much of its usefulness. Media makers used the 19<sup>th</sup> century notions of manliness and chivalry to create Funston the hero, but those ideals no longer appealed to large portions of society. Following WWI, Camp Funston served as a major camp to muster out returning soldiers, but by 1924 the army decommissioned Camp Funston and dismantled all the buildings.<sup>665</sup> The *Washington Post* noted, "[a]rmy tractors are pulling up concrete posts and breaking up the asphalt streets" and that

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663. Jennifer Wingate, *Sculpting Doughboys: Memory, Gender, and Taste in America's World War I Memorials* (Burlington: Ashgate, 2013).

664. Kimmel, *Manhood in America*, 214.

665. "Camp Funston," Kansas State Historical Society

the camp was “to become an oats field.”<sup>666</sup> Later generations of historians did not write about Camp Funston for its role in training doughboys but rather as the possible ground zero for the American outbreak of Spanish flu of 1918.<sup>667</sup> With the end of the “war to end all wars,” the need for a nationalistic, symbolic Funston who molded boys into men for combat vanished, just like the need for Camp Funston. Returning Camp Funston to an oats field followed perfectly the biblical allegory of turning swords into plowshares.

I do not wish to make the 1960s and 1970s seem like a sudden and drastic change in the ideals of manhood. Minority groups had long pushed for inclusion into American society, as evidenced by the 1920s. Despite martial manhood floundering, white middle class manhood still remained the hegemonic ideal. African Americans pushed for greater social and economic inclusion, but were met with swift and violent repression as evidence by the growing political power of the Ku Klux Klan and the Chicago and Tulsa massacres. By the middle of the 1920s Klan membership ranged from three to eight million.<sup>668</sup> Further attempts of African Americans to assert their rightful claims to citizenship resulted in the destructions of homes and neighborhoods, with impunity for white perpetrators.

As the symbolic Camp Funston vanished, media makers used Funston's memory to remind readers that the possibility of peace existed. *The Chicago Tribune* and several other prominent national papers noted, “Sons of Funston and Aguinaldo Go to West Point.”<sup>669</sup> In

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666. "Camp Funston to be Oats Field," *The Washington Post*, April 09, 1924, Proquest.Historcial Newspapers

667. John M. Barry, “The site of the origin of the 1918 pandemic and its Public Health Implications,” U.S. National Library of Medicine National Institutes of Health, January 20, 2004, <http://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/pmc/articles/PMC340389/>. It should be noted Barry attempts to argue that a different outbreak may have occurred in Haskell, KS but most scholars still agree the epidemic began at Ft. Funston.

668. “The Ku Klux Klan in the 1920s” PBS, American Experiences. Accessed 6/3/2019 <https://www.pbs.org/wgbh/americanexperience/features/flood-klan/>

669. "SONS OF FUNSTON AND AGUINALDO GO TO WEST POINT," *Chicago Daily Tribune*, May 20, 1923, ProQuest Historical Newspapers.



1921, the media noted Frederick Funston Jr.'s appointment to West Point and expressed hopes that he would follow in his father's footsteps.<sup>670</sup> Papers across the nation recalled the memory of "General Funston's brilliant military career" and how the capture "broke the back of the native resistance", but they also struck conciliatory tones noting Aguinaldo's "insurgent activities were over."<sup>671</sup> More importantly, after the "war to end all wars," the *Tribune* reminded readers of the symbolic nature of the two foes' progeny attending the same school. The *Washington Post* noted that in "a little more than two decades past Americans and insurgent Filipinos were fighting. Now they are in harmony—and the sons of two conspicuous leaders in that conflict are to be classmates at West Point."<sup>672</sup> The *Post* also noted, "Such things happen under the American flag, for beneath its beneficent folds antagonism fades."<sup>673</sup> The national ideal in the 1920s was about peace—not the nationalistic militarism of the 1890s and early 1900s.

The 1920s and 1930s saw a decline in Funston's usefulness as a national symbol as his memory began to fade. WWI exposed the myths of martial manhood, and by the Great Depression many rejected the idea that military service resulted in long term economic success. For many men who sought the reassurances of manhood in the military, the realities of the interwar years proved a stark contrast.<sup>674</sup> Economic success and "military glory had proven elusive to the typical G.I. Joe."<sup>675</sup> By the 1930s, "[h]eroism was a masculine dream possible only in the mythic fantasy or daytime reverie."<sup>676</sup> Soldiers dutifully served and found

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670. "Funston's Son Will Work Way through School.," *Los Angeles Times*, Sep 10, 1921. ProQuest Historical Newspapers and "Lieut. Funston to Quit Army Life for Business," *The Washington Post*, May 21, 1929. ProQuest Historical Newspapers.

671. "SONS OF FOES TO BE WEST POINT CADETS," *Los Angeles Times*, May 20, 1923. ProQuest Historical Newspapers.

672. "Under the Flag," *The Washington Post*, May 23, 1923, ProQuest Historical Newspapers.

673. *Ibid.*

674. Kimmel, *Manhood in America*, 192.

675. *Ibid.*

676. *Ibid.*, 212.

themselves unemployed or underemployed. Funston's name continued to appear in the papers in various "remember when" articles and advertisements but lacked the clout and political commentary his memory formerly commanded.

In the wake of Great Depression, the association between occupation and manhood faltered. As unemployment skyrocketed, even those with jobs were not significantly better off than the unemployed as workers lost nearly a third of their real income between 1929 and 1932.<sup>677</sup> Even so, Funston's manly aura saw limited appeal as the "doer" in terms of financial success. An advertisement in the *Chicago Tribune* hauled out Funston's memory with other notable generals and presidents to celebrate the Tobey Furniture Store's seventy-fifth birthday.<sup>678</sup> At some point during his life, Funston purchased furniture from Tobey Furniture and his name was now a marketing ploy. The ad tied consumerism and the ability to purchase furniture to manhood. Horoscopes and fortunetellers continued to pull out Funston's name every November 9 as a reminder of successful people born on that day.<sup>679</sup> Of note, Funston's title in horoscopes of the time is given simply as "Frederick Funston, soldier."

#### A Hero to Win the Pacific: 1940-1955

As economic turmoil and international crises mounted abroad, the myth of "Fighting Fred" sprung back to life. The late 1930s and the 1940s offered a "temporary respite" from the questioned martial manhood of the 1920s and 1930s. During the late 1930s "men had been able to prove on the battlefield what they had found difficult to prove at the workplace and in their homes [during the Great Depression]—that they were dedicated providers and protectors."<sup>680</sup> As

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677. Christina S. Jarvis *The Male Body at War: American Masculinity during WWII* (DeKalb, IL: Northern Illinois Press, 2004), 15.

678. "Tobey Furniture Store to Mark 75th Birthday," *Chicago Daily Tribune*, February 1, 1931 ProQuest Historical Newspapers.

679. "What Today Means to You," *Washington Post*, November 9, 1932, and November 9, 1933. ProQuest Historical Newspapers.

680. Kimmel, *Manhood in America*, 223.

war loomed in Asia and Europe, the need for a symbol of patriotic manhood became necessary again. Historian Christina Jarvis notes how “during WWII the American military, government, and other institutions shaped the male body both figuratively and physically in an effort to communicate impressions of national strength to U.S. citizens and other nations.”<sup>681</sup> As the memory of Funston became more politically useful, individuals began to invoke the legacy of the hero to support U.S. intervention in WWII.

WWII saw the need to harness all aspects of society for the war effort. Much like WWI, the government relied on propaganda that sought to tie manhood to service. A series of Allied defeats in France and the East Indies increased the dire need for American intervention, but that could only occur with a willing population. As Germany rolled across Europe and more territory fell under Japanese control in the Pacific, it became more important to rally the American populace around the nationalistic ideals. Defending liberty and freedom became as crucial to American propaganda as defending women and children from German barbarism, and so Funston's memory again became a useful political tool.

William Allen White, a staunch interventionist and Funston's old friend, used the memory of Funston to remind his readers of the necessity of the patriotic man. The *Emporia Gazette* explained to readers that Funston was as “dashing as Sheridan...taciturn as Grant, as charming as Jackson, as witty as old Billy Sherman, and as brave as John Paul Jones.”<sup>682</sup> The deliberate omission of Pershing is telling. Recalling Funston's heroism and ignoring Pershing, served to remind the populace of the great generals that served, while glossing over the horrors of WWI. White went on to chair "The Committee to Defend America By Aiding the Allies" in

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681. Jarvis, *The Male Body at War*, 4-5.

682. “Chance,” *The Emporia Gazette*, March 2, 1938, Funston Museum and Research Library, Eckdall Scrapbook II.

1940 and continued to support the American war effort until his death in 1944. As pressures mounted in Europe during the years leading up to WWII, White consistently pushed for intervention and supported the Allied cause.

Memorials to Funston across the nation reminded the populace of the legitimacy of defending American interests abroad. As San Francisco prepared to open the Golden Gate Bridge, the city leaders discussed whom they should name the approaching street after. In both the national news and on the floor of the House of Representatives, Congressman Richard J. Welch (R-CA) explained that by saving the city, restoring order, and giving the city hope in a time of emergency Funston was the logical choice.<sup>683</sup> Street signs are important reminders of nationalistic identity. While often taken for granted, James M. Mayo explains that “it is ridiculous to think of a street-corner as a glorious war memorial. On the other hand, knowing that you are at Bunker Hill Avenue quietly reinforces the legitimacy of your nation.”<sup>684</sup> Placing Funston Avenue leading into the Golden Gate Park legitimized Funston’s actions both at home and abroad. Funston Avenue tied the memory of Frederick Funston to the engineering feat of building the Golden Gate Bridge.

December of 1940 saw military planners begin to prepare for U.S. involvement. At Fort Riley, planners rebuilt Camp Funston and stationed the 2nd Cavalry Division there.<sup>685</sup> A month after the attack on Pearl Harbor, the *Chicago Defender* reminded readers: “If war conditions necessitate the movement of the Second Cavalry division to the Philippine Islands, this territory will not be unfamiliar to the organization.”<sup>686</sup> The *Defender* invoked the legacy of the 2<sup>nd</sup>

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683. Hon Richard J. Welch of California on the house floor, “Major General Frederick Funston Extension of Remarks,” February 20, 1940, Funston Museum and Research Library, Eckdall Scrapbook II.

684. Mayo, *War Memorials*, 26.

685. “Fort Riley During WWII,” Fort Riley, updated October 27, 2009, <http://www.riley.army.mil/News/Article-Display/Article/471760/world-war-ii/>.

686. “Philippines familiar to 2nd cavalry division,” *The Chicago Defender (National Edition)*, January 3, 1942, ProQuest Historical Newspapers.

Calvary and Funston to remind readers that Americans had historically defended the Philippines and could continue to do so.

Funston returned as a symbol for masculinity and as an ideal to sculpt men. WWII saw a financially weary populace reimagine the nation in explicitly masculine terms.<sup>687</sup> During WWII, the American government needed to mobilize both resources and manpower to flex its muscle abroad, so reconstructing public images of masculinity became a crucial goal of the war effort.<sup>688</sup> Funston the hero recalled the nostalgia of the war, particularly wars “like the Spanish-American and Philippine-American wars, which allowed men to reassert their fighting prowess and chivalric ideals... the Second World War provided a crucial opportunity for men to display characteristics such as strength, bravery, and usefulness that had been called into question during the 1930s.”<sup>689</sup> Funston’s memory recalled the fighting prowess of the American man and worked to encourage other men to emulate his masculinity by enlisting.

The new Camp Funston still fulfilled the same symbolic purposes as the original. The camp tied the idea of manliness to military service. The *Kansas City Times* proclaimed the “rebuilding of Camp Funston... recalls the name of a Kansas soldier whose life was an adventure story in the best American tradition.”<sup>690</sup> The *Times* further described Funston by William Allen White’s earlier words: “dashing as Sheridan... taciturn as Grant, as charming as Jackson, as witty as old Billy Sherman, and as brave as John Paul Jones,” furthering the idea of Funston the hero.<sup>691</sup> In claiming that Funston was the “antithesis of Pershing in many ways” the *Times* drew a distinction between the fighting styles of Funston and that of WWI.<sup>692</sup> Funston “was a soldier

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687. Jarvis, *The Male Body at War*, 185.

688. *Ibid.*, 11.

689. *Ibid.*, 185-186.

690. “Funston’s Life Was an Adventure Story in the American Tradition,” *Kansas City Times*, February 7, 1941, Funston Museum and Research Library, Eckdall Scrapbook I.

691. *Ibid.*

692. *Ibid.*

by a succession of brilliant chances” as opposed to the professional Pershing. The American military would not repeat the horrors of WWI in this next military episode.

Media makers used Funston and his namesake, Camp Funston, to recreate the tie between manliness and enlistment. In November 1941, in an article titled “Attractive Hostesses Go To Kansas Camp.” the *Chicago Defender* prodded men to enlist.<sup>693</sup> Soldiers at Camp Funston “need not be lonely” as they could now mingle with the attractive ladies.<sup>694</sup> As Jarvis notes, military training reshaped the body and became a “vehicle for restoring physical vigor” and demonstrating masculinity.<sup>695</sup> Many recruitment posters intended as recruiting tools promised improved physical fitness and physique. The article tied together training at Camp Funston with military service and manliness and even virility; women found soldiers attractive and attractive women served their country.

Camp Funston symbolized the ideal American military system. At the camp men “will know why they are fighting as well as how to fight.”<sup>696</sup> The instructions included history, economics, geography, and “differences between the American system of government and the systems of the Fascist, Nazi and Communist countries.”<sup>697</sup> Further, Funston men would know the difference “between fact and propaganda, especially the methods used by the totalitarian governments.”<sup>698</sup> Highlighting the educational systems and training at the camp confirmed the righteousness of the American cause for the domestic audience.

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693. "Attractive Hostesses Go to Kansas Camp," *The Chicago Defender (National Edition)*, November 08, 1941. ProQuest Historical Newspapers..

694. Ibid.

695. Jarvis, *The Male Body at War*, 65.

696. "Classes Begin for Camp Funston Men," *The Chicago Defender (National Edition)*, December 27, 1941, ProQuest Historical Newspapers.

697. Ibid.

698. Ibid.

Even into the 1950s, official U.S. Army propaganda films closely associated training at Camp Funston with manliness. Propaganda films about Camp Funston declared, “Although training in general is geared to modern warfare, no one has ever devised a substitute for top physical condition and men of the 10th Infantry are constantly training to keep at the peak of readiness. Every obstacle in this carefully-designed course is for toughening another set of muscles or increasing a soldier's agility.”<sup>699</sup> Intense physical conditioning not only served to create soldiers fit for the demands of combat but enhanced the camp’s recruitment tool.

The *Chicago Tribune* used Funston to invoke the idea of paternalistic manliness and duty. A letter to the editor of the *Tribune* noted that Funston often claimed “that if officers did their duty in looking after the well being [sic] of their troops, the enforcing of discipline would take care of itself.”<sup>700</sup> Failings in discipline, particularly court-martials, “were reflections of weakness in his officers.”<sup>701</sup> With a man like Funston in command, soldiers “will go to the gates of hell and drag out the devil.”<sup>702</sup> As media makers deliberately tied Nazi ideology to the idea of evil, these stories reassured readers that American masculinity would not just win the war but could also triumph over both the Nazis and evil itself. Good leadership like Funston's would triumph in any condition.

More than two months before the attack on Pearl Harbor and America's subsequent entry into the war, the Army christened an attack transport the *USAT Frederick Funston*.<sup>703</sup> The *Frederick Funston* capitalized on the mythology of Funston the hero; just as Funston the hero

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699. “The Big Picture, Episode 262: This Is Fifth Army.” Records of the Office of the Chief Signal Officer, United States: National Archives and Records Administration. Army Pictorial Service. Movie. <http://search.alexanderstreet.com/view/work/1790996>.

700. Pierre O. Florence, “VOICE OF THE PEOPLE,” *Chicago Daily Tribune*, September 22, 1941, ProQuest Historical Newspapers.

701. Ibid.

702. Ibid.

703. In 1943 the Army transferred command of the *USAT Frederick Funston* to the Navy where it operated as the *USN Frederick Funston* until 1946 when it transferred back to the Army.

ferried his troops to the other side of the Bagbag River, the *USAT Frederick Funston* would safely carry troops across the Pacific. The *Chicago Tribune* reassured its readers of the security of the steel hull of the Army's transport ship. The *Funston* became "the first United States Army transport ever built expressly for troop carrying purposes."<sup>704</sup> With the image of Funston shaping domestic opinions about the troops, the U.S. government capitalized on Funston's cachet when it began launching the transport fleet. These tools of national imagination were a significant part of the war effort as the government needed to convince people to fight.

On September 27, 1941, the first batch of fourteen Liberty ships entered service. The series title was itself symbolic, but only six of the fourteen ships carried an individual's name. The *Frederick Funston* entered the water alongside her sister ships, the *John C. Fremont* and the *Patrick Henry*.<sup>705</sup> While all fourteen ships had identical hulls, the shipyards built the others as cargo ships. Only the *Funston* had the added expense, interior configuration, and the express purpose of a transport. Funston's family members christened and sponsored the ship and President Roosevelt heralded the new liberty ship as a "blow against a national 'menace.'"<sup>706</sup>

The fact that the *Funston* was the only ship of fourteen which was operated by the Army, gave the launching of *Funston* a particular ideological weight. Major General Kenyon A. Joyce "expressed the personal congratulations of Secretary of War Henry L. Stimson."<sup>707</sup> Stimson discussed *Funston* and *USAT Frederick Funston* in the terms of righteous manhood remarking, "It is particularly appropriate...that an army transport should bear the name of that illustrious soldier, Frederick Funston. He typified in large degree all that we revere in American

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704. "Army Transport at Tacoma." *New York Times*, September 28, 1941. ProQuest Historical Newspapers.

705. No Title, *Chicago Tribune*, September 27, 1941, Funston Museum and Research Library, Eckdall Scrapbook I.

706. "Transport Launched in 14 Ships 'Blow to the menace of our Nation'," *Kansas City Star*, September 28, 1941, Funston Museum and Research Library, Eckdall Scrapbook I.

707. Unclear title, unclear date, Funston Museum and Research Library, Eckdall Scrapbook I.



manhood.”<sup>708</sup> Funston, and by affiliation the *USAT Frederick Funston*, symbolized the American mission abroad and how only the American man could protect the world. The Mayor of Tacoma, Henry P. Cain, declared the *Funston* “will carry soldiers and supplies to our outlying bases, thus fulfilling a vitally essential role in our great national defense program.” He was “confident this new transport will carry on the tradition of that great soldier whose name it bears.”<sup>709</sup> Cain’s statement underscores the symbolic significance in naming the *USAT Frederick Funston*, the ship, like the man, fulfilled a vital role in American foreign policy.

On December 7, 1941, Japan attacked the U.S. fleet at Pearl Harbor, plunging the country into war. Between 1941 and 1945, almost 19 million Americans served directly in the service with 38.8% (6.3 million) volunteering.<sup>710</sup> The Philippines quickly became the first-full scale battleground for American troops in the Pacific. Reeling from a surprise attack, the nation needed a victory. Funston’s historic victories in the Philippines provided an ideal historical link to recent events that encouraged public support for the war. *The Chicago Tribune* referred readers to previous wars in the Philippines and looked towards Funston’s heroics. *The Tribune* noted for its readership that after Funston’s capture of Aguinaldo and the defeat of the insurrection, the islands “under American control [...] have prospered.”<sup>711</sup> While *the Tribune* painted an overly idealistic relationship between the U.S. and the Philippines, the message to the public was clear: the world is better off with an American presence. For the sake of the people of the Philippines, the U.S. should not abandon them to the Japanese.

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708. Ibid.

709. Ibid.

710. “U.S. Military by the numbers,” The National WWII Museum, accessed April 7, 2019, <http://www.nationalww2museum.org/learn/education/for-students/ww2-history/ww2-by-the-numbers/us-military.html>.

711. “The Philippine Islands—Our Battleground in the Far East,” *The Chicago Tribune*, December 15, 1941, ProQuest Historical Newspapers.

Across Southeast Asia, Japanese propaganda courted acceptance of occupation by convincing local populations that they were being liberated from Western Imperialism. To perpetuate this façade, the Japanese government set up puppet states and coopted local authorities, revolutionaries, and nationalists to their cause. There is some historical debate over his reasoning, but Emilio Aguinaldo, who Funston had thwarted some fifty years ago, revived Funston's place in American history when he openly supported the Japanese government and "sent a radio message to Gen. Douglas MacArthur 'advising' him to surrender."<sup>712</sup> Aguinaldo's support of the Japanese invasion heightened the usefulness of Funston's legacy.<sup>713</sup> In order to offer a counter narrative against Aguinaldo's call for surrender, newspapers mobilized history in calls to fight back. Funston had captured Aguinaldo (and symbolically liberated the Philippines) under Arthur MacArthur's command—Douglas MacArthur's father—and now Douglas MacArthur would have to harness the same energies, cunning, and skill that Funston exhibited to repeat the same feat. Even as MacArthur retreated, papers called the escape a "historic hegira from Bataan to a country town in Australia," a feat which could only be compared to the daring exploits of Frederick Funston in the Philippines.<sup>714</sup> The papers crafted a heroic view of Funston in order to alleviate public fears about American fortunes in the Philippines.

History became a central piece of the American propaganda machine. The American Historical Association (AHA) published a series of documents that noted the American position in historical terms. In a series of pamphlets entitled, *What Future for the Islands in the Pacific*, Felix M. Kessing documented the historical and current American policy. In *Why Are the*

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712. "Aguinaldo—Man Who Swaps Sides at Drop of a Hat," *The Chicago Daily Tribune*, February 7, 1942. ProQuest Historical Newspapers.

713. Ibid.

714. "McArthur's Feat Placed," unknown paper, exact date unknown Feb/March 1942, Funston Museum and Research Library, Eckdall Scrapbook II.

*Powers Interested*, Kessing and the American Historical Association noted the benevolence of American imperialism and that “at the peace settlement with Spain a fateful decision was made. United States negotiators had the chance to acquire, along with the Philippines, the whole of the Spanish holdings in the South Seas—the Marianas, Palaus, and Carolinas. In that age of sea power they judged it enough to take only the island of Guam, with its good harbor of Apra.”<sup>715</sup> The AHA explained that the U.S. acted benevolently, historically speaking, and did not expand into the South Pacific simply for expansion’s sake.

The memory of Funston as hero demonstrated a righteousness and historical justification for American involvement in the Pacific. Funston figured in national news by connecting a dire situation in current affairs to the ease of his historic conquest in an effort to inspire hope in the public sphere. Similarly, Funston figured prominently in efforts closer to his hometown to raise support and money for the war. Advertisements across Kansas urged citizens to buy war bonds by noting that, historically, Kansans did their share, and that forty-six years ago Frederick Funston and Arthur MacArthur won in the East and that “today” Dwight D. Eisenhower and Douglas MacArthur were following the tradition of great Kansans.<sup>716</sup> The government harnessed the memory of Funston in the public sphere to raise financial support for its military efforts.

In October of 1944, American forces landed on Leyte Island and began the liberation of the Philippines. Japanese military officials understood the importance of the Philippines and stationed 430,000 troops across the islands and were prepared to commit the entire naval battle fleet to its defense. Both sides understood the importance of the Philippines; for the Americans

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715. Felix M. Kessing, “Why Are the Powers Interested,” American Historical Association: pamphlets, October 1944, accessed April 7, 2019. <https://www.historians.org/about-aha-and-membership/aha-history-and-archives/gi-roundtable-series/pamphlets/what-future-for-the-islands-of-the-pacific/why-are-the-powers-interested>.

716. “Ad No Title,” *The Kansas City Star*, no date, Funston Museum and Research Library, Eckdall Scrapbook I.

it would give them much-needed supply and air bases near Japan, and with success at Leyte, MacArthur could begin his famous island-hopping campaign onto Luzon and eventually the Japanese mainland. The Japanese reasoned that if they could stop the American advance in the Philippines, or make it too costly, then perhaps they could break the American spirit and turn the tide of the war or at a bare minimum, force peace talks.<sup>717</sup>

Despite the Japanese army's lack of artillery and modern equipment especially compared with the U.S. Army between January and August the American and Filipino forces engaged in a brutal battle with 260,000 Japanese troops stationed on Luzon. During the months of fighting, casualties on both sides were staggering. The Japanese army lost virtually all of their military personnel on Luzon, in addition to some 70,000 casualties from the previous battle on Leyte Island.<sup>718</sup> Although the U.S. forces eventually proved victorious, the Japanese army inflicted a high toll on American troops, with almost 47,000 casualties (10,380 killed and 36,550 wounded). Nonbattle casualties were even heavier. From 9 January through 30 June 1945, the Sixth Army on Luzon suffered over 93,000 noncombat casualties, including 260 deaths, most of them from disease. Few campaigns during the entire war had a higher casualty rate.<sup>719</sup>

For both sides morale became crucial as the grueling battle for the islands dragged on. Although WWII and the Spanish-American War had little in common tactically or in their scope of operations, newspapers found ties between the two, noting "forty-five years ago—the 20<sup>th</sup> Kansas followed MacArthur's path in reverse."<sup>720</sup> *The Chicago Daily Tribune* extolled Funston's daring attack across the Pamranga River in the same sentence it noted the "destruction

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<sup>717</sup> "Luzon 1944-1945," U.S. Army Center of Military History, accessed April 7, 2019 <http://www.history.army.mil/brochures/luzon/72-28.htm>.

<sup>718</sup> Ibid.

<sup>719</sup> Ibid.

<sup>720</sup> "Forty-Five Years Ago the 20th Kansas Followed MacArthur's Path in Reverse," Unknown Paper, 1944, Funston Museum and Research Library, Eckdall Scrapbook III.

of vital bridges at Calumpit, Luzon by American planes.”<sup>721</sup> By inserting Funston into the discourse, the papers demonstrated that the U.S. won the struggle in the Philippines forty-five years prior and would do so again.

WWII propaganda sought to engage all segments of society and out produced the Axis powers. American propaganda produced a paradox of racial ideology. One form of American propaganda depicted the Nazi ideology professing the superiority of the white, blonde-hair-blue-eyed Aryan as “evil.”<sup>722</sup> In this line of reasoning, propaganda sought to increase women and African American participation in the workforce and portray a unified front against the Axis. The other forms of propaganda used racial stereotypes to reinforce the superiority of the American man. These stereotypes often used similar imagery as the “coon cartoon” from the Philippines and depicted the Japanese as big-lipped, bucktoothed, subhuman monsters. In every depiction of the Japanese, their lack of whiteness remains a central theme (see figures 5.5-5.10).<sup>723</sup>



Figure 5.5



Figure 5.6

721. “Feat of 3 Mean on Luzon Years Ago Recalled,” *Chicago Daily Tribune*, January 11, 1945. Proquest.

722. I note the word evil vs. wrong, bad, or immoral because of the ethics in the connotations of the words.

723. “U.S. Government Propaganda,” Densho Digital Repository, accessed April 7, 2019, <http://ddr.densho.org/browse/topics/170/>.

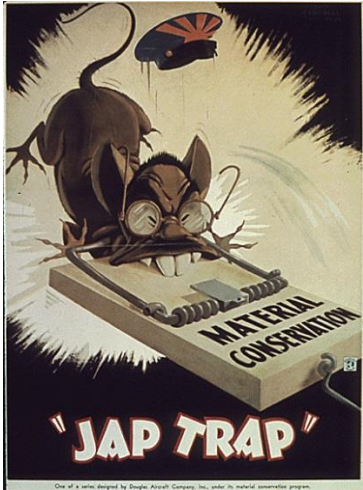


Figure 5.7



Figure 5.8

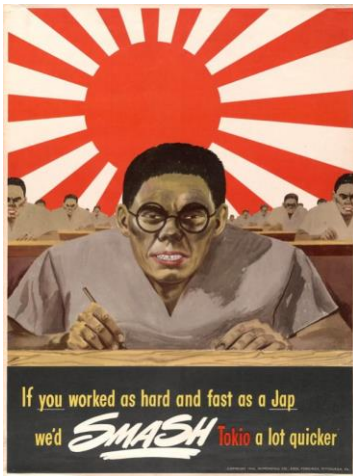


Figure 5.9



Figure 5.10

Despite the propaganda aimed at African Americans and women, American propaganda continued to reinforce white middle-class claims on “real manhood.” In “If you worked as hard and fast as the Jap” (Figure 5.9), the cartoonist draws a Japanese worker as dark skinned with Africanized facial and hair features, leaving little doubt about how to view him. The propaganda dehumanized the Japanese and in particular invoked the differences in skin color to reinforce their “otherness.” Whether they were “yellow” or “black,” the Japanese were “others” at best, vermin at worst monsters.

Across the globe, Allied media makers sought to reassure their domestic audiences about the inevitability of winning the war. As Australians dealt with the very real threat of a Japanese invasion, media makers sought to inspire the populace to fight. In “Long Ago in Luzon: MacArthur the First,” Professor Walter Murdoch (later Sir. Walter Murdoch) used the memory of Funston the hero to reassure the Australian populace that the U.S. could and would defeat the Japanese.<sup>724</sup> In his article, Murdoch proclaimed Luzon had reminded him of the lessons from Funston’s book, *A Memoir of Two Wars*.

Murdoch used Funston as an example of martial manhood, calling him “a gallant soldier” whose book “was a book of adventure” in order to encourage the populace to accept the costs of the war.<sup>725</sup> To Murdoch, Funston represented an ideal of manliness and his book was “a book of sheer adventure without any philosophical reflections. A fighting man tells the story of his fights that is all.”<sup>726</sup> Murdoch proceeded to explain how Funston defeated the insurgent Filipinos and how he reflected the ideal martial manhood as opposed to the Japanese who did not.

The Allies had to defeat the Japanese at any cost because, unlike the Filipinos and Funston, they lacked any sense of common decency. Murdoch described how “now the Americans are in Luzon again with another General MacArthur in command; fighting a different foe in now different kind of warfare!”<sup>727</sup> Funston and the Filipinos shared a sense of honor in war and Murdoch notes how Funston told a rival Filipino officer ““that the everlasting sniping that his [Filipino] and ours [American] were doing served no useful purpose’... this common

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724. Sir Walter Murdoch was a prominent Australian academic who had many ties in radio, publications, and international media, including his daughter Catherine and most famously his great nephew Rupert. It should also be noted that Murdoch is not familiar with Funston outside this work. Several times in the article he wonders what happened to Funston after the capture of Aguinaldo and whether Funston was still alive.

“Long Ago In Luzon: MacArthur” *The Advertiser* (Adelaide, South Australia), January 27, 1945, National Library of Australia: The Trove, <<http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article43238648>>.

725. Ibid.

726. Ibid.

727. Ibid.

sense view impressed the officer; and for the next three weeks there was no more firing. The Americans took to playing baseball in full view of the enemy; the Filipinos came out to watch.”<sup>728</sup> Unlike the Japanese who committed atrocities, the Americans and Filipinos were honorable.

Murdoch’s use of Funston demonstrates the power of the fictionalized Funston and the ability to use history as propaganda. Funston as a symbol of virtuous manhood was not limited to American shores but infiltrated Australian media makers as well. Murdoch's audience was entirely unfamiliar with Funston’s actual life and even Murdoch was unsure if he was alive noting “I say ‘was’ because I presume with no particular reason for the presumption that he [Funston] is no longer alive.”<sup>729</sup> Further Murdoch pondered, “one would love to know how such a man spent his retirement. Did he take to gardening?”<sup>730</sup> Of course, Funston died abruptly of a heart attack at fifty-one in the middle of his career, further demonstrating Murdoch's lack of knowledge about Funston. The actual Funston mattered little to Murdoch who used the fictionalized Funston and his work as a template for how to win the war.

Funston's memory did not just serve in the Allied cause. The idea of Funston as a villain, and stand-in for American imperialism, meant the Japanese government would deploy his memory as well. The Japanese used the memory of the Spanish-American War and Funston as villain in an attempt to mobilize conquered populations in the Philippines. Japanese propaganda “maintained that its campaign through Asia was virtuous and that their Asian Co-Prosperty Sphere would, in the long run, do good for all of Asia under their guidance.”<sup>731</sup> As Aguinaldo

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728. Ibid.

729. Ibid.

730. Ibid.

731. Anthony V. Navarro, "A Critical Comparison Between Japanese and American Propaganda During World War II," Michigan State University, December 29, 2013, <https://www.msu.edu/~navarro6/srop.Html>.



collaborated with the Japanese government, the Japanese harnessed the duplicity often associated with Funston and the Philippine Insurrection.

While Funston is not directly named, the echoes of his legacy underscored the Japanese radio broadcasts that declared Aguinaldo the “hero of the Philippine resistance against American invasion.”<sup>732</sup> They also highlighted the speaker of the national assembly, Benigno S. Aquino, who “referred to the ‘unimpeachable and uncontrovertibly historical fact’ that Americans thoroughly deceived Gen. Aguinaldo.”<sup>733</sup> The memory of Funston as villain served as merely one part of a larger propaganda function; the broadcasts referenced the idea that American policy was that of “deceit and greed.”<sup>734</sup> The idea of American duplicity and deceit became a central part of Japanese propaganda: “Aug 13, every year signifies not only the triumph of a far superior American army over Spain, but also of American deception, treachery and flagrant disloyalty to the (plighted) word.”<sup>735</sup> Thus, while only indirectly alluding to Funston’s memory, Japanese propagandists harnessed the essence of the villain memory and larger narrative about the Spanish-American and Philippine-American Wars.

Japanese media makers also used the language of masculinity in an attempt to connect Filipino nationalism to cooperation with Tojo’s regime. Japanese propaganda campaigns “exploited American racism and past atrocities.”<sup>736</sup> According to Japanese radio, American deceit “forced the Filipinos to sacrifice their flower of manhood.”<sup>737</sup> The loss of Philippine

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732. “AGUINALDO RESENTS U.S. AIR ATTACKS DAILY REPORT. FOREIGN RADIO BROADCASTS,” Foreign Broadcast Information Service, FBIS-FRB-44-236, September 30, 1944. Readex

733 “1944-08-16 U.S. REGIME BRANDED AS 'HUMILIATION',” Foreign Broadcast Information Service, As published in: DAILY REPORT, FBIS-FRB-44-197, August 16, 1944, Readex

734. “AGUINALDO RESENTS U.S. AIR ATTACKS DAILY REPORT,” Foreign Broadcast Information Service.

735. “1944-08-16 U.S. REGIME BRANDED AS 'HUMILIATION',” Foreign Broadcast Information Service.

736. Jarvis, *The Male Body at War*, 126.

737. “1944-08-16 U.S. REGIME BRANDED AS 'HUMILIATION',” Foreign Broadcast Information Service.

independence was likened to castration through the sacrifice of the “flower” of manhood. The U.S. Army reported that many Filipino papers accepted this language as “a united expression of all Filipinos.”<sup>738</sup> Although many Filipinos rejected collaborating with the occupying Japanese forces, they at least partially agreed with the Japanese sentiment. The Japanese argued American forces under Douglas MacArthur followed the same plan as his father (and by association Funston). “[I]n short, the MacArthur plan is devoting its entire interest to the complete ‘devouring’ of the Philippine by the U.S.”<sup>739</sup> Japanese propaganda attempted to tie the Spanish-American War and the U.S. deceit to the current war. Fundamentally, “Deception and oppression have been the policy...” according to Japanese sources which focused on “pointing out that in the Spanish-American War and again at the outset of the present war, the U.S. connived to shed Filipino blood.”<sup>740</sup>

#### Forgetting Funston: The Home and Museum

In the 1950s, the first full-scale museum to Funston opened. Over the next seventy years, the museum mirrored the memory of Funston the hero, acting as a shrine to the greatness of Funston’s legacy. In 1955, the Funston family donated Funston’s boyhood home to the Kansas State Historical Society, which opened the property as a state museum in 1956.<sup>741</sup> Museums are important conveyors of memory because “visitors expect public museums to present coordinated, accurate collections that record history, preserve objects and further education.”<sup>742</sup> In a

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738. “1944-08-16 U.S. REGIME BRANDED AS 'HUMILIATION',” Foreign Broadcast Information Service.

739. “Tokyo, Japanese Home and Empire Service - 1944-11-28 BACKGROUND OF GEN. MACARTHUR GIVEN,”

As published in: Foreign Broadcast Intelligence Service, DAILY REPORT FBIS-FRB-44-286, November 28, 1944, Under the heading(s): GENERAL, FAR EASTERN SECTION MILITARY AFFAIRS [Page NF2].

740. “Tokyo, DOEMI - 1944-10-14 JAPANESE OFFICIALS LAUD PHILIPPINES,” Foreign Broadcast Intelligence Service, As published in: DAILY REPORT FBIS-FRB-44-248, October 10, 1944. Readex

741. Frank F. Eckdall, "'Fighting' Fred Funston of Kansas," Kansas Historical Quarterly Spring 1956, 78.

742. Mayo, *War Memorials*, 37.

ceremony transferring the deed of the Funston home, Frank Eckdall, Funston's nephew, "hoped and believed the Funston Memorial Park [would] keep ever fresh the memory of a great American, a great Kansan, a great man."<sup>743</sup> The Funston Memorial Park sought to enshrine the memory of Funston the hero with all the vested authority museums carry.

Upon its opening, Eckdall stated that "Some men are born great, others have it thrust upon them, but Fred Funston achieved it by his boundless courage, his inspired leadership, his firm convictions in right and justice."<sup>744</sup> The museum attempted to preserve the image of Funston as a righteous man who bravely served his country, blending the fictional with the historical until it became unrecognizable. Eckdall's Funston centered around the masculinity tropes embedded in the notion of Funston the hero, the "great *man*." The museum conveyed the memory of Funston the hero and used the language most associated with the hero's formation, namely the language of masculinity. The sign outside the museum reinforced the trope by noting that despite Funston's height, he went on to do great things like explore the Arctic and win the Medal of Honor by capturing Aguinaldo. The idea that Funston achieved his greatness through attributes of courage and leadership also mirrored the language of manhood and masculine construction.

The house perpetuated the memory of Funston as hero, but as challenges to the dominant memory rose and the discourse of masculinity changed in the 1960s and 1970s, the museum fell into disrepair. Vietnam demonstrated the conflict between the idealized masculine soldiers and the realities of war; between 1959 and 1975, "Vietnam revealed the mythic American soldier as yet another nationalistic fiction and, as a consequence, weakened the ideal of the patriotic male

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743. Frank F. EckDall, "'Fighting' Fred Funston of Kansas," 86.

744. *Ibid.*, 79.

head of household.”<sup>745</sup> The martial idea of manhood floundered and attendance to the museum continued to decline as the public forgot Funston, no longer impressed by the conventions that the museum had used to construct its centerpiece. In 1971, over 1,500 people visited the Funston Museum but by 1977, attendance had dwindled to 711 visitors.<sup>746</sup> Just as the 1970s and 1980s saw the rise of the “new man,” attendance dropped to new lows and the public forgot about Funston.

The concept of the “new man” contested the martial ideal of manhood the self-made doer and citizen soldier. The new man had his proponents and detractors: for some, the new man represented an emotional and domestically involved man, nurturing and pro-feminist; for others he was narcissistic, individualistic, and effete, as evidenced by the numerous fragrances and shaving products cluttering his bathroom shelves.<sup>747</sup> Despite critics’ ability to harness Funston’s memory as a positive example to counter the new man, his affiliation with the military and the public’s general dissatisfaction with the aftermath of the Vietnam War precluded him from such utilization. As such, Funston had lost his cultural relevance. By 1979, “the house was closed to the public, and the following year, the furnishings and artifacts were removed to the Kansas State Historical Society in Topeka.”<sup>748</sup> Throughout much of the 1980s, the house continued to crumble. Badly damaged by an “inland hurricane” in 1986, the Kansas State Historical Society decided to divest its ownership of the museum in 1987. As the memory of Funston lost political cache, the home lost its cultural significance and became an unwanted burden on the state. In

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745. Robert O. Self, *All in the Family: The realignment of American Democracy Since the 1960s* (London: Macmillan, 2012), 47.

746. David Dary, “Funston a Forgotten Hero,” *The Kansas City Star Magazine*, November 13, 1977, 30. Funston Museum and Research Library, Drawer 7 South Wall.

747. Rosalind Gill, “Rethinking Masculinity: Men and Their Bodies,” *The London School of Economics and Political Science*, accessed April 7, 2019, [http://fathom.lse.ac.uk/Seminars/21701720/21701720\\_session2.html](http://fathom.lse.ac.uk/Seminars/21701720/21701720_session2.html).

748. “Operating the home as a Museum,” Allen County Historical Society, accessed April 7, 2019, <http://allencountyhistory.weebly.com/funston-boyhood-home--visitors-center.html>.

1993, the state legislature agreed and passed legislation to sell, give away, or dispose of the Funston home and museum.<sup>749</sup> In the wake of Vietnam, a national discourse over American foreign policy and manhood occurred; the conflict over Funston's memory paralleled these debates. Cities across the nation like San Francisco, Chicago, and Iola openly discussed how to remember, or actively not remember, Funston. The state of Kansas chose to forget Funston; shuttering up the home, and in this case, literally selling the farm.

However, shuttering the Funston farm was not the end of the story. In the 1990s and 2000s, the memory of Funston the hero found new life, and so too did the museum. A "crisis" of masculinity underscored the 1990s and 2000s. Cold War triumphalism ended the Vietnam complex and saw the return of the ideal of martial manhood. As Peter McAllister, an "archeologist of science," noted that GI Joe figures illustrated this crisis between 1982 and 2007: "The modern G.I. Joe 'Sgt. Savage' figure, for example, is three times as muscular as his 1982 counterpart."<sup>750</sup> Americans looked to the past to fill the void created by a shaken masculinity and began to associate manliness with historic figures. In 1990, a fire ripped through the Iola town square and resulted in the razing of five businesses, leaving both a figurative and literal scar on the square.<sup>751</sup> Echoing Americans' interest in historical figures, Iola had an idea for filling the hole in its proverbial heart. Unlikely that anyone would ever build a modern multistory building in the central business district of a town whose population was steadily declining, the Allen County Historical Society (ACHS) and its then president, Clyde Toland, set off on a mission to save the Funston home and, in so doing, attempted to save the memory of Funston the hero. The 1990s and early 2000s saw the first Gulf War and 9/11 reignite American patriotism. The first

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749. Ibid.

750. Peter McAllister, *Manthropology: The Science of Why the Modern Male Is Not the Man He Used to Be* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 2010), 1.

751. "Operating the home as a Museum," Allen County Historical Society.

Gulf War enjoyed domestic and international support and dispelled the Vietnam syndrome. Just as American men looked to history for examples of their manhood, the ACHS looked to Iola's past to demonstrate the town's importance.

Toland and the ACHS raised over \$210,000 to move and repair the Funston home, construct a visitor center, and erect a small statue and flags to enshrine the memory of the hero. Since reopening to the public in 1995, over 1,500 people have taken the tour of the home and countless others have stopped to read the plaques and view the picturesque white picket fence located across from both the county and city's main offices.<sup>752</sup> By moving the home to the town square, the ACHS and Toland created a space that kept the memory of Funston the hero relevant. Ultimately Toland's efforts were successful, in that this author would not have stumbled upon this project without the prominent placement of the house on the square.

#### Unraveling the Hero: 1960s-2000s

The 1960s through 2000s dramatically altered the way Americans thought about manhood. By the 1960s, the "impossible synthesis of sober responsible breadwinner, imperiously stoic master of his fate, and swashbuckling hero—was finally exposed as a fraud."<sup>753</sup> The "crisis" in masculinity and, by extension, America's role in the world, displayed itself in the dialectic centered on remembering Funston.<sup>754</sup> As historian Robert O. Self argues, "Under that pressure, on a peninsula a world away, and equally in living rooms, courthouses, and college campuses of the United States, Cold War American manhood frayed, split, and

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752. "Operating the home as a Museum," Allen County Historical Society.

753 Kimmel, *Manhood in America*, 262.

754. I place the term crisis in quotations because many scholars disagree on the meaning of the term crisis. However, the consensus agrees between the 1960s and 2000s feminism, men's liberation, and gay rights movement all brought significant challenges to the white heteronormative definition of masculinity

ultimately came undone.”<sup>755</sup> The memories of Frederick Funston reflected the ongoing debate about manhood and foreign policy.

As Wertsch and Roediger III note, collective memory must have a vital connection to cultural discourse. As the memory of Funston the hero lost its political capital, it allowed others to challenge the memory by recalling the memory of Funston as villain. On one side, the memory of Funston as the “swashbuckling hero” served to prop up the crumbling martial ideal of manhood and promote a hawkish foreign policy, while Funston the villain demonstrated the critique of that masculinity and foreign policy. In the face of a new sustained critique, the dominant memory of the hero began to fray; as some forgot, others in an attempt to justify his memory, altered the narrative and chose to remember Funston as an adventurer or explorer rather than a soldier and hero to justify remembering him.

Ultimately, the Vietnam era saw the resurgence of the memory of Funston as villain, which contested the dominant memory of the hero. The war in Vietnam sparked a cultural debate that “helped shake apart traditional American concepts of masculinity, embodied until then in the ideal of the citizen soldier. The war, and the debates that raged around it, transformed the American soldier from a heroic and competent figure into a deeply ambiguous one — especially following the revelations of the 1968 My Lai massacre and other atrocities.”<sup>756</sup> Alternately, supporters of the war saw Funston as a symbol of how to win in Vietnam, but as the war turned into an prolonged quagmire, many rejected this hawkish American foreign policy and with it the version of Funston as a symbol of righteous manhood and effective military strategy and tactics.

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755. Self, *All in the Family*, 47.

756. Corydon Ireland, “War and Changing concepts of Masculinity,” *Harvard Gazette*, February 7, 2008 <http://news.harvard.edu/gazette/story/2008/02/war-and-changing-concepts-of-masculinity/>

As the ideal of martial manhood floundered, old bonds between whiteness and manhood also dissolved. Challenges came from a number of fronts. The civil rights movement challenged the exclusion of African Americans from citizenship based solely on race, and while doing so African American men sought to claim their stake on American manhood.<sup>757</sup> Homosexuals sought to disassociate sexuality from masculinity. The counter culture, populated largely by the sons and daughters of the white middle-class, represented a revolt of sons against their fathers.<sup>758</sup> And most damningly, the feminist movement rejected the exclusionary politics of masculinity that marginalized women from public life. Funston stood as a symbol of the old values of white masculinity, and the 1960s presented any number of arguments against that view.

In 1967, the *Chicago Tribune* reminded readers that the “Funston School Carries Name of Courageous Man” even as public opinion began to shift against the war.<sup>759</sup> While the *Tribune* article presents a brief biography of Funston’s life, it emphasizes his military exploits, both as a guerilla leader and insurgent in Cuba, and as a general defeating an insurrection in the Philippines. *The Tribune* article insinuated that Funston’s victory against insurgents in the Philippines presupposed the possibility of an American victory in Vietnam. The paper advocated training and education as the keys to both the ability for guerillas to win and as the means to break an insurgency. Thus, an article, which on the surface appears to be a “soft” piece on a local school, in fact served an ideological purpose: to rally readers to support American escalation in Vietnam. By invoking Funston, the *Tribune* used the memory of the hero to justify American foreign policy in Southeast Asia.

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757. Kimmel, *Manhood in America*, 262.

758. *Ibid.*, 263.

759. Peter O’Flaherty, “Funston School Carries Name of Courageous Man,” *Chicago Tribune*, March 16, 1967, ProQuest Historical Newspapers.



Yet, many disagreed with the *Tribune*'s assessment of American manhood, and “[f]or many young Americans, before personal fulfillment came a commitment to ending the war in Vietnam.”<sup>760</sup> Vietnam and the antiwar movement “provided a new lens into the dynamics of American manhood in the 1960s and 1970s; the conflict between old and young, between hawks and doves, was also a test of wills[;] questions of loyalty became questions of standing up for what one believed. It was a central expression of the growing crisis of masculinity.”<sup>761</sup> Remembering Funston reflected the growing debate over masculinity and American foreign policy.

In “re-remembering” Funston, the school and the 1994 *Tribune* article focused on Funston as an explorer. After changing from Bismarck, “the school was then renamed after Frederick Funston, a 19th-Century [sic] botanist known for his work in Death Valley and Alaska.”<sup>762</sup> The article demonstrates the changes in the different collective memory of Funston. The school, which previously touted Funston’s military record, actively chose to remember Funston as a famous explorer because “now, the student body is mostly Latino-and Funston, it turns out, was also a soldier who, during the course of the Spanish-American War, killed hundreds.”<sup>763</sup> The school chose to remember Funston as an explorer to avoid the controversy. By accepting Funston as an explorer, the school eliminated the need to evaluate Funston’s military career.

The image of Funston the hero tied manhood to whiteness, but the demographics of Funston Elementary represented a mostly Latino student body. The racial implication that

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760. Kimmel, *Manhood in America*, 267.

761. Ibid.

762. Julie Irwin, “School Pride Isn't Always In The Name: Change Sometimes Sought To Mirror Students' Culture” *Chicago Tribune*, February 9, 1994, [http://articles.chicagotribune.com/1994-02-09/news/9402100441\\_1\\_cesar-chavez-school-chicago-teachers-union-middle-school](http://articles.chicagotribune.com/1994-02-09/news/9402100441_1_cesar-chavez-school-chicago-teachers-union-middle-school).

763. Ibid.

helped create the image of Funston as the hero, also complicated his story nearly a century later. Cartoons, movies, and songs used racial imagery to tie masculinity and whiteness together. The same themes helped create Funston the hero by “othering” Filipinos, Native Americans, and Mexicans. Not only did the school reject Funston’s war record, but they rejected the very values he represented.

Ironically, underscoring memory often involves the process of forgetting. The school officials and the media makers at the *Tribune* chose to forget Funston both as the hero and as the villain. “Though many schools study or celebrate the figures they are named after, Funston ‘was a very controversial person and not all positive, so we don't do much for him,’ principal Sally Acker said. Nevertheless, Acker said school officials had no plans to change the name, fearing it would cause too much confusion.”<sup>764</sup> In part, such confusion might arise from the fact that Funston was no longer a well-known figure and to change the name of the school would necessarily mean explaining why the school board deemed changing the name appropriate, and thereby introducing an otherwise uninitiated public into the debate administrators were hoping to avoid. Not quite thirty years earlier, the *Tribune* and the school readily acknowledged Funston as a soldier and hero and argued that their students should emulate Funston, but in the post-Vietnam era, the ideas of martial manhood failed and so the memory of Funston the military hero faded.

The debate over the elementary school’s name demonstrates the debate over the collective memory of Funston. As historian Wulf Kansteiner’s noted, collective memory is the interaction between intellectual and cultural traditions, memory makers who adopt and manipulate them, and ultimately the consumer who uses, ignores, and transforms it to their own

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764. Ibid.

end.<sup>765</sup> In Funston's case, the intellectual and cultural traditions that declared martial manhood as noble and worthy of emulation framed the past. Secondly, the immigrants who sought to rename Bismarck Elementary to Funston Elementary manipulated these traditions to prove their loyalty and citizenship. Ultimately, in the 1990s, the consumer, here the school and the children, chose to ignore or forget much of Funston's past and transform the memory into one of him as a famous explorer because it served their own interests. In this case, they were attempting to avoid the expense, confusion, and possible conflict that renaming the school might entail.

As the citizens of Chicago debated Funston in terms of foreign policy, the citizens of San Francisco also publicly debated Funston's legacy and the proper use of federal authority in domestic affairs. The 1970s saw Funston's memory literally go on trial: in 1976, the Court of Historic Review and Appeals convened a trial of Frederick Funston.<sup>766</sup> The mock court had all the trappings of a real trial including a prosecution and defense, "witnesses," and a then-sitting Superior Court Judge—Harry W. Low—to preside over it.<sup>767</sup> At stake, the court sought to answer "whether 'Fearless Freddie Funston' should be reviled or revered for blowing up a number of buildings to save San Francisco from catastrophic fire after the 1906 earthquake."<sup>768</sup> The symbolic nature of trying Frederick Funston in absentia illustrates the conflicting memories of Frederick Funston.

The Court received national attention. The *Philadelphia Inquirer* noted how "[m]any of the city's most prominent officials and lawyers have delighted in trading insults and bad puns

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765. Wulf Kansteiner, "Finding Meaning in Memory: A Methodological Critique of Collective Memory Studies," *History and Theory*, 05/2002 Volume: 41 Issue: 2, 180.

766. There is some debate as to when the trial occurred, it occurred certainly after 1975 and before 1983 when the court kept better records. I personally emailed Justice Low he stated they unfortunately he kept no records of the early trials.

767. Julia Fortier, "The Coldest Winter Twain Spent Was a Summer in S.F.? : Court Attempts to Keep History in Perspective", *Los Angeles Times*, December 23, 1985, [http://articles.latimes.com/1985-12-23/news/mn-20625\\_1\\_wittman](http://articles.latimes.com/1985-12-23/news/mn-20625_1_wittman).

768. *Ibid.*

with each other in the bogus trials.”<sup>769</sup> Even the then the sheriff of San Francisco, Michael Hennessey, “squeezed into the uniform of Army Gen. Frederick Funston to determine whether he had been right to dynamite blocks of San Francisco in 1906 to stop the spread of fire after the famous earthquake.”<sup>770</sup> While ultimately the trial found Funston a “hero,” the trial did not settle the contest between the memory of the hero and the villain.

San Francisco’s posthumous exoneration of Funston’s memory was not the only countercurrent to the increasing tide of collective amnesia regarding Funston’s legacy. The *Kansas City Star Magazine* made sure to remind readers about Funston in “Forgotten Heroes.” The article used language espousing traditional concepts of manhood to remind readers that Funston deserved respect and recognition. Funston saved San Francisco and the magazine reminded readers that President Wilson proudly proclaimed that Funston’s “genius and manhood brought order out of confusion, confidence out of fear, and much comfort in distress.”<sup>771</sup> While some protested Vietnam, and the ensuing idea of the “new man” took hold, Funston represented the martial ideal of manhood that comforted many. Remembering Funston as a “genius” whose “manhood” saved San Francisco asserted that the martial ideal of manhood should remain the standard.

In 1999, the contest over Funston’s legacy continued to play out in the public sphere as citizens of San Francisco wrote letters to the editor in the *San Francisco Chronicle*. In response to the *Chronicle*’s editorial, a concerned citizen noted, “Your list of San Francisco streets that could use new names (editorial, ‘Names Make News,’ May 24) omits perhaps the most glaring

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769. Paul Nussbaum, “On Long Flights of Fancy, Legal Eagles ‘Fix’ History” *Philadelphia Inquirer*, July 24, 1988, [http://articles.philly.com/1988-07-24/news/26237635\\_1\\_frisco-bomber-pilot-chicken-soup](http://articles.philly.com/1988-07-24/news/26237635_1_frisco-bomber-pilot-chicken-soup).

770. Ibid.

771. David Dary, “Funston a Forgotten Hero,” 30.

example of all: Funston Avenue.”<sup>772</sup> According to the letter’s author, Funston deserved no honors because the street in question “bears the name of Frederick Funston, a Spanish-American War general who has been linked to massacres in its aftermath, the Philippine War of Independence.”<sup>773</sup> Another letter called on the renaming of Fort Funston because “[h]e was proud of his role in the Philippines on behalf of U.S. imperialism over 100 years ago. He crowed about stringing up people without trial, among other atrocities.”<sup>774</sup> To remove Funston’s name from the street and the fort sought to erase the hero, leaving no cultural legacy of his memory. In Chicago, the school chose to remember Funston as an explorer, but in San Francisco many sought to actively not remember Funston.

It is important to understand that there was an active public discourse surrounding Funston's legacy and memory. As some readers wrote the *Chronicle* deriding Funston Avenue, others directly countered their assertions and recalled the memory of Funston the hero. One letter claimed that those seeking to change Funston’s name and the debate in general “demonstrates a marked flair for incorrect revisionist history regarding Gen. Frederick Funston, for whom both Funston Avenue and Fort Funston are named.”<sup>775</sup> While Funston did serve in the military, the writer argued that San Franciscans should remember him for “his leadership and heroism during and immediately following the San Francisco Earthquake and Fire of 1906.”<sup>776</sup> The debate represents the dialectic process over the memory of Frederick Funston. The hero “led federal troops that dynamited fire breaks and helped stop the further spread of the fire. He supervised policing San Francisco afterwards and led the massive relief work for those made

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772. “Don’t Honor Funston,” *San Francisco Chronicle*, May 27, 1999, <http://www.sfgate.com/opinion/letterstoeditor/article/LETTERS-TO-THE-EDITOR-3081516.php>.

773. Ibid.

774. Ibid.

775. Phillip Stevenson, “Letter to the editor: Funston Helped SF,” *San Francisco Chronicle* June 4, 1999, <http://www.sfgate.com/opinion/letterstoeditor/article/LETTERS-TO-THE-EDITOR-3081792.php>.

776. Ibid.

homeless.”<sup>777</sup> The memory of the villain noted his recklessness during the disaster that caused undue harm to humans and property: San Franciscans faced a choice between selective memory, wholesale memorializing, and actively forgetting Funston.

### Conclusion

Although Funston died before America’s entrance into WWI, the memory of him as a hero played an important part in both world wars. The memory employed to support the war relied on the fictionalized Funston not only as a hero but as a manly soldier. During the First World War, the idealized image of Funston stood watch with Uncle Sam over the American populace. The masculine soldier became a piece of the larger propaganda, which relied on men willingly enlisting or at the very least responding to the draft, and Funston the hero became another tool in the arsenal. Camp Funston became a symbol of the ability of the U.S. government to turn boys into men and it tied the idea of manhood to serving the state.

During WWII, the fictionalized Funston continued to see use in the Pacific theater. History reinforced the righteousness of American foreign policy and Funston served to reassure a frightened population that they could fight and win the war. The *U.S.S. Funston* ignored the controversial legacy of his “swim” but instead recalled Funston ferrying troops across the river to victory. As American forces retreated and eventually abandoned the Philippines, Funston the hero became a means to demonstrate that the U.S. could reinvade and win. Funston’s memory even saw use in the international press. For example, in Australia, an unfamiliar population lauded U.S. efforts and influence in the region. Likewise, the Japanese harnessed many of the criticisms of Funston and the debate over American imperialism to demonstrate the long-

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<sup>777</sup> Ibid.

standing abuse of the Filipino people and convince the indigenous population that the Japanese fight and the Filipino fight were one and the same.

As Americans openly debated American foreign policy during Vietnam, they openly debated Funston's legacy. By the 1970s, citizens in both San Francisco and Chicago questioned remembering Funston and by the 1990s actively sought to remove his name from streets and schools. During the same period, the Funston museum and home fell into disrepair and became a burden on the state. Much like his life though, fate intervened to save Funston's legacy. A fire ripped through Funston's boyhood hometown and the historical society sought to save the museum, and his legacy, by prominently placing his home on the town square.

## Conclusion

Raised on the plains of Kansas, Funston's rural roots suggest the improbability of his becoming a media icon. Imperialist and anti-imperialist media makers used Funston as a symbol for the larger debate about the role of the United States abroad. Funston was a willing participant in the process, courting imperialist-leaning newspapers. Each story printed set the foundation for a fictive larger-than-life hero. Songs heralded Funston as *the* hero. Children's authors created stories about his life. Cartoonists drew a manly-doer ruffling the overcivilized D.C. bureaucrats' feathers. Even Thomas Edison created films that blended fact and fiction seamlessly and used the power of the visual spectacle to create a new truth.

Funston and other media makers used the language of race and manhood to support their causes. Funston's writings often pit his white "civilized" manhood against the "savage" non-white "other." He viewed the Native Americans in Alaska paternalistically as "simple children of the forest," but superior to the mainland Native Americans based on their fair complexion. Funston used the "white" characteristics of the Cuban revolution to justify American intervention, and his memoir viewed his life's work as "assisting in the white man's burden."

Imperialists, including Funston, invoked the idea of the white man's burden to justify nationalism and imperialism. The idea rested on the supposed superiority of white middle class manhood, which, according to the theory was the pinnacle of civilization. Cartoonists, composers, authors, and directors pitted the white civilized Funston against the Africanized and infantilized "other." At various times, Filipinos, Mexicans, Germans, and Japanese were all dehumanized and "othered," while Funston represented the necessity and righteousness of the American cause.



Realizing the political power and influence of the symbolic Funston, anti-imperialists endeavored to create their own counter-narrative. Anti-imperialist cartoonists drew Funston as brash, impulsive, and small. Ernest Crosby recast Funston as a modern Quixote, fighting imaginary perils that imperialism “cured.” Mark Twain railed against Funston at every opportunity, lampooning him whenever possible. The fictional villain sought to demonstrate the greed and avarice behind American imperialism. The anti-imperialists sought to expose the lies that created the image of Funston the hero and, in doing so, expose the lies that propped up American imperialism.

Studying Funston’s life and subsequent memory in the twentieth century reveals the larger struggle over American foreign and domestic policy. The discourse did not just occur in Chicago, San Francisco, and Iola’s honorific naming, but continues today among academics, journalists, policy makers. Understanding how and why media makers created the hero and the villain explains the way scholars, journalists, and politicians discuss Funston in their works.

Between 1970 and 2019, historians and other scholars continued to debate Funston’s legacy. In 1975, Thomas Crouch published *A Yankee Guerrillero* and his opening line notes the influence of the Vietnam War on his writings: “Recent events in Southeast Asia have placed the United States in the role of counter-insurgency power.”<sup>778</sup> Crouch describes Funston in similar terms to the hero, as “an adventurous, courageous, and intelligent man who left us a record of his activities as a Cuban fighter.”<sup>779</sup> Crouch discussed Funston in terms of manliness; that is, not only should boys aspire to become like Funston but the entire military should incorporate the values embodied by Funston. By analyzing Funston, Crouch hoped “to show the purpose and character of the guerrilla warfare and describe how, from Funston’s view, the Spanish might

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778. Crouch, *Yankee Guerrillero*, v.

779. *Ibid.*

have contained it in Cuba.”<sup>780</sup> Although writing about Cuba and the Spanish-American War, Funston continued to act as a proxy for the proper way to execute the current American foreign policy.

Crouch used the same language to describe the Filipino and the Viet Cong, and in doing so uses Funston as a stand-in for American troops. Crouch notes, “[C]ommunist irregulares who have been able to roam South Vietnam and adjacent states largely at will... there is much about guerillas and their tactics that remains mysterious and distasteful.”<sup>781</sup> Funston stopped the “Filipino guerrillas, whose tactics of terrorizing peaceful natives, raiding United States outposts, and ambushing army patrols had come to characterize the fighting on Luzon.”<sup>782</sup> According to Crouch, factors that made Funston excel as a military commander were the result of inherent and cultivated masculinity; first, Crouch argues Funston’s manhood and “personal background bestowed certain qualities that helped to make him an accomplished soldier.”<sup>783</sup> Secondly, Funston succeeded as a man of action “at the proper time in his life, he took advantage of a chance to experience warfare first-hand and discover that combat was his *forte* and soldiering his profession.”<sup>784</sup> Just as Funston’s manhood and willingness to serve led to victory, these traits would, Crouch suggested, also lead to victory in Southeast Asia. Portraying Funston as virtuous acted as a proxy to argue for continued fighting in Vietnam. Crouch used the memory of Funston’s success in order to support the larger U.S. mission. Just as Funston righteously defeated Filipino insurgents due to the superiority of American manhood, American men would defeat communism in Vietnam and around the globe.

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780. *Ibid.*, vi.

781. *Ibid.*, v.

782. *Ibid.*, 2.

783. *Ibid.*, 7.

784. *Ibid.*

Yet, many disagreed with Crouch's assessment of American manhood. Stuart Creighton Miller's *Benevolent Assimilation* used the memory of Funston the villain and the war in the Philippines as a prime example of the folly of American foreign policy. Miller declared, "American history is one of continuous expansion that left behind a long string of nonwhite victims. The driving force behind the expansion across the continent and out into the Pacific was, and still is, capitalist greed."<sup>785</sup> Miller pays specific attention to the "nonwhite victims." He uses the language of race to dispel the that idea American imperialism was benevolent. Although focusing on the Philippine-American War, Miller makes larger claims about all of American history and foreign policy.

Miller invokes the language of masculinity, describing Funston in the language of the villain—"rambunctious" and "impulsive" at his best, but more likely abusive and dastardly with his commands, stating: "the most shocking characteristic of the American soldier in the Philippines was his penchant for lawlessness."<sup>786</sup> Just as in Vietnam, the Americans in the Philippines had little respect for the rule of law. Miller also focuses on the memory of Funston the villain as a greedy, self-serving individual but he applies this image to American foreign policy at large. Funston "helped loot and desecrate a church by conducting a mock mass in stolen ecclesiastic garb to amuse his men from the Bible Belt. Funston responded to the charges in his usual ad hominem style."<sup>787</sup> Negatively recalling Funston, and by extension the U.S. presence in the Philippines, allowed Miller to reject the American presence in Vietnam based on historical precedents of atrocity. As this work shows, Miller found a familiar position used by

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785. Stuart Creighton Miller, *Benevolent Assimilation: The American Conquest of the Philippines, 1899-1903* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1984), 2.

786. *Ibid.*, 187.

787. *Ibid.*, 87.

anti-imperialists, such as Twain, to use Funston in order to make larger claims about intervention abroad.

The 1980s and 1990s saw the open acknowledgement of the debate over Funston's legacy and his memory but failed to examine why and how that memory came about. Bryan M. Linn openly recognized the ongoing debate in "Guerilla Fighter: Frederick Funston in the Philippines, 1900-1901." Linn notes that two sides emerge in the debate over American foreign policy. On one side, he notes. "Funston remains the heroic 'Fighting Fred' who forded rivers under fire, charged insurgent positions, and captured Emiliano Aguinaldo."<sup>788</sup> Linn also acknowledges that two memories exist and those opposed to war "have been equally quick to link Funston's military career with the darker side of military pacification."<sup>789</sup> With no easy way to reconcile the two Funstons, Linn simply acknowledges both memories. I have shown in this paper that both memories are reconcilable through their birth in mass media.

Historian Mark Carnes encapsulates the debate over the collective memory of Funston in *Forgotten Heroes*—a collection that includes contributions from prominent historians and political scientists like David McCullough and Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr. McCullough's foreword explains the purpose of the work: "Historians and biographers are forever encountering unsung heroes and often such figures enliven the work as little else can, for along with the delight of discovery comes the satisfaction of giving credit where credit may be long overdue."<sup>790</sup> Carnes uses Funston as a "caution to our collection: while heroes emerge in all times and places, heroism can be fleeting. Norms of heroism change over time, and what one era celebrates may

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788. Brian Linn, "Guerilla Fighter: Frederick Funston in the Philippines, 1900-1901," Kansas State Historical Society, Spring 1987, 2, [https://www.kansasmemory.org/publicat/history/1987spring\\_linn.pdf](https://www.kansasmemory.org/publicat/history/1987spring_linn.pdf).

789. Ibid.

790 David McCullough, "Forward," in *Forgotten Heroes: Inspiring American Portraits from Our Leading Historians*, ed. Susan Ware (Collingdale, PA: Diane Pub Co, 1998), xi.

be precisely what another wants to forget.”<sup>791</sup> Carnes argues that Funston’s actions “almost singlehandedly led to the suppression of a nasty guerilla war. But...the nation soon turned against its home-grown hero, perhaps rightly so, and he dropped from history.”<sup>792</sup> Carnes’ assessment of Funston reflects the ongoing debate over his memory: that is, many simply found it easier to forget the Philippine-American War and Funston with it, rather than coming to terms with the legacy of American imperialism.

It is the ease with which Americans forget their difficult history that allowed Funston’s resurrection for a distinctly American brand of mass entertainment. Producers used shadows of Funston’s memory to obfuscate the truth in service of telling a better story. It was in 1997 when Turner Network Television (TNT) produced a four-hour miniseries about the Spanish-American War, *Rough Riders*. *Rough Riders* starred Tom Berenger, Sam Elliot, and Gary Busey but was more fiction than fact. The series portrayed the Spanish-American War in Cuba, and predictably showcased the “manly” exploits of Roosevelt and the Rough Riders including the charge up San Juan Hill against heavy fire from a Spanish machine gun.<sup>793</sup> Strangely, the series includes several scenes with Frederick Funston. The character of Funston is loosely based on Funston’s *filibustero* period with no concern for accuracy: in one scene Funston has a brief meeting with TR in Cuba, an impossibility because Funston returned to the U.S. before the war began. Most bizarrely, the director cast Funston as an ethnically Cuban fighter. The director used the iconic image of Funston as the *filibustero* (see figure 2.1) for Funston’s costume, but cast Pablo Espinosa, a Hispanic-American, to portray him. A film centered on the military and masculine

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791. Marl Carnes, “Frederick Funston: A Song of Rage,” in *Forgotten Heroes: Inspiring American Portraits from Our Leading Historians*, ed. Susan Ware (Collingdale, PA: Diane Pub Co, 1998), 329.

792. *Ibid.*

793. There were not any machine guns on San Juan Hill, the Rough Riders had several Gatling guns that suppressed much of the enemy fire.

exploits of a white American abroad that casts Funston as a foreigner of color is perhaps the greatest irony.

Despite Funston's status as a nearly forgotten historical figure (or as a completely fictional one, depending on the venue), Funston's actions and the way those actions were polarized by political views make him a fitting character to return to the stage in the twenty-first century. In 2005, Hurricane Katrina made landfall and devastated the Gulf Coast. Katrina hit New Orleans particularly hard, and when the levies failed, the city flooded, leaving hundreds of thousands without electricity or clean water. To make matters worse, the federal government bumbled through its response and, in the end, over 4000 people lost their lives. In the aftermath of Katrina, authors and media makers recalled two very different memories of Frederick Funston. The *New York Times*, in effort to characterize George W. Bush's tepid reaction to the disaster as singularly inept, recalled Funston as the decisive man-of-action. Funston responded immediately: "Within two hours[,] scores of soldiers were marching in to the city, platoons wheeling around the fires, each man with bayonet fixed and 20 rounds of ball issued; they presented themselves to Mayor Eugene Schmitz by 7:45 a.m. -- just 153 minutes after the shaking began."<sup>794</sup> The *Times* continued to recall Funston as the man-of-action and his response as inherently noble.

*The Learning Network*, a blog sponsored by the *New York Times* aimed at high school students, noted that "while the response to Katrina was marked by slow progress at the city, state, and federal levels, the response to the quake, nearly a century before, had been swift,

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794. Simon Winchester, "Before the Flood," *New York Times*, September 8, 2005, <http://www.nytimes.com/2005/09/08/opinion/before-the-flood.html>.

forceful and somewhat reckless.”<sup>795</sup> The *Times* directly reached out to students and, despite the caveat that Funston was “somewhat reckless” the editors did cautiously admit his decisiveness and ultimate effectiveness in preventing chaos by declaring, “With water cut off, he ordered the use of dynamite to halt the fires, though this needlessly destroyed many buildings and may have spread the fires at some points. He also strictly maintained law and order, threatening to shoot looters.”<sup>796</sup> In contrast to the government’s Katrina response, Funston maintained order. As this work shows, the memory of Funston is plastic and political. Had George W. Bush sent the Army into New Orleans in the wake of Katrina, perhaps the *Times*, in order to drive its point home, would have written about Funston’s extra-legal orders to shoot civilian looters on site or his wanton destruction of private property.

However, Bush stumbled to act in New Orleans, and so the *New York Times* argued that Funston and his decisive action presented a template to stop future looting and wide-spread lawlessness associated with all natural disasters. In 2010, Donald G. McNeil, Jr. of the *New York Times* detailed how repeatedly during crises and natural disasters citizens typically begin looting and rioting. Funston, however, acted quickly, so while historians disagree about the number of alleged looters actually killed due to the order to shoot on sight, it mattered little in comparison to the botched relief and subsequent lawlessness in New Orleans. McNeil went so far as to argue that even some of the civilians shot by Funston’s men were mercy killings: “Some witnesses claimed a few people trapped on the roofs of burning buildings or under flaming rubble were also shot — with their permission — to save them pain. In any case, looting was relatively minor, cavalrymen herded crowds away from huge fires, and the military was praised

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795. The Learning Network, “April 18, 1906 Earthquake Destroys much of San Francisco,” *The New York Times*, April 18, 2012, [http://learning.blogs.nytimes.com/2012/04/18/april-18-1906-earthquake-destroys-much-of-san-francisco/?\\_r=0](http://learning.blogs.nytimes.com/2012/04/18/april-18-1906-earthquake-destroys-much-of-san-francisco/?_r=0).

796. Ibid.

for the tent cities it hastily erected in the city's parks."<sup>797</sup> Funston's troops prevented needless pain, both physical in injury and in material loss, and the city overwhelmingly thanked him for it.

Despite his usefulness as a counterexample to the Bush administration's comparably hobbled response to Katrina, Funston's controversial measures allowed others to paint Funston as the villain and, in doing so, Funston became a central figure to critique the use and abuse of federal military power in domestic affairs. Most scathingly, Rebecca Solnit's *A Paradise Built in Hell* noted that, much like federal officials during Katrina, Funston "perceived his job as saving the city from the people, rather than saving the people from the material city of cracked and crumbling buildings, fallen powerlines, and towering flames."<sup>798</sup> In 1906 and in 2005 the federal government placed an unjustified importance on property instead of life. Funston saw "a mob to be repressed and a flock to be herded," and so the soldiers and militiamen acted "by shooting down citizens and forcing them at gunpoint out of their homes and into conscripted labor."<sup>799</sup>

Solnit's critique of Funston goes deeper than just his actions, and much of her language reflects the critique of Funston the villain as dastardly and impulsive. Solnit describes Funston as "Short, hard-drinking, belligerent, sandy-haired, apparently full of boundless confidence, Funston was a man of decisive action who often decided unwisely."<sup>800</sup> Solnit's description fits in line with the memory of Funston the villain, a short brash man who did not deserve the respect he received. Most biting, Solnit described Funston as "a hothead who served power and privilege unquestioningly, and he may have served his country best by dropping dead on the eve

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797. Donald G. McNeil Jr., "The Moral Ambiguity of Looting," *The New York Times*, March 6, 2010, <http://www.nytimes.com/2010/03/07/weekinreview/07mcneil.html>.

798. Rebecca Solnit, *A Paradise Built in Hell: The Extraordinary Communities that Arise in Disasters* (New York: Viking Press, 2007), 34.

799. *Ibid.*

800. *Ibid.*, 36.



of his appointment as commander of the U.S. forces in WWI.”<sup>801</sup> As Solnit sees it, Funston’s death was his greatest contribution.

Those who remembered Funston as the hero used the language of martial manhood to make their claims. Dan Kurzman’s work, *Disaster!*, portrays Funston as the manly doer, unconcerned with bureaucratic red tape. In Kurzman’s assertion, Funston “thrived on challenges to his courage and tenacity” and in “Napoleon-like” fashion, compensated “for his perceived handicap [his size] by displaying the riskiest heroics.”<sup>802</sup> Kurzman writes of Funston as the manly doer, a Romantic Napoleon, entitling the chapter introducing Funston, “Napoleon to the Rescue.” Unlike leading political figures, namely Eugene Schmitz, the mayor of San Francisco, Funston “was a soldier who, while sometimes undisciplined, was honest, straightforward, blunt, a man inculcated with earthy rural values. The corruption of Schmitz and his associated infuriated him [Funston].”<sup>803</sup> Whether or not Funston acted recklessly becomes irrelevant. Funston shot out of bed to assist in the crisis because “he was a man of action” while others in the army, such as Captain Walker “went back to sleep,” and Colonel Morris refused to get out of bed and only reluctantly followed Funston’s orders to send the troops into San Francisco.<sup>804</sup> Kurzman illustrates that between action and inaction the appropriate response for men is action.

Like most proponents and critics of Funston, Kurzman and Solnit see their respective positions as not only morally sound but also objectively accurate. Rebecca Solnit acknowledges the problems of writing but her argument rests on one assertion: “the study of disasters makes it clear that there are plural and contingent natures—but the prevalent human nature in disasters is

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801. *Ibid.*

802. Dan Kurzman, *Disaster!: The Great San Francisco Earthquake and Fire of 1906* (New York: HarperCollins, 2001), 73.

803. *Ibid.*, 77.

804. *Ibid.*, 78.

resilient, resourceful, generous, empathetic, and brave.”<sup>805</sup> By this assertion, Funston as the villain thrives as a butcher who acted needlessly. Likewise, Kurzman also claims truth behind Funston the hero, declaring: “This book, therefore, is an attempt to explore the truth and reveal in a comprehensive way the bitter challenge that tested the heart of soul of a defenseless city under savage attack by a mindless, merciless enemy.”<sup>806</sup> The fictionalized Funstons were fact to both historians. Funston became the images of both reckless villain and romantic hero, depending upon one’s political ideology.

While academics in universities across the country, and lay people in cities like Chicago and San Francisco, debated erasing Funston’s memory, the city of Iola permanently enshrined Funston's boyhood home by moving the building to the center of town and making it an attraction. In 1991, the *Iola Register*, under the ownership of Charles F. Scott's grandson, Emerson Lynn, published a thirty-page insert by historian Thomas Crouch. Crouch was a leading scholar of Funston and both championed the move. Ultimately, with the paper’s backing and Crouch’s insert they helped persuade the citizens of Iola to move Funston’s boyhood home to the town square and, in so doing, kept Funston’s memory alive. A little over a decade later, I would move to the city of Iola and stumble across the nondescript house, picturesque white picket fence, diminutive statue, and curious Cuban flag.

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805. Solnit, *A Paradise Built in Hell*, 8.

806. Kurzman, *Dan Disaster!*, xxiii.

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