SERVICE HONEST AND FAITHFUL: THE THIRTY-THIRD VOLUNTEER INFANTRY REGIMENT IN THE PHILIPPINE WAR, 1899-1901

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This manuscript is a study of the Thirty-Third Infantry, United States Volunteers, a regiment that was recruited in Texas, the South, and the Midwest and was trained by officers experienced from the Indian Wars and the Spanish-American War. This regiment served as a front-line infantry unit and then as a constabulary force during the Philippine War from 1899 until 1901. While famous in the United States as a highly effective infantry regiment during the Philippine War, the unit's fame and the lessons that it offered American war planners faded in time and were overlooked in favor of conventional fighting. In addition, the experiences of the men of the regiment belie the argument that the Philippine War was a brutal and racist imperial conflict akin to later interventions such as the Vietnam War. An examination of the Thirty-Third Infantry thus provides valuable context into a war not often studied in the United States and serves as a successful example of a counterinsurgency.

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I hope that this work lives up the expectations and hope that everyone had for it. Any mistakes and oversights are my own.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

In 2006, the United States Army and Marine Corps recognized in their newly published field manual a certain neglect in studying counterinsurgency tactics since the end of the Vietnam War. The authors of the manual's foreword, Lieutenant General David H. Petraeus of the United States Army and Lieutenant General James F. Amos of the United States Marine Corps, observed that the analysis of counterinsurgencies and the means to combat them must have their basis in the then-contemporary conflicts in Iraq and Afghanistan, but they also "must be grounded in historical studies."[1] The manual admits that the United States military has throughout its long history often engaged in counterinsurgency warfare (COIN) but is forced to relearn the lessons of COIN.[2] More recently, Colonel Gian Gentile, a retired West Point instructor and historian, wrote that "the COIN argument is a blend of some history, a lot of myth, and suppositions about roads not taken. . . COIN depends on a narrow and selective view of histories that are messy and complicated."[3] This admission that the United States military must relearn the lessons of insurgencies is, however, incomplete. The manual, as a practical guide to warfare, did not address the philosophical aspects behind the basic question as to why the United States Army must relearn lessons of the past. The oft-quoted warning that people who do not understand history are condemned to repeat it set aside for the moment, it is an unfortunate but

[1] United States Department of the Army, *Counterinsurgency* (Field Manual 3-24, 15 December 2006), foreword.

[2] Department of the Army, *Counterinsurgency*, ix. Interestingly, the authors of this manual did not address occasions when Americans were insurgents, such as in the War of American Independence or, in the case of Confederates, the American Civil War.

[3] Gian Gentile, *Wrong Turn: America's Deadly Embrace of Counter-Insurgency* (New York: The New Press, 2013), 12.

plain truism that Americans tend to willingly forget the lessons of "dirty little wars" because they do not fit into what Americans believe that war should be.

Despite the long and interesting history that the United States has of fighting counterinsurgencies (and, in the cases of the United States during the American War of Independence and the Confederate States during the American Civil War, Americans *were* the insurgents), many Americans tend to focus their attention on conventional wars. As the United States waged an increasingly frustrating war in Vietnam during the 1960s, military historian Russell F. Weigley wrote that "guerilla warfare is so incongruous to the natural methods and habits of a stable and well-to-do society that the American Army has tended to regard it as abnormal and to forget about it whenever possible." He concluded that "Each new experience with irregular warfare has required, then, that appropriate techniques be learned all over again."[4] For most Americans, war is supposed to be a thing reluctantly entered into for noble purposes and high-minded ideals, and is ended on terms that are morally acceptable. The government and popular media have traditionally, either separately or through collusion, packaged and sold these notions to the American people for the purposes of establishing and maintaining popular support for a war effort while hostilities between the United States and its adversaries of the day continue. Once a conflict ends, most Americans return to "business as usual" and neglect the lessons of the country's recent conflict. This quick shift often includes both civilians and the military. Additionally, when a conflict does not fit the traditional narrative of a conventional war, the lessons become more difficult for Americans to understand and are perhaps even more quickly set aside. This is especially the case when Americans do not believe that there are clear goals or a clear victory, such as in Vietnam or the operations conducted by the United States

[4] Russell F. Weigley, *History of the United States Army* (London: B. T. Batsford, 1968), 161.

military in Iraq and Afghanistan. Oftentimes, Americans overlook a sober analysis of official conduct in the war in favor of sensational narratives that offer simple solutions to complex problems.[5]

An excellent case study of this problem in American popular and military thinking can be found in the closing years of the nineteenth century when the United States defeated Spain in a short war and began to shoulder the burdens of a new empire. At the end of hostilities with Spain on 12 August 1898, the United States had soldiers occupying Manila, the capital of the Philippines. During the time that the Americans garrisoned the city, Filipino nationalist forces under Emilio Aguinaldo acted as co-belligerents of the United States against Spain. While the Filipino rebels were probably happy to assist the Americans in defeating their mutual enemy, Aguinaldo and his followers probably did not have in mind trading one colonial overlord for another. The Treaty of Paris in 1898 then transferred the Philippines from Spanish to American control and broke the fragile alliance between American and Filipino nationalist forces. Fighting erupted around Manila on 4 February 1899 between the American forces and Filipino nationalists. The resulting conflict, sometimes called the Philippine War, lasted until 1902.[6] This

[5] This lack of attention permeated academic histories as late as the 1980s. T. Harry Williams ignored insurgencies during the Mexican War and the American Civil War when he asserted that "the struggle with the Filipinos was the first American guerilla war since the Second Seminole War." T. Harry Williams, *The History of American Wars From 1745 to 1918* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1981), 347. Brian M. Linn stated that the Army's irregular experiences in the American South during Reconstruction and in quelling militant labor unrest in the industrial cities of the North during the 1890s "prompted almost no warfighting scenarios applicable to the nation's next great conflict-expeditionary warfare overseas. See Brian M. Linn, *The Echo of Battle: The Army's Way of* War (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2007), 81. Gian Gentile wrote that American military thinking has become dogmatic, and this orthodoxy has ignored different approaches the United States has taken in fighting its opponents and has "obscured from view the reality of American war, which has primarily been one of improvisation and practicality." See Gentile, *Wrong Turn*, 15.

[6] The nomenclature of the conflict remains a contentious topic among historians. Authors have referred to it as the Philippine Insurrection, the Philippine Revolution, the Philippine-American War, the Filipino-American War, and an assortment of less common names. This dissertation will use Brian Linn's term of "Philippine War" to describe the conflict, as it is a politically neutral and common name. It also has the advantage of avoiding the unpleasant questions of whether or not the conflict was a conventional war waged between countries and emphasizes the American role in the conflict.

undeclared war between the United States and Filipino nationalists was one of the first modern insurgencies confronted by the Army as the country began to develop a new identity as a world power.

In order to fight the war and pacify the Philippine islands, the United States Army expanded to 70,000 soldiers, which included regular units and volunteer regiments raised specifically for the fighting in the Philippines. One of the latter regiments, the Thirty-Third Infantry Regiment, United States Volunteers, was comprised largely of Texans and other Southerners and Midwesterners, and was known as "one of the best units in the U.S. Army."[7] This regiment became famous during its eighteen months of existence during the Philippine War, but it faded from the public imagination shortly after the unit was mustered out of service in March 1901.

During the war in the Philippines, American newspaper correspondents regularly mentioned the Thirty-Third Infantry in daily and weekly issues, especially during the conventional phase of the war in late 1899. During the insurrection phase from 1900 through early 1901, the Thirty-Third was instrumental in pacifying Abra and Illocos Sur, the regiment's assigned provinces on northern Luzon. After the Philippine War faded from popular imagination in the United States during the early twentieth century in favor of World War I and later conventional conflicts, memory of the Thirty-Third Infantry also faded. Despite the war's brief resurgence in popularity among academics and military strategists in the 1960s and early 1970s, during the turbulence of the Vietnam War, the lessons of the Philippine War remain elusive in the American popular consciousness to this day.[8]

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[7] Brian M. Linn, *The U.S. Army and Counterinsurgency in the Philippine War, 1899-1902* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1989), 32.

[8] For three of the most recent major works on the Philippine War see the following: John M. Gates, *Schoolbooks and Krags: The United States Army in the Philippines, 1898-1902* (Westport, CT: Greenwood, 1973); Stuart C. Miller,

In order to rectify this deficiency in the literature, this dissertation will describe the history of the Thirty-Third Infantry from its organization to its disbandment and the regiment's legacy in a chronological approach. Chapter one introduces the context of the times in which the Thirty-Third Infantry existed and also describes how historians have interpreted the actions of American soldiers in the Philippines from the turn of the century to the present day.

Chapter 2 describes the beginning of the Philippine War in 1899, why the United States required new regiments of volunteers to fight that war, and the demographics of one of these volunteer regiments, the Thirty-Third Infantry. After the conclusion of the Spanish-American War, Spain transferred sovereignty of the Philippine islands to the United States. This outcome was not acceptable to Filipino nationalists led by Emilio Aguinaldo, whose forces contested the islands. As the American units then in the islands were scheduled to return home, the United States raised new troops of volunteers to fight this insurgency against American rule. These volunteers came from a variety of backgrounds from Texas, the South, and the Midwest, yet they reflected in many ways a snapshot of American society at the turn of the century.

Chapter 3 describes the training of the regiment in San Antonio, a city that had an extensive history as a host for militia, volunteer, and regular army units. The Thirty-Third Infantry mustered and trained there and acquired the character and leadership that marked it as "the Fighting Texans" and other sobriquets during its sojourn in the Philippines. The regimental officers, most of whom were veterans of either the United States Army or the Texas Rangers, prepared the volunteers for tropical duty against an elusive and determined foe through rigorous

"Benevolent Assimilation:" The American Conquest of the Philippines, 1899-1903 (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1982) and Brian M. Linn, *The Philippine War, 1899-1902* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2000). Gates' work emphasizes the benevolence of the Americans during the war, while Miller's work offers a more critical interpretation. Linn's work is a more holistic and balanced treatment of the conflict. A more extensive and descriptive historiography is covered throughout chapter one of this dissertation.

drills from lessons honed during conflicts against the Indian tribes of North America and Spanish forces in Cuba and the Philippines.

Chapter 4 details the initial engagements involving the Thirty-Third Infantry from its arrival on Luzon in October 1899 through the end of that year. The regiment consistently displayed excellent combat efficiency in small skirmishes, pitched battles, and overland expeditions against Aguinaldo's forces in northern Luzon. As reflected in contemporary newspapers, the accomplishments of the Thirty-Third earned its officers and men and grew their fame in the United States and especially in the state of Texas.

Chapter 5 details a cross-country rescue operation of American prisoners held by Aguinaldo's forces during the winter of 1899. This "Gillmore Expedition" earned the Thirty-Third Infantry and its commanding officer, Colonel Luther R. Hare, great renown in the United States and increased the regiment's distinction among its fellow units in the Philippines. There were still substantial references to the Gillmore Expedition for several years after the Thirty-Third mustered out of service in Spring 1901. There was even a minor scandal on which regiment should have received the main honors of rescuing the prisoners – the Thirty-Third Infantry under Colonel Hare or the Thirty-Fourth Infantry under Lieutenant Colonel Robert L. Howze. The irony of the scandal is that both of these officers were close friends, and their letters do not indicate any personal animosity over the event. This controversy will be discussed as well.

Chapter 6 addresses the counter-insurgency. The conventional war against Aguinaldo's forces with clear goals at the end of winter 1899 became a "dirty little war" by the early spring of 1900. By November 1899, American forces had repeatedly defeated Aguinaldo's forces on the battlefield, obliging the Filipino leader to disperse his remaining troops into the mountains and

jungles of Luzon in order to buy time for the political climate in the United States to become more favorable toward his cause. Unable to meet the *insurrectos* on the field conventionally, the Thirty-Third Infantry's duties became enforcing American rule in the provinces of Abra and Illocos Sur and protecting local civilians from bandits and Aguinaldo's reprisals. The regiment's men did so without their beloved commander, Colonel Hare, whom the Army promoted to brigadier general of volunteers in the wake of the Gillmore Expedition.

Chapter 7 examines how the regiment's men coped with the transition from a conventional war to the difficulties of an insurgency. As the attention the regiment had in the United States began to fade due to the shift to counterinsurgency warfare, the main hazards that the men had to contend with included sullen locals, boredom, disease, and the continual irritations of Aguinaldo's guerillas in the countryside. Sabotage, false intelligence from civilians who were sympathetic to Aguinaldo's cause, poor food, and affairs abroad also created additional distractions for the Thirty-Third's men. This chapter will also examine the mental and physical health of the regiment while they engaged in these counterinsurgency duties.

Chapter 8 details the mustering out of the regiment in spring 1901 and the fates of the men and their officers. Some soldiers chose to remain in the Philippines and had careers in the American colonial administration, but most of the men were honorably discharged upon their return to the United States and returned to their civilian lives. Nearly all of the Thirty-Third Infantry's officers continued their military service. Some of them went into the regular Army and had successful careers. Quite a few of the veterans, officers and enlisted alike, achieved prominent positions in the Army during World War I. While many of the Thirty-Third's veterans maintained close ties for decades after the disbandment of their regiment, the attention of the American public toward the regiment faded soon after the excitement surrounding the Gillmore

Expedition waned and instead gravitated towards other events unrelated to the regiment's exploits.

Chapter 9 is an overall analysis of the Thirty-Third Infantry's experiences in the Philippines and why their existence is still relevant today in the age of using the Army for nation-building and to engage in what some dismiss as "small little wars." During the regiment's organization in San Antonio in the summer of 1899, the officers (especially those who had combat experience in the Army, militia, or Texas Rangers) de-emphasized their volunteers appearing smart on parade and instead stressed more practical training: strenuous physical fitness, rifle marksmanship, and simulated combat. The regiment's officers also "led from the front" in combat and shared the same dangers that their men faced. While such displays of personal courage resulted in several wounds and two fatalities among the Thirty-Third's officers during the regiment's engagements on Luzon, the resulting morale benefits among the men were unquestionable and documented.

Whenever possible, this study primarily relied on reports and correspondence from the regiment and its personnel at the time that important events occurred. If no such information was available, this study used documents that were written immediately after the incidents, such as memoirs and personal correspondence. American newspapers at the turn of the century were notoriously unreliable, but they do provide glimpses into what Americans perceived about the regiment and its men in the Philippines. If no primary resources were available to tell the tale of the regiment, secondary sources were used.

As with any historical study, a brief discussion on primary sources is appropriate. Much of the information on the Thirty-Third Infantry was gleaned from official reports found in relevant volumes of the *Annual Reports of the War Department* from 1899 to 1901 and the

second volume of *Correspondence during the War with Spain*.[9] The reports from Colonel Hare and his subordinate officers at the company level were especially valuable. Additional information came from the files of the Thirty-Third Infantry located at the National Archives in Washington, D.C. The "Descriptive and Clothing Books" found in those archives revealed a lot of demographic information about each volunteer. The entries in these books were not consistent (one company, for instance, had its records recorded upside-down in its descriptive books), and the penmanship of military scribes often made individual entries illegible. Letters to and from the officers in the regiment revealed information such as commentary on individual soldiers, charges against men who committed various transgressions, and recommendations for commendations. Memoirs, letters, photocopies of documents, and other relevant information from the rank-and-file volunteers themselves came from the Spanish-American War Veterans Surveys and associated files at the United States Army Heritage and Education Center in Carlisle, Pennsylvania.

Information about American civilian perceptions and attitudes regarding the Thirty-Third Infantry and its operations largely came from contemporary American newspapers. This study used a mixture of major national, regional, and local papers in order to provide as much of a holistic view of the Thirty-Third Infantry as possible. Through painstaking efforts, archivists have preserved nearly all of these papers on online state-owned and commercial databases.

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[9] The *Annual Report of the War Department* for the years 1899 to 1902 includes the reports of the senior officers of the United States Army in the Philippines as well as dozens of junior officers. The two volumes of the *Correspondence during the War with Spain* show the letters and telegrams to and from the senior officers in the Philippines to their superiors in the War Department and the White House. See United States War Department, *Annual Reports of the War Department for the Fiscal Year Ended June 30, 1900,* 7 vols. (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1900); United States War Department, *Annual Reports of the War Department for the Fiscal Year Ended June 30, 1901,* 5 vols. (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1901); and United States War Department, *Correspondence Relating to the War with Spain Including the Insurrection in the Philippine Islands and the China Relief Expedition, April 15, 1898 to July 30, 1902*, 2 vols. (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1902).

While these are useful for examining public perceptions of the regiment, the information found in these newspapers should not be taken at face value. During the American Civil War, most popular papers produced "frequently inaccurate, often invented, partisan, and inflammatory" articles, and this lack of journalistic objectivity persisted through the Spanish-American War and Philippine War, especially among newspapers owned by William Randolph Hearst.[10] As with the Spanish-American War a year earlier, correspondents at home and in the field reporting on American military activities often sensationalized their stories with the flowery and bombastic language endemic to the late Victorian Age. Some papers, such as the *New York Times*, appear to have made genuine attempts at objectivity in their reports on the Thirty-Third Infantry, but many other papers leaned more towards sensational stories. The *San Francisco Call* was the organ of the Spreckles sugar interests and opposed to the annexation of the Philippines. Newspapers in Texas, particularly the *Dallas Morning News* and *San Antonio Express,* usually expressed great interest in the Thirty-Third Infantry and had a lot of information about the regiment's activities in their columns. While many American newspapers of the time, including these, are unreliable for their factual accuracy, they are nonetheless quite valuable as they show what Americans perceived about the soldiers and the war.

There are many historical works on the Philippine War but only a few modern studies of individual regiments. Nonetheless, historians have interpreted the actions of American soldiers during the Philippine War from the turn of the century to the present day. Several factors have influenced their studies of this conflict. First, the United States government and popular media have traditionally, either separately or through collusion, promoted conventional conflicts to the

[10] Phillip Knightley, *The First Casualty: The War Correspondent as Hero and Myth-Maker from the Crimea to Iraq* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2004), 21.

American people for the purposes of establishing and maintaining popular support for the war effort. This trend appears to be a strong undercurrent in the history of the media in the United States. Carl Berger's *Broadsides and Bayonets: The Propaganda of the American Revolution* discusses the printers and publishers of the American War of Independence using their media to describe battles and strengthen popular support.[11] Fayette Copeland's *Kendall of the Picayune* discusses war reporting during the Mexican War.[12] By the time of the Civil War, newspapers became much more reliant on advertising revenue. Publishers thus had correspondents follow armies to write stories that would increase the paper's circulation. While there were a few correspondents such as H. Whitelaw Reid, Charles Coffin, and George Smalley who made genuine attempts at objectivity, most Northern journalists produced wildly inaccurate stories. Confederate papers were arguably worse than their Yankee counterparts in terms of impartiality.[13] William T. Sherman's quip that he would have treated correspondents as spies is perhaps understandable within this context. After the end of the Civil War and the spread of the telegraph, Americans could read reports from distant battlefields in their local papers. These were usually crafted as gripping tales of heroism.[14] During the Philippine War, such stories of the Thirty-Third Infantry were popular in the American press during the conventional phase of the war in 1899, and these are often cited in historical works.

Another factor that shapes the historiography of individual units in the Philippine War is that, while histories of the United States Army in the Philippines are voluminous, the literature

[11] Carl Berger, *Broadsides and Bayonets: The Propaganda War of the American Revolution* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1961).

[12] Fayette Copeland, *Kendall of the Picayune* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1997).

[13] See J. Cutler Andrews' two works: *The North Reports the Civil War* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1955) and *The South Reports the Civil War* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1970). See also Knightley, *First Casualty*, 21-24.

[14] Knightley, *First Casualty*, 21-44.

concerning that conflict is not nearly as popular as studies on other, more conventional, American operations. The first publications, of course, were histories of regiments that fought in the Philippines during the Spanish-American War and in the initial phase of the Philippine War. Many of these books were commissioned in 1899 and 1900 and omitted the bulk of the insurgency phase of the Philippine War. One of the earliest histories with a broader focus is Karl I. Faust's *Campaigning in the Philippines*. This work used eye-witness accounts from volunteer soldiers and covers Admiral George Dewey's victory in Manila Bay on 1 May 1898 to the end of the campaign season of 1899. It also includes an examination of the Philippines and its inhabitants.[15] Faust's work inspired his San Francisco-based publishing company to produce several more studies of regiments that fought during the early months of the Philippine War.[16] Other popular publishers soon followed with their own regimental histories.[17] Other early works

[15] Karl I. Faust, *Campaigning in the Philippines* (San Francisco: Hicks-Judd, 1899), passim.

[16] All of these books are histories of State Volunteer units which had left the Philippines by the time of the insurgency phase. See James Camp, *Official History of the Operations of the First Idaho Infantry, USV, in the Campaign in the Philippine Islands* (San Francisco: Hicks-Judd, 1899); James R. Detrick, *History of the 1st Regiment California United States Volunteer Infantry in the Campaign in the Philippines* (San Francisco: Hicks-Judd, 1899); Frank D. Eager, *History of the Operations of the First Nebraska Infantry, USV, in the Campaign in the Philippine Islands, Complied by Data Furnished by Our Correspondent who was with the Regiment throughout the Campaign and from Official Reports of Brigadier-General Irving Hale* (San Francisco: Hicks-Judd, 1899); Alexander L. Hawkins, *Official History of the Operations of the Tenth Pennsylvania Infantry, United States Volunteers in the Campaign in the Philippine Islands* (San Francisco: Hicks-Judd, 1899); Arthur C. Johnson, *Official History of the Operations of the 1st Colorado Infantry, USV, in the Campaign in the Philippine Islands* (San Francisco: Hicks-Judd, 1899); Alexander Laist, *Official History of the Operations of the First Montana Infantry, USV, in the Campaign in the Philippine Islands* (San Francisco: Hicks-Judd, 1899); William L. Luhn; *Official History of the Operations of the First Washington Infantry, USV, in the Campaign in the Philippine Islands* (San Francisco: Hicks-Judd, 1899); Allan L. McDonald, *The Historical Record of the First Tennessee Infantry, USV, in the Spanish War and Filipino Insurrection* (San Francisco: Hicks-Judd, 1899); Frank W. Medbery, *Official History of the First South Dakota Infantry, USV, in the Campaign in the Philippine Islands* (San Francisco: Hicks-Judd, 1899); Phil H. Shortt, *Official History of the Operations of the First North Dakota Infantry, USV, in the Campaign in the Philippine Islands* (San Francisco: Hicks-Judd, 1899); John Snure, *Official History of the Operations of the Fifty-First Iowa Infantry, USV, in the Campaign in the Philippine Islands* (San Francisco: Hicks-Judd, 1899); J. M. Steele, *Official History of the Operations of the Twentieth Kansas Infantry, USV, in the Campaign in the Philippine Islands* (San Francisco: Hicks-Judd, 1899); Madison U. Stoneman, *Official History of the Operations of the First Battalion Wyoming Infantry, USV, in the Campaign in the Philippine Islands* (San Francisco: Hicks-Judd, 1899); and Martin E. Tew, *Official History of the Operations of the 13th Minnesota Infantry, USV, in the Campaign in the Philippine Islands* (San Francisco: Hicks-Judd, 1899).

[17] See, for example, W. B. Connor, *History of the 28th Regt. Infantry United States Volunteers from Organization to Date of Muster with Roster and Record of Events by Companies* (San Francisco: Whitaker and Ray Company,

published on the war included James H. Blount's *The American Occupation of the Philippines, 1898-1912,* a polemical work in favor of Philippine independence.[18] James A. LeRoy's *The Americans in the Philippines* is a narrative of the Spanish and American administrations of the Philippines that includes a discussion of the conflict.[19] In 1902, John R. M. Taylor, an Army captain, linguist, and decorated veteran from the Philippine War, began working on what was intended to be a five-volume history of the Philippine War. This work was never published, but it is noteworthy for the fact that Taylor used Philippine and American primary sources.[20]

In the United States, the war in the Philippines was highly controversial. Fighting Spain to avenge the USS *Maine* and to liberate Cuba from perceived tyranny was one thing; to annex an archipelago over eight thousand miles from the continental United States and govern a tropical realm of millions of non-Anglo Catholics, Muslims, and animists was quite another. The annexation of the Philippine islands thus split most Americans into two camps. The first and largest of these groups generally supported the war as a civilizing force in keeping with the "white man's burden" ideology that was then popular among the age's imperial powers. A small but vocal minority of anti-imperialists opposed the war and advocated for Philippine independence. These supporters included William Jennings Bryan, Mark Twain, Samuel Gompers, and Andrew Carnegie.[21]

1901), and Calvin U. Gantenbein, *The Official Records of the Oregon Volunteers in the Spanish War and Philippine Insurrection* (Salem, OR: W. H. Leeds, 1901).

[18] James H. Blount, *The American Occupation of the Philippines, 1898-1912* (New York: Knickerbocker Press, 1913).

[19] James A. LeRoy, *The Americans in the Philippines: A History of the Conquest and First Years of Occupation, with an Introductory Account of the Spanish Rule,* 2 vols. (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1914).

[20] Historian John F. Farrell postulated that the work was never published for fear that Taylor's unflattering conclusions may have "arouse controversy at home and in the Far East" (p. 396). See John T. Farrell, "An Abandoned Approach to Philippine History: John R. M. Taylor and the Philippine Insurrection Records," *The Catholic Historical Review* 39 (January 1954), 396.

[21] Several historians during the Vietnam War era wrote studies on anti-war sentiment during the Philippine War. See Frank Freidel, "Dissent in the Spanish-American War and the Philippine Insurrection" in *Dissent in Three American*

The fourth volume of *The History of the United States* series offers a glimpse into the mindset of some pro-imperial American historians at the turn of the century. As its two authors, James W. Garner and Henry Cabot Lodge, explained, "There was at least the comforting thought that [the war] was all unpremeditated and intended solely for the welfare of the weak and untutored races whom we had freed from the tyranny of Spain." With respect to the role of the Army in the Philippine War, this work limited its treatment to the near-invincibility of the American soldiers and emphasized the benevolence of American rule in the islands. The beautifully illustrated *Harper's History of the War in the Philippines*, edited by Marion Wilcox, echoed this jingoistic view and, like the early regimental histories, limited its attention to the conventional phase of the war.[22]

While American strategists largely ignored the lessons of the Philippine War, some foreign military writers did not. Great Britain, for example, had a long history of suppressing insurrections throughout its globe-spanning empire. One such conflict was the Boer War in South Africa. Perhaps because this war was contemporary with the Philippine War, American soldiers in the islands followed correspondents' reports from South Africa with great interest, and in turn British historians wrote about the Philippine conflict. Charles E. Callwell, a colonel in the British Army, made several references to the Philippine War in his discussions of guerilla warfare. In particular, he noted that during the guerilla war in the Philippines, similarly to

Wars (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1970); Robert L. Beisner, *Twelve Against Empire: The Anti-Imperialists* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1968); E. Berkeley Tompkins, *Anti-Imperialism in the United States: The Great Debate, 1890-1920* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1970); and Richard E. Welch Jr., *Response to Imperialism: The United States and the Philippine War, 1899-1902* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1979).

[22] James W. Garner and Henry Cabot Lodge, *The History of the United States*, 4 vols. (Philadelphia: John D. Morris and Company, 1906), 4:1662; Marion Wilcox, ed., *Harper's History of the War in the Philippines* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1900).

conflicts in South Africa and Cuba, "it has been found impossible to avoid being ambushed from time to time. No precautions have availed to prevent the unexpected volley out of the bush."[23]

The eruption of World War I further overshadowed the Philippine War, and so historians wrote few histories on the latter conflict before World War II because they focused on the perceived lessons of the global clash. In 1938 West Point commissioned a series of campaign atlases for the Academy's cadets, but omitted the Philippine War.[24] An exception to this trend of neglecting the Philippine War in military studies was the 1939 work by William T. Sexton, a captain in the Regular Army. His work, *Soldiers in the Sun: An Adventure in Imperialism*, was the first major holistic examination of the entirety of the conflict, not simply the conventional phase. While Sexton's work is a traditional military history inasmuch that it analyzes battles and occupation policy in the islands, it also soberly examines the problems that Sexton believed were unique to the American experiment in democracy with its tropical imperialism.[25]

Shortly after Sexton's book hit the shelves, the European powers and eventually the United States found themselves in another global conflict and historians once more abandoned their interest in the Philippine War. This neglect continued with the advent of the Cold War between the United States and the Soviet Union, during which the lessons of a conventional war again took primacy over lessons of counterinsurgencies from half a century earlier. By the mid-1950s, the interpretation of the war atrophied again into what one historian of that era has called "a war which is better remembered for the libels which have since circulated about the United States Army than it is remembered for any factual history of the army's opponents."[26] In keeping

[23] Charles E. Callwell, *Small Wars: Their Principles and Practice*, 3rd ed. (London: Harrison and Sons, 1906), 368.

[24] As of 2017, the Department of History at West Point still does not include in its series an atlas on the Philippine War.

[25] William T. Sexton, *Soldiers in the Sun: An Adventure in Imperialism* (Harrisburg, PA: Telegraph Press, 1939).

[26] Farrell, "An Abandoned Approach," 387.

with the emphasis on conventional wars, the Department of the Army in 1955 utterly ignored the Philippine War in a study for the General Staff on Army mobilization from the American War of Independence to World War II.[27] This historical withering continued in the United States until the 1960s and 1970s, when the United States fought another insurgency in Southeast Asia.

During the turbulent decades of the Vietnam War era, historians rediscovered the Philippine War and interpreted the conflict in the Philippine archipelago as an uncanny precursor to the one then raging in Southeast Asia. American historians, especially those who aligned themselves with the anti-war New Left, began to emphasize the conflict in the Philippines as a detestable episode in American history and an economic and imperial operation analogous to the Vietnam War. These authors interpreted the Philippine War (and history generally) through the lens of conflict. William Appleman Williams' *The Roots of the Modern American Empire* depicted the annexation of the Philippines as a premeditated conflict that was in the primary economic interest of agriculturalists and businessmen, encouraged by President William F. McKinley's inner circle as early as July 1897 and prosecuted as an effort to secure American business interests in lucrative Chinese markets through the Open Door policy. For Williams, "Cuba was but the temporary focus and symbol of [farm businessmen's] general, inclusive drive for overseas economic expansion."[28] Howard Zinn mischaracterized the war as an exercise in imperialistic racist brutality with few redeeming values for regular Americans back at home. His *People's History of the United States* also included sweeping generalizations about the conflict that ignored rebel atrocities against American soldiers and Filipino loyalists while it emphasized

[27] Marvin A. Kreidberg and Merton G. Henry, *History of Military Mobilization in the United States Army, 1775-1945* (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1955), passim.

[28] William Appleman Williams, *The Roots of the Modern American Empire: A Study of the Growth and Shaping of Social Consciousness in a Marketplace Society* (New York: Vintage Books, 1970), 418, 432 [quotation].

American cruelties and racial attitudes.[29] Michael A. Bellesiles' chapter on the Philippine War in *A People's History of the U.S. Military* gives disproportionate treatment towards members of the Anti-Imperialist League and a limited selection of soldiers who admitted guilt for atrocities committed against Filipino soldiers and civilians. This work also heavily implied that the majority of American soldiers shared such attitudes and even claimed that the "army's morale was undermined by the brutality of U.S. policies" and asserted that there "is a direct line from the Philippine Insurrection to the Vietnam War."[30]

Other historians of the Vietnam War era tried to draw lessons from the Philippine War to address the frustrating quagmire in Vietnam. Russell F. Weigley remarked that the United States Army during the Vietnam War had forgotten the lessons that it learned from the past. He asserted that this was a trend within the Army dating from the mid-nineteenth century: "much of their fighting came to be guerilla warfare, a style the Army had had to teach itself with great difficulty against the Seminole Indians in 1835–42 and now had to teach itself again."[31] John M. Gates's 1973 work *Schoolbooks and Krags* concluded that the Philippine War was "an example of the successful evolution of a counter-guerilla operation leading to the effective occupation of a vast and hostile territory."[32]

By the 1980s, the historiography of the Philippine War continued to be split in a debate between indiscriminate racist abuse and calculated military utility, and historians usually tended to sympathize with one camp or another. Among several works already mentioned, Stuart C.

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[29] See Howard Zinn, *A People's History of the United States, 1492-2001* (New York: Harper-Collins, 2003), 313-320.

[30] Michael Bellesiles, *A People's History of the U.S. Military: Ordinary Soldiers Reflect on Their Experience of War, from the American Revolution to Afghanistan* (New York: New Press, 2012), 186.

[31] Weigley, *History of the United States Army*, 307.

[32] Gates, *Schoolbooks and Krags*, 290.

Miller's interpretation in *Benevolent Assimilation* echoed the New Left's version of the war as an exercise in racist cruelty, complete with indiscriminate acts of war crimes. Gates' *Schoolbooks and Krags,* emphasized the benevolence of American rule and argued that success for the United States in the war was a result of "winning hearts and minds," while Brian M. Linn's studies, *The U.S. Army and Counterinsurgency in the Philippine War, 1899-1902* and *The Philippine War,* describe the Army's policy towards the natives as flexible, with conciliation practiced more commonly than harshness.

The 1980s also saw post-modern historians who interpreted the war along non-traditional lines by using sources in ways that differed from previous historians. Kristin L. Hoganson's *Fighting for American Manhood* interpreted the war along gender lines with an examination of American policymakers and newspaper editors, who in her opinion used gendered themes to advance an imperial agenda. This study of the elites' interpretation of American soldiers in the Philippine War concluded that they were "embodiments of courage, patriotism, fraternal loyalty, and physical power," yet did not examine the attitudes of the soldiers themselves.[33] Richard E. Welch Jr.'s *Response to Imperialism* examined the changing attitudes of the American home front during the Philippine War and emphasized the "troubled, divided, but… determinedly optimistic" attitude within the United States.[34]

With the end of the Cold War in the early 1990s and the emphasis on "nation-building" among American administrations from William J. "Bill" Clinton to Barack Obama, historians have once again returned to appraising the Philippine War in an attempt to draw useful lessons from the conflict. Andrew J. Birtle's *U.S. Army Counterinsurgency and Contingency Operations*

[33] Kristin L. Hoganson, *Fighting for American Manhood: How Gender Politics Provoked the Spanish-American and Philippine-American Wars* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998), 151.

[34] Welch, *Response to Imperialism,* xvi.

Doctrine 1860-1941 examines the Army's evolving thinking of non-conventional warfare from the American Civil War until World War II.[35] Russell Crandall's *America's Dirty Wars* weaves the Philippine War into a larger narrative of a history of American irregular conflicts, yet the book's treatment of the Philippine War suffers from occasional careless factual errors.[36] James R. Arnold's *Jungle of Snakes* examines four examples of twentieth-century counterinsurgencies, one of which is the Philippine War.[37] Arnold asserts that the Americans in the Philippines were victorious due to a flexible strategy that balanced civic attraction with destruction, the suppression of insurgents in the field, and the assistance of the civilian population. He also highlights the many weaknesses of the insurgents, especially Aguinaldo's strategic ineptitude, the failures of the insurgent leadership to appeal to Philippine nationalism, and their inability to locate sanctuaries and supplies. Finally, Arnold suggests that there are important lessons to be learned from this early conflict that can be applied in a successful counterinsurgency. Max Boot's *The Savage Wars of Peace: Small Wars and the Rise of American Power* examined the Philippine War as one of many of America's "small wars" that contributed to the rise of the United States from a commercial power in the late eighteenth century to the global superpower that it is today.[38] And in echoing the critical interpretations of the New Left, Michael H. Hunt and Steven I. Levine's *Arc of Empire: America's Wars in Asia from the Philippines to Vietnam*

[35] Andrew J. Birtle, *U.S. Army Counterinsurgency and Contingency Operations Doctrine 1860-1941* (Washington, DC: United States Army Center of Military History, 2004), passim.

[36] For instance, Crandall's book incorrectly refers to Major General Elwell S. Otis' name as "John Otis" and astonishingly asserts that the United States Army in the Philippines was "poorly trained and equipped." Russell Crandall, *America's Dirty Wars: Irregular Warfare from 1776 to the War on Terror* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2014), 78-79.

[37] James R. Arnold, *Jungle of Snakes: A Century of Counterinsurgency Warfare from the Philippines to Iraq* (New York: Bloomsbury Press, 2009), passim.

[38] Max Boot, *The Savage Wars of Peace: Small Wars and the Rise of American Power* (New York: Basic Books, 2002), passim.

includes a critical examination of the Philippine War as the first act in "a single historical drama" of a quest by the United States for Asian domination, a hegemony the authors argue was undone by the Vietnam War.[39]

In contrast to academia's more nuanced and evolving examinations of the Philippine War, popular historians have largely overlooked the Philippine War in favor of more well-known American conflicts. Many popular historians have typically conflated the Philippine War as either a footnote of the Spanish-American War or, less often, in studies on American imperial or economic expansionism. At the same time, many of the usual interpretations of American behavior in the war found in academic studies persist in their popular counterparts. Many of the latter focus on entertaining and exciting episodes and the role of colorful leaders of the war in order to sell copies. For example, Stanley Karnow's 1989 *In Our Image* described the frustrations of Americans in recognizing the postwar Philippines as a syncretic land of American reforms and Filipino customs.[40] Robert Leckie, a Marine veteran of the Pacific War who became a historian, continued the argument that the stresses of tropical warfare – including poor weather, disease, and frustration in discerning *insurrectos* from non-hostile civilians – filled American soldiers with "a fierce black hatred… they became what they fought. The Filipinos were fighting the kind of war that is based on terror; the Americans fought back just as cruelly."[41] Like other popular historians, Leckie also exaggerated the role of Aguinaldo in sustaining the conflict in the islands rather than offering a more holistic examination of the war.

[39] Michael H. Hunt and Steven I. Levine, *Arc of Empire: America's Wars in Asia from the Philippines to Vietnam* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2012), 1.

[40] Stanley Karnow, *In Our Image: America's Empire in the Philippines* (New York: Random House, 1989), passim.

[41] Robert Leckie, *The Wars of America* (New York: Harper and Row, 1981), 569-570.

Some scholars have contributed to the study of the Philippine War by telling the stories of the individuals who fought in the conflict. The few existing biographies on members of the Thirty-Third Infantry are of mixed quality. Raymond T. Meketa's *Luther Rector Hare, a Texan with Custer*, is a brief narrative of the regiment's first commander and is of questionable academic value due to its hagiographic tone and lack of sources.[42] This book, however, is the only work to date on Colonel Hare's life and career. Another short study on an officer in the Thirty-Third Infantry is Judy Stutton's brief article on Captain Godfrey R. Fowler, one of the company commanders in the regiment.[43] One of the only major scholarly biographies on a senior officer of the Thirty-Third Infantry is Edward N. Coffman's excellent work, *The Hilt of the Sword: The Career of Peyton C. March*.[44] Coffman's work benefitted from the rigorous methodologies normally found in academic studies, and he included an entire chapter dedicated to March's time in the Philippines. The only other biography of an officer in the Thirty-Third is Dora Neill Raymond's *Captain Lee Hall of Texas*, a non-scholarly treatment of a Texas Ranger who became a lieutenant and important disciplinarian in the Thirty-Third Infantry.[45]

It is noteworthy that for a regiment organized, trained, and associated with the state of Texas, the memory of the Thirty-Third Infantry has atrophied to such a degree that the regiment and the men who served in it are rarely, if ever, mentioned, even in Texas military history. This lack of attention could be due to what historian Roger Beaumont suggested was "a centralist bias in academic American military history … traceable to a decline throughout the twentieth century

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[42] Ray Meketa, *Luther Rector Hare: A Texan With Custer* (Mattituck, NY: J. M. Carroll, 1983), passim.

[43] Although it is written by a high school student from Fowler's hometown and lacks primary resource citations, this article is nonetheless the only article on Fowler to date. Judy Sutton, "Colonel Godfrey Rees Fowler," *The Junior Historian* 12 (November 1951), 29-31.

[44] Edward N. Coffman, *The Hilt of the Sword: The Career of Peyton C. March* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1966), passim.

[45] Dora Neill Raymond, *Captain Lee Hall of Texas* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1940), passim.

in the longstanding practice of raising U.S. military units regionally in wartime."[46] An essay in a more recent study, *Texans and War*, perhaps begins to reverse this traditional historiographical neglect in a chapter on the experiences of common soldiers in the era that includes an examination of the infantrymen of the Texas "Immunes" and their motivations to fight in the Spanish-American War.[47] As of 2017, the only direct study of the Thirty-Third Infantry Regiment itself is Brian M. Linn's 1981 master's thesis from The Ohio State University.[48] While this was initially a study of purported military atrocities by American soldiers during the Philippine War, Linn expanded his thesis to include a more holistic history of the unit. However, little space in that manuscript was dedicated to the newspaper coverage of the regiment back at home and its legacy.

It is hoped that this dissertation will address the gaps in the literature and provide to its readers an example that the United States Army has indeed successfully fought insurgencies in its past through the perspective of the Thirty-Third Infantry, United States Volunteers. This study will include not only a chronology of events, but also an examination of the men who fought this war. By resurrecting the story of the Thirty-Third Infantry, more insights can be provided on the campaigns of the United States Army in the Philippine War, and perhaps some useful context can be added to the discussion of the American military's engagement in insurgencies throughout its history.

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[46] Roger Beaumont, "Epilogue: The Texas Military Experience," *The Texas Military Experience: From the Texas Revolution Through World War II*, ed. Joseph G. Dawson III (College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 1995), 185.

[47] James McCaffrey, "The Texas Immunes During the Spanish American War," in *Texans and War: New Interpretations of the State's Military History*, ed. Alexander Mendoza and Charles D. Grear (College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 2012).

[48] Brian M. Linn, "The Thirty-Third Infantry, United States Volunteers: An American Regiment in the Philippine Insurrection, 1899-1901 (Master's Thesis, The Ohio State University, 1981), passim.

CHAPTER 2

A NEW REGIMENT FOR A NEW WAR

On the evening of Saturday, 4 February 1899, an exhausted William F. McKinley retreated to his office after yet another day of conferences. For weeks, heated debate in the halls of the United States Senate over the fate of the Philippine Islands had sapped the president's energies. Impassioned speeches and writings from anti-imperialists provided endless fodder for newspapers that attacked and lampooned McKinley's proposal to annex the islands recently taken from Spain during the three-month-long war in 1898. Andrew Carnegie even offered to purchase the Philippine Islands out of his own pocket, so opposed was the steel magnate-turned-philanthropist to American imperialism. Around half-past eleven in the evening, McKinley received a copy of dispatches from the *New York Sun* that Filipino guerillas outside of Manila had attacked the American occupation forces in that city. Americans had lost their lives in the engagement. "It is always the unexpected that happens," McKinley reflected with quiet lamentation.[1]

One recent military historian of the United States has written that "in annexing the Philippines the United States annexed a war."[2] The background for this conflict lay in the failure of the Spanish government to reform its colonial system in the Philippine islands. In the mid-nineteenth century, liberal and nationalist Filipinos, called *ilustrados,* sought to reform what they perceived as persistent abuses and inequalities in the Spanish colonial government, as well as the influence of the landowning Catholic clergy. These *ilustrados* garnered support from *principales*,

[1] George B. Cortelyou Diary, 2 February 1899, cited in Margaret Leech, *In the Days of McKinley* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1959), 358.

[2] Allan R. Millett and Peter Maslowski, *For the Common Defense: A Military History of the United States of America* (New York: The Free Press, 1994), 304.

landowning elites and Filipino clergy who generally sought to increase their own influence in the islands at the expense of the Spanish government and the Catholic Church. Like other reform movements in the Spanish empire, the Spanish government did not prove receptive to these challenges, and its officials reacted with violence.

By 1892 the reform movement in the Philippines shifted from a moderate local restructuring of the colonial system to a war for independence. The effort to break from Spain was led by a secret society with the flamboyant name of "The Highest and Most Honorable Society of the Sons of the Country," or the Katipunan. This group largely consisted of the Tagalog-speaking elites on the island of Luzon. In part due to elitist Tagalog ethnocentrism and the largely decentralized structure of the Katipunan organization, these revolutionaries did not garner support from the other ethnic groups of Luzon. By early 1897, the Spanish colonial authorities and Filipino loyalists had driven the Katipunan from its strongholds in Cavite Province and into the remote mountains of Luzon. The inability of the Katipunan to control all of Luzon led to a restructuring of the group's leadership. The eventual victor in this was 27-year-old Emilio Aguinaldo, an *ilustrado* warlord of mixed Tagalog and Chinese ancestry from the town of Kawit in Cavite Province. Aguinaldo was more interested in independence than reform, and he emulated the examples of revolutionaries in Cuba and his forces fought a protracted guerilla war. His forces formed a shadow government in many villages by enforcing Aguinado's directives, establishing intelligence networks, and harassing the Spanish forces. These guerillas, like many of their kin in insurgencies before and since, could hide their weapons and blend into the civilian population and cheerfully greet the enemy troops as "amigos."[3]

[3] Linn, *The U.S. Army and Counterinsurgency in the Philippine War*, 17-18.

To the Spanish, who by 1897 were facing a full-blown rebellion in Cuba from its colonists and rapidly deteriorating diplomatic relations between Madrid and Washington over Spanish efforts to crush this revolt, Aguinaldo's rebels were yet another unwelcome annoyance that required Spain's attention. The sense of urgency in Madrid concerning the situation in the Philippines only increased on 5 November 1897 when Aguinaldo's regime declared the independence of the entire Philippines, not just the regions that his Tagalog rebels controlled on Luzon. Aguinaldo's call for all Filipinos to join in his rebellion finally brought Spain's emissaries to the negotiating table. The Spanish government promised reforms in the Philippines in exchange for Aguinaldo and his cabal of followers to depart the islands for Hong Kong. As a sweetener, the Spanish offered the rebel leaders a purse of 400,000 pesos. Aguinaldo took the deal. However, the young warlord's exile did not end the simmering rebellion in the Philippines, and the Spanish government continued brutal but ultimately fruitless measures to stamp it out for another five months into spring of 1898.[4]

The outbreak of war between the United States and Spain on 21 April 1898 over the fate of Cuba sealed the doom of Spain's colonial empire in the Pacific as well as in the Caribbean. Rear Admiral George Dewey's victory over the Spanish fleet at Manila Bay emboldened the Philippine rebels even further. Aguinaldo returned to the Philippines by way of an American steamer, and in believing that the United States supported the cause of Philippine independence, he organized a revolutionary government at Cavite. By August 1898, most of the Philippines were in rebel hands and remnants of the Spanish forces maintained little more than a tenuous position inside the walls of Manila.[5]

[4] Linn, *The U.S. Army and Counterinsurgency in the Philippine War*, 6.

[5] Linn, *The Philippine War*, 21-23.

Without the Spanish fleet to offer resistance, Dewey was supposed to occupy Manila. His immediate problem was that aside from a few Marines on his ships, he did not have sufficient ground forces to seize the city. It took the Army about two months to transport volunteer and regular troops from the West Coast to the Philippines. Along the way, these troops stopped in Guam, an important Spanish possession in the Marianas since the voyage of Ferdinand Magellan in the 1520s. What followed the American arrival in Guam is one of the most bizarre episodes in the history of modern warfare. The Spanish residents of the island did not even know that there was a war going on between their country and the United States. One of the American cruisers, the USS *Charleston*, fired on the abandoned Spanish fort of Santa Cruz. Captain Pedro Duarte, thinking that the Americans were offering a salute of naval gunfire for the Spanish, requested that governor Don Juan Marina send artillery to the beach in order to return the gesture. The captain of the port, Don Francisco Gutiérrez, and several officials even sent a detachment by boat to the *Charleston* in order to welcome the Americans to Guam. When the Spaniards arrived on the deck of the *Charleston* to offer their hospitality, Captain Henry Glass informed them of the state of war then existing between Spain and the United States and that they were now prisoners of war. After this tragicomedy, the Americans captured the island without bloodshed on 21 June 1898.[6]

Once the Army arrived in the Philippines, it proved effective. Major General Wesley Merritt, commanding the Eighth Corps of 20,000 regular and volunteer troops, occupied Manila. He already had perceived a conflict between the Filipino rebels outside of the city and his

[6] Leslie W. Walker, "Guam's Seizure by the United States in 1898," *The Pacific Historical Review* 14 (March 1945), 1-12. It is noteworthy that Captain Glass only demanded the surrender of the island of Guam, rather than the entire Mariana archipelago. The United States failed to acquire these islands (save for Guam) with its other spoils from Spain in the Treaty of Paris of 1898. The following year, Spain sold the remainder of the Marianas to Germany. Japan seized the islands from Germany during World War I and the United States would later take them from Japan at great cost in World War II.

mission to take the city. When Merritt had arrived in Hong Kong days earlier, he reported that the situation in Manila was "difficult" and that more troops might be needed to "hold [the] insurgents while we fight [the] Spanish."[7] Clearly, something needed to be done, even if it was only a gesture. So Merritt, Dewey, and the Spanish governor of Manila, General Don Fermín Jáudenes, arranged a sham battle for Manila that satisfied American and Spanish honor. The terms of this arrangement included stipulations that neither side would use heavy guns. Additionally, the Spanish agreed to only defend the outer line of their trenches. A final term was political in nature: the Americans agreed to keep Aguinaldo's rebels out of the city. The Spanish likely feared retaliation from vengeful Filipinos, and blood in the streets would mar the American victory. To Aguinaldo's later dismay, military expediency put the lie to the old proverb of "the enemy of an enemy is a friend."[8]

As promised between the American and Spanish leaders, on 13 August 1898 the Spanish offered token resistance outside of Manila. The Filipinos, unaware of the ruse devised among the Americans and the Spanish, joined with the advancing American bluecoats. After seeing the Filipino rebels, the Spanish defenders apparently panicked and opened fire. Six Americans and forty-nine Spaniards were killed before a white cloth brought a halt to the battle. The Americans took charge of the Spanish and then turned their attention to preventing the Filipinos from entering the city. The Spanish and the Americans thus got what they wanted. Spain saved its honor, and the United States won a quick and easy victory. Most important, Aguinaldo's rebels did not occupy the city past the suburbs. Likely irate with perceived betrayal, they were not even

[7] Major General Wesley Merritt to Adjutant General [Henry C. Corbin], 1 August 1898, in United States Army Adjutant General's Office, *Correspondence Relating to the War with Spain Including the Insurrection in the Philippines and the China Relief Expedition,* 2 vols. (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1902), 2:743 [Subsequently referred to as *CWS*].

[8] Linn, *The Philippine War*, 24.

present at the formal surrender ceremony.[9] When word arrived in the American camp on 16 August that the United States and Spain had restored peaceful relations, a fragile truce existed between American soldiers and Filipino guerillas, who warily watched each other from their respective entrenchments. To make matters worse for the American authorities, Aguinaldo demanded joint occupation of the city and the Americans still had no clear instructions from Washington.[10]

Merritt was reassigned on 26 August 1898 to assist the American negotiators in Paris. Succeeding him as the American proconsul in Manila was Major General Elwell S. Otis. A balding and mutton-chopped infantry veteran of the American Civil War, Otis has remained a source of controversy since the Philippine War among historians. H. W. Brands quipped that he was "the Philippine war's answer to George McClellan, without the latter's good looks."[11] Stuart C. Miller penned an unflattering description of Otis as an Army officer "of about the right mental caliber to command a one-company post in Arizona."[12] Brian M. Linn's more holistic appraisal balanced Otis' personality flaws with reminders that the Eighth Corps commander's legal and administrative training prepared him well for the task of organizing a colonial government and that he had "considerable skills as a strategist."[13] Regardless of the interpretations of later historians, Otis was the man on the spot in Manila.

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[9] Stanley Karnow, *In Our Image: America's Empire in the Philippines* (New York: Random House, 1989), 124.

[10] Linn, *The Philippine War*, 26.

[11] H. W. Brands, *Bound to Empire: The United States and the Philippines* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1992), 50.

[12] Stuart C. Miller, "*Benevolent Assimilation:" The American Conquest of the Philippines, 1899-1903* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1982), 46.

[13] Linn, *The Philippine War*, 29.

Instructions from Washington concerning what to do in the Philippines were far from clear, but they did not convey any confidence in the Filipino rebels. Unsure of their authority, Dewey and Merritt had asked, "Is [the] Government willing to use all means to make the natives submit to the authority of the United States?"[14] Over the next few days, various directives arrived, but President McKinley made it certain that "there must be no joint occupation with the insurgents… the insurgents and all others must recognize the military occupation and authority of the United States," adding in his instructions to Merritt, "use whatever means in your judgment are necessary to this end."[15] Secretary of War Russell A. Alger later ordered Otis to "use your good offices discreetly" to protect Catholic clergy in the Philippines from "cruel treatment" at the hands of insurgents.[16] The United States government was aware that the Filipino insurgents had inflicted atrocities on Spanish clergy throughout the islands, so that humanitarian concern became yet another reason not to cede power to the rebels.[17]

It was thus clear that the United States government had no intention of sharing power in the Philippines with Aguinaldo's forces. Otis therefore took an uncompromising line in his negotiations with Aguinaldo. Despite the latter's concessions, including vacating the outlying suburbs of Manila, the impasse escalated tensions. McKinley's instructions arrived on 21 December emphasized the civil relations of the Army to prove that the "mission of the United States is one of benevolent assimilation, substituting the mild sway of justice and right for

[14] Merritt and Admiral George Dewey to Adjutant General [Corbin], 17 August 1898, *CWS* 2:754.

[15] Corbin to Merritt, 17 August 1898, *CWS* 2:754.

[16] Corbin to Major General Elwell S. Otis, 18 October 1898, *CWS* 2:804.

[17] There are several sets of correspondence that indicate the American government's attention to this matter, particularly after Washington received urgent notices from the Vatican's representatives. See Corbin to Otis, 30 September 1898, *CWS* 2:793; G. D. Mieklejohn to the Secretary of State [John M. Hay], 21 September 1898, *CWS* 2:793; Secretary of War Russell A. Alger to Otis, 28 October 1898, *CWS* 2:831.

arbitrary rule."[18] The United States would not be like Spain: where the Stars and Stripes went, so would American laws and concerns for civil rights. Aguinaldo for his part was unwilling to start hostilities, probably believing that the United States Senate would not ratify a treaty that included the annexation of the Philippines. He had good reason to believe this: the United States had foresworn annexation of Cuba with the Teller Amendment on 20 April 1898. And yet annexation of his islands was on the table in Washington. Aguinaldo certainly did not have this in mind when his guerillas were fighting the Spanish.[19]

The question that faced President McKinley and the United States Senate was a choice between alternatives. The United States could return the Philippine Islands to Spain, establish some form of protectorate, annex some or all of the islands, or liberate the islands under Aguinaldo's regime. These options, particularly the ones that involved annexation or the independence of the Philippines, were the subjects of furious exchanges in the Senate and national media. Democrats and Republicans alike, annexationists and anti-imperialists, all badgered McKinley to make a decision. While McKinley reportedly claimed that he did not support annexation, as the story goes, the president, who was a lifelong and pious Methodist, abandoned his reluctance one night after he allegedly received advice from a higher power.[20]

As the Senate debated the merits of annexation, McKinley went before a group of his fellow coreligionists at the White House and offered to them an astonishing series of

[18] Corbin to Otis, 21 December 1898, *CWS* 2:858.

[19] Aguinaldo's discussions with the American consul, E. Spencer Pratt, convinced the young Tagalog warlord that the United States would recognize the independence of the Philippines, perhaps in the form of a naval protectorate. See Linn, *The Philippine War*, 20.

[20] McKinley's exact role in the United States annexation of the Philippines remains a source of debate among American historians and is beyond the scope of this work. For an excellent overview of a survey of literature on McKinley's role, see Ephraim K. Smith, "William McKinley's Enduring Legacy: The Historiographical Debate on the Taking of the Philippine Islands" in James C. Bedford, ed., *Crucible of Empire: The Spanish-American War and Its Aftermath* (Annapolis: Naval Institute Press, 1993), 205-249.

rationalizations for annexation. The president began his strange speech with a mixture of humanitarianism and national chauvinism. He stated that the United States could not give the Philippines back to Spain. To return the Filipinos to their former colonial overlord would be dishonorable because the United States had justified its war with Spain under the pretense that the government in Madrid was unfit to rule its colonial subjects in Cuba. The rationale could therefore be logically extended to the Philippines. McKinley also found the moderate option of annexing some of the islands to be used for coaling stations or naval bases unacceptable on strategic and economic grounds. An expansionistic European power like Germany or a commercial rival like France might hungrily snap up any leftovers from Uncle Sam's plate, and thereby interfere with America's commercial and security interests.[21] McKinley then rejected Philippine independence, saying its inhabitants were "unfit" for self-rule. The only remaining option left to the United States in McKinley's eyes was to annex the islands in some fashion. He closed with a return to his theme of a divinely-inspired revelation, that it was the duty of the United States to Christianize the Filipinos.[22]

The president's statement was as astonishing as it was ludicrous. Spain had ruled the Philippines for centuries and Catholic missionaries had actively proselytized the islanders, particularly those in the settled regions of Luzon and the Visayas.[23] Either McKinley was

[21] The United States had a contentious history with Imperial Germany in the Pacific. The two powers nearly went to war in the late 1880s over Samoa until a typhoon scattered the fleets sent to contest the islands. In 1898, Germany, then engaged in a naval rivalry with Great Britain, sought influence (if not an actual physical foothold) in the Philippines. The presence of six German warships under Admiral Otto von Diederichs in Manila Bay in the late summer of 1898 aroused suspicion of Teutonic duplicity in the United States and from Admiral Dewey. Much to the regret of jingoistic editors on both sides of the Atlantic, Germany and the United States would not go to war over the Philippines. See Lester B. Shippee, "Germany and the Spanish-American War," *The American Historical Review* 30 (July 1925), 754-777.

[22] See Leech, *In the Days of McKinley*, 326-328.

[23] The people of the Philippines to this day profess very diverse beliefs. When American rule supplanted that of Spain in 1898, many Filipinos in the remote and mountainous regions retained their indigenous spiritual traditions while many of the Moro peoples in the southern islands professed Sunni Islam. The American experiences in those

unaware that many Filipinos professed the Catholic faith or he did not care to mention that distinction to his audience. Regardless of McKinley's reasoning, the religious differences between Catholic Filipinos and many Protestant American volunteer soldiers would create headaches for the American occupation later, particularly in the Muslim-populated islands in the south.[24] In any event, not all Americans welcomed the notion of Philippine annexation. There were some Americans who believed that annexing the Philippines was a mistake. One reason anti-imperialists used was that the United States itself became independent from a colonial power and the Declaration of Independence held that all men were created equal. Another reason was strategic: the Philippine Islands were 8,000 miles from the United States and near British and Japanese colonial possessions. Such protests ultimately fell on deaf ears but resurfaced in the election of 1900. On 6 February 1899 the Senate approved the treaty with annexation and on 10 December 1899, Spain formally transferred its authority over the Philippines to the United States.[25]

For the United States to claim the Philippine islands was one matter. To enforce those claims through physical control of the land and to compel the inhabitants to accept that control was quite another issue entirely. The situation was tenuous. At the end of the Spanish-American War, the United States controlled the city of Manila but Aguinaldo's rebels controlled the countryside. General Otis wrote to Adjutant General Henry C. Corbin that tensions were reaching the boiling point: "ignorant masses under Aguinaldo's influence radical; insurgent

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regions were different than those in the settled areas of Luzon and are beyond the scope of this study. Linn, *The Philippine War*, 15.

[24] One American writer in 1915 suggested a patient policy of religious tolerance towards the Moros while pointing to "higher ideals and better results." John P. Finley, "The Mohammedan Problem in the Philippines," *The Journal of Race Development* 5 (April 1915), 353-363.

[25] See Freidel, "Dissent in the Spanish-American War and the Philippine Insurrection," 167-184.

leaders now in charge fear this has gone too far, and can not control army and masses."[26] Events around Manila gradually deteriorated. American soldiers referred to Filipinos with derogatory terms such as "gugus" and "niggers." Otis insisted that Aguinaldo's forces withdraw from the area around Manila and give their trenches and captured blockhouses to American authorities. The close proximity of irate Filipino troops and condescending American soldiers for almost six months was akin to putting a flame to a fuse. On the night of 4 February 1899, Private William Grayson of the First Nebraska Volunteer Infantry barked a challenge to a Filipino patrol. The patrol refused to answer Grayson's challenge, and the Cornhusker private fired on them. Soon firing spread down the American lines.[27]

Thus began the Philippine War. On paper, Aguinaldo's forces had several advantages. They were well dug-in outside of Manila and had excellent intelligence on the Americans due to their collaborators inside the city. However, the enthusiastic and better-trained Americans quickly pushed the Filipinos from their trenches and into the countryside. By the end of March 1899, American forces captured Aguinaldo's capital of Malolos. Otis's operation continued until May 1899, when the monsoon season forced a rainy end to campaigning. Otis now faced a new problem: the enlistments of his volunteer forces were about to expire. If the United States was to occupy the inhabited areas of the Philippines and enforce benevolent assimilation of the islanders into an American colony, he would need more men.[28]

This conflict in the Philippines as it had evolved now required that the United States raise a new army to quell the insurrection against American rule and to restore order in the islands. To create an army from whole cloth at the outbreak of the conflict, as per usual United States

[26] Otis to Adjutant General [Corbin], 8 January 1899, *CWS* 2:872.

[27] Linn, *The Philippine War*, 46.

[28] Millett and Maslowski, *For the Common Defense*, 306.

practice in its wars until the mid-twentieth century, was not an easy task. The volunteers who had fought the war with Spain and their respective state governments who helped organize them into military units all clamored for the veterans' return to civilian life in the United States. It was a political impossibility for President McKinley to compel those citizen-soldiers to remain in overseas service after the formal ratification of peace with Spain. The president thus had to make hard choices on how to raise the required forces to fight this new war in the tropics.[29]

The first of McKinley's options was to simply enlarge the size of the Regular Army from 65,000 to 100,000 soldiers. However, the specter of a large standing army was an unpopular option for Americans of McKinley's era for a variety of reasons. After the American Civil War ended in 1865, the United States did not require a large standing army to fulfill the government's limited continental military policies of Reconstruction in the Southern states and subduing Native peoples in the West. There was also no need to maintain a large army to protect against an invasion, since the imperial ambitions of the European Great Powers were focused on Africa and Asia instead of North America. Furthermore, volunteers had fought the Spanish-American War.[30] Many American policymakers then and since have believed that volunteer citizen-soldiers in times of national peril, being patriotic citizens, would answer their country's call and meet the nation's martial needs. Thus, the appropriations bill to enlarge the Army passed the House of

[29] Millett and Maslowski, *For the Common Defense,* 306.

[30] The war with Spain compelled Congress to expand the Army from 25,000 to nearly 300,000 men. This expansion involved compromises with politically powerful state officials who clamored for officer positions in the war. Of the Army's total number, nearly 60,000 were regulars (expanded from 25,000 in the prewar Army), 10,000 were United States Volunteers, and the remainder were National Guard units taken into federal service. See Millett and Maslowski, *For the Common Defense,* 289. For an excellent study of the politicking between the War Department and state officials, see Graham A. Cosmas, *An Army for Empire: The United States Army in the Spanish-American War*, 2nd ed. (Shippensburg, PA: White Mane Publishing Company, 1994), 99-101, 105-108.

Representatives but died in the Senate.[31] McKinley therefore needed an alternative to simply expanding the exiting Army's ranks.

The president decided to have the Army rely on new regiments of volunteer soldiers that would go to the Philippines to crush Aguinaldo's forces and restore order to the island on American terms. This proposal was politically attractive for McKinley since it was more palatable for American citizens to swallow than the option of ballooning the Regular Army. Furthermore, a call for volunteer soldiers was a longstanding American tradition going back to the days of colonial Jamestown in the early seventeenth century and had continued through every United States military conflict since that time. This call took the form of the Army Bill of 2 March 1899. This bill set up two provisions to address what the government referred to as an insurrection in the Philippines. The first provision placed the Regular Army at 65,000 men, to be led by veterans of the late war with Spain. The second part authorized twenty-five infantry regiments and one regiment of cavalry, in all comprising 35,000 volunteers, to serve a tour of two years in the Philippine islands.[32] If the Thirty-Third Infantry was born in San Antonio, as many residents of the city later liked to claim, the regiment's conception was in a Washington clerk's office.

Structurally, the Thirty-Third Infantry, United States Volunteers, (as the regiment was formally named) was identical to its counterparts in the Regular Army. The president appointed the officers, who came from diverse backgrounds. By birth or by longstanding residence, nearly a third of the officers were Texans, while most of the remainder were other Southerners. Nearly

[31] See Charles A. Byler, *Civil-Military Relations on the Frontier and Beyond 1865-1917* (Westport, CT: Praeger, 2006), 2-3.

[32] United States War Department, *Annual Reports of the War Department for the Fiscal Year Ended June 30, 1900, Volume 1* (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1900), Part 2, p. 8.

all of the senior officers were West Point graduates, and most of them were veterans of frontier campaigns against various Native peoples or in Cuba during the Spanish-American War.[33]

The regiment's commanding officer from the summer of 1899 until the spring of 1900 was Colonel Luther R. Hare, a hard-riding and hard-cursing cavalryman born in 1851. He was the eldest son of Silas Hare, an Indiana lawyer and veteran of the armies of both the United States and the Confederacy who had moved to Sherman, Texas, in 1865.[34] Luther Hare secured an appointment to West Point courtesy of Congressman John Conner of Indiana, graduated from West Point as twenty-fourth out of forty in the class of 1870, and was assigned to the Seventh Cavalry. By the time of the war with Spain in 1898, Hare had served over twenty-four years in the Seventh Cavalry in various roles. These included service as a scout during the Little Bighorn Campaign (where he had a horse shot out from under him), the 1877 Nez Perce Campaign under Colonel Samuel D. Sturgis, the Sioux Ghost Dance War, and in scouting expeditions against Apaches in the Arizona Territory. In 1898, he accepted the rank of lieutenant colonel of the First Regiment of the Texas Volunteer Cavalry but did not see any action due to the swift conclusion of the war with Spain. Upon his appointment as the colonel of the Thirty-Third Infantry, the *Dallas Morning News* proudly commented that Hare was a "natural born soldier."[35] He was also well known outside of Texas. The *San Francisco Call* wrote that Hare was an officer "of proved

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[33] United States Army, Adjutant General's Office, *Official Register of Officers of Volunteers in the Service of the United States Organized Under the Act of March 2, 1899* (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1900), 62-64.

[34] Silas Hare had a long and colorful history of public and military service. As a private in the First Indiana Volunteers during the Mexican War, he suffered a lance wound at the Battle of Buena Vista on 23 February 1847. In 1858 he joined General William Hardeman's expedition to explore the Texas Panhandle and *Llano Estacado*. During the Sibley Expedition of 1862, Hare served as the chief justice of Confederate-occupied New Mexico but resigned that position in order to join the Confederate Army. He saw service in Texas during the war as a major in the Arizona Brigade. After the war, he served two terms as a Democrat representing the Fifth Congressional District of Texas from 1887 to 1891. Elizabeth Blair Douglas, "Hare, Silas," in Ron Tyler et al., eds., *The New Handbook of Texas*, 6 vols. (Austin: Texas State Historical Association, 1996), 3: 460.

[35] "Col. Hare's Selection," *Dallas Morning News*, 8 July 1899.

courage and ability and will undoubtedly make an enviable record in the Philippines."[36] The accomplishments of the Thirty-Third under Hare's leadership would later prove the *Call's* suggestion.

The regiment's second-in command was Lieutenant Colonel John J. Brereton, a native of New Jersey. Like Hare, Brereton was a West Pointer (class of 1877) and a combat veteran. While Hare was a cavalryman who served along America's expanding frontier, Brereton was a foot soldier. From 1877 until 1895, he served in the Twenty-Fourth Infantry along the frontier and later as Professor of Military Science and Tactics at Rutgers College in New Jersey. He served his capacities with distinction and was wounded at the Battle of San Juan Hill during the Spanish American War. After the war with Spain ended, Brereton became the chief quartermaster of United States volunteer troops. In reference to his experience, one Massachusetts newspaper remarked that Brereton was "an old hand at guerilla tactics."[37]

Like Hare and Brereton, many of the regiment's senior officers were West Pointers. Major Marcus D. Cronin was another graduate of West Point (class of 1887). Originally from Massachusetts, Cronin had served on the frontier in Montana. He was an Instructor of Modern Languages at West Point until 1897 and became a first lieutenant and regimental adjutant with the Buffalo Soldiers of the Twenty-Fifth Infantry in Cuba during the Spanish-American War. He received the Silver Star for gallantry at the Battle of El Caney on 1 July 1898. Cronin joined the Thirty-Third Infantry in the Philippines while serving as a captain with the Twenty-Fifth Infantry.[38]

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[36] "More Soldiers Sail Away for Luzon Swamps," *San Francisco Call,* 1 October 1899.

[37] "A Dare-Devil Regiment," *Springfield Republican* (Massachusetts), 1 November 1899.

[38] Record of Events, RG 94/59, Thirty-Third Infantry, Box 44, pg. 4, NA.

Peyton C. March was another of the regiment's majors and a rising star in the Army. March's chief biographer, Edward N. Coffman, described him as an "intelligent, forceful, yet reserved" man.[39] March received a classical education at Lafayette College in Eaton, Pennsylvania and military schooling at West Point (class of 1888). At West Point, March was classmates with fellow cadets Cronin and Robert Lee Howze, two men who later worked with him during the Philippine War. As a cadet, March excelled in athletics, and his classmates regarded him as a strict but fair leader: he did not indulge in hazing. March graduated tenth in his class of forty-four. Whereas other majors in the Thirty-Third Infantry had their backgrounds in the infantry and cavalry, March's prior assignments were in the artillery. After additional education at Fort Monroe, he led the Astor Battery in the Philippines during the Spanish-American War and participated in the capture of Manila. March's personality was similar to that of Colonel Hare: both men were tough, stern, and direct. When he joined the regiment in the Philippines, March was already a brilliant, proven tactician, and his leadership was directly responsible for many of the laurels won by the Thirty-Third during the Philippine War.[40]

Not all officers in the volunteer units were appointed on grounds of merit and experience. As with prior American conflicts, ambitious politicians often managed to place themselves or their associates in the Army for their own ends. The initial choice to fill the final major's position in the regiment went to Francis D. Ward, a man with no experience in the Regular Army.[41] However, a man with even more solid political connections eventually filled the appointment. This man was John A. Logan Jr., the son of Senator John A. "Black Jack" Logan of Illinois.[42]

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[39] Coffman, *Hilt of the Sword*, 10.

[40] Coffman, *Hilt of the Sword*, 3-19.

[41] "Politicians Officering the New Regiments," *The Oregonian* (Portland), 21 July 1899.

[42] John A. Logan Sr. was a politician from Illinois who resigned his congressional seat to fight in the American Civil War, when he commanded the Union XV Corps. He served with great distinction during the war as one of the

Born Manning Alexander Logan in Carbondale, Illinois in 1865, Logan later took his father's first name. Like that of Ward, the appointment of Logan as one of the Thirty-Third's senior officers was met with controversy in American newspapers. The *Grand Forks Daily Herald* remarked that its competitor, the *Ardoch Standard*, did not expect the younger Logan to acquit himself well in the Philippines, but his father was "one of the greatest fighters the country as ever produced, and for that reason alone *The Herald* would expect John A. Logan Jr. to make a magnificent record in the Philippines."[43]

Unlike Hare, Brereton, Cronin, and March, John A. Logan Jr. did not graduate from West Point. In fact, one could argue that he had little genuine qualifications to command soldiers anywhere outside of a parade ground. As a cadet at West Point, Logan suffered two court-martials for conduct unbecoming and then resigned from the academy with a highly dubious medical claim of poor eyesight before he could be dismissed.[44] After he married Edith Andrews, the daughter of Chauncey Andrews, a millionaire businessman from Youngstown, Ohio in 1887, Logan spent his time as a dandy socialite and horse breeder in New York. When the war with Spain erupted in 1898, he failed to find an officer's commission until his family's social and political connections secured for him a major's shoulder straps and an appointment as an

Union's few competent "political generals" and was awarded the Medal of Honor for gallantry at the Siege of Vicksburg. After the war ended, he served his state of Illinois as a United States senator. His political career in the Senate was marked by his continuous efforts to advance the welfare of the enlisted soldiers, and he is generally regarded as the most important figure involved in establishing the holiday that became Memorial Day. There are numerous memorials and monuments to Logan across the United States, particularly in his home state and in Washington, D.C. See James P. Jones, *Black Jack: John A. Logan and Southern Illinois in the Civil War Era* (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1995).

[43] No headline, *Grand Forks Daily Herald* (North Dakota), 27 August 1899.

[44] According to author Matthew Westfall, the charges against Logan included an incident where he cursed a member of the guard and another for smuggling a bottle of liquor into his dormitory. Westfall's account depicts Logan in a dim light and attributes his swift rise in both society and the army to his father's legacy and his mother's political peddling. Matthew Westfall, *The Devil's Causeway* (Guilford, CT: Lyons Press, 2012), 143.

assistant adjutant-general during the Santiago Campaign.[45] Such swift promotions ran contrary to the efficiency exams that the Army had mandated of its officers by the 1890s.[46] Regardless of his namesake and any genuine qualifications that he possessed for command, Logan would have his chance to emulate his father's earlier heroics in the Philippines.[47] Without either of the regiment's battalion commanders present in San Antonio, Colonel Hare implored Major Logan to expedite his arrival at Camp Capron from his home in Washington.[48] Logan arrived in late September 1899, accompanied by his pet dog and a personal valet, John Morley.[49]

While the Thirty-Third's senior officers came from the Regular Army (or politics in Logan's case), its company officers largely came from state organizations. But like the Thirty-Third's senior officers, many of these men brought experience and education to their new commands. Captains Thomas Q. Ashburn and Edgar A. Sirmyer had been classmates at West Point (class of 1897). Ashburn had previously served as a lieutenant in the Seventh Artillery, while Sirmyer had served in the Third Cavalry. Edward Davis was a Cornell University-educated

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[45] "Was Shot in the Head," *Wisconsin Weekly Advocate* (Milwaukee), 16 November 1899; *Register of the Military Order of Foreign Wars of the United States* (New York: National Commandery, Military Order of Foreign Wars of the United States, 1900), 310–311.

[46] A small cadre of regular officers, namely Generals William T. Sherman and Emory Upton, spearheaded professionalization in the late nineteenth-century United States Army. In a comparison of the development of military professionalism in the United States with that then taking place in Germany, political scientist Samuel Huntington claimed that in the United States, professionalism was "almost entirely the product of the officers themselves," whereas the famed German army was "the outcome of social-political currents at work in society at large." See Samuel Huntington, *The Soldier and the State: The Theory and Politics of Civil-Military Relations* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1985), 233. For a contrasting view on the post-Civil War United States Army's professionalization, see John M. Gates, "The Alleged Isolation of U.S. Army Officers in the Late 19th Century," *Parameters* 10 (September 1980), 32–45.

[47] Westfall claims that Logan's mother and his associates in business and politics flooded the War Department with a "deluge of letters" in support of his commission as an officer in a volunteer regiment ordered to the Philippines. Westfall, *Devil's Causeway*, 144.

[48] Colonel Luther R. Hare to Major John A. Logan, 22 August 1899, Record Group 94/117, Regimental Letters Sent, Thirty-Third-Infantry, Box 16, File 90, National Archives, Washington, D.C. [hereafter cited as NA].

[49] Westfall, *Devil's Causeway*, 144; C. Fred Ackermann, "How Brave Young Logan Died," *Leslie's Weekly Illustrated* 90 (Jan. 13, 1900), 30.

attorney who was with the First Illinois Infantry in Cuba. James M. Burroughs, the regiment's first adjutant, had served with Colonel Hare in the First Texas Cavalry during the Spanish-American War. Richard T. Ellis served with the Fourth United States Infantry and fought at El Caney and Santiago in Cuba. William S. Cunningham was a Texas Ranger and served in the Fourth Texas Volunteer Infantry during the Spanish American War. Edmund Shields was a captain in the Third Texas Volunteer Infantry. The other captains, Charles Van Way of Kansas, James Butler of Mississippi, Theodore Schultz of Missouri, and Lindsey P. Rucker of Texas, had all served with their respective state volunteer infantry units during the Spanish American War but had not seen combat.[50]

Many of the other company officers had colorful backgrounds in addition to their experience. Godfrey R. Fowler, a native Texan from the town of Palestine in Anderson County southeast of Dallas, was a grandson of John H. Reagan, a prominent Texas politician and the former Postmaster General of the Confederacy. Fowler had an excellent education at the two major public universities in Texas: he had earned a degree in civil engineering from the Agricultural and Mechanical College of Texas (present-day Texas A&M University) in 1894 and a law degree from the University of Texas at Austin in 1897. Fowler also brought infantry experience to the Thirty-Third: he was a captain in the Second Texas Infantry before the outbreak of the war with Spain. [51]

Another company officer with a unique background was Captain John F. Green of San Antonio. Green was born in Cordova, Mexico, to a San Antonio family who briefly fled Texas

[50] U.S. Army Adjutant General's Office, *Official Register, 1899*, pp. 62-64. Rucker was the son and namesake of a prominent Episcopal minister in Texas who was credited with surveying the boundary for the Republic of Texas. On Rucker's father, see Richard B. McCaslin, *Washington on the Brazos: The Cradle of the Texas Republic* (Austin: Texas State Historical Association, 2016).

[51] U.S. Army Adjutant General's Office, *Official Register, 1899*, pp. 62-64.

during Reconstruction. Like his fellow company commander Fowler, Green was educated at Texas A&M, but he did not graduate. After a brief stint as a clerk in a shoe store on Navarro Street in downtown San Antonio, Green became a captain in the Belknap Rifles, a nationally famous competitive drilling company, based in San Antonio, in which Green's elder brother Robert had once served as a captain. During the Spanish-American War, Green joined the First Texas Cavalry with Hare as his commanding officer, but he did not see combat. When the Thirty-Third Infantry was organized in San Antonio, Colonel Hare made Green one of the company commanders at Fort Sam Houston in 1899. Green brought to the regiment a strong reputation for personal courage, honesty, and fluency in the Spanish language.[52]

Another of the regiment's captains was John A. Hulen, a Missourian by birth but a resident of Texas since he was two years old. Hulen was a successful businessman and railroad executive, although his military career in Texas often interrupted his civilian jobs. He had experience in both the infantry and cavalry. He had joined the Third Texas Volunteer Infantry as a private in 1887 and earned a first lieutenant's commission in 1889. In 1897 Hulen was advanced to the rank of major in the First Texas Cavalry, United States Volunteers. From August to November 1898, he served with that unit as a brevet lieutenant colonel before it was demobilized due to the swift conclusion of the war with Spain.[53] After the war with Spain, Hulen was appointed as a captain and was assigned to the Thirty-Third Infantry.

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[52] U.S. Army Adjutant General's Office, *Official Register, 1899*, p. 63; Anne L. Fenstermaker, "Green, John Fulton S." in Tyler et al., *New Handbook of Texas*, 3:314.

[53] One historian wrote that "Though the regiment never deployed for combat, the mobilization at the close of the century continued a long, if intermittent, tradition of Texan horsemen supporting armies in international conflicts." Nathan Jennings, *Riding for the Lone Star: Frontier Cavalry and the Texas Way of War, 1822–1865* (Denton: University of North Texas Press, 2016), 340. See also Jimmy M. Skaggs, "Hulen, John Augustus," in Tyler et al., *New Handbook of Texas*, 3:778-779.

Among the regiment's lieutenants was a Texas legend: forty-nine-year-old Jesse Lee Hall. While old for a first lieutenant, Hall had a pre-war career that prepared him well for leadership in the regiment. He had been a schoolmaster and marshal of Colonel Hare's hometown of Sherman in Grayson County from 1871 to 1873, a deputy sheriff of Denison, Texas, and Sergeant-at-Arms for the Twentieth Texas State Legislature in 1876. That same year, Hall joined the Frontier Battalion, better known as the Texas Rangers, served as a captain in this organization from 1877 to 1880, and had a colorful career that was marked by suppressing cattle rustlers and thwarting border raids from Mexican outlaws. After Hall retired from the Rangers in 1880, he tried his hand as a rancher in arid La Salle County for five years, but he did not find financial success in that endeavor. In 1885, he worked for the federal government as an agent to the Anadarko Indians in present-day Oklahoma, then moved to San Antonio, where he went into business. Hall's fame was such that he came to the attention of artist Frederic S. Remington, who tried to persuade Hall to write a memoir but failed. During 1898, Hall raised two companies of volunteers from San Antonio for the First United States Volunteer Infantry for service in the Spanish-American War, then joined the Thirty-Third as a first lieutenant.[54]

For the other lieutenant positions, by early March 1899 there were over 20,000 applications for the meager 101 second lieutenant posts available in the expanded Army, and the remaining appointees for the Thirty-Third Infantry came from this pool.[55] As with the Thirty-Third's captains, many of the unit's lieutenants brought valuable experience with them from the Spanish-American War, either from combat or the mobilization. The appointment of non-commissioned officers was left to individual company commanders, and such appointments

[54] Hall's life and career are detailed in Raymond, *Captain Lee Hall of Texas*. See also Thomas W. Cutrer, "Hall, Jesse Leigh" in Tyler et al., *New Handbook of Texas,* 3:414.

[55] "Rush for Positions," *Baltimore Sun*, 9 March 1899.

appear to have been based upon merit and experience. Previous service was taken into consideration after a volunteer enlisted at his recruiting office.[56]

Because the Thirty-Third Infantry was organized in San Antonio and led by a Texan, half of its officers were Texans or other Southerners. Of the fifty officers that departed from the Alamo City in 1899, Texas supplied thirteen officers (or over one quarter of the regiment's officers), including Colonel Hare, half of the company commanders, and several of the lieutenants. Thirteen more officers hailed from the other southern states. Four more officers were from the Midwest. Ten officers were appointed from within the Regular Army or were "at large" at the time of their appointment. Another ten officers originated from northern states. Arthur Davies of Colorado was the lone representative from the West.[57]

Recruitment of the enlisted soldiers began in July 1899 under the overall direction of Lieutenant Colonel Brereton. Several recruiting offices opened in Texas, Arkansas, and the Indian Territory in July 1899 and later expanded to include several eastern and midwestern states. The Army required all applicants for volunteer service to meet certain physical and mental requirements. All prospective volunteers had to be between the ages of 18 and 35, of "good character and habits," free from disease, and able to speak English. Exceptions to these requirements were made for applicants who had previously served honestly and faithfully in the United States Army. Such veterans did not have limits placed on their age at the time of their enlistments. However, all volunteers who were between the ages of 18 and 21 had to provide the written consent of their fathers, surviving parents, or legally appointed guardians. As with other

[56] Hare to W. A. Leigh, 4 August 1899, RG 94/117, Regimental Letters Sent, Thirty-Third Infantry, Box 16, File 8, NA.

[57] A table providing information on the states from which the officers of the Thirty-Third Infantry were recruited can be found in the Appendix.

volunteer units for the war in the Philippines, the Army did not accept married men into the Thirty-Third Infantry except in "exceptional cases in the interest of public service," and then only with the approval of either Colonel Hare or Brigadier General Henry C. Corbin, the Adjutant General of the Army.[58]

At the time of the Philippine War, the Army placed no restrictions on siblings who wished to serve together. There were at least five sets of brothers who enlisted in the regiment. Paul and George Bousman of Company M joined together at Stafford, Kansas. Walter and Ellis Pool of Company I were Tennessee-born farmers who volunteered at Paragould, Arkansas. John Cranford of Company A and his younger brother Elmore Cranford of Company G were native Texans and respectively enlisted at the recruiting offices in Dallas and Waco. John and Frank Eckes, both privates in Company C, enlisted together at Fort Reno in the Indian Territory. Cicero Mitchell and his older brother William respectively served in Companies K and L.[59]

American newspapers during the Philippine War often referred to the Thirty-Third Infantry as the "Texas Regiment" or the "Fighting Texans." Such place names at the turn of the century were less of a priority for the War Department's recruiting efforts than they were during earlier American conflicts, but state names remained important for promoting military affairs in the public's eye. Despite the regiment's popular moniker as a Texas unit, however, the demographics of its soldiers were as diverse as the population of the Lone Star State itself in 1899. Texas had long been a land of immigrants and cultural mixing as far back as its days as a

[58] "Dallas Local Notes," *Fort Worth Morning Register*, 11 July 1899.

[59] All data for these soldiers was taken from their respective company's records found in RG94/117, Descriptive and Clothing Books, Thirty-Third Infantry, NA.

backwater frontier colony under the Spanish flag.[60] By the turn of the twentieth century, it had significant populations of Germans, Poles, Czechs, Irish, and other ethnicities from Europe and elsewhere. The soldiers of the Thirty-Third Infantry reflected these diverse backgrounds and provide an illustration of the ethnic composition of both the United States and Texas at the turn of the century. While most of these volunteers came from the United States, about one in ten members of the regiment (132) were born abroad. Like many late-nineteenth century immigrants to the United States, most of these soldiers hailed from Germany, England, or Ireland, although significant minorities came from Austria-Hungary, Canada, Scotland, Sweden, and Switzerland. These numbers are roughly consistent with the demography of the United States, as the data from the population reports in the national census for 1900 suggests that the men who served in the Thirty-Third Infantry had backgrounds similar to the rest of the country at that time.[61]

Within the United States, the Army initially recruited volunteers for the Thirty-Third Infantry in Texas, Arkansas, and the Indian and Oklahoma Territories, but by the end of July 1899 it established more recruiting stations in Ohio, Indiana, Kentucky, and Tennessee in order to expedite filling the regiment's ranks.[62] The Thirty-Third's company officers managed several recruiting stations in Texas, all with local physicians to perform physical examinations on each recruit. In southeastern Texas, Lieutenant Dean Tompkins directed the office at Galveston, Texas while in Houston Lieutenant Colonel Brereton, Lieutenant Edgar Coffey, and local resident

[60] In the case of the population of San Antonio de Bexár, mixing between Iberians, Africans, and American Indians regularly took place at that settlement in the late eighteenth century. See Jesús F. de la Teja, *San Antonio de Bexár: A Community on Spain's Northern Frontier* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1995).

[61] United States Bureau of the Census, *Twelfth Census of the United States – 1900, Census Reports, Vol. I: Population* (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1900), 732–735. See table on foreign origins of recruits in Appendix.

[62] "To Draw from Other States: Recruiting Territory of Thirty-Third Regiment Enlarged," *San Antonio Express*, 30 July 1899.

Lieutenant James M. Burroughs managed a post inside the Levy Building on the corner of Main Street and Capital Avenue.[63] The *San Antonio Express* remarked that Lieutenant Tompkins was clearly disappointed that Galveston did not supply enough recruits to outfit an entire company "so that Galveston could have the honor of being the only city represented by a solid organization in the ten regiments."[64] On 10 August, Lieutenant William L. Lowe opened a recruiting station in Austin. Residents of the Texas capital provided a large contingent of recruits, second only to San Antonio based on a random sampling of 720 enlisted men.

North Texas was a flurry of recruiting activity. Lieutenant George L. Febiger, a native of New Orleans, accepted applications from recruits at Corsicana, Waxahachie and Waco. Captain Godfrey R. Fowler brought in recruits from his hometown of Palestine in Anderson County. Lieutenant Thomas Sherburne managed a station in the Kaufman County town of Terrell. Second Lieutenant Donald C. McClelland, a veteran of the fighting in Cuba, brought in volunteers from Denton at his office in the Garrison and Kimmins drug store.[65] Other offices in Texas and beyond of that state appear to have been managed by officers from outside of the Thirty-Third.[66] These recruiting officers used a broad variety of inducements to lure men into the ranks. One advertisement in Evansville, Indiana, suggested that "every young man in Evansville zealous to become a fighter and win fame in the Philippines" should enlist, and declared that recruits would be able to choose their regiments, including the Thirty-Third Infantry.[67] One veteran of the

[63] "Galveston Office Closed," *Houston Daily Post*, 18 August 1899; "Eight Passed Examination," *Houston Daily Post*, 27 July 1899.

[64] "Calls for Ten New Regiments," *San Antonio Express*, 18 August 1899.

[65] "A Recruiting Office," *Denton Evening News*, 10 August 1899.

[66] The locations of these recruiting offices and the officers who ran them may be found in RG94/117, Descriptive and Clothing Books, Thirty-Third Infantry, NA.

[67] "War Office Stirs Up Recruiting," *Courier and Press* (Evansville, Indiana), 10 August 1899.

Spanish-American War, twenty-six-year-old Jack S. Abbott of Muskegon, Michigan, "did not hesitate" when he chose the Thirty-Third and departed for San Antonio.[68]

Nearly all of the Thirty-Third's personnel were considered "Anglo" by the standards of the age, that is, people of American- or European-descent. However, there were some recruits of Native American ancestry. Three recruits in the Thirty-Third claimed partial Cherokee heritage. Two of these, both from the Indian Territory, were Charles Griffin, a twenty-one-year-old farmer, and Robert Nave, a twenty-four-year-old laborer. Both of them enlisted in Muscogee and served in Company A.[69] Another recruit who claimed Cherokee ancestry was Tilden H. Hays, a thirty-five-year-old salesman who enlisted at Fort Smith, Arkansas and served in Company C.[70] There were also a handful of soldiers of Tejano ancestry, most of them from San Antonio. Spanish-speaking Texans had served in every military conflict in that state's history, and the Philippine War was no exception.[71] As civilians, many of these Tejano volunteers were laborers

[68] Abbott earned a degree of fame in his home town of Muskegon when, after being refused enlistment for the Spanish-American War, he had himself smuggled in the baggage to Cuba, where he attached himself to Company C, Thirty-Fourth Michigan Volunteer Infantry. He served at Santiago and Aguadores and his local newspaper bestowed on him the title of "hero-at-large." "Jack and the Flag," *Muskegon Chronicle* (Michigan), 14 August 1899.

[69] Charles Griffin entry, RG 94/117, Descriptive and Clothing Books, Thirty-Third Infantry, Box 1, Company A, p. 59, NA; Robert Nave entry, RG 94/117, Descriptive and Clothing Books, Thirty-Third Infantry, Box 1, Company A, p. 84, NA.

[70] The *Springfield Republican* wrote that Hays, who was born during the presidential election year of 1876, owed his strange name to the fact that his Anglo father had been an "enthusiastic shouter" for both Rutherford B. Hayes and Samuel J. Tilden, the rival presidential candidates. Tilden Hays entry, RG 94/117, Descriptive and Clothing Books, Thirty-Third Infantry, Box 2, Company C, p. 68, NA; "A Dare-Devil Regiment," *Springfield Republican* (Massachusetts), 1 November 1899.

[71] For a broad examination of Tejanos in Texas' wars, see Alexander Mendoza and Charles D. Greer, "Tejanos at War: A History of Mexican Texans in American Wars" in *Texans and War*, 38-68. For full-length treatments of Tejanos in the American War of Independence, Robert H. Thonhoff's *The Texas Connection with the American Revolution* (Austin: Eakin Press, 1981) and Thomas E. Chávez's *Spain and the Independence of the United States: An Intrinsic Gift* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2002). Donald E. Chipman's *Spanish Texas, 1519-1821* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1992) briefly examines the involvement of Tejanos in the clashes between Spanish royalists and American settlers in early nineteenth century Texas. Steven Hardin's *Texian Illiad: A Military History of the Texas Revolution, 1835-1836* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1994) is a descriptive and engaging account of the military aspects of the Texan War of Independence that includes the important political and military roles played by Tejanos in that conflict. Jerry D. Thompson's *Vaqueros in Blue and Grey* (Austin: Presidial Press, 1977) examines Tejanos in the American Civil War, and the same author's *Mexican Texans in the Union*

before they became soldiers. Twenty-one-year-old Jose Castillo of Company B was a San Antonio laborer when he enlisted on 24 July 1899.[72] Twenty-eight-year-old Lazaro Castillo from San Antonio found a tour of duty as a volunteer infantryman preferable to his work as a laborer.[73] Born in Aguilares, Texas, Antonio Cardenas quit his career as a laborer when he enlisted in the Thirty-Third Infantry at Fort McIntosh on 11 August 1899 and fought in several engagements when he was in the Philippines.[74] But some Tejanos had skilled occupations. Twenty-one-year-old Nathan Bueno from San Antonio and nineteen-year-old Edward Torres from Fort Stockton were both blacksmiths before they entered the Thirty-Third Infantry.[75] Amos Chavez was a twenty-two-year-old butcher from San Antonio.[76] Two Tejano soldiers, Castillo and Torres, were discharged in San Antonio before seeing combat in the Philippine Islands, but the others honorably fulfilled their duties. There is no evidence in the regimental records or among the surviving papers of the regiment's veterans that Tejanos encountered discrimination while in the regiment, though one may assume that undocumented instances may have occurred, given the racial attitudes prevalent in the United States at the time.

As mentioned earlier, foreign-born volunteers for the Thirty-Third Infantry usually came from Europe or Canada, but there were a few exceptions. Among them was twenty-two-year-old

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Army (El Paso: Texas Western Press, 1986) provides more about Tejano bluecoats. As of this writing, there is no book-length study of Tejanos who served in the Army during Reconstruction or during the Indian Wars.

[72] Jose Castillo entry, RG 94/117, Descriptive and Clothing Books, Thirty-Third Infantry, Box 1, Company B, p. 25, NA.

[73] Lazaro Castillo entry, RG 94/117, Descriptive and Clothing Books, Thirty-Third Infantry, Box 3, Company E, p. 21, NA.

[74] Antonio Cardenas entry, RG 94/117, Descriptive and Clothing Books, Thirty-Third Infantry, Box 5, Company H, p. 7, NA.

[75] Nathan Bueno entry, RG 94/117, Descriptive and Clothing Books, Thirty-Third Infantry, Box 5, Company I, p. 53, NA; Edward Torres entry, RG 94/117, Descriptive and Clothing Books, Thirty-Third Infantry, Box 5, Company I, p. 59, NA.

[76] Amos Chavez entry, RG 94/117, Descriptive and Clothing Books, Thirty-Third Infantry, Box 7, Company M, p. 9 [page not numbered], NA.

Yervant Conchegul. Born in Istanbul, he immigrated to the United States and served in Battery I in the Seventh Artillery during the Spanish-American War. After the federal government called for volunteers to fight in the Philippines in 1899, Conchegul left a civilian job as a clerk in Washington, D.C., joined Company H at San Antonio, and eventually rose to the rank of first sergeant.[77] Thirty-four-year-old Silas Hawes of Company I hailed from San Juan, Argentina. He made his living as a barber before he joined the regiment at Lieutenant Tompkins' recruiting office in Galveston.[78] As previously noted, Captain John F. Green had been born in Mexico to American parents. Two members of the regimental band were also born abroad. One of them was forty-six-year-old Meredith Chambers, a native of Bombay (present-day Mumbai) in British India. Like Conchegul, Chambers was a veteran of the United States Army. The Anglo-Indian immigrant served in the First Infantry from 1888 to 1891 and in the Fifth Artillery for nine months.[79] Also in the Thirty-Third's band was Aguedo Mendoza, a thirty-six-year-old musician from Vigan in the Philippines. Mendoza enlisted at Vigan on 1 June 1900 and briefly served with the regiment before he was discharged at Candon.[80] He was one of 169 Filipinos who served in the volunteer regiments. These auxiliaries usually performed service roles in their units such as musicians and cooks.[81]

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[77] Conchegul applied for an officer's commission in the volunteer army in August 1899. Despite endorsements that he would be "a very capable officer," he did not receive his commission. Yervant Conchegul entry, RG 94/117, Descriptive and Clothing Books, Thirty-Third Infantry, Box 5, Company H, p. 49, NA; Hare to Adjutant General [Corbin], 26 August 1899, RG 94/117, Regimental Letters Sent, Thirty-Third Infantry, Box 16, File 98, NA.

[78] Silas Hawes entry, RG 94/117, Descriptive and Clothing Books, Thirty-Third Infantry, Box 5, Company I, p. 16, NA.

[79] Meredith Chambers entry, RG 94/117, Descriptive and Clothing Books, Thirty-Third Infantry, Box 1, Non-Commission Staff and Band, p. 16 [page not numbered], NA.

[80] Aguedo Mendoza entry, RG 94/117, Descriptive and Clothing Books, Thirty-Third Infantry, Box 1, Non-Commission Staff and Band, p. 23 [page not numbered], NA.

[81] U.S. War Department, *Annual Report 1900, Vol. 1*, Pt. 2, p. 28.

Several pages in the Thirty-Third's descriptive and clothing records suffer from poor penmanship and incomplete entries, so a comprehensive review of every volunteer that served in the regiment is not possible. However, enough information was available to allow a sample size of sixty randomly-selected soldiers per company, for a total of 720 enlisted men. This sample reveals an adequate snapshot of the general background of the regiment's rank and file.[82] From this survey, it appears that the overwhelming majority of the enlisted men were from Texas, the western Southern states, and the Midwest. Most Texan volunteers were born in small towns or villages and were the single representatives of their town of birth. At least two volunteers came from towns that are now ghost towns. Private Henry L. Ransom of Company D was born in Buchanan in Johnson County, and bugler Emmett Addington of Company C came from Helena in Karnes County.[83] While most of the Texas-born soldiers were farmers or laborers in rural areas, many of them came from cities: San Antonio, Galveston, and Austin in that order supplied the most volunteers. These cities were three of the largest urban areas in Texas according to the Census of 1880 when many of these men were born, so it is not surprising that these cities would have eventually produced so many volunteers. Several men were born in other cities and towns like Houston, Dallas, Fort Worth, Denton, Waco, Bryan, and Boerne. Among the other enlisted men, Southern volunteers generally hailed from Arkansas, Kentucky, and Tennessee. From the Midwest, many of the Thirty-Third's soldiers came from Indiana, Ohio, and Missouri. Very few of the Thirty-Third's enlisted personnel were born in the Northeast. Those that were came from

[82] See tables on ages, occupations, and places of birth in the Appendix.

[83] Henry L. Ransom entry, RG 94/117, Descriptive and Clothing Books, Thirty-Third Infantry, Box 2, Company D, p. 56, NA; Emmett Addington entry, RG 94/117, Descriptive and Clothing Books, Thirty-Third Infantry, Box 2, Company C [page not numbered], NA.

Pennsylvania and New York. A handful of the regiment's men were born in Western states, mostly California and Colorado.

The young men from across the United States who answered their government's call for volunteers did so for a variety of reasons. Many of them enlisted because of a sense of patriotism and adventure. Daltha Ridgway, a twenty-four-year-old cowboy from Waggoner, Oklahoma, volunteered since he "wanted to get into action."[84] Lawrence Benton, a twenty-seven-year-old cook from Cripple Creek, Colorado recalled concerning his enlistment: "President McKinley had called for enlistments to suppress the Philippine Insurrection and I was happy to volunteer."[85] Benton was not the only man to volunteer out of patriotism. Joseph L. Epps was a soft-spoken and modest Texas cowboy who volunteered out of a sense of duty to the United States and of a desire to live up to his family's example. "You won't find cold feet in the Epps generation," he later told one *Kansas City Star* correspondent. "This war had come on. My father and my granddaddy had fit [*sic*] for America. So I enlisted."[86]

Among the other young men who volunteered out of a sense of patriotic duty was Milton Gregg Nixon, a schoolteacher from Waterford, Ohio. His recruitment experiences can provide a useful insight on how many people were processed from volunteers to recruits. Nixon described his enlistment after he returned home from dinner with some other teachers:

> As we walked along Front Street a fife and drum corps, heading by a U.S. Army officer and flag came up the street. We followed up the street and I made my mind to enlist… When I offered to sign up the officer asked my age, and when I told him [eighteen] he said I would have to have permission from my father and gave me a paper for my father to sign.[87]

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[84] Daltha Ridgway questionnaire, Spanish-American War Veterans Survey Collection, Box 69, Folder 29, United States Army Heritage and Education Center, Carlisle, Pennsylvania [hereafter cited as USAHEC].

[85] Lawrence Benton questionnaire, Spanish-American War Veterans Survey Collection, Box 69, Folder 17, USAHEC.

[86] "Dodged Medal 24 Years," *Kansas City Star*, 16 September 1926.

[87] Milton G. Nixon, "Letters and Memories," Milton G. Nixon Collection, Box 1, Folder 1, p. 1, USAHEC.

Because Nixon was not yet twenty-one years of age, he required his father's consent to enlist. He returned home to his family's farm and asked his father for permission to join the army as a volunteer. His father refused to sign the young man's document, but he did not otherwise impede his son's actions. The young teacher's determination to enlist was undiminished and his creative mind soon produced a solution to his predicament. As many enthusiastic prospective recruits did in previous American wars, Nixon was imperfectly truthful in his documentation. He forged his father's scrawl and returned to the recruitment office. Lieutenant Frank L. Case, the recruiting officer, was none the wiser.[88]

Nixon's deception succeeded and he and other recruits were then taken to another room to be weighed and measured to ensure that they met the minimum standards for military service. These requirements presented an additional problem for the young man: he happened to be underweight. He did not wish to be sent home, so once again he created a solution. He pilfered some nearby scale weights from a desk and hid them in his coat pocket in order to skew the weighing results. That ploy was also successful. Nixon was one of five recruits among twenty-six applicants that day who passed the weigh-in and physical examination. He, like other recruits in his small town, was then provided a small lunch and a ticket to Cincinnati. From there, Nixon and his fellows traveled through Kentucky and Tennessee to New Orleans by means of the Illinois Central Railroad. They then departed to San Antonio on the Houston and Central Texas Railroad.[89]

Other recruits had interesting stories to tell as well. Like Nixon, some of them lied about their age. Private Walter I. Graham of Company F believed he was the youngest recruit of the

[88] Nixon, "Letters and Memories," 1, USAHEC.

[89] Nixon, "Letters and Memories," 1, USAHEC.

Thirty-Third when he enlisted in Houston at the age of fifteen. The false age that many recruits claimed was quite apparent to their new colleagues but there is no evidence of morale issues involving the deceit that young volunteers used to enter the ranks.[90] A few of the recruits were well over the age limit of 35 and had thus received special dispensations from President McKinley or state politicians to enlist. One such recruit, Thomas Brown, was fifty-five years old when he joined at Pauls Valley, Indian Territory.[91] Pre-war occupations were also noteworthy. Like many Americans of their day, most of the men of the Thirty-Third Infantry made their livings with some form of manual labor. Farming and ranching were both common. Several simply wrote "laborer" to designate some form of unskilled craft. Quite a few of them worked on the railroads as switchmen, brakemen, or engineers. Others had more skilled professions: carpenters, teachers, and clerks. Non-commissioned officers had military experience, so most of them put "soldier" as their profession. Not everyone was happy with their decision to enlist. Recruiters often lured volunteers like twenty-two-year-old William Trafton, a cowboy from Gonzalez County in Texas, with stories that the insurrection would end swiftly. Trafton recalled that his recruiting officer optimistically assured him that "we could lick them in a week and come back and see a lot on the trip." Trafton's memoirs then states that he "almost wished a lot of times afterwards that I had never seen him."[92]

These volunteers were men who came from diverse lands, ages, backgrounds, and professions when they volunteered to fight for the United States on the other side of the world.

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[90] "Bulletin No. V, Thirty-Third United States Volunteer Infantry Association," 24 April 1936, Karl Brauchle Papers, Box 1, Folder 6, USAHEC.

[91] Thomas Brown entry, RG 94/117, Descriptive and Clothing Books, Thirty-Third Infantry, Box 1, Company A, p. 35, NA.

[92] William Trafton, *We Thought We Could Whip Them in Two Weeks.*, ed. William Henry Scott (Quezon City, Philippines: New Day Publishers, 1990), 5–6. See table of occupations in the Appendix.

Few of them knew first-hand of the horrors of war, the privations of hard campaigning, and the discomforts of military life in the field. Awaiting them in San Antonio was their opportunity to transform from untested civilians into hardened citizen-soldiers in the Thirty-Third Infantry.

CHAPTER 3

"1200 SHARPSHOOTERS AND 1300 CRAPSHOOTERS"

All prospective recruits of the Thirty-Third Infantry were mustered and organized in San Antonio, Texas. The Alamo City in 1900 had a population of 53,321, making it a modest-sized American city, by turn of the century standards, but the largest city in the Lone Star State.[1] A thriving cosmopolitan city of Anglos, Tejanos, and immigrants from around the world, San Antonio in 1899 was a modern American city with electric trolley cars, restaurants, clean parks, and railways that connected it to the outside world. In 1886, the city had opened a grand opera house on Alamo Plaza to offer San Antonio's citizens cultural enrichment. Cantinas and bordellos throughout the city offered their patrons less refined forms of entertainment.[2] But for the United States Army, there were longstanding historical factors that made the city an attractive post where military officers could train the volunteers who would serve in the Philippines. San Antonio's first experience with the United States Army was a positive one and presaged the generally good relations the city had with the Army. The city, having voted overwhelmingly for annexation to the United States in 1845, welcomed the United States Second Dragoons in October 1845.[3] By one account, the officers "seemed to be especially impressed with [San Antonio's] local aristocracy… as most were descendants of the Canary Island Families that arrived… to settle San Antonio in March 1731 and the men were made Hidalgos, *Hijo Dalgo* 'Son of Noble Lineage,' by the King of Spain."[4]

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[1] U.S. Census Bureau, *Twelfth Census – 1900, Vol. I: Population*, Part I, p. 432.

[2] Eldon Cagle Jr., *Quadrangle: The History of Fort Sam Houston* (Austin: Eakin Press, 1985), passim.

[3] Cagle, *Quadrangle*, 1.

[4] "Fort Sam Houston," Colonel Martin Crimmins Collection, St. Mary's University, San Antonio, TX.

After the American Civil War ended in 1865, Federal bluecoats continuously occupied Austin and San Antonio during Reconstruction in order to quell any simmering sympathies among the people for the vanquished Confederacy and to provide support for the Federal garrisons in East Texas and along the Gulf Coast.[5] To fulfill its missions of exploration and quelling Native uprisings, the Army required a permanent supply base in Central Texas and inquired if San Antonio, New Braunfels, or Austin could fulfill this role. These three cities developed a rivalry and competed with each other over which of them would have the honor of hosting the Army's premier post in Central Texas. After an extensive official study of the three cities, recommendations from Army officers who noted San Antonio's temperate climate and central location in the state, and several offers of land from San Antonio's civilian leadership for a permanent army base, the Alamo City won out over its northern neighbors.[6]

The Army thus built a series of posts and camps in San Antonio during Reconstruction to supply the Federal soldiers in the area, but the Army's leadership decided that one large base rather than several smaller ones would best support their operations in Central Texas. Construction of the Quartermaster Department's San Antonio Depot, called the Quadrangle, began in June 1876 on donated land around Government Hill and was completed in July 1877 under the supervision of Major General Edward O. C. Ord, commander of the Department of Texas.[7] As the principal logistics center for Central Texas, the Post of San Antonio continued

[5] William L. Richter, *The Army in Texas During Reconstruction, 1865-1870* (College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 1987), 18.

[6] "Fort Sam Houston," Crimmins Collection, St. Mary's University.

[7] Thomas W. Cutrer, "Ord, Edward Otho Cresap," in Tyler et al., *New Handbook of Texas*, 4:1166. Bernarr Cresap's *Appomattox Commander: The Story of General E.O.C. Ord* (South Brunswick, NJ: A. S. Barnes, 1980), the only major published biography on Ord, completely omits the construction of the Post of San Antonio in its discussion of his command of the Department of Texas.

expanding until 1890. On 11 September 1890, a general order from Lewis A. Grant, Acting Secretary of War, renamed the Post of San Antonio:

> By direction of the President [Benjamin Harrison] the military post at San Antonio, Texas, will hereafter be known and designated as "Fort Sam Houston," in honor of General Sam Houston, Commander-in-Chief of the Army of the Republic of Texas, the first president of that Republic, and the first governor of Texas.[8]

Colonel Hare made his headquarters on the second floor of the Quadrangle Building at Fort Sam Houston while recruiting and organizing the Thirty-Third Infantry in 1899.[9]

The frontier-like culture of many parts of Texas was apparently quite a shock for some recruits, particularly those who came from Northern states. Despite immigration boosting Texas' population to 3,048,710 by 1900, the state remained overwhelmingly rural, politically conservative, and culturally Southern, particularly in the eastern Anglo-populated counties.[10] In Texas, the division between the New South and the Old West was sometimes a gray area. "The people down here would shoot a man without a moment's notice," Milton G. Nixon remarked in horror when one of his travelling companions witnessed a brawl between two locals at a Texas bar on the way to San Antonio.[11]

Over 1,200 recruits spent their first weeks in the regiment at Camp Allyn K. Capron in San Antonio. Colonel Hare named the facility after Captain Allyn Kissam Capron Jr. of

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[8] While the respect towards Sam Houston and the fort was well-intentioned, someone in Washington misunderstood the history of Texas. David G. Burnet was the first president of the Republic of Texas and served from 16 March 1836 through 22 October 1836. Sam Houston was actually the second president of Texas, serving until 10 December 1838. He was also the fourth president of Texas, and served from 13 December 1841 through 9 December 1844. The confusion may be because Houston was the first *elected* president of that republic, as Burnett was serving *ad interim*. Additionally, Houston was not the first governor of Texas: that honor goes to James Pinckney Henderson. Houston did not serve as governor of Texas until 1859. The pro-secession faction in Austin removed Houston from office shortly before Texas' secession from the United States in 1861 since Houston opposed Texas joining the other Southern states in leaving the United States. Cagle, *Quadrangle*, 49.

[9] "Colonel Hare Takes Charge," *San Antonio Express*, 21 July 1899.

[10] U.S. Census Bureau, *Twelfth Census – 1900, Vol. I: Population*, Part I, p. 432; Randolph B. Campbell, *Gone to Texas: A History of the Lone Star State* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2003), 325.

[11] Nixon, "Letters and Memories," 2, USAHEC.

Brooklyn, New York, a captain of the First Volunteer Cavalry (the famous "Rough Riders") and a veteran of the Cuba campaign during the Spanish-American War.[12] Camp Capron, as it was often known, was situated in the middle of a local racetrack in the shape of a block. Hare's headquarters remained at the Quadrangle. Operating the canteen at Camp Capron was C. J. Norberry, a retired first sergeant from the Eighteenth United States Infantry. Major Albert B. Lieberman, the regimental surgeon, was in charge of the hospital. Assisting Lieberman in the regimental hospital were Captain Frederick Hadra and First Lieutenant John C. Greenewalt. Each company had their own "street" in the camp. At the head of each row of tents were the tents of the first sergeants, while the officers' tents were across the track. Towards the rear of the camp was a low building used as horse stalls. When not needed for races, the horse stalls were converted to mess halls and kitchens. A single pipe and faucet in camp provided drinking water for the volunteers. There were only a few live oak trees to provide shade.[13]

As soon as the recruits arrived, they purchased their clothing and accouterments from supply. The uniforms issued to the volunteers of the Thirty-Third Infantry were similar to the ones worn by their counterparts a year earlier in Cuba, Puerto Rico, and the Philippines. Enlisted men and non-commissioned officers alike were supposed to wear a dark blue wool M1885 fatigue blouse. Due to the humid and warm climate in the tropics, uncomfortable soldiers tended to set this aside in favor of blue flannel M1883 campaign shirts. Trousers were the sky-blue

[12] Capron has the dubious distinction of being the first United States Army officer to have been killed in action during the fighting in Cuba. He enlisted in the Regular Army in 1890 and during his career rose from private to captain. He raised a troop of volunteer cavalry from the Indian Territory to serve in Cuba. He was mortally wounded by a Spanish rifleman during the fighting at Las Guisamas near Santiago de Cuba on 24 June 1898. Captain Capron was awarded the Silver Star posthumously and is buried next to his wife Lilian in Arlington National Cemetery. Jack McCallum, "Capron, Allyn Kissam Jr.," *The Encyclopedia of the Spanish-American and Philippine-American Wars: A Political, Social, and Military History Vol. I: A-L,* ed. Spencer C. Tucker (Santa Barbara, CA: ABC-CLIO, 2009), 100.

[13] Nixon, "Letters and Memories," 6, USAHEC.

woolen M1884 issue, while a pair of brown cotton M1890 lace-up leggings was to be worn over the trousers and brown leather shoes. All of the soldiers were also issued light cotton underwear and socks. The heavy blue wool uniform, which had been worn by soldiers during the Indian Wars, was unsuitable for tropical service.[14] An alternate uniform provided to the sweltering recruits seemed more appropriate. This kit was based on the khaki uniform worn by British troops in India and South Africa. Generally lighter in both color and weight than its predecessor, the khaki uniform consisted of a M1888 unlined cotton sack coat, bleached cotton trousers, blue M1883 shirt, M1890 leggings, and brown leather shoes. Non-commissioned officers and band members wore a bleached white version of the coat. The men also wore the "Mills Belt," a canvas cartridge belt worn around the waist. In the field, soldiers carried their Krag rifles, a canvas haversack, and a round canvas-covered metal canteen. A soldier would roll his spare clothing, grooming kit, and tent pegs and pole into his blanket, and then rolled that into his canvas tent-half. He secured the bundle with rope and wore it over his left shoulder. The number of recruits, however, overwhelmed the available uniforms. Private William Trafton recalled that he was fortunate enough to be among the first in line to draw clothing. Many of Trafton's comrades went without their service uniforms for a few days until there were sufficient kits for the new arrivals.[15]

In addition to clothing and equipment, each volunteer was issued a service rifle. The primary longarm for the volunteer soldiers during the Philippine War was the Norwegian-designed Krag-Jørgensen rifle, popularly referred to in the ranks as simply the "Krag."[16] The

[14] The Army did not adopt a tropical service uniform until April 1898. Officers experimented with canvas and a reduced-weight version of the standard uniform before finally settling on khaki. Cosmas, *An Army for Empire*, 178.

[15] Trafton, *We Thought We Could Whip Them in Two Weeks*, 7.

[16] In the early 1890s, the Army tested fifty-three military and civilian rifles to replace the aging single-shot Springfield Model 1873. While the Army selected the Krag-Jørgensen, it is a historical irony that one of the rifles the army rejected, the German-made Mauser Model 1889, became the chief rifle for Spanish soldiers during the

Springfield Armory in Massachusetts manufactured these rifles from 1892 to 1903, when the Springfield M1903 replaced it. Designated as the Springfield Model 1892-99, the rugged Krag weighed about eight pounds. The steel M1892 bayonet, which was modeled after the Swiss Pattern of 1889, nearly doubled the rifle's weight when fastened to the lug at the end of the barrel. The bolt-action weapon had a walnut stock and fired a .30-40 smokeless powder caliber round. Riflemen could chamber rounds individually or through a five-round magazine inserted through a hinged gate on the right side of the receiver. A skilled rifleman could fire as many as thirty rounds a minute.[17]

As with those who fought during the Spanish-American War, the standard-issue sidearm for officers of the Thirty-Third Infantry was the .45 caliber M1872 Colt single-action Army revolver, Artillery Model. Except for a barrel shortened by two inches, these revolvers were identical to their iconic counterparts made famous by cavalrymen and lawmen in the Old West.[18]

After they acquired their uniforms, gear, and weapons, the volunteers settled into camp life, where their officers painstakingly molded them into soldiers. Learning how to shoot was the easy part. Learning how to endure the weather, living in close proximity to other men, and obeying orders had to come from hard experience. Life in camp included hours of routine drill in the sweltering south Texas heat. Reveille was before sunrise at 4:30 am. Breakfast consisted of the Army-issued bland plates of oatmeal, salted pork, and black coffee. Looming after breakfast were thirty minutes of exercise, followed by two hours of drill. Lunch was at noon. In the afternoon recruits had more exercise and two additional hours of drill. Tattoo, an old bugle call

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Spanish-American War and for Aguinaldo's men during the Philippine War. See Joe Poyer, *The American Krag Rifle and Carbine*, ed. Craig Riesch (Tustin, CA: North Cape Publications, 2007), 5–6.

[17] Poyer, *American Krag Rifle and Carbine*, 200-202.

[18] Alejandro de Quesada, *The Spanish-American War and Philippine Insurrection* (Long Island City, NY: Osprey Publishing, 2008), 18.

that told the men to extinguish their lights and cease loud noises within fifteen minutes, was at 9:00 pm.[19]

There were some opportunities for relaxation. Located behind the stables at Camp Capron was an inviting swimming hole. The lure of the cool water compelled a few recruits from Houston on the first day of drill to take a swim. Unbeknownst to the swimmers, the water hole concealed under its surface some tangled pieces of driftwood. When Private Christen Hoy dove into the water, the twisted mass caught and held him underwater. His struggles were useless and he lost consciousness before his comrades realized his peril and rescued him from a watery grave. Lieutenant Greenwalt, one of the regiment's assistant surgeons who had just arrived from Chambersburg, Pennsylvania, resuscitated Hoy.[20] The young private was the second patient who visited the Camp Capron hospital that day, Colonel Hare having been treated earlier for a cut on the back of his hand.[21]

Another diversion was music. The regimental band, under the direction of Chief Musician Lorenzo Kopf, often gave concerts at Camp Capron. The *San Antonio Express* reported that the concerts were very popular with the civilians and large crowds attended them.[22] One of these concerts was on the evening of Wednesday, 30 August 1899. The *San Antonio Express* added that this particular concert was presented at the request of the regimental officers, whose duties had prevented them from attending social functions in San Antonio. Apparently their interest was not just musical, since the local newspaper declared that "the fair ladies of San

[19] Nixon, "Letters and Memories," 6, USAHEC.

[20] "Came Near Drowning: A Young Soldier at San Antonio Narrowly Escaped Death," *Dallas Morning News*, 2 August 1899.

[21] "Camp is Named Allyn K. Capron," *San Antonio Express*, 2 August 1899.

[22] "Troops Off for Target Practice," *San Antonio Express*, 29 August 1899.

Antonio will have an opportunity of looking upon the dashing young officers of Col. Hare's splendid regiment in all of the glory of their glistening shoulder straps and gold braid."[23]

Not all recruits completed their training. As this was a volunteer unit, many of the men were unused to military service and a handful of them reconsidered their commitments after a few days. Colonel Hare was lenient with discharges while the regiment was organizing in San Antonio. John Esquival received a discharge due to the insistence of his aged and infirm mother, who did not wish him to travel so far from her side.[24] Major Lieberman culled many physically unfit volunteers at Camp Capron in his periodic inspections of the camp. Hare held officers to a higher standard. One officer, Captain Samuel Befford, did not meet the Colonel's standards and resigned despite Hare's insistence that extra work and attention could allow Befford to meet his exacting standards.[25] Others simply left their comrades at the camp, perhaps concluding that the strenuous life of the infantryman was not for them. Deserters left the regiment for reasons of their own, usually within a few weeks of arriving at the camp. Based on the reports in the regimental Descriptive and Clothing books, 29 recruits deserted the Thirty-Third Infantry in total. 17 of them abandoned the regiment in San Antonio, and 11 later departed in San Francisco. Only one man, Private John Allane, deserted the regiment while in the Philippines. Because this number is so small, there is no clear pattern of demographics among men who left the regiment.

By 10 August 1899, the regiment's ranks swelled to 592 men. *The Dallas Morning News* reported that the regiment increased in size at the rate of nearly fifty recruits a day, many of

[23] The *San Antonio Express* added that the officers were all "good-looking and most of them unmarried… far from home and about to start in a distant field to fight their country's foes." "Camp Capron Will be Merry," *San Antonio Express*, 30 August 1899.

[24] "Recruits Come in Big Squads," *San Antonio Express*, 10 August 1899.

[25] Hare to Adjutant General [Corbin], 16 August 1899, 94/117, Regimental Letters Sent, Thirty-Third Infantry, Box 16, File 81, NA.

whom came from Texas and the Indian Territory.[26] The following day, the regiment numbered 635 men, each of whom got a khaki uniform.[27] On 12 August, 95 new recruits arrived to Camp Capron. That this many men was about the complement of another company for the growing regiment pleased Colonel Hare immensely. The *San Antonio Express* commented that he "was in a good humor with himself and all about him… he felt so good over the rapid growth of his regiment and the prospect of quickly having it ready for the trip to the Philippines."[28] The men were assigned to companies after the full complement of the regiment was reached.[29]

One of Colonel Hare's top priorities was that the campgrounds remained sanitary. Unhappy with the camp's initial conditions, he contracted locals for $500 a month to clean the sinks and haul away trash from the camp.[30] The effects were immediate. Within days of the sanitation campaign, Camp Capron transformed into something resembling a comfortable South Texas vacationer's retreat. The *San Antonio Express* described conditions at the camp:

> The company streets are kept clean and well swept, the tents, bedding, etc. are well aired every day. In the kitchens everything is clean, all food is carefully covered from flies and dust and the tables and benches are daily washed with a solution of carbolic acid. Each company has its kitchen, mess hall and commissary store, and the men in charge vie with each other in keeping them clean and neat.[31]

Major Lieberman ensured that sanitation remained a priority in the camp: "The surgeon has decided that the men must take baths daily and report is made from each company of the number of baths taken by its men… Maj. Liebermann makes a tour of the camp, mess halls,

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[26] "Completing the Regiment," *Dallas Morning News*, 10 August 1899.

[27] "New Uniforms for Recruits," *San Antonio Express*, 11 August 1899.

[28] "Thirty-Third's Biggest Record," *San Antonio Express*, 12 August 1899.

[29] "To Draw from Other States: Recruiting Territory of Thirty-Third Regiment Enlarged," *San Antonio Express*, 30 July 1899.

[30] Hare to Quartermaster General, United States Army [Marshall I. Ludington], 5 August 1899, RG 94/117, Regimental Letters Sent, Thirty-Third Infantry, Box 16, File 22, NA.

[31] "Thirty-Third's Biggest Record," *San Antonio Express*, 12 August 1899.

kitchens, etc. five or six times a day and sees that his instructions… are strictly observed."[32] The effects were obvious to the *San Antonio Express'* writer, who proudly wrote that "it is safe to make the assertion that none of the ten new regiments in process of organization in the United States is being better cared for than the Thirty-third under command of Col. Luther Hare."[33]

Payday was welcome. Enlisted men expected a regular monthly wage of $15.60 for privates, $18 for corporals, and $21.60 for sergeants.[34] As compared to the soldiers who fought in the American Civil War and later in World War I, the amount of pay issued to the volunteers of the Thirty-Third Infantry was much improved.[35] As the enlisted men had few obligations on which to spend their money, their pay usually went to the post canteen and on games of chance.[36] A major expense for some of the less-lawfully inclined members of the regiment was in paying their fines from a summary court's sentence. Minor offenses such as committing a nuisance, fighting, or being absent without leave could cost offenders up to two dollars per instance.[37] Men who appeared at inspection without their full gear in proper condition could also expect to be fined as part of a summary court's findings. For example, Robert B. Woods of Company L appeared at inspection with his Krag in a "rusty, dusty, and greasy condition" and a summary court fined him five dollars for his neglect.[38] Joseph Christal of Company H was fined two

[32] "Thirty-Third's Biggest Record," *San Antonio Express*, 12 August 1899.

[33] "Thirty-Third's Biggest Record," *San Antonio Express*, 12 August 1899.

[34] Benton questionnaire, Spanish-American War Veterans Survey Collection, Box 69, Folder 29, USAHEC.

[35] Union privates received a steady pay of $13 a month and the additional lures of enlistment and re-enlistment bonuses. Confederate privates were paid less well and also less regularly at $11 a month. American infantry privates during World War I were paid $15 a month. James I. Robertson Jr., *Soldiers in Blue and Grey* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1988), 10; United States Army, *Official Army Register, December 1, 1918* (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1918), 1139.

[36] Benton questionnaire, Spanish-American War Veterans Survey Collection, Box 69, Folder 29, USAHEC.

[37] Record of Summary Court, RG 94/117, Thirty-Third Infantry, Box 41, Vol, 1, NA.

[38] Record of Summary Court, RG 94/117, Thirty-Third Infantry, Box 41, Vol. 1, case number 236, NA.

dollars and confined for five days after he lost his accouterments on 27 August 1899.[39] Thieves were punished more harshly than soldiers who merely failed to guard their belongings. Robert J. Goodwin of Company L forfeited one month of his pay and was confined at hard labor for one month on 30 August 1899 after a summary court found the Kentucky butcher guilty of larceny.[40]

While receiving their pay was greeted well, the men welcomed mess call with considerably less enthusiasm. The recruits considered their camp meals flavorless and the amounts to be meager. At Camp Capron, Private Nixon reported that breakfast on 23 August 1899 consisted of "two small slices of bread (not buttered), a very small slice of salt pork, and a small dish of oatmeal, burned badly." Yet his primary complaint was not of the quality of the food, but the quantity.[41]

Living quarters were no more satisfactory than the food provided to soldiers. During their training at Camp Capron, recruits for the Thirty-Third Infantry were quartered in Sibley tents, white conical shelters that housed one corporal and up to seven privates. These shelters had been popular during the Army's campaigns on the Great Plains in the late nineteenth century, but they still were crowded and smoky.[42] These tents contained elevated pine planks that served as crude flooring.[43] Colonel Hare stated that he preferred the Sibley model to other tents, as he believed that they afforded better protections from the elements on account of their steep circular sides.[44]

Theft was a routine occurrence at the camp. Recruits who did not diligently guard their equipment ran the risk of having their articles stolen or exchanged. Unattended blankets

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[39] Record of Summary Court, RG 94/117, Thirty-Third Infantry, Box 41, Vol. 1, case number 161, NA.

[40] Record of Summary Court, RG 94/117, Thirty-Third Infantry, Box 41, Vol. 1, case number 178, NA.

[41] Nixon, "Letters and Memories," 2, USAHEC.

[42] Nixon, "Letters and Memories," 6, USAHEC.

[43] Nixon, "Letters and Memories," 2, USAHEC.

[44] "Camp is Named Allyn K. Capron," *San Antonio Express*, August 2, 1899.

especially went missing, despite the precaution of individual soldier names and numbers marked on them.[45] Rifles were unlocked in their racks and occasionally went missing despite diligent efforts to locate them.[46] Likewise, unscrupulous recruits would sometimes secretly steal their comrades' cleaned bayonets and would leave rusted and dirty ones in their places.[47] Apart from the annoyance and inconvenience of having one's equipment stolen, dirty items could cost a soldier both a fine and extra duty. Consequently, much of a volunteer's free time was spent cleaning and maintaining his equipment. The Krag itself was said to rust within eight and a half minutes and required close to six hours of labor to properly clean. One soldier complained that "I will be hanged if a man couldn't work all day and night on one of these guns and yet it would be dirty and rusty. Hang these guns."[48] They spent so much time with this mundane but necessary task that often they did not attend Sunday church services.[49] Still, the routines offered to the men yet another opportunity to become soldiers. Routines created habits to give the grumbling men something productive to do and enforced discipline on them. Besides, rusty rifles ran the risk of embarrassing and dangerous misfires in combat, and Colonel Hare insisted that his men be excellent shots.

Drawing from his experience fighting Natives on the Great Plains, Colonel Hare emphasized rifle marksmanship and short-order drill while training his new volunteer soldiers. The *San Antonio Express* remarked that: "It is the determined purpose of the War Department to have the new regiments as proficient as veterans by the time they arrive at Manila and they will

[45] Nixon, "Letters and Memories," 3, USAHEC.

[46] Logan to Adjutant, n.d., Affidavit on Loss of U.S. Magazine Rifle, RG 94/117, Regimental Letters Sent, Thirty-Third Infantry, Box 28, Company B, File 81, NA.

[47] Nixon, "Letters and Memories," 5, USAHEC.

[48] Nixon, "Letters and Memories," 7, USAHEC.

[49] Nixon, "Letters and Memories," 5, USAHEC.

be trained to shoot and shoot straight when they come into contact with the elusive and fleet-footed Filipinos."[50] Strangely, there were no adequate facilities for rifle marksmanship practice at Camp Capron. The War Department was advised of this situation, and Secretary of War Russell A. Alger replied that it might be advisable to transfer the regimental headquarters to nearby Fort Clark, but he left the decision to the discretion of Brigadier General Chambers McKibbin, commander of the Department of Texas. McKibbin conferred with Colonel Hare and Lieutenant Colonel Brereton and decided that the regimental headquarters would remain at Camp Capron, but that the regiment's battalions could travel to Fort Clark for rifle practice. General McKibbin's decision was "highly satisfactory for Colonel Hare, his officers, and his men" and the first trains left for Fort Clark on 16 August. As nearly all of the regiments' lieutenants were on recruiting details, the battalion at Fort Clark was always short on officers. Lieutenant Colonel Brereton personally supervised the marksmanship drills while the regiment's commander remained at Camp Capron.[51]

Companies A, B, and C of the Thirty-Third Infantry under Captain Edmund Shields took a special train of the Southern Pacific Railroad to Spofford, a village of nearly 100 residents in Kinney County, near the border with Mexico. After arriving at the station, a dry and dusty twelve-mile march to Fort Clark itself awaited the recruits with only half a pint of water to refresh their parched throats.[52] The post was built in 1852 as the Army's sentinel for southwestern Texas. The Army expanded the fort's facilities during the 1880s in order to accommodate garrisons of cavalry and infantry. It was situated on a hill that overlooked a creek

[50] "Battalion Goes to Fort Clark," *San Antonio Express*, 15 August 1899.

[51] "Battalion Goes to Fort Clark," *San Antonio Express*, 15 August 1899; "Col. Hare Gets More Recruits," *San Antonio Express*, 16 August 1899.

[52] Nixon, "Letters and Memories," 4, USAHEC.

that provided fresh water to the garrison.[53] Nearby along the bend of the creek was the small village of Brackettville.[54] The facilities at Fort Clark thus made it a logical destination for the Thirty-Third Infantry.

Drill at Fort Clark consisted of six days of rifle marksmanship training in prone, kneeling, and standing positions at distances of 100, 200, 300, and 500 yards. The officers also trained their men in bayonet charges. The soldiers took with them over 21,000 rounds of ammunition for this training.[55] The heat was oppressive for the volunteers who were used to cooler climates. Ohioan Milton G. Nixon recalled the scenery after one day of drill in the South Texas heat: "the drill ground here is covered with sand burs, small limestone rocks, and a flat cactus plant covered with thorns, so you can imagine how fun it is to lie down on the run."[56]

Training at Fort Clark also consisted of mock battles with blank ammunition. The usual targets were life-sized canvas outlines of enemy soldiers in kneeling and standing positions. In one instance, the company cooks were lined up for manual of arms drills. During the drill, recruit Louis Kopischi, a cook from Wisconsin, dropped his rifle on his foot and yelped in surprised pain. The other recruits laughed loudly at their comrade's misfortune, which in turn earned the ire of Captain Henry L. Jenkinson, who threatened any recruit that "laughed or even grinned" with a fine and confinement in the guardhouse. Upon the next cycle of shouldering and ordering of arms, Kopischi brought his rifle down again as ordered, but the rifle butt crushed the foot of the man to his right, James O'Neill, a carpenter from Ohio who had enlisted in Arkansas. O'Neill

[53] Ben E. Pingenot, "Fort Clark," in Tyler et al., *New Handbook of Texas*, 2:1092-1094.

[54] William Trafton recalled that the town of Brackettville was referred to as Bracket by old-timers. Trafton, *We Thought We Could Whip Them in Two Weeks*, 7.

[55] "Col. Hare Gets More Recruits," *San Antonio Express*, 16 August 1899.

[56] Nixon, "Letters and Memories," 4, USAHEC.

groaned in pain, but this time the only other sounds were the muffled snickering of the lieutenants watching behind the captain.[57]

The company officers trained their men hard and, over the next several weeks, corrected their men's shortcomings and encouraged their success. Some company officers such as Lieutenant Lee Hall, formerly of the Texas Rangers, disdained parade drill and emphasized marksmanship. According to his biographer, Hall brought a frontiersman's nonchalance to infantry drill, but was "expert with rifle and revolver."[58] As unpleasant as the arduous regimen was for some soldiers, the discipline burned into them under the South Texas sun had a purpose. Physical discomfort could be mentally pushed aside, shooting accuracy improved, and discipline increased. Captain Charles Van Way, commanding officer of Company B, noted that the difficult drills bore fruit for his men: "marked improvement… [was] noted from day to day."[59] The *San Antonio Express* applauded the Thirty-Third's marksmanship with pride: "For raw recruits such a record at target practice has never been equaled, but it should be borne in mind that the Thirty-third… is made up almost wholly of Texans, to whom the smell of gunpowder and handling of weapons is no novelty."[60]

As difficult as the training may have been for some of the men, the discipline paid off in the Philippines. As Trafton recalled, "Uncle Sam has a way of learning one a thing or two and making them stay learned."[61] The hard training at Fort Clark also increased the morale of the men as they learned to embrace their lives as soldiers. A correspondent for the *San Antonio*

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[57] Nixon, "Letters and Memories," 7, USAHEC.

[58] Raymond, *Captain Lee Hall of Texas*, 299.

[59] Captain Charles Van Way to Adjutant, 33rd Infantry, 11 September 1899, RG 94/114, Regimental Letters Sent, Thirty-Third Infantry, Box 28, Company B, File 42, NA.

[60] "Recruits do Fine Shooting," *San Antonio Express*, 24 August 1899.

[61] Trafton, *We Thought We Could Whip Them in Two Weeks*, 7.

Express noted that "the men returned to Camp Capron with the air and bearing of trained and seasoned veterans."[62] They had become expert marksmen, and their discipline would serve them well in the Philippines.

14 September 1899 was the final day that the Thirty-Third Infantry volunteers were at Camp Capron. They enjoyed a church service in the camp by the Christian Endeavor Societies of San Antonio, whose members offered the troops pocket New Testaments, buttons, needles, pins, and thread to take with them on their journey to the hardships that awaited them overseas. Several civilians came from the Alamo City to wish the soldiers well on their journey with serenades. "I saw a few tearful farewells," Nixon wrote home. The soldiers could hear "God be with you" several times as they prepared to depart from one location for another within the United States.[63]

On 15 September 1899 the Thirty-Third Infantry broke camp. By order of Lieutenant Colonel Brereton, personal baggage was limited to only the clothing and equipment required for field service.[64] The men wore their khaki service uniforms and rolled their spare clothing and blankets for storage. They departed from San Antonio in five sections. The destination was San Francisco and, from there, ultimately the Philippines.[65] The journey to the Bay City took five days by train. For many soldiers, it was their first time to see the American Southwest. The journey through western Texas provided soldiers with sights of prairie dogs and large cattle

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[62] "Recruits do Fine Shooting," *San Antonio Express*, 24 August 1899.

[63] Nixon, "Letters and Memories," 9, USAHEC.

[64] These items included the following: one blanket, one poncho, one blue shirt, one blue blouse, one pair of fair blue trousers, one undershirt, one pair of cotton drawers, and two pairs of cotton socks. Officers and enlisted wore their khaki uniforms on the trip to the Philippines. Officers were responsible for their own horses. Lieutenant Colonel John J. Brereton, General Orders No. 30, Headquarters Thirty-Third Infantry, San Antonio, [no day] August 1899, RG 94/117, Regimental Orders, Box 8, p. 21, NA.

[65] A detached section ordered to guard equipment and baggage departed San Antonio earlier on the evening of 14 September. Nixon, "Letters and Memories," 9, USAHEC.

ranches. “We are in one of the most desolate regions I ever saw,” Nixon wrote on passing through the Arizona Territory. He observed, “I have not seen a growing crop and only one small garden for almost a thousand miles.” He added that the wild lands of Arizona were the home of “Cacti of all kinds, from the tall treelike with branches like arms, to flat plantain type.” The climate and heat did not bother the soldiers, but the meager rations did. “The government is trying to see on how little a man can live,” Nixon complained.[66]

The morning of Monday, 18 September, the trains that transported the Thirty-Third Infantry arrived in California. “We have at last got into the garden spot of the world,” marveled Nixon as the train passed through Pomona, a small town in the greater Los Angeles area. The lush greenery and orchards of Southern California fascinated the men. “We passed hundreds of acres of oranges, lemons, prunes, and trees that I did not know what they were… there are all kinds of flowers and plants down here… we are met at every depot with cheers and hand wavings.”[67] The remainder of Southern California was “almost a desert… almost all of the land has to be irrigated… you see windmills in every direction.”[68] The following morning, the regiment arrived in foggy Oakland and took a local ferry across the bay to the city of San Francisco. The soldiers disembarked the ferries near a clock tower at night and marched four miles along Market Street to the Presidio Military Reservation.[69]

On paper, it seemed that the Presidio was the ideal staging ground for the Thirty-Third’s expedition across the Pacific. The Army’s premier post on the west coast had in 1899 undergone large renovations to accommodate thousands of volunteer soldiers returning from the

[66] Nixon, “Letters and Memories,” 10, USAHEC.

[67] Nixon, “Letters and Memories,” 10, USAHEC.

[68] Nixon, “Letters and Memories,” 11, USAHEC.

[69] Nixon, “Letters and Memories,” 11, USAHEC.

Philippines. The Presidio in 1899 could hold over 4,000 soldiers at a time, complete with a brick barracks and new general hospital. Tents for the volunteer soldiers were arranged on the hillsides.[70] The Red Cross erected a large pavilion, where up to 350 soldiers at a time could relax by reading magazines and newspapers.[71] Despite these comforts, there almost was not room for the arriving regiment from Texas. In addition to the Thirty-Third, several other army regiments encamped at the Presidio, creating some concern that there would not be room for all of them. The main reason for the overcrowding involved a worker's strike at the docks that delayed regular departures. The Thirty-First Infantry was supposed to have vacated its quarters at the Presidio to make room for the Thirty-Third, but the Thirty-First had not yet departed due to the strike. Complicating the billeting problem beyond the dispute at the docks was that the window of time for arriving regiments to occupy areas vacated by departing units was tiny. Fortunately, Angel Island had quarantine facilities available for the Thirty-First (which had two cases of chicken pox among its men), and thus created vacancies for the Thirty-Third.[72]

For the soldiers that just arrived from Texas, life in an army camp in San Francisco was similar to that in San Antonio, save for a colder, windier, and wetter climate. To insulate themselves from the colder temperature of San Francisco, the men changed from the khakis they wore in San Antonio into their thicker woolen blue service uniforms. The Presidio served as a marshalling center for American regiments bound for the Philippines. Quarters at the Presidio tended to be higher quality than those from San Antonio, having proper flooring, straw mattresses, and stoves for warmth. The soldiers were fed better at the Presidio than they were in

[70] Erwin N. Thompson, *Defender of the Gate: The Presidio of San Francisco, a History from 1846 to 1995* (United States National Park Service Historic Resource Study, NPS-330, July 1997), 326-327.

[71] Thompson, *Defender of the Gate*, 331.

[72] Alternative plans to accommodate the Thirty-Third included moving the arrivals to the recruiting camp at San Francisco. "Precautions to Prevent Danger from Infection," *San Francisco Call*, 19 September 1899.

San Antonio. They also ate a different variety of foods at the Presidio than they did in San Antonio, enjoying soup, cabbage, salted pork, and pudding.[73]

The officers of the regiment continued to drill their men with more marching. In preparation for the hikes the regiment would take in the mountains of Luzon, the officers marched the men up and down the pine-covered hills outside of San Francisco. Slick pine needles blanketed the ground, making the marches difficult. Drill also included more sham battles similar to the ones at Fort Clark. To Trafton, the repetitive nature of the marching and running and mock skirmishing required explanation. He recalled: "The officers said that we had to be toughened up. Well, they were sure on the right road – if we did not die before we got tough."[74] Training usually lasted around four hours a day and sometimes went longer. Occasionally there were accidents, sometimes self-inflicted. Nixon wrote that "a fellow in Co. L of this regiment shot his finger off this morning. He claimed that it was an accident, but there is no doubt that he did it purposely as he had been trying to get a discharge."[75] The hard training endured by the Thirty-Third proved effective as its expeditions in the Philippines usually bore fruit in the form of captured munitions, horses, and even money. According to a telegram dated 11 September 1900, the Thirty-Third's expeditions from its arrival in the Philippines to 30 June 1900 resulted in the seizure of 522 Mauser and Remington rifles, five pieces of artillery, $1983 in gold, $1453 in Mexican silver, 10 horses, and an estimated 33,500 assorted cartridges.[76]

While regular training kept the men in proper form during the week, they had the weekends to do as they wished. San Francisco's famous Chinatown became a popular

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[73] Nixon, "Letters and Memories," 12, 15, USAHEC.

[74] Trafton, *We Thought We Could Whip Them in Two Weeks*, 8.

[75] Nixon, "Letters and Memories," 15, USAHEC.

[76] Telegram, Colonel Marcus D. Cronin to Adjutant, 11 September 1900, RG 94/117, Regimental Letters Sent, Thirty-Third Infantry, Box 15, File 810, NA.

distraction. Private Nixon wrote back home of the exotic wonders of America's gateway to the Far East: "everywhere you see opium or opium pipes for sale, with curious chinaware, chopsticks, strange fish, and vegetables. I saw in one place several Chinamen smoking opium and they were about done for. Half of the regiment went down and there was a hot time."[77] One soldier, Henry W. Schuster of Company B, "suddenly became ill" after waiting with his company on the Folsom Street Wharf. When Schuster's comrades carried him to the hospital, some person took advantage of the distraction to abscond with the sick man's rifle.[78]

These experiences, combined with alcohol, often landed the soldiers in trouble both stateside and in the Philippines. On 28 September, one soldier was imprisoned for crushing a man's skull with a brick. The same evening's merriment overcame three corporals, who became drunk and failed to show for roll call the following morning. Private William J. Hill of Company C and a comrade asked Ann Lane, the proprietress of the Lane Boarding House, for liquor. When she refused, Hill, a self-proclaimed "bad man," swore that he would kill her, and that she would not be the first woman that he had murdered. Lane fled her establishment and down the street. In a drunken rage, Hill pursued her with a chair he intended to use as a clumsy bludgeon. The commotion attracted local police. Hill resisted arrest, and it took four men to restrain him. At his hearing, Hill justified himself to the judge on the grounds that he was too drunk to remember doing such things. The judge did not buy Hill's argument and commented that what might be permissible in Texas was not allowed in California. Hill was arraigned on assault charges and not allowed to accompany the Thirty-Third to the Philippines.[79]

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[77] Nixon, "Letters and Memories," 13, 16, USAHEC.

[78] Logan to Adjutant, Affidavit on Loss of U.S. Magazine Rifle, 15 October 1899, RG 94/177, Regimental Letters Sent, Thirty-Third Infantry, Box 28, Company B, File 89, NA.

[79] "Bad Man from Texas," *San Francisco Call*, 29 September 1899.

There were of course other reasons why some members of the Thirty-Third Infantry did not arrive in the Philippines. One was Private William Tramell of Company K, who contracted smallpox and was left at the Presidio's hospital.[80] As at San Antonio, a few of the Thirty-Third's men found the lure of civilian life preferable to honoring their commitments to the regiment and deserted, but these incidents occurred less often than in San Antonio. This fact suggests that nearly all of the men who arrived in San Francisco were resolved in their commitments to the regiment. In fact, two men who deserted at San Francisco, Corporal Joe Davenport and cook James Carter, eventually returned to their company.[81]

In compliance with Special Orders No. 40, the Thirty-Third Infantry in late September 1899 made ready for their departure to the Philippine Islands. As at San Antonio, the men were forbidden from taking personal baggage save for any clothing needed for field service. Each enlisted man was responsible for his own blanket roll, a poncho, uniform (including a blue shirt and blouse, a pair of blue trousers, undershirt, cotton undergarments, and two pairs of cotton socks), weapons and ammunition. On the journey to the Philippines, both the officers and men were expected to wear their khaki service uniforms, leggings, and campaign hat.[82]

Saturday 30 September 1899 was the last day the regiment enjoyed in San Francisco before departing to the Philippines. The troops rose before dawn, incinerated the straw from their mattresses in small bonfires, and rolled up their bedrolls. The anticipation of finally leaving the United States for what may have seemed the edge of the world was infectious for many soldiers.

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[80] According to his company records, Tramell died of chronic nephrititis at the general hospital on 2 October 1899. His death was not mentioned in General Elwell S. Otis's reports. "Register of Deaths," RG 94/117, Thirty-Third Infantry, Box 6, NA; "Minnesotans to be Discharged but not Paid," *San Francisco Call*, 3 October 1899.

[81] Register of Deserters, RG 94/117, Descriptive and Clothing Books, Thirty-Third Infantry, Box 2, Company C, NA.

[82] General Orders No. 30, RG 94/117, Regimental Orders, Thirty-Third Infantry, Box 8, Volume 1, NA.

As Nixon wrote, the men of the Thirty-Third "were almost too excited to eat breakfast."[83] At ten o'clock the regiment marched in a column down Union Street to where the transports waited for soldiers to transport across the Pacific Ocean. San Franciscans crammed the sidewalks to capture glances at the soldiers marching towards the docks. Flags and banners festooned the buildings along Union Street. The march to the wharf took almost three hours, probably due to the number of soldiers of the Thirty-Third and the Thirty-Second Regiments. The pier itself was crowded with enthusiastic and emotional well-wishers to see the "the famous Texas Rangers" embark for their journey across the Pacific.[84]

The entire Thirty-Third Infantry, along with three companies of the Thirty-Second Infantry and 75 recruits, crowded aboard the USS *Sheridan*, an army steamer transport purchased by the government in 1892. At about 445 feet, the steel ship was slightly larger than a modern-day football field.[85] The vessel had five decks: the lowest deck contained cargo, the next two decks provided bunks for over a thousand soldiers, and the next deck had kitchens, a commissary, dining rooms, and store rooms. As the men stowed their gear and found billets on the *Sheridan*, they discovered the vessel was equipped with some conveniences of the late nineteenth century for the comfort of its passengers. These included a crude ventilating system and an ice machine. However, the *Sheridan* lacked several other amenities. It had no electric lighting, unlike many of its sister transports. Its hospital had beds for up to 56 seasick and other ill patients but no operating room or a laboratory for more serious ailments. 21 showers served as

[83] Nixon, "Letters and Memories," 16, USAHEC.

[84] Nixon, "Letters and Memories," 16, USAHEC.

[85] The section on "United States Transports" in the *Report of the War Department* does not provide the length of the USS *Sheridan*. However, its sister transports the *Grant* and *Logan* displaced the same amount of gross and net tonnage and the same width of beam, so it is reasonable to conclude that the *Sheridan's* length was similar to them. U.S. War Department, *Annual Report 1900, Vol. 1,* Pt. 2, p. 172.

the crowded communal bathing facilities for the enlisted men, while rank entitled the Thirty-Third's officers to five private tubs.[86]

Around 4:00 in the afternoon of 30 September, the *Sheridan* cast off from the docks and sailed toward the setting sun amidst displays of goodwill. To Private Nixon, "The air shook with cheers from the crowds on shore and in the boats." The assembled crowd waved handkerchiefs and loudly sang "God be with you" and "the Star Spangled Banner." Not to be outdone, the regimental band played Southern favorites like "Dixie," "The Girl I Left Behind Me," and "When Johnny Comes Marching Home." The crew of the USS *Iowa* (BB-4) assembled on the grim battleship's deck and saluted the *Sheridan* as the transport steamed past her larger sister.[87]

For the next month, the *Sheridan* slowly steamed across the Pacific. Life aboard the steamer was miserable for many soldiers, many of whom had likely never been at sea during their lives. "No one can ever tell me of the joys of a sailor's life. I would rather live on the meanest desert on the earth than on the water," Nixon complained to his relatives. Dehydration and seasickness became commonplace among the men. They also complained about the food. The galley's kitchens produced meals so vile that the rank stench alone was frequently enough to induce nausea. The meat the cooks served to the soldiers was so foul that one lieutenant in Company G condemned it.[88] "Several times the beef we had to eat was so bad that it would come up into my mouth half a dozen times for fresh air," Nixon wrote home.[89]

Theft occurred onboard as well. As the soldiers were billeted below decks, sanitation regulations compelled them to bring their blankets topside to air out once a week. The men

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[86] Data about the *Sheridan* and other Army transports in the Spanish-American War may be found in U.S. War Department, *Annual Report 1900, Vol. 1*, Pt. 2, pp. 171-181.

[87] Nixon, "Letters and Memories," 16, USAHEC.

[88] Nixon, "Letters and Memories," 17, USAHEC.

[89] Nixon, "Letters and Memories," 20, USAHEC.

would tie their blankets on a line attached to the masthead. On occasion, the rocking of the ship and the winds would loosen some blankets from their rope and blow them out to sea. Creative soldiers who lost their blankets in this fashion would then, as Nixon described it, play "the old army game" which, as he explained, "requires the help of a friend. The friend goes up on the top deck, and yells down the hatchway, 'Ship in sight,' and everyone rushes up to see and the [soldier who lost his blanket] uses the opportunity to hunt up a clean unmarked blanket, carefully marks it, places it on his own bunk, and hurriedly leaves to the top deck."[90] Soldiers who did not learn how to steal were required to purchase their replacement equipment from regimental supplies.

Hawaii was the *Sheridan's* first stop on the oceanic highway to the Philippines. The tropical island chain had long been of interest to Americans, who visited the islands as missionaries and sugar planters since the early nineteenth century. During the nineteenth century, the increase of American interest in Hawaii corresponded with a decline in Hawaiian sovereignty. In 1893, a cabal of Hawaiian subjects and American citizens in Hawaii, headed by Lorrin A. Thurston led a coup d'état against the Queen of Hawaii, Liliuokalani. The American minister in Hawaii, John Stevens, then landed a company of American marines and sailors from the USS *Boston* to protect American property and lives. They saw to it that the revolution succeeded. The queen was overthrown and a provisional government was organized under Sanford B. Dole, a prominent lawyer and strong advocate of annexation. Perhaps echoing the history of Texas more than seven decades earlier, the people who had led the revolution in Hawaii and declared the islands an independent republic then asked the United States for annexation. In 1898, President McKinley signed the Newlands Resolution, an act of Congress

[90] Nixon, "Letters and Memories," 20, USAHEC.

that formally annexed Hawaii to the United States as a territory. Dole became the first territorial governor of Hawaii in 1900.[91]

The *Sheridan* arrived in Honolulu on Saturday, 7 October 1899. The transport eased into the harbor in the evening alongside native rafts and ships from several countries. Honolulu, the territorial capital, allowed the soldiers to enjoy some leisure time from their long oceanic voyage. Some volunteers entertained themselves by watching Hawaiian boys dive for coins. Other soldiers toured the grounds near the Iolani Palace (the former residence of Queen Liliuokalani and the territorial capital), and marveled at the local flowers and trees. Soldiers who walked the streets of Honolulu in search of curiosities and food found the roads narrow but bustling with locals, Americans, Chinese, and Japanese. One soldier was astonished at the high wages paid to laborers in Hawaii.[92] Swimming was a popular distraction for the men of the Thirty-Third, though it was not without its hazards. One soldier, twenty-one year-old Private James Hulgren of Company K, formerly a farmer from Tennessee, took ill after swimming near Honolulu and was stricken with hemorrhages. Hulgren's comrades took him to the hospital room on the *Sheridan*, but without a proper laboratory aboard there was little that the surgeons could do for him. They made every effort to revive Private Hulgren, but he died of blood in the lungs on 10 October 1899.[93] One final distraction in Hawaii was a display of military might for the notables of the island. On 11 October, the regiment had a dress parade in Honolulu for Dole and the other dignitaries of the soon-to-be territory. The temperature was "fearfully hot" for the men in their

[91] For a study of the events of the overthrow of the Hawaiian monarchy through the life of Secretary of State John W. Foster, see Michael J. Devine, "John W. Foster and the Struggle for the Annexation of Hawaii," *Pacific Historical Review* 46 (February 1977), 29-50.

[92] According to Nixon's letters, a coal loader in Honolulu made $4 for a workday from 7 in the morning to 5 in the afternoon and $6 a night. Nixon, "Letters and Memories," 18, USAHEC.

[93] Captain Theodore Schultz to Mary Hulgren, 28 October 1899, 94/117, Letters Sent, Thirty-Third Infantry, Box 32, Company K, pp. 8-10, NA.

uniforms as they passed in review, but the scene was captured by a motion picture camera.[94] After that, the troops boarded the *Sheridan* once more for the second leg of their voyage.

As with the journey from the mainland, the voyage from the Hawaiian Islands to the Philippines was one of near-continual seasickness, boredom, and increasing tropical heat. Due to the lack of proper ventilation and cooling in the lower decks, the heat made routine sleep miserable for the soldiers. Sometimes the exhausted men absconded to the top deck, where the comparatively cooler evening air acted as a welcome respite from the furnace-like temperatures below decks. Private Nixon wrote about one amusing way to ward off the heat: "about four o'clock the crew of the transport wash down the deck with a two inch hose and they take pleasure in turning the water on any sleeper… the stream is so strong that it shoves you along the deck and drenches everything."[95] To make matters even worse, the refrigeration plant on the *Sheridan* failed enroute to Manila. All of the meat in it spoiled, and that forced all of the passengers to subsist on the despised "canned Willie." As if heat and canned food were not enough torments, a tropical storm also blew the *Sheridan* a bit off course. Some of the men kept their good humor and joked that the *Sheridan* had sighted enemy ships.[96]

As the jokes suggest, the men on the *Sheridan* did what they could to ease their boredom. Games of chance with dice and cards were popular on board the *Sheridan*, though young men living in uncomfortable conditions occasionally fought. In one case, a brawl broke out over a game of craps on the ship's lower deck, and Private Americus Snap of Company D pulled a knife on Private Joseph Retter of Company L and slashed him repeatedly. Retter had his lacerations

[94] Nixon, "Letters and Memories," 20, USAHEC.

[95] Nixon, "Letters and Memories," 21, USAHEC.

[96] Benton questionnaire, Spanish-American War Veterans Survey Collection, Box 69, Folder 29, USAHEC.

tended to by the regimental surgeons while Snap was confined to the guardhouse so that he might learn to save his energy for the *insurrectos* that awaited the regiment in Luzon.[97]

If a minor scrap between tense comrades was the only event that disrupted the routine on the *Sheridan*, the remainder of the voyage to Manila might have remained uneventful. However, sometimes the smallest things create problems, and those problems threaten to ruin great enterprises. At some point before the *Sheridan* arrived in the Philippines, some men of Company B noticed Major Logan's pet dog taking an innocent stroll on the top deck. These men had a dog of their own, and evidently they wished to amuse themselves by watching the dogs fight. The men unleashed their dog on Logan's pet and watched the blood sport ensue. The howls of the dogs and cheers of the spectators soon attracted newcomers. Among them was Major Logan, who appeared on the deck in a rage. Fuming, Logan ordered Company B's men to dispose of their dog by throwing it overboard. The men were shocked into silence and demurred. Major Logan became even more wroth and had the company's pet hurled over the railing and into the churning cold water below to die. News of this spread through the *Sheridan's* decks and the top deck teemed with soldiers who watched in horror as the condemned dog struggled vainly to stay afloat. They could still see the dog bobbing on the waves as the *Sheridan* left it behind. The beloved mascot's fate reduced grown men to tears. Private Trafton recalled, "I don't guess there was a dry eye on deck: strong men wept like babies, and many words were said that are not used in church." Sadness then turned to dark fury and bitterness towards Logan, whose own men resented what he had done.[98]

[97] The newspaper article had the companies of the two men switched: Snap served in Company D while Retter was in Company L. "Soldier Stabbed on Transport Sherman [sic]," *San Francisco Call*, 21 October 1899.

[98] Trafton, *We Thought We Could Whip Them in Two Weeks*, 9-10.

There was no formal reprimand for the men or for Logan over this incident. Evidently having the soldiers helplessly watch their dog slowly drown in the Pacific was punishment enough for them. Yet this shameful episode reveals the character of Major Logan. While he was a newcomer to the regiment and did not have the time to earn the respect of his troops, he had already been reprimanded for arriving dressed in a parade uniform and accompanied by a valet. The scandal with the dogs would have been a fine opportunity for him to show genuine leadership to the volunteers by disciplining those most directly responsible for starting the dog fight and exhorting his men to save their energy for the Filipinos. Logan should have acted as an officer and a gentleman, but he instead he chose the worst possible solution to a simple problem by having the men's dog killed. Instead of earning the love of his men by handling the situation firmly but fairly, he instead inspired hate and ridicule. When Logan later fell in combat, rumors flew that he had been killed by his own men.[99]

By late October 1899, the Philippines were in sight. Much was expected of the men of the Thirty-Third Infantry. The *Lexington Morning Herald* compared the Thirty-Third to another famous and colorful regiment that had fought earlier in Cuba against Spain:

> This regiment is a good deal like Roosevelt's rough riders [*sic*]. It was recruited in… the Southwestern plains, where the best soldiers spring up naturally from the soil. Nobody can outride or outshoot them. They are at home in any sore [*sic*] of country, and they are daredevils all… the man who has "killed his man" need not feel lonesome in this regiment.[100]

A northern paper, the *Springfield Republican* relayed an article from the *New York Herald* which remarked that the men of the Thirty-Third

> would rather fight than eat… they ride like centaurs, march like veterans, are at home in the open or the chaparral, and are dead shots always… If Kipling could mess with these fellows for a week he would get the inspiration for a new book of ballads that would

[99] C. Fred Ackermann, "How Brave Young Logan Died," *Leslie's Weekly Illustrated* 90 (January 13, 1900), 30.

[100] "Comrades of John A. Logan," *Lexington Morning Herald* (Kentucky), December 3, 1899.

> outsell any that he has ever written about Tommy Atkins. From these men America will hear something in due time, and it will be news in which dead and wounded Filipinos will figure conspicuously.[101]

America would indeed hear of the exploits of the volunteers in the Thirty-Third Infantry, some of whom would never see home again. But the regiment had experienced officers, good training, and high morale, and so there were good reasons to expect much of it.

[101] "A Dare-Devil Regiment," *Springfield Republican* (Massachusetts), 1 November 1899.

CHAPTER 4

"A DARE-DEVIL REGIMENT"

On 27 October 1899, the *Sheridan* steamed through Manila Bay. Standing vigil in the waters were the shattered and ugly hulks of two Spanish ships, sunk on 1 May 1898 during Commodore George Dewey's victory over the Spanish Pacific Squadron during the Spanish American War.[1] As the transport passed Corregidor Island, soldiers watching from the deck could see banana and coconut trees surrounding the old fort on the island. Docked in the harbor itself were big American and British battleships, testaments to the age of imperialism.

Aboard the *Sheridan,* the soldiers were each issued over one hundred rounds of ammunition and were reminded about the instructions for its use for one month's picket duty before they were deployed to the front lines outside of Manila.[2] The 49 officers and 1,298 enlisted men of the Thirty-Third Infantry then disembarked from the *Sheridan* in good condition.[3] The soldiers, equipped in their khaki and blue service uniforms and carrying their rifles, ammunition, canteens, and bedrolls looked like "a bunch of camels loaded to start across the Sahara Desert," Private William Trafton recalled.[4] They were taken on *cascoes* (local flat-bottom boats) up the Pasig River amidst a blistering and humid heat seven miles to their camp. As was typical in the tropics towards the end of the rainy season, the skies often unleashed a

[1] Seven of the warships of the Spanish Pacific Squadron were sunk in the battle: the flagship *Reina Cristina,* the unprotected cruisers *Castilla, Don Antonio de Ulloa, Don Juan de Austria,* the protected cruiser *Isla de Luzon,* and the gunboat *Marques del Duero.* An eighth vessel, the protected cruiser *Isla de Cuba,* was scuttled to avoid capture. The identification of the Spanish ships in Milton Nixon's letters are unclear, though it is likely that he is referring to the *Reina Cristina*, *Castilla*, or the *Don Antonio de Ulloa*, as the United States immediately salvaged the remaining Spanish ships, repaired and refitted them at Hong Kong and Singapore, then commissioned the ships into the United States Navy. Nixon, "Letters and Memories," 21, USAHEC.

[2] Nixon, "Letters and Memories," 21, USAHEC.

[3] Otis to Corbin, 3 November 1899, *CWS* 2:1094.

[4] Trafton, *We Thought We Could Whip Them in Two Weeks*, 11.

torrential downpour for a few minutes until the sun once again burned the rain off of the marchers into clouds of steam. This experience was a miserable one for many of the men. Having not exercised or drilled since they left San Francisco and not yet accustomed to the humidity of the tropics, a few of the troops dropped out from heat exhaustion. The green countryside around Manila was unlike what the soldiers had experienced back in the United States. None of the volunteers save for the handful of veterans had seen the ravages of war with their own eyes. Around them was the evidence of the Battle of Manila fought in February 1899. As Private Milton G. Nixon recalled, the area surrounding Manila was "a graveyard… we passed a church [La Loma] fairly ridden with shells and bullets… you can see bullet marks everywhere."[5]

At Colonel Luther R. Hare's recommendation, Captain Godfrey R. Fowler's Company F moved to Corregidor Island on 1 November 1899.[6] While the First Battalion proceeded to Caloocan by rail, the Second and Third Battalions made camp near the ruins of La Loma Church, about three miles from Manila. This had been the site of fierce fighting early in the Philippine War: shattered tree husks still littered the cratered battlefield, old bullet holes riddled the rubble of what used to be the old church's walls, and abandoned Filipino earthworks all stood mute testament to heavy combat from months earlier. It was there that the men of the Thirty-Third met their black counterparts from the Twenty-Fifth Infantry. Major Marcus D. Cronin's old unit had defended La Loma since early August 1899, and the Buffalo Soldiers were eager for the relief.[7]

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[5] Nixon, "Letters and Memories," 23, USAHEC.

[6] Hare's letter suggests that the reason behind Company F's selection was on the grounds that Fowler had legal training by virtue of his education at the University of Texas and that his company had a vacant first lieutenant position. Hare to Adjutant General, First Brigade, 31 October 1899, RG 94/117, Regimental Letters Sent, Thirty-Third Infantry, Box 16, File 281, NA.

[7] John H. Nankivell, *Buffalo Soldier Regiment*: *History of the Twenty-Fifth United States Infantry, 1869-1926* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2001), 88.

They warned the newcomers to respect Filipino marksmanship as "blamed good shots" and that the "gugus" concealed in the wild chaparral would creep up on them under the cover of darkness and murder them all with bolos and spears.[8] These tales left an impression on some of the green volunteers. "They had told us that some nights there would be four or five of their boys killed in a single night," Trafton recalled.[9] The Buffalo Soldiers, having left behind their tents and stories of *insurrecto* depravity, then departed during a tropical squall.

The Thirty-Third Infantry's position was a semi-permanent encampment around the ruined church of La Loma. American engineers had dug earthworks around the camp and also constructed a perimeter of outposts a hundred yards around the camp to provide security. Sentries rested prone in the grass and mud and protected the men in the camp. After being assigned to the tents that the Buffalo Soldiers left behind, the Thirty-Third's men dined on pork and beans and soaked up the juices with crusts of hardtack. Perhaps recalling the tales that the Twenty-Fifth's infantrymen left in his mind, Nixon wrote that his regiment had "the foremost place in the line, and this is regarded as the most dangerous camp." The humidity and the tropical temperature were so extreme even at night that some of the men stripped down to their cotton undergarments and left their clothes and boots at their feet as they slept in a circle. Nature had other ways to make the men feel unwelcome in this strange new land. Soldiers who slept on the ground were likely to be flooded in an evening rain. Beelzebub was a regular and unwelcome companion for troops at La Loma. Black swarms of mosquitoes, ants, and flies were an endless pestilence. "The lightning bugs here have a steady light, and they flutter around you and show

[8] In light of the fact that there were no casualties that evening, it is likely that the Buffalo Soldier veterans coming off of the line were giving the rookies of the Thirty-Third some old-fashioned soldier's banter. Nixon, "Letters and Memories," 23, USAHEC.

[9] Trafton, *We Thought We Could Whip Them in Two Weeks*, 12.

the mosquitoes just where to bite… they eat you alive and are worse than bullets," Nixon complained to relatives at home.[10]

Security was taken very seriously in camp at La Loma and the enlisted men were on edge even while their comrades detailed for guard duty were stationed close by in the undergrowth, about 200 feet apart from one another. Shifts were every four hours. Every few minutes an unwelcome squall would drench the Americans and Filipinos alike. Occasionally a rifle shot, a monkey howl, or the thud of a ripe coconut that fell to the moist ground would break the tense silence. The mist-filled darkness made it difficult to discern friend from foe. One soldier in an infantry regiment deployed to the left of the Thirty-Third was inadvertently shot by a nervous sentry after he failed to heed a warning to halt. Private Nixon's remarks encapsulated this caution: "you halt a man here and if he does not stop in half a second, you shoot him… there is no fooling."[11]

On Friday 3 November 1899 the Twenty-Ninth Infantry Regiment relieved the Thirty-Third. The men marched to Manila awash in rumor. Some worried that they were to be sent home in disgrace for wasting so many Krag rounds on Philippine wildlife rather than the enemy during their long nights on the picket lines at La Loma. Another rumor had them going to Hong Kong for additional training. Yet another rumor, one that turned out to be correct, was that the Thirty-Third was to become part of an offensive in northern Luzon.[12] General Elwell S. Otis optimistically reported, "when Tagolos [*sic*] [are] overpowered organized armed opposition will cease."[13] His overall strategy was to engage Emilio Aguinaldo's forces in a decisive battle. One

[10] Nixon, "Letters and Memories," 22-23, USAHEC.

[11] Nixon believed that the man was from the Twenty-Seventh Infantry, but that regiment was not established until 1901, and even then it served on the island of Mindanao, not Luzon. Nixon, "Letters and Memories," 23, USAHEC.

[12] Coffman, *Hilt of the Sword*, 19.

[13] Otis to Adjutant General [Corbin], 14 August 1899, *CWS* 2:1053.

column under Major General Arthur MacArthur would push into the flat plains of Pampanga Province while a second column under Major General Henry W. Lawton swung to the right of Aguinaldo's location and moved north. The final column under Major General Loyd Wheaton would land at the Lingayan coast north of Aguinaldo and move south to block Aguinaldo's retreat. Historian Dora Neill Raymond remarked that the strategy would have been familiar to many of the Thirty-Third's western recruits as it was "in the nature of a round-up, like those on the ranges of many counties in the spring."[14]

The American forces under Wheaton's command comprised the Thirteenth Infantry and eleven companies of the Thirty-Third, two 3.2-inch guns from the Sixth Artillery, detachments of engineers and signalmen, and two Gatling guns. Altogether, the available strength was 2,000 men.[15] The destination was Lingayan Gulf off the coast of Pangasinan Province, where the Thirty-Third was to land at the beaches near the village of San Fabian to prevent Aguinaldo's retreat. The second battalion under Major Peyton C. March boarded the transport USS *Francisco Reyes* while the first and third battalions, respectively led by Major Marcus D. Cronin and Major John A. Logan, embarked on the *Sheridan.* Three American warships, including the USS *Oregon*, were also in the harbor to escort the transports to Lingayen Gulf.[16]

The invasion flotilla departed Manila at seven in the evening on 6 November 1899. By the following afternoon the fleet reached Lingayan Gulf and joined with several cruisers and

[14] Raymond, *Captain Lee Hall of Texas*, 304.

[15] Major General Loyd Wheaton to Adjutant General [Corbin], n.d., in U.S. War Department, *Annual Report 1900, Vol. 1*, Pt. 7, p. 528.

[16] The USS *Oregon* was commissioned in 1896 and achieved fame in the United States during the Spanish-American War by steaming over 14,000 nautical miles from San Francisco to Florida to join the blockade of Cuba. It subsequently participated in the naval battle of Santiago de Cuba on 3 July 1898. Otis to Adjutant General [Corbin], *CWS*, 2:1095.

gunboats.[17] In the afternoon of the next day, the invasion began in what the *Los Angeles Herald* trumpeted as "the most spectacular affair of its kind since General Shafter's disembarkation at Daquiri."[18] Filipino defenders had fortified themselves in front of San Fabian with earthworks and trenches. The concussive roar of the *Oregon*'s guns and those of the cruisers and gunboats nearly deafened the men unfortunate to be near them. The artillery shells from the warships cratered the earth where they landed and machine gun fire from the gunboats swept the Filipino trenches. Under the cover of this naval gunfire, the soldiers scrambled down rope ladders from their transports to rafts. The rocking of the surf and the ships made descending the wet rope ladders difficult for many men. Time was of the essence and they were ordered to hurry. Private Trafton recalled that the experience was "just a pell-mell." Some men lost their grips and fell into the water or skinned their arms and legs. When all were aboard the rafts, a steamer tugged them over rough waves to the beach, kicking up enough spray to drench the men. The launches sped to the beach, then turned in a circle and let inertia propel the released boats to the shore.[19]

The Filipinos who survived the terrible shore bombardment briefly contested the beaches as the Thirty-Third hit the shore. Major Cronin's battalion landed first, followed by Major March's men. Upon landing, waves of Americans charged the entrenchments, stepping over the wounded where they lay. Facing overwhelming odds, the defenders retreated south and left

[17] Lingayan's flat beaches were suitable for another amphibious invasion of American soldiers over four decades later as part of the Pacific War. Carl B. Simpson, a 65-year-old veteran of the Thirty-Third, remarked to a local newspaper in 1945 that he found the similarity "interesting" and said "I'd like to be over there with the boys who are fighting now, but they tell me I am too old." Clipping of "1898 Vet Recalls Luzon Campaign," *Sunday Light* [unknown city], 14 January 1945, Spanish-American War Veterans Survey Collection, Box 69, Folder 30, USAHEC. For the World War II invasion, see Robert R. Smith, *Triumph in the Philippines* (Washington, DC: Government Publishing Office, 1993), passim.

[18] "Landing at San Fabian," *Los Angeles Herald*, 11 November 1899; Otis to Adjutant General [Corbin], 9 November 1899, *CWS* 2:1096.

[19] Private William Trafton, who waited on one of the boats in the rear for his turn, compared the landings to that of "the old style of Popping-the-Whip." Trafton, *We Thought We Could Whip Them in Two Weeks*, 16-17.

behind fourteen dead comrades and forty-one rifles. The training that the men received in Texas paid off: the Americans only sustained one wounded, Private George Peuhl from Company C.

The men advanced to what remained of the village of San Fabian. The defenders, still shaken from the shore bombardment, barely resisted the Americans and retreated again towards Dagupan. The civilians of San Fabian had wisely evacuated before the bombardment began and left their dwellings vacant. Navy shells had landed near the town and destroyed or severely damaged many homes. After seeing that San Fabian had no visible occupants, some troops practiced the time-honored tradition of armies and scrounged the homes for personal loot. More inquisitive soldiers simply wanted to see how other people lived. San Fabian had a few brick houses, but most of the townspeople had thatch or bamboo huts built a few feet off the ground. There were no banks, stores, or factories. There was little in the way of glittering baubles for souvenir hunters, but there were many civilian clothes folded away in private homes. Some men found an old wooden chest filled with Spanish currency. Their officers declared that Spanish currency in the islands was of no value, so the men shared it among themselves for souvenirs. The real treasures were found in the more opulent residences of San Fabian's *alcalde* and priest. Among various trinkets were books and municipal records going back two centuries. These finds delighted the few historically inquisitive men who could read Spanish. While some soldiers explored the village, Major March led two companies about a mile outside of San Fabian to a bamboo bridge, where they established an outpost.[20]

With San Fabian in the hands of the men of the Thirty-Third, the troops were in a celebratory mood. They butchered a local pig for their dinner and wild fruits augmented their evening meal before they made camp in the town. Some men were lucky enough to find a roof to

[20] Trafton, *We Thought We Could Whip Them in Two Weeks*, 18–19.

shield them from the now-usual and loathed downpours. Despite the mosquitoes and rainfall, the men were content. They had survived their first engagement without losses and a few of them had looted trinkets to mail home. Perhaps they would be going home in a week as the recruiting officers back home had promised. Or perhaps not.[21]

The enemy remained concealed in the nearby woods. The regular sounds of spades on soil indicated that the Filipinos were entrenching not far from San Fabian. General Wheaton ordered the Thirty-Third to reconnoiter the surroundings, and for the next few days, the regiment did so. Logan's Third Battalion patrolled the coast towards Rosario, while March's Second Battalion had the more difficult mission of scouting the road south of San Fabian towards Magaldan. Logan reported slight resistance from small parties of *insurrectos* who fled towards the mountains, while March engaged about two companies of Filipinos, capturing two of their officers without sustaining a loss. On 10 November, March again engaged 600 of the enemy on the road to Magaldan. His troops drove the enemy before them, killing more than seventy Filipino soldiers, including their commanding officer, a colonel.[22] A patrol near San Fabian several days after the regiment's landing discovered dozens of feral hogs gorging themselves on the festering corpses of fallen Filipinos. After viewing this gruesome sight, the men's minds turned to the many dishes of ribs, roasts, and pork chops they had previously enjoyed at camp. Their fresh meals suddenly took on a nauseating aspect, and many men became physically ill and abstained from pork for years afterwards.[23]

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[21] Trafton, *We Thought We Could Whip Them in Two Weeks*, 18-20.

[22] Wheaton to Adjutant General [Corbin], n.d., in U.S. War Department, *Annual Report 1900, Vol. 1,* Pt. 7, p. 528-529.

[23] Trafton, *We Thought We Could Whip Them in Two Weeks*, 25.

The men who remained at San Fabian had memorable experiences of their own. During one patrol, Company B found about a hundred women, elderly men, and children hidden near a lagoon. These noncombatants were some of the former inhabitants of San Fabian who had taken refuge at the lagoon shortly after they heard the thundering of the *grande cañons* the previous day. These frightened villagers spoke Spanish, making conversing difficult for the Anglophone Americans. After some reassurance, the locals became convinced that the Thirty-Third was not there to kill them and began patting the Americans, repeating *"mucho amigo"* before the Americans left them behind.[24] This encounter would not be the first or final occasion that the volunteers would hear the Spanish word for "friend." Filipinos, *insurrecto* and civilian alike, were apt to utter the words to the point that American servicemen became unconvinced of their sincerity.

General Wheaton correctly believed that the Filipino forces in the region were in the process of converging on Dagupan and ordered the Thirty-Third to attack them at San Jacinto on 11 November 1899. There is a historical irony in the fact that the first pitched battle that the regiment from Texas fought in the Philippine War had such a namesake.[25] Nearly six miles from San Fabian, more than 1,200 men under General Manuel Tinio entrenched themselves to await the American assault.[26] According to Lieutenant Hugh Williams, Major Logan "was determined if the opportunity presented itself to show what his battalion could do."[27] Colonel Hare placed Logan's Third Battalion in the center. On the left flank was Major March's Second Battalion. Major Cronin's First Battalion was on the right. Captain John Green's Company M with a

[24] Trafton, *We Thought We Could Whip Them in Two Weeks*, 22.

[25] The more famous Battle of San Jacinto was the final engagement of the War of Texas Independence (1835–1836), fought on 21 April 1836 between forces of the Republic of Texas and Mexico near present-day Houston.

[26] Otis to Adjutant General [Corbin], 14 November 1899, *CWS* 2:1101.

[27] Hugh Williams to James Martin, February 12, 1900, Family Correspondence, Luther R. Hare Papers, USAHEC.

detachment of sharpshooters served as the regiment's vanguard. Major Albert Lieberman, the regiment's chief surgeon, detailed one officer, one steward, and four privates in the regiment's medical department to each battalion.[28] Accompanying the Thirty-Third was a Gatling gun detachment under the command of Captain Charles R. Howland of the Twenty-Eighth Infantry. The Thirty-Third did not have a rapid-firing machine gun of its own, for reasons that Lieutenant Lowe explained in a letter published by the *Dallas Morning News*: "when you keep up with the Thirty-Third, you have to have speed, which a gatling [*sic*] gun has not."[29]

General Manuel Tinio, commander of the Filipino forces at San Jacinto, chose his positions well. He forced the Americans to come to him. Tinio deployed scattered detachments of several dozen men in houses, rifle pits, creek bottoms, and in the trees along the approach to ambush the marching Americans as they approached San Jacinto. These troops thus took advantage of an ambuscade and used the terrain to slow the American advance while their comrades fired from concealment in their entrenched positions. Accordingly, Tinio deployed the bulk of his men in three lines of trenches, where they had some measure of cover as they peppered the approaching Americans. The first two lines were past a soggy bog of rice paddies and waterlogged grass, and the final line was located behind the stony banks of the Abra River. The bridges across the streams were destroyed to further hinder the American advance. Sharpshooters who remained behind provided harassing fire from all directions. Tinio thus had several advantages: surprise, terrain, and position, with the Americans enveloped in a killing field.[30]

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[28] For details, see Order from Major Albert Lieberman, n.d., in U.S. War Department, *Annual Report 1900, Vol. 1,* Pt. 7, p. 539.

[29] "From the Far East," *Dallas Morning News*, December 24, 1899.

[30] Linn, "The Thirty-Third Infantry, United States Volunteers," 41.

Tinio also had another advantage: superior firearms. Like most Filipino soldiers in the Philippine War, his troops had armed themselves with either German-made M1893 Mausers or older American-made Remington rifles. The Spanish Army had issued both models of weapons to its soldiers and colonial loyalists before and during the Spanish-American War, and many of these rifles fell into the hands of Aguinaldo's forces in the Philippines. The Remington fired a strong, black-powder round. The Mauser, however, was already infamous among American veterans, who called it the "Spanish Hornet" in reference to its more rapid rate of fire, flatter bullet trajectory, and greater ease of use in comparison to the Krag. One *New York Times* correspondent a year and a half earlier, during the fighting with Spain, sensationally remarked that the Mauser outperformed the Krag: "Take the two guns, as subjected to the actual and only test of battle, and it seems to me that we have an inferior gun. It has proved far less effective than the gun we have had to face in the ditches and blockhouses in Cuba."[31] So it would also be on one muddy road in northern Luzon on 11 November 1899.

If Hare's men had weapons that were inferior to Tinio's, the Americans did not seem to mind. Superior discipline and leadership carried the day in conflicts before and since the Philippine War. The Americans, arrayed in a textbook skirmishing formation, learned just how onerous traversing tropical terrain could be during combat. Recent rainfalls swelled the banks of the rivers on the battlefield. The Thirty-Third slogged through "the worst road ever found in the island of Luzon" as they passed through muddy ditches, shallow creeks, and thick rice paddies under torrents of enemy fire from Tinio's entrenched men in front of them and sharpshooters peppering them on the flanks and in the rear.[32] To make matters worse, all of the bridges over the

[31] Stanhope Sams, "The Krag-Jorgensen Gun," *The New York Times*, 16 August 1898.

[32] "A Fierce Fight at San Jacinto," *Columbus Daily Enquirer* (Georgia), 15 November 1899.

creeks, having been destroyed before the attack began, required repair before the Americans could safely cross them. The lack of bridges did not stop the Americans who tried to ford the swollen streams with their grit and determination. Many of them "sank to their waists in mud and water… in most cases the men, with horses and guns, plunged into the quagmire struggled through as best as they could."[33] The sludge-like mud was too much for the horses that dragged the Gatling gun, so the weapon had to be carried by soldiers from the Thirty-Third. As the Americans continued to advance, Filipino marksmen did their deadly work. Lieutenant Lowe recalled "the trees were filled with sharpshooters, who made it warm for our rear until we located them."[34]

Filipino marksmanship took a toll on the Thirty-Third's men and officers. The regiment's officers wore uniforms that made them conspicuous targets for skilled shooters. Logan's Third Battalion took the initial brunt of enemy fire as Logan himself led his men from the front. Shot in the first volley, Corporal John A. Robinson of Company H fell mortally wounded to the muddy earth. Logan stopped to care for Robinson while the Third Battalion continued its advance. Unbeknownst to the Civil War hero's son, he had mere moments left. A Filipino sharpshooter concealed about fifteen feet above the ground in the leaves of a coconut tree spotted the major, completely unaware as he was stooped down to aid his fallen comrade. For the Filipino sharpshooter, such an opportunity to strike down an American officer and possibly disrupt the enemy's advance was not to be missed. The *insurrecto* aimed his Mauser at the unsuspecting Logan and pulled the trigger. The bullet fatally struck the Major just above his temple. As Logan slumped lifelessly to the waterlogged ground, Major Lieberman and hospital steward Oscar H.

[33] "Was a Crushing Defeat," *Anaconda Standard* (Montana), 28 December 1899.

[34] "From the Far East," *Dallas Morning News,* 24 December 1899.

Mercier rushed to the fallen major's side. The same Filipino marksman took aim at Mercier and killed the steward instantly with a single shot to the heart. The deadly rifleman might have caused further casualties were it not for the quick reflexes of Lieberman, who swiftly drew his Colt sidearm and shot him from his perch. When other men fell wounded near Logan from the volleys of Filipino rifles, Lieberman set up a triage station in the yard of a nearby house despite the sharpshooters concealed in the trees. Bullets zipped around the advancing Americans until a detail cleaned out Tinio's marksmen.[35]

The regiment's senior officers continued to expose themselves to the same perils as their men and maintained the advance, taking advantage of tactical acumen and years of experience. While Tinio's sharpshooters were accurate from their nests, the rank and file of the Filipino soldiers were not. Captain John F. Green was hit in the right calf while leading Company M but the San Antonian refused treatment and insisted to all present that he remain in the field with his men. His company continued the advance towards Tinio's lines and maintained their heavy fire during the advance. When Company M was about fifty yards from the Filipino line, several of Tinio's men facing Company M's advance tried to flee and were immediately cut down with an accurate hail of Krag gunfire.[36] Lieutenant Williams recalled that "Colonel Hare was everywhere and directed his men in such a cool manner, that one would have thought it was an everyday occurrence."[37]

With Tinio's troops backed into San Jacinto, Major March's battalion flanked the defenders. His men took two lines of Filipino trenches, one through hand-to-hand combat. A

[35] "How Major Logan Was Killed," *The New York Times*, 25 December 1899.

[36] Lieutenant Charles L. Willard to Commander, Third Battalion, Thirty-Third Infantry, n.d., in U.S. War Department, *Annual Report 1900, Vol. 1*, Pt. 7, p. 540.

[37] Williams to Martin, February 12, 1900, Family Correspondence, Hare Papers, USAHEC.

third line of trenches was on the opposite bank of the Abra River. Led by Lieutenant Colonel John J. Brereton, the Americans pushed past the gravelly riverbanks and crossed the river, capturing the third and final line of Filipino trenches and taking San Jacinto. By 12:30, the Gatling gun crew had through strenuous efforts crossed the mucky battlefield and finally reached the northeastern side of the town. They punished the insurgents who fled to the woods with blasts of gunfire, mowing fleeing Filipinos down like grass.[38] His position now untenable, Tinio ordered a retreat, splitting his forces between Manaoag to the east and Dagupan to the south. One Filipino sergeant later recalled the incident with horror: "We were helpless; they drove us before them as the wind blows the dust on the road."[39] Tinio's men retreated with such haste that they left behind in their barracks their unit's flag. Private Leopold A. Klish of Company H, a laborer born in Austria, cut the banner down and claimed it as a trophy for the Second Battalion.[40] Deciding a pursuit was impossible, Colonel Hare ordered his regiment to camp at San Jacinto. His troops were so exhausted they could not scavenge the weapons they captured. They confined the prisoners in the town's stone church and placed them under guard. One prisoner was brought in entirely naked after sentries captured him outside of town still attempting to gather information on the regiment that had routed him and his fellows.[41]

The Battle of San Jacinto lasted about three and a half hours, more than three hours longer than its more famous predecessor. Despite the advantages of terrain and more advanced rifles, Tinio had fled the field and lost 131 dead, roughly about 10% of his total force, to the

[38] Captain Charles R. Howland to Adjutant General, Expeditionary Brigade, n.d., in U.S. War Department, *Annual Report 1900, Vol. 1*, Pt. 7, p. 536.

[39] Albert Sonnichsen, *Ten Months a Captive Among the Filipinos* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1901) 343.

[40] Major Peyton C. March to Adjutant [James M. Burroughs], Thirty-Third Infantry, n.d., in U.S. War Department, *Annual Report 1900, Vol. 1*, Pt. 7, p. 537.

[41] Hare to Adjutant General, Provisional Brigade, in U.S. War Department, *Annual Report 1900, Vol. 1*, Pt. 7, 542.

determined American advance.[42] Among the enemy dead were the sharpshooters who helped make the initial American advance a bloody affair. Lieutenant Lowe wrote that the hated enemy marksmen were arranged along the road as a warning to the other *insurrectos.* Their corpses were "piled along the road in piles of ten as an example to these ignorant and misguided people."[43]

Hare's casualties at San Jacinto were proportionally far less than his adversary's losses: the Americans suffered one officer and six enlisted men dead, and fourteen other enlisted men wounded, one fatally.[44] While the training and discipline burned into the Americans under the hot Texas sun was clearly a factor in the disproportionate casualties, another reason was the poor marksmanship and discipline among Tinio's men. Captain Edward Davis of Company L led part of the advance with Third Battalion and reported that the enemy fire was "intermittent and poorly directed" and was "silenced when replied to vigorously."[45] Most of the American losses were in Major March's battalion and were sustained when his men assaulted the town. The American dead and wounded were placed on litters and transported to San Fabian. The next

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[42] Reports of the number of Tinio's casualties fluctuated as time passed. Colonel Hare reported after the battle that 77 of the enemy were dead, but due to the underbrush on the field allowing places of concealment, he believed the enemy's losses to be much higher than that number. By the time reports of the battle reached General Otis in Manila two weeks later, that number expanded to 81 with an estimate of possibly as many as 300 dead. General Wheaton's report to Adjutant General Corbin in Washington on 30 November 1899 put the final number at 81 dead and 53 additional Filipinos later found dead, bringing the total number of Philippine combatants killed at San Jacinto to 134. See Hare to Adjutant General, Provisional Brigade, n.d., in U.S. War Department, *Annual Report 1900, Vol. 1,* Pt. 7, p. 542; Otis to Adjutant General [Corbin], 14 November 1899, *CWS* 2:1101; Wheaton to Adjutant General [Corbin], n.d., in U.S. War Department, *Annual Report 1900, Vol. 1,* Pt. 7, p. 530.

[43] "From the Far East," *Dallas Morning News*, 24 December 1899.

[44] Nixon visited the mortally wounded casualty, Sergeant Major Arthur Radzinski, in the hospital and overheard the surgeon sadly explaining to Radzinski that the throat wound was fatal. Nixon recalled "When [Radzinski] understood he never said another word but turned his head to the side where he could look out the open window towards the sea; thru [*sic*] that window came the sea breeze carrying the sound of the waves lapping on the beach, and the wind blowing through the coconut trees. He did not say anything more and the hospital attendant told us afterwards that he never spoke again." Radzinski died the next morning. He was 22 years old. Nixon, "Letters and Memories," 27, USAHEC.

[45] Captain Edward Davis to Commanding Officer, Thirty-Third Infantry, n.d., in U.S. War Department, *Annual Report 1900, Vol. 1,* Pt.7, p. 541.

morning the survivors of the regiment returned to the same town to rest and recuperate. Exhaustion of ammunition and of physical strength had depleted the volunteers to the point that "an active pursuit of the enemy, though we had found one, would have been impossible."[46]

In his report to General Wheaton, Colonel Hare gave the credit for his victory to the officers and the men under his command, writing that they all fought with "admirable coolness and courage." He also praised their marksmanship and discipline, products of his training.[47] The surviving battalion commanders all noted that the rifle marksmanship of their men was superlative. March, whose battalion was responsible for turning Tinio's flank and capturing the town of San Jacinto, proudly wrote that "scarcely a Filipino [could show] himself without being pierced by several bullets."[48] Nixon recalled that Edward Keen, a correspondent for the Keen-Scripps-McRae Press, told him the day after the battle that the engagement at San Jacinto was the hardest fight that Americans had fought in the Philippines since the outbreak of the Philippine War on 4 February of that year.[49] Nestled between advertisements for men's suits and fine brandy, the story of the Battle of San Jacinto made headlines in the *San Bernardino Evening Transcript*.[50] The editor for the *Kansas City Star* called the engagement a "baptism of fire poured on the Thirty-third United States volunteer infantry."[51] The *Sacramento Daily Union*, with more

[46] Williams to Martin, February 12, 1900, Family Correspondence, Hare Papers, USAHEC.

[47] Hare to Adjutant General [Corbin], n.d., in U.S. War Department, *Annual Report 1900, Vol. 1,* Pt. 7, p. 536.

[48] March to Adjutant [Burroughs], Thirty-Third Infantry, n.d., in U.S. War Department, *Annual Report 1900, Vol. 1*, Pt. 7, p. 537.

[49] Nixon, "Letters and Memories," 27, USAHEC.

[50] "War's Sharpest Fight," *San Bernardino Evening Transcript*, 15 November 1899.

[51] No headline, *Kansas City Star*, 16 November 1899.

attention to vivid and embellished depictions of the battle than attention to the proper spelling of the names of the men involved, proclaimed it one of the "sharpest… engagements of the war."[52]

The death of Major Logan attracted the most media attention back in the United States. In their eulogies of Logan, newspaper correspondents typically emphasized the fallen major's life in New York's high society more than his meager military service. One *New York Times* article about Logan's death devoted roughly equivalent space to his equine hobby and his military career. The article credited Logan with being one of the first American breeders of hackneys (a slim breed of cart horse) and described him as a frequent participant in the New York Horse Show.[53]

Outside of New York, newspapers treated Logan as a martyr. The *Charlotte Observer* commented that his death was met with "genuine regret" in Macon, Georgia.[54] The headline of the *Colorado Springs Gazette* wrote that Logan "met [a] hero's death fighting to uphold his country's flag."[55] For several days after the battle, newspapers back home would often preface news of the Thirty-Third's accomplishments in the field with a reminder of Logan's death. The editor of the *Lexington Morning Herald* wrote that he was a "picturesque personage among one of the most picturesque regiments in the service of Uncle Sam… he was a 'tenderfoot' but he faced the bullets as bravely as they."[56]

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[52] The article made common misspellings of the officers' names: Howe (Hare), Marsh (March), and, in the strangest case, Cronic (Cronin). These mistakes were uncommon outside of a few California newspapers. "Sharp Engagement in the Philippines," *Sacramento Daily Union*, 15 November 1899.

[53] "Death of Major Logan," *The New York Times*, 15 November 1899.

[54] "Mrs. Logan Prostrated," *Charlotte Observer* (North Carolina), 15 November 1899.

[55] "Major Logan Killed," *Colorado Springs Gazette*, 15 November 1899.

[56] "Comrades of John A. Logan," *Lexington Morning Herald* (Kentucky), 3 December 1899.

In the age of yellow journalism, there were also salacious rumors and gossip surrounding the specific circumstances of Logan's death. Some newspapers published stories that suggested that some of Logan's own men killed him out of revenge for past ill-treatment. Even if they did not care for the dandy Yankee aristocrat-turned major, the men of the Thirty-Third were wholly indignant at the notion that one of their own killed Logan. "This is a cowardly lie written by some penny a-liner living in some garret as empty as his own head," Nixon angrily wrote in a summary of the men's impressions. One might wonder where the story originated, if not from the soldiers. Nixon blamed the American newspapers: "Nothing was ever heard of Major Logan being killed by one of his own men until we saw it in papers from the States."[57]

Regardless of the truth of the matter, Logan's family and those of his widow were members of high society and such charges that Logan had been murdered by friendly fire could not go unchallenged. The War Department investigated the story and eventually hunted down the supposed originator, a former freight clerk from San Francisco named Koppitz. Despite the chief investigator being unable to find anyone who had originated the malicious gossip of Logan's death, someone had to take the blame for the rumors.[58] Koppitz drew the proverbial black bean from the jar.[59] Following a directive from the Secretary of War, Russell A. Alger, General William Shafter, commander of the Department of California, discharged Koppitz from the Army.[60]

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[57] Nixon, "Letters and Memories," 37-38, USAHEC.

[58] "Was Logan Killed by His Men?" *The New York Times*, 14 December 1899.

[59] This parable refers to the aftermath of the Mier Expedition in 1843, when Mexican military authorities under Colonel Domingo Huerta sentenced 176 captured Texan filibusters to decimation. Each captive had to draw from a jar containing 176 beans, one for each man. However, seventeen of the beans were black. The unlucky Texans who drew those black beans were then executed by a firing squad. Joseph Milton Nance, "Mier Expedition," in Tyler et al., *New Handbook of Texas*, 4:715-716.

[60] "Koppitz Discharged by Shafter," *Baltimore Sun*, December 19, 1899.

Ultimately, the sensationalism surrounding Logan's death made him into somewhat of a martyr. Colonel Hare nominated Logan for the Medal of Honor and wrote to the Adjutant General of the Army about Logan's "conspicuous gallantry," adding that his "conduct was inspiring in the extreme." Similar reports sanctifying Logan's death can be found higher up the chain of command in the reports of generals Wheaton and Otis.[61] Such praise from both Logan's commanding officer and the American authorities in the Philippines eventually made its way to Washington, and Congress conferred the Medal of Honor on Logan posthumously on 3 May 1902. He was one of three members of the Thirty-Third Infantry to receive the United States' highest and most prestigious military decoration. He was the regiment's only officer to receive the award and the only member of the regiment to be given the medal posthumously.[62]

The engagement at San Jacinto was a preface to additional American advances into northern Pangasinan province as part of the pursuit of Aguinaldo during late November.[63] These advances brought additional laurels to the Thirty-Third and the regiment's accomplishments continued to earn headlines in the national news outlets. One of these accomplishments was a personal blow to Aguinaldo. Shortly after 9:00 in the morning on 20 November 1899, Major Cronin received intelligence from a man who lived in the town of Carbarrian that some fugitives including Aguinaldo's mother, three-year-old son, Secretary Felipe Buencamino and their party were there. Immediately recognizing the opportunity to strike a swift blow against the insurrection's leadership, Cronin led a detachment of the freshest eight officers and 148 men

[61] Hare to Adjutant General [Corbin], 17 January 1900, RG 94/117, Regimental Letters Sent, Thirty-Third Infantry, Box 16, File 313, NA; Wheaton to Adjutant General [Corbin], n.d., in U.S. War Department, *Annual Report 1900, Vol. 1*, Pt. 7, pp. 528-529; Otis to Adjutant General [Corbin], *CWS* 2:1101.

[62] "Medal of Honor Recipients: Philippine Insurrection," *United States Army Center of Military History*, http://www.history.army.mil/moh/philippine.html (accessed 24 September 2017).

[63] Brian M. Linn suggests that it was the Thirty-Third Infantry's engagement at San Jacinto that "galvanized" the sluggish Wheaton into sending additional columns from San Fabian. Linn, *The Philippine War*, 151.

from his battalion to capture the fugitives. Major Cronin and his men left Manaoag around 10:00 in the morning and force-marched through poor roads all day until reaching the town late in the afternoon to an astonishing sight.[64]

The villagers welcomed the Americans not with Mausers and bolos, but with flags and blaring music from a brass band. "The procession reminded one of a Biblical story," Lieutenant Hugh Williams recalled. The village leader and a Catholic priest officially greeted the American officers to the community and took them to a rude bamboo hut that served as the village's town hall. There, servants provided the American officers with coffee, chocolate, and cigars.[65] The hosts informed Cronin that Aguinaldo's family and Secretary Buencamino were already in custody in town, and the major, eager to complete his mission, detailed Captains Charles Van Way and James Butler along with 26 men to collect them. While the fugitives were indeed in the town, they were not under guard and attempted to flee. Aguinaldo's mother and Buencamino were nowhere to be found, but the detail led by Van Way and Butler captured the remainder of the party. Cronin sent a search party consisting of locals to locate the fugitives. The next morning, Buencamino surrendered himself to Cronin's custody but Aguinaldo's mother temporarily escaped.[66]

While Major Cronin was pleased at the list of prisoners that included Aguinaldo's son, a Filipino infantry lieutenant named Tomas F. Magsarile, several non-combatants of the fugitive party, and $1983 in Spanish gold and $1191 in silver, his victory was not complete. Aguinaldo's mother was believed to be at Villasis and beyond his reach, but she was quickly caught and sent

[64] Cronin to Adjutant [Burroughs], Thirty-Third Infantry, 22 November 1899, in U.S. War Department, *Annual Report 1900, Vol. 1*, Pt. 7, p. 551.

[65] Williams to Martin, 12 February 1900, Family Correspondence, Hare Papers, USAHEC.

[66] Cronin to Adjutant [Burroughs], Thirty-Third Infantry, 22 November 1899, in U.S. War Department, *Annual Report 1900, Vol. 1*, Pt. 7, p. 551.

to Manila with Aguinaldo's son by order of Major General Wheaton to prevent their murder by locals.[67] She was placed under house arrest in the custody of friends, and occasionally gave talks in favor of ending the war.[68] Many American newspapers reported Cronin's achievement with the usual embellishments and inaccuracies of the era. For instance, the *Duluth News-Tribune* fantastically claimed that Buencamino and his companions were duped by the villagers, who then assassinated half of the party in a scheme to sell Aguinaldo and his mother to Cronin's approaching detachment.[69] The *Boston Herald* erroneously reported that Buencamino was the "author of the Filipino constitution" and "the brains of the insurgent rebellion."[70] The *San Francisco Call* opined that the capture was "a white elephant on [*sic*] the hands of the authorities."[71]

Another event that made headlines involved a small engagement. Captain Godfrey R. Fowler's Company F, after a month's duty garrisoning Corregidor, patrolled southwest of Dagupan in November with 82 men carrying rations and ammunition for two days. While leading his patrol, Fowler discovered that there was a Filipino force in "considerable numbers" organizing near the town of Mangatarem. After marching his men all night, Fowler's scouts

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[67] Cronin to Adjutant [Burroughs], Thirty-Third Infantry, 22 November 1899, in U.S. War Department, *Annual Report 1900, Vol. 1*, Pt. 7, p. 551; Otis to Adjutant General [Corbin], 27 November 1899, *CWS* 2:1110.

[68] One such account from a Baltimore paper and echoed in other journals across the United States depicts Aguinaldo's mother uncharitably characterizing her son as a guileless pawn in the sinister hands of a cabal of advisors and politicians and declaring gratitude to United States officials for the kind treatment given to her and Aguinaldo's son. James G. Bennett, "Mother of Aguinaldo," *Baltimore Sun*, 5 December 1899.

[69] "Aguinaldo's Mother," *Duluth News-Tribune*, 1 December 1899.

[70] Buencamino served as a deputy to the revolutionary congress and was one of eighteen members of the committee that drafted the Malolos Constitution. According to George A. Malcolm, Associate Justice of the Supreme Court of the Philippine Islands in 1921, "Felipe G. Calderón is entitled to the honor of being called the author of the Malolos Constitution," rather than Buencamino. Due to the war against the United States, the Malolos Constitution was not actually enforced in the Philippine Islands. There is also no evidence that Buencamino was involved in the strategic planning with Aguinaldo's military forces, so the American newspapers are likely embellishing Buencamino's role for the benefit of their readers. George A. Malcolm, "The Malolos Constitution," *Political Science Quarterly* 36 (March 1921), 96; "Diplomat Captured," *Boston Herald*, November 26, 1898.

[71] "Deserted by Troops and Chief Advisers, Aguinaldo is a Fugitive," *San Francisco Call*, 26 November 1899.

reported that Filipino insurgents had erected outposts outside of the town. The Texan captain wished to eliminate the enemy outposts quickly and quietly so that his following attack on the main force in the town would achieve surprise. However, the insurgents spotted the American scouts and skirmished with them in the darkness. The Filipino commander at Mangatarem, Brigadier General José Alejandrino, was now aware of Fowler's presence. On paper, the odds for Fowler's success were not favorable. Alejandrino commanded a force of between 400 and 1000 men with two batteries of artillery. Opposing this was Fowler's exhausted company of less than 100 men. But the wily Texan had a few tricks left. Fowler ordered his men to advance in a skirmishing formation along the road while continuously changing their alignment. This ploy was intended to deceive Alejandrino into thinking that Fowler commanded a larger force than he actually had. Fowler's clever ruse kept Alejandrino off-balance and prevented the Filipino general from targeting Company F with artillery.[72]

Fowler's gamble worked. His cunning and the marksmanship and discipline of his men carried the day in spite of the odds against them. As Company F advanced towards the town, Fowler ordered his men to direct heavy fire towards the treetops and bamboo thickets to mitigate the dangers of enemy sharpshooters. Company F pushed their way into the town and swept aside Alejandrino's resistance in the plaza. As Fowler's men secured the plaza, the Texan commander sent squads down Mangatarem's streets to eliminate any remaining opposition. Advancing under heavy enemy fire for three hours and without breakfast had exhausted Fowler's men, so they did not pursue the retreating Filipinos. Nevertheless, they captured an impressive amount of supplies and people. When Alejandrino's men fled Mangatarem, they left their artillery, a large cache of

[72] Captain Godfrey R. Fowler to Wheaton, 3 December 1900, U.S. War Department, *Annual Report 1900, Vol. 1,* Pt. 7, pp. 558-559.

supplies, correspondence, and 96 Spanish and 7 American prisoners.[73] The freed Spanish officers, understandably grateful for their freedom, presented to Captain Fowler an engraved parchment. Inscribed on the document were a statement of thanks from the Spanish officers and an account of their liberation by Fowler and his men. The Spanish officers signed the parchment and added to it their home addresses in Spain. The gift and the generosity of the Spaniards impressed Fowler, and he placed the parchment in his home in Palestine, Texas, when he returned from the war.[74] Having eagerly followed news related to the Thirty-Third and its men since the regiment organized, the *Dallas Morning News* glowingly reported that Fowler's accomplishment "affords much gratification" to his many friends in Texas.[75]

By the second week of November 1899, Aguinaldo's chances to win a conventional war had vanished. Otis' advancing columns under MacArthur, Lawton, and Wheaton had hammered the warlord's conventional forces repeatedly in northern Luzon, and the Thirty-Third had played a valuable role in the campaign. For Aguinaldo and his followers, a conventional war was clearly ineffective. Aguinaldo was slow to realize this fact, although many of his officers were more astute. General Antonio Luna advocated a guerilla war a month after the fighting began outside of Manila. General Tomás Mascardo recommended the same after American forces defeated him in May 1899.[76] With few realistic options remaining to him, Aguinaldo ordered an abandonment of conventional fighting by 12 November. The mission now changed from defeating American forces in the field to prolonging the fighting in the islands in order to undermine American support for its colonial mission. This would, in theory, allow the vocal anti-imperialist sentiment

[73] Captain Godfrey R. Fowler to Wheaton, 3 December 1900, in U.S. War Department, *Annual Report 1900, Vol. 1,* Pt. 7, pp. 558-559.

[74] "Major Fowler in Camp," *Dallas Morning News*, 26 July 1902.

[75] "Capt. Fowler's Record," *Dallas Morning News*, 29 November 1899.

[76] Gates, *Schoolbooks and Krags*, 97.

in the United States to garner momentum and thus lead to an administration more receptive to Aguinaldo's goals after the national elections in 1900.[77]

A shift from conventional strategy to guerilla warfare was the only option that remained to Aguinaldo so long as his goal was Philippine independence on his terms. His strategy of a conventional war against an opponent whose forces had superior numbers, firepower, equipment, training, and replacements had failed miserably. Nor could Aguinaldo expect assistance from foreign governments. None of the Great Powers recognized Aguinaldo's regime as legitimate, and the United States Navy completely controlled the waters around the islands. Aguinaldo could thus expect little to no resupply from sympathetic entities abroad. Instead, he fled with a small party into the mountains of northern Luzon and left his officers to command their men as guerillas.[78]

The attempt to capture Aguinaldo was an important campaign with obvious strategic value, and one in which a detachment of the Thirty-Third played a vital role. After returning to San Fabian from the Battle of San Jacinto, Major March found orders from Brigadier General Wheaton to move along the coastal road from Santo Tomas to San Fernando in Union Province and report to Wheaton's headquarters for further instructions. March alerted his battalion and departed from San Fabian on 22 November. His men marched 32 miles in two days to San Fernando, where a peculiar scene ensued.[79] March was met at San Fernando by Brigadier General Samuel B. M. Young's aide, Lieutenant Colonel James Parker. He urged March to depart immediately to support Young's unauthorized advance along the Illocos coast towards

[77] Linn, *U.S. Army and Counterinsurgency in the Philippine War*, 16.

[78] Linn, *U.S. Army and Counterinsurgency in the Philippine War*, 16.

[79] March to Adjutant General, Eighth Army Corps, n.d., in U.S. War Department, *Annual Report 1900, Vol. 1,* Pt. 7, p. 330.

Vigan. March replied that he was under Wheaton's orders and refused. Apparently, "a heated discussion followed, doubtless to the amusement of the soldiers."[80] It would not be the last time an officer of the Thirty-Third quarreled with another officer over chain of command.

March left San Fernando on 25 November 1899. He arrived at Namacpacan the following day and placed himself under Young's command. The general informed March that insurgents had entrenched themselves along the banks of a river near Tagudin. On the morning of 27 November, March's battalion hiked to Taguin and found it abandoned, the insurgents having fled during the morning under the cover of darkness. After a rest, March returned to Candon on 29 November. There, he received orders from Young's headquarters to rapidly advance into the mountains to block Aguinaldo's retreat through the mountainous trail in Illocos Sur Province. This expedition depended on speed and endurance: all men unable to make the trek were ordered to stay behind at Candon.[81]

In compliance with his orders, March moved to place his forces along the Tirad Pass, a natural bottleneck east of Candon. The trail was so narrow and steep that his men had to traverse the path single-file. There, they encountered Aguinaldo's rear guard. Opposing March's soldiers were sixty hand-picked men under the command of Brigadier General Gregorio del Pilar, a cunning and tenacious twenty-four-year-old officer who had served in the Philippine Army since 1896. Pilar and his men intended to buy time for Aguinaldo to escape in the mountain pass through a stand that would later become known as the "Philippine Thermopylae." Pilar's troops piled stones across the trail to provide cover and concealment, and the riflemen peppered March's troops with ill-aimed but harassing Mauser rifle fire for nearly one mile. To advance

[80] Linn, *The Philippine War*, 155.

[81] March to Adjutant General Eighth Army Corps, 8 December 1899, Lieutenant W. R. Smedberg to March, 30 November 1899, in U.S. War Department, *Annual Report 1900, Vol. 1*, Pt. 7, pp. 330-331.

against such a torrent of rifle fire would be tantamount to suicide, so the Americans took cover in the tall grass and behind the rocks. One sharpshooter fired at the Americans from a distance of twenty feet, but his round struck a rock and only sprayed one soldier with splintered particles of stone. Private Nixon was one of the Americans who sought cover where he could. "The gravel was cut from under my feet, the grass was cut as with a scythe, and men went down on both sides. How I ever got across I don't know."[82]

Several members of Company G suffered dreadful wounds from Pilar's tenacious rearguard. Corporal Harry B. Brown, a native of Bryan in Texas, suffered a rifle shot to his groin. Another Texan, eighteen-year-old Private Elmo Cranford from Whitney, Texas, took a Mauser shot to his face. The slug destroyed his left eye and painfully exited his right cheek in a cloud of bloody mist. Private William P. Bethea, a twenty-one-year-old from Arkansas, took an unlucky hit in his cartridge belt. The leather belt stopped the bullet from penetrating his flesh, but the round ignited the ammunition in his pouch and seriously burned his lower abdomen. In the end, the Filipino rearguard pinned down Company G on the rocky path for nearly two hours, Pilar directing the fire in person. March realized that the barricade could not be taken in a frontal attack and sent twenty-four-year-old Sergeant Major Edward McDougall with ten sharpshooters to a hill across the defile where they could fire down on Pilar's men behind the stone wall. March then directed Company H, under the command of Lieutenant Frank D. Tompkins, to climb a ridge leading about 150 feet from the mountain summit to flank Pilar's entrenched defenders.[83]

[82] Nixon, "Letters and Memories," 30, USAHEC.

[83] March to Adjutant General, Eighth Army Corps, 8 December 1899, in U.S. War Department, *Annual Report 1900, Vol. 1,* Pt. 7, p. 331.

Meanwhile, the remainder of March's command was still pinned down along the trail. The Americans used the tall grass for cover and concealment and drew fire by raising their service caps on sticks. Pilar's men jeered at the Americans below and interspaced rifle shots with heavy stones rolled down the slope. The waiting taxed American nerves and Nixon recalled: "every time you moved the grass or showed yourself you got a volley… I stuck my head up about three inches to get a shot and a bullet hit the rock as a dozen Filipinos fired, and I nearly dislocated my neck getting down." Two hours of this bloody stalemate passed until Company H reached their objective near the summit. This position allowed Tompkins' men to fire into the Filipinos in the trenches behind the stone wall. While they did so, March took advantage of the distraction and led the long-awaited assault on the barricade with a "volley of Krags and an American cheer."[84] This attack all but destroyed Pilar's rearguard. Only eight Filipinos fled into the mountains, leaving behind fifty-two dead comrades. Among the Filipino slain was Pilar, shot through the neck.[85]

American war correspondents sensationalized Pilar's death, and their accounts reached major newspapers in the United States, which circulated embellished and false versions of the battle.[86] March's battalion actually suffered nine wounded and two killed in action. The American slain included Private Henry Hill, a twenty-four-year-old watchmaker from Winchester, Tennessee, and Private John Joyner, a twenty-one-year-old teamster from Richmond, Virginia. Both men died in the frontal assault and were buried in a single grave near

[84] Nixon, "Letters and Memories," 31, USAHEC.

[85] Linn, *The Philippine War*, 156.

[86] See Linn, *The Philippine War*, 156, for a balanced treatment of the media's attention of the Battle of Tirad Pass.

where they had fallen, along with a record of their actions rolled into a bottle. Their resting place was marked with a headboard.[87] Private Nixon recalled:

> They will sleep there on that lonely mountain trail with no flag or monument to tell their story. Their only guardian the blazing sun by day, and the quiet stars and moon at night. Their only visitors, the naked savages of the mountains, and the scarcely more savage mountain lion. They were two of our best soldiers. It makes one feel queer to see one of your friends and comrades by your side go, and to think that the next bullet may be meant for you. There is no glory in war, it is just murder.[88]

The Americans camped on the summit that evening and ate captured Filipino food. Having turned their blankets over to the wounded, the men had naught but their ponchos to brace their bodies against the wind. The slick grass caused some soldiers to slide down the mountain as they tried to sleep and made for a nerve-racking and sleepless night in the mountains.[89]

During the next few days March's battalion occupied one village after another in pursuit of Aguinaldo. On 3 December 1899 they advanced to Angagui and captured it without resistance. March's men hastily scavenged some meat prepared by retreating insurgents. There March left the wounded from the Battle of Tirad Pass under the watch of Lieutenant Greenewalt with twenty-five soldiers. He ordered Greenewalt to remain with his patients for one day and then transport them on litters to the village of Cervantes. March detailed twenty-five additional men under Lieutenant William M. True to guard the village and watch the pass. Continuing their pursuit of Aguinaldo, March's battalion rapidly moved to Cervantes, where his men located stamps, stationary, documents, and weapons, and also liberated some Spanish prisoners. The locals and the freed Spaniards told March that Aguinaldo's entourage had passed through the village of Cayan on the same day that Pilar met his end at Tirad Pass. The road to Cayan was an

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[87] Lieutenant John C. Greenewalt to March, 10 December 1899, in U.S. War Department, *Annual Report 1900, Vol. 1,* Pt. 7, p. 334.

[88] Nixon, "Letters and Memories," 32, USAHEC.

[89] Nixon, "Letters and Memories," 32, USAHEC.

uphill slog with a change in elevation of about 9,000 feet. March's footsore men could go no further without rest, so they stayed in Cervantes for a day.[90]

On 5 December 1899, the Second Battalion resumed the chase for the elusive Aguinaldo and March selected ninety of his men in the best condition to take Cayan. Upon arriving at the ramshackle village, March met two Filipino officers who served under Aguinaldo's chief of staff, General Venancio Concepción. The two officers presented to March a letter from Concepción that proposed a suspension of hostilities and an interview with the general. After he read the missive, March told the Filipinos that he refused to halt his operations but instead offered General Concepción and his staff an opportunity to surrender. To sweeten the deal, March told the two emissaries that if Concepción agreed to his terms, he would guarantee them all good treatment and his consent for an interview. The two Filipinos were allowed to depart the camp and duly informed Concepción of March's terms. After brief consideration, the Filipino general agreed to March's terms and peacefully entered the American-held village later that afternoon. March honored his word and sent the new prisoners under guard to Cervantes and then to Manila. The story of Concepción's surrender to March and the Thirty-Third made American newspapers, as did Concepción's eventual interview with American authorities in Manila. According to the *Philadelphia Inquirer*, Concepción was cheerful in his captivity and boldly asserted that the war would continue until Aguinaldo fell into American hands and ordered Filipino troops to surrender.[91] Concepción himself accepted an offer of amnesty in 1900

[90] March to Adjutant General, Eighth Army Corps, 8 December 1899, in U.S. War Department, *Annual Report 1900, Vol. 1*, Pt. 7, p. 332.

[91] "Aguinaldo Is But Days Ahead" *Philadelphia Enquirer*, 17 December 1899.

and collaborated with the American colonial regime and became the first Filipino president of the Philippine National Bank in 1918.[92]

March's accomplishments gained more fame for the Thirty-Third Infantry. News of his pursuit of Aguinaldo through the jungles of Luzon attracted readers eager for news. There was even at least one Spanish-language journal in Las Cruces, New Mexico that provided translated articles of March's journey to its readers.[93] The rebel leader, however, remained elusive. March returned to Cervantes with his exhausted men. Aguinaldo was eventually captured in March 1901 by Macabebe Scouts under the command of Brigadier General Frederick Funston.[94]

Already by the end of November 1899 the Thirty-Third had gained a reputation in the Army for bravery, efficiency, and marksmanship. General Wheaton noted in his report to the War Department that the Thirty-Third was "one of the most formidable regiments in service."[95] Yet more was to come. On 25 November, Colonel Hare marched the Thirty-Third to Vigan (minus March's detachment) but left Major Marcus D. Cronin and Captain Charles Van Way's Company B at San Fabian to guard the wounded and sick men of the regiment. Van Way's troops later embarked on the gunboat USS *Callao*, a *Samar*-class Spanish gunboat that the Americans had captured at the Battle of Manila Bay on 12 May 1898. The vessel was large enough to serve as a makeshift transport, and so it carried Company B, with Captain Van Way

[92] Even after he surrendered in 1899, Concepción never ceased to place his needs above those of any cause with which he was associated. According to historian H. W. Brands, he was more interested in enriching himself, his family and friends in his position as head of the Philippine Bank than attending to the finances and planning that make banks function well. After a short career of an assortment of shady loans to questionable clients, Concepción stepped down from his bank presidency in 1920. H. W. Brands, *Bound to Empire: The United States and the Philippines* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1992), 112.

[93] "Liberaon a la Hija del Presidente," *Labrador* (Las Cruces, New Mexico), 9 June 1900.

[94] Linn, *The Philippine War*, 275.

[95] Wheaton to Adjutant General [Corbin], 30 November 1899, in U.S. War Department, *Annual Report 1900, Vol. 1*, Pt. 7, p. 532.

and Lieutenants John Lipop and Arthur M. Pickel, to Vigan.[96] The next day, the *Castellano* transported Major Cronin and 114 sick and wounded members of the Thirty-Third to Vigan.[97]

The enlisted men on the two makeshift transports did not know their ultimate destination, nor did many seem to mind not knowing where they were bound, "as long as we beat that hotfooting it." They did mind the terrible accommodations, as the ships had no comfortable sleeping berths. The furnace-like heat of the *Callao's* stifling interior and the seasickness of many soldiers made for a hellish voyage, perhaps reminiscent of the trip across the Pacific. When the men debarked from the *Callao* near a sandbar about half a mile long, they were glad to be off of the gunboat. Many of them stretched out on the soft and inviting white sand for some much-needed sleep. Their torments from the journey returned in the form of pinches from tiny sand crabs that emerged from burrows in search of food. After a sleepless night, the troops were in an understandably foul temperament until Company B's officers shared their cans of fish and lobsters with them.[98]

After his arrival, Major Cronin marched the men and officers of Company B and their charges about six miles to Vigan. The sight of the town over the horizon came as a welcome relief for the bedraggled and footsore troops. Founded in 1572 by Spanish explorers as a colonial trading outpost, Vigan in 1899 was a quiet town of 40,000 citizens and a headquarters for the Catholic Church in Illocos Sur. The community's architects and engineers had constructed its buildings of local stone, and planners divided it into quarters. The Americans garrisoning the town found billets in the municipal building south of the central plaza. On the north side of

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[96] Wheaton to Adjutant General [Corbin], 30 November 1899, in U.S. War Department, *Annual Report 1900, Vol. 1,* Pt. 7, p. 531.

[97] James Parker, *The Old Army: Memories, 1872-1918* (Philadelphia: Dorrance & Co., 1929), 281.

[98] Trafton, *We Thought We Could Whip them in Two Weeks*, 31-33.

Vigan, the visitors discovered a convent and the bishop's residence. To the east of the central plaza were the magnificent baroque cathedral and bell tower. The west side had the city hospital. Five army outposts outside of the town, augmented by foot patrols, defended the town. Colonel James Parker, an observant and blunt veteran cavalryman from New York who had won distinction during the Indian Wars, was the commanding officer of the American garrison at Vigan and wrote that the community was "one of the handsomest towns in the Philippines."[99]

Almost immediately, Vigan's inhabitants nearly saw a confrontation between the two senior American officers in the town. While Colonel Parker had assumed command at Vigan two days before Major Cronin's arrival, Parker was a subordinate of General Young. The Thirty-Third Infantry was ultimately under General Wheaton's command. Cronin pointed this distinction out to Colonel Parker with the implication that Cronin's men would not obey Parker's orders while in Vigan. Parker was not amused. The blunt New Yorker immediately produced a pocketwatch and hotly replied that Cronin had just five minutes to reconsider his position, "else either you or I will have to go into irons!" Parker's resolve apparently made an impression on Cronin, and he acquiesced to Parker's authority in Vigan.[100]

To the Americans, Vigan was comfortable and the locals were friendly. Governor Acosta and Vigan's municipal officials were welcoming and affable, and the Americans for their part seemed to enjoy their stay.[101] The soldiers enjoyed mingling with the locals, eating fresh food, and exploring the charming town. Occasionally they found distractions with high-stakes dice

[99] Parker, *The Old Army*, 280.

[100] This was not the first meeting between the two men. In August 1899, Major General Samuel B. M. Young had ordered Cronin and Parker to advance on San Mateo. Much to Parker's disgust, Major General Otis subsequently ordered him to evacuate the town. Parker, *The Old Army*, 226-233, 281.

[101] Parker, *The Old Army*, 281.

games.[102] Private Trafton recalled that many locals wished to practice their English, and so some unscrupulous pranksters among the regiment would "teach" them incorrect words. Despite Colonel Parker's remark that the locals wanted to learn "American" rather than "English," eventually English-language primers became available to the locals and they rapidly learned the correct language of their occupiers.[103]

The atmosphere in Vigan was one of relaxed routine as the Americans attempted to revive the town's usual mercantile activities under the new colonial administration. To counter propaganda from General Manuel Tinio's defiant proclamations and threats, the American-run printing press in Vigan tried to reassure Vigan's civilian population with announcements that the war was over, that Aguinaldo was a fugitive, and that the United States had brought peace and order to the people of the area. Lieutenant Pickel served as the acting commissary officer and had the Thirty-Third's men who were well enough to walk supervise the transfer of ammunition, rations, and stockpiles of other supplies from the transports to the growing supply depot in the town.[104] The soldiers themselves did not physically carry the crates. They allocated that task to locals, who used wooden oxcarts to haul the supplies. "Who would think of danger when

[102] Parker remarked that craps was a preferred game of the Thirty-Third's men in Vigan, who often played near his office for the shocking amount of seventy-five pesos a roll. That amount of money was more than three times the monthly salary of Vigan's police chief. Parker, *The Old Army*, 282.

[103] Trafton admitted that one day he purchased fresh bananas from a market girl and informed the inquisitive Viganista that the English word for the fruit was "kiss me." Trafton's amusement continued later when he saw the girl offer another clutch of bananas to two American officers. The woman's sales pitch for the bananas included the definition that Trafton provided to her, and the Americans, perhaps thinking the woman was offering a service aside from selling bananas, turned away in embarrassment. Trafton, W*e Thought We Could Whip Them in Two Weeks*, 34; Parker, *The Old Army*, 282.

[104] Captain Charles Van Way's report of 16 January 1899 states that the depot at Vigan stored over 40,000 rations and 50,000 rounds of ammunition on the morning of 4 December 1899. Van Way to Lieutenant Colonel James Parker, 16 January 1899, RG 94/117, Regimental Letters Received, Thirty-Third Infantry, Box 22, File 192, NA.

everyone was *amigo*?" Trafton later wrote. With the easy duties and pleasant distractions in Vigan, he may well have spoken for most of his comrades.[105]

Of course, as veterans of insurgencies may tell anyone who would care to listen, one must not forget caution and allow themselves to be lulled into complacency. On Sunday 3 December 1899, the same day that March's men fought and won the desperate battle of Tirad Pass nearly sixty miles to the south of Vigan, the Thirty-Third's old nemesis, General Tinio, initiated a scheme to capture or destroy the American supply depot at Vigan.[106] The wily insurgent commander accompanied his men into the town to gather intelligence on the unsuspecting American dispositions in the city. Disguised as friendly planters, businessmen, and the like, Tinio and his men ingratiated themselves with false smiles and honeyed words among Vigan's populace and gathered from the unsuspecting and talkative American soldiers all that Tinio wished to learn about the garrison's strength. Their clandestine mission a success, Tinio's charming spies wished the unsuspecting Americans a "gracious *adios* and the best of luck," adding that they "would be seeing us again." Many complacent members of the garrison settled in their bunks in the municipal building, perhaps thinking what fine fellows they had just met.[107]

Some Americans were more perceptive than their comrades and suspected that something was afoot. Lieutenant Pickel, who was by at least one account a charming Tennessean ladies' man before he joined the Army, used his Southern charm on a pretty daughter of a Spanish sergeant and learned from her that General Tinio was going to attack Vigan in the evening. Two

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[105] Trafton, W*e Thought We Could Whip Them in Two Weeks*, 35.

[106] Brigadier General Young's communications to major generals Theodore Schwan and Henry W. Lawton suggest that Manuel Tinio's purpose was to capture the supply depot. It is logical to extrapolate that if that capture failed, destroying the supplies would be preferable to permitting the Americans to retain them from the insurgents' perspective. See Brigadier General Samuel B. M. Young to Major General Theodore Schwan and Major General Henry W. Lawton, n.d., in U.S. War Department, *Annual Report 1900, Vol. 1*, Pt. 7, p. 229.

[107] Trafton, W*e Thought We Could Whip Them in Two Weeks*, 38.

other locals made similar statements in confidence to Colonel Parker. However, as with the old fable of "the boy who cried wolf," Parker by his own admission paid no "undue importance" to such warnings aside from increasing the usual patrols in the town.[108] Shortly before 4 in the morning on 4 December, all hell broke loose in Vigan. Approximately 400 of Tinio's insurgents, invisible in the moonless darkness and armed with bolos and rifles, infiltrated the village via rafts along the Abra River.[109] Another group of bolomen had concealed themselves behind the organ in the city's cathedral. An American patrol saw one group of Tinio's infiltrators and challenged them. Their reply was a volley of rifle fire. The men of Company B woke to the sounds of these gunshots and the yelling of their alarmed sergeants. With no light to guide them, the groggy soldiers swiftly donned whatever clothing was near them, regardless of the garments' actual size. Other soldiers had no time for a proper fitting and simply strapped on their ammunition belts above their underwear. The situation at the onset of the battle to at least one soldier looked bleak. Private Trafton believed that the night engagement would be his final stand. The Texan cowboy who became a volunteer soldier wrote that "it looked like we would all be heroes like General Custer and the men at the Alamo."[110]

The chaotic fighting in the city was a terrible experience for many Americans. Their training did not include night fighting. Some of them, concealed behind whatever cover that was available, could hear Tinio's officers muttering orders to their men. Those men in the billets who were too sick with dysentery or crippled from wounds fired from their beds, "exhausted but satisfied." Even the Spanish prisoners, having real cause to dread the prospect of falling into the

[108] Parker, *The Old Army*, 283.

[109] Young to Adjutant General, Department of the Pacific, Eighth Army Corps, 6 January 1900, in U.S. War Department, *Annual Report 1900, Vol. 1*, Pt. 7, p. 283.

[110] Trafton, *We Thought We Could Whip Them in Two Weeks*, 43.

hands of the *insurrectos*, assisted the Americans by carrying ammunition and water. In at least one case, a Spanish soldier got his hands on a rifle and slew one of Tinio's men.[111]

Captain Van Way led men to the city's east side, but finding no resistance there, detailed a patrol of twelve men led by Lieutenant Pickel to relieve the outposts near the town. Pickel's patrol was under continuous fire but relieved the outpost defenders, who rushed to the more defensible positions that the Americans held at the plaza. At one point in the fighting, Captain Van Way, and two Texan enlisted men of Company B, Musician James Montgomery and Private Hamp Buchanan, heard a distressed cry of "amigo, amigo." Believing the call came from a non-combatant, the three Americans approached to render aid and found a Filipino lying on the street. But this was no helpless civilian who happened to be caught in the crossfire. In what Van Way reported as a "cowardly example of Filipino treachery," the man shot Montgomery in the belly. Private Buchanan retaliated for the treachery and killed the insurgent with a single Krag shot. Van Way turned to Montgomery, believing the musician's wound was fatal. Fortunately for him, the cartridge that the Filipino insurgent fired was defective and left nothing more severe than a bruise on Montgomery's belly. Nonetheless, the treachery was noted. As Van Way reported, "no more prisoners were taken on that post that morning."[112]

The plaza became the site of the fiercest fighting. Major Cronin exposed himself to enemy fire while he directed his men's shots at the Filipino muzzle flashes from the hospital and arranged for regular ammunition runs to and from the depot. One runner, Sergeant Norman M. Fry of Company L, fell to a Filipino bullet and died at Cronin's feet while finishing one such trip for his colleagues. Cronin picked up Fry's Krag rifle and returned fire with what Captain Van

[111] Parker, *The Old Army*, 289, 293.

[112] Van Way to Parker, 16 January 1900, RG 94/117, Regimental Letters Received, Thirty-Third Infantry, Box 22, File 192, NA.

Way reported as "coolness and determination." Company B's commander believed that Cronin's "reckless" but personal example inspired his men, one of whom muttered, "I guess they won't hit me."[113] During the battle, Americans searched houses they suspected of concealing *insurrectos.* At one such house, Privates Joseph L. Epps and Trafton, both cowboys in Company B, located seventeen of Tinio's insurgents who were concealed behind a bamboo garden wall. Epps immediately mounted the wall and aimed his Krag at them and yelled at Trafton to break down the bamboo wall. This display of force terrified the insurgents and they shook as they stacked their arms in a pile and surrendered. Captain Van Way's report emphasized that Private Epps was a Texan and "had the drop on them."[114]

Captain Van Way also reported that the post commander, Colonel Parker, was "one place then another, ever exerting every energy toward increasing our fire, and apparently unmindful of his own danger."[115] At the hospital just before daybreak, Parker detailed ten men to flush out the entrenched insurgents. During the ensuing American charge, volleys of insurgent fire wounded one man and mortally wounded Sergeant John Spencer and Corporal Alfred Wachs of Company B as well as Private Dale Puckett of Company D. As Spencer lay dying, he turned towards the enemy and fired at them from a range of thirty feet until his wounds overcame him. The surviving American infantrymen retreated twenty yards back towards the plaza and found cover behind whatever broken masonry and walls were available to them. Still the insurgents rained bullets on them and killed another four men and wounded an additional three. Private James

[113] Van Way to Adjutant General [Corbin], 18 January 1900, RG 94/117, Regimental Letters Sent, Thirty-Third Infantry, Box 14, File 669, NA.

[114] Van Way to Parker, 16 January 1900, RH 94/117, Regimental Letters Received, Thirty-Third Infantry, Box 22, File 192, NA.

[115] Van Way to Adjutant General [Corbin], 18 January 1900, RG 94/117, Regimental Letters Sent, Thirty-Third Infantry, Box 28, Company B, File 105, NA.

McConnell of Company B, lying prone on the ground with shards of gravel flying all around him and with slain comrades on each side, defiantly answered the call to retreat with "Never will we retreat! We'll die! We are Americans!" McConnell took a dead comrade's rifle and continued firing.[116] Sergeant Frederick J. Bell declared "We will die or win right here!" A bullet fatally struck him moments later. Private Bourland Winford of Company E shouted encouragement in his backwoods Arkansas drawl to his fellows and called out his good luck when he managed to shoot an insurgent.[117]

The Thirty-Third's riflemen demonstrated excellent marksmanship in other parts of the town as well. For more than three hours, Private John A. Weimer of Company B fired at the insurgents as he lay prone behind a tree.[118] Perched in the upper floors of the commissary, three Southerners, Sergeant L. Humphrey of Company B, Sergeant George H. Seaver of Company G, and Private Thomas Adams of Company C did deadly work as sharpshooters. To the south of the plaza, Lieutenant Lipop and eighteen men under his command drove out Tinio's men from their positions with lethal marksmanship. The Virginian lieutenant personally killed three retreating insurgents and their captain at a hundred yards "as fast as he could use his rifle."[119]

As dawn rose over Vigan, a column of men approached the city from the south to relieve the exhausted defenders. General Tinio's forces quickly vanished into the jungles, their commander's nose bloodied by the tenacious soldiers of the Thirty-Third once again. The

[116] Van Way to Adjutant General [Corbin], 18 January 1900, RG 94/117, Regimental Letters Sent, Thirty-Third Infantry, Box 14, File 686, NA.

[117] Cronin to Adjutant General [Corbin] [no day] July 1900, RG 94/117 Regimental Letters Sent, Thirty-Third Infantry, Box 14, File 658, NA.

[118] Van Way to Adjutant General [Corbin], 18 January 1900, RG 94/117, Regimental Letters Sent, Thirty-Third Infantry, Box 28, Company B, File 102, NA.

[119] Van Way to Parker, 16 January 1900, RG 94/117, Regimental Letters Received, Thirty-Third Infantry, Box 22, File 192, NA.

garrison of Vigan had repelled the insurgents, but the night fighting left visible scars in the city. Filipino and American blood stained the walls and streets red. Rifle and pistol shots pockmarked Vigan and its iconic central plaza and cathedral. The decorative masonry had been used as cover for desperate soldiers and insurgents alike and now lay in shattered heaps of rubble amidst spent cartridge casings. For all of his subterfuge, Tinio had failed once again. The American supply depot was safe and its defenders could rest well knowing they had achieved a remarkable victory against an enemy who had overwhelming numbers and the great advantage of surprise. Colonel Parker estimated Tinio's forces to be around 800, but because of the chaotic fighting in total darkness it is impossible to ascertain an exact number.[120] Tinio's losses were 40 dead and 32 captured. American losses were 8 dead and four wounded.[121]

As at the earlier Battle of San Jacinto, the excellent training and discipline drilled into the men on the sun-seared plains of south Texas paid off. The leadership of Colonel Parker, Major Cronin and all of Company B's officers during the battle, as well as the individual initiative and bravery of men like privates Epps and McConnell, certainly contributed to the remarkable victory. Also like at San Jacinto, the American officers at Vigan, from Parker on down, exposed themselves to the same dangers as the men, which did sustain morale in a confusing and often terrifying night fight. There is no evidence that any of the Thirty-Third's men broke and ran in panicked terror at any point during the fighting at Vigan. While Captain Van Way's report that "it was each man's fight and they fought it" suggests individuals having at each other in the pitch darkness, it is clear that the men of the Thirty-Third followed orders from their officers and even

[120] Young estimated the number led by Tinio to be closer to 400. Parker to Lawton, n.d., in U.S. War Department, *Annual Report 1900, Vol. 1*, Pt. 7, p. 239; Young to Adjutant General, Department of the Pacific, Eighth Army Corps, 6 January 1900, in U.S. War Department, *Annual Report 1900, Vol. 1*, Pt.7, p. 283.

[121] Otis to Adjutant General [Corbin], 23 January 1900, *CWS* 2:1137.

from Colonel Parker, who was not even an officer in their regiment.[122] Even in such chaotic conditions, the Thirty-Third fought with discipline and skill, and it benefited from brave leadership. At the same time, as Van Way generously remarked in his official report, "on the narrow streets, on the outposts, in many dismal buildings on the Plaza and about the granaries, all covered by the darkest night, there occurred no doubt many acts of individual courage that are well worth a place in history, that owing to modesty will never be recorded."[123]

Parker also noted with gratitude the combat effectiveness of the soldiers of the Thirty-Third Infantry who defended Vigan. His official report to Major General Henry W. Lawton remarked that the battle reflected the "magnificent fighting of [the] Texans, sick and well, almost hand to hand."[124] Indeed, Parker had reason to be grateful to the men whom he briefly commanded. Vigan's depot held more than 50,000 rounds of ammunition and nearly as many rations before the fighting began. Its loss would have granted Aguinaldo's forces a rare propaganda and tactical victory against the United States and could have crippled the American columns operating out of Vigan until replacement supplies arrived.[125] Other Army officers in the Philippines soon noted the accomplishment of the Thirty-Third at Vigan. Congratulations poured in later that week from Major General Lawton, who declared "that every participant… is entitled to a medal of honor."[126] Brigadier General Young called the engagement a "glorious affair."[127]

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[122] Van Way to Parker, 16 January 1900, RH 94/117, Regimental Letters Received, Thirty-Third Infantry, Box 22, File 192, NA.

[123] Van Way to Parker, 16 January 1899, RH 94/117, Regimental Letters Received, Thirty-Third Infantry, Box 22, File 192, NA.

[124] Parker to Lawton, n.d., in U.S. War Department, *Annual Report 1900, Vol. 1,* Pt. 7, p. 239.

[125] Parker, *The Old Army*, 281.

[126] Edwards to Parker, 8 December 1899, in U.S. War Department, *Annual Report 1900, Vol. 1,* Pt. 7, p. 240.

[127] Young to Adjutant General, Department of the Pacific, Eighth Army Corps, 6 January 1900, in U.S. War Department, *Annual Report 1900, Vol. 1,* Pt. 7, p. 283.

Privates Epps and McConnell, both from Company B, later received Medals of Honor for their actions at the Battle of Vigan, as did the garrison commander, Parker.[128]

While elements of the Thirty-Third won fame at Tirad Pass and Vigan, Hare marched the rest of his regiment to Narvacan to rendezvous with Young, who desperately needed the assistance. His three understrength companies of the Thirty-Fourth Infantry and three troops of the Third Cavalry had been living off of the countryside since 7 November 1899. Even with his units depleted, Young attacked about 700 Filipino soldiers under the formidable leadership of two cousins, Juan and Blas Villamor. The Thirty-Third's main force was just in time to save Young from a likely thrashing. Hare's leading column arrived around 4:00 in the afternoon and the colonel decided that the enemy entrenchments could be taken by storm. The assault included two companies of the Thirty-Third, D and C, both under Captain Edmund G. Shields. Lieutenant Colonel Robert L. Howze led a secondary attack just at dark. The advance in the twilight carried with it the element of surprise, and the Villamors apparently did not realize their peril until the Americans were right under their works. Lieutenant Etienne de P. Bujac was the first over the parapets, earning him Hare's recommendation for the Medal of Honor. The Villamors withdrew that evening to be a thorn in the side of the United States Army in northern Luzon for months to come.[129] It was a small victory, but one that correspondents noted. The *San Antonio Express* declared the "Battalion under Col. Luther R. Hare undoubtedly saved the day for Gen. Young."[130] Young's troops marched to Vigan after he ordered Hare and Howze to pursue the

[128] "Medal of Honor Recipients: Philippine Insurrection," *United States Army Center of Military History*, http://www.history.army.mil/moh/philippine.html (accessed 24 September 2017).

[129] Hare to Adjutant General. Military District of Northwestern Luzon, 6 January 1900, in U.S. War Department, *Annual Report 1900, Vol. 1*, Pt. 4, p. 322.

[130] "Thirty-third's Boys There," *San Antonio Express*, 9 December 1899.

retreating Filipinos in what became one of the most celebrated expeditions of the Philippine War: the Gillmore Expedition.

CHAPTER 5

THE GILLMORE EXPEDITION

One of the most famous episodes in the history of the Thirty-Third Infantry involved a grueling cross-country expedition with the Thirty-Fourth Infantry to liberate a group of American prisoners held by the regiment's old adversary, General Manuel Tinio. While the Filipino insurgents had taken American prisoners before and during the war, it was the captivity of one of these hostages early in the fighting that captured the attention of American military officials in the Philippines and citizens back home. This man was James C. Gillmore, Jr. His rescue would make heroes of many members of the Thirty-Third, but it would also lead to scandalous arguments over promotions that were eagerly publicized by American newspapers in the heyday of so-called "yellow journalism."

Born in Philadelphia in 1854, Gillmore was not an especially sympathetic figure. His performance as a cadet at the United States Naval Academy at Annapolis, Maryland was mediocre and marked by repeated disciplinary citations. His record was, in the words of historian Mathew Westfall, a "record of disinterest, defiance, and sloth," and his permanent expulsion from the Naval Academy was averted only by the influence of influential benefactors and the mysterious physical alteration of his demerits record. During the twenty-two years after his graduation in 1876, Gillmore had served as an unremarkable lieutenant on thirteen different small vessels, mostly sloops and gunboats. The only times that he appeared to have distinguished himself was when he was unable to suppress his personal vices in public. He languished as a lieutenant in part due to his inability to govern his tongue and moderate his drinking habits while he was on leave. One such episode took place in October 1895 at the exclusive Shanghai Club in Shanghai, China. During a social event that the club hosted, an

inebriated Gillmore argued with and then slapped a British captain. The transgression earned Gillmore a permanent ban from the club and a suspension of duty from his commanding officer. Another case that landed Gillmore in trouble and a second suspension of duty was at the Grand Hotel in Yokohama, Japan, where his drunken behavior created a disgraceful scene that embarrassed the high society ladies and other officers present.[1]

After these two shameful episodes, Gillmore seemed doomed to a quiet and later justifiably forgotten career. Not even the Spanish-American War brought him significant opportunities to redeem himself as an officer and a gentleman beyond minor action in the waters of Puerto Rico aboard the USS *Saint Paul*, a former passenger liner that the Navy converted into an auxiliary cruiser. Westfall described Gillmore's postwar military career as little more than acting as a "a ship jockey, running vessels to and from ports for either maintenance or salvage."[2] And yet sometimes it is the smallest men who cast the largest shadows. During the Philippine War, Gillmore received an assignment to the gunboat USS *Yorktown* and found himself in the limelight of the war for much of 1899.

When Gillmore was assigned to the *Yorktown* after his arrival in Manila, he took a detachment of fourteen sailors on a cutter to reconnoiter the Baler River as part of a rescue operation for Spanish soldiers besieged by insurgents under General Tinio at the isolated coastal village of Baler. The small Spanish garrison there was commanded by a young second lieutenant, Don Saturnio Martin Cerezo. When insurgents besieging the church shot the Spanish flag to pieces, Cerezo ordered a new banner fashioned from scraps of spare cloth cut from clerical vestments and relic wrappings. Disbelieving reports from newspapers that the war between Spain

[1] Westfall, *Devil's Causeway*, 97-101.

[2] Westfall, *Devil's Causeway*, 123-125.

and the United States had ended, Cerezo's handful of hungry soldiers tenaciously defended the town's church for over a month. The heroic Spaniards became famous throughout the islands, and in April 1899 the *Yorktown* hosted a rescue operation.[3]

According to one historian of the expedition, Gillmore violated his orders and ordered his cutter to ascend the Baler River. As the boat meandered upriver, Gillmore and his crew stumbled upon a band of insurgents who were concealed in the trees beyond the riverbanks. Before Gillmore could appreciate the peril of his situation, the Filipinos raked his cutter with multiple volleys of rifle fire and forced the seven survivors to surrender. The *Yorktown* was too far away to assist, and Gillmore was taken into captivity. He was the first American officer to bear that indignity during the Philippine War.[4]

Gillmore and his fellow Americans were taken from camp to camp under the custody of General Tinio. The sailors typically shared their cell with other civilian and Spanish prisoners, but Gillmore's status as an officer entitled him to better quarters, food, and courtesy than his comrades. Albert Sonnichsen, one of Gillmore's fellow prisoners, remarked that the lieutenant regularly insisted on this treatment.[5]

Regardless of their rank, the *insurrectos* sought to use the prisoners as political pawns and claimed that they were all treated very well. Sonnichsen's translation of a 21 September 1899 article from Aguinaldo's organ, *La Independencia*, contained a highly embellished account of the prisoner's confinement, boasting that the American prisoners (who, according to the article, sincerely regretted their "inhumane and unjust" cause against the Filipinos), received

[3] Sexton, *Soldiers in the Sun*, 137-139.

[4] Westfall admits that in the absence of evidence, there is no way of knowing why Gillmore rationalized his choice. Westfall postulated the reason was a combination of Gillmore's stupidity, hubris, and ambition. See Westfall, *Devil's Causeway*, 58-59.

[5] Sonnichsen, *Ten Months a Captive*, 213, 217.

generous helpings of nutritious meals, endless bottles of wine, fine tobacco, and even a barber, all brought to them by servants who were "constantly in attendance."[6]

In spite of Gillmore's debatable personal qualities, he still remained an officer of the United States Navy, and his captivity was a symbol that Aguinaldo's insurgency was a force to be reckoned with. As long as the United States appeared powerless to release Gillmore, Aguinaldo's cause could command strength in the eyes of Filipino civilians. Naturally the Army would have to rescue Gillmore and the other prisoners. The Gillmore Expedition included elements of both the Thirty-Third Infantry under Colonel Luther R. Hare and the Thirty-Fourth Infantry under Lieutenant Colonel Robert L. Howze. As senior officer of the operation, Hare was in overall command. After the Battle of Tangadan Pass on 4 December 1899, he began his pursuit of the prisoners. As his men marched along the road to San Quintin, they found an abandoned insurgent camp and a supply depot with more than 40,000 pounds of rice and other items, including 200 uniforms, 200 pounds of gunpowder, and 1000 rounds of Remington cartridges. Not wishing to delay the march any more than necessary, Hare ordered the entire depot and its contents destroyed.[7]

Hare arrived at San Quintin where, while he rested his men, he received intelligence from some escaped Spanish prisoners that the Americans were no longer at Bangued. Hare detached Howze's entire force to Bangued to confirm this rumor while the men of the Thirty-Third took the more difficult mountain trail to Pilar. After a two-day march of more than thirty-six miles, Hare's column crossed the Abra River and stumbled on a band of insurgents at the barrio of San Jose. After a brief firefight between Hare's point men and the insurgents, the Filipinos escaped

[6] Sonnichsen, *Ten Months a Captive*, 274-275.

[7] Captain Edmund Shields to Hare, 4 January 1900, in U.S. War Department, *Annual Report 1900, Vol. 1*, Pt. 7, pp. 325-326.

and left San Jose in the hands of the Thirty-Third. Hare was unhappy with the performance. His annoyance can be gleaned from his report: "It is the first and, as I may add, the last instance that I know of *insurrectos* escaping my regiment through faulty marksmanship."[8]

The locals at San Jose were in Hare's view "decidedly insurrectionary." After a quick search of the buildings, his men found proof of their commander's suspicions and destroyed a cache of Remington rifles and other munitions. Hare sent Lieutenant William L. Lowe and Private Charles W. Wilson to the nearby river, where they captured two of Aguinaldo's messengers. These Filipino couriers had $300 on their persons as well as information about the whereabouts of Gillmore and the other prisoners. Hare used their money to pay native guides for his expedition as his column turned north. The next morning, Hare's men proceeded seven miles to Bacay and there rested and took account of his command. The situation was not good. By this point several of his soldiers were becoming footsore and violently sick from exposure. One man was too sick to continue, so Hare sent him back to Bangued with two other soldiers as escorts. Having no other option, Hare commandeered ponies from the inhabitants of Bacay and then marched along the river through the night to the village of Dolores.[9]

Hare received a message the following morning at Dolores from Lieutenant Colonel Howze that confirmed that Gillmore and the other prisoners were in Tinio's custody and that the Thirty-Fourth was following the Filipino general's trail. Again, Hare took stock of his men. Not everyone was fit to continue, but all of them volunteered to press on.[10] Hare selected one hundred soldiers – evenly divided between companies A, B, C, D, and L of his regiment – to

[8] Hare to Adjutant General, Military District of Northwestern Luzon, 6 January 1900, in U.S. War Department, *Annual Report 1900, Vol. 1,* Pt. 6, p. 323.

[9] Hare to Adjutant General, Military District of Northwestern Luzon, 6 January 1900, in U.S. War Department, *Annual Report 1900, Vol. 1,* Pt. 6, p. 323.

[10] Williams to Martin, 11 April 1900, Family Correspondence, Hare Papers, USAHEC.

follow him and join Howze. He left Dolores at 11 in the morning and force-marched his chosen detachment twelve hours to Bandi. Along the way, the expedition encountered several parties of Filipino civilians. Hare disarmed them and destroyed another *insurrecto* arsenal.[11] At the village of Bandi, one of Hare's lieutenants, Hugh Williams, believed that the expedition had found a Christian village. He wrote of his amazement: "the people wore a little or no clothes, but they all came up and kissed our hands and at the same times said something that sounded like 'Hello Hobo.'" Soon a woman whom Williams believed to be the leader appeared, and he won her affection with the gift of a safety pin, an offering that she evidently appreciated as much as "a diamond pin presented to a New York belle." The column traded brass buttons, a pencil, and an empty cartridge shell for some chickens, and then pressed on.[12]

On 10 December 1899, Hare's exhausted column camped in the mountains. There he received another message from Howze stating that the Thirty-Fourth's column was in close pursuit of Tinio and the prisoners. Emboldened, Hare's little band pressed forth for twenty-six more miles. More of his men were fatigued and Hare again demanded horses from the locals for transportation. Two of his officers, Captain John A. Hulen and Lieutenant Thomas Sherburne, volunteered to relay Hare's position and condition to Howze, who replied back with his location at a canyon near the barrio of Maniting. On 13 December, the two columns converged at Howze's position. After the usual exchanges, Howze told Hare that their quarry was in the nearby mountains. Hare took stock of the combined force and found the Thirty-Fourth's men "practically without shoes, and, if anything, more exhausted than mine."[13] Again he culled his

[11] Hare to Adjutant General, Military District of Northwestern Luzon, 6 January 1900, in U.S. War Department, *Annual Report 1900, Vol. 1*, Pt. 6, p. 323.

[12] Williams to Martin, 11 April 1900, Family Correspondence, Hare Papers, USAHEC.

[13] Hare to Adjutant General, Military District of Northwestern Luzon, 6 January 1900, in U.S. War Department, *Annual Report 1900, Vol. 1*, Pt. 7, p. 323.

men into a small command of thirteen officers and seventy of the most fit men and continued through the canyon. Howze reduced his detachment to six officers and sixty-six enlisted men.[14]

The reduced but now combined expedition was greatly encouraged by signs from the prisoners themselves. The captives aided their rescuers in various creative ways. Sometimes they left a loose article of clothing along the trail as a sign that they had passed that way. Other times, Hare and Howze's men found American phrases scratched on rocks with chalk. This last clue was the work of George W. Langford, an American resident of the Philippines, an employee of the Pabst Brewing Company, and a prisoner of Tinio. A *Dallas Morning News* correspondent later reported that Langford "brought his Yankee wit" to conceive a plan to leave a trail of proverbial breadcrumbs to guide the American rescuers through the mountains. When Tinio's guards questioned Langford about the writing, the beer merchant smoothly charmed the insurgents into believing that he merely wished to advertise for his company. Thus when the column of prisoners paused near cliffsides and rocks, Langford wrote a series of advertising slogans such as "Drink Pabst beer, on the road to Hell" with some chalk that he had pocketed from a schoolhouse one night.[15]

This aid from Langford and the other prisoners suddenly ended on 16 December 1899, much to Hare's extreme disappointment. But he also had causes for optimism. While many of his men were sick, none of them had yet perished during their grueling march. Hare also found that Howze and his troops were "a great support in this trip." Obviously Hare was anticipating the end of the campaign when he notified Young on 16 December to send fresh clothing and meals

[14] Lieutenant Colonel Robert L. Howze, enclosure to Appendix 30, 5 January 1900, in U.S. War Department, *Annual Report 1900, Vol. 1,* Pt. 7, p. 328.

[15] "With Gilmore [sic] Party," *Dallas Morning News,* 5 December 1902; Williams to Martin, 11 April 1900, Family Correspondence, Hare Papers, USAHEC.

for the Americans to the coastal town of Aparri.[16] By 17 December, Hare wrote that he was but a day behind Gillmore. His men had even liberated three American prisoners at a mountain *ranchería* near Danlavo. These men told Hare that Gillmore had been there that morning. Resolved, Hare pushed onward until night and natural dangers made continued pursuit impossible. The major delay was a lack of knowledge of the countryside and the terrain itself. A steep cliff made the trail perilous. A fall would mean certain death for a man because there were rapids a thousand feet below. Hare remained optimistic, though: "if our people have gone over it we will try it too." This encouragement was not limited to Hare. The Thirty-Third's commanding officer later remarked of the "magnificent courage, endurance, and spirit" of his men, and he warmly praised Howze's example in "this, the hardest piece of work of my life."[17]

Around eight in the morning on 18 December 1899, the combined expedition at last found Gillmore and the other prisoners in a destitute condition. Tinio had abandoned the naval officer and his hungry colleagues without any food or weapons to the tender mercies of the wilderness and the headhunting tribes lurking in the chaparral. According to Lieutenant Colonel Howze's report, Gillmore and party were "sick, discouraged, and death in many ways stared them in the face."[18] For his part, Gillmore later said that he had ordered his fellows to build rafts in order to float down the river to the coast when Hare and Howze's force came upon them, with Hare yelling at the prisoners to lie down in the ground so that any guards would be the only targets. "I knew it was not the yell of savages," Gillmore said, "but the yell of Americans… that

[16] Hare to Young, 16 December 1899, in U.S. War Department, *Annual Report 1900, Vol. 1,* Pt. 7, p. 341.

[17] Hare to "My Dear General" [probably Young], 17 December 1899, in U.S. War Department, *Annual Report 1900, Vol. 1,* Pt. 7, p. 341.

[18] Howze to Adjutant General, Cavalry Brigade, First Division, Eighth Army Corps, 5 January 1900, in U.S. War Department, *Annual Report 1900, Vol. 1,* Pt. 7, p. 327.

was the finest body of officers and men I ever saw."[19] With a "cheer that shook the mountain," the American expedition mingled with the prisoners, who rushed into their rescuers' arms. Even though they were exhausted, Hare and Howze's men shared what food and clothing they had with the prisoners. In celebration, a photograph was taken with the former prisoners posing on a rock for the camera.[20]

The next problem was extraction. Hunger became the principal enemy. In desperation, Hare permitted his men to purchase food from local tribes. If the natives would not sell to the starving men, then as a last resort the Americans could take by force what could not be gained by trade. Out of food, the expedition lived on meager meals of one-third rations while the men subsisted as best as they could from the countryside. Their meals, such as they were, consisted of measly helpings of pork, sugarcane, melons, and rice scavenged from the fields and abandoned villages. The scant rations and grueling pace of the march raised serious concerns for the health and well-being of Hare and his men. When the men's clothes rotted away from the humidity, their flesh underneath was exposed to the unforgiving tropical sun. Many of the soldiers were stricken with fever, and nearly everyone was footsore. Two Americans contracted measles and had to be transported on the rafts.[21] Hare wrote that "a broken leg, a case of dangerous illness, carelessness on the part of any man, or any other accident sufficiently serious to endanger life would have given me a problem which I don't care to contemplate even at this time."[22]

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[19] "Philippine News," *Dallas Morning News,* 8 January 1900.

[20] Williams to Martin, 11 April 1900, Family Correspondence, Hare Papers, USAHEC. See photograph in Appendix.

[21] Williams to Martin, 11 April 1900, Family Correspondence, Hare Papers, USAHEC. Neither Hare nor Howze mention in their reports any instances of robbing the locals for food.

[22] Hare to Adjutant General, Military District of Northwestern Luzon, 6 January 1900, in U.S. War Department, *Annual Report 1900, Vol. 1,* Pt. 7, p. 324.

As there were no roads or even visible trails, the combined expedition took rafts north along the Apayao River to the coast of northern Luzon. The entire route was highly dangerous and filled with rapids that caused several of the makeshift craft to sink with the personal effects, clothing, and weapons of the men.[23] In one instance, Captain James M. Burroughs dove into the water to rescue a drowning Chinese laborer. On Christmas Day, Hare had half of his men to replace the lost rafts while the other half pounded rice to eat. The pace was so slow that Howze believed that the party averaged less than seven miles a day. This grueling journey led the weary expedition to a small bamboo house on 29 December 1899. The inhabitant was a friendly local and informed Hare that the coast was but four days away. This news was disheartening. Already the men were starving and many were sick. But Hare and the officers kept morale up through routine: the men had to clean their rifles.[24] Not only would this routine remind the men of their duties as soldiers, it gave them something to focus their energies on so they would not descend into hopelessness and madness.

Yet routine was not enough to stave off disaster. On New Years' Eve, another one of the rafts tipped over, spilling Private Fred D. Day of the Thirty-Fourth Infantry into the water. The man was already weak from his battle with measles and he did not survive the night. The column did not have enough food remaining for dinner or breakfast. Hunger continued to grow, gnawing at the men. And yet at night, just as they were about to halt, they came across another village. After feeding the soldiers rice, the locals told them that the coastal town of Abulug was but four more hours away. The end was surely near.[25] On the morning of 2 January 1900 the Americans arrived on their rafts at Abulug. Waiting in the waters off the coast for the exhausted and sick

[23] "Philippine News," *Dallas Morning News*, 8 January 1900.

[24] Williams to Martin, 11 April 1900, Family Correspondence, Hare Papers, USAHEC.

[25] Williams to Martin, 11 April 1900, Family Correspondence, Hare Papers, USAHEC.

men was a welcome sight: the gunboat USS *Princeton*. The warship sent a cutter with an officer and the ship's paymaster. The *Princeton's* paymaster, a former college football star named George P. Dyer, brought a very welcome supply of medicines and fresh rations for the entire expedition.[26] The consideration of the *Princeton's* officers and crew towards the expedition so impressed Hare that he later wrote to Rear Admiral John C. Watson at Manila that he and his men "were the recipients of such consideration and delicate kindness" from them.[27] The men also buried their deceased comrade from the Thirty-Fourth Infantry, Private Day, in the churchyard. The eulogy for the man who had died so far away from home was touching for the mourners: "Always ready, always willing, he had given up his life that others might live."[28] The next day, the *Princeton's* launches delivered the soldiers to the transport *Venus* at Aparri, and they reached Vigan on 5 January.[29] Upon reaching the shore, General Young told the weathered colonel as he pumped his hand, "God bless you Hare." Young then turned to Hare's men: "It was fine work, it was grand, grand."[30] Mission accomplished.

It is plain from the official reports of both Colonel Hare and Lieutenant Colonel Howze that the success of this operation was the result of teamwork between the two regiments. Howze declared that "until January 5 our commands acted in concert and with the single object, viz, the

[26] Hare to Adjutant General, Military District of Northwestern Luzon, 6 January 1900, in U.S. War Department, *Annual Report 1900, Vol. 1*, Pt. 7, p. 24.

[27] Hare to Rear Admiral John C. Watson, 18 January 1900, Family Correspondence, Hare Papers, USAHEC.

[28] Lieutenant Williams identifies the speaker as "the Colonel." Williams is likely referring to his commanding officer and expedition leader, Hare, but since Howze was Private Fred D. Day's commanding officer, it is also possible that he offered the eulogy. Williams to Martin, 11 April 1900, Family Correspondence, Hare Papers, USAHEC.

[29] Howze to Adjutant General, Cavalry Brigade, First Division, Eighth Army Corps, 5 January 1900, in U.S. War Department, *Annual Report 1900, Vol. 1*, Pt. 7, p. 327.

[30] Williams to Martin, 11 April 1900, Family Correspondence, Hare Papers, USAHEC.

successful rescue of the American prisoners."[31] Both colonels shared the credit with one another. Colonel Hare sent his report to the Adjutant General of Northwestern Luzon's military district with a copy of Howze's report and praise for his fellow Texan: "the success of this expedition was a resultant of individual effort. Colonel Howze was preeminently the most active factor."[32] Howze in turn praised Hare: "great credit… especially is due Colonel Hare, the senior officer, the greatest reward from our Government for the conduct of the march. The responsibility was at all times great, and only through good judgment, his energy, his endurance, and his attention to all details was the march and the objects of the campaign made successful."[33] In addition to sharing credit for the successful expedition, both Hare and Howze demanded that their men receive due recognition from the Army. The two officers went so far as to compile a list of every man who had participated in the march.[34]

Much praise appears in the Army's initial reports from Vigan and Manila. On the day that Hare arrived in Vigan for his report on 5 January 1900, Young wrote to Major General Theodore Schwan, Chief of Staff of the Eighth Army Corps in Manila, to report his success. "Their work [is] unparalleled," Young wrote of Hare and Howze and their sunburned and ragged men. He urged General Schwan to have Hare and Howze advanced to brigadier generals of volunteers, and to give Medals of Honor to all officers and men mentioned by name in the lists compiled by

[31] Howze to Adjutant General, Cavalry Brigade, First Division, Eighth Army Corps, 5 January 1900, in U.S. War Department, *Annual Report 1900, Vol. 1,* Pt. 7, p.27.

[32] Hare to Adjutant General, Military District of Northwestern Luzon, 6 January 1900, in U.S. War Department, *Annual Report 1900, Vol. 1,* Pt. 7, p. 324.

[33] Howze to Adjutant General, Cavalry Brigade, First Division, Eighth Army Corps, 5 January 1900, in U.S. War Department, *Annual Report 1900, Vol. 1,* Pt. 7, p. 327.

[34] The list of the officers and men of the Thirty-Third Infantry many be found in Colonel Luther Hare, Inclosure to Appendix 29, 6 January 1900, in U.S. War Department, *Annual Report 1900, Vol. 1,* Pt. 6, p. 325; that of the Thirty-Fourth Infantry is found in an unsigned enclosure to Appendix 30, 5 January 1900, in U.S. War Department, *Annual Report 1900, Vol. 1,* Pt. 7, p. 328.

Hare and Howze.[35] General Otis in Manila was also very impressed. He wrote to the Adjutant General's Office that the Gillmore Expedition was a "remarkable achievement."[36]

Colonel Hare's leadership as the commander of the Thirty-Third Infantry made him a strong candidate for promotion. The *Dallas Morning News,* in publishing one of Lieutenant Lowe's letters, wrote that the reasons for Hare's elevation to the rank of brigadier general were "apparent."[37] The Army had two vacant appointments for new brigadier generals of volunteers. With the support of Texas Congressmen in Washington, President William F. McKinley signed the appointment for Hare on 1 June 1900.[38] Hare's promotion was bittersweet. In his farewell letter to his men on 19 June 1900, he sincerely expressed his gratitude to them:

> My advancement necessarily severs the close relationship that the [*sic*] existed between myself and my regiment, whatever may be my future field of duty. I utter a simply truth, when I state that my advancement has been made possible by the great loyalty and intelligence of the organization entrusted to my discretion. It is a great pleasure to be able to say that my officers and men, whether acting under my personal supervision or not, have, without exception, been ever ready to meet the final test of their calling and that is firmness in action. Fortunate in their ability to handle their weapons, supported by splendid courage and initiative in action they have met the arduous demands of the service with a result that is shown in their record of which I feel that I am justly proud. Wherever my duties may carry me, I shall not lose my interest in the organization which has become so important a part of my life and to each and all I wish the best reward of a soldiers [*sic*] life: the hearty commendation of his and their superiors.[39]

His officers and men swelled with pride for their beloved "Colonel Rabbit" but were reluctant to see him leave. Lieutenant Lowe wrote, "Our colonel is now a general, and it's right proud we all are, although we hate to lose him as our colonel, yet we rejoice in the fact that his

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[35] Young to Schwan, 5 January 1900, in U.S. War Department, *Annual Report 1900, Vol. 1*, Pt. 7, p. 341.

[36] Otis to Corbin, 5 January 1900, *CWS* 2:1128.

[37] "Record of the Thirty-Third," *Dallas Morning News*, 19 August 1900.

[38] Unidentified newspaper clipping, Hare Papers, USAHEC.

[39] "General Hare's Farewell Letter to the 33rd Infty.," 19 June 1900, Hare Papers, USAHEC.

services have been rewarded."[40] One soldier's letter published in the *New York Times* echoed the sentiments of the regular soldiers: "[Hare] is a good man; we love him next to none in the Philippines."[41]

As for Gillmore, shortly after he reported at Manila he hosted a press conference at his sister's residence at the Hotel Oriente. The former prisoner, "tanned and ruddy from exposure," hobbled on a cane past the hotel's dance hall, interrupting a waltz played to the music of "Aguinaldo's March." He then spun for his audience of officers, women, and newspaper correspondents a tale plainly designed to evoke sympathy. He began with warm praise for Aguinaldo's kindness and bitter criticism against Tinio, in whose hands Gillmore had "suffered everything." He then described the conditions of his captivity and the terrible long march into the wilderness. He was "covered in boils and in great pain" and "reduced to chewing grass and bark."[42] Nearly every single major newspaper in the United States picked up the tale, and Gillmore finally got the recognition that he always wanted. Now a martyr, Gillmore's career of mediocrity and alcoholism was forgotten. Instead, the *San Francisco Call* declared that he was a "daring officer" with a "brilliant record."[43] Gillmore used this fame to his advantage later in life. His 1927 obituary in the *New York Times* said that he was the final commodore in the United States Navy before that rank was abolished (in fact he retired as a commander). Perhaps as a testament to Gillmore's enduring fame, the same article also incorrectly stated that Gillmore was a recipient of the Medal of Honor.[44]

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[40] "Record of the Thirty-Third," *Dallas Morning News*, 19 August 1900.

[41] "General Notes," *The New York Times*, 6 May 1900.

[42] "Philippine News," *Dallas Morning News*, 8 January 1900.

[43] "Gillmore and Others Rescued from Filipinos," *San Francisco Call*, 6 January 1900.

[44] "James C. Gillmore, Navy Officer, Dead," *The New York Times*, 15 June 1927.

If the men and officers of the Thirty-Third and Thirty-Fourth regiments who accomplished the onerous feat of rescuing Gillmore and the other captives believed that they would share equally in recognition, they were cruelly mistaken. Almost immediately after the regiments returned home in 1901, a dispute began in the newspapers over which of them should receive the principal credit for Gillmore's liberation. The expedition's success and Gillmore's version of the story became a national sensation in the United States for weeks, and many newspapers gave credit to Hare and the Thirty-Third Infantry for the rescue. Citizens of Sherman, Hare's hometown in Texas, read the details of the rescue conveyed in telegrams "with a great deal of pride."[45] *The Houston Post* granted Hare sole credit and did not mention Howze or the Thirty-Fourth.[46] The *Dallas Morning News* was eager to trumpet the achievements of both Texans.[47] *The San Francisco Call* gave Hare and the Thirty-Third primary credit for the rescue of Gillmore from "the hands of savages," while its rival, the *Chronicle*, gave credit to both regiments.[48] The *Cleveland Plain Dealer's* article recognized Howze's contributions, but Hare was solely in the headline.[49] *The New York Times* was almost alone among its sister papers in allocating equal treatment to Hare and Howze for Gillmore's deliverance.[50]

As the newspapers fanned the flames, a perceived dispute between Hare and Howze created a scandal in the Army. The impetus was in a round of regular Army promotions. In February 1901, forty-six-year-old Colonel J. Framklin Bell of the Thirty-Sixth Volunteer

[45] "From Col. Hare's Home," *Dallas Morning News*, 7 January 1900.

[46] "The Captivity of Gilmore [sic]," *Houston Post*, 8 January 1900.

[47] "In [sic] Behalf of Col. Hare," *Dallas Morning News*, 25 March 1900.

[48] "Dramatic Rescue of Gillmore and His Men," *San Francisco Call*, 8 January 1900; "Soldiers Back from Manila," *San Francisco Chronicle*, 30 March 1901.

[49] "Gilmore's Men Released by Hare," *Cleveland Plain Dealer*, 6 January 1900.

[50] "Lieut. Gillmore is Free," *The New York Times*, 6 January 1900.

Infantry received a promotion in the Regular Army from captain to brigadier general, a benefice from his exemplary career in the Army and his skill at combating Philippine insurgents on Luzon.[51] Bell also happened to be one of Hare's comrades from the Seventh Cavalry. The fact that Bell was four years Hare's junior and hopped over several other officers who had seniority did not sit well with many of Hare's friends.[52] Nor did the perceived oversight please the Texas Senate. On 14 August 1901 the angry legislators in Austin passed a resolution that was a mixture of a petition on behalf of Hare and a declaration of old-fashioned Texas pride:

> The Legislature of the State of Texas does most earnestly and cordially commend [Hare] to the President of the United States for promotion to the rank of Brigadier-General in the Regular Army of the United states, and does request that he be so appointed, believing that his faithful and valiant services entitle him to that reward, as they also entitle Texas to the honor that will be conferred on her by such promotion.[53]

Hare's friends and supporters argued that federal officials had disregarded Hare's dedication and long years of service and unfairly passed him over for promotion to brigadier general in the Regular Army. While Hare's personal correspondence does not indicate that he was the instigator in pushing these charges, the idea that he had been overlooked for a well-deserved promotion in favor of junior officers quickly became a cause célèbre in Texas.

The argument over Hare's promotion morphed into an alleged dispute between Hare and Howze after President Theodore Roosevelt announced in February 1902 that Howze alone was

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[51] Most historians of the Philippine War generally agree that Bell was the most talented general during the conflict. For a thoughtful overview of Bell's military philosophy in the Philippines including a treatment of Bell by modern historians, see Robert D. Ramsey III, "A Masterpiece of Counterguerilla Warfare: BG J. Franklin Bell in the Philippines, 1901-1902," Long War Series Occasional Paper 25 (Fort Leavenworth, Kansas: Combat Studies Institute Press, 2007).

[52] A letter from an unidentified supporter of Hare found in his papers at the United States Army Heritage and Education Center implies that Hare was personally aggrieved by this situation. However, there is no direct evidence in his papers or public records that Hare objected to Bell's promotion. See [Unknown] to William C. Sanger, 7 October 1901, Family Correspondence, Hare Papers, USAHEC.

[53] *General Laws of the State of Texas Passed at the First Called Session of the Twenty-Seventh Legislature Convened at the City of Austin, August 6, 1901 and Adjourned September 4, 1901* (Austin: Von Boeckmann, Schutze & Company, 1901), 43.

the officer who had rescued Gillmore and the other prisoners. Ray Meketa's biography of Hare alleges that the dispute began with a personal argument between Hare and Roosevelt that occurred at a meeting sometime after the conclusion of the Spanish-American War. During this meeting, Hare unwisely criticized the planning of the Spanish-American War and then personally disparaged Roosevelt's horsemanship and leadership of the Rough Riders. According to this story, Roosevelt took Hare's blunt comments personally and punished Hare's insolence by denying Hare a promotion.[54]

This story of an argument between Hare and Roosevelt should be taken with a healthy degree of skepticism. There is no evidence of such a discussion anywhere in Hare's personal or public papers. Nor is there any evidence of this conversation in major Texas or national newspapers, where it surely would have surfaced at some point over the next several years. If an argument between Hare and Roosevelt had become public, Roosevelt's political opponents would have gleefully barked this tale to crowds across the country. Likewise, Roosevelt's allies could have used such an argument as proof that Hare was not fit to be a general in the Army. This story also is not consistent with Hare's personality. The man was a tough but modest cavalryman. It is very unlikely for an experienced and professional officer such as Hare to directly and unwisely criticize his commander-in-chief, especially a figure of Roosevelt's stature and popularity.

Regardless of that story's factual accuracy, in February 1902 President Roosevelt stated that Howze, rather than Hare, was responsible for Gillmore's deliverance. Only two years had gone by since the famous rescue, and the president's announcement did not please Etienne de P. Bujac, one of Hare's former lieutenants. Bujac wrote a letter and the *Dallas Morning News*,

[54] Meketa, *Hare, A Texan With Custer*, 59.

eager for a story, published the letter in mid-February 1902. Bujac's missive began with a mere summary of the events of the Gillmore Expedition and a statement of support for Hare's leadership of the Thirty-Third Infantry. Had Bujac been content to produce a public endorsement from an officer to his former commander, nothing more might have been said of the matter. But kind words did not usually create attractive bylines in the age of yellow journalism. Bujac's words of support for Hare were followed by an inflammatory tirade against Howze. Without the courtesy of regularly addressing Howze by his rank (an oversight Bujac did not commit for Hare), Bujac opined that "had Colonel Hare listened to the counsel of Howze and not been so firm in his determination to pursue Tinio alone, Gilmore [*sic*] and his companions would have suffered a most horrible death, and certainly have been eaten by cannibals."[55] It was not enough for Bujac to use insulting language with the unsubtle implication that Howze, a Medal of Honor recipient and professional officer, was indifferent to the lives of the prisoners that he and his men had sacrificed to recover from Tinio. Bujac closed with a second round of buckshot in the form of a comparison of the dispute with that of a recent and disgraceful episode in the Navy: "The Administration may have its doubts as to whether Schley or Sampson was in command at Santiago, but it can not question who was in command when there is a Colonel and a Lieutenant Colonel."[56]

[55] "Rescue of Gilmore," *Dallas Morning News,* 17 February 1902.

[56] This controversy began over an argument between Rear Admiral William T. Sampson and Commodore Winfield Scott Schley over which of them should get credit and promotions in the aftermath of the naval victory at the Battle of Santiago de Cuba on 3 July 1898. This controversy became public shortly after the battle and was an ulcer on the Navy's reputation for decades. For further reading on the Sampson-Schley Controversy, see Joseph G. Dawson III, "William T. Sampson and Santiago: Blockade, Victory," in *Crucible of Empire: The Spanish American War and Its Aftermath*, ed. James C. Bradford (Annapolis, Maryland: Naval Institute Press, 1993), 47-68, and Harold D. Langley, "Winfield Scott Schley and Santiago: A New Look at an Old Controversy" in *Crucible of Empire*, ed. Bradford, 69-101. See also "Rescue of Gilmore," *Dallas Morning News,* 17 February 1902.

Bujac's letter raised a firestorm in Texas, where newspapers from Houston to El Paso sought readers and politicians in Austin and Washington trolled for votes during this perceived dispute between the two Texan heroes. The *Dallas Morning News* regularly chimed in with support for Hare, writing that "Texans would be gratified" if Roosevelt made Hare a brigadier general.[57] Joseph W. Bailey, an arch-conservative Mississippi-born Democrat who had become a United States Senator in 1901, ingratiated himself with his Texas voters with his strong support for Hare's cause.[58] Roosevelt would not budge. The *Fort Worth Morning Register* wrote that "Bailey is back of the Hare movement… but has accomplished nothing."[59] Hare's many friends also took up the cause. Two Georgetown, Texas attorneys, D. S. Chesser (who was serving as county judge) and David W. Wilcox, wrote to Senator Charles A. Culberson in Washington asking him to join with Bailey and press the matter with President Roosevelt on Hare's behalf.[60] Another supporter in New York wrote to William C. Sanger, the Assistant Secretary of War, that the inability of the government to recognize Hare's accomplishments and promote him to brigadier general in the Regular Army was "destroying his usefulness" because it was damaging to Hare's reputation to see junior officers promoted over him.[61]

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[57] "A Remedy in Public Opinion," *Dallas Morning News*, 22 October 1901.

[58] Joseph W. Bailey, a Mississippian by birth, moved to Texas in 1885 and became active in Texas politics as a United States Representative from 1891 to 1901 (ironically by defeating Luther R. Hare's brother Silas for that seat) and as a Senator from 1901 to 1913. Bailey was usually popular in his district and state, though his reputation faded after he physically assaulted Senator Albert Beveridge of Indiana in 1902 and and his connections to the Waters-Pierce Oil Company surfaced. The major study on Bailey, Bob Holcomb's "Senator Joe Bailey: Two Decades of Controversy" (Ph.D. Diss., Texas Tech University, 1968), does not mention Senator Bailey's politicking for Hare's promotion to brigadier general. See also Ronald W. Melugin, "Bailey, Joseph Weldon, Jr." in Tyler et al., *The New Handbook of Texas*, 1:336.

[59] "Who Shall be Rewarded?" *Fort Worth Morning Register*, 28 January 1902.

[60] D. S. Chesser and David W. Wilcox to Charles A. Culberson, 9 March 1902, Family Correspondence, Hare Papers, USAHEC.

[61] [Unknown] to Sanger, 7 October 1901, Family Correspondence, Hare Papers, USAHEC.

The heated words in the newspapers and in the halls of Congress did not amuse Howze. With a remarkable degree of understatement in a letter to Hare, Howze called Bujac's letter "a trifle annoying." Hare and Howze had known each other for years and were close friends. "This friendship is real," Howze wrote in a personal letter to Hare, "and it cannot be shaken by this damnable talk." Howze continued his letter with statements of innocence to his friend: "Although Mr. Roosevelt is a personal friend of mine, I have never said one word to him which could possibly be construed as putting up any claim of mine forward, and if, I ever have occasion to do so, you may rest assured it will not be a single job at your expense." Howze insisted that he was not responsible for any of his men for inspiring this talk, just as he believed that Hare was "in no way responsible" for Bujac's "silly article."[62] While some newspapers backed Hare in this scandal, others backed Howze. In an article commemorating Howze's career, *The New York Times* claimed that "Howze got Gilmore [*sic*]. That is a matter of history."[63] It is not difficult to imagine the motivations for a nationally prestigious newspaper that was published in New York to write a glowing article in support of a close friend of Roosevelt, a popular and powerful president from New York.

More than seven years later, the wounds were still raw enough for the *San Antonio Express* to call Hare and Howze "rival heroes." The paper was thus keen to publish a letter by Frederick Hadra on 4 August 1907. In this letter, the bitter former assistant surgeon for Hare's party theorized that on several occasions during and after the chase for Gillmore, Howze had attempted to treacherously deceive his old friend Hare in an attempt to usurp the acclaim for the operation for himself rather than his "dear friend and fellow Texan," who had innocently

[62] Howze to "My Dear General" [Hare], 21 April [undated year but almost certainly 1902], Family Correspondence, Hare Papers, USAHEC.

[63] "Commandant Howze to Leave West Point," *The New York Times*, 23 August 1908.

believed that there would be enough glory for all to share equally. The first of Hadra's claims was that Howze "led us off on a blind trail" that cost Hare's party time, perhaps to allow Howze the time to claim the credit for rescuing Gillmore. This assertion is highly dubious: the area that the Americans traversed was exceedingly difficult. It is not out of the realm of possibility that Howze simply made an honest mistake while he navigated unfamiliar and dangerous terrain. Hadra's second example of Howze's alleged duplicity occurred at Aparri. Apparently Howze told all who would listen that "he alone, and with his own command, the Thirty-fourth, had been the whole factor in the rescue of Gilmore [*sic*]." Hadra added that Hare reluctantly sent his adjutant, Captain James M. Burroughs, to Manila to counter Howze's claim. There is no evidence that Hare ordered Burroughs to Manila for the specific purpose of challenging Howze's reports.[64] For commanding officers to issue reports is standard procedure. For them to send adjutants to personally report on the successful outcome of a high-profile expedition would be expected. Despite this, the *Dallas Morning News* was still resentful that Hare did not receive the accolades that the paper believed that he deserved: "The army's reward to Major Hare for his splendid work was meager, and now a systematic effort is being made in certain quarters to take from Major Hare the credit for rescuing Lieut. Gilmore [*sic*] and party and give that credit to Major Robert L. Howze, who was subordinate officer with Major Hare's brave little band."[65]

The excitement over the dispute gradually died down in the newspapers, though the old partisans continued their support of their respective heroes. Howze's obituary in *The New York Times* gave him sole credit for rescuing Gillmore, although the *Times* moderated that declaration by relating Hare's contributions during the march.[66] By the time that Gillmore died in 1927, *The*

[64] "The Gillmore Expedition," *San Antonio Express*, 4 August 1907.

[65] "Major Luther R. Hare," *Dallas Morning News*, 8 June 1908.

[66] "Gen. R. L. Howze, Noted Fighter, Dies," *The New York Times*, 20 September 1926.

New York Times merely referred to his liberators as "another landing party."[67] Hare's 1929 obituary in the *Dallas Morning News* gave the Thirty-Third Infantry's commanding officer sole credit for the rescue of Gillmore.[68] But at the same time the *Washington Evening Star* overlooked Hare's Philippine War record (and the rescue of Gillmore) entirely in an obituary tucked away near the back of its 23 December 1929 issue.[69]

The truth about this sordid episode likely lies somewhere between Howze's protestations of innocence and Hadra's depiction of Hare as a naïve dupe who danced to Howze's malicious tune. The evidence suggests that newspapers embellished this story for circulation and subscriptions as they had done in years past. An examination of the personalities of the two men all but rules out treachery on Howze's part. He was a West Point graduate and a Medal of Honor recipient. While there is no absolute guarantee of Howze's virtue, the sense of personal honor the United States Army expected from a late nineteenth-century American army officer who graduated from West Point and received the Medal of Honor suggest that Howze was sufficiently of sound moral character to not attempt any duplicity against a fellow officer. Furthermore, Howze's career after the Philippine War testifies to his high morals. As the Commandant of Cadets at West Point in 1907, he threatened to dishonorably discharge the entire plebe class over the hazing of a cadet.[70] While Howze was an ambitious officer who almost certainly benefitted from his close relationship with Roosevelt, there are no documented incidents in his career to suggest that he was the type of officer who would take unfair advantage of a fellow officer (especially one in his own branch) for his own benefit.

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[67] "James C. Gillmore, Navy Officer, Dead," *The New York Times*, 15 June 1927.

[68] "Death Takes General Hare," *Dallas Morning News*, 24 December 1929.

[69] "Col. Luther Hare Dies," *Washington Evening Star*, 23 December 1929.

[70] "West Point Class May Be Dismissed," *The New York Times*, 6 September 1907.

The Army had little to say about the controversy. Official reports of the expedition all indicate cooperation between the regiments rather than conflict. Both colonels offered credit to the other for the successful outcome of the expedition. Both officers compiled lists of men in their respective units who completed the expedition so that the accomplishments of the entire command would be recognized.[71] Finally, as Howze stated in his postwar letter to Hare, Howze's reports were sent through Hare.[72] These facts should dismiss accusations of Howze's malfeasance. The alleged dispute between Hare and Howze is almost never discussed in studies of the Philippine War or the United States Army. It is likely that Army leaders, being acutely aware of the disgrace that the Navy bore from the infamous Sampson-Schley Controversy in the same era, did not want another such shameful episode to mar their honor and tarnish the outcome of the Philippine War. Instead, it is likely that the Army's leadership informally decided to quietly let the entire matter settle into obscurity. Fortunately for the men of the Thirty-Third, the Gillmore Expedition was not entirely forgotten, even if it was often remembered somewhat inaccurately.

Regardless of the scandal, with Hare promoted and transferred to a new command, the Thirty-Third Infantry had a shake-up in its leadership and many officers received promotions. Major Cronin became the Thirty-Third's new colonel. Major March's outstanding leadership earned him the rank of lieutenant colonel. Captains Thomas Q. Ashburn, Edgar A. Sirmyer, and Edmund Shields became majors. Among the lieutenants, Edgar Coffey became a captain. One

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[71] For the entire lists of personnel involved in the rescue, see Enclosure to Appendix 29, Colonel Luther Hare to Adjutant General Military District of Northwestern Luzon, 6 January 1900, U.S. War Department, *Annual Report 1900, Vol. 1,* Pt. 4, p. 325 and Enclosure to Appendix 30, Lieutenant Colonel Robert L. Howze to Adjutant General, Cavalry Brigade, First Division Eighth Army Corps, 5 January 1900, in U.S. War Department, *Annual Report 1900, Vol. 1,* Pt. 4, p. 328.

[72] Robert L. Howze to "My Dear General," 21 April [undated year but almost certainly 1902], Luther Hare Papers, Family Correspondence; Lieutenant Colonel Robt. L. Howze to Adjutant General Cavalry Brigade First Division Eighth Army Corps, 5 January 1900, in U.S. War Department, *Annual Report 1900, Vol. 1,* Pt. 4, p. 326-328.

enlisted man, twenty-five-year-old Sergeant Major Albert E. Gebert, received a second lieutenancy. The *Dallas Morning News*, as was its habit when it reported on the Thirty-Third, emphasized the Texan nature of the regiment when commenting on these promotions.[73] More important, advancements from within the regiment ensured that the Thirty-Third Infantry would have some experienced, and effective, leaders, as it continued to cope with insurgents in the Philippines.

[73] "Texas Soldiers Promoted," *Dallas Morning News*, 27 June 1900.

CHAPTER 6

THE COUNTER-INSURGENCY

As Aguinaldo's army dispersed into the countryside to operate as elusive guerilla bands in the face of repeated American military victories, the United States Army in the Philippines sought to implement President William F. McKinley's policy of "benevolent assimilation." Even during the conventional phase of the Philippine War, General Elwell S. Otis reported that the civilians appealed "for permanent protection against returning insurgents." Brigadier General Samuel B. M. Young agreed with Otis's assessment: "Aguinaldo has robbed the towns and people all along the coast. They look upon us as their deliverers from oppression and robbery. A detachment of well-disciplined troops should be stationed in each pueblo."[1] Secretary of War Elihu Root approved Otis' plan to garrison the captured towns as quickly as possible.[2] The Thirty-Third Infantry carried out these directives to establish civil government with great efficiency. But its men would learn that the war was far from over. Colonel Luther R. Hare recognized that the nature of the war was shifting to an insurgency in December 1899 when he declared: "this war here is an enigma or something entirely different from anything our soldiers have ever encountered. It has taken the diverse talents of a yankee [*sic*] to do what they have, and their ingenuity is going to be further taxed before it is over."[3]

Otis's successor as military governor of the Philippines was Major General Arthur MacArthur, a career soldier who had fought in the American Civil War, participated in the campaign against Geronimo and the Apache people, led American troops at the Battle of Manila

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[1] Young to Lawton, 2 December 1899, in U.S. War Department, *Annual Report 1900, Vol. 1,* Pt. 7, p. 217.

[2] Otis to Adjutant General [Corbin], 14 August 1899, *CWS* 2:1053; Corbin to Otis, 18 September 1899, *CWS* 2:1070–1071.

[3] "Letter from Col. Hare," *Dallas Morning News,* 3 December 1899.

during the Spanish-American War, and directed one of Otis' columns against Aguinaldo during the opening months of the Philippine War. MacArthur ensconced himself at an opulent Moorish-style home in Manila and worked for long hours in tirelessly dealing with the military situation in the islands. He also had to contend with the Philippine Commission, civilian politicians and liberal academics that wanted authority in the Philippines transferred from military to civilian leadership. None of the commissioners had ever been in the Philippines, and the combination of their ignorance of the islands' affairs and their unfit appearance did not ingratiate them to MacArthur. The average weight of the five commissioners was 227 pounds, while future United States president William H. Taft, who also served as governor of the Philippines from 1901 to 1904, was so large that the local hotels did not have bathtubs that could contain his girth.[4]

MacArthur took a carrot and a stick approach. After consulting with Taft in Manila and Adjutant General Henry C. Corbin, he offered a general amnesty to all insurgents and their civilian collaborators who within ninety days would present themselves to United States authorities, renounce the insurrection, and submit to American authority over the Philippines. American authorities would make provisions for such Filipinos for their immediate needs and transportation around the islands. In addition, any Filipino who surrendered a rifle would be paid a bounty of thirty pesos.[5] Several of these Filipinos eventually made their way to outposts manned by the Thirty-Third Infantry. On 7 May 1900, three *insurrecto* officers, including a Colonel Luna, entered Candon peacefully and surrendered to members of the Thirty-Third. After questioning, Colonel Luna revealed that he was a brother of Lieutenant General Antonio Luna,

[4] Kenneth Ray Young, *The General's General: The Life and Times of Arthur MacArthur* (Boulder, Colorado: Westview Press, 1994), 260.

[5] This amnesty did not apply to persons who had violated the laws of war. MacArthur to Adjutant General [Corbin], Washington, n.d., *CWS* 2:1177-1178.

one of Aguinaldo's most capable officers in the early months of the Philippine War. Private Nixon remarked on Colonel Luna's surrender, "It doesn't pay a Filipino to be valiant against the 2nd Batt. It means a grave or be a prisoner."[6]

The breakdown of what order existed during the Spanish regime doubtlessly emboldened the provincial bandit elements in the Philippines. Safely hidden in the mountains, these rogues operated a protection racket among the local villagers and sometimes extorted citizens of Bangued itself for money and other contributions. This activity was not unlike how Aguinaldo's forces received resources, and the American reports often intertwined what the men and officers considered to be bandit activities with those of guerilla operations. The American regime could not tolerate blatant lawlessness, regardless of its origin or motive, if "benevolent assimilation" was to have any hope of success. With a Texan cavalryman's frankness, Hare wrote, "it is the problem of this district to smoke out and destroy these individuals."[7] The Thirty-Third's mission thus began to include civil relations and peacekeeping.

These tasks would not be easily accomplished. For the battle-tested veterans of the Thirty-Third Infantry, to put bandits and guerillas out of business was one matter. For these same Americans, the effort to win the hearts and minds of Filipino civilians clearly presented other problems. Preconceived notions of Filipino cultural inferiority became a major obstacle to

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[6] Lieutenant General Antonio Luna, nicknamed "the Fiery General," was an intemperate but very capable commander and a scourge to American troops in northern Luzon until his death. His death remains the subject of some controversy in the Philippines. General Otis reported to the War Department that Aguinaldo's guard killed Luna, adding that Luna's elimination "will be attended with important results not derogatory to United States' interests." Many American newspapers also asserted that Aguinaldo ordered Luna's death. *The San Francisco Call* added that "these orders were carried out by the Dictator's fanatical followers." Some Philippine sources denied any culpability on Aguinaldo's part, attributing them instead to a heated dispute between Luna and members of Aguinaldo's cabinet. Others accused Aguinaldo of the murder. A 2015 Filipino film, *Heneral Luna*, pays tribute to Luna's role in the Philippine War. Otis to Adjutant General, 13 June 1899, *CWS* 2:1009; "General Luna is Murdered by Aguinaldo," *San Francisco Call*, 14 June 1899; Nixon, "Letters and Memories," 52, USAHEC.

[7] Hare to Adjutant [Burroughs], Thirty-Third Infantry, 27 January 1900, in U.S. War Department, *Annual Report 1900, Vol. 1*, Pt. 6, pp. 757-758.

"benevolent assimilation." As he penned a report to the adjutant general of the Division of the Philippines regarding Americans in his department, General Loyd Wheaton wrote with more than a few touches of the jingoistic chauvinism common among many Americans of the era:

> Unexampled patience was exercised throughout the department in the treatment of these savages habitually violating all the laws of war as known to civilized nations, the humanity of the troops engaged in bringing order out of a chaos of robbery, rapine, and murder has no parallel in the history of dealing with Asiatics.[8]

Wheaton's report was a typical reflection of Americans who had minimal experience in dealing with a different culture. With the exceptions of Marcus D. Cronin and Peyton C. March, none of the Thirty-Third's officers had been to the Philippines. Few of the men spoke Spanish. None of them knew the dialects that the natives spoke in northwestern Luzon. The Army did not provide any cultural awareness programs for the men.[9] Colonel Hare remarked that the diverse peoples of the Philippines "make a conglomeration that would shame a human crazy quilt."[10] It is therefore not surprising that many of the men expressed shock and disgust at some aspects of Filipino culture. Foremost among these was religion. Private Milton G. Nixon, a lifelong Methodist, often expressed revulsion with the Roman Catholic Church in the Philippines. In one such remark, he wrote that "the Catholic church [*sic*] is one of those things that made the island what it is, and until it is torn up root and trunk there will be trouble."[11] Another letter from Nixon to his family suggests a willingness to visit violence on Catholic clergy in the islands:

> The priests have no love for us… we cordially hate them in return, and in case of an attack here we would not hesitate to waste a Krag bullet on them, for a more selfish, cruel, and rapacious class never lived. They refused for awhile [*sic*] to salute the U.S.

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[8] Wheaton to Adjutant General, Division of the Philippines, n.d., in U.S. War Department, *Annual Report 1900, Vol. 1*, Pt. 5, p. 275.

[9] Such instruction did not come into general use in the Army until World War II, when the Franklin D. Roosevelt administration mandated such measures out of military and diplomatic necessity.

[10] "Letter from Col. Hare," *Dallas Morning News*, 3 December 1899.

[11] Nixon, "Letters and Memories," 43, USAHEC.

> flag… but [the] butt of a gun applied to them showed that the U.S. and not the [Pope] at Rome, is supreme in these islands… we are over here to rule and we do it.[12]

He even described the Roman Catholic Church as "nothing but a recruiting office" for insurgents and predicted that Catholic churches in the Philippines would "be listed with dynamite some of these days."[13] While there is no evidence that Catholic churches suffered vandalism at the hands of the Thirty-Third Infantry, anti-Catholic prejudices such as those that Nixon harbored were not unusual for Americans at the turn of the century. Colonel James Parker, the American commander during the Battle of Vigan, was even more sweeping in his condemnation: "not only the religion but the government of the small towns of the Filipinos was of the Middle Ages."[14]

Other Filipino habits also shocked many American volunteers. One was the sport of cockfighting. Already popular in the Philippine Islands before the arrival of the Spanish, these death matches between cockerel gladiators were not commonly practiced in the United States by 1900, but many Filipinos still considered cockfighting a sort of national sport. These fights were regular occurrences on Sundays as chickens battled to the death with sharp metal scythes attached to their legs. Nixon described the aftermath of one fight as "two chickens fighting with these barbarous instruments would soon kill each other, and they generally do so in three or four licks. The women stand around and applaud, as well as the men, the victor, while the unfortunate victim crawls off into a corner and dies."[15]

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[12] There is no evidence in the provost court records of the regiment or in Nixon's descriptive records that he abused any priests during his time in the Thirty-Third Infantry. While there is a possibility that such events may have gone unreported, the officers of the Thirty-Third did not sanction such crimes against Catholic clergy. Nixon, "Letters and Memories," 47, USAHEC.

[13] Nixon, "Letters and Memories," 52, USAHEC.

[14] Parker, *The Old Army*, 237.

[15] Nixon, "Letters and Memories," 47, USAHEC.

Distrust of "amigos" presented another major problem. While American papers reported that Filipino villagers "were glad to welcome friendly and protecting troops" as they provided the American soldiers with refreshment and shelter, sometimes this warm hospitality was a ruse.[16] Nixon expressed the disdain that many of the soldiers felt towards the locals, especially in areas with heavy insurgent activity. He wrote to his family in Ohio that "[Filipinos] are as cruel and treacherous as they can be. When you are out on picket post you are as liable to be struck down by one behind you who professes friendship, as by an avowed enemy in front."[17] In the interlude after the Battle of Vigan, some of the Thirty-Third's men had time to reflect on the days leading to the battle. How did the Filipino insurgents get into the city? Why did they enjoy the element of surprise? Clearly the motives of Vigan's citizens were suspect. Private William Trafton wrote, "[The insurgents] had known every move that we made… we learned afterward that many of the folks in Vigan knew of it, and many of them would have enjoyed seeing the last one of us murdered in our beds."[18]

Despite any misgivings the Americans had towards Filipino civilians, the evidence shows that the men of the Thirty-Third were actually very forgiving about civilian duplicity. Trafton postulated that "I guess they thought that we would treat them like they had been treated for hundreds of years, but afterward they seem [*sic*] to wake up to the fact that we were not so bad and many of them got to be staunch friends."[19] Private Lawrence Benton of Company A offered another perspective: "We got along well with them realizing that they couldnot [*sic*] do

[16] "Filipinos Took Flight," *Dallas Morning News*, 5 December 1899.

[17] Nixon, "Letters and Memories," 28, USAHEC.

[18] Trafton, *We Thought We Could Whip Them in Two Weeks*, 44.

[19] Trafton, *We Thought We Could Whip Them in Two Weeks*, 44.

otherwise than give a measure of support to the insurgency. Their own safety depended on it."[20] Benton was quite perceptive. Filipinos who aided the Americans often did so at their own peril. Even civil officials feared retaliation from insurgents. The post commanders took these incidents seriously, even if they were unable to locate the perpetrators. "The troops here are almost constantly scouting and running down rumors," Major Thomas Q. Ashburn reported from the headquarters at Bangued.[21]

Military investigations often unearthed horrific acts of insurgent terrorism designed to cow the locals into obedience or passive acquiescence to Aguinaldo's cause. Lieutenant Richard Cordill reported that the acting *presidente* of Santo Domingo was assaulted by bolomen on 19 December 1900.[22] Captain James Butler led 57 men of Company B of the Thirty-Third to Pidigan to investigate the murder of a local man that had occurred late one night. The body had a note left with it that read in part, "You have been assassinated because you have been a traitor to your country." Butler's soldiers canvassed the area, but the civilians did not offer any assistance.[23] Private Nixon noted an even more horrific episode: "One morning we found our [Filipino] baker near the cook house and he was all in a pile, his head feet and arms were cut off and piled on top of him and a note wrote and put with him stating that was the way in which [the *insurrectos*] treated an enemy."[24] On April 19, 1900, Nixon wrote of the grisly fate that came to another Filipino who was friendly to the American cause: "the insurgents tied him to a telegraph

[20] Benton questionnaire, Spanish-American War Veterans Survey Collection, Box 69, Folder 29, USAHEC.

[21] Major Thomas Q. Ashburn to Adjutant [Burroughs], Thirty-Third Infantry, 94/117, Regimental Letters Sent, Thirty-Third Infantry, Box 13, File 87, NA.

[22] United States Senate, *Charges of Cruelty, Etc. to the Natives of the Philippines* (Senate Document 205, 57th Congress, 1st Session, 1902), 54.

[23] Captain James Butler to Adjutant [Burroughs], Thirty-Third Infantry, 94/117, Regimental Letters Sent, Thirty-Third Infantry, Box 13, File 132, NA.

[24] William Trafton incomplete memoir, Spanish-American War Veterans Survey Collection, Box 69, Folder 31, p. 36, USAHEC.

pole, and cut off his head with a bolo."[25] The skulking insurgents also caught unwary soldiers. Trafton of Company B wrote about such an incident: "a fellow was on outpost one dark night [and] a native crawled up on him and choped [*sic*] at his head… the native cut off his arm in three places."[26]

Attacks on Filipino collaborators did not go unpunished by the Thirty-Third. One instance of retaliation began on 4 May 1900 with the capture of three policemen at Candon. During a local dance, the Filipino police officers were captured by insurgents under Ysabello Abia, one of General Manuel Tinio's top lieutenants and a scourge to the Americans. This blatant insult to American authority could not go unanswered. One evening close to midnight two days after the incident, fourteen men from Company G secretly met fifteen men from Company E at the military headquarters in Candon. Lieutenant Donald C. McClelland of Company G was in command of the makeshift unit. They marched out of Candon quietly so as not to wake the villagers. The men followed the road towards the mountains about four miles, then turned onto a narrow trail where a ramshackle house stood with two elderly Filipinos inside. The Americans believed that the path led to an *insurrecto* base and "rather forcibly brought pressure" on the occupants to extract the needed directions. The details are left to the imagination, but after some questioning, one of the old men opened the back wall of the house and revealed a trail leading to Abia's compound.[27]

The path was steep and stony, but the Americans slipped past two sleeping *insurrecto* sentries. There in the dark plaza were two of the three missing policemen, tied to posts. A third

[25] Nixon, "Letters and Memories," 46, USAHEC.

[26] Trafton incomplete memoir, Spanish-American War Veterans Survey Collection, Box 69, Folder 31, p. 36, USAHEC.

[27] Nixon, "Letters and Memories," 50, USAHEC.

post, caked with dried blood, suggested to the angry Americans the grisly fate of the third policeman.[28] After freeing the prisoners, a firefight erupted that resulted in the wounding and capture of Abia. The fact that he was merely wounded and not dead evidently was a problem for Lieutenant McClelland that could result in reprisals from General Tinio. Abia was Tinio's chief subordinate in northern Luzon. If Tinio discovered that Abia was incarcerated at Candon, the city could expect an attack at once to free the insurgent lieutenant. According to Nixon:

> When I saw [Lieutenant McClelland] in earnest talk with one of our sergeants, I knew it must be a court martial. I was still in charge of prisoners and Abia was being carried on a litter just ahead of me. When I saw the sergeant drop back along the line working his gun bolt I knew what would happen, and so did Abia, as I saw him cross himself.

A single Krag gunshot ended Abia's life. His summary execution became the subject of sober discussion among the locals back at Candon.[29]

This callous treatment of a Filipino prisoner was not common among the Thirty-Third. As a general rule, the soldiers of the regiment appear to have conducted themselves in the Philippines according to the accepted standards of military decency. For example, the regiment's officers did not sanction brutality towards Filipino prisoners. According to the Report of the Surgeon General of the Army in 1900, "a profound impression was made on the more intelligent class of Filipinos by the kindness of our soldiers to their wounded… Filipino prisoners observed that their wounded, when in our hands, were dressed and cared for by us as if they belonged to our own Army, and this even when we had to leave them behind on account of military

[28] Nixon believed that it was Abia who had executed the third policeman with a sword. He described the weapon as "nearly three feet long and double edged with a blade over two inches wide. It had a cross hilt and looked like one of the old Crusader swords." Nixon, "Letters and Memories," 51, USAHEC.

[29] Nixon did not mention the name of the sergeant who executed Abia. It is noteworthy that without Abia to lead them, guerilla activity near Candon declined sharply and Nixon's later letters mention fewer military hardships in favor of descriptions of locales and observations about local customs. His overall tone also became more benign towards his experiences in Candon, eventually describing his service by late June 1900 as "easy." Nixon, "Letters and Memories," 51-60, USAHEC.

necessity."[30] This benevolence by the Thirty-Third's personnel towards Filipino prisoners appears to have been standard policy. While isolated cases of retaliation towards guerillas occasionally happened, such cases were not the result of policy. Private Lawrence Benton wrote that there were occasional cases of "severe treatment" in order to extract information, but such cases were highly unusual and condemned.[31] In typical cases, Filipino prisoners were transported under guard from where they were captured to Vigan, where they were confined at the guardhouse.

While there clearly existed a condescending attitude from many Americans toward Filipinos in northern Luzon, it appears that American soldiers also bore within them a sense of idealism that they were there to do what they considered the right thing for their country. "We were soldiers fighting to uphold the honor of the American flag in a newly acquired territorial possession," Benton recalled. "We did not hate our enemies. We knew they were only misguided and falsely apprehensive." Benton also wrote that most Filipino civilians got along well with the soldiers of the Thirty-Third.[32] While Benton's words were written over sixty years after he returned from the Philippines, there is no available evidence in the Thirty-Third's records that suggests his attitude was not genuinely felt by many of the men at the time of the Philippine War.

Soldiers followed a general routine at their posts. While these schedules were subject to change due to circumstance and location, the list of daily bugle calls at the post of Vigan during

[30] United States Department of the Army Surgeon General, *Report of the Surgeon General of the Army to the Secretary of War for the Fiscal Year Ended June 30, 1900* (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1900), 90.

[31] Benton questionnaire, Spanish American War Veterans Survey Collection, Box 69, Folder 17, USAHEC.

[32] Benton questionnaire, Spanish-American War Veterans Survey Collection, Box 69, Folder 17, USAHEC.

May 1900 provides a general idea for the regiment's daily routine while they were in camp.[33] The bugler called reveille around 6:00 a.m. Manila time, and a morning assembly for exercise that lasted around thirty to forty minutes immediately followed. Breakfast began at 6:40 am and lasted about twenty minutes, barely enough time for the men to drown their bacon and biscuits with mugs of coffee. Sick call began at 7:00 a.m. to account for men absent in the hospital. Another assembly began at 8:00 a.m. Adjutants met at 8:05 a.m. and first sergeants at 11:30 a.m. Lunch (called dinner in the list of calls) began at noon, and supper was at 5:30 p.m. The evening bugle calls were based on the time that the sun disappeared over the South China Sea. The bugler called final evening assembly around five minutes before sunset, and retreat was called as the sun completed its descent. Tattoo, called at 9:00 p.m., gave the men fifteen minutes to extinguish lights and cease all noise. Taps played at 9:30 p.m. On Saturday mornings, usually around 8:00 a.m., there were company inspections. The men, dressed in their blue and khaki uniforms and campaign hats, formed up in front of their barracks. An officer from their company then inspected the physical conditions of the men and their weapons. Falling out from heat exhaustion was not an uncommon occurrence at muster.[34]

The sole ration for garrison troops was plain rice for every meal, unless soldiers could acquire chickens or vegetables or liquor from the locals. It was not unheard of for soldiers to simply take what they wanted from locals. Private Nixon explained, "When you offer a man $5.00 for a turkey and he won't take it, why, you take the turkey."[35] Such frustration may have

[33] The 13 April 1900 schedule at Bangued, for example, had reveille at 5:15 a.m., then more company drills at 8:35 a.m. after the adjutant call in addition to a schedule similar to the one at Vigan. Special Orders No. 43, Headquarters 1st Battalion 33rd Infantry, 13 April 1900, RG 395/3068, Records of U.S. Army Overseas Operations and Commands, 1898-1942, Special Orders, NA.

[34] General Orders No. 23, Headquarters Vigan, 19 May 1900, RG 395/5590, Records of U.S. Army Overseas Operations and Commands, 1898-1942, General Orders and Circulars, Vol. 1, NA.

[35] Nixon, "Letters and Memories," 66, USAHEC.

been understandable, as five dollars was nearly a third of a private's monthly pay. On the march, the men ate the standard Army fare of bacon and hardtack with a mug of strong coffee. Cronin deemed the military rations to be "very good" and sufficiently ample, so long as they could be transported to the troops. Such logistics were uncertain during the latter half of 1900 and scavenging became more necessary.[36] The men scrounged rice, chickens, and fruit to supplement their meals, and often for the sole food in their bellies. Foraging became so common that the men became experts at living off the land.[37] Another option was canned "emergency rations." The Army intended that canned rations were for only emergency use in northern Luzon, but some of the Thirty-Third's company officers distributed them to their men more liberally than regulations allowed. In an undated report, Cronin claimed that most of the men under his command preferred the taste and sustaining qualities of the canned rations to their usual standard fare. Lieutenant Solomon L. Jeffers remarked that his men "will often taste an emergency ration rather than a field ration for a five days' march." The sole negative report came from a single case in Company C, whose men were unable to consume the canned food due to its strong oily taste.[38] Soldiers who were near a military commissary such as the ones at Candon, Bangued, or Vigan had access to a variety of fresh foods that included tomatoes, bacon, chickens, eggs, onions, and salmon. Also available were desiccated codfish, which resembled sawdust, although "only good, fresh sawdust would have some flavor," as one soldier complained.[39] Coffee and tobacco were also available.

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[36] Cronin to Adjutant General, Division of the Philippines, 27 February 1901, RG 94/117, Regimental Letters Sent, Thirty-Third Infantry, Box 15, File 289, NA.

[37] Benton questionnaire, Spanish American War Veterans Survey Collection, Box 69, Folder 17, USAHEC.

[38] The report likely dates from 9 or 10 August 1900 based on its place in the Regimental Letters Sent Book. See Cronin to Adjutant General, Division of the Philippines, RG 94/117, Regimental Letters Sent, Thirty-Third Infantry, Box 15, File 763, NA.

[39] Nixon, "Letters and Memories," 37, 67, USAHEC.

As with their comrades who had fought in Cuba, the impracticality of their uniforms was a constant complaint among the men of the Thirty-Third. The tropical humidity of the Philippines ensured that they routinely suffered from heat exhaustion. Private Trafton recalled, "we got so hot with those heavy wool shirts on that we near fainted, our water was soon gone… I remember one poor fellow from Cripple Creek Col [*sic*] who had drank all of his water, and it seemed as if he would die if he did not get water, he plead [*sic*] with me for just one small sip which I, gave him, and if he is alive he will remember the incident."[40] Eventually the War Department ordered a change to the uniforms. This was a bittersweet change for some soldiers. Nixon remarked, "So many poets have sung of the boys in blue that it seems bad to spoil their songs… [but] the blue shirt is too easily seen and makes a fine target… I don't know how many times I have run into people at night because they had their khaki clothes on… so good-bye to the boys in blue."[41] The khaki uniforms, however, often faded after a wash. Furthermore, Army shoes were poorly suited for the marches in Luzon and often fell apart after only a week's use.[42]

Christmas was normally a time of celebration in the Army. One soldier recalled that for Christmas 1899, his colleagues pooled their resources to supplement their meager rations with fresh eggs, fried bananas, and four gallons of locally-produced liquor. He wrote, "By noon many of them did not know whether they were abroad or at home, but who could blame them… it seemed as if we were to die some way any way."[43] A second holiday was American Independence Day. General Young ordered a celebration of the holiday at all military stations in

[40] Trafton incomplete memoir, Spanish-American War Veterans Survey Collection, Box 69, Folder 31, p. 40, USAHEC.

[41] Nixon, "Letters and Memories," 45, USAHEC.

[42] Lieutenant Colonel P. W. West to Adjutant General, Department of Northern Luzon, 30 June 1901, in U.S. War Department, *Annual Report 1900, Vol. 1*, Pt. 5, p. 300.

[43] Trafton incomplete memoir, Spanish-American War Veterans Survey Collection, Box 69, Folder 31, p. 35, USAHEC.

northeastern Luzon. He instructed post commanders to use the popular holiday to "cause the inhabitants to remember this day, on which was born the [illegible] of Freedom, that is to extend its protecting aegis over the inhabitants of these fertile islands." All men aside from post guards and personnel in the field had the day off from duty.[44]

As the pay for a private soldier was meager, there were few opportunities for soldiers of the Thirty-Third Infantry to spend their pay in the Philippines. Consequently, gambling was common. Private Lawrence Benton remarked that "it was hard to find a deck of cards less than two inches thick from over usage." Gambling was so prevalent among the men that Hare was said to have remarked that his regiment boasted 1200 sharpshooters and 1300 crapshooters.[45] Occasionally soldiers would attend cockfights, though this was uncommon. Overall, habits among the enlisted men were not overly different from soldiers stationed in the United States.[46]

Many officers, being married, eventually had opportunities to bring their wives to join them in the Philippines. Enlisted men, being free from such domestic attachments in accordance with Army regulations, could easily find companionship among the Filipino women, although the Army did not license, protect, or encourage the use of brothels for its soldiers in the Philippines.[47] Private Lawrence Benton remarked that "a considerable number" of his comrades fell victim to the charms of Filipino women, adding the caveat that "this is a situation which is found in all countries where American soldiers are stationed."[48]

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[44] General Orders No. 8, Headquarters First District Department of Northern Luzon, 2 July 1900, RG 395/2173, Records of U.S. Army Overseas Operations and Commands, 1898-1942, General Orders and Circulars, Vol. 1, NA.

[45] Benton questionnaire, Spanish-American War Veterans Survey Collection, Box 69, Folder 17, USAHEC.

[46] United States Department of the Army Surgeon General, *Report of the Surgeon General of the Army to the Secretary of War for the Fiscal Year Ended June 30, 1901* (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1901), 172.

[47] MacArthur to Adjutant General, 17 January 1901, *CWS* 2:1247.

[48] Benton questionnaire, Spanish American War Veterans Survey Collection, Box 69, Folder 17, USAHEC.

Alcohol was another potential distraction, although officers discouraged alcohol consumption. One soldier remarked that given the oppressive heat of the Philippines, "a man who drinks over here is simply committing suicide."[49] In response to reports of drunkenness in Cuba, the War Department did permit canteens to operate at the local posts in the Philippines. Not only could officers thus regulate the alcohol intake of their men, but it would also dissuade soldiers from drinking what the War Department called "the vile native concoctions" known as *vino*.[50] This drink was a crudely produced wood alcohol that locals distilled from the buds of nipa palm leaves.[51] Distilleries in Manila tended to produce higher quality *vino* than those in more remote villages, but the effects were the same. The drink was highly intoxicating and addictive to American soldiers and had a corrosive effect on the brain. According to the Surgeon General of the Army, "Vino causes a maniacal acute alcoholism, in which any crime may be committed, and after recovery from a debauch depression is greater than from ethylic alcohol. Repeated overindulgence may act as an exciting cause of insanity… Melancholia is more common than mania. Practically all habitués become perverted, entering into that state so often seen in morphine fiends of loss of responsibility and inability to distinguish between right and wrong."[52]

Needless to say, American medical personnel regarded v*ino* as a detriment to combat readiness and the Surgeon General of the Army blamed it for most of the "evil effects of

[49] Nixon, "Letters and Memories," 35, USAHEC.

[50] U.S. War Department, *Annual Report 1900, Vol. 1,* Pt. 2, p. 25.

[51] United States Department of the Army Surgeon General, *Report of the Surgeon General of the Army to the Secretary of War for the Fiscal Year Ended June 30, 1902* (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1902), 96.

[52] U.S. Army, *Report of the Surgeon General, 1902*, p. 96.

intemperance" among the enlisted men.[53] The Army understood that soldiers would acquire refreshments if none were available, so to counter the insidious lures of *vino* and other native liquors, military canteens were a wise precaution. Major Franklin Meacham, Chief Surgeon for the Third Military District of the Department of Northern Luzon, reported that such canteens nearly eliminated *vino* consumption among the American soldiers.[54]

Still, *vino* remained an attractive and addictive vice for some volunteers. Their illegal pursuit of the liquor often embarrassed the regiment and landed them in the guardhouse. Company officers swiftly punished these transgressors. During the evening hours of 21 October 1900, Privates Angelo P. Wade and Edward Hermany of Company D, Thirty-Third Infantry, illegally entered the residence of the *alcalde* of Bangued and demanded *vino* from the shocked Paredes family members at gunpoint. When Wade and Hermany did not immediately get what they wanted, they threatened to burn down the house. Both privates were promptly arrested and confined. The Paredes family acted as witnesses at their court-martial, where Hermany received his fourth and Wade his first conviction. Captain Lindsey P. Rucker called the entire episode a "discredit and disgrace of the service and especially the discredit of the Post."[55]

Threats to the military's relations with Filipino elites were not limited to the transgressions of drunken enlisted men. Second Lieutenant John A. Jackson reported to Captain Louis F. Gerard at Vigan of the troubling case of a civilian veterinarian at Bangued. According to Jackson's testimony, this man, whose name was remembered only as Jones, arrived at Bangued to take charge of the health of all public and private animals at the post. Jones told

[53] U.S. Army, *Report of the Surgeon General, 1901*, p. 172.

[54] Major Franklin A. Meacham, Report, n.d., in U.S. Army, *Report of the Surgeon General, 1900*, pp. 137-142.

[55] Captain Lindsay P. Rucker to [Unknown], 21 October 1900, RG 94/117, Regimental Letters Sent, Thirty-Third Infantry, Box 29, Company D, File 178, NA.

Jackson that he had orders from the post commander to euthanize all ponies at the post that suffered from glanders, a contagious and often fatal disease contracted from the consumption of contaminated food. Jones ordered at least six suspected ponies to be put to death. This might have continued indefinitely had not Jones "been crazed with drink" and made threats upon the life of Bangued's *presidente* without any provocation. The subsequent investigation of the incident revealed that Jones had received no orders whatsoever to kill ponies and "because of prejudice or other malevolent thoughts" he wanted to kill the ponies belonging to the *presidente*.[56]

One officer of the Thirty-Third, Second Lieutenant Etienne P. de Bujac, had to be dismissed from the Army because of his liquor consumption.[57] On 14 August 1900, Bujac was found dead drunk by some enlisted men near his house in Bangued. They helped him into his house and informed Captain Charles Van Way, who then reported Bujac's besotted condition to his superiors. An investigation revealed that not only had Bujac violated a pledge to abstain from alcohol, but he had actually sold liquor to enlisted men. In a moment of contrition, Bujac wrote to Colonel Cronin on 24 August, "I have tried to make a good soldier such as you and the Lt. Col. [Peyton C. March] deserve to have under you. I have failed. I am sorry. I leave it to you appreciating your goodness."[58]

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[56] Second Lieutenant John A. Jackson to Captain Louis F. Gerard, [unknown day] May 1900, RG395/3064, Records of U.S. Army Overseas Operations and Commands, 1898-1942, Letters Received, NA.

[57] A *Denver Post* article claimed that Bujac turned to drink when he received a letter at Bangued from his fiancée in New Orleans declaring that she had left him for another man. In a fit of "insanity and drunkenness," Bujac took out his rage on Major Thomas Q. Ashburn. Pronounced insane, Bujac was sent to an asylum in Vigan under guard and lost his entire savings along the way. Whether or not the article embellished the truth of Bujac's story, the *Post's* article nevertheless suggests that the Thirty-Third was yet still in the public eye during the insurrection phase of the Philippine War. "A Soldier's Unrequited Love," *Denver Post*, 13 January 1901.

[58] March to Commanding Officer, Thirty-Third Infantry, 25 August 1900, RG 395/3059, Records of U.S. Army Overseas Operations and Commands, 1898-1942, Letters Sent, Vol. 1, File 143, NA.

Bujac's alcoholism caused Colonel Cronin on 25 August 1900 to report that the lieutenant had "seriously impaired his usefulness as an officer" and that, despite the colonel's personal conversations with the lieutenant, Bujac continued to lapse into drink. Toward the end of October 1900, Bujac broke down completely and was pronounced insane. March ordered him to report to the insane asylum at Vigan under guard and accompanied by Captain Frederick Hadra, the assistant surgeon for the Thirty-Third.[59] Bujac remained in the hospital for nearly two months.[60] Unconvinced that Bujac would remain sober permanently, Lieutenant Colonel March recommended that he be given the opportunity to resign rather than face a court-martial.[61] "In the best interest of the regiment and the service," Cronin recommended that Bujac be sent to the Presidio, where the lieutenant's resignation would be accepted away from the curious eyes of his men.[62] On 12 October 1900, Bujac was ordered aboard the first available transport for San Francisco.[63]

On the whole, alcoholism was not a significant problem for the Thirty-Third's men as long as they remained away from the taverns and alehouses of Manila. In a letter in which MacArthur responded to Adjutant General Henry C. Corbin's concern about the American public's perception of hard-drinking soldiers in the Philippines, the General commented that: "one drunkard in [a] public place creates [an] impression among citizens of extensive disorders

[59] Special Orders No. 49, Post Headquarters, Bangued, 25 October 1900, RG 395/3068, Records of U.S. Army Overseas Operations and Commands, 1898-1942, Special Orders, NA.

[60] Special Orders No. 97, Headquarters, First District, Department of Northern Luzon, 12 December 1900, RG 395/2173, Records of U.S. Army Overseas Operations and Commands, 1898-1942, Special Orders, NA.

[61] March to Adjutant [Burroughs], Thirty-Third Infantry, 27 August 1900, RG 395/3059, Records of U.S. Army Overseas Operations and Commands, 1898-1942, Letters Sent, Vol. 1, File 133, NA.

[62] Cronin to [Unknown], 25 August 1900, RG 94/117, Regimental Letters Sent, Thirty-Third Infantry, Box 15, File 778, NA.

[63] Captain James Butler to Commanding Officer, Bangued [telegram], 24 October 1900, RG 94/117, Regimental Letters Sent, Thirty-Third Infantry, Box 15, File 953, NA.

throughout [the] whole force, which is not [the] case." Near the end of the Thirty-Third's time of service in January 1901, General MacArthur reported again to the Adjutant General in Washington that drunkenness in the Philippines was "no more noticeable here than in garrisons [in the] United States."[64]

While on garrison duty, the American soldiers compelled the Filipinos to improve the livability of the occupied villages and towns. Foremost among them was sanitation. Soldiers procured their drinking water from open wells. During the rainy season from mid-summer to early autumn, surface water would flood these wells with runoff, waste, and sewage. Men drank this befouled water at their own peril, and consequently diseases like typhoid and dysentery were widespread. These sanitation hazards led Nixon to write home: "the country over here in present conditions is not fit for a white man to live in."[65] Those above him in the chain of command shared his grave concerns about health. In mid-August 1900, March ordered the company commanders at Bangued to investigate the state of their men. Their reports revealed that "the general average of physical endurance of the command is lower than it was when they first came here," due to extensive marches in the mountains. March suggested that soldiers who required a change in climate be transferred to China instead of another post in the Philippines.[66]

Despite the rudimentary precautions taken by regimental doctors, disease remained a major concern for the men of the Thirty-Third Infantry throughout the Philippine War. Major Albert Lieberman, the regimental surgeon, had soldiers inoculated for smallpox several times from the time of enlistment to their departure from the United States. Nixon reported that he had

[64] MacArthur to Adjutant General [Corbin], 17 January 1901, *CWS* 2:1247.

[65] Nixon, "Letters and Memories," 63, USAHEC.

[66] March to Post Adjutant, Vigan, 17 August 1900, RG 395/3059, Records of U.S. Army Overseas Operations and Commands, 1898-1942, Letters Sent, Vol.1, File 122, NA.

been inoculated three times since he had volunteered for service: "when [the doctors] have nothing to do at the hospital they order the men up to be vaccinated. I am getting tired of it for they cut so very deep."[67] The regimental surgeons did inoculate the soldiers on several occasions for smallpox. These precautions bore some fruit by the time the regiment departed the Philippines, as the Surgeon General of the Army declared that disease to be "almost entirely been suppressed." At least eleven of the men, however, died of the disease. Soldiers who died of smallpox were buried in a separate graveyard and their possessions were incinerated to prevent the contagion from spreading. Dysentery also remained dangerous.[68] Two-thirds of all diseases contracted by volunteer troops in the Philippine islands were malarial and diarrheal diseases. Soldiers routinely fell sick and dozens of them had multiple stints in the hospital. Some of them never completely recovered. The diseases became so debilitating to American troops that Colonel Hare told a *Washington Evening Star* correspondent that "all soldiers sickening on field duty must be sent home to recuperate or else they will never get well."[69] Private Lawrence Benton recalled that medical treatment in the field for all these maladies could be crude. He said, "Our doctor Hadley [*sic*] cautioned us not to get sick as his only pills were quinine and castor oil."[70] While opium was occasionally prescribed as a sedative in cases of chronic dysentery, malaria, and other tropical diseases among American troops in the Philippines, there is no evidence in the Thirty-Third's records that the regiment's physicians prescribed opium, or that any of the soldiers become addicted to the drug.[71]

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[67] Nixon, "Letters and Memories," 14, USAHEC.

[68] U.S. Army, *Report of the Surgeon General, 1901*, 128.

[69] "Gen. Hare Back from Manila," *Evening Star* (Washington, DC), 1 May 1901.

[70] Benton likely refers to Captain Frederick Hadra, one of the regiment's assistant surgeons. See Benton questionnaire, Spanish-American War Veterans Survey Collection, Box 69, Folder 17, USAHEC.

[71] U.S. Army, *Report of the Surgeon General, 1900*, 131.

Still, the hazards of tropical service had a pronounced effect on the men. This malaise was not limited to just the Thirty-Third's men. Brigadier General Adolphus W. Greely reported to the Surgeon General of the Army in 1901: "the most energetic and stalwart American after a year of service here loses energy, strength and ambition. He performs what work his duty demands more or less half-heartedly and with a draft on his vital energy that he can actually feel at the time. Slight ailments, to which a second thought would not be given in the United States, are felt out of all proportion to their severity."[72] Part of the problem lay in the fact that flies, mosquitoes, and other parasites were a continual nuisance. The soldiers of the Thirty-Third Infantry at Candon invented a novel solution to lice infestations. As Private Nixon recalled, "You can get [local monkeys] to come up to you and they will jump on your back and commence digging in your hair for lice. Sometimes they find them, too, as this country is full of them and all of the natives have them."[73]

With health a major concern for the soldiers, the Americans needed a system of cheap labor to improve the posts. The Army's solution to this problem was impressment. Filipinos who were imprisoned for civil crimes were enlisted into a corvée that cleaned the town and worked on projects such as transit and sanitation improvements, supervised by American soldiers to ensure their compliance. The duration of forced labor varied on the sentence imposed. Provost court records for the posts at Candon and Narvacan reveal patterns of court procedures in areas that the Thirty-Third garrisoned. A company officer served as the provost judge. For example, at the post of Candon the provost judge was Captain Henry L. Jenkinson, while at Narvacan the judge was Lieutenant George L. Febiger. The procedure was similar to that of a trial in the United States,

[72] Brigadier General Adolphus W. Greely to Adjutant General [Corbin], United States Army, in U.S. Army, *Report of the Surgeon General, 1901,* 131.

[73] Nixon, "Letters and Memories," 64, USAHEC.

but defendants did not have the benefit of a jury. They were brought before the court, the accusation was presented to the provost judge, and the defendants would offer their pleas. If they claimed to be not guilty, witness and character testimony from American and Filipino witnesses could be offered, and the judge would consider the weight of the evidence and testimony before he rendered the sentence. Defendants found guilty of minor civil crimes usually had to pay a fine or endure a brief period of confinement at the post guardhouse. They could pay their fines in part by choosing to perform manual labor for the town. For example, on 3 July 1900 Lieutenant Febiger fined Damaso de la Peña $8 in Mexican silver for selling liquor to Filipinos without a license, but Febiger offered de la Peña the option of paying the fine by working on Narvacan's roads at a wage of 50 cents per day. De la Peña worked for three days and then paid the outstanding balance.[74] Several cases indicate that Filipinos who sold liquor to American soldiers were fined a larger amount of $50.

Misdemeanors usually brought lesser sentences, but more serious crimes that were unrelated to assisting Aguinaldo's insurgents still resulted in harsher sentences of confinement and hard labor. Captain Jenkinson at Candon found Saturuino Zarsosa guilty of disturbing the peace and resisting arrest when the Filipino refused to obey the town's regulations. Similar to the de la Peña case, he fined Zarsosa $10 in Mexican silver but allowed him to work at a rate of $3 per day to pay the fine.[75] At the same time, Jenkinson sentenced Victor de la Cruz to hard labor for ten months for armed robbery, which seems to have been the standard sentence for that crime

[74] "Case No. 2," 3 July 1900, RG 395/4563, Records of U.S. Army Overseas Operations and Commands, 1898-1942, Register of Charges and Specifications for Cases Tried by the Provost Court, July 1900-April 1901, NA.

[75] "Case No. 4," 10 September 1900, RG 395/4563, Records of U.S. Army Overseas Operations and Commands, 1898-1942, Register of Charges and Specifications for Cases Tried by the Provost Court, July 1900-April 1901, NA.

at Candon.[76] Lorenzo Velasco, whom the court at Santa Cruz found guilty of failing to tell military authorities about a shotgun concealed in a home of which he was the owner, had a choice of a fine of $50 in Mexican silver or confinement at hard labor for one month. Velasco avoided imprisonment when he chose to pay the fine in full.[77]

Filipino civilians whom the Thirty-Third's provost courts found guilty of assisting Aguinaldo's insurgents suffered the most severe sentences. The greater assistance that a civilian had provided to the insurgents, the harsher his sentence became upon conviction by a provost court. For example, Captain Jenkinson found Fermin Manzano of Candon guilty of seeking to acquire supplies for the insurgents and sentenced him to one year's confinement at hard labor without the option of payment.[78] Lieutenant Febiger found Francisco Torrado guilty of aiding and abetting insurgents when the Narvacan native entertained ten guerillas at his house and supplied them with food on the night of 17 September 1900. Torrado's hospitality cost him a fine of $500 in Mexican silver, and he was confined for six months at hard labor in a military prison.[79] Provost court records indicate that the Thirty-Third's judges meted out the most severe sentences to Filipinos who were actually members of the Katipunan revolutionary society. Lieutenant Febiger sentenced Katipunan member Julian Bernal of Narvacan to a fine of $1000 in

[76] "Case No. 9," 29 June 1900, 10 September 1900, RG 395/4563, Records of U.S. Army Overseas Operations and Commands, 1898-1942, Register of Charges and Specifications for Cases Tried by the Provost Court, February 1900-July 1901, NA.

[77] "Case No. 21," 9 September 1900, RG 395/3410, Records of U.S. Army Overseas Operations and Commands, 1898-1942, Register of Charges and Specifications for Cases Tried by the Provost Court, February 1900-July 1901, NA.

[78] "Case No. 23," 13 September 1900, RG 395/3410, Records of U.S. Army Overseas Operations and Commands, 1898-1942, Register of Charges and Specifications for Cases Tried by the Provost Court, February 1900-July 1901, NA.

[79] "Case No. 5," n.d., RG 395/4563, Records of U.S. Army Overseas Operations and Commands, 1898-1942, Register of Charges and Specifications for Cases Tried by the Provost Court, July 1900-April 1901, NA.

Mexican silver in addition to a confinement period of two years.[80] Bernal's sentence was typical for Filipinos found guilty of Katipunan membership at Narvacan. There is no evidence in the available provost court records from the Thirty-Third's posts at Candon or Narvacan that any Filipino civilian was sentenced to death for any transgression.

For their part, the Thirty-Third's soldiers who witnessed this enforced labor did so with a sense of detached bemusement. Private Nixon and his colleagues would often "sit in the shade and see that some native [labors on civil improvements] while we take a good rest." The speed of the labor, however, was usually a source of frustration for Americans. The locals, either because of the heat or forced compliance, "work about as slow as it is possible for a human being to move."[81] Ultimately, provost judges appear to have meted out stern but fair sentences. The option that they normally gave to civilians to pay their fines with labor provided a flexible solution that simultaneously addressed the needs of military justice and a source of cheap labor for infrastructure. These domestic improvements were crucial in winning the hearts and minds of Filipinos. If "benevolent assimilation" was to succeed in creating a peaceful American colony in the western Pacific, United States officials had to convince the Filipinos to prefer their rule to that of Aguinaldo's regime. The United States could offer security, tangible benefits, and visible improvement in the quality of life for Filipinos. Aguinaldo's forces lacked control of the settled areas and could not do this. In addition to improving infrastructure, enhancing public health and safety, administering justice, and preventing insurgents from gaining any footholds, the Army needed to build or refurbish schools for the Filipinos as part of the program of "benevolent assimilation." Company commanders administered the distribution of schoolbooks and writing

[80] "Case No. 7," n.d., RG 395/4563, Records of U.S. Army Overseas Operations and Commands, 1898-1942, Register of Charges and Specifications for Cases Tried by the Provost Court, July 1900-April 1901, NA.

[81] Nixon, "Letters and Memories," 39-40, USAHEC.

materials at their posts. Most of these textbooks were scientific in nature. In June 1900, Captain Van Way, the commander at Bangued, delivered several hundred primers on mathematics, hygiene, and animal biology to the residents of Bangued and several surrounding towns.[82] Similar distributions occurred at other posts under the Thirty-Third's control.

These efforts to improve the quality of life for the locals appeared to have an impact. By the time of Lieutenant Colonel March's inspection of the posts in Abra Province in September 1900, Bangued was a changed town. March reported that the civil government of Bangued was "in good working order." He noted "marked improvement" in the quality of public schools and an increase in student enrollment. He wisely detailed Private William N. Striplin to teach English to the pupils. Striplin, a former printer from Kansas, eagerly took to the task. Additionally, the streets were clean and well-lighted, and the local bridges were in good repair. The stability and safety of the town attracted people from the countryside and the population swelled from 200 to 2000 inhabitants during the month of September. Similar trends were reported for the towns of Dolores, Pidigan, and Tayum. March singled out the community of Villaviciosa as an outlier. At the time of March's report, American and insurgent forces still contested the surrounding countryside around that town and the situation was "at a standstill," in part because of the greater distance from Villavicosa to friendly posts. March stated that, for that community, "conditions cannot improve until the military problem is settled."[83]

March's report indicates that, in regions where the Thirty-Third Infantry had suppressed the insurgents, the quality of life for local civilians had markedly increased. As the safety of the

[82] Van Way to Captain John G. Ballance, 30 June 1900, RG 94/117, Regimental Letters Sent, Thirty-Third Infantry, Box 13, File 678, NA.

[83] March to Ballance, 30 September 1900, RG 395/3059, Records of U.S. Army Overseas Operations and Commands, 1898-1942, Letters Sent, Vol. 1, File 278, NA.

communities rose, so did the cooperation of the civilians towards the American forces. The locals, March wrote on 1 October 1900, "are growing tired of the [insurgent] demands made upon them" and had given the Americans post at Bangued more information on insurgent activity. "This is undoubtedly due to the presence of our troops," March concluded.[84] However, by November 1900 the situation at Bangued had deteriorated due to escalated insurgent activity. March reported that they "undoubtedly have been animated in their actions against the town by the fact that it is not a contributor to their revenues," and they had set fires around the town. These acts of arson terrorized the inhabitants and caused all but five of Bangued's police to join the insurgents. March sent extra troops to the city to restore its security and prevent further incidents.[85]

Another method to win hearts and minds beyond public works included sanctioned social events for Army officers and Filipino civilians of good standing. As part of the American effort to assimilate the Philippines, some of the officers of the Thirty-Third organized a gala in Abra Province. The *Dallas Morning News* commented: "that the United States is showing the Philippine Islanders just what civilization has been known since the acquisition of these islands, but it remains for Texas to demonstrate to these new countrymen what social life under the Stars and Stripes is." The guests, many of whom were officers of the Thirty-Third or notables of Bangued and surrounding towns, met at a reception room festooned with arrangements of swords, bolos, and American banners that gave it a "most warlike but pleasing view." American bartenders served refreshments to the guests outside in the garden, where the latter enjoyed polite

[84] March to Ballance, 1 October 1900, RG 395/3059, Records of U.S. Army Overseas Operations and Commands, 1898-1942, Letters Sent, Vol. 1, File 279, NA.

[85] March to Chief Adjutant, Vigan, 8 November 1900, RG 395/3059, Records of U.S. Army Overseas Operations and Commands, 1898-1942, Letters Sent, Vol. 1, File 411, NA.

conversations at tables under mahogany chandeliers and canopies of bamboo. A Filipino band played "Dixie," "After the Ball," and "The Star-Spangled Banner," while perfumed and elegant women danced the evening away on the arms of the Thirty-Third's officers in their snappy white dress uniforms. The scene made at least one American officer forget for at least one night that there was still a war going on in the jungles and mountains.[86]

Letters from home also helped the men to forget that they were fighting a war. When not on a "hike," the Thirty-Third's soldiers avidly read correspondence when mail arrived from the United States about once a month.[87] While newspaper articles were often many weeks old by the time they reached the posts in northern Luzon, the sense of being connected to the outside world nonetheless could keep the soldiers from feeling isolated in their garrisons. Many events that affected the world also touched the Thirty-Third's men. Some, such as the American flag being lowered at every post to honor the passing of Queen Victoria in January 1901, had a modest effect, while others had more impact. One such event for the men from Galveston and Houston was the hurricane of 1900. This storm made landfall in southeastern Texas on 8 September and resulted in the complete destruction of the city of Galveston, then the fourth largest in Texas with a population of nearly 37,000 citizens. Between 6,000 and 8,000 Galvestonians perished in the storm, while an estimated 12,000 people died across the entire island. The hurricane so totally destroyed the city that it had to be completely reconstructed and reorganized during the next decade. Property damage estimates were around $30 million at the time of the storm. In terms of the death toll, the Galveston hurricane was still referred to in the 1980s as the worst natural disaster to ever strike North America.[88]

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[86] "Society in the Philippines," *Dallas Morning News,* 4 May 1900.

[87] Nixon, "Letters and Memories," 32, USAHEC.

[88] John Edward Weems, "Galveston Hurricane of 1900" in Tyler et al., *The New Handbook of Texas,* 3:64-65.

News of this terrible disaster greatly concerned members of the Thirty-Third Infantry. Many of the men were from Galveston and Houston, and they feared for the safety of their families and friends. At the suggestion of the regiment's quartermaster, Captain William S. Cunningham, company commanders organized donation drives during the month of November 1900. Within the ranks of Company L, Captain Edward Davis set the bar with a generous donation of five dollars. In addition to its captain, Company L had five sergeants, nine corporals, and fifty-nine privates and support personnel who offered personal contributions that ranged from $1.00 to $2.50. In all, Davis's company donated $110 for hurricane relief in a check made out to Joseph S. Sayers, the governor of Texas.[89] While other companies did not document the donations from their soldiers, it may be safely assumed that other soldiers also donated to hurricane relief.

The men in the Philippines also closely followed the United States presidential election of 1900, which was a rematch of the 1896 contest between the incumbent, William F. McKinley of Ohio, and his Democratic opponent, the Nebraska firebrand and populist William Jennings Bryan. As in presidential elections before and since, the two major candidates for the country's chief executive said whatever they had to say in order to appeal to their targeted voting blocs. While McKinley ran on a platform similar to the one he had used successfully in 1896, Bryan included an anti-imperialist focus in his message in order to tap into the antiwar sentiment that he believed still simmered in the United States. He was mistaken: according to one historian, the paramount issue of the election, the Philippine War, "was now more or less stale… and the

[89] Davis' letter to Cunningham contains a list with the names and ranks of every member of Company L who contributed to the relief fund. Captain Edward Davis to Captain W. S. Cunningham, RG 94/117, Regimental Letters Sent, Thirty-Third Infantry, Box 33 (Company L), File 92, NA.

American public, leaping with characteristic avidity from one sensation to another, had apparently already begun to classify them among those things settled and accepted."[90]

Nevertheless, while Bryan's managers calculated that an anti-imperialist message would resonate with voters and send the Cornhusker agitator to the White House, most of the soldiers in the Thirty-Third Infantry deeply loathed the prospect of a Bryan victory. Bryan's speeches convinced many of them that he and the anti-imperialists with which he was associated were escalating the trouble in the Philippines by emboldening Aguinaldo. Private Nixon wrote to his family in Ohio on several occasions about his anxiety concerning the election: "the speeches of the Democratic leaders against expansion has [*sic*] caused most of the trouble this winter and spring."[91] Nixon's complaint was one that soldiers from Luzon to Mindanao echoed: "It makes me mad to see long pieces in the papers against this war. Aguinaldo has access to such papers and every editorial against this war encourages him to hold out that much longer thinking we will grant him independence, and every day that he holds out means the loss of American lives."[92]

Nixon later wrote home in April 1900 with a tirade that revealed that the wounds from the American Civil War were not quite healed, which also influenced his political affiliations:

> I am more of a Republican than ever before. When you realize how much extra trouble the Democrat speeches in favor of Aguinaldo cost us you will know why the name "Democrat" makes a man feel for his bayonet. It is causing some of the Southern boys whose fathers were on the rebel side during the Civil War to change their minds. We have a corporal Jones who after reading one of Bryan's speeches said "my father fought for the South but when I get home I will go to the polls with a black nigger ahead of me and a black nigger behind me, and vote for a nigger before I will ever vote for a Democrat again." If I ever see Sen. [George F.] Hoar he will have to be a pretty big man

[90] Thomas A. Bailey, "Was the Presidential Election of 1900 a Mandate on Imperialism?" *The Mississippi Valley Historical Review* 24 (June 1937), 48.

[91] Nixon, "Letters and Memories," 42, USAHEC.

[92] Nixon, "Letters and Memories," 33-34, USAHEC.

> to keep me from telling him my opinion of him. To think of surrendering this island after we fought and marched all over it.[93]

Nixon and the other pro-McKinley soldiers had little to fear from a Bryan victory. As in 1896, Bryan represented the interests of Free Silver, farmers, and aging anti-imperialist idealists. In 1900 the United States economy was far stronger than it was during the depression-tainted days of 1896. With his appeal to farmers, Bryan did not realize that the United States in 1900 was transforming into an industrial and urban society. After the victory in the Spanish-American War and the ongoing conflict in the Philippines, many American voters interpreted Bryan's anti-imperialist message as tantamount to sedition. Eloquent speakers such as Theodore Roosevelt and Albert Beveridge effectively countered the advantage of Bryan's charisma. On 6 November, it was all over for Bryan when McKinley got 292 electoral votes to Bryan's 155. With Bryan's defeat, the United States now had another four years to suppress Aguinaldo's rebellion and pursue the "benevolent assimilation" of the Philippines.[94] And the Thirty-Third Infantry did its part in that mission.

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[93] There are several candidates for the un-named Corporal Jones. The Thirty-Third Infantry's records include three corporals with the surname of Jones. Nixon's reference is most likely to a corporal in his own Company G, A. P. Jones from Boerne, Texas. Another possibility is Company K's Corporal Vassar Jones from New Albany, Mississippi. The least likely candidate is Corporal Charles F. Jones, a Utah native from Company B. See Nixon, "Letters and Memories," 60-61, USAHEC; A. P. Jones entry, RG 94/117, Descriptive and Clothing Books, Thirty-Third Infantry, Box 4, Company G, p. 6, NA; Vassar Jones entry, RG 94/117, Descriptive and Clothing Books, Thirty-Third Infantry, Box 6, Company K, Vol. 1, p. 3 [page not numbered], NA; Charles F. Jones entry, RG 94/117, Descriptive and Clothing Books, Thirty-Third Infantry, Box 1, Company B, p. 11, NA.

[94] Writing between the two World Wars, one historian referred to Bryan's defeat as "the end of anti-imperialism as an important factor in American politics." Fred H. Harrington, "The Anti-Imperialist Movement in the United States, 1898-1900," *The Mississippi Valley Historical Review* 22 (September 1935), 228.

CHAPTER 7

"AND RETURN US TO OUR OWN BELOVED HOME"

As the Thirty-Third's men settled into their roles as a counterinsurgency force, occasionally the *insurrectos* would disrupt the routine of garrison duty in a number of ways. The most common one was cutting the telegraph wires to the garrisoned village. Such sabotage compelled an American officer to send an expedition into the wild to repair the damage, sometimes several times a day.[1] The insurgents could then ambush the expedition sent to repair the wires. Private William Trafton wrote that "one would think that we always had the dope on the insurgents when we went out after them, but they tricke [*sic*] us a lot of times, and we have been led right into an ambush and get all the devil shot out of us."[2] Since the Americans were in the Philippine islands to stay, communications were important. Where the Thirty-Third's soldiers went, vestiges of American civilization followed. After the regiment secured an area, the Army's Signal Corps would build new or repair and maintain existing telephone and telegraph lines to facilitate communication between Army units.[3] These lines of communication, so vital for facilitating the American colonial administration, remained opportune targets for Filipino guerillas that sought out "soft targets" as the conflict in the islands became a counterinsurgency.

The insurgents eventually became wise to the routine patrols along the telegraph lines and melted into the wild to evade capture. As it became clear that fixed patrols would not eliminate the persistent troublemakers, daily patrols went out at random times chosen by the patrol's commanding officer. In his orders on 16 July 1900, Lieutenant Colonel March suggested

[1] Nixon, "Letters and Memories," 40, USAHEC.

[2] Trafton incomplete memoir, Spanish-American War Veterans Survey Collection, Box 69, Folder 31, p. 49, USAHEC.

[3] See Lieutenant B. O. Lenoir to Wheaton, in U.S. War Department, *Annual Report 1900, Vol. 1,* Pt. 7, p. 557.

to the commanding officer at the town of Pidigan in southwest Abra Province that such patrols be sent out either in the morning hours or at night in order to ambush the saboteurs.[4] When normal patrols were insufficient to pacify an area or to ensure the security of supply routes, larger columns marched out to hunt down and destroy insurgent bands. The insurgents seemed to have excellent military intelligence and knew in advance of American dispositions. Colonel Hare remarked that "By force of circumstances the insurgents are well advised of what is going on, but that only interferes to the extent of enabling them to scoot into the swamps."[5]

Often the insurgents infiltrated American-held areas under various guises in order to gather intelligence or disrupt American pacification efforts. When possible, these men were arrested and tried on charges. One such case involved a Filipino named Florentino Ortega. In mid-April 1900, the American authorities in Bangued hired Ortega, who was then masquerading as a local policeman, to guide a column of soldiers to an insurgent camp. Ortega directed the Americans away from the insurgents. After an investigation that included witness testimony from two Americans and two Filipinos, Ortega was arraigned on charges of spying and falsely serving as a guide.[6] Insurgents disguised as police officers appeared to have been commonplace. Captain Van Way reported from Banqued: "the police are but little better than none, and several have on various occasions proved themselves absolutely untrustworthy."[7]

In villages that did not have an American presence, the insurgents had other warning systems in place. They commonly had church bells rung as a warning that American soldiers

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[4] March to Commanding Officer, Pidigan, 16 July 1900, RG94/117, Regimental Letters Sent, Thirty-Third Infantry, Box 12, p. 8, NA.

[5] "Letter from Col. Hare," *Dallas Morning News*, 3 December 1899.

[6] Ashburn, "United States v. Florentino Ortega, A Native Filipino," 94/117, Regimental Letters Sent, Thirty-Third Infantry, Box 13, File 476, NA.

[7] Van Way to Ballance, 30 June 1900, 94/117, Regimental Letters Sent, Thirty-Third Infantry, Box 13, p. 256, NA.

were nearby. This was done with the cooperation (or at least reluctant acquiescence) of civilian leaders so that sufficient warning was given to allow *insurrecto* leaders to escape before an American expedition arrived to apprehend them. One such instance occurred on 8 March 1900. Major Edgar A. Sirmyer and three other officers led an expedition of 61 enlisted men on a two-hour march from Vigan north to Santo Domingo, where their intelligence had ascertained that General Tinio was residing. As Sirmyer's troops approached the village of San Ildefenso two kilometers south of Santo Domingo, a bell rang from the local church. This bell rang three times before Sirmyer's men could secure the village. Major Sirmyer ordered every house searched by two-man teams. According to his report, they opened every chest and locker in search of evidence of Tinio's presence. In the process of this thorough search, the men found a Captain Reyes along with what appeared to be articles from his insurgent uniform and well-used field glasses. Sirmyer had Reyes and the *presidentes* of Santo Domingo and San Ildefenso arrested and sent to Vigan under guard. Colonel Hare then ordered the men confined to await an investigation. Sirmyer wrote in his report that he believed that the bells were a warning to the insurgents, and that the civilian leadership of the villages was complicit for alerting the insurgents.[8]

Some of the soldiers took this system of alarms in good humor. Private Trafton recalled, "Now they sayd [*sic*] that was awful bad as they would not know when to pray or to go to church, we told them that it was funny that every time we left Town they all wanted to pray." At one point some American soldiers removed the clappers from the church bells to thwart this communication between the locals and the hidden *insurrectos*. Undeterred, the locals posted men

[8] Major Edgar Sirmyer to Adjutant General, Separate Brigade, 8 March 1900, 94/117, Regimental Letters Sent, Thirty-Third Infantry, Box 12, pp. 6-7, NA.

on a nearby hilltop to signal the *insurrectos* with flags. Trafton later remarked, "I think they could talk better with those flags than they could with the bells."[9] Efforts to capture or kill the signaler were usually in vain since the locals often knew the trails better than did the Americans.

With the insurgents' advantage in military intelligence, ambushes on American expeditions were common. The skirmish of 10 January 1900 outside of Narvacan was a typical example. In this instance, a column of men from the Thirty-Third Infantry under Lieutenant John W. Ward was returning to Narvacan from an expedition to the mountains when about fifty insurgents armed with Mausers surrounded them. A firefight followed, achieving little other than harassment. As with many similar skirmishes, the insurgents subsequently melted into the wilderness and donned civilian garb as "amigos."[10]

On 7 March 1900, Lieutenant Edgar Coffey led fifty-six men of Company D into the mountains eight miles east of Bangued to investigate persistent rumors that a band of *insurrectos* was operating in the area. Upon arriving in the vicinity of Pilar about sunrise, Coffey ordered a patrol of eight men and one sergeant to reconnoiter the area. After they found nothing of significance in the houses and nearby woods, he led his men to the top of a mountain overlooking the valley. The Filipino guide with Coffey's expedition told the lieutenant that the houses in the valley were actually insurgent barracks. Coffey sent an advance guard under Sergeant John Scott, a ruddy Scots immigrant to Texas, down the trail toward the valley. Scott's men descended the steep mountain path and opened fire on Filipinos, who responded in kind. Coffey brought up the remainder of his company to support Scott. Once the Americans emerged

[9] Trafton incomplete memoir, Spanish-American War Veterans Survey Collection, Box 69, Folder 31, p. 53, USAHEC.

[10] Schultz to Adjutant [Burroughs], Thirty-Third Infantry [telegram], 10 January 1900, RG 395/2514, Records of U.S. Army Overseas Operations and Commands, 1898-1942, Lets. Sent, Vol. 1, NA.

in the open, *insurrectos* opened fire from the rear and all sides of Coffey's exposed position, fatally wounding Private Chester Cress. Private Joseph Hontoon's Krag rifle was hit by a Filipino round in the stock, shattering the wood and peppering him with splinters. Beset from all sides, Coffey ordered his vanguard to assault the Filipino barracks while the rest of his command responded to the new threats with Krag fire. In the face of the American tenacity, the Filipinos melted into the hills save for the ones firing into Coffey's rear lines.[11]

Coffey, suspecting that the *insurrectos* might attempt to cut off his retreat, ordered Sergeant Scott to take a detachment to secure the mountain trail and sent a messenger to Captain Van Way in Bangued requesting reinforcements.[12] The courier arrived at Bangued about 8:30 in the morning and reported Coffey's situation to Van Way. The Kansan captain along with two officers and fifty men from Companies A and B hurried to the battlefield. By the time Van Way and the reinforcements arrived, the insurgents had retreated, having done their damage. Having possession of the field, Captain Van Way inspected the locale and found evidence that the insurgents and bandits used the area as a rendezvous. He therefore destroyed the barracks and took possession of four horses he found there. His men were too fatigued to pursue the elusive insurgents, so the entire command returned to Bangued that evening.[13] In his report, Coffey wrote that the area was a "natural ambush" site that local insurgents had improved with a system

[11] Lieutenant Edgar Coffey to Adjutant, First Battalion, Thirty-Third Infantry, 7 March 1900, in U.S. War Department, *Annual Report 1900, Vol. 1*, Pt. 6, p. 788.

[12] Coffey to Adjutant, First Battalion, Thirty-Third Infantry, 7 March 1900, in U.S. War Department, *Annual Report 1900, Vol. 1*, Pt. 6, p. 788.

[13] Van Way to Adjutant [Burroughs], Thirty-Third Infantry, 7 March 1900, in U.S. War Department, *Annual Report 1900, Vol. 1*, Pt. 6, p. 787.

of towers erected for communication. Strung on bamboo ropes between the towers were bells that put the insurgents in "instant communication" between their units in the area.[14]

Other ambushes were little other than nuisances. At Capalgar, Company L of the Thirty-Third lost a wagon containing commissary supplies and a large sack of mail when insurgent rifle fire frightened the mules, who were captured when they, in a panic, ran into the *insurrecto* lines.[15] The wagon was under the command of Lieutenant Arthur M. Pickel, who quickly found himself in a pickle of his own with Cronin. The colonel had Pickel confined in the guardhouse for reasons he explained in a curt letter to Pickel:

> The commanding officer in person gave Lt. Pickel an emphatic order to always have 50 men with him and with the Paymaster's money. This order was repeated more than once in clear and simple English, the commanding officer thus making unusual efforts to drive into Lt. Pickel's consciousness a vivid understanding of his duty and his responsibility. Lt. Pickel has reached an age at which his ability to understand simple English cannot be questioned. It is clear from the dispersion of his command as testified to by the other officers with it that Lt. Pickel obeyed his orders only when there was no temptation to do otherwise. Lt. Pickel's explanation shows that he has failed to profit by his experience thus far with this regiment; that he failed to fulfill the simplest of military instructions. The commanding officer does not doubt Lt. Pickel's good intentions, but warns him that good intentions will not hereafter be accepted as extenuating in any degree failing to execute orders that are manifestly within his intelligence and power to fulfill. The Commanding officer advises Lt. Pickel to keep constantly before his mind, 'What are my orders and what is my duty in this matter' and having answered this, to carry out with determination what this answer requires.

After this tongue-lashing, Cronin ordered Pickel released from confinement "in the hope that Lt. Pickel will reflect and profit by his present experience."[16]

While many skirmishes were brief encounters with no casualties to the Thirty-Third, they did not always go as planned. During one expedition near Pilar, a band of insurgents stumbled

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[14] Coffey to Adjutant, First Battalion, Thirty-Third Infantry, 7 March 1900, in U.S. War Department, *Annual Report 1900, Vol. 1,* Pt. 6, pp. 787-788.

[15] Nixon, "Letters and Memories," 46, USAHEC.

[16] Captain James Butler to Lieutenant Arthur M. Pickel, RG 94/117, Regimental Letters Sent, Box 15, File 1084, NA.

upon Lieutenant Solomon L. Jeffers' men. The lone American sentry fired his weapon rather than alert his comrades.[17] The resulting skirmish drove the insurgents into the woods. After he searched the area, Jeffers found little but blood-stained clothing to mark the battle. Major Ashburn wrote to Colonel Hare at Vigan that "the enemy seems to have vanished in smoke."[18] The frustrated colonel remarked that the insurgency presented several new problems: "The great trouble is transportation and a difficulty in getting at these roosters. As soon as that is settled it will be over."[19] The private soldiers shared this frustration. Nixon wrote home that "a man cannot run fast with a gun, two hundred rounds of ammunition, two days rations, and a canteen of water, while the Filipino can run like a greased pig."[20]

Another engagement was on 2 November 1900 near Pidigan and nearly cost the life of Captain Van Way. During a patrol, the Kansas officer met nearly 100 *insurrectos*. After nearly two hours of fighting, Van Way was forced to retire to Bangued after he sustained bullet wounds to his lung and hand. Four other members of his command also suffered gunshot wounds. Upon hearing the firing, a mounted detachment was sent from Bangued, and Captain Theodore Schultz led a detachment from San Quentin to the rescue. The mounted detachment brought in Van Way while Schultz's foot soldiers counterattacked the enemy and slew two Filipinos and their commander.[21] When orderlies brought Van Way to the hospital at Bangued, he refused treatment

[17] Lieutenant Tillman Campbell remarked that the fault lay in Jeffers' failure to deploy his sentries along the road and also for the "stupidity" of the lone sentry in firing his weapon rather than alerting his comrades. Lieutenant Tillman Campbell to Lieutenant Solomon L. Jeffers, 21 April 1900, RG 94/117, Regimental Letters Sent, Thirty-Third Infantry, Box 13, File 376, NA.

[18] Ashburn to Hare, 20 April 1900 [telegram], RG 94/117, Regimental Letters Sent, Thirty-Third Infantry, Box 13, File 403, NA.

[19] "Letter from Col. Hare," *Dallas Morning News*, December 3, 1899.

[20] Nixon, "Letters and Memories," 27, USAHEC.

[21] Wheaton to Adjutant General, Division of the Philippines, in U.S. War Department, *Annual Report 1900, Vol. 1*, Pt. 5, p. 283.

until a more seriously wounded man was first bandaged.[22] Cronin, who visited the location of the skirmish the following evening, claimed "a more desperate situation than that occupied by [Van Way's] forces would be extremely hard to find."[23]

The costliest engagement for the Thirty-Third during the insurgency came on 4 October 1900. Lieutenant George L. Febiger, a handsome and bright twenty-four-year-old native of New Orleans with a military pedigree dating to the American Revolution, led forty men of Company H on an expedition near Narvacan. While Febiger had also served in the regiment's commissary and as a provost judge, this was his third time leading an expedition in the field. Lieutenant Grayson Heidt and sixty men of Troop L, Third Cavalry, accompanied his men. The men were enroute to Cosucos, about fourteen miles from Narvacan, when shots from the canyon wall suddenly raked the column. The Americans had stumbled into a well-prepared ambush directed by Colonel Juan Villamor, a college-educated former Spanish soldier who had trained himself to be a formidable guerilla commander. After over an hour of desperate fighting from an exposed position in the canyon, Febiger called a retreat and his battered column fell back to the mouth of the gulch. As the daylight faded, Villamor ordered over a thousand bolo men forward in a terrible assault. Febiger, in front of his retreating American column, suffered a severe gunshot wound. According to a letter written by Lieutenant W. M. True, Febiger's last words were "I am shot, but that don't make any difference; come on." Febiger then led a suicidal charge into the midst of Villamor's bolo men and fell in battle. Febiger's men recovered his body and sadly buried it behind the church in Narvacan with a playing of taps and a rifle salute. Captain John A.

[22] March to Post Adjutant, Vigan, 12 November 1900, RG 395/3059, Records of U.S. Army Overseas Operations and Commands, 1898-1942, Letters Sent, Vol. 1, File 416, NA.

[23] Cronin recommended Van Way for a Medal of Honor for his conduct during the engagement. Cronin to Adjutant General, First Division, Department of Northern Luzon, November 12, 1900, RG 94/117, Regimental Letters Sent, Thirty-Third Infantry, Box 12, File 732, NA.

Hulen, a close friend of Febiger, was particularly distraught at his comrade's death.[24] Cronin recommended Lieutenant Edward G. McDougall to fill the vacancy left by Febiger's death.[25]

It should be noted that, despite the death of the expedition's commanding officer in the canyon, Febiger's men did not rout. The discipline and courage that had sustained them for more than a year held firm. The column retreated in good order, but Villamor's skillful ambush had cost the lives of Lieutenant Febiger and four enlisted men. Fourteen more men were wounded and seven were captured. Twenty-six horses were also killed. Colonel Villamor suffered an estimated fifty dead and one hundred wounded, but his forces held the canyon.[26] In a touch of post-Victorian chivalry, Villamor released his American prisoners without mistreatment and sent along with them a letter in which he commended the bravery of his vanquished American opponents.[27] Villamor's conduct aside, the defeat was in the words of historian Brian M. Linn "the greatest disaster for the Americans" in the usually quiet Illocos Sur Province, and reports of the event quickly made newspapers in the United States.[28] It was also the second time that an officer of the Thirty-Third had fallen in battle. Like New York newspapers particularly mourned Major John A. Logan Jr., a native son, following his death at San Jacinto in 1899, so did the newspapers of Louisiana grieve over Lieutenant Febiger's loss. "Having just budded into a glorious and promising manhood, and being on the threshold of fame, his untimely end is all the

[24] "How Lieutenant Febiger Died," Unknown newspaper clipping, Hare Papers, USAHEC.

[25] Cronin to Adjutant General, Vigan, 30 October 1900, RG 94/117, Regimental Letters Sent, Thirty-Third Infantry, Box 15, File 963, NA.

[26] MacArthur to Adjutant General, 26 October 1900, *CWS* 2:1221-1222.

[27] Villamor's letter read, "*Salud, a los bravos hijos de Estados Unidos de la America del Norte*." Such chivalry was not uncommon among Western-educated officers until it died in the trenches of World War I, yet another casualty of that cataclysm. "Bulletin No. V, Thirty-Third United States Volunteer Infantry Association," 24 April 1936, Brauchle Papers, Box 1, Folder 6, USAHEC.

[28] Linn, *U.S. Army and Counterinsurgency in the Philippine War*, 53.

more regretted," declared the *New Orleans Times-Picayune*, the principal newspaper in Febiger's home town.[29]

In addition to engagements with insurgents, American civilians occasionally clashed with locals through their own carelessness. Such disruptions of the peace obliged the Thirty-Third's officers to send expeditions to investigate such incidents. One such occurrence in late March 1900 involved a group of American miners whose activities irritated a volatile local tribe of Alzados. After creating a fuss, the miners did not arrive at Bangued, so Major Ashburn sent an expedition to find them and return them to safety. This failure of the troops to locate the missing miners caused an exasperated Ashburn to report that such instances made it "harder for all concerned to have to care for men who do not care for themselves and at the same time stir up dissention among the natives."[30]

Peacekeeping duties also included putting an end to disruptions from hostile indigenous tribes and bandits. Early in the morning on New Year's Day 1900, a Filipino civilian entered Company B's camp and said that local Alzados had attacked his village. Private Trafton's words reflected President McKinley's policy of benevolent assimilation in spirit if not exactly in words: "As the U.S. now owned the country… [we were] supposed to protect its people when annoyed."[31] The following day, Major Ashburn ordered Lieutenant John A. Jackson to lead forty-nine men of Company B to Bucay to investigate reports of brigandage against the locals. The expedition set out on horses with rations for twelve days and arrived at San Jose the following day. The village was nearly deserted. Bandits, or possibly deserters from Aguinaldo's

[29] "Febiger Slain by Filipinos," *New Orleans Times-Picayune*, 27 October 1900.

[30] Ashburn to Adjutant [Burroughs], Thirty-Third Infantry, RG94/117, Regimental Letters Sent, Thirty-Third Infantry, Box 13, File 226, NA.

[31] Trafton incomplete memoir, Spanish-American War Veterans Survey Collection, Box 69, Folder 31, P. 36, USAHEC.

army, had descended upon the quiet village in the early hours of the morning before the expedition arrived. They had murdered and mutilated a local widow and ransacked her home. Clearly, the Americans needed to restore order.[32]

The few remaining locals at San Jose explained to Lieutenant Jackson that the mountain Alzados had routinely committed arson and murder against the civil populace. They would carry off the heads of their victims as trophies. Now it was no longer a question of restoring order. Civilization was at stake in these new American islands. Assured that Jackson and the Thirty-Third would assist them, locals provided Jackson's men with twenty volunteers to serve as carriers, a guide, and an interpreter. Jackson's expedition departed San Jose and made their way towards the Alzado lands. Many locals along the trail were men of the Infiel tribe. The Alzados had long terrorized them, and now someone had come to levy retribution. Many of these tribesmen volunteered to serve as carriers. Other Infiels, eager to exact blood for blood, armed themselves with lances and axes. Jackson placed these eager warriors in his advance guard. For the next three days, Jackson's diverse troop marched through Alzado country. The inhabitants of the towns hid or carried off anything of value. Some of Jackson's Infiel volunteers found at the town of Pugon the severed limbs and heads of their kin. These grim relics prompted Jackson to torch the town and its surrounding barrios, as well as crops of tobacco and sugar cane.[33] By burning the village that had allegedly harbored threats to American rule, Jackson sent the Alzados a clear message: the lax rule of the Spanish era was now over. Any breach of the peace against American rule in the region would be met by force.

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[32] Lieutenant John A. Jackson to Adjutant [Burroughs], Thirty-Third Infantry, 26 January 1900, in U.S. War Department, *Annual Report 1900, Vol. 1,* Pt. 6, p. 730-732.

[33] Jackson to Adjutant [Burroughs], Thirty-Third Infantry, 26 January 1900, in U.S. War Department, *Annual Report 1900, Vol. 1,* Pt. 6, p. 730-732.

Evidently this message reached the nearby mountain village of Bulotoc. Despite the poor roads, the chieftain of that town sent word to Lieutenant Jackson that his people were not responsible for the recent outrages against the Infiels. He promised that if he could not stop the men of his town on his own from committing future transgressions, he would notify the United States forces at Bangued to prevent any breach of the peace. The leader of the community of Guinan made a similar arrangement with Jackson. Satisfied, Jackson and his men returned to Infiel lands on 17 January and found the locals had "full confidence" in the American efforts to restore peace and maintain order. Jackson reported that Infiels were busy repairing their homes and planting their deserted fields. The locals also had organized patrols to ensure their security, as well as a system of messengers to American forces. Volunteers who wished to serve with United States forces as auxiliaries were told to obey the orders of American officers and non-commissioned officers, but they understood that they would be allowed to return to their homes if they wished.[34] Jackson subsequently found the local tribesmen "invaluable as scouts and carriers."[35]

In an astonishing case worthy of a scene in a Hollywood film, one group of Abra headhunters personally surrendered to Major Ashburn. After capitulating, they crowned the young major as their king with a circlet of colored fern leaves, and one by one they knelt and swore their personal allegiance to him. Major Ashburn was now King Tomas I. What followed after the bizarre coronation was even more astounding. Ashburn's new subjects presented to the astonished monarch treasures worthy of his new station: the haul included several sets of steel

[34] Jackson to Adjutant [Burroughs], Thirty-Third Infantry, 26 January 1900, in U.S. War Department, *Annual Report 1900, Vol. 1,* Pt. 6, p. 730-732.

[35] Jackson to Adjutant [Burroughs], Thirty-Third Infantry, 26 January 1900, in U.S. War Department, *Annual Report 1900, Vol. 1,* Pt. 6, p. 732.

swords, breastplates, and helmets, all of which had been seized from a Spanish expedition ages before. This episode was not reported in American newspapers until 1934 through a chance interview with Ashburn, who had become a major general by that time.[36]

As Jackson and his men returned to Bangued, Colonel Hare led a similar expedition of mounted men on 20 January 1900. This time the destination was Licuan, located more than thirty-five miles from Bangued. As with Jackson's foray, the Thirty-Third's new expedition was to investigate reports of bandit activity. The column was equipped for speed: each man carried 120 rounds of ammunition and only two days rations. Each man also had about three remounts. Seven more horses were used as pack animals and carried an additional six days of rations for the expedition.[37]

Hare left Bangued at three in the afternoon on 21 January 1900 and for the next day followed a trail along the Rio de Malanas between Bacooc and Boaug. Around ten in the morning on 22 January, the expedition was beginning to emerge from the woods when the point men sighted four mounted bandits. The lead Americans immediately engaged the riders, slaying the bandit leader with a barrage of accurate rifle fire. The other three riders immediately fled into the dense wilderness and evaded Hare's pursuit.

The expedition continued to Licuan and found no hostile presence there. Believing the bandits to be at Doninglay, the Americans resumed their march. The trail took them through a canyon with thick jungle on both sides. The terrain made the trail impassable by horse, forcing the column to advance on foot. With the narrow path as the only way out of the canyon, the

[36] Meigs O. Frost, "Major General Also Has Title of King Tomas," *New Orleans Times-Picayune*, 9 December 1934.

[37] Ashburn to Adjutant [Burroughs], Thirty-Third Infantry, 26 January 1900, in U.S. War Department, *Annual Report 1900, Vol. 1*, Pt. 6, p. 756.

Americans expected an ambush. Sergeant Major Robert E. Wilson took the point, riding through a narrow canyon about fifty feet wide. As expected, about twenty Filipino insurgents under a Captain Pavil (who Hare thought of little better than a "well-developed brigand") had been waiting for such an opportunity.[38] What happened next, in Hare's words, "simply exhausts the imagination." As Wilson calmly rode down the trail, three Filipino sharpshooters concealed on the cliffs thirty feet above fired at him with their Remingtons. The crack of the rounds on the stone path rather than the wet sounds of pierced flesh told the Americans that the shots were misses.[39]

Wilson and his eight men coolly ignored the fire above them and dashed up about forty yards to take cover behind large rocks. The doughty sergeant ordered his troopers to dismount and settle in the riverbed. Behind cover, Wilson returned fire until his Krag was empty. Bullets cracked against his stone cover as he searched for another target. Seeing an insurgent about thirty yards away, and believing that the insurgent's aim was as poor as the sharpshooters among the rocks, Wilson drew his revolver and charged the man. The Filipino was quicker on the draw and a Remington round hit Wilson in the hip, creating a most embarrassing wound when it passed through his buttocks. While Wilson's men drew the Filipinos' fire at the riverbank, Hare ordered Ashburn to rush the trail. Leading the charge against an unknown number of insurgents was Lieutenant Solomon L. Jeffers and only one squad. In a scene reminiscent of a Hollywood action film half a century later, Jeffers engaged three insurgents in personal combat. He shot one of them dead and then beat another one to the ground with the butt of his revolver while the man

[38] Hare to Adjutant [Burroughs], Thirty-Third Infantry, 27 January 1900, in U.S. War Department, *Annual Report 1900, Vol. 1,* Pt. 6, p. 757.

[39] Hare to Adjutant [Burroughs], Thirty-Third Infantry, 27 January 1900, in U.S. War Department, *Annual Report 1900, Vol. 1,* Pt. 6, p. 757.

behind him killed the third insurgent. Hare's envelopment devastated Pavil's men. Insurgent Lieutenant Pio Pasco and ten other Filipinos fell dead from accurate Krag rounds during the retreat. Hare's men took five prisoners.[40]

Wilson, being in no shape to walk or ride back to Bangued after he sustained his gunshot wound, was carried on a litter with Hospital Steward Albion Coffey remaining continuously by his side. In keeping with MacArthur's policy of having his forces in the Philippines organize constabularies among the locals and arm them with shotguns and other small arms to protect themselves against insurgents and bands of brigands, Hare distributed five captured Remingtons to the people of Licuan and San Jose, while he ordered the destruction of fifteen remaining captured rifles.[41] Hare's expedition to Licuan was a good example of the Thirty-Third Infantry's tenacity and coolness in an ambush after a grueling march. While Aguinaldo was not present, Hare noted that the expedition was valuable in learning more about the district in which his men operated and in enforcing order in a region plagued by bandits since Spanish times.[42] He nominated Sergeant Major Wilson, Lieutenant Jeffers, and the men who participated in Lieutenant Jeffers's charge for Medals of Honor.[43] General Young, then the Military Governor of Northwest Luzon, wrote from his desk in Vigan that "the daring courage exhibited by these men… merits the warmest commendation."[44]

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[40] Hare to Adjutant [Burroughs], Thirty-Third Infantry, 27 January 1900, in U.S. War Department, *Annual Report 1900, Vol. 1,* Pt. 6, pp. 757-758; Ashburn to Adjutant [Burroughs], Thirty-Third Infantry, 26 January 1900, in U.S. War Department, *Annual Report 1900, Vol. 1,* Pt. 6, p.759.

[41] MacArthur to Adjutant General [Corbin], Washington, 28 May 1900, *CWS* 2:1172-1173.

[42] Hare to Adjutant [Burroughs], Thirty-Third Infantry, 27 January 1900, in U.S. War Department, *Annual Report 1900, Vol. 1,* Pt. 6, p. 757.

[43] Hare to Adjutant [Burroughs], Thirty-Third Infantry, 27 January 1900, in U.S. War Department, *Annual Report 1900, Vol. 1,* Pt. 6, p. 758.

[44] Young to Adjutant General, Department of the Pacific, Eighth Army Corps, 5 February 1900, in U.S. War Department, *Annual Report 1900, Vol. 1,* Pt. 6, p. 758.

During the Philippine War, American soldiers occasionally engaged in atrocities towards the civilian population.[45] That these outrages did not occur in areas under the Thirty-Third's control is a testament to the discipline and self-control of the regiment's men and leadership of its officers. Despite the cultural differences and often paternalistic attitude some of the men showed towards the residents of the villages and towns they garrisoned, the Thirty-Third's soldiers were remarkably well-behaved among Filipino civilians. While there were instances of small-scale souvenir collecting among the enlisted men, such occasions did not reach the level of shameless plundering. Private Daltha Ridgway of Company K recalled that soldiers would loot "food or native food to keep from going hungry."[46] Sometimes pilfering extended amongst the Americans themselves. "You cannot live in the army and not steal," Nixon wrote, claiming that he had equipment worth nearly two hundred dollars stolen from him since he enlisted. He added, "When somebody takes something of yours you have to make it up and we all do it."[47] There were no recorded instances of mass arrests or deportations of civilians in the areas the Thirty-Third administered. There were also no instances of civil unrest, protests, or rebellions in regions occupied by the Thirty-Third Infantry. The Thirty-Third's areas were quiet during the regiment's tenure on Luzon.

That is not to say that the men that comprised the regiment were pure as the driven snow. On occasion, some of its men were tried on charges for various violations of regulations, or more seriously, the Articles of War. On the whole, though, the records of the Judge Advocate General

[45] The most notorious of these incidents involved widespread massacres of Filipinos on the island of Samar on the authority of Brigadier General Jacob Smith. On this and other American atrocities in the Philippine War, see Richard E. Welch Jr., "American Atrocities in the Philippines: The Indictment and the Response," *Pacific Historical Review* 43 (May 1974), 233-253.

[46] Ridgway questionnaire, Spanish-American War Veterans Survey Collection, Box 69, Folder 29, USAHEC.

[47] Nixon, "Letters and Memories," 38, USAHEC.

indicate that the Thirty-Third Infantry was more disciplined and behaved better than most of its fellow regiments in the Philippines. The regiment's fifteen acquittals were the highest of any United States unit in the islands. The number of members of the Thirty-Third who were convicted of crimes was also below average. According to a report to the Judge Advocate General's Office in Manila on 31 July 1901, the Thirty-Third Infantry had zero of its commissioned officers tried for violations of the Articles of War. Of the regiment's enlisted men, sixty-five cases were brought to trial, of which fifteen resulted in acquittals. The charges included assaulting officers, sleeping while on sentry duty, arson, and rape. The remaining defendants were found guilty as charged: twenty of the Thirty-Third's soldiers were dishonorably discharged and another thirty were confined for various periods ranging from several months to life. Many also forfeited their pay. Compared to the 5.33% of American soldiers in the Philippines tried by a general court martial from 31 July 1900 to 31 July 1901, the Thirty-Third Infantry had just 5.23% of its men tried.[48]

The Thirty-Third's officers regarded crimes committed by their men against Filipinos to be quite serious and prosecuted allegations even if there was only one witness. The case of Private Thomas Kelley of Company D serves as a useful illustration. On 24 September 1900, the twenty-two-year-old soldier was accused of assaulting and beating a woman, Jacinto Babida, from Bangued. While Babida was the only witness, she correctly described Kelley's physical appearance to the American investigators. The military commander at Bangued, Lieutenant

[48] Captain Millard F. Waltz to Adjutant General Department of Northern Luzon, 31 July 1901, in U.S. War Department, *Annual Report 1900, Vol. 1*, Pt. 5, p. 303-311.

Colonel March, had Kelley tried before a general court martial on 1 October 1900. Kelley's four prior convictions from summary courts did not help his cause. The court found him guilty.[49]

Soldiers guilty of lesser offenses were usually not sent to courts martial. For infractions such as gambling, being absent without leave, drunkenness, and assaulting locals, the miscreants were subjected to a summary court headed by company officers from the regiment.[50] Fines, confinement, or loss of rank normally accompanied guilty verdicts, while harsher sentences were handed down to repeat offenders. A summary court found Private Amos Chavez guilty of violating the 38th Article of War on 8 August 1900 and sentenced him to be confined at hard labor for six months. He also forfeited $12 per month during his imprisonment.[51] Company officers punished any inconsequential offenses with extra duty and did not send offenders to summary courts. On 30 September 1900, Privates James McConnell and Garland Shuford appeared at their company inspection without having properly shaved. Private Charles Rutledge came to the same inspection with a dirty rifle. Displeased with these minor infractions, Captain Van Way sent to Lieutenant Colonel March at Bangued charges against the three enlisted men, none of whom had any prior convictions. March would not be bothered by such trivial matters, "especially when [the] offender has no previous convictions," and told Van Way to punish the men with "extra police or other duty."[52] On another occasion, a Private Gallagher unintentionally tipped over a "beer product." The liquid spilled through the cracks in the floorboards and

[49] March to [Unknown], 1 October 1900, RG 395/3059, Regimental Letters Sent, Thirty-Third Infantry, Vol. 1, File 284, NA.

[50] Regimental records distinguished civilians as "natives" for local Filipinos and "Chinamen" for the Chinese laborers. These distinctions were common in United States Army records of the era.

[51] Amos Chavez entry, RG94, Descriptive and Clothing Books, Thirty-Third Infantry, Box 7, Company M, p. 9 (not numbered), NA.

[52] Lieutenant William L. Lowe to [Unknown], 1 October 1900, RG 395/3059, Regimental Letters Sent, Thirty-Third Infantry, Vol. 1, Files 287-289, NA.

showered the heads of the officers below. Gallagher's irate officers punished him with a rather unusual detail: he was to dig a trench with two forked sticks. Private Lawrence Benton believed that his sentence was a "severe punishment for an unintentional breach of good discipline."[53]

The discipline the men had is a testament to the leadership of its officers. Hare, Cronin, and March were famous disciplinarians in the regiment, but the records indicate that company officers often enforced military regulations, especially those that concerned civil relations. An excellent example concerns the attention towards looting. When they were among the local populace, American servicemen were supposed to pay for what they took. Major Ashburn requested $60 in Mexican silver to be paid to the civilian owners of a house at Bangued that he wished to use as post headquarters.[54] Often the prices Americans paid were higher than what the locals paid. Benton recalled his officers rationalized this on the grounds that the American dollar had twice the purchasing power of the Mexican peso.[55]

Desertion occurred when the regiment was training in San Antonio and awaiting embarkation in San Francisco, but it was very rare in the Philippine islands. There is only one recorded deserter from the Thirty-Third Infantry during its time in the Philippines: Private John Allane. The immigrant from Plymouth, England, had a promising beginning in the regiment. He was one of the first volunteers to enlist at San Antonio, exchanging his cook's apron and spoon for the Army's blue uniform and Krag rifle on 17 July 1899. He rapidly advanced to the rank of sergeant in Company F but ran afoul of his officers on several occasions while in the Philippines.

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[53] Benton does not mention Gallagher's first name, but it is almost certainly Private James Gallagher, as the two men were both in Company A. The mysterious beer-spiller is less likely to be Private Charles Gallagher, who was in Company G. Benton questionnaire, Spanish American War Veterans Survey Collection, Box 69, Folder 17, USAHEC.

[54] Ashburn to Adjutant [Burroughs], Thirty-Third Infantry, 16 February 1900, RG 94/117, Regimental Letters Sent, Thirty-Third Infantry, Box 13, p. 29, NA.

[55] Benton questionnaire, Spanish-American War Veterans Survey Collection, Box 69, Folder 29, USAHEC.

Evidently the life of a volunteer infantryman and the stress of tropical service far away from home were too much for Allane. By 1900, Allane's officers reduced him to the ranks and confined him in the guardhouse on several occasions for various infractions. While on detached service on 26 September 1900 at Magsingal in Illocos Sur, Allane fell into the hands of Tinio's men. The insurgents took him to a camp that held other Americans, where he remained until he surrendered to men from the Third Cavalry at Vigan in June 1901. A general court martial tried Allane on charges of desertion. At his trial, two soldiers who had escaped from the same camp testified that he was never guarded and had the freedom of the camp. Allane was found guilty of desertion and sentenced to life in prison.[56]

Only on very rare occasions did a soldier's morale drop to the level of absolute hopelessness and suicide. The most famous incident in the regiment was that of its first lieutenant colonel, John J. Brereton. According to historian Mathew Westfield, Brereton suffered an optic nerve infection while he was a cadet at West Point. This illness returned while he was in the Philippines, and he became "increasingly erratic" as he coped with blinding headaches. In November 1899 he absconded mysteriously with his mount into the wilderness after making bizarre claims that his fellow officers had attempted to murder him. In one of these "studies in madness," Brereton claimed that he had killed Major Edgar A. Sirmyer, who was in fact alive and well. These antics convinced the regimental surgeon, Major Albert Lieberman, that Brereton was insane. Lieberman and Sergeant Major Robert E. Wilson tracked Brereton and found him in a stone building that the Third Cavalry used as a barracks. Brereton was unconscious and had his revolver aimed at his chest, so Lieberman and Wilson disarmed him and let him sleep. When

[56] John Allane entry, RG 94/117, Descriptive and Clothing Books, Thirty-Third Infantry, Box 4, Company F, p. 2, NA; "Bulletin No. V, Thirty-Third United States Volunteer Infantry Association," 24 April 1936, Brauchle Papers, Folder 6, USAHEC.

Brereton awoke before dawn in a frenzied panic, they made every attempt to calm him but to no avail. Brereton stormed into a room where some cavalrymen had stored their carbines. He seized one and turned it on Wilson with the demand that the sergeant major surrender his sidearm. Seeing no other option, Wilson laid down his revolver and backed out of the room. In a "blur of unfathomable insanity," Brereton then turned the carbine toward his forehead, pulled the trigger, and ended his life.[57] The only other recorded suicide in the regiment was that of Private Joe Marek, a thirty-year-old farmer who had immigrated from Austria-Hungary.[58] On the afternoon of 23 August 1900, Marek walked out of Company M's barracks at Anagui. His comrades believed he was going to the sinks, but Marek was later found dead, hung from a nearby tree with his leather belt. His commanding officer, Lieutenant Pickel, believed that Marek had shown minor signs of instability in the past and suffered "a spell of mental derangement and was not responsible for his actions at the time."[59]

Filipino bullets and tropical diseases were not the only external dangers facing the men of the Thirty-Third Infantry. Nature itself bore its own perils. On 14 December 1899, Private William Axtell, a twenty-one-year-old Kansan farmer in Company K, accidentally drowned in a bathing pool about a mile from his quarters in Narvacan.[60] The swift-flowing rivers in the wilderness of northern Luzon occasionally capsized the rafts that transported supplies and men, and sometimes it was impossible for someone who fell into the waters to resurface. On 9 February 1901, Private William Weithorn, a German-born railroad worker who had enlisted in

[57] Westfall, *The Devil's Causeway*, 159-161.

[58] Joe Marek entry, RG 94/117, Descriptive and Clothing Books, Thirty-Third Infantry, Box 7, Company M, p. 31, NA.

[59] Pickel to Adjutant General [Corbin], United States Army, 30 January 1901, RG 94/117, Regimental Letters Sent, Thirty-Third Infantry, Box 33, Company M, File 242, NA.

[60] Schultz to Adjutant General [Corbin], United States Army, 9 May 1900, RG 94/117, Regimental Letters Sent, Thirty-Third Infantry, Box 32, Company K, File 81, NA.

Company A at Fort Sam Houston in the summer of 1899, drowned in the Abra River while he was enroute to Vigan to board the transport that waited to take him home to the United States. He was the last member of the Thirty-Third to perish in the Philippines during the war.[61]

Discharges were occasionally granted for soldiers whose wounds and diseases had disabled them so much that they could no longer serve effectively in the Army. Private Milton Nixon was one of several of the soldiers who received such discharges. In 1900, he was sick in his quarters for most of February. By the start of March, he required a week's stay at the hospital. On 11 March, the hospital released him back to his quarters to rest. By the end of July his illness had flared up once again and he required a second trip to the hospital. He did not recover until 25 August of that year. In late January 1901 he again fell ill. He was discharged with a physical condition of "poor" on 15 March 1901.[62]

Discharges could also be granted for soldiers who were deemed insane. While cases of insanity were rare in the Philippine War, such soldiers were potential threats to themselves and their fellows. The aforementioned tragic case of Brereton is illustrative, as is that of Private John J. Shaughnessy of Company L in the Thirty-Third Infantry. Before enlisting, Shaughnessy had an undefined operation at a hospital in Lafayette, Indiana. From the time of his enlistment to his discharge, he behaved oddly among his fellow members of Company L. Initially, his behavior was simply a vacant gaze, perhaps similar to the "thousand-yard stare" among soldiers who suffered post-traumatic stress syndrome from World War II and the Vietnam War. At first, nothing was done about Shaughnessy's behavior. But as his service in the Philippines continued,

[61] William Weithorn entry, RG 94/117, Descriptive and Clothing Books, Thirty-Third Infantry, Box 1, Company A, p. 99, NA; MacArthur to Adjutant General [Corbin], United States Army, 20 February 1901, *CWS* 2:1254-1255.

[62] Milton Nixon entry, RG 94/117, Descriptive and Clothing Books, Thirty-Third Infantry, Box 4, Company G, p. 57, NA.

he began to talk to himself and to his rifle about imagined threats. The episodes were frequent enough that they came to the attention of his company commander, Captain Edward Davis. Davis' solution was to have Shaughnessy placed in restraints and confined for his own good. He was transported to Washington, D.C., and discharged on grounds of insanity on 18 July 1900.[63]

In some tragic cases, hardship discharges were granted for soldiers whose families had become destitute. When Private William Mitchell of Company L was killed in action at the Battle of San Jacinto, he left his younger brother Private Cicero Mitchell, who was in Company K, as the only remaining grown child of his widowed mother, who was then raising three young children on a washerwoman's wages in the Indian Territory town of Wagoner. Upon learning of his brother's death, Cicero Mitchell applied for and received a discharge from the regiment.[64] Presumably he returned to Wagoner and supported his mother.

By the end of January 1901, Colonel Cronin reported to the Adjutant General of the Philippines that the Thirty-Third Infantry had fifty officers and 1173 enlisted men. Of that number, one officer and 128 enlisted men were already in the United States.[65] The troops still in the Philippines were scattered in several posts across Abra and Illocos Sur Provinces. General Young ordered the Fifth and Twentieth Infantry to relieve the Thirty-Third's companies at their posts. The members of the Thirty-Third then concentrated at Candon, Vigan, and San Esteban to await transport back to the United States.[66]

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[63] Captain Edward Davis to Adjutant General [Corbin], United States Army, 11 October 1900, RG 94/117, Regimental Letters Sent, Thirty-Third Infantry, Box 33, Company L, File 75, NA; John J. Shaughnessy entry, RG 94/117, Descriptive and Clothing Books, Thirty-Third Infantry, Box 7, Company L, p. 100, NA.

[64] Schultz to Post Adjutant, Vigan, 18 July 1900, RH 94/117, Regimental Letters Sent, Thirty-Third Infantry, Box 32, Company K, File 135, NA.

[65] Cronin to Adjutant General, Division of the Philippines, 31 January 1901, RG 94/117, Regimental Letters Sent, Thirty-Third Infantry, Box 15, P. 174, NA.

[66] Headquarters and companies C, E, G, and M met at Candon; companies A, B, F, I, K, and L converged at Vigan; D and H met at San Esteban. General Orders No. 2, Headquarters First District Department of Northern Luzon, 31

Many of the Thirty-Third's officers desired appointments in the Regular Army and were retained in the Philippines to assist the civil administration.[67] Several of them departed at once for Manila to report for new assignments. Captain Godfrey R. Fowler however, discovered there that he had some unfinished business. On 13 January, Fowler ran afoul of Major L. C. Scherer, acting Inspector General for the First District of the Department of Northern Luzon. Scherer had written an unflattering report about Fowler while the latter was en route to Manila, and the Texan fumed in his quarters at Manila on 27 January 1901 when he wrote an incendiary personal response to Scherer: "Not having had the opportunity to see you before I left Vigan, I write to tell you how thoroughly contemptible I consider you, and hope to have a chance to tell you so personally."[68] Fowler's abstention from military titles indicates that his letter was not intended to be more than a personal insult. Still, Scherer was a major. Such insolence from a captain would not stand. Scherer did not reply to Fowler. Instead, he waited nearly two weeks, then coolly requested that Fowler's indiscreet letter be filed with his record in the War Department.[69] This silly episode came to the attention of General Young, who wrote that Fowler's behavior "demands remedial disciplinary measures in the interest and dignity of the service."[70] It is unknown if Fowler ever received any punishment.

The enlisted men of the Thirty-Third Infantry were offered the chance to stay in the Philippines, either in the Native Scouts or in the Manila police. Cronin wrote on 23 January 1901

January 1901, RG 395/3064, Records of U.S. Army Overseas Operations and Commands, 1898-1942, Letters Received, NA.

[67] MacArthur to Adjutant General [Corbin], United States Army, 3 March 1901, *CWS* 2:1257.

[68] Fowler to Major L. C. Scherer, 27 January 1901, RG 395/2150, Records of U.S. Army Overseas Operations and Commands, 1898-1942, Letters Sent, Vol. 5, NA.

[69] Scherer to Adjutant General, First District Department of Northern Luzon, 10 February 1901, RG 395/2150, Records of U.S. Army Overseas Operations and Commands, 1898-1942, Letters Sent, Vol. 5, NA.

[70] Young to Adjutant General, Department of Northern Luzon, 12 February 1901, RG 395/2150, Records of U.S. Army Overseas Operations and Commands, 1898-1942, Letters Sent, Vol. 5, NA.

that eight men were fit for duty in the police and others were to follow at a later time.[71] According to his report of 26 January 1901, forty-six enlisted men chose to serve in the Native Scouts.[72] Most of his troops, however, chose to end their service to the United States. After over a year in the Philippines dodging bullets and enduring the stresses of a counterinsurgency, it was time to go home. When the word had reached the men that they were going to be relieved, cheers of joy and cries of "we are going to go home!" filled the air. Private William Trafton believed that even sick men in the hospitals got better upon hearing the news. Perhaps recalling how the veterans of the Twenty-Fifth Infantry told them dreadful tales of Filipino brutality and cunning so long ago in 1899, the men told similar tales to their relief in March 1901.[73]

The Thirty-Third's band played "Home Sweet Home" as the men lined up for a final roll call in the Philippines. They then marched to bamboo rafts that waited to shuttle them to Vigan. From that point, a river transport waited to ferry them the rest of the way to Manila. There, Major General Samuel B. M. Young, Brigadier General Luther R. Hare, 26 officers and 769 enlisted men of the Thirty-Third Infantry embarked on the USS *Logan*, a steel transport reminiscent of the USS *Sheridan*. They shared this ship with 21 officers and 785 enlisted men of the Thirty-Fourth Infantry, their old comrades from the Gillmore Expedition. The bodies of 250 fallen soldiers were also respectfully stored in the ship's hold.[74]

Like on their former transport, the Thirty-Third's men found the voyage across the Pacific Ocean uncomfortable and unpleasant. Cronin mightily complained on behalf of his

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[71] Cronin to Adjutant General, Department of Northern Luzon [telegram], 23 January 1901, RG 94/117, Regimental Letters Sent, Thirty-Third Infantry, Box 15, File 101, NA.

[72] Cronin to Adjutant, Vigan [telegram], 26 January 1901, RG 94/117, Regimental Letters Sent, Thirty-Third Infantry, Box 15, File 119, NA.

[73] Trafton, *We Thought We Could Whip Them in Two Weeks*, 95.

[74] MacArthur to Adjutant General [Corbin], United States Army, 3 March 1901, *CWS* 2:1257.

officers and men to Adjutant General Henry C. Corbin about the regiment's long and miserable trip back to the United States. Cronin remarked that the men's berths in the ship were close to overcrowding. The colonel suggested that in the future, "it would be well to reserve one bunk out of every four for equipments only." Cronin also found the ship's bathing facilities inadequate. Another of Cronin's complaints was the irregularity of the *Logan's* "lifeless and inefficient" stewards in cleaning the cabins and rooms. Instead, the stewards were often verbally abusive to the ship's passengers "and no one seemed to restrain them from this conduct." Cronin found the ship's food to be generally adequate, but the fruit and cheese tasted "something like naptha." He reserved special venom for the vile brew that passed as the ship's coffee. It was "almost undrinkable… if no foreign ingredient was used." Normally the soldiers would mix their coffee with cream, but he found the *Logan's* stores contained only thin and diluted milk that was "not encountered in any hotel that approaches first or second class." The weary colonel ended his tirade with a sharp reminder to Corbin that "it is not pleasant to spend a month without a good cup of coffee."[75]

One can forgive Cronin's temperamental letter to his superior because he and the members of his regiment had just endured more than a year without many luxuries in the service of their country. They likely did not appreciate having to endure the mediocre comforts on the *Logan*. Some relief was available for those men who managed to relax on the top deck of the transport. All of the passengers enjoyed the moderate spring weather when the *Logan* passed the island of Formosa. The destination was Nagasaki, where Japanese coalers loaded the ship with the fuel needed for the journey to San Francisco. Everyone had to undergo a brief quarantine and

[75] Cronin to Adjutant General [Corbin], United States Army, 1 April 1901, RG 94/117, Regimental Letters Sent, Thirty-Third Infantry, Box 15, File 335, NA.

inspection from Japanese doctors before they were on their way again. Shore leave was permitted at the discretion of Cronin.[76]

On the morning of 29 March 1901, the *Logan* and its passengers arrived in San Francisco.[77] The guns at Fort Mason fired off a roaring salute as the *Logan* slowly steamed to the transport dock around noon. The *San Francisco Chronicle* wrote that the two regiments on the *Logan* were "two of the most credible volunteer infantry regiments that have seen active service in the Philippines," and credited both units with the rescue of Gillmore and the other prisoners in 1899.[78] Not all national newspapers were in such a celebratory mood when the volunteers came home. Some papers like the *New York Times* noted with a degree of grim realism that "the Thirty-third Infantry, which arrived on the transport *Logan*, left San Francisco 1,300 strong, and it comes back with only 700 on the muster roll… from 100 to 150 of the [the Thirty-Third and Thirty-Fourth Infantry Regiments] were discharged in Manila. The remainder succumbed to disease and Filipino bullets."[79]

The soldiers wearily debarked from the transport after more than a month at sea. One noted that any San Francisco onlookers could instantly "tell at a glance that they were from the Tropics [*sic*], tanned to very near a leather color, but they looked pretty healthy although very lank and lean. But you could tell that they were old seasoned veterans that had gone through the war."[80] Unlike the adoring crowds in San Antonio that cheered as the Thirty-Third left for the

[76] Corbin to MacArthur, 11 January 1901, *CWS* 2:1244-1245.

[77] Shafter to Adjutant General [Corbin], United States Army, 29 March 1901, *CWS* 2:1264.

[78] The newspaper erroneously credited Major Marcus C. Cronin with leading the Thirty Third Infantry detachment that rescued Gillmore. "Soldiers Back from Manila," *San Francisco Chronicle*, 30 March 1901.

[79] "Infantry's Heavy Losses," *The New York Times*, 31 March 1901.

[80] "Bulletin No. IV, Thirty-Third United States Volunteer Infantry Association," n.d., Brauchle Papers, Folder 6, USAHEC.

Philippines in 1899, San Francisco's citizens did not greet the tanned and lean veterans with adulations as they returned from the war. Private John A. Peterson of Company C recalled: "there was no lively band music, no waving of flags nor blaring of trumpets, like when we were on our way to war… as for the veterans, they had got used to so many hard knocks that they were hard boiled and did not seem to care how they were welcomed; all they cared about was to get to camp and shed their marching equipment and scatter over town for the rest of the evening."[81] This lack of a warm welcome was not likely due to ill will on the part of the San Franciscans. Since 1898, the people of that city had seen soldiers come and go from the docks. To the regular person on the cobblestone streets of San Francisco, there was no special reason to celebrate yet another group of bedraggled and weary troops.

After leaving the docks, the men were herded into quarters and fed fried eggs with syrup and fresh milk. This treat was so welcome that Trafton wanted to kiss someone, wisely refraining only when he realized that he might kiss "the wrong one." Then they impatiently waited several days for their discharge. 17 April 1901 was likely the most welcome day the men of the Thirty-Third Infantry had in their lives up to that point. It was the day of their discharge from the Army. There was one last item of administrative business to take care of before they could leave. The physicians had the men disrobe and examined their physical and mental health. Trafton said that the men were "like a bunch of cattle in a pen; they wanted to get out." Eager to finally be rid of the Army, many answered queries from indifferent doctors if they were alright with an emphatic "Hell yes!"[82] After the examinations, many of the enlisted men scattered across San Francisco seeking relief and refreshment in many of the usual and sometimes unsavory ways that soldiers

[81] "Bulletin No. IV, Thirty-Third United States Volunteer Infantry Association," n.d., Brauchle Papers, Box 1, Folder 6, USAHEC.

[82] Trafton, *We Thought We Could Whip Them in Two Weeks*, 103.

who are long absent often do. Meanwhile, their regiment's band entertained the ladies of the California Club with a concert. The *San Francisco Call* reported that the audience appreciated the concert and rewarded the musicians with hearty applause and a banquet later that evening at the St. Nicholas Hotel.[83]

There was an incident in San Francisco that distinguished the men of the Thirty-Third Infantry in a small way from their counterparts in the Thirty-Fourth. After their discharge, many of the Thirty-Third's veterans purchased civilian garments for their journeys home. Unlike an ugly earlier incident when some soldiers of the Thirty-Fourth Infantry decided to "beat the merchants who had trusted them" and Colonel Robert L. Howze refused to allow merchants to enter his camp to collect money due to them, Colonel Cronin made sure that the merchants who had done business with the Thirty-Third's men received their pay. The *San Francisco Call* remarked, "the men of the Thirty-third leave the service free from any fear of arrest." Despite the Thirty-Third's fairness with its transactions, the *San Francisco Call* estimated that the thievery of some of the more unscrupulous members of the Thirty-Fourth cost San Francisco's merchants thousands of dollars in lost revenue.[84] Insomuch as its civilian dealings in San Francisco were concerned, the men of the Thirty-Third indeed lived up to what the War Department would later print on the vast majority of their discharge papers: "Honest and faithful."

For many veterans of the Thirty-Third, mustering-out was a very bittersweet affair. Private John Patterson of Company M sadly wrote in his diary that the regiment "will have passed into history and the personnel will be scattered to the four corners of the world, perhaps

[83] "Crowds Flock to Exhibits Made by California Club," *San Francisco Call*, 14 April 1901.

[84] "Soldiers Leave Unpaid Bills," *San Francisco Call,* 18 April 1901.

never to see one another again."[85] He proved to be partly correct, at least about much of the reputation of his regiment passing into history. Newspapers in the United States extensively covered the activities of the Thirty-Third Infantry in tales of heroic battles, especially while the Philippine War was in its conventional phase in 1899. During the two months when the regiment was organizing in Texas through the three months of 1899 that the Thirty-Third Infantry fought a conventional war on Luzon, the *Dallas Morning News* had no fewer than 84 articles that mentioned the unit or at least one of its men. When the Philippine War became an insurgency, fewer pitched battles were available to capture the attention of readers and very few articles were published about the less exciting tasks of the men's interactions with the Filipinos. Having served for most of its time as a constabulary force in an insurgency, the Thirty-Third Infantry became part of a story few, if any, wanted to read or hear.

This imbalance in reporting was true in Texas newspapers as well. During the fifteen months from January 1900 to the regiment's departure from the islands in March 1901, the *Dallas Morning News* dedicated 91 articles to the Thirty-Third Infantry. This amount was distinctly smaller than the number of articles on the Thirty-Third that paper published during the conventional war. Other American journals had even smaller proportions. The *San Antonio Express* had no fewer than forty-five articles during the conventional phase and thirteen articles during the insurgency. Similar disparities were found in the *San Francisco Call*, *Kansas City Star*, the *New York Times*, and other major national and regional newspapers. Although the fame of the Thirty-Third Infantry lasted longer in Texas newspapers, which remarked on the high promotions or passing of some of its officers, popular attention in the United States for the

[85] "Bulletin No. IV, Bulletin No. IV, Thirty-Third United States Volunteer Infantry Association," n.d., Brauchle Papers, Box 1, Folder 6, USAHEC.

enlisted veterans of the regiment waned rapidly after it disbanded. Again, they had served in a campaign that attracted relatively little attention while it lasted, and was quickly forgotten.

Despite this, the Thirty-Third Infantry served for the majority of the insurgency in northern Luzon. Juan Villamor surrendered at Bangued on 29 April 1901 and eventually served in the American colonial government. Manuel Tinio surrendered the following day. A general halt in guerilla activity began on 1 May 1901 and there were no further reported guerilla attacks in northern Luzon.[86] The insurgency continued elsewhere in the Philippines for another year, but the men of the Thirty-Third Infantry, United States Volunteers, left behind in northern Luzon a legacy of success as a counterinsurgency unit, even if their role was not recognized by their fellow Americans back at home in their time, or for many decades afterward.

[86] Linn, *the U.S. Army and Counterinsurgency in the Philippine War, 1899-1902,* 60.

CHAPTER 8

SERVICE HONEST AND FAITHFUL

A year after the discharge of the Thirty-Third Infantry, the *San Antonio Express* memorialized the regiment's accomplishments in an article about the city's volunteer and militia units dating from before the American Civil War. The paper could not help but comment that Hare was "a brave and gallant son of Texas as ever drew his sword in his country's service and today should be wearing a general's star." It added that his men accomplished "dashing, daring, and signally serviceable deeds," singling out the rescue of Lieutenant James C. Gillmore Jr. from captivity as noteworthy.[1]

Most of the regiment's officers had continued their careers in the Army. Some of them were placed on the retired list in the years between the Philippine War and World War I: Edgar A. Coffey, John W. Ward, Solomon L. Jeffers, and William L. Lowe. Those that remained in the Regular Army often made rapid advances in rank during World War I. As he looked back on the Philippine War conflict from his office in 1939, Captain William T. Sexton believed that "the world war was won on the battlefields of the Philippines."[2] This claim seems to have some support in regard to the careers of the veteran officers in the Thirty-Third Infantry. Peyton C. March became Chief of Staff of the Army and wore four stars on his shoulders during World War I. Marcus D. Cronin, the man who succeeded Luther R. Hare in command of the Thirty-Third, became a brigadier general. John A. Hulen became Adjutant General of his home state of Texas. Many of the regiment's junior officers also saw their careers advance during World War I. Most of the regiment's company commanders who were captains in 1901 became colonels

[1] "San Antonio Military," *San Antonio Express*, February 9, 1902.

[2] Sexton, *Soldiers in the Sun*, 14.

during World War I: Charles Van Way, Edward Davis, Richard T. Ellis, and Theodore Schultz all wore eagles on their shoulders during that conflict. James M. Burroughs, the Thirty-Third's adjutant, rose to lieutenant colonel. Many of the regiment's lieutenants also rapidly advanced during World War I: Lindsey P. Rucker, Frank L. Case, Charles L. Willard, and Henry J. McKenney became lieutenant colonels, Thomas Sherburne rose to major, and Walter J. Scott became a captain.[3]

An examination of some of these officers' postwar careers can reveal the impact of their service in the Philippines. Hare, the gallant colonel of the Thirty-Third Infantry, remained beloved by his men long after the regiment disbanded. After his promotion to brigadier general of volunteers, Hare wrote to his brother Silas in Sherman, Texas, that he wished to settle down once affairs in the Philippines were settled. *The Dallas Morning News* suggested instead that a detail for Hare in China would be "far preferable to the irksome duties now imposed upon him in government inspection about Manila."[4] Yet Hare remained in the Philippines for a while. In September 1900, insurgents surrounded and captured Captain Devereaux Shields and several men under his command while the Americans were patrolling in the hills north of Torrijos, located on the Visayan island of Marinduque in the central Philippines. Reminiscent of the captivity of Gillmore and his fellows, the insurgents on Marinduque held the captured American solders for nearly a month. When news of the disaster reached the American authorities in Manila, two companies of the Thirty-Eighth Infantry under Colonel George Sanderson immediately departed to the island. Eight companies of the First Infantry under Hare followed

[3] United States Adjutant General's Office, *Official Army Register, December 1, 1918* (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1918), passim.

[4] "Gen. Hare Will Quit the Army," *Dallas Morning News*, 6 September 1900.

them with orders from Major General Arthur MacArthur to "push operations until the insurrection is stamped out completely."[5]

Hare gave the rebels one week to deliver the prisoners and their weapons to him or face punitive action. His threat and the fact that his troops were in occupation of the island's towns and most of the countryside were sufficient cause for the insurgents to comply with the doughty Texan's demands.[6] This event, like the even more famous Gillmore Expedition a year earlier, attracted national attention and the newspapers gave Hare full credit for the rescue of Captain Shields and his men. He did not have time to rest on his laurels. Hare received the sad news that his daughter was dying in Aiken, South Carolina, and returned home on indefinite leave from the Philippines in the summer of 1901. Many newspapers praised the returning Texan. The *Washington Evening Star* hailed him as being "more active than any American officer against the insurgent general Tinio."[7] In an interview with *The New York Times*, Hare remarked that he believed that the war in the Philippines was over: "we only have the *padrones* and bandits to deal with, and they can be controlled by the constabulary."[8]

With his commission as a brigadier general of volunteers having expired in June 1901, Hare was assigned as a major in the Regular Army to the Twelfth Cavalry at Fort Sam Houston in San Antonio.[9] The *Fort Worth Morning Register* wrote that Hare received a "royal welcome" in the Alamo City as he began his duties at his old post.[10] Hare's presence in his home state was a source of pride and exultation across Texas. Sherman, his hometown, hosted a special

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[5] MacArthur to Adjutant General [Corbin], United States Army, 4 October 1900, *CWS* 2:1216.

[6] No headline, *Boston Herald*, 17 October 1900.

[7] "Gen. Hare Back from Manila," *Washington Evening Star*, 1 May 1900.

[8] "Gen. Hare Returns Home," *The New York Times*, 1 May 1901.

[9] "Gen. Luther Hare at Home," *San Antonio Express News*, 28 May 1901.

[10] "Royal Welcome to Brig.-Gen. Hare," *Fort Worth Morning Register*, 5 June 1901.

celebration for him during their annual jubilee held at the end of August 1901. The event included daily fireworks, parachute leaps from balloons, a sham battle of one thousand men on opening day, and even commemorations for former Confederate soldiers. Attending the grand celebrations were Senator Joseph W. Bailey, Congressman (and former Texas governor) Samuel W. T. Lanham, former Confederate Brigadier General William L. Cabell, and some local dignitaries. General Hare was the guest of honor on the third day of the celebrations. Several members of the Thirty-Third Infantry were also in attendance. Newspapers throughout Texas reported on the events. At 2:00 in the afternoon on 28 August, a bugle call and cannon shot marked the beginning of the town's salute to Hare. Ceremonial horsemen, all enlisted veterans of the Thirty-Third, escorted a carriage that transported Senator Bailey and General Hare to the festival grounds. The *Dallas Morning News* described the carriage horses with a touch of humor: "The vehicle was drawn by a splendid pair of blacks, which were beautifully ignorant of military customs."[11]

After arriving at the stand and podium, Bailey and Hare stepped from the carriage into the North Texas heat amid thunderous applause from festival-goers, with the General remarking to Bailey that it was not a good plan to go to war in a carriage. After the large audience ceased their applause for the two Texas dignitaries, Bailey spoke about Hare's long career and fine conduct. The Senator's words drew even more applause from the onlookers. The speech prefaced a special gift to General Hare.[12] It was a ceremonial sword that was crafted in recognition of his military service and heroism. The blade was gilded steel etched with scenes from Hare's career in the Army, starting from his entry into West Point, continuing with Custer's Last Stand and the

[11] "Honors for Hare," *Dallas Morning News*, 29 August 1901.

[12] "Honors for Hare," *Dallas Morning News*, 29 August 1901.

landing at San Fabian, and ending with the rescue of Gillmore. The hilt was encrusted with diamonds. A star of rubies and a large diamond were set into the ends of the guard. A silver scabbard engraved with the words "Presented to Luther R. Hare by the people of Sherman, Texas" completed the gift. The correspondent for the *Dallas Morning News* called the sword "the prettiest blade ever brought into the State."[13] Hare gave his thanks to the city of Sherman in a heartfelt speech that closed with "it is a great satisfaction to me to know that I have taken Texans to the Philippines and brought them back and the people of Texas are willing to say 'well done.' No man can ask more. I do not."[14]

Hare remained at his post in San Antonio. As a Texan of prominent stature in the public eye, organizations often invited him to participate in ceremonial roles. When the Ord Post of the Grand Army of the Republic celebrated Memorial Day in San Antonio in 1902, Hare was present among the several thousand attendees.[15] He was also a regular speaker and guest at several veterans' organizations across Texas. By 1903 it became clear to many Texans that Hare would not receive the general's star that many of them thought that he deserved for his service. The *Fort Worth Star-Telegram* opined that had Hare "been a self-seeking politician he would more than likely have been a major general ere now. But Hare is only a soldier who does his duty and lets promotion take care of itself. Promotion through merit alone is as slow in the United States army as the mills of the gods."[16] That same year, Leonard Wood, President Theodore Roosevelt's close friend and former commanding officer during the Spanish-American War, was promoted to the rank of major general at the behest of Roosevelt. Wood's promotion came at the

[13] "Description of the Sword," *Dallas Morning News*, 29 August 1901.

[14] "High Honors to Luther Hare," *San Antonio Express News*, 29 August 1901.

[15] "Ceremonies at San Antonio," *Dallas Morning News*, 31 May 1902.

[16] "Among Exchanges," *Fort Worth Star-Telegram*, January 23, 1903.

same time that many Texas newspapers were trumpeting Hare's case. The *Dallas Morning News* bitterly remarked upon Wood's promotion that "nothing is more demoralizing to any army than unwarranted promotions," noting that Hare would retire as a major despite his many accomplishments in the Philippines.[17]

By 1905 Hare was suffering from rheumatism and retired from active service. He purchased a farm near Uvalde in southwest Texas, in part because he believed that the temperate climate would help restore his health.[18] Despite his retirement as a farmer, he remained immensely popular in Texas for the rest of his life. State military organizations regularly requested his presence at ceremonies and events. When the War Department asked Hare in 1909 to inspect the Texas National Guard in Dallas, the Guard's officers gave a banquet in Hare's honor.[19] Later that year, Hare made the principal address at the Texas State Fair in Dallas.[20] In 1910 when the citizens of Monroe, Michigan unveiled a monument to George Armstrong Custer, the *Dallas Morning News* used the event to commemorate Hare's involvement as a second lieutenant under Colonel Marcus Reno's command.[21] Hare remained active in his later years. He was elected as senior vice-commander of the Texas Commandery of the Naval and Military Order of the Spanish-American War at its first annual meeting on 23 April 1913.[22] A more prestigious role awaited him in 1918 when the United States found itself at war with Germany. At the request of Dr. Robert Vinson, the president of the University of Texas at Austin, the Army detailed Hare as a professor of military science and tactics for that university's Reserve Officer

[17] "About the Promotion of Gen. Leonard Wood," *Dallas Morning News*, 24 July 1903.

[18] "General Turns Farmer," *Fort Worth Star-Telegram*, 15 July 1905.

[19] "Plan Banquet for Major Hare," *Dallas Morning News*, 12 March 1909.

[20] "Program for Spanish War Day," *Dallas Morning News*, 21 October 1909.

[21] "Major Luther Hare's Record," *Dallas Morning News*, 6 June 1910.

[22] "War Veterans Meet," *Dallas Morning News*, 24 April 1913.

Training Corps.[23] By the summer of that year, the *Dallas Morning News* included Hare's training regimen as an example of one of the university's many successful mobilization efforts.[24] Hare's office received over three hundred applications from enthusiastic Texans who sought to join the training at Camp Mabry, a testament to wartime enthusiasm and Hare's residual popularity among the people of his home state.[25] Hare retired again after World War I and returned to his Uvalde farm to raise chickens and grow onions. Yet the cumulative effect of decades of hard military service could not be endured forever. In the spring of 1929, an elderly Hare was admitted to Walter Reed Hospital in Washington, D.C. His three daughters and several of his grandchildren were with him as the old hero breathed his last on 22 December 1929. He was buried with full military honors at Arlington National Cemetery.[26]

While Hare may not have received the high appointments in the Regular Army that his many supporters believed that he deserved, all three of the Thirty-Third's battalion commanders achieved prominent positions after the Philippine War. Marcus D. Cronin, the Thirty-Third Infantry's second commanding officer, served in a variety of commands in both the Philippines and the United States after he was honorably discharged from volunteer service. After ten years with various units, he became a brigadier general in the Army and led the 163rd Infantry Brigade in the American Expeditionary Forces during World War I, when one officer remarked that he was a "good, if unspectacular, commander."[27] By the time of the armistice in November 1918, Cronin's troops had advanced further than any of their American counterparts into the German

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[23] "Officers' Training School Assured for University," *Dallas Morning News,* 29 January 1918.

[24] "Texas University Leads in War Work," *Dallas Morning News,* 5 July 1918.

[25] "Students Apply for Officers' Training," *Fort Worth Star-Telegram*, 5 July 1918.

[26] "Death Takes General Hare," *Dallas Morning News,* 24 December 1929.

[27] James J. Cooke, *The All-Americans at War: The 82nd Division in the Great War, 1917-1918* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1999), 60.

lines, a feat that earned him a citation from General John J. Pershing.[28] In the Army's post-war downsizing, Cronin returned to the rank of colonel and became a recruiting officer in Baltimore. The Thirty-Third's final commanding officer retired as a brigadier general in 1926 after forty years of devoted service to the Army. The *Boston Herald* named Cronin a "hero of three wars" in its announcement of his passing at the age of 71 in 1936. Cronin was buried at San Francisco National Cemetery, not far from the Thirty-Third Infantry's old encampment at the Presidio.[29]

Edgar A. Sirmyer had a quiet career in the Regular Army after the Philippine War. He received a commission as a first lieutenant in the Third Cavalry and served as Commandant of Cadets at Clemson College (now Clemson University) in South Carolina for a year. While at Clemson, he married Margaret Ballard Moore and started a family. He was promoted to captain in the Eighth Cavalry, served another tour of duty in then-quiet Northern Luzon, and later received staff training at Fort Leavenworth. During the crisis on the Rio Grande just prior to World War I, Sirmyer commanded Troop I of the Eighth Cavalry at Fort McIntosh, Texas, and successfully fought a band of bandits near the border town of San Ygnacio in Zapata County. During World War I, he commanded the Seventy-Ninth Field Artillery as a colonel. After the war ended, he transferred to the Presidio in San Francisco and took charge of National Guard affairs for the Ninth Corps on the West Coast. His duties were not all administrative and inspections. In 1924, he became the Army's official representative for the San Francisco Spring Music Festival, prompting the *San Francisco Chronicle* to comment: "there is some real musical talent in the army, and… the army should be a genuine asset to a community in time of peace as well as a protection in time of war."[30] Sirmyer retired from the army in 1936 and moved to

[28] "Pershing Cites Col. Cronin," *Baltimore Sun*, 7 August 1919.

[29] "Gen. Marcus Cronin, Hero of 3 Wars, Dies," *Boston Herald*, 14 August 1936.

[30] "Soldier-Musicians to Aid Spring Festival," *San Francisco Chronicle*, 23 October 1924.

Tampa, Florida, where he spent his remaining years with his family, gardening, and playing golf. His son, Edgar A. Sirmyer Jr., followed in his father's footsteps and had a prominent career as a brigadier general in the United States Air Force. Sirmyer passed away on 5 November 1955 at the age of 80. He is buried at Myrtle Hill Memorial Park in Tampa, Florida.[31]

Of his brother officers in the Thirty-Third Infantry, Peyton C. March arguably enjoyed the most successful career. March's unfailing courage, outstanding tactical acumen, and excellent leadership in the Philippines as an officer in both the Astor Battery and in the Thirty-Third Infantry earned him the Silver Star with four oak leaf clusters and the rank of captain in the Regular Army. In 1918 President Woodrow Wilson added to March's long list of decorations after he belatedly awarded March the Distinguished Service Cross for leadership and bravery during the Spanish-American War. In 1903 March served on the newly-created General Staff. The following year, when Russia and Japan fought over Korea, March was the United States military attaché to the Imperial Japanese Army. In 1916, the Army promoted him to colonel and he commanded the Eighth Field Artillery Regiment during the Punitive Expedition into Mexico under Pershing. When Wilson was elected to a second term as president, March advanced to the rank of four-star general and became Chief of Staff. He oversaw centralization reforms in the Army during World War I that often conflicted with Pershing's wishes, but March's able leadership earned him the Army Distinguished Service Medal and several foreign decorations. He retired from military service in 1921 and published a memoir of his experiences in World War I, entitled *The Nation at War,* in 1932.[32]

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[31] "Edgar A. Sirmyer 1897," *West Point Association of Graduates*, http://apps.westpointaog.org/Memorials/Article/3774/ (accessed 24 September 2017).

[32] On March's post-Philippine War career, see Coffman, *Hilt of the Sword*, passim; Peyton C. March, *The Nation at War* (New York: Doran, Doubleday, and Company, 1932).

Although retired, General March closely watched world affairs from his home on Wyoming Avenue in Washington, D.C. His knowledge, experience, and status as one of the most famous and prominent retired officers in the Army attracted reporters to him like flies to honey, and all of them sought his insights on military affairs. During the 1930s, *The New York Times* regularly asked March questions about his experiences in the Army. Later, during World War II, March told one Washington reporter that he supported a draft and a cross-channel invasion of France to free Europe from the Nazis. Perhaps as a result of his experience in the Old Army, March criticized the strategic bombing offensive in Europe as ineffective and warned of the dangers of wartime censorship when he told one correspondent that the American people must know how difficult the war was or "the result may be too shocking to contemplate."[33] By 1952 March still sported his neatly-trimmed chin beard that he wore from forty years earlier, and was "still pleased that his 1918 uniforms still fit him," when he suggested to *The New York Times* that the real danger to world peace was in Europe rather than the "limited strategic situation" in Korea.[34] As the 1950s continued, March's health finally began to fail him and he died of complications related to his venerable age of ninety in 1955 at Walter Reed Hospital in Washington. As a symbol of the importance of March's many military contributions to the United States, Vice President Richard Nixon led the government's official delegation to March's burial at Arlington National Cemetery.[35]

Many of the Thirty-Third Infantry's company officers had interesting careers after they left the Philippines. After the Thirty-Third was mustered out of service, Captain Charles Van Way unexpectedly arrived at his hometown of Winfield, Kansas on sick leave, preempting plans

[33] "Gen. March Declines Offers to Write for Magazines," *Washington Evening Star*, 11 January 1944.

[34] "Then and Now," *The New York Times*, 13 January 1952.

[35] Coffman, *Hilt of the Sword*, 247.

for a brass band and parade reception for him.[36] His exemplary record in commanding Company B earned him a Distinguished Service Cross and made him one of nine Kansans who were selected as cavalry lieutenants for the Regular Army in 1901.[37] He retired as a lieutenant colonel in 1922 and maintained his friendship with James Parker, who retired as a brigadier general in 1918. Referring to the Battle of Vigan, Parker wrote in 1929 that Van Way "never failed, when at a distance, to write me a letter on the anniversary of this extraordinary fight, one of the most murderous and thrilling that occurred during the Philippine insurrection."[38] After retiring from the Army, Van Way worked for several years in the air service in Portland, Oregon and often appeared with his wife in the society articles in *The Oregonian*. He died in 1930 and is buried at Arlington National Cemetery. His son, Charles Van Way Jr., followed in his footsteps and continued the family tradition of distinguished and honorable military service as a colonel in the European Theater during World War II.[39]

Captain Godfrey R. Fowler had a colorful life after his discharge from the Thirty-Third Infantry. He returned to practicing law in his hometown of Palestine, in East Texas. He served in the Twenty-Eighth Legislature as a Democrat from 1903 to 1905, during which he was on multiple committees, including one that sought to purchase Henry A. McArdle's 1895 painting of the Battle of San Jacinto for the Texas Senate chamber.[40] In 1909, the United States supported conservative rebels in Nicaragua after the reformist-minded President Jose Zalaya ordered the

[36] "Kansas News and Comment," *Topeka Weekly Capital*, 15 March 1901.

[37] "Lieutenants Appointed," *Topeka Weekly Capital*, 26 April 1901.

[38] Parker, *The Old Army*, 296.

[39] "Col. Charles Ward Van Way Sr.," https://www.findagrave.com/cgi-bin/fg.cgi?page= gr&GRid=30364159 (accessed 28 September 2017); "Charles W. Van Way," *Washington Times*, 11 June 1984.

[40] The proposal to purchase the painting did not succeed. Instead, McArdle lent it to the Senate. The State of Texas later bought the painting from his family. It still hangs in the Texas Senate chamber.

execution of two American landowners for allegedly plotting to lay mines and join the rebels who opposed Zalaya.[41] Fowler, who then worked as a stenographer in the district court in Palestine, announced to anyone who would listen that he was going to place himself in a sanitarium in New Orleans. However, Fowler's tale of a hospital stay was merely a cunning ruse to cloak his true intentions. He planned on leading an expedition to Nicaragua. "It sounds very much like Captain Fowler," the *Palestine Herald-Press* wrote with a sense of amusement after learning of Fowler's plans.[42] Fowler had quite an adventure in Nicaragua. When he suffered two wounds in battle and was captured, several of his former comrades feared the worst. The *Bryan Daily Eagle* wrote that the Nicaraguans would not dare to abuse Fowler in his captivity, as "Texas would not stand for maltreatment of a grandson of John H. Reagan." His death was even misreported in several Texas newspapers in 1910.[43]

The Nicaraguan jungles and battlefields would not be Fowler's tomb, however. He returned to Texas just in time to mediate a racial dispute that broke out in late July 1910 in the town of Slocum in Anderson County, not far from his home town of Palestine. The reasons behind the violence remain murky and range from a ploy by local Anglos to seize the land belonging to black citizens, anger of whites at having to work alongside a black man, to a dispute over unpaid loads. As usual, the newspapers of the time embellished the body counts.[44] Still, order had to be restored. As Texas Rangers descended on Slocum, District Judge Benjamin H. Gardner appointed Fowler as a special deputy to calm the situation and to summon witnesses to the killings. By 31 July, the *Houston Post* declared that Fowler had the situation under control

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[41] "Zalaya Broke Faith to Kill Americans," *The New York Times*, 23 November 1909.

[42] "Capt. G. Rees Fowler," *Palestine Daily Herald*, 23 December 1909.

[43] No headline, *Bryan Daily Eagle* (Bryan, Texas), 26 March 1910.

[44] Randolph B. Campbell, "Slocum Massacre," *Handbook of Texas Online*, https://tshaonline.org/handbook/online/articles/jcs08 (accessed 28 September 2017).

and was leading efforts to bury the dead and protect the living.[45] Fowler fought in World War I as a major and retired from the Army as a lieutenant colonel in 1934. He remained active in retirement and earned a masters degree from Georgetown University, where he won a $40 cash prize for best thesis.[46] Like March, Fowler's military experience and colorful personality often attracted reporters during World War II who wanted his opinions on military affairs. In February 1942 as General Douglas MacArthur's soldiers faced a harrowing siege from the invading Japanese forces on Corregidor Island, Fowler, who in 1899 commanded the garrison there for a month and also served under MacArthur's father, General Arthur MacArthur, declared that the younger MacArthur would never voluntarily surrender the island fortress.[47] The Adjutant-General of Texas noted that Fowler's military record was "an especially bright one, and his gallantry has been noted on more than one foreign field of battle."[48] Fowler remained active in the Thirty-Third Veterans Association and attended their reunions when he was able, entertaining his comrades with stories. He passed away at the age of 82 in 1958 and was buried in the Palestine City Cemetery. In 1970, the Texas Historical Commission made Fowler's antebellum home in Palestine, the McClure-McReynolds-Fowler House, a state historical landmark.[49]

Thomas Q. Ashburn, the young major who became king of a tribe of headhunters in 1900, continued his career in the Army. He served as an aide to Major General Arthur

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[45] "The Dead Buried," *The Houston* Post, 1 August 1910.

[46] "476 to Receive Degrees at G.U.," *Washington Evening Star*, 7 June 1936.

[47] Franklin Bradford, "MacArthur Will Never Give Up, Predicts Retired Officer Who Once Commanded Corregidor," *Dallas Morning News*, 13 February 1942.

[48] Texas Adjutant General, *Biennal Report of the Adjutant General of Texas from January 23, 1911, to December 31, 1912* (Austin: Von Boeckman-Jones Co., 1913), Appendix: 35.

[49] "Details for McClure-Reynolds-Fowler Home" *Texas Historical Commission*, https://atlas.thc.state.tx.us/Details/5001008777 (accessed 28 September 2017).

MacArthur until 1902, after which time Ashburn commanded several companies of coastal artillery in Cuba. Like many of his fellow officers of the Thirty-Third Infantry, Ashburn played a prominent role in World War I. He organized and commanded two artillery brigades for the war in 1917. He retired from the army as a major general and put his engineering education to better use in a civilian capacity by heading the Inland Waterways Corporation for over fifteen years. He also published a book about one of his military assignments, *History of the 324th Field Artillery,* in 1920.[50] He died at the age of 66 in 1941 and was buried at Arlington National Cemetery.[51] Battery Thomas Q. Ashburn at Fort Rosecrans in California was named in his honor.[52]

Captain John A. Hulen, the quartermaster for the Thirty-Third Infantry, continued his military career in Texas after he returned from the Philippines. Governor Samuel W. T. Latham promoted him to brigadier general of state troops and appointed him as the Adjutant General of Texas in 1902. Hulen held that position until he retired in 1907.[53] At that time, *The Dallas Morning News* commented that Hulen was "one of the best known Adjutant Generals Texas ever had" and recalled his service in the Philippines with the Thirty-Third Infantry. In the days leading up to the entry of the United States into World War I, Hulen helped with organizing the Texas militia into the Thirty-Sixth Infantry Division at Camp Bowie in Tarrant County. He led the Seventy-Second Brigade of that division during the Meuse-Argonne offensive, and his Distinguished Service Medal and two Croix de Guerre were testaments for his leadership. Hulen remained active in the Texas National Guard after World War I. A grateful state renamed Camp

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[50] Thomas Q. Ashburn, *History of the 324th Field Artillery United States Army* (New York: George H. Doran Company, 1920).

[51] "General Ashburn, Head of Barge Lines, Dies" *New Orleans Times-Picayune*, 3 May 1941.

[52] Erwin N. Thompson, "Battery Ashburn," *The Guns of San Diego: San Diego Harbor Defenses, 1796-1947*, https://www.nps.gov/parkhistory/onlinebooks/cabr/hrs7.htm (accessed 28 September 2017).

[53] "Retired at Request," *Dallas Morning News*, 10 December 1907.

Palacios, a training facility in Matagorda County, as Camp Hulen in 1930. He retired with the Texas National Guard's highest rank of lieutenant general in 1935. Afterward, Hulen served his state in other capacities. He was one of Texas's delegates to the Democratic national convention in 1932 and a director of the Texas Technological College (now Texas Tech University) from 1935 to 1936. In 1941, when the United States found itself at war again, President Franklin D. Roosevelt appointed Hulen as the regional salvage manager of the War Production Board. Hulen died in 1957 and is buried at Forest Park Cemetery in Houston, Texas.[54]

Captain John F. Green, who led the vanguard at the Battle of San Jacinto in 1899, remained in the Philippines and served in the Manila police. According to historian Alfred McCoy, the police in Manila by 1910 "had become a partner in crime, accepting bribes to protect opium dens, brothels, and gambling joints." When he became acting chief of police for the city in July 1910, the incorruptible former soldier immediately launched a one-man crusade to clean it up. His investigations resulted in charges for seven Filipino police and one American officer on counts of bribery and corruption, but earned him the ire of his police chief, John E. Harding, Police Commissioner Percy McDonnell, and several other higher officials who would have lost influence and wealth if Green succeeded in eliminating corruption. Unfortunately, the old saying that "one does not fight city hall" came true for Green. Chief Harding maneuvered to block Green's prosecutions and the local courts refused to punish the officials with the dubious claim that the accused officials had accepted presents rather than bribes from Manila's underground gambling clubs and opium dens. Disgusted, Green departed in November 1911, for Persia, where he worked in the Gendarmerie for a year.[55] He died in 1912 of an intestinal ailment in Chicago at

[54] Skaggs, "Hulen, John Augustus," in Tyler et al., *New Handbook of Texas,* 3:778-779.

[55] Alfred W. McCoy, *Policing America's Empire: The United States, the Philippines, and the Rise of the Surveillance State* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press), 246-253.

the age of 43. The *San Antonio Express News* eulogized his life and careers in the military and police with more than a page on the "hero of the Philippines," emphasizing how his sense of justice made him "the nearest possible conception in real life to the D'Artagnan of fiction." A lifelong animal lover, the *Express News* published a photograph of Green in full uniform while he held a small puppy. He is buried at the Confederate Cemetery in his native San Antonio.[56]

Captain Arthur M. Pickel, the charming Tennessean who fought bravely at the Battle of Vigan and later clashed with Colonel Cronin, received a commission as a second lieutenant in the Twelfth Cavalry after he returned from the Philippines. Within a year, in September 1903, he became a first lieutenant in the Fifteenth Cavalry, but in 1908 he was forced to retired on account of disability.[57] Whatever that was, evidently it ruined his health. Pickel passed away on 19 October 1914 near Nashville, Tennessee at the relatively young age of 34. He is buried at the Asbury Cemetery in Knoxville, Tennessee.[58]

Several of the Thirty-Third Infantry's lieutenants continued their careers in the Army through World War I. Frank L. Case graduated from the Army Staff College at Fort Leavenworth in 1914 and served in the cavalry during World War I.[59] James M. Burroughs, the regiment's adjutant who followed Hare after the latter's promotion to brigadier general, remained in the cavalry, graduated from the Mounted Service School at Fort Riley in 1909, and rose to the rank of lieutenant colonel in World War I.[60] Solomon L. Jeffers graduated from the Infantry and Cavalry School at Fort Leavenworth in 1903. He retired from the army in 1904 due

[56] "Capt. John Green, Fortune Soldier, Called by Death," *San Antonio Express News* 27 December 1912.

[57] "Retirement of Lieut. Pickel," *Washington Evening Star*, 23 January 1908.

[58] United States Adjutant General's Office, *Official Army Register for 1915* (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1914), 656.

[59] U.S. Army Adjutant General's Office, *Official Army Register, December 1, 1918,* 213.

[60] U.S. Army Adjutant General's Office, *Official Army Register, December 1, 1918,* 213.

to a disability and taught in the Law Department at the University of Arkansas.[61] Like several of his comrades, Charles L. Willard graduated from the Infantry and Cavalry School in 1905 and the Signal School in 1906. He was an infantry colonel during World War I.[62]

Like many of their former officers, a few of the Thirty-Third's enlisted men remained in the Army after their adventures in the Philippines. Walter J. Scott of Company C, who had advanced through the ranks of his old regiment to become a second lieutenant, received a second lieutenant's commission in the regular cavalry after the Philippine War. He rose to the rank of captain by the eve of World War I.[63] Like Scott, Sebring C. Megill of Company E also rose through the ranks from private to second lieutenant in the Thirty-Third. Megill graduated from the Infantry and Cavalry School at Fort Leavenworth in 1904 and from the Army Signal School at Fort Leavenworth in 1908.[64] He served in the coastal artillery corps as a lieutenant colonel during World War I.[65] James McConnell, the private from Company B who earned the Medal of Honor at the Battle of Vigan in 1899, was commissioned as a second lieutenant and was an instructor at Plattsburgh in New York until he joined the Fourth Infantry during World War I. He earned the Distinguished Service Cross on the day that he was killed in action while he led his platoon near Les Franquete Farm on the Western Front on 23 July 1918.[66]

Many of the Thirty-Third's volunteers did not remain in the Army and instead found successful careers in civilian life. Some stayed in the Philippines and served in the American

[61] U.S. Army Adjutant General's Office, *Official Army Register, December 1, 1918,* 958.

[62] U.S. Army Adjutant General's Office, *Official Army Register, December 1, 1918,* 612.

[63] U.S. Army Adjutant General's Office, *Official Army Register, December 1, 1918,* 225.

[64] The Army Signal School changed its location over the years of its existence. As of 2017, the school is located at Fort Gordon, Georgia.

[65] U.S. Army Adjutant General's Office, *Official Army Register, December 1, 1918,* 465.

[66] "D.S.C. Awarded to Lieut. M'Connell," *Watertown Daily Times* (New York), 13 October 1919.

colonial administration. Lawrence Benton, the former hotel cook from Cripple Creek, Colorado, remained in the Philippines for thirty-six years after his discharge from Company A. He immediately found employment in the Bureau of Customs in Manila and worked there until 1919. Afterwards, he was the Comptroller of the Port of Manila from 1924 to 1936. In 1935 he published memoirs about his wartime service in *The American Oldtimer*, a magazine published in Manila. In his writings, he proudly recalled his service in the Thirty-Third Infantry and praised the civil service of Americans who remained behind in "carrying out 'America's experiment' in the Philippines."[67] Like Green and Benton, Harry Beazley also remained in the Philippines. The farmer from Forrest City, Arkansas decided to rebuild the islands where he had fought. He joined the Philippines Constabulary and rose to the rank of captain by 1906.[68] From 1908 to 1910 he worked for the United States Engineering Office and oversaw projects on Corregidor and Carabao Islands, earning a reputation for efficiency and reliability.[69] While in the Philippines, he married an opera singer but promptly divorced her after he learned that she was secretly passing information to rebel groups. Like several of his comrades, Beazley's time in the Philippines exposed him to tropical diseases that slowly weakened him, and he spent over a year in the hospital in Manila. He re-enlisted in the Army in 1915 but was discharged for medical reasons in 1916. He worked then at the Hercules Powder Works in California and married a schoolteacher from North Carolina, Jennie Bryant. The couple had two children. The marriage, while happy, did not last long. The tropical diseases he suffered, especially dysentery, soon caused his health

[67] Benton, "In the Days of Empire," Spanish American War Veterans Survey Collection, Box 69, Folder 17, p. 10, USAHEC.

[68] Harry Beazley commission, Spanish American War Veterans Survey Collection, Box 69, folder 16, USAHEC.

[69] First Lieutenant J. J. Kingman to the Mindoro Development Company, Spanish American War Veterans Survey Collection, Box 69, Folder 16, USAHEC.

to fail. Beazley died at the age of 43 in 1921 and was buried in the Bryant Family Cemetery in Stedman, North Carolina.[70]

Other veterans found civilian life back in the United States preferable to tropical service. William A. "Kidney" Smith, an Arkansas private in Company L, developed a lumber company and remained active in the Thirty-Third Association. His wife also became involved with the Thirty-Third as the vice-president of the wives and widows organization.[71] Yervant O. Conchugul, the immigrant from the Ottoman Empire who served in Company H, returned to Washington, D.C., married Irma Deiettre in 1907, and continued his life as a clerk for the United States Department of Agriculture.[72] At least one of these men turned to politics. William C. Harlee, who once peeled potatoes in Company F's kitchens, joined the Marine Corps and retired as a colonel. In 1936 Harlee ran in the South Carolina Democratic primary as a candidate for United States senator. His anti-New Deal and states' rights messages did not resonate with the Palmetto State's voters, and he lost to incumbent James F. Byrnes.[73]

Joseph L. Epps, one of the privates who distinguished himself at the Battle of Vigan, refused to tell the government of his whereabouts after his discharge. He knew that the government wished to award him the Medal of Honor, but Epps did not want the publicity that came with such a prestigious ceremony. The award, however, entitled Epps to a $10 a month bonus to his pension, which he needed to help defray his medical expenses. In 1926 Epps

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[70] "CPT Harry Leslie Beazley, Sr,", https://www.findagrave.com/cgi-bin/fg.cgi?page=gr&GRid =29946434 (accessed 28 September 2017).

[71] Copy of newspaper clipping of *Latimer County News-Democrat,* 3 September 1937, Spanish-American War Veterans Survey Collection, Box 69, Folder 28, USAHEC.

[72] "Marriage Licenses," *Washington Evening Star,* 17 December 1907; United States House of Representatives, *Statement of Expenditures of the Department of Agriculture for the Fiscal Year Ended June 30, 1912* (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1913), 943.

[73] "Bulletin No. V, Thirty-Third United States Volunteer Infantry Association," 24 April 1936, Brauchle Papers, Box 1, Folder 6, USAHEC.

contacted the government, who then sent Captain John R. Williams to bestow the nation's highest military award on Epps in a ceremony at a Muskogee, Oklahoma, baseball park. In a gracious but cantankerous reference to his partner in capturing more than a dozen Filipinos, Epps later complained, "I don't see why they don't give [William] Trafton a medal too," adding that "he was there just as I was."[74] Epps died in June 1952, at the age of 82, and was buried in the Greenhill Cemetery at Muskogee.[75]

Some of the enlisted veterans who embraced civilian careers recorded their military experiences in the Thirty-Third Infantry for posterity. William Trafton was discharged from the Army with a Certificate of Merit for his courage at the Battle of Vigan. During his return trip to his home in Texas, he stopped in San Antonio. "To come back alone, some older and a lot wiser," he recalled, "it made me sad to think that so many of the boys would never see that old drill ground again."[76] He returned to civilian life and raised a family on a ranch in Colorado County, Texas. He received disability checks for lumbago, impaired vision, and acute pyorrhea, but returned them with the idealistic rationale that his ailments did not impede his work as a rancher. As his health declined, he began to accept his disability payments. As the years went by, Trafton's ranch failed and he worked in a general store in Algoa in Galveston County. He finished his folksy war memoirs in 1934, two years before a careless car driver fatally struck him on the side of a road. Trafton is buried along with two of his four children at the Confederate Cemetery in Alvin, Texas.[77]

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[74] "Dodged Medal for 24 Years," *Kansas City Star*, 16 September 1926.

[75] "Joseph L. Epps," https://www.findagrave.com/cgi-bin/fg.cgi?page=gr&GRid=6403991 (accessed 24 September 2017).

[76] Trafton, *We Thought We Could Whip Them in Two Weeks*, 104.

[77] Trafton, *We Thought We Could Whip Them in Two Weeks*, iv.

Milton G. Nixon, the young Ohio schoolteacher whose letters provided another colorful framework of a soldier's experiences in the Thirty-Third Infantry, received a medical discharge from the regiment as a consequence of a physical disability. Like many other young men who returned home from the war, Nixon devoted the rest of his life to peacetime pursuits. In 1903, he married and started a family of his own. He and his wife Stella had three children; Emily, William, and Richard. The Nixons also adopted a fourth child, Helen. Until his passing in 1963 at the age of 82, Nixon led an active life in his home town of Waterford. He served on the board of directors for the Marietta Truck Growers' Association, was on the Waterford Township School Board, and was active in various local grange organizations. Clearly a respected member of his community, Nixon also served as a justice of the peace. He is buried next to his wife in the Waterford Cemetery.[78]

While it appears that many of the citizen-soldiers of the Thirty-Third acclimated well to civilian life and lived long and prosperous lives, some of them did not. Private Henry L. Ransom of Company D stayed in the Army after the Thirty-Third disbanded. He returned to the Philippines for a second tour, but this time he was dishonorably discharged; those who knew him later claimed that he boasted about killing Filipinos. After the Army rid itself of him, Ransom became a law enforcement officer in Texas for a controversial eight-year career.[79] Violence and death always seemed to follow in his wake. On the night of 25 October 1910, Ransom, then

[78] Milton Nixon Memoriam pamphlet, Nixon Collection, Box 1, Folder 1, USAHEC.

[79] Author John Boessenecker suggests that Ransom's rise was partially due to his service in the Thirty-Third Infantry. According to him, Ransom, then a corporal in the Thirty-Third, saved Captain John A. Hulen from a bolo man. A grateful Hulen later became Adjutant General of Texas and assisted in elevating Ransom to the position of Texas Ranger captain. There is no documented evidence in the Thirty-Third's records that Ransom participated in any mistreatment of Filipinos. See John Boessenecker, *Texas Ranger: The Epic Life of Frank Hamer, the Man Who Killed Bonnie and Clyde* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 2016), 123; Charles H. Wilson and Louis R. Sadler, *The Texas Rangers and the Mexican Revolution: The Bloodiest Decade, 1910-1920* (Albuquerque: University New Mexico Press, 2004), 255-259.

serving as a special detective for the city of Houston, shot James B. Brockman, a prominent criminal defense attorney who had just returned from Galveston. Brockman died of his wounds several hours later at the Houston Infirmary.[80] Ransom claimed self-defense as the reason he shot the unarmed lawyer, and the jury acquitted him of the crime.[81] After other unsavory incidents left Ransom unemployed, Governor James E. "Pa" Ferguson hired him in 1915 to quell unrest along the Texas-Mexico border, with an attitude that historian Richard Ribb claimed was "by any means necessary."[82] Ransom made a habit of executing Tejanos without a trial in the valley when he was not forcibly evicting them from their homes, so he was not successful in quieting the turmoil along the Rio Grande, especially since, as historians have noted, his example inspired similar depredations by Anglo civilians.[83] Conditions along the border continued to deteriorate until the United States increased its military presence there. As for Ransom, the renegade Ranger was shot and killed while investigating a shooting at a hotel in Nolan County in 1918.[84]

Ransom as a former volunteer soldier turned renegade law officer repeatedly tarnished the name of the Texas Rangers with summary executions of alleged suspects in South Texas while Governor Ferguson turned a blind eye to it all. Incidents such as those perpetrated by Ransom created enduring perceptions of tensions between the legendary law enforcement agency

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[80] "Judge Brockman is Dying of Wounds," *Galveston Daily News*, 26 October 1910.

[81] "'Not Guilty' the Verdict for Ransom," *Beaumont Journal* (Texas), 23 April 1911.

[82] Richard Ribb, "*La Richanada*: Revolution, Revenge, and the Rangers, 1910-1920," in *War Along the Border: The Mexican Revolution and Tejano Communities*, ed. Arnoldo de León (College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 2012), 73.

[83] Benjamin Heber Johnson, *Revolution in Texas: How a Forgotten Rebellion and its Bloody Suppression Turned Mexicans into Americans* (New Haven: Connecticut: Yale University Press, 2003), 123; Harris and Sadler, *The Texas Rangers and the Mexican Revolution*, 258-292.

[84] "Henry Lee Ransom," https://www.findagrave.com/cgi-bin/fg.cgi?page=gr&GRid=55300248 (accessed 24 September 2017).

and the Tejano community in South Texas.[85] The most recent history of the Rangers denounced Ransom as "ineradicable testimony to the darkest period of the Texas Rangers' institutional history."[86] Nevertheless, having fallen in the line of duty, Ransom's name is alongside his many more distinguished and respectable comrades on the Ranger Ring of Honor at the Texas Rangers Heritage Center in Fredericksburg, Texas.

Overall, it appears that most enlisted men of the Thirty-Third Infantry adapted well to civilian life upon their return home. For many veterans of the Thirty-Third, the bonds of comradeship forged in sweat on the hot plains of Texas and tempered in blood in the mountains and jungles of the Philippines were not severed when the regiment faded into history. In the early years of the twentieth century, veterans of the Spanish-American War, Philippine War, and China Relief Expedition formed several fraternal organizations to help them maintain contact with their former comrades. By 1908 these organizations combined into the United Spanish War Veterans (USWV). A separate organization, the Sons of Spanish American War Veterans, was also formed in 1927, initially for the descendants of the veterans but later expanded to include people with genuine historical interests in those conflicts.[87] Perhaps inevitably, the veterans of the Thirty-Third Infantry, like many other units in their era, formed their own organization to sustain the bonds of friendship among them. The Thirty-Third United States Volunteer Infantry Association, created in Oakland, California, kept its nearly 600 members informed through a

[85] For an excellent examination of the perceptions, stereotypes, and realities of the Rangers through that organization's existence, see Jody E. Ginn, "The Texas Rangers in Myth and Memory," in *Texan Identities: Moving Beyond Myth, Memory, and Fallacy in Texas History*, ed. Light Townsend Cummins and Mary L. Scheer (Denton: University of North Texas Press, 2016), 87-120.

[86] Bob Alexander and Donaly E. Brice, *Texas Ranger: Lives, Legend, and Legacy* (Denton: University of North Texas Press, 2017), 355.

[87] George G. Kane, "History of the Sons of Spanish American War Veterans," *Sons of Spanish American War Veterans*, http://www.ssawv.org/history.htm (accessed 28 September 2017).

regular bulletin starting in the 1930s about the locations of comrades, their life events, reports of future gatherings, and lists of the recently deceased. Guilford C. Jones of Company A served as the Association's historian, and he worked for many years to compile stories and memorabilia for the regiment's veterans. Carl Musgrove, also of Company A, worked tirelessly for years to assist Jones in his work. Membership in the organization was free, and every veteran of the regiment was an automatic member.[88]

In the thirty-seven years since the Thirty-Third Infantry first assembled in San Antonio as a loose collection of regular veterans and volunteer soldiers, the country that they had fought for had transformed. The United States, having won and maintained an empire, was one of the world's great powers and had the respect it had long craved from its European rivals. A war that began over European power politics and rivalries ended up throwing the world into the greatest cataclysm it had seen, a war far deadlier than the one the Thirty-Third had fought in the Philippines at the turn of the century. America's contribution in the "Great War" turned the tide in favor of the Entente Powers and confirmed its prominence upon the world stage. The following decade witnessed a flowering of the arts in literature, music, and cinema as well as wild speculative transactions in banks; these "Roaring 20s" made the United States the economic envy of the world, a notion seemingly interrupted by the miseries of the Great Depression during the 1930s. The Thirty-Third's surviving veterans certainly lived in a world far different than when they enlisted to fight for their country in the Philippines.

Not only had the world changed, but the Thirty-Third's veterans themselves were no longer the young men they had been. They had scattered across the United States and engaged in

[88] Bulletin No. II, Thirty-Third United States Volunteer Infantry Association," n.d., Brauchle Papers, Box 1, Folder 6, USAHEC.

an assortment of vocations. The bulletins of the Thirty-Third Infantry Association revealed an assortment of postwar jobs: firemen, doctors, dentists, prison guards, printers, civil engineers, carpenters, mechanics, and politicians. Doubtlessly many of the men returned to their familiar pre-war professions in agriculture. As noted, some of the men remained in the Philippines. Still others continued their careers in the military and joined the Regular Army. One Texas-born veteran, James E. Gentry from Company G, left the United States in 1904 with the intention of joining the Imperial Japanese Army, then fighting in Korea against Russia.[89] Two veterans, Charles Z. Pettengill of Company K and Walter I. Graham of Company F, both ignored America's neutrality for the first few years of World War I and joined the Canadian Expeditionary Force.[90] Many other veterans got married and had children.

San Antonio, transformed from the times but in many ways still the same city the men of the Thirty-Third once knew, welcomed many veterans and family of the Thirty-Third Infantry to their first major national reunion. Like the rest of the country, the Alamo City had changed in the thirty-six years since the Thirty-Third Infantry organized for a war halfway around the world. The city's population had grown nearly five times larger than that of 1890, to over 230,000

[89] "Says He'll Join the Japanese Army," *Fort Worth Star-Telegram*, 16 March 1904.

[90] The files of Pettengill and Graham in the Canadian Archives in Ottawa show that they both listed their service in the Thirty-Third Infantry on their enlistment papers. Their documents are a trove of information. Pettengill worked as a farmer and hay presser before he enlisted in the 32nd Battalion at Winnipeg on 16 December 1914. He served the Canadian Expeditionary Force in France for most of World War I. He picked up a urinary tract infection during occupation duty in Bonn in 1919 and was discharged on medical grounds. Graham, who as a teenager improperly reported his age to a recruiting officer in 1899, also exaggerated his life to the Canadian recruiting officer. Graham claimed that he spent three years in the Thirty-Third Infantry when he enlisted in the 212th Battalion at Winnipeg on 15 March 1916. He was transferred to the 97th Battalion on 15 May 1916, promoted to sergeant in August 1916, and suffered four gunshot wounds in the line of duty in France. In December 1918 Graham's rashness finally caught up with him. He was found guilty of an attempt to persuade British military personnel to join him in some sort of mutiny against military authorities and sentenced to five years of penal servitude at the Maidstone Prison in Kent, England. Charles Z. Pettengill file, RG 150, Canadian Expeditionary Force, Accession 1992-93/166, Box 7775 – 12, Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa, Canada; Walter Inge Graham file, RG 150, Canadian Expeditionary Force, Accession 1992-93/166, Box 3713 – 18, Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa.

citizens in 1930.[91] Starting with WOAI in 1922, radio towers had begun to broadcast sports, news, shows, and music to listeners. The city had also grown culturally. Moviegoers could see their favorite films downtown in the opulent and chandeliered Aztec Theater. San Antonio College, built in 1925, allowed citizens of the city who may have been unable to attend the larger and more famous schools in College Station and Austin some opportunities for higher education. A natural history and scientific museum, the Witte, was built in 1926. With the developments in aeronautical technology transforming the military since the turn of the century, Fort Sam Houston now shared the city with three new Army Air Corps facilities.[92] *Wings*, a silent film starring Clara Bow, Charles Rogers, and Gary Cooper, was filmed at Kelly Field.[93] Fort Sam Houston itself had undergone a six-million-dollar renovation project that gave it a white-walled and red-tiled Spanish colonial appearance.

In mid-September 1935, caravans of trains and automobiles (another innovation since the Thirty-Third mustered at San Antonio) pulled into downtown lots and brought with them grizzled veterans of America's wars for empire fought at the turn of the century. Among them were seventy-six veterans of the Thirty-Third Infantry, some of them now thick around the waist and with silver peppering their hair, who checked into the Lanier Hotel and other nearby hotels with their families for a grand reunion of the United Spanish War Veterans in San Antonio, the city where their tropical adventures began so long ago.

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[91] United States Bureau of the Census, *Fifteenth Census of the United States – 1930, Census Reports,* Volume III, Part II (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1932), 974.

[92] Two of these Air Corps fields, Kelly and Brooks, became Air Force bases when that service became an independent branch of the United States military under the National Security Act of 1947. They were eventually converted to civilian use with the Department of Defense Base Realignment and Closure lists of 1995 and 2005. Randolph Air Force Base remains in operation today and is a major training facility for the Air Force and also the headquarters of the Nineteenth Air Force.

[93] The film bears the distinction of being the first film to win an Academy Award for Best Picture and for helping start Gary Cooper's career in cinema.

The Thirty Third United States Infantry Association's headquarters for the 1935 reunion was the Lanier Hotel, which conveniently stood across the street from the USWV headquarters at the Gunter Hotel.[94] Many guests brought their wives and children along to meet their old comrades. The Thirty-Third was the only regiment that paraded as a unit during the reunion.[95] Company F had the largest showing, and had the pleasant surprise by the attendance of Godfrey Fowler, their old company commander. It seemed that the jungles of Nicaragua did not claim the bones of the eccentric captain after all. "Most of the boys had heard that he was no longer living and their delight can only be imagined when they found him well and looking very little older than when they last saw him."[96]

Another reunion was held in 1937 on the campus of Eastern Oklahoma College (now Eastern Oklahoma State College) in Wilberton. Periodic showers during the reunion did not dampen the mood. Mayor W. E. McCartney gave the welcoming speech in front of 225 visitors, including 81 members of the Thirty-Third Infantry. The local newspaper placed the Thirty-Third's reunion on the front page of its 3 September 1937 issue and described the event as "more like family picnic than a formal reunion."[97] Locations for the reunions changed until 1954, when the Thirty-Third United States Volunteer Infantry Association decided on Muskogee, Oklahoma

[94] Opened in 1909 on the site of the Vance House, the Gunter Hotel is one of the oldest hotels in San Antonio and has a military history of its own. It was the site where Robert E. Lee assumed command of the Post of San Antonio on 5 August 1857. In 2007 the Department of the Interior added the Gunter Hotel to the National Register of Historic Places. "Bulletin No. II, Thirty-Third United States Volunteer Infantry Association," n.d., Brauchle Papers, Box 1, Folder 6, USAHEC.

[95] "Bulletin No. III, Thirty-Third United States Volunteer Infantry Association," n.d., Brauchle Papers, Box 1, Folder 6, USAHEC.

[96] "Bulletin No. III, Thirty-Third United States Volunteer Infantry Association," n.d., Brauchle Papers, Box 1, Folder 6, USAHEC.

[97] Copy of newspaper clipping of *Latimer County News-Democrat*, 3 September 1937, Spanish-American War Veterans Survey Collection, Box 69, Folder 28, USAHEC.

as the locale that would permanently host the Association's reunions.[98] Veterans of the Thirty-Third pledged themselves to attend reunions all over the United States and also met at other formal engagements. The Association received a formal invitation from the Thirty-Sixth Division to attend a review in August 1936 of its retiring commander (and former captain of the Thirty-Third), Major General John A. Hulen.[99] Veterans of the Thirty-Third also attended the USWV's Golden Jubilee meeting in Long Beach, California, in 1948. Another reunion occurred during the first week of October 1951 at the Presidio in San Francisco.[100]

Between their reunions, some of the aging veterans of the Thirty-Third Infantry watched with interest the American landings in the Philippines during the final months of the World War II campaigns against Japan. Peyton C. March and Godfrey R. Fowler often gave interviews to reporters on the war. Several others gave interviews to local papers, with one veteran wishing that a memorial could be erected for Major John A. Logan Jr.[101] At the turn of the century, a monument-building craze had swept the United States as veterans and various philanthropic groups erected hundreds of bronze statues, granite steles, and simple markers on battlefields, city squares, and roadsides to commemorate various martial episodes in United States history. The Grand Army of the Republic and its successor, the Sons of Union Veterans, sponsored dozens of monuments to Federal soldiers throughout the country. In the South, the United Daughters of the Confederacy was especially active after 1900, sponsoring hundreds of memorials to local

[98] Jawbone, November 1954, Spanish-American War Veterans Survey Collection, Box 69, Folder 14, USAHEC.

[99] "Bulletin No. II, Thirty-Third United States Volunteer Infantry Association, n.d., Brauchle Papers, Box 1, Folder 6, USAHEC.

[100] Program, Thirty-Third United States Volunteer Infantry Association, 4 -7 October 1951, Brauchle Papers, Box 1, Folder 10, USAHEC.

[101] "Also Waded Ashore at Lingayen-But That Was In 1899," unidentified newspaper, Spanish-American War Veterans Survey Collection, Box 69, Folder 24, USAHEC.

heroes.[102] Similar groups associated with the Spanish-American War, Philippine War, and China Relief Expedition also erected memorials to remember veterans of those conflicts. Most of these commemorated the Spanish-American War because the veterans of the Philippine War tended to be merged with comrades who fought in that conflict. For example, Arlington National Cemetery has four monuments to the Spanish-American War but none to the Philippine War. The major monument commemorating soldiers and sailors of the war with Spain is a granite Corinthian column topped by a bronze eagle, with bronze cannons on all four corners. Theodore Roosevelt made the principal address for the monument's dedication in 1902. A carved granite boulder, sponsored by the Order of Spanish-American War Nurses in 1905, honors women who provided medical care during the war. A third memorial, dedicated to the First United States Volunteer Cavalry in 1907 and sponsored by that unit's veterans and friends, is made of dark grey granite engraved with the names of the battles and casualties of the Rough Riders. The final monument at Arlington to the conflicts of the era is the mast of the USS *Maine* atop a granite conical base, dedicated in 1915. The grey headstones at Arlington of interred veterans of the Thirty-Third Infantry stand as the only reminders of their service.

San Antonio, the city where the Thirty-Third Infantry was most likely to have a monument, has several memorials to American military veterans of the era but none to that regiment. Many of these honor Roosevelt and the Rough Riders. These include a high school, a city park, and several bronze plaques in and around the Menger Hotel. One such commemorative inscription was erected by the Texas Historical Commission in 1976 and incorrectly informs the Menger's patrons that Roosevelt recruited his famous regiment at the hotel. There are no such

[102] H.E. Gulley, "Women and the Lost Cause: Preserving a Confederate Identity in the American Deep South," *Journal of Historical Geography* 19 (April 1993), 125-141.

memorials specifically dedicated to the Thirty-Third Infantry. However, a modest rock garden in Roosevelt Park honors all veterans who served in America's imperial conflicts from 1898 to 1902. As that time includes the Philippine War, this humble plot of land, often overlooked by tourists to the Alamo City, stands as the only cenotaph to the Thirty-Third Infantry, United States Volunteers.

In 1968, the handful of surviving members of the Thirty-Third Infantry, by then long retired, received letters from the United States Military History Research Collection, located at Carlisle Barracks in Pennsylvania. Enclosed in each envelope were letters that asked the venerable veterans to undertake a new duty. They were asked to record their experiences from the war and send artifacts from their service so that the Army could create a collection of historical material for future generations to study and thus remember the service of the American volunteer soldier.[103] Seventeen veterans of the Thirty-Third, all in their eighties and nineties, answered their country's call one last time and sent documents and artifacts. This material – artifacts, documents, testimonials, and surveys – form an important part of the Spanish-American Veterans Survey Collection, an invaluable resource for people who wish to understand the war through the eyes of the men who fought it. For people interested in memorials for soldiers, there are few more powerful symbols than these frank and candid stories.

[103] Surveys were sent to the surviving veterans of the Spanish-American War, the Philippine War, and the China Relief Expedition. Nearly eight hundred veterans answered the surveys.

CHAPTER 9

CONCLUSION

The Thirty-Third Infantry Regiment, United States Volunteers, was called into service by an act of Congress on 2 March 1899 and formally disbanded at the Presidio of San Francisco on 17 April 1901. From November 1899 until January 1900, the regiment fought a conventional war against Emilio Aguinaldo's forces and won renown at San Jacinto, Tirad Pass, Vigan, and Tagudin Pass. The apex of the regiment's conventional operations came in a grueling cross-country expedition with elements of the Thirty-Fourth Infantry in a successful rescue operation. After January 1900 until its return to the United States in March 1901, the regiment was dispersed into garrisons in strategic towns throughout northern Luzon and was an effective counterinsurgency and constabulary force. Their duties included regular patrols, civil relations, and expeditions against bandits, hostile tribes, and insurgents. The regiment and individual personnel were repeatedly noted for their efficiency in battle and a perceived Texan character. This fame is quite remarkable given the short period of time in which it was achieved.

Throughout the Philippine War, the men of the Thirty-Third Infantry generally maintained a healthy and peaceful relationship with the Filipino civilians. The officers of the regiment had regular contact with local elites and co-opted them into compliance with American authority. The enlisted men also had regular contact with the locals. While often paternalistic and at times contemptuous towards local customs, the volunteer soldiers did not abandon a town after they secured it from the insurgents. Regular presence bred familiarity and a sense of routine between the Americans and Filipino civilians. Interactions and exchanges between the volunteer soldiers and civilians were common and appear to have been cordial. There were few cases of unpunished cruelty towards the civilian population by the Thirty-Third, and there were no cases

of domestic upheaval in their areas. An examination of the men's letters, memoirs, interviews in newspapers, and surveys after the war reveal that most of them did not bear the Filipinos any enmity.

In an evaluation of the Thirty-Third Infantry's effectiveness in the Philippines, several things become evident. First is the organizational efficacy. The Thirty-Third's officers were mostly educated combat veterans well-prepared by virtue of their experience for the type of conflicts that the regiment fought on Luzon. The emphasis on marksmanship, physical endurance, and small-unit skirmishing tactics during the regiment's training in Texas paid off handsomely in northern Luzon. The benefits of this hard training were clear even to the regiment's men at the time: "the reason that we have lost so few is because a large number of men in our regiment have fought Indians, and know how to take advantage of any cover, and we, who have never fought before, imitated them as well as we could."[104] Another reason for the unit's effectiveness was the poor quality of the Filipino troops compared to the Americans. Insurgents were generally poorly trained and equipped and badly led. There were exceptions of course: Juan Villamor was a superb guerilla commander. But on the whole, the opponents that faced the Thirty-Third were inferior combatants. Private Lawrence Benton evaluated his former enemies after the war: "Had they been well trained, our losses would have been much greater."[105] As it was, most of the Thirty-Third's causalities stemmed from disease. Finally, the morale of the men remained high in the Philippines. While there were remarks about homesickness, there was only one man who deserted the regiment while it was serving overseas. In desperate fighting such as at Vigan, the officers maintained the command of their men. There

[104] Nixon, "Letters and Memories," 52, USAHEC.

[105] Benton questionnaire, Spanish-American War Veterans Survey Collection, Box 69, Folder 29, USAHEC.

were no cases of panicked retreat even when expeditions in 1900 suffered reverses at the hands of guerillas.

After the conventional phase of the war ended, the regiment was divided into garrisons in the provinces of Illocos Sur and Abra. The experiences the men had as a constabulary force were very different than they had during the conventional phase. Their duties became those of an occupation force. Uneventful patrols around strategic towns such as Candon were more common during the insurgency phase of the war than pitched campaigns. These patrols normally encountered little more than minor ambushes or other irritations that did little damage to the regiment's men. Engagements that resulted in major losses, such as the loss of Lieutenant Febiger and much of his command at the hands of Juan Villamor in late October 1900, were rare.

Despite the potential for tension between the Thirty-Third's soldiers and Filipino civilians, the soldiers of the Thirty-Third Infantry, while often paternalistic and condescending towards the Filipinos, appear to have conducted themselves well according to the ethical standards of the age. The men remained at their posts for the duration of the insurgency and the extended period of contact between the American soldiers and the Filipinos created familiarity between the occupiers and the occupied. These relationships with civilians roughly corresponded with the level of insurgent resistance. In areas with little guerilla activity, the men typically got along well with the locals. Intermingling became common between the Thirty-Third's soldiers and Filipino civilians in quiet areas and the men relied on local Filipinos for food, illegal liquor, and female companionship. In settled areas, the men paid for their wares. In the field, scrounging for food was not uncommon, especially when supply columns became irregular. In areas with heavy insurgent activity, the men were wary and less tolerant of the Filipinos. Overall, the

overwhelming evidence from the Thirty-Third's records indicate that the men got along well with the civilians during the insurgency and bore them no ill will, even years after the war ended.

The Americans maintained an effective strategic control over access to the Philippine Islands. In terms of popular appeal, the United States could offer Filipinos many tangible quality-of-life benefits that Aguinaldo and his forces could not. While done under the auspices of imperialism and ethnic chauvinism, the Americans could offer the Filipinos tangible benefits. Aguinaldo and his insurgents could offer only a vague appeal to nationalism and physical reprisals. At the same time, he had great difficulty in obtaining equipment outside of the islands due to the effective efforts of the United States Navy as well as local constabularies. This is in marked contrast to the Vietnam War, when the North Vietnamese and Viet Cong had access to outside assistance from the Soviet Union. The control of information was also important. The American print media, while typically biased and factually inaccurate during the Philippine War, nonetheless gave the men access to the wider world. The news also kept the home front morale at an acceptable level due to the regular reporting on American accomplishments.

Today, insurgencies are far more complex than they were during the time of the Philippine War. The advent of social media in the 2000s has made the management of communications and public relations more complex for the military. As in the conflicts in Somalia, Iraq, and Afghanistan at the turn of the twenty-first century suggest, the political costs to the government of retaining its soldiers on foreign battlefields has also become more expensive. In the Philippine Islands, the American government had the political will to remain in the islands until the objective of Americanizing the islands was complete in 1902. In the early twenty-first century, a conflict like that of the Philippine War would likely be denounced as an imperialistic conflict. Nonetheless, the United States' first effort at establishing an overseas

constabulary force was a difficult task that succeeded, and the Thirty-Third Infantry played an important role in that.

APPENDIX

PHOTOGRAPHS AND TABLES

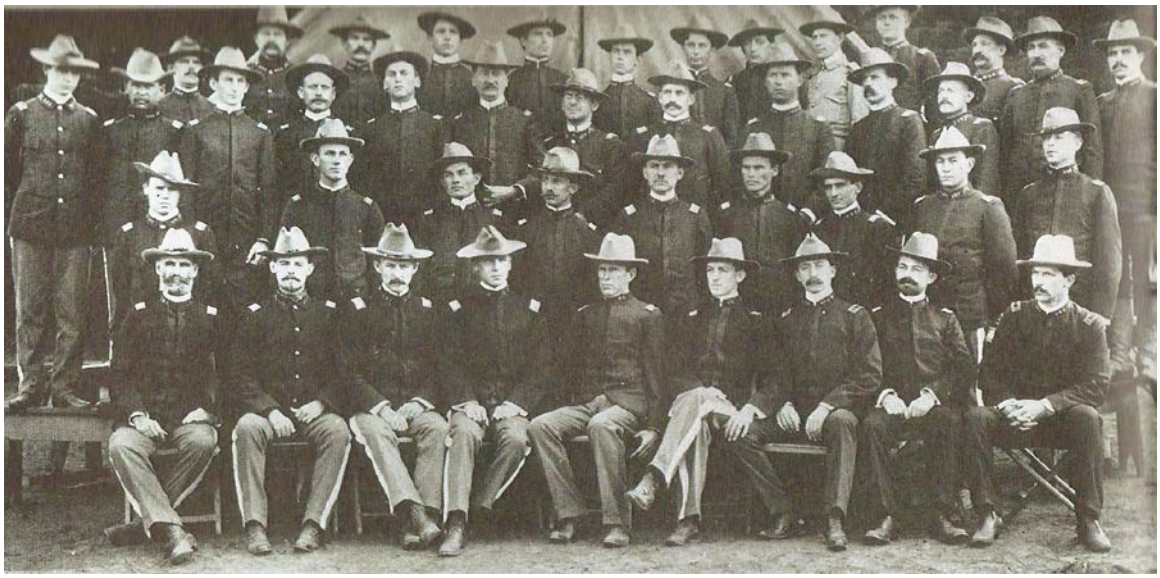

Figure A.1. The Officers of the Thirty-Third Infantry at the Presidio, 23 September 1899. Colonel Luther R. Hare is seated fifth from the left in the front. Source: Raymond, *Captain Lee Hall*, [un-numbered page].

Figure A.2. The men of the Thirty-Third Infantry on board the USS *Sheridan.* Source: Hare Papers, USAHEC.

Figure A.3. The Thirty-Third Infantry searching houses at San Jacinto. Source: Hare Papers, USAHEC.

Figure A.4. A mounted expedition. Sometimes called the “Mosquito Fleet,” these supply columns were vital in keeping the Thirty-Third’s men stocked with food and ammunition while in the field. Source: Hare Papers, USAHEC.

Figure A.5. The Gillmore Party after their rescue. Lieutenant James C. Gillmore Jr. holds the United States flag. Source: Hare Papers, USAHEC.

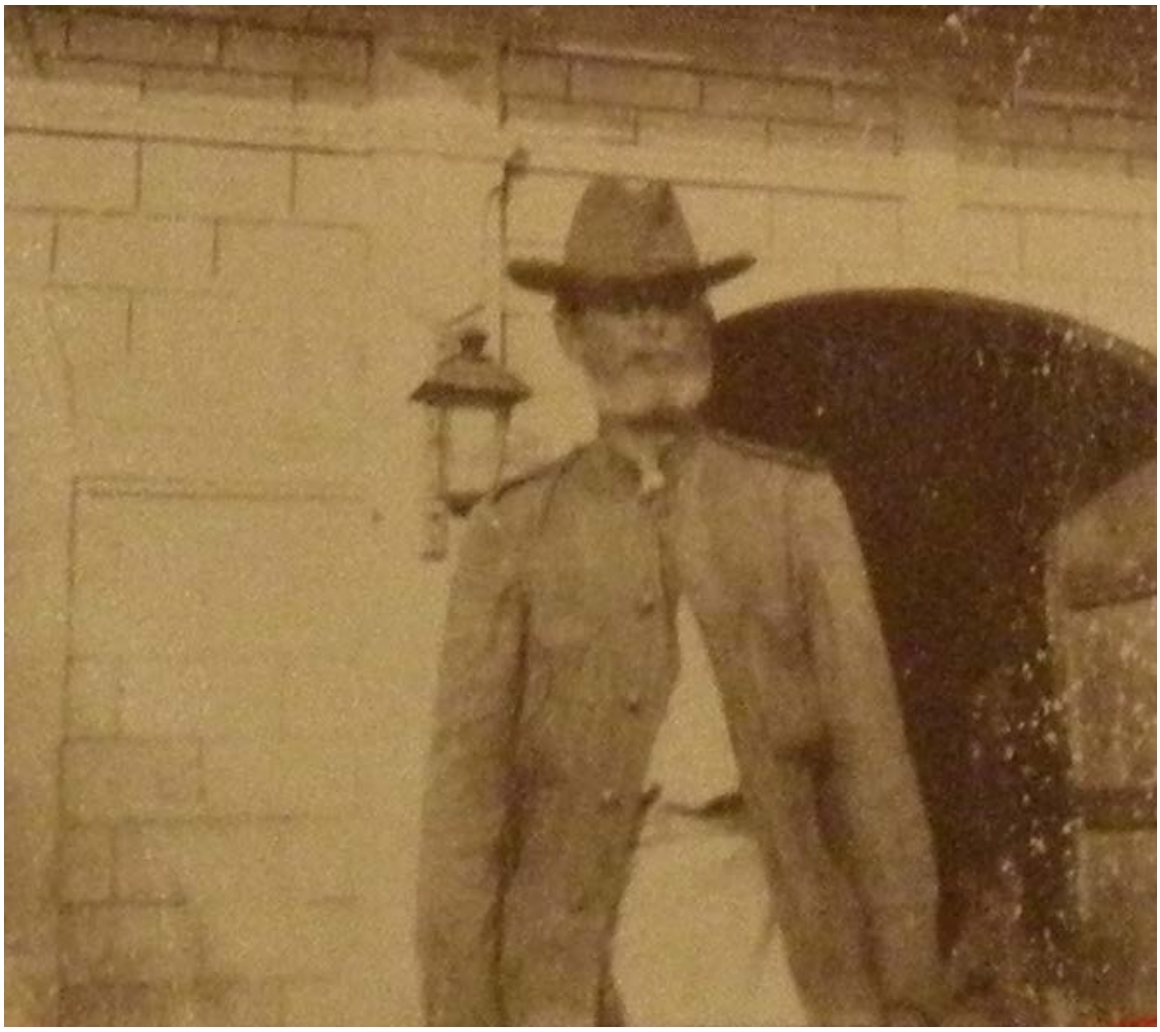

Figure A.6. Colonel Hare after the Gillmore Expedition, 5 January 1900. Nearly all of the expedition's members were similarly underweight and haggard after weeks in the wilderness. Source: Hare Papers, USAHEC.

Figure A.7. The Thirty-Third Infantry boarding the USS *Logan* for the return to America. Source: Hare Papers, USAHEC.

Figure A.8. Thirty-Third Infantry Officers, Where Appointed

APPOINTED FROM	NUMBER	PERCENTAGE OF OFFICERS
"At large"	3	6%
Arkansas	3	6%
Army	7	14%
Colorado	1	2%
Illinois	1	2%
Indian Territory	1	2%
Kansas	1	2%
Kentucky	1	2%
Louisiana	3	6%
Maryland	1	2%
Massachusetts	1	2%
Michigan	1	2%
Mississippi	2	4%
Missouri	3	6%
New Jersey	1	2%
New York	1	2%
Ohio	1	2%
Pennsylvania	2	4%
Tennessee	2	4%
Texas	13	26%
Virginia	1	2%
TOTAL	50	100%

Source: U.S. Army Adjutant General's Office, *Official Register, 1899*, pp. 62-65.

Figure A.9. Enlisted Men and NCOs

STATED AGE	NUMBER	PERCENT
18 – 21	262	36%
22 – 25	237	33%
26 – 29	129	18%
30 – 35	85	12%
35+	7	1%
Total	720	100%

PLACE OF BIRTH	NUMBER	PERCENT
North Atlantic	52	7%
North Central	228	32%
South Atlantic	59	8%
South Central (excluding Texas)	165	23%
West	8	1%
Texas	143	20%
Foreign	65	9%
Totals	720	100%

OCCUPATIONS	TOTAL	PERCENT
Agriculture	198	28%
Business/Professional	101	14%
Engineer	16	2%
Fireman	7	1%
Railroads	29	4%
Ranching	30	4%
Sailor	5	1%
Skilled Labor	92	13%
Soldier	14	2%
Student	6	1%
Teacher	4	1%
Unskilled Labor	218	30%
TOTAL	720	100%

Based on a random selection of 60 soldiers per company. Ages are as stated at enlistment. Due to rounding of fractions, percentages may not add up to 100%. Source: RG 94/117, Descriptive and Clothing Books, Thirty-Third Infantry, NA.

Figure A.10. Foreign-born recruits

Country	Number
Argentina	1
Austria-Hungary	8
British India	1
Canada	8
Denmark	3
England	19
Finland	2
France	1
Germany	45
Ireland	12
Italy	1
Netherlands	3
Norway	2
Ottoman Empire	1
Philippines	1
Poland	1
Russia	3
Scotland	7
Sweden	6
Switzerland	7
TOTAL	132

Source: RG 94/117, Descriptive and Clothing Books, Thirty-Third Infantry, NA.

Figure A.11. Casualties, Engagement near San Jacinto, 11 November 1899

NAME	UNIT	WOUND	REMARKS
Major John A. Logan	3rd Battalion	Gunshot, head	KIA
Captain John F. Green	M	Gunshot, right calf	Slight
Sergeant Major Arthur D. Radzinski	2nd Battalion	Gunshot, left thorax and arm	Severe, died of wounds
Oscar H. Mercier	Hospital	Gunshot, chest	KIA
Sergeant Lovell E. Casteel	H	Gunshot, chest	KIA
Sergeant Herbert B. Harpold	G	Gunshot, right thigh	Slight
Corporal John A. Robinson	H	Gunshot, neck	KIA
Corporal George R. Sims	I	Gunshot, right leg	Slight
Artificer George A. Mattock	A	Gunshot, left forearm	Slight
Private Willie Boone	H	Gunshot, right thorax	KIA
Private Lazaro C. Castillo	E	Gunshot, left thorax	Severe
Private Edward A. Hurth	H	Gunshot, left thigh	Slight
Private Duke H. Howell	M	Gunshot, left shoulder	Slight
Private Smack Mitchell	L	Gunshot, head	KIA
Private Arthur Pettus	E	Gunshot, head	KIA
Private John F. Reffit	M	Gunshot, left side	Slight
Private John W. Stokes	M	Gunshot, left deltoid	Slight
Private Francis C. Tanner	E	Gunshot, right wrist	Slight
Private Charles Ulary	E	Gunshot, right leg	Slight
Private Charles T. Throckmorton	L	Gunshot, right thigh	Slight
Corporal Charles E. Rowe	M	Sprain, back	Severe
Private James Boyton	E	Gunshot, left submaxillary	Slight

Source: Lieberman to Adjutant, 33rd Infantry, n.d., in U.S. War Department, *Annual Report 1900*, Vol. 1, Pt. 7, p. 539.

Figure A.12. Casualties, Battle of Vigan, 4 December 1899

NAME	UNIT	WOUND	REMARKS
Private Arthur Wright	A	Not given	KIA
Sergeant Lawrence L. Spencer	B	Not given	KIA
Sergeant Frederick J. Bell	B	Not given	KIA
Corporal Alfred P. Wachs	B	Not given	KIA
Private Dale Puckett	D	Gunshot, chest	KIA
Private James E. Bennett	E	Gunshot	KIA
Private William N. Brandon	E	Gunshot	KIA
Sergeant Norman N. Fry	L	Gunshot	KIA
Musician James B. Montgomery	B	Not given	Not given
Private Fred W. Loyeaa	E	Not given	Not given
Private William H. Bostwick	K	Not given	Not given
Private John Patterson	M	Not given	Not given

Sources: Otis to Adjutant General [Corbin], 23 January 1900, *CWS* 2:1137; RG 94/117, Descriptive and Clothing Books, Thirty-Third Infantry, NA.

Figure A.13. Casualties, Engagement at Tirad Pass, 2 December 1899

NAME	COMPANY	WOUND	REMARKS
Pvt. Henry F. Hill	G	Gunshot, left breast	KIA
Pvt. John W. Joiner	G	Gunshot, left breast	KIA
Sgt. Marvin P. Hughes	G	Gunshot, left foot	Not serious
Sgt. Henry Judson Smith	G	Gunshot, left foot	Not serious
Pvt. Chester L. Kilpatrick	G	Gunshot, left iliac region	Dangerous
Pvt. Elmo Cranford	G	Gunshot, left side of forehead	Dangerous
Pvt. William P. Bethea	G	Exterior wound caused by explosion of cartridge, left side of ilium	Serious
Pvt. Richard B. Sibley	E	Gunshot, left side of groin	Serious
Pvt. James A. Lane	H	Multiple wounds, both thighs	Not serious
Pvt. Paul F. Briar	H	Gunshot wound, left patella	Serious

Source: Greenewalt to March, n.d., in U.S. War Department, *Annual Report 1900,* Vol. 1, Pt. 2, pp. 533-534.

Figure A.14. Casualties, Engagement near Cosucos, 24 October 1900

NAME	UNIT	WOUND	REMAKRS
First Lieutenant George L. Febiger	H	Gunshot	KIA
Private Charles A. Lindenberg	H	Gunshot	KIA
Private William F. Wilson	H	Gunshot	KIA
Private Floyd W. McPherson	H	Gunshot, hip	Slight
Private John W. Gray	H	Gunshot, face	Slight
Private Floyd H. Heard	H	Gunshot, cheek	Slight
Private Henry S. Johnson	H	Gunshot, knee	Serious
Private John J. Boyd	H	Not given	MIA
Private Samuel P. Harris	H	Not given	MIA

List includes members of the Thirty-Third Infantry only. Source: MacArthur to Adjutant General [Corbin], 26 October 1900, *CWS* 2:1221-1222.

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