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MILITARY OPERATIONS IN NORTHERN LUZON

1898 - 1901

by

MALCOLM STANTON GILCHRIST

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ABSTRACT

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America entered the Spanish-American War totally unprepared. The quick victories achieved by the United States Army and Navy merely covered up the real plight of American military posture. Only after the peace treaty that would conclude the war between the Madrid Cortes and the Washington government had been signed did the "Splendid little war" grow ugly. As the Spaniards departed the Philippines the American Army of Occupation stationed in Manila faced a determined nationalist movement. This thesis describes in part America's first major military effort in a distant country -- the Philippines.

Because Major General Otis and his immediate subordinates directed their initial efforts against Emilio Aguinaldo's Army in northern Luzon, attention is focused to that region of the archipelago. Shortly after Manila fell to the Americans, Aguinaldo shifted his capital from Kawit, Cavite, south of Manila to Malolos, Bulacan, north of the Pasig River. Antonio Luna, the insurgents'
senior military commander until June, 1899, personally commanded the Filipino army north of Manila. After the fall of Malolos and each subsequent insurgent capital, the insurgent hierarchy retreated further north. And northern Luzon was the first area declared free of organized resistance.

An analysis of American tactics, equipment, training and personnel is an integral part of the discussion of the campaigns in northern Luzon. The army gradually gained experience, for each campaign was a testing ground. When the insurgents finally realized that the survival of their cause rested in the use of guerrilla tactics, the Eighth Corps had to adjust to the new type of warfare. What began as a war of generals, brigades and divisions rapidly deteriorated to a war of second lieutenants, platoons and companies. The Americans had to contend with an insurrection in a distant land.
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Dedicated to the memory of my guardian angel,

ANN GRAY GILCHRIST
INTRODUCTION

American involvement in the Philippines from 1898 to 1916 can be divided into three distinct periods. The first phase (1898 to 1899) was initiated by Commodore (later Admiral) Dewey's victory over an inferior Spanish fleet in Manila Bay. The second phase (1899 to 1902) formally began on February 4, 1899, when a patrol from the First Nebraska Regiment "mistakenly" fired upon and received fire from the national forces of Emilio Aguinaldo. The third and final phase of the United States' attempt to "pacify" the Islands began when President Roosevelt declared on July 4, 1904, that peace existed in the Philippines. During each of these periods the Armed Forces would have their heroes and, of course, their villains. Some of the officers and men eventually would play key roles in World War I.

The United States Navy would emerge from these eighteen years as one of the strongest fleets in the world. The United States Army would learn and re-learn lessons which when properly applied would result in a small experienced, regular force distinguished by proficiency at the lower and middle command echelons.
Such men as John J. Pershing, the commander of the AEF; Samuel B. M. Young, the Army's first Chief-of-Staff; Frederick Funston, the Commander of the Southern Department during the punitive campaign in Mexico; and Irving Hale, the founder of the Veterans of Foreign Wars saw action against the insurgent forces and in some cases against the more unpredictable Moro tribes of the southern Philippine islands. The Philippine situation was a training ground for young and old military hands alike. The junior members of the Army had to grasp and apply the fundamentals of small unit leadership. The more senior members of the Eighth Army Corps and the Department of the Philippines had to administer an army 7,000 miles from home and often to act as a provisional government to the local populations.

This is not to say that everything attempted was successful. Far from it. Supply and support was unpredictable as was cooperation in joint Army-Navy operations. Major General Elwell S. Otis, the first military Governor of the archipelago, faced in mid-1899 a critical replacement situation. His militia, signed on for the duration of the War with Spain, reached the end of their enlistments and prepared to depart for home - with no new troops in sight. The necessary equipment to provide
Camp McKinley with needed plumbing and sewage facilities was handed out to other military installations on a first-come-first-serve basis - not to be found out for some two years after receipt of the supplies. Supplies such as shovels, axes and rain gear, just to mention a few items, were stockpiled in Manila never to reach the troops in the field.

Military commanders at all levels had to adjust their tactics. After February, 1899, the mere occupation of territory did not assure peace. Just because the enemy was absent did not mean that the insurrectos had ended their war. Ambushes and terrorist activities became by-words for the Filipino Nationalist. Major General George B. Duncan, then a captain in the Fourth Infantry Regiment, correctly pointed out that the military commanders in mid-1899 labored under the misimpression that the insurgents were a uniformed, military organization which, once dispersed from an area, would no longer be a threat.

This thesis focuses on the second of the three periods identified earlier. But to understand that distressed time requires some background knowledge of how the United States became so deeply involved in the Philippines as well as of Emilio Aguinaldo's rise to power and his sub-
sequent plans. Equally significant are the temper of the American people, the emergence of the anti-war and the anti-imperialist groups, and American politics. This was the United States' first real step into the imperialist age. Certainly, the United States had been involved in the Caribbean and the Hawaiian Islands. But never before had the emerging giant on the North-American continent attempted to occupy, pacify, then rebuild a country so far from its shores.
CHAPTER I - The Roots

Hostilities between American forces and the peoples of the Philippines did not suddenly start on February 4, 1899. The seeds had been sown much earlier. The frustrations experienced by the islanders during the Spanish colonial rule had assured this. Under the Spaniards the various groups of people had been suppressed without a voice in the conduct of their affairs. The Church controlled much of the countryside. Other wealth, such as it was, generally remained in the hands of the Spanish colonizers and the enterprising Chinese. The small middle class of native Filipinos that did exist controlled a small amount of the economy; but even they did not have any control of their internal affairs or the governing of the archipelago. It follows that in this type of political and economic environment there eventually would arise certain persons who would attempt to move the native population towards the status of commonwealth if not towards total independence.

José Rizal, considered by some to be the inspirational leader of a new Philippines, stirred many of the more
thoughtful members of the colonized society. Born in 1861, Rizal was well educated and, equally important, well traveled. As a poet, philosopher, and a practicing surgeon, he had traveled in and spoke the languages of Spain, Germany, England, Italy and France. To round out his education, the doctor had studied at the University of Heidelberg. While in Heidelberg he wrote Do Not Touch Me, the Filipino version of Uncle Tom's Cabin. The Spanish officials in Manila scorned the book and banned it from the islands.

Such official action, however, did not deter many enterprising Filipinos from reading it and thus become awakened to their "real plight". Labeled a "revolutionary" by the Spaniards, Rizal advocated nothing more extreme than representation of his "people" in the Cortes in Madrid. His desire for his country was simply commonwealth status with control of internal affairs.

Upon return to Manila, the handsomely dark, rather muscular, wavy-haired physician founded the Liga Filipina, a group of patriots that published radical documents and espoused politically extreme ideas - or so thought the officials in Manila. Because of his subversive activities, Rizal was exiled on July 7, 1892, to Dapitan, Mindanao,
where he practiced medicine until martyred by execution in 1896.

One of the people directly influenced by Rizal was Andrés Bonafacio, Leader of the abortive revolution of 1896. A demagogue and a believer in violence to obtain goals, Andrés Bonafacio conceived the idea of the Katiputan (a secret organization which translated as "The Supreme Worshipful Association of the Sons of the People"). A well-educated, passionate nationalist, this warehouse employee had fervently studied the French revolution. Bonafacio, learning of the Liga Filipina, joined that organization. As a firm nationalist, Andrés attempted to expand the Liga Filipina from an organization structured to support Filipino social cohesiveness and Spanish reform, the ultimate aim of which was the status of a commonwealth, to a viable group demanding complete freedom. When the Liga failed because of lack of support from the middle class, this militant along with several followers began to form the Katiputan (hereafter titled the KKK).

Recognizing that the Liga had dissolved from lack of middle-class support, Bonafacio and his militant followers went about to correct this deficiency. They
had to mobilize the small native middle class if they expected any degree of success. As early as January, 1891, the Masonic Lodge fascinated the average Filipino. By 1893 thirty-five lodges existed. Bonafacio thus built his emerging organization along the line of the Blue Lodge. With secret rituals, clandestine cells, oaths and three orders within each local group, Bonafacio's small infrastructure began to grow. Such people as Emilio Aguinaldo, at that time a minor middle-class politician in Cavite Province, joined. By 1896 the KKK provided the needed foundation to allow the militant Filipinos to revolt against Spain. Bonafacio, however, having suffered military reverses in the vicinity of Manila, was demoted to a lesser post within the revolutionary movement. Incensed, he walked out of the KKK and attempted to build a new and more loyal army. Meanwhile, Aguinaldo who had achieved military success in his own province was elected to command the national forces of the KKK. The new commander ordered the court-martial and subsequent execution of Andrés Bonafacio.

The militant's efforts were not wasted. Bonafacio's KKK would form the basis of the organization that the
Americans would have to contend with after February, 1899.

Not all the middle class supported Bonafacio's initial efforts for independence. A case in point is Antonio Luna. An Illocano by birth, Luna was to become a well-known insurgent general during the first year of American occupation. This individual also demanded total independence, but he differed from Bonafacio in that he felt outside support was needed to achieve success. A pharmacist by trade, Luna had been educated at the University of Madrid. He continued his studies in France, read avidly the accounts of the French Revolution and in his spare time took up military history. He was quick tempered and firmly believed that history was made by the sword. Under Aguinaldo, General Luna became a principal strength in the nationalist army. His efforts produced an informal schooling system for Filipino insurgent officers. Round-faced, thick-lipped, swarthy with dense black hair and blessed with a handle-bar mustache, Luna demanded complete loyalty of his subordinates. But Antonio Luna was not to play any important role in the move for independence until the Spanish-American War.

Another member of the middle class who suspected Bonafacio's KKK and his efforts towards independence was Apolinario Mabini. Reverently called the "sublime
paralytic", a lawyer by profession, Mabini was a radical member of Aguinaldo's staff. His great intellect eventually led him to the position of chief administrator after the confirmation of Aguinaldo as commander-in-chief of the Nationalist Army.

A more moderate personality was the insurgent commander who would give Brigadier General J. Franklin Bell such a problem in Batangas, Luzon. Miguel Malvar served in the revolt of 1896. When Aguinaldo agreed to move into exile and surrendered his forces to the Spaniards, Malvar had worked his way to a position as a member of the controlling Junta. He moved to Hong Kong along with Aguinaldo. As a middle-aged, trained soldier, Malvar firmly believed that all wars for independence were difficult; and as such the individual who sought independence had to be prepared to pay heavily. When Aguinaldo was finally captured by the United States Army in 1901, General Malvar became the titular head of the revolutionary government and commander of its remaining forces.

This is merely a sampling of those involved in the Filipino movement for complete independence. To discuss each individual who played a significant role would take more space than is available. The important point here is
is that independence was not a new idea, not a new movement. The Spanish had to contend with this problem well before the arrival of the first American troops around the walled inner city of Manila. The cross section selected above simply shows that the revolutionary movement had its trial by fire at least three years prior to the patrol action on the night of February 4, 1899. The expectations of the "Revolutionary elite" had been frustrated once. They had time to regroup and plan anew. But what of the people who would provide the "soldiers" first against Spain, later against the United States?

As early as 1898 there were at least nine identifiable groups of people living on the 7,083 islands in the archipelago. Not only did the groupings vary from island to island, but as in the case of Luzon, several different groups existed on the same island. To complicate further the ethnic collection there were smaller tribes, primarily of Malay stock, who dwelled in the remote regions of Luzon - such tribes as the pagan Igorots, Kalingas, and Ifugaos. The true Philippine native was the Negrito who necessarily sought protection in the mountainous regions of island interior. The largest of these several groups were the
Visayans who inhabited the Visayan islands and portions of coastal Mindanao. Second to the Visayans were the Tagalogs found in central and southern Luzon and the islands of Mindoro and Marinduque. The Illocanos, inhabiting northwestern Luzon, were the third important group. This of course is not an attempt to detract from the Moros who populated Mindanao and the Sulu chain. The Moros, however, did not figure significantly in the initial efforts of Filipino nationalists to move the Philippines from a position of a colony to one of an independent nation.

Any effort to engage in a rebellion had to take into account the diverse population who would support a war base. Aguinaldo recognized the situation when he issued two separate proclamations to the "Filipino People". Prior to these proclamations which were issued on October 31, 1896, the population was known by the Spaniards as merely "Indios". Thus with a few words from a recognized leader the Filipinos received a common name. But as events unfolded, this would not be enough.

Equally as important as the diversity of the population was the diversity of the terrain and weather that United States forces would encounter during initial pacification.
As was the trend of that day little was actually known of far-off places. The average American had no more conception of the whereabouts of the Philippine Islands than the average American knew the location of Vietnam (in 1960). Even the Spaniards who had been active in the islands as early as the sixteenth century had not fully overcome the difficulties of the terrain and weather that would face the American infantryman. But geographical data was available had an enterprising individual searched diligently. Only at the conclusion of the Pacific portion of the Spanish-American War did it become very clear how the alien environment of the United States' newest possession made itself felt.

The area in and around Manila varies from sea level to approximately five hundred feet above sea level. The Pasig River which flows from east to west runs directly through the Philippine capital. The river which originates in Laguna de Bay has an average depth of twenty feet. As such, the Pasig forms a major obstacle to units involved in military operations. But the river also served a useful military function in that it provided an excellent control device for separating Filipino Nationalist Troops
and the soon-to-arrive American Military Expedition.

Luzon is not without its mountainous landscape. Along the central and northern portion of Luzon, a chain of mountains -- The Sierra Madres -- rises to heights of four to five thousand feet. North of the Sierra Madres is Aparri Valley. Unlike the area to the south of the mountains where the principal crop is rice, the Aparri Valley's cash crop is tobacco.

The area to the south and west of the Sierra Madres is alluvial. The alluvial plain extends to just below Laguna de Bay. Approximately twenty miles north of Manila lies a large marshy area that drains into Manila Bay. Three major rivers, each of which represents a definite problem to effective military operations for an attacking force and -- conversely -- a distinct military advantage to a defending force, drain this alluvial plain. The Pasig has already been mentioned above. The Rio Grande de Pampanga found just north of Manila empties into Manila Bay. The Tarlac River, the third of the three rivers previously identified, flows general northwest, joins the Agro River and empties into Subig Bay. It is obvious then that any type of military operation conducted
first by the Spanish and later by the Americans had to be accompanied with an accurate knowledge of the annual rainy season.

Because of the Philippines' general insular position and location between the equator and twenty degrees north longitude, the region under study is tropical in climate. The single advantage of such a climate is that the temperature will vary as much as twenty degrees within a given twenty-four hour period. The nights are usually tolerable. A characteristic of the period which immediately precedes the rainy season, or the southwest moonsoons, is violent thunderstorms. These take place in early May and continue through June. Typhoons, phenomena of the moonsoons, occur any time between May and November. However, these dangerous storms most often appear during July, August and September. Each typhoon of the season moves lower over the island of Luzon. Manila normally feels the impact of a typhoon in late October or early November. As a general rule, typhoons do not strike those areas south of nine degrees north latitude.

As important to the military commander as the data on rainfall and the lay of the land is the effect that the
climate will have on his troops. The American commanders had to contend with heat and humidity which, if not taken into account, limited their operations. Relative humidity varies from 75 percent in May to 84 percent in July. Average rainfall increases from a low of 4.3 inches in May to 14.7 inches in July. These figures are monthly means, but they do provide an indication of what faced the American military forces in their first large-scale operation overseas. (May averages 9.2 days of rain, June 15.4 days of rain, and July 22.1 days.)

These problems and many more confronted the Spanish troops in the Philippines. It was difficult enough for the Spanish to fight the budding nationalist movement; but the weather and terrain compounded the problems. To be sure, the Spanish colonial rule was not benevolent. The government of the Philippines was structured so that an "enterprising" Spanish "Gentleman" could find his fortune. Governors General were known to leave their posts with large sums of money garnered during their "services" to the Cortes in Madrid. The situation in the Philippines was much like that in Cuba at the outbreak of that island's fight for independence. Unlike Cuba, the home government
in Madrid did not see fit to reinforce its Pacific possessions with enough troops to dominate the native populations. As late as May, 1898, there were only 2039 Spanish officers and 41,307 enlisted men enrolled in an Army whose mission was the control of the Philippines Islands. Of that strength about half were effective. This explains, at least in part, why the Spanish military forces achieved only local successes against Aguinaldo's forces. What is significant is that the largest portion of the Spanish military establishment was quartered in and around Manila. Further compounding their errors, the Spanish authorities left understrength regiments on islands other than Luzon. In this situation it is not hard to understand why the islanders—more especially the Moro islanders—retained control of outlying areas while the Spanish remained comfortable in their strongholds.

Problems in Cuba only reinforced Spanish concern for effective control of their Pacific possession. But the concern did not force the home government into sending more troops to achieve that effective control. Instead, the Cortes relied upon the Governor-General of the Philippines to handle the problems with those forces currently
at his disposal. A succession of Governor-Generals came and went. During the abortive Filipino revolt of 1896, General Blanco suffered defeat at the hands of Emilio Aguinaldo during the Battle of Binakayan in November, 1896. Blanco's defeat signalled two events. First, Aguinaldo's victory elevated the Tagalog into the limelight, eventually giving him the command of the KKK's military forces. Secondly, Blanco, because he was defeated, was replaced by General Polavieja. Polavieja believed in brutal force and used it in his effort to pacify the Philippines. However, this Spanish General was able to achieve only local successes. With a spreading nationalist movement local successes did not insure final victory. Thus, Polavieja was also relieved. Fernando Primo de Rivera, Polavieja's replacement, was slightly more astute. Realizing that the Spanish could achieve only limited results and not total victory through military campaigning, he requested and finally received a meeting with Emilio Aguinaldo and other leading members of the Filipino nationalist movement. Rivera's efforts resulted in the Pack of Biak-na-bato on February 28, 1898. The governor issued promises of reform. And Aguinaldo along with twenty-two of his followers sub-
sequently known as the "Junta" agreed to depart from the Philippines with a cash settlement totalling $800,000 (Mexican). The islands returned to a degree of peace - at least on the surface. Unfortunately for the Spanish, broken promises by the colonial government only primed the inhabitants for further dissent. The Spanish-American War provided the necessary vehicle upon which this dissent could express itself loudly.
Footnotes - Chapter One


leader of the insurgents had attended secondary school in Manila. He had been chosen by his peers in Cavite Veijo to be the municipal captain. When the Spanish Civil Guard began making arrests in 1896, Aguinaldo gathered his followers and armed only with bolos captured and disarmed the small native detachment sent to apprehend him.

11. Ibid., 191.


16. Ibid.

17. Agoncillo, Philippine History, 7-8; Agoncillo, The Revolt of the Masses, 29.


19. Ibid., 196-197; Oliver L. Spauldin, The United States Army in War and Peace, 385-386; William H. Bisbee, Through Four Wars: The Impression and Experiences of Brigadier General William Henry Bisbee, 225: Bisbee's description of the Pasig River portrays the river as a military obstacle as well as a commercial life-line. "The Pasig River, about 100 yards wide with a moderately swift current, cuts the city in two, and is a great means of traffic. Goodsized steam boats drawing ten feet of water can enter it but are stopped a short way up into the city by the Bridge of Spain. Small
boats do the rest and the whole scene, streets and river, was an ant hill of life."

20. Gannett, "The Philippine Islands and Their People", 92.
22. Gannett, "The Philippine Islands and Their People", 92; Sawyer, The Inhabitants of the Philippines, 195.
23. Agoncillo, Philippine History, 4-5; Sawyer, The Inhabitants of the Philippines, 173-176.
25. Ibid.
27. Ibid.
28. Ibid., 524-526.
29. Ibid. 527-530; Sawyer, The Inhabitants of the Philippines, 86.
30. Agoncillo, Philippine History, 211-212.
31. Ibid.
CHAPTER TWO - "Halt"

When war between the United States and Spain began, Commodore Dewey with his squadron departed the neutral port of Hong Kong. Secretary of the Navy Long ordered Dewey to proceed to the Philippines there to engage the Spanish fleet thought to be operating in those islands. Early on the morning on May 1, 1898, the United States Asiatic Squadron entered Manila Bay in search of Admiral Don Patricio Montojo's Spanish warships. Dewey's squadron steamed toward Cavite and commenced firing at 5:45 a.m. Shortly after 7:30 a.m. the American warships moved off the battle line for fear of an ammunition shortage. After taking stock and determining that there was no shortage, Dewey returned his ships to action at approximately 11:00 a.m. This time it took less than one hour to complete the destruction of Admiral Montojo's fleet. The American Navy was in complete control of Manila Bay.

In retrospect nothing short of complete victory could have come to Commodore Dewey. The American warships had almost twice the tonnage, more than three times the horsepower, and half again as much speed. But Dewey did have to face the risk of fighting an enemy nearly 7,000 miles
from his, Dewey's logistical base. This fact made the American victory just that much more spectacular when news of the destruction of Montojo's fleet reached the United States.

American Consul Pounceville Wildman informed Dewey prior to Dewey's departure from Hong Kong of the existence of Emilio Aguinaldo. The American Consul convinced Dewey that the insurgent leader would be of value to the Americans in the Philippines. Aguinaldo was summoned from Singapore though he did not arrive in Hong Kong in time to travel with Dewey who had departed the British Colony on April 24, 1898. The McCulloch, a revenue cutter lent to the Navy by the Revenue Service for the duration of the war, had been sent to Hong Kong to carry the news of Dewey's victory. (The cable from Manila to Hong Kong had been cut by Dewey's squadron immediately before the Battle of Manila Bay). The dispatch vessel picked up the insurgent leader in Hong Kong and brought Aguinaldo to Manila Bay. Aguinaldo landed at Cavite during the afternoon of May 4, 1898. Before he landed at Cavite, Aguinaldo met with Admiral Dewey and obtained sixty Mausers and a large quantity of ammunition. The Filipino nationalists ashore already had at least two hundred miscellaneous rifles in the immediate vicinity of the Cavite Arsenal.
After spending a quite night aboard the cutter McCulloch Aguinaldo once more landed at Cavite, this time to take active leadership of the dissident Filipinos. He moved into a large house near the drill field just outside the Arsenal and adjacent to the Spanish fort, San Felipe. His first act was to issue a general call to arms in preparation for a full-scale uprising against the Spanish to take place on May 31st. Four days after his arrival the insurgent chief made three proclamations that set the tone for future events. The first of these proclamations, issued May 24, 1898, established a dictatorial government with Aguinaldo at the helm. The second and the third dealt with negotiations with the Spanish. The newly organized government proclaimed that it would only receive Spanish negotiators who appeared under a flag of truce. All others who attempted to negotiate with the dictatorial government would be shot. Equally as important—especially so to the natives—Aguinaldo announced that any Filipino who accepted a role as a Spanish negotiator would be considered a traitor and would be hanged as such. Emilio wasted no time establishing his position. And on May 27th Aguinaldo's growing force received its first consignment of arms purchased by the Hong Kong Junta for use against the Spanish. This consignment numbering two thousand Mausers
and 200,000 rounds of ammunition was landed near the 9 Cavite Arsenal.

Dewey, having received a promotion to the grade of Rear Admiral on May 11, 1898, for his actions in Manila 10 Bay, was also active. On May 13th the new Rear Admiral requested of Washington 5000 ground troops to assist him should he be called upon to exploit his successes in Manila 11 Bay. In response to this request President McKinley and his advisers from the War Department set about to reinforce Dewey with a sizable ground contingent which would ultimately comprise both Regular Army troops and State Volunteer organizations under the command of Major General Wesley Merritt. As early as May 15th, Merritt began to influence the size of his expeditionary force. In a letter to President McKinley, Merritt properly recognized possible future problems with the Nationalist forces then being organized in the Philippines. McKinley accepted Merritt's analysis over one that had been presented him by the Department of State. The Department of State had received a message from its representative in the Philippines, Oscar F. Williams, which portrayed the majority of the
Filipinos in favor of receiving United States' stewardship. But Merritt warned McKinley:

"...it seems more than probable that we will have the so-called insurgents to fight as well as the Spaniards, and upon the work to be accomplished will depend the ultimate strength and composition of the force." 13

Merritt also desired before he embarked upon his assigned task information that he felt necessary to conduct an effective operation in the Philippines. He requested and eventually received such military information available relating to the Spanish strengths, activities and dispositions in the Philippines. This information he requested through the office of the President. Merritt was rewarded for his efforts by a fairly accurate account of the situation in the Philippines. The President was also enlightened. Shortly afterwards, Merritt received a detailed letter of instruction from President McKinley that outlined a twofold mission. McKinley directed the Commanding General of the Philippine Expedition to "...complete the reduction of the Spanish Power in that quarter (the Philippines)" and to insure order and security of the Philippines so long as those islands remained in the possession of the United States. On the same day that the Chief Executive issued
a call for 75,000 additional volunteers for service in the war against Spain, the first expedition destined to reinforce Admiral Dewey departed San Francisco.

On board the Australia, City of Pekin, and the City of Sydney were officers and enlisted men under the command of Brigadier General T. M. Anderson. Among his command Anderson had the 1st California Infantry, the 2d Oregon Infantry, a battery of California artillery, and five companies of the 14th United States Infantry Regiment - a total of 115 officers and 2,386 enlisted men. The first part of Merritt's Army of Occupation arrived in Manila Bay on June 30, 1898, landed at Cavite and set up military housekeeping at the Arsenal. The second contingent under Brigadier General Francis V. Greene arrived at Manila on July 17, 1898. Greene and his force of the 1st Colorado Infantry, the 10th Pennsylvania Infantry, four companies of the 23d United States Infantry Regiment, two batteries of Utah artillery, and a detachment of United States Engineers remained aboard their transports for two days before landing in open boats on the south side of Manila. Because of squalls, it took Greene three days to disembark his troops. The soldiers in the second contingent often
had to wade through water as deep as five feet before touching shore.

General Merritt departed San Francisco for the Philippines on June 27th with the third and final contingent of troops that would take part in the "capture" of Manila. Accompanying him was Brigadier General Arthur MacArthur who commanded the third part of Merritt's Eighth Corps. Four companies of the 18th and four companies of the 23rd Infantry Regiments, four batteries of the 3d United States artillery, one company of United States Engineers, the 1st Idaho, the 1st Wyoming, the 13th Minnesota, the 1st Nebraska, the Astor battery, and a detachment of Hospital and Signal Corps troops were under MacArthur's command - a total force of 197 officers and 4,650 enlisted personnel. Merritt arrived in Manila Bay on July 25th, directed the third contingent to land to the south of Manila, then placed MacArthur's troops to the right of General Greene's forces.

Upon Merritt's arrival and under the authority vested in him by General Order Number 73, dated June 21, 1898, the General reorganized his Eighth Army Corps. Merritt simplified his organization by consolidating the three contingents into two brigades. Merritt selected Greene
to command the first brigade and MacArthur to command the newly formed second brigade. The Corps Commander designated Anderson the Division Commander.

On July 31, 1898, at 11:00 p.m. the American troops, now positioned in trenchworks south of Manila, received their first taste of Spanish fire. The garrison in Manila opened fire on General Greene's emplacements and continued to fire for approximately one hour. The Americans remained in their positions as did the Spaniards, neither side displaying any desire to attack. A similar action took place on August 1st. This time the United States forces hesitated to return fire upon invisible targets. There continued sporadic firing between the Spanish troops and the American forces for the next four days. With the arrival of the monitor, the Monterey, Admiral Dewey took immediate action. He notified the Spanish authorities that should they continue their actions he would bombard the city. After August 7th, the date of Dewey's formal notice, there were no more exchanges between the Spaniards and the Americans until August 13, 1898. When the Monterey arrived Dewey also felt that he had enough strength to pursue his goal of a peaceful surrender of Manila. He
pressed his efforts, with Merritt's concurrence, through the good offices of the Belgian Consul, M. Andre, who had been acting as a go-between. A tentative agreement was arranged with Governor-General Jaudenes by which the Spanish could save "military face". Unfortunately, Merritt did not fully trust the Spanish authorities and prepared for a full-scale assault on the enemy's positions. The tentative date for the capture of Manila was set for August 9, 1898.

After analyzing the terrain in front of his troops' positions, Merritt requested that the capture date be delayed until August 13th. His reasoning was that the tides in the estuaries across which his troops would have to advance would be more favorable for fording by the later date. It is interesting to note that on August 10th, Major James Franklin Bell in the role of Division Intelligence Officer made a personal reconnaissance of the estuary in front of the American positions and found several fording sites. Regardless, the "attack" remained set for the 13th.

Dewey positioned his naval forces so that the Monterey was directly in front of the walled city. The Petrel moved from her moorings 2500 years southwest to a
position directly opposite Fort San Antonio Abad on the
southern perimeter of Manila. The Concord faced the suburb
of Tondo on the north side of the city. The Callao and the
Barcelo protected the left flank of the United States troops.
The Olympia and the Raleigh moved to a position opposite
Malate. The Boston, the Charleston, and the Baltimore stood
further off shore. The Navy commenced firing on Spanish
positions at 9:30 a.m. and continued the bombardment until
10:30 at which time the American ground forces advanced.
Two guns of Battery B, Utah Artillery, positioned about
1000 yards south of Fort San Antonio Abad took that strong-
hold under fire at the same time that the Navy did.

At 10:30 a.m. General Greene started his Colorado
Volunteers forward. After fording the estuary immediately
to their front, the Colorado regiment moved to the rear
of Fort San Antonio Abad by this time abandoned by the
Spaniards. The volunteers raised the American flag over
the fort then proceeded to move after the fleeing Spanish
troops who were retiring upon Malate. The 18th Infantry
and the 3d Artillery acting as infantrymen moved along
the beaches and turned the Spanish right flank. MacArthur -
on the American right - advanced the 13th Minnesota with
support from the Astor Battery and Battery A, Utah Artillery. The Navy by a previously concluded agreement with the Spanish Commander then flew the signal requesting the surrender of Manila. The Spaniards responded in the affirmative. General Greene's mission subsequently became one of keeping Aguinaldo's forces from entering the city. The Spanish had stated as part of their terms for surrendering the city that the Filipinos must not be allowed to enter Manila. Unfortunately, during the American advance on the city approximately 2,000 insurgents entered Manila from the southeast. The Nebraska Regiment at "close order" and "port arms" began to remove their allies from Manila.

Although the surrender of the city was assured by 5:30 in the afternoon, it was not until August 14th that the formal capitulation was signed. On Sunday morning (August 14th) the Spanish authorities in Manila sent word to their commanders on the northern perimeter that Manila had been surrendered. The commanders of the outer defenses were not to depart their positions until they received American replacements. This act assured denial of entrance to Manila by Aguinaldo's army. The Americans then occupied
defensive positions both on the north and south sides of Manila. By late Sunday Merritt's line ran northwest and southwest from Santa Mesa to Manila Bay.

Aguinaldo's Filipino Army was excluded from the most desirable spoil of the short war - a part in the capture of Spain's symbol of authority in the Philippines. The Filipinos were allowed to keep the waterworks on the outskirts of Manila, and Filipino officers were permitted to enter Manila while wearing their side arms. This was little compensation for those Filipinos who had sought actively Spain's downfall in the Philippines since 1896. Such a denial became a major source of friction between the two "allies". But Major General Merritt did not have to contend with the problem. He was ordered to Paris on August 28, 1898, to take part in the Paris Peace Conference. The problems of dealing with Aguinaldo's insurgents fell to Major General Elwell S. Otis, the second in command of the Eighth Army Corps.

Otis, having arrived in the Philippines a mere ten days before assuming command of the Army of Occupation, spent the next ten days reviewing the situation. On September 8th he responded to Aguinaldo's unanswered
demands by stating that as commanding general of the American ground forces he had no authority to assure Aguinaldo that the insurgent forces would be restored to advantageous positions in the event Spain was allowed to re-establish her colony in the Philippines. At the same time that he explained the limitations of his authority, Otis reiterated Merritt's previous demand that all insurgent forces be withdrawn from the suburbs of Manila. On September 15th, the insurgents evacuated all of the suburbs with the exception of Paco and Pandacan which remained occupied by Filipino troops under the command of General Pio del Pilar.

September was an active month for the insurgent government. Not only did Aguinaldo's government face increasing pressures from the American occupation Army and General Otis; his government also transferred its headquarters from Cavite where it had originally been established to Malolos in Balakan Province, north of Manila. The newly called for provisional congress sat for its first session in Malolos on September 15th. The Revolucionary Movement now entered a new phase. It was not because the congress met for the first time that a new phase began.
Rather, it was because at this first session a number of men who had much wider experience and more advanced education joined the Provisional Government. These men added a large degree of prestige to Aguinaldo's organization. They also brought with them a tone of moderation. However, they would be a constant threat to Apolinario Mabini who some argue was the real power in the insurgent government. Mabini was the leading member of the war faction in Aguinaldo's government. Gregario Araneta, Aguinaldo's Secretary of Justice and a prominent Manila lawyer before the Spanish-American War, was representative of the conservative, or peace, faction. These two groups began vying for power and control. It was not until early December that the war party finally achieved a modicum of control in the Insurgent Government.

Still seething over the denial to enter Manila and struggling to maintain a picture of unity to outside observers, the insurgent government and consequently the military forces at its disposal was extremely tense. Any act on the part of the American military command in Manila, if not properly executed, would cause further deterioration of relations between Aguinaldo and Otis. Such a crises
had its starting point in early November, 1898.

On November 7, 1898, General Otis informed the War Department of the general situation in the southern Philippine islands. In a message to the Adjutant General in Washington the Commanding General of the Eighth Army Corps stated:

"Information from southern Philippine islands indicates insurgents very active; that Spanish forces at certain points will be obliged to concentrate at Iloilo, Panay. Possible Iloilo will soon be only under Spanish control."

To complicate matters both for the insurgents and General Otis, a group of bankers and merchants from Iloilo approached the American commander in early December with a request for Americans troops to secure Iloilo. This committee feared that the Spanish garrison that held the town against the insurgent force would soon depart the island. The committee assured the American commander that the Spanish Commander of Iloilo, the capital of Panay and an important seaport some three hundred miles to the south of Manila, would receive the Americans peaceably if the committee's request were honored. Otis vacillated. On December 14th, Otis cabled the Adjutant General for further instructions at the same time recommending American occupation
of Iloilo. On December 24th, Otis received McKinley's permission to occupy the Philippines' second largest port. In his message of approval the President of the United States warned Otis not to create friction with the insurgents in the vicinity of Iloilo.

Brigadier General Marcus P. Miller was designated to lead the expedition. His force of the 51st Iowa Volunteers, 18th U.S. Infantry, and a battery of the 6th Artillery departed Manila on December 26th under the protection of the Baltimore, the Callao and the gunboat Petrel. When Miller arrived off of Iloilo, he found that the Spaniards had turned over the city to the insurrectionists. When the insurgent leader refused Miller's request to surrender the city, the American commander sought further instructions from Manila. This resulted in a series of messages between Otis and Washington. During the period of decision making Miller and his troops sat at anchor in Iloilo's harbor.

Miller eventually received a copy of President McKinley's proclamation outlining American interests in the Philippines. Upon receipt of this dispatch, Miller forwarded to the insurgents on Panay McKinley's proclamation
to prove America's good intentions. A public meeting was immediately held by the Visayans. For the first time Filipinos expressed openly their intentions to fight the United States, if need be.

The United States' campaign to take Iloilo was to the insurgents proof of America's future designs on the Philippines. It hastened the already deteriorating relations between Otis' command and Aguinaldo's government. Miller, no doubt acting with good intentions, increased tensions by sending the Visayan insurgents the full text of McKinley's proclamation. The Visayans having pledged loyalty to the government at Malolos immediately forwarded the full text of the proclamation to Aguinaldo. Otis had issued McKinley's proclamation only in part. He purposely had omitted certain parts of the text to avoid inciting Filipino leaders. His judgment warned that such terms as "sovereignty" and the "rights to cession" could be used by Aguinaldo and his subordinates to rally the masses against the Americans. Otis either did not realize that Miller had tendered his copy of the text to the Visayans on January 4, 1899, or did not anticipate the Visayans would forward the President's proclamation to the Malolos government.

In either case the insurgent government took full
advantage of Otis' error. Manila newspaper columns in concert with the Malolos government "damned" the Americans for bad faith and lack of candor when dealing with the native population. Aguinaldo issued a "counter-proclamation" on January 5th, ending the theoretical Filipino-American friendship. A subsequent, and much more moderate, proclamation was issued by Aguinaldo the evening of the same day. However, the damage was done. Both Otis and Aguinaldo realized that full-scale hostilities were very likely.

In January shortly after the issuance of the proclamation and the counter-proclamations, Otis agreed to Aguinaldo's request to attempt to thwart possible armed conflict. Both sides appointed commissioners to meet on January 9th. In the initial conference the United States' commissioners made it absolutely clear to the insurgents' representatives that thought such a meeting was taking place, by no means was the meeting a recognition of the Malolos government. That particular matter would have to be settled by the American Congress. The meeting, according to the Americans, was nothing more than an attempt by Otis' representatives
to redress Filipino grievances. When the American commissioners asked their opposite numbers what the future intentions of the Filipinos were vis-a-vis the Philippines, the response was simply: "Full independence." Under further questioning the Filipino delegation made reference to the establishment of a protectorate by the United States over the islands.

Additional sessions held on January 14th, 17th, 22nd, and the 29th, did not clarify the concept of a protectorate. Each time, the insurgent delegation avoided defining their idea of a protectorate until such time as the United States recognized the Malolos government. When the last meeting was held on January 29th, it was obvious that the American members - acting only as the representatives of the military commander of the Eighth Army Corps - could not promise the Filipinos what they requested. Negotiations ceased and relations further deteriorated.

Prospects of armed hostilities loomed even larger. It appeared that one side was waiting with a finger ready at the trigger carefully taking aim should the opponent decide to stop discussions and undertake physical action.

It took little provocation to bring on fighting be-
tween the Americans and the Filipinos. On February 2nd, a small band of insurgent troops infiltrated American lines on the north side of the city and took up positions in a village in front of blockhouse number 7. MacArthur, whose positions had been infiltrated, demanded of Colonel Luciano San Miguel, the Filipino commander opposite his positions, to withdraw his troops immediately. San Miguel, while informing the Americans that the troops were there against his orders, directed the small insurgent detachment to withdraw from in front of the blockhouse. The insurgents returned to their lines on February 3rd. MacArthur issued orders to his troops to challenge and if the challenge went unheeded, then fire. That is exactly what Private Willie P. Grayson did at 8:30 p.m., February 4, 1899. He and two other Nebraska Volunteers patrolling the area to the immediate front of their position encountered a Filipino patrol. The challenge "Halt" went unheeded and the Americans fired.

The Philippine Insurrection was on!
Footnotes - Chapter Two


4. Bradley A. Fiske, War Time in Manila, 40-41, 61: Dewey dispatched a Marine Captain to Cavite with instructions to demand the surrender of the Spanish Arsenal. Spanish officers who received Captain Lamberton stated that only the Spanish Navy surrendered. Soon afterwards, these same Spanish officers went aboard the USS Petrel. When they left the small ship and returned to the Arsenal a white flag appeared. Fiske stated with reference to a second visit by the Americans to the Arsenal: "We understood that the Spanish Naval and Military people were allowed to leave the arsenal and go where they wished. It was impossible for Commodore Dewey to accept them as prisoners of war, because, if he did, he would be responsible for them; and what could he do with them? That afternoon there were signs of great activity in the Arsenal, while the Spanish were leaving. The next day they had all gone and a force of American Marines was put in charge."

5. LeRoy, The Americans in the Philippines, 192; Fiske, War Time, 66-68


7. Fiske, War Time, 66-68.


9. Ibid. 183, 192.
10. Newton A. Strait, Alphabetical List of Battles: A Summary of Events of the War of the Rebellion, 1860-1865; Spanish-American War, Philippine Insurrection, 1898-1900; Troubles in China, 1900; with Other Valuable Information in Regard to the Various Wars, 184.

11. Harpers History of the War, 43.


13. Ibid. 646.


15. Ibid. 676.


17. Ibid., 202; Adjutant General, Correspondence, Vol. I, 556; Lewis S. Sorley, History of the 14th US Infantry, 12.

18. Strait, Alphabetical List, 202; Fiske, War Time, 88,94


26. Ibid., 238.
27. Ibid.

28. Harpers History, 80-81; William T. Sexton, Soldiers in the Sun; An Adventure in Imperialism, 191: Bell graduated from West Point 1878. When he arrived in the Philippines in 1898, he was a Major of Volunteers. Merritt commissioned him as his intelligence officer, a post in which he was to excel. In July, 1899, Bell was given a commission as a Colonel in the newly established Federal Volunteers. He commanded the 36th Infantry (Volunteers). During his time in the Philippines he won the Congressional Medal of Honor. By the time he left the Philippines, Bell was a Major General. He eventually became the Chief-of-Staff of the Army on April 14, 1906. He held this post until April 22, 1910.


32. LeRoy, The Americans in the Philippines, 246-247; Baclagon, Philippine Campaigns, 76; Green, "The Capture of Manila, The Manila Campaign," 929-931; Merritt had instructed his subordinate commanders to move around the walled city, cross the "iron bridge" and occupy the suburbs to the north. The Americans were to hoist the American flag in as many places as possible. In taking Manila, the American forces captured 13,000 prisoners, 22,000 small arms, ten million rounds of ammunition, seventy pieces of artillery.

33. Oliver L. Spauldin, The United States Army in War and Peace, 383, Baclagon, Philippine Campaigns, 81.
Aguinaldo made three propositions to Merritt, later to Otis: (1) The lines that would be occupied by the Filipino troops be the line of separation between the two forces; (2) The insurgent vessels that would operate in and around the Philippine Islands be protected by the United States Navy; (3) Should the United States return the city of Manila to Spain in consequence of the impending treaty, the insurgent should be placed in possession of all that they held.

34. Sexton, Soldiers in the Sun, 65.

35. Ibid., 66-67; LeRoy, The Americans in the Philippines, Vol. I, 256: Pio del Pilar had risen from a mere house servant to a chieftain of ladrones. When the insurrection against Spain was at its high point, del Pilar brought his bandits into the insurgents' ranks. He was commissioned a General. Pio del Pilar is not to be confused with either Marcelo del Pilar, the propagandist, or with Gregario del Pilar, Aguinaldo's young aide. There is no relation. del Pilar and his band of ladrones remained a constant problem to the Americans, especially to the east of Manila and just north of Laguna de Bay. After his capture del Pilar was exiled to the Island of Guam primarily because he was consistent in his hatred of Americans.


37. LeRoy, The Americans in the Philippines, Vol. I, 288-291; Agoncillo, Malolos, 276-283; Aguinaldo was desirous of enlisting the support of the more conservative segment of the middle class in Filipino society to his cause officially abolished the Katipunan in an effort to create an atomosphere of unit.

38. Agoncillo, Malolos, 297-305, 378-379; The initial rift at Malolos began over the concept of a state religion. The radicals opposed such a plan while the
conservatives were in favor. Eventually the growing divisiveness widened during the fight over who should have constitutional supremacy in the government. The conservatives wanted the legislature to hold the power. The radicals, led by Mabini, want the executive to have all the power. Mabini and the radicals seemingly won out and by the middle of December, 1899, controlled the revolutionary government. However, as the conflict progressed, Mabini's power began to wane. By the time that Malolos fell to the Americans the legislature acted on its own initiative and sought peace. The few members of the congress that dared to attend this meeting declared that Filipinos fought only for the honor of the "military". They also felt that independence was no longer obtainable.

40. Adjutant General, Correspondence, Vol. II, 833.
41. Sexton, Soldiers in the Sun, 71.
42. Ibid.
43. Adjutant General, Correspondence, Vol. II, 853.
44. Ibid., 864
45. Ibid., Vol. I, 593; Sexton, Soldiers in the Sun, 71-72.
47. Agoncillo, Malolos, 432; Adjutant General, Correspondence, Vol. II, 866.
48. LeRoy, The Americans in the Philippines, Vol. I, 403; Agoncillo, Malolos, 428: At a meeting in Iloilo where the citizens were gathered to review McKinley's proclamation, the Visayan leaders asked whether the town should be surrendered. The response was resounding "No!". Then an enthusiastic elderly man shouted: "We will fight them in the bowels of our mountains."


51. Agoncillo, Malolos, 432; Sorley, History of the 14th, 30.

52. Agoncillo, Malolos, 437-440; LeRoy, The Americans in the Philippines, Vol. I, 409-415: American representatives to this council were: Brigadier General Robert P. Hughes, Provost Martial General of Manila; Colonel James F. Smith, the commander of the First California Volunteers and a civilian attorney; and Lieutenant Colonel Enoch H. Crowder, Judge Advocate. Representing the Filipinos were: Florention Torres, a prominent Tagalog lawyer; Ambrosia Flores, once an officer of the native Filipinos in the Spanish Colonial Army; and Manuel Arguelles, one of Aguinaldo's top aides. Mabini's instructions to the Filipino delegation were twofold. The most pertinent point was for the United States to leave Iloilo in the insurgents' hands. The second point dealt with grievances. Among the grievances were: the Filipinos had been denied a share in the occupation of Manila; the United States had continued to extend its control outside of Manila proper; and the American Navy had "seized" Filipino shipping in Manila Bay.


54. Ibid., 424.

CHAPTER THREE - Capture Malolos!

When the Nebraskan troops fired upon the intruding Filipinos, they initiated a chain of events that would continue until Aguinaldo's capture some two years later. Anti-imperialist forces in Washington cried out that the engagement on the evening of February 4th, was a devious trick on the part of McKinley's administration. Congress faced the prospects of a bitter battle over the ratification of the Paris Peace Treaty which would formally terminate the Spanish-American War. The Anti-imperialists argued that the attack was perpetrated to gain rapid congressional approval of the treaty which among other things allowed the United States to annex the Philippine Islands. Republicans and Democrats alike were divided on the issue. Senator Hoar of Massachusetts, heretofore a loyal McKinley assistant, would not support the annexation of the Philippines. Hoar turned down an ambassadorship just so that he could be present on the day of the Senate vote. In an "un-Republican" manner, he cast his ballot against the treaty.

Other persons, equally as prominent as Senator Hoar, presented additional arguments condemning American ex-
pansion. Public office holders debated the foreign adventure. Their constituents listened. Mark Twain, William Jennings Bryan, Andrew Carnegie, Carl Schurz, and Edward Atkinson each spoke out against annexation of the Philippines. Violation of individual liberties, the primitive stature of the Filipino, the hell of war, burdensome taxation, and other subjects addressed the mistake of annexation. The American citizenry, comfortable on the main land, heard the "Great Debate." But Otis' Army of Occupation in the Philippines had more pressing matters with which to contend.

As of February 4, 1899, Aguinaldo's forces occupied the old Spanish line of defenses which roughly followed the trace of the city limits of Manila. Filipino forces numbered approximately 3,000 men in Caloocan, 400 in Pasig, 1,200 in Malate, and 500 each in the towns of Pasay, 2 Pandacan, Paco and Santa Ana. MacArthur's division on the north side of the city was so positioned that Brigadier General H. G. Otis' (no relation to General Otis, the commander of the Eighth Army Corps) first brigade faced the insurgents from Manila Bay in the vicinity of the suburb of Tondo to four hundred yards southwest of block-
house number 4. Brigadier General Irving Hale's second brigade, also part of MacArthur's division, occupied a line extending from Otis' right flank to the confluence of the Pasig and the San Juan Rivers near blockhouse number 8. Major General Anderson's First division was responsible for the southern portion of the defenses. His first brigade, commanded by Brigadier General Charles King, stretched from the Pasig River to the vicinity of blockhouse number 12. To King's left was Anderson's second brigade under Brigadier General Sam Ovenshine. Ovenshine's brigade completed the defensive network from blockhouse number 12 to Manila Bay in the vicinity of Fort San Antonio Abad.

That evidence later produced proved that the insurgents had not planned an offensive against the American positions on the night of February 4, 1899, merely shows the tensions that existed between the opposing forces on the perimeter surrounding Manila. After the initial firing by the three Nebraska troopers, the entire United States camp was on the alert. By 10 p.m. that evening American and Filipino forces were exchanging fire all along the northern sector of the perimeter. On the southern portion of the perimeter action was very limited but
At dawn on the 5th, the Eighth Corps made a general advance. MacArthur's second division which had so far borne most of the activity moved north and northwest. The Montana Volunteers which had been assigned to MacArthur's division in mid-October, 1898, pushed the insurgents from their positions in the Chinese hospital on the edge of the city limits. The Nebraska Regiment which on the morning of the 5th was in closest contact with the Filipino forces pushed northeast in a series of successive rushes. Without too much difficulty the Nebraska Volunteers crossed the San Juan River and took up positions on the heights overlooking the city's water reservoir, the Deposito being approximately one-half miles to their rear. MacArthur's Kansas Volunteers moved north from the suburb Tondo toward the town of Caloocan.

On the south side of the city, Major General Anderson's First Division had an equal amount of success dislodging the insurgents' forces. Units from the California, Washington, and Idaho Volunteers attacked to the east and southeast. After minor resistance, the Americans occupied
Santa Ana and Pandacan, as well as the east side of the town of Paco which had been the dividing line between American and Filipino forces. After securing Pandacan the California Volunteers, carried away by their success, moved further southeast and captured San Pedro Macati, an important enemy position on the Pasig River. The 14th Infantry and the 4th Cavalry (dismounted) marched south from Paco and encountered the strongest insurgent resistance on February 5th. These two regular Regiments were reinforced by a battalion of Brigadier General Robert P. Hughes' Provost Guard and finally overcame the resistance.

By nightfall Anderson and his command had established a defensive line that ran from San Pedro Macati on the east to Pasay on the west. The men of the First Division had captured two hundred prisoners, some 35,000 rounds of small arms ammunition, seventy-one insurgent rifles, two eight centimeter Krupp rifles, five small field rifles of assorted caliber, and several antiquated brass and bronze cannons.

On February 6th a composite force of Nebraska, Tennessee, and Colorado Infantries supported by elements of the Utah Batteries -- all under the command of Colonel
Stotsenburg -- moved out from the Deposito to capture the Pumping Station on the Mariquina River. The Pumping Station approximately three miles to the east of the Deposito, was Manila's only source of fresh water. The American command did not plan to suffer the same fate as the Spaniards. The infantry deployed on both sides of the road that led to the Pumping Station and moved to the east. About one-half mile out, Stotsenburg's force encountered minor resistance. Artillery was brought forward and dispersed the insurgents at near point-blank range. Twice more during the morning the American force encountered insurgents. Each time contact was established with the insurgents, the infantry supported by Major Young's artillery easily forced back the Filipinos. By noon the Pumping Station belonged to the Americans.

Capture of the Pumping Station on February 6th was not the last action seen by United States troops during the remainder of the month. Admiral Dewey requested General Otis' assistance in securing the town of San Roque. The majority of the native work force employed at the Cavite shipyards -- now in use by Dewey's squadron -- lived in this town. San Roque, Cavite Province, was just to the
south of the shipyards. Otis dispatched the 51st Iowa Volunteers, recently returned from Iloilo Harbor, not having set foot ashore on the Island of Panay. The insurgents, always active in Cavite province continued to harass those natives in American employment. As the Iowa Volunteers arrived, the insurgents set the town on fire. The Iowa troops started a fire brigade in order to save the buildings. After some success in saving the town, the Americans then secured the countryside immediately surrounding San Roque.

While the Iowa troops fought the fire in San Roque, Colonel Smith and his California infantry pushed east from San Pedro Macati. Moving along the Pasig River, Smith's force first captured Pateros and by late afternoon on February 8th occupied the town of Guadalupe. On the 9th, the California Volunteers entered the town of Pasig at the entrance of Laguna de Bay. The American force remained in Pasig for nine days, only to be recalled to San Pedro Macati because of increased insurgent activity along the Pasig River, which endangered the American line of communication with Pasig.

MacArthur's assault on Caloocan was the last significant military move in the month of February. Between
February 4th and 10th MacArthur's first brigade advanced through a swampy region to a point immediately to the south of Caloocan. Brigadier General Otis, commanding the first brigade, had moved his Kansas Volunteers north from Tondo some six miles in the direction of Caloocan. On the 7th a reconnaissance party from the Kansas regiment came under heavy insurgent attack. Colonel Freddy Funston, leading one of his companies, charged the insurgents and forced the enemy back behind their defensive works around Caloocan. By the 9th it became apparent to the American Commanders that the insurgents were concentrating a sizable force in the vicinity of Caloocan. Intelligence also reported that a large insurgent force was gathering to the north of Caloocan in the direction of Malabon. And Caloocan was directly in the path of Malabon as well as Malolos, the insurgent capital. On the morning of the attack on Caloocan, the Navy began a one-half hour bombardment with the Monadnock and the Charleston. The Utah batteries acting as MacArthur's artillery and located at La Loma Church and blockhouse number 2 joined in the preparatory fire. When the first were lifted Otis' brigade made a wheeling movement to the right. The
Kansas and Montana Regiments led the advance—in part through a grove of banana trees and a bamboo thicket and in part across open ground. It was a steady advance and the American troops did not open fire even though they were harassed by snipers. In a final rush upon the insurgent trenches, the Americans forced the Filipinos to withdraw to the north. Major J. Franklin Bell leading a company of Montana Volunteers turned the orderly withdrawal into a rout. Bell's small force arrived on the enemy's flank while the insurgents were retiring. The insurgents, caught by surprise, fled from the battlefield. By nightfall of February 10th, United States' forces owned the town.

With the exception of General Luna's attempts to burn down the northern suburbs of Manila on February 22nd, the remainder of the month was relatively quiet. The American forces around Manila began to consolidate their gains. By the 15th Otis wired Washington that his troops were occupying "a line well in advance of the city." Additionally, he announced that through the use of a large police force in the city proper, he did not anticipate
any significant troubles in the American enclave.

Brigadier General Hughes' Manila Provost Guard consisted of nine companies of the 20th U.S. Infantry and seven companies of the 23rd U.S. Infantry. Military activities now deteriorated to a series of probes, small-unit meeting engagements, and active reconnaissance patrolling by both the insurgents and the American troops.

Even Otis realized that if he were expected to continue active operations against the Nationalist forces, he would require additional troops. When the fighting erupted on the night of the 4th, American strength in the Philippines was approximately 21,000 officers, non-commissioned officers and enlisted men. Of these 21,000 troops, Brigadier General Miller's force numbered approximately 2400. This left Major General Otis almost 18,000 men at his immediate disposal. However, since he was responsible for the civil as well as the military administration of Manila and its numerous suburbs, Otis' available force was reduced further to some 14,000 effective. The Provost Guard under the command of Brigadier General Hughes required another 3000 men to operate effectively. Although it was designated a reserve force with which General Otis
might reinforce elements operating in the field, the
Guard did reduce the number of troops available — for
planning purposes — for active campaigning to some 11,000
20
officers and men. With this inadequate force the
Commanding General of the Eighth Army Corps decided to
wait for additional troops from the United States before
embarking on any additional major operations.

By February 10th it appeared that American troops
had been everywhere victorious. Neither the Spanish nor
the Filipino insurgent force seemed to offer much resistance
to the superior know-how of the American military establish¬
ment. But that is only a surface view. If the American
military had had to face a better prepared foe, the regular
and volunteer forces that made up Ewell Otis' command would
more than likely have faced a greater likelihood of defeat.
To say that the American Army was unprepared to enter
into war is not an original thought. The Army had never
been completely prepared for war. The venture in the
Philippines approved no exception.

Regular army troops that would operate in the Philip¬
pines — were at a fairly reasonable state of efficiency,
at least as individual soldiers. As a result of many
years of Indian fighting, the regular soldier knew the rudiments of small-unit operations. Unfortunately for the Army of Occupation in the Philippines, small-unit operations did not blend into perfected regimental maneuvers. Field maneuvers by regimental organizations or larger military units were almost unknown prior to the Spanish-American War. Only those soldiers and officers who were veterans of the Civil War had seen any organization larger than a regiment. The state of individual training was meaningless if trained individuals and their superiors were unfamiliar with large-unit tactical maneuvers.

America's Regular Army Officers' Corps was as equally unprepared. The junior-grade officers, as a general rule, were not Civil War veterans. They, like the majority of their enlisted personnel, had no experience other than individual small-unit maneuvers and training. Congress acting under the advice of General Sheridan had authorized the permanent establishment of a school of instruction for Cavalry and Light Artillery as early as January, 1887. It was hoped that such a school would provide the experience needed to lead troops in war. It was not until 1893 that the school opened, however. The course of instruction
presented at the Cavalry and Light Artillery School -- once it began -- trained entire units for one year. This being the case, there was neither the time nor the space to train all the regular cavalry and light artillery units serving in the army at the outbreak of the Spanish-American War nor the Philippine Insurrection that would follow shortly thereafter. Nor did the army anticipate additional troop requirements and continued training. When Congress declared war, the Cavalry and Light Artillery School, as well as the two other service schools then in operation, were ordered closed. All personnel, whether in attendance or on the faculty, received instructions to report to their regular units.

It was difficult enough for any unit to go into combat even when properly trained and staffed. As has been indicated, training left a great deal to be desired. The error was only compounded when the number of officers present for duty with the regular troops fell short of the authorized strength. The 13th U. S. Infantry Regiment is one good example. As late as November, 1899, only twenty-six officers were present with the colors. The
remaining twenty officers were serving with volunteer units. It was the exception rather than the rule for this particular infantry regiment to have more than one officer in each of its companies. The Regular Army Officers' Corps, small to begin with, came under increased strain because of rapid troop mobilization. Some regular officers received and accepted commissions in the Volunteer Army. Many other regular officers were detailed as staff assistants to or mustering officers for volunteer units. Consequently, the regular military establishment suffered.

General military education designed to provide an effective Reserve Officers' Corps in the event the United States had to go to war did not present an adequate solution to the problem of leadership. Officials hoped that state militia organizations would draw upon this Reserve Officers Corps to command units. Although many regular officers did join the volunteer units, Congress in the Military Bill passed on April 22, 1898, limited to one the number of regular officers that could serve with each volunteer regiment. It was imperative that the states provide men with the skills necessary to lead the newly activated militia. Such was not the case and the blame
rested principally with the War Department. To be sure, prior to the Spanish-American War the War Department detailed regular officers to teach military subjects at the increasing number of land grant colleges and military schools, but there were no records kept of those who had received such training. Further, there was no standardization of the training. The usefulness of the land grant college and the military schools depended upon the initiative of the military instructors and, of course, the school authorities. Like the officers at the service schools at the outbreak of war, those at the various land grant institutions and military schools received orders to return to their regular units once hostilities began. For all intents and purposes, then, what little benefit was furnished by the civil educational institutions ceased with mobilization.

State volunteer forces that on February 4, 1899, made up a large proportion of Otis' command in the Philippines presented similar problems concerning unit training. The degree of training varied from volunteer unit to volunteer unit. Even the best volunteer organization had advanced no further than proficiency in close order drill by the
time of arrival in the Philippines. The addition of newly recruited personnel only tended to decrease the degree of training. Volunteer forces placed in the field by the various states were ill prepared to fight with a well-prepared foe.

Weaponry was also a cause for some concern. The regular Army infantryman was equipped with an American version of Danish designed Krag-Jorgensen rifle. The new Springfield (the official name of the American Krag) adopted by the Army in 1893 used smokeless power. An infantryman equipped with this weapon could fire five shots from the fixed magazine before having to reload his shoulder weapon. The War Department, unprepared for the mobilization, did not possess enough new Springfields to equip the men who responded to McKinley's call for 125,000 volunteers. The state regiments did not receive the newer rifle. Instead, volunteers went off to war equipped with the older model 1873 Springfield. By using two different shoulder weapons the Americans complicated the logistical support necessary to provide parts and ammunition. Additionally, the outdated model 1873 used
black powder which invariably gave away the firer's position. Even by June, 1899, this problem had not been completely resolved. As late as mid-1899 only a select group of volunteers had received the more efficient shoulder weapon.

There were other problems with equipment — problems that were not solved merely through standardization. Shoes issued for Philippine service were poorly made. The tropical climate did nothing to enhance the longevity of the leather. This situation made it extremely difficult for the average soldier, whose combat gear weighed at least thirty-eight pounds to operate effectively in the field for extended periods.

The Army's assortment of artillery weapons just prior to the Spanish-American War also showed that the United States was unprepared militarily. The 3.2 inch breech loading rifle was the standard light field piece used by the artillery. And the Light Artillery needed to give fire support to units in combat did not have enough weapons to equip their batteries. Even by February, 1899, American forces in and around Manila did not enjoy regular artillery support. The batteries of the 3d U. S. Artillery
Regiment acted as infantry for lack of sufficient equipment. The 6th U. S. Artillery Regiment had to borrow weapons from the navy to provide even a minimum of artillery support. Of course, under the system as envisioned by the War Department the militia - or volunteer force - would provide the necessary supplement to ensure success. As with the volunteer infantry, however, volunteer artillery fell far short of expectations. Very few of the states had modern field pieces. It was not uncommon to see militia units drill with old Napoleons or outdated Parrot field pieces. The Utah militia was one of the very few state organizations equipped with the 3.2 inch breech loading rifles along with the necessary limbers, caissons, and harnesses. But, Utah had only eight complete sets of such field weaponry. Had it not been for Dewey's squadron stationed in Manila Bay, Otis' command would not have had necessary artillery support.

Infantry and artillery organizations, both regular and volunteer, were not the only field units that suffered from escalating problems. The cavalry faced problems which became more obvious as the insurrection continued. Suffice it to say at this point that the scarcity of horses
reduced most trooper to the role of infantry.

If the state of American military preparedness was as feeble as indicated, why then did the Eighth Army Corps do as well as it did through the month of February, 1899? The answer rests in comparison. The insurgent forces were simply feeblener, less well prepared.

A major problem faced by Aguinaldo's army was lack of weapons. Even though the military Junta in Hong Kong supplied some 2,000 Mausers and 200,000 rounds of ammunition when Aguinaldo began to organize his military force during the summer of 1898, this supply fell far short of needs. An additional 10,000 to 12,000 arms were taken from Spanish prisoners prior to February 4th, but even the captured weapons did not equip the number of available men. The Junta, very active in Hong Kong even after the downfall of the government established at Malolos, sought rifles and other arms in Europe. The Junta's general plan was to purchase in Europe rifles and other arms, ship those arms to ports in China for trans-shipment to the Philippines. However, because of the insular position of the Philippines and accurate United States intelligence, Otis with the cooperation of the United States Navy which patrolled Philippine waters frustrated the Junta's plan.

Lack of sufficient arms caused the insurgents head-
aches enough. Lack of ammunition created even further hardship. The capture of a makeshift insurgent arsenal by the Americans further reduced the rebel army's efficiency. Insurgent forces, because of uncertain ammunition supplies, were forced into the unenviable position of reloading expended cartridges. This is one reason why the makeshift arsenals were so vital to the Filipino cause. The insurgents, generally armed with the caliber .27 Mauser and the caliber .44 Remington rifles had some success with the reloaded cartridge. The caliber .45 shell was the best suited for insurgent use. The rebel forces would collect expended American caliber .45 shells, convert them to caliber .44 by slitting the cartridge lengthways and soldering it to the new size for use in the Remington. For powder the insurgents used the chemical end of common matches. Insurgent artillery fared no better. Aguinaldo's nationalist army owned a few 3- and 4-inch breech loading rifles, a larger number of 1-inch rifles and numerous smoothbore, brass cannon.

Proper training and organization can partially overcome the problem of inadequate equipment. Once again the insurgents lacked the necessary direction to survive even
against the poorly prepared American troops. General Antonio Luna, the insurgent's military commander, was at odds with Aguinaldo about the proper conduct of the war against the Americans. As early as February 7, 1899, Aguinaldo issued a general order requesting experienced Filipino revolutionaries again to take the field and organize guerrilla bands. Those "old revolutionaries" who responded to this request would receive commissions in the "territorial militia". General Luna on the other hand was disposed to continue with conventional tactics. Even before the fall of Malolos, the organization for guerrilla warfare as envisioned by Emilio Aguinaldo was present. In the latter part of 1898 central Luzon, especially in the immediate vicinity of Manila, was divided into "zones" and "subzones". The zones were to be commanded by General Officers in the insurgents' Army and the sub-zones were supposed to have either Colonels or Majors in charge. Aguinaldo's order of February 7th, set in motion the organization that the American trooper would face for a minimum of two more years. But General Luna persisted in his concept of conventional military campaigning until his death on June 5, 1899. The conflict between Aguinaldo and his senior military com-
mander was not strictly limited to strategy. Luna, known for his strict discipline and passionate love of Prussian militarism, argued constantly with many of Aguinaldo's "loyal" generals. Luna was not a tolerant individual. He had a violent temper. And he firmly believed in independence, especially his own. Soon after taking office as the Director of War with the rank of Lieutenant General, he began to dominate personally the insurgent military forces. Should a subordinate question his orders, Luna set out to correct personally that subordinate. An excellent example of Luna's "personal leadership" occurred immediately prior to the American capture of Calumpit.

In a dispute about troop dispositions with General Tomas Mascardo who commanded the insurgent forces around Pampanga, Luna became so enraged that he virtually turned Calumpit over to the Americans. Considering Mascardo's actions as outright insubordination, General Luna with his infantry, cavalry and artillery marched north to punish Mascardo. The insurgent garrison left at Calumpit could not offer serious resistance to the advancing Americans. Luna escaped a court-martial only because
Aguinaldo intervened. The President of the "Republic" continued to hope that he could direct his militarily capable subordinate. By continuing to back Luna, Aguinaldo also hoped to gain more support among the upper-class Filipinos who had important power in the provisional government.

All of this did not mean that Aguinaldo wholly trusted his Director of War. As early as May, 1899, Aguinaldo feared a possible coup d'etat by Luna. He expressed his fear to his "loyal generals" - those officers who had served under him during the rebellion against Spain. Even Luna's death at the hands of the Kawit Battalion did not end concern over the possibility of a revolt. On June 7th, Gregario del Pilar, a personal aide to the President, surrounded Luna's old headquarters and took prisoner the younger brother of Luna's personal aide-de-camp. Then the aide was arrested. Finally, on June 9th, Aguinaldo issued an order for the arrest of Luna's "political aides" under the pretext that they were robbers. Although there is no evidence to implicate Aguinaldo in the plot against Antonio Luna, there is ample evidence to implicate members of his personal staff.

Liquidation of a dissenting insurgent leader...
especially such a high-ranking officer, could only cause further fragmentation of effort. Followers of Luna were embittered by his death. Those whose loyalties lay between Luna and Aguinaldo could only question whether any contribution was worthwhile. Thus, Luna's death, while removing one threat to Aguinaldo, further fragmented the insurgent cause.

During these hectic intrigues, the insurgent forces had to contend with another problem. Long expected American reinforcements began to arrive on February 23rd, 1899. Late that afternoon Brigadier General Loyd Wheaton presented himself and the troops aboard the two transports to Major General Otis. On board two transports under Wheaton's command were 41 officers and 1213 enlisted men of the 20th U. S. Infantry. Nine days later Otis received an additional 37 officers and 1230 enlisted men when Colonel H. C. Egbert and his 22d U. S. Infantry arrived aboard the Ohio and the Sherman. The Americans began preparations for further operations against the Filipino insurgents.

Uppermost in Otis' mind was the capture or the destruction of the insurgent government at Malolos. However, until the insurgent forces north of Manila could be sep-
parated from those in the south, any operation against Aguinaldo's capital might be threatened by enemy activity below the Pasig River. By securing and patrolling the Pasig River the United States' forces could keep insurgents south of Manila from reinforcing those protecting Malolos. Brigadier General Wheaton was assigned this task.

Wheaton organized a force which included elements from the 20th and 22d Infantry, the Washington and Oregon Volunteers, the 4th United States Cavalry and a section of guns from the 6th United States Artillery. His provisional brigade departed from Manila on March 13th. The Cavalry and the 22d Infantry led the advance with the remaining units trailing to the left. During the first day's advance Wheaton's force carried insurgent positions at Guadalupe forcing the insurgents to fall back to the town of Pasig. By nightfall Wheaton's command had advanced to the confluence of the Pasig and Mariquina and bivouacked. Because the Americans had received cross-fire in the vicinity of the two rivers before night fall on the 13th, Wheaton ordered the gunboat Laguna de Bay forward to provide additional support for the advancing ground troops. On the 14th the 4th Cavalry captured Taguig and the Washington Volunteers took Pateros. By
the 16th the provisional brigade completed its occupation
of the Pasig River line by the capture of the towns of
Pasig and Cainta. The gunboat *Laguna de Bay* immediately
began patrolling the river from Pasig to Manila. Wheaton
now began consolidating and protecting his new territory.
On March 19th, Otis cabled the War Department news of the
completed operation:

"Our improvised gunboat under Captain
Grant, Utah Artillery, has full posses-
sion of Laguna de Bay. Troops, inhabitants,
and property on shore of lake at our mercy.
Wheaton's brigade on Pasig River line
drove enemy northeast into province Morong
last evening. Enemy attacked portion of
this force south of Pasig, killing 2 men
and wounding 20 of the Twenty-Second
Infantry. This morning Wheaton moved
against this insurgent force, driving it
to the south 15 miles, experiencing very
slight loss; enemy left 200 dead on the
field." 57

Although the number of enemy dead can be questioned,
Wheaton had accomplished what Otis desired—divide Luzon
in two. With the Pasig River and Laguna de Bay being
patrolled by American forces, the insurgents had little—
or no chance to transfer large forces from the south to
the north without detection. Heavy attacks on Wheaton's
positions by the Filipinos on March 18th and 19th meant
that the insurgents also realized this.
With the completion of this phase of operations, the Eighth Corps commander could direct his attention solely to the capture of the Insurgent Capital. Otis instructed MacArthur to advance north on Malolos. In addition to the three organic brigades in the Second Division, MacArthur received Wheaton's brigade from the First Division and a squadron of the 4th Cavalry to increase his force.

An analysis of the terrain to MacArthur's front showed the Americans that they would have to rely on the Manila-Dagupan railroad bed as the only suitable route to Malolos. The insurgents knew this and constructed several defensive positions across the railroad between Caloocan and Malolos. The main defensive position was placed astride the railroad at Polo and extended eastward through Novaliches to the Marquina River. The numerous streams and generally marshy terrain north of Caloocan provided natural obstacles to any American advance.

MacArthur's plan of attack was simple. Brigadier General Robert Hall with his third brigade would contain the insurgents near the Marquina River while at the same time providing security for the Pumping Station. Hale's
Second Brigade, in the middle of MacArthur's line, would push to Novaliches, swing to the west and cut off any retreating Filipino troops just north of Polo. Otis' First Brigade would move northeast on the left flank of Hale's Brigade, cross the Tuliahan River just to the west of Cabatohan, move to Bibao, then move on the town of Polo. Wheaton's Brigade was to remain in the vicinity of Caloocan to follow any retreating insurgents. MacArthur designated the troops that were to remain on the defensive line to the north of Manila as his reserves. American troops began moving during the evening of March 24th. Otis took his force to the right so as to be in position for the march in the morning. Wheaton's brigade occupied the defensive positions evacuated by Otis. Hall's troops began their move that evening in order to provide the necessary security for the general advance planned for March 25th. By 5:30 a.m., March 25th, Hale was on the road. Otis followed at 6:00 a.m. Unfortunately for MacArthur, his plan did not take into account the roadless and marshy ground ahead of his two attacking brigades.

Hale's assigned objective for the first day's advance was Novaliches. He had not reached that point
by nightfall. His brigade did drive small bands of insurgents from his front during the advance, but difficult terrain prevented significant captures. Small bands of Filipinos and the terrain combined to frustrate Hale's projected movements. Otis' brigade on the left encountered similar opposition and frustration.

Insurgent forces defending the Tulihan River caused Otis significant delay. After destroying the bridge Otis had intended to use, the insurgents constructed a strong barricade, topped with an I-beam from the bridge, with firing space below the beam. To guard further against a possible crossing, the Filipinos constructed two trenches on the north bank. These trenches were approximately fifty feet long and about 100 yards on the flanks of the barricade. The insurgent commander at the barricade also placed a small force in a stone house between the barricade and the western trench. Both of the trenches had bamboo and earthen headworks. The river itself was approximately ninety feet wide at the bridge site with banks over twenty feet high.

Captain Fred Wheeler, accompanied by Lieutenant Matthew A. Batson and twenty-three troopers from the 4th
Cavalry, moved west along the south bank of the river until they were in position to place direct fire on the insurgents' right flank. Almost immediately the one hundred defenders along the river bank returned the fire thus revealing their exact positions. And with infantry reinforcements sent to assist, the 4th Cavalry dislodged the defenders. The First Brigade then continued its general advance to a position just short of Bibao.

It became obvious by early morning of March 26th that the planned entrapment of retreating insurgents just north of Polo by Hale's brigade would not occur. MacArthur, with Major General Otis' permission, altered his plan. He instructed Hale to turn his brigade to the west short of Novaliches and head for a location just south of Polo. The First Brigade Commander was similarly instructed to turn westward. Major General Otis correctly analyzed this change as allowing the majority of Aguinaldo's forces immediately to the north of Caloocan to escape. Because the insurgents began withdrawing, Wheaton began his move north through Malabon towards Polo during the late morning on the 26th. Otis' and Hale's brigades arrived in the vicinity of Polo in the early afternoon. The initial fighting around Polo was stiff. However by
late afternoon, MacArthur had three of his assigned brigades assembled at Polo. By sheer force the now united command began to push north along the railroad and by nightfall occupied positions just to the north of Maycauayan. While the three brigades of the Second Division pushed the insurgents back upon their capital, General Hall's semi-independent force had not been idle.

After initial engagements with the insurgents along the Mariquina River, Hall's command began demonstrations designed to tie down anticipated Filipino reinforcements for Malolos. The insurgents immediately responded to Hall's movements by attacking the Pumping Station during the evening of March 25th. The American defenders after very light casualties repulsed the attackers. Hall's brigade continued its activities by probing, attacking and defending against the insurgents along the Mariquina River "line". Although properly classified as a secondary effort, Hall's efforts contributed significantly to MacArthur's ultimate capture of Malolos.

With Hall active to the northeast of Manila, the remainder of MacArthur's division continued to press toward Malolos. By March 27th, the Americans had closed on the Marilao River at the town of the same name. When
the Americans arrived at Marilao, the insurgents already had crossed the river and destroyed the only bridge. The destroyed bridge delayed the general advance for two days during which the engineer detachment, assisted by infantry-men, repaired the destroyed structure. Infantrymen from both the First and Second Brigades did cross the river in spite of the destroyed bridge and sparred with the insurgents along the railroad north of Marilao. The destruction of the bridge worked a special hardship since it delayed the movement of artillery and resupply. In MacArthur's initial operations order for the advance, the American troops carried only one day's ration and one-hundred rounds of ammunition with them. Two additional days' rations and an extra 200 rounds of ammunition per man were in the regimental supply carts held up at the river. This was the third day of operations and any force north of the Marilao River could not receive needed resupply.

Filipino commanders, realizing the American dependence on established lines of communications, directed further harassment of the American advance; insurgents began to destroy sections of tract north of Marilao.
MacArthur attempted to counter by using shallow draft gunboats to fire on the rail destruction parties. These gunboats, operating along the shore of Manila Bay and on the Bulacan River did disperse Aguinaldo's saboteurs but only after the damage was done.

Continuing his general advance on the morning of March 29th, MacArthur easily captured Bocave, Bigaa, and Guingunito. Major problems faced by the Second Division were the bridges over the numerous streams between the Americans and Malolos. Although the bridges were adequate for infantry, they were awkward for the supply trains and the artillery. Artillerymen had to drag their field pieces across the majority of the bridges by hand while braces of mules swam each stream. But by the close of operations on the 29th, Second Division Headquarters was located a mere three kilometers south of the train station at Malolos.

At his headquarters MacArthur made careful plans for the final attack on the enemy capital. The 30th was spent placing troops into the correct positions for the attack scheduled for the next day. The artillery preparation planned for 7:00 a.m. lasted twenty-five minutes.
Fifteen minutes after the first artillery round was fired, the Nebraska Volunteers on the far right of the American line began their advance. Five minutes later the South Dakota Volunteers, on the Nebraskans left flanks, began their advance. The Pennsylvania Regiment followed the South Dakota Volunteers by another five minutes. When directly opposite Malolos, Hale's brigade pivoted on the Pennsylvanians thus sealing the north side of the city. MacArthur's headquarters accompanied by the Division's artillery and Otis' brigade sealed the southern portion of the "capital". By 10:30 a.m. the city belonged to the Second Division.

The insurgents, offering only slight resistance, withdrew rapidly toward Calumpit and other towns to the north and west of the abandoned capital. MacArthur's troops held deserted trenches, Aguinaldo's abandoned headquarters, and a burning town. As was the case during the initial phases of the Second Division's operations, the insurgents had escaped. Even more important, Aguinaldo, his senior advisors and the majority of the Rebel Government evaded the American Army of Occupation. The ability to capture territory and the inability to capture important personalities plagued the command in Manila for months. Even though the formal apparatus
THE FALL OF MALOLOS

CALUMPIT

PULILAN

HALE

OTIS

MALOLOS

MACARthur

(0700, 31 Mar 1949)

1 1/2 0 1 2 3 4
(MILES: APPROXIMATE)
of the insurgent government had been scattered, so long
as strong personalities remained free either to organize,
to direct, or merely to act as figureheads, the insurrection
would survive. The American Army in the Philippines learned
this through hard campaigning.

Hall's operations to the west of Manila taught the
troops another lesson. While MacArthur attacked Malolos,
Hall with three battalions moved out from the Pumping
Station to the northeast. By mid-day his force carried
the town of Mariquina and was in hot pursuit of the dis¬
per sed insurgents. Because he feared over-extending
American lines Major General Otis recalled Hall's forces
to the Pumping Station. The lesson was a simple one
(and it should not reflect poorly on Otis): territory
gained if not occupied and patrolled would have to be
captured again. The insurgents understood this. Under
such conditions the enemy would merely disappear then
reappear after the Americans departed.

After MacArthur consolidated his hold on Malolos,
he wired Otis in Manila for permission to advance on
Calumpit. MacArthur's argument fixed on the strategic
importance of that town. A force of 2500 men, according
to the Second Division Commander, could secure an outpost line that would extend to Manila Bay on the south and Baliuag on the north. The town's position on the Rio Grande de Pampanga would give the Americans two major lines of communication - the railroad from Manila and the river from Manila Bay. Otis denied MacArthur's request. On April 1, 1899, MacArthur went into further detail concerning his proposed operations. Once again Otis denied the request. To criticize Otis for denying further advances is easy. However, Otis' decision was based on available troops.

Wheaton's capture of Pasig in mid-March and MacArthur's capture of Malolos extended American control over vastly increased area. As previously indicated, the Eighth Army Corps received reinforcements totalling some 78 officers and 2932 men during the last week of February and the first week of March. Manpower alone forbade approval of MacArthur's plan, occupation of Calumpit and the outpost line would take 2500 men. Security of Malolos would require at least another 1000 men. If Otis accepted MacArthur's plan, he would decrease his available force by nearly 600 men. Though an additional
1736 officers and men arrived in Manila on March 22nd, Otis had other operations to undertake and other islands to occupy. Rather than allow the taking of additional territory, Otis directed MacArthur to conduct reconnaissance out of Malolos to locate enemy forces.

With his lines of operation greatly increased and with pressure from Washington to return state volunteer units, Otis found it impracticable to conduct any large campaigns—especially to the south of Manila. General insurgent activity was no longer the single criteria for a major operation. Such an operation would have to have a specific purpose while at the same time increasing the security of American forces on Luzon.

Under these conditions Major General Otis directed the First Division Commander, Major General Henry W. Lawton, to plan and conduct a movement to Santa Cruz on the eastern shore of Laguna de Bay. Intelligence indicated that a sizable insurgent force had gathered in the vicinity of this town. Besides dispersing the insurgents, Lawton's force of approximately 1500 men had to destroy the enemy's telegraph system running to the south of Santa Cruz; to distribute a recently issued proclamation by the first Philippine Commission; to locate and capture
all launches and gunboats in the insurgents' possession; and to reconnoiter the shore to the north and east of Santa Cruz. Since neither General Otis nor General Lawton issued any instruction to occupy Santa Cruz and the surrounding countryside, the operation could be better termed a "raid". The significant benefit from such a raid was the continued separation of enemy forces north of Manila from those to the south of the Pasig River line.

During the afternoon of April 8th, Lawton assembled his raiding force at San Pedro Macati. Two battalions of the 14th Infantry, one battalion each of Idaho, North Dakota, and Washington Volunteers, and a dismounted squadron of the 4th Cavalry accompanied Lawton. The units embarked at San Pedro Macati early in the evening aboard ten cascos towed by four steam launches. By daybreak, the small force entered Laguna de Bay. The launches with their tows continued across the lake until 10:30 a.m. when the command arrived off Santa Cruz. Field orders were issued from the Maria, Lawton's floating command post. By 2:00 p.m. the landing began. Upon landing and in accordance with Lawton's instructions, Major John Weisenburger of the Washington Volunteers, the landing force commander, deployed his forces in a line that par-
alleled the beach. He positioned his Sharpshooters in the center of the line. On the left of the Sharpshooters were the First Battalion of the 14th Infantry and the 1st Idaho Volunteers. On the right were the Second Battalion of the 14th Infantry and the North Dakota Volunteers. At 5:45 p.m. Weisenburger ordered the advance. The units on line commenced a left wheel pivoting on the 1st Idaho Volunteers. When the American line was perpendicular to the lake's shore, the landing party moved towards Santa Cruz. Encountering only minor resistance, the Americans bivouacked just to the south of the town.

Lawton, aboard the *Maria*, and accompanied by the dismounted squadron of the 4th Cavalry in the cascos under tow by the *Curidad*, postponed the landing of the secondary attack force because it had taken longer than anticipated for Weisenburger to complete his landing. That evening while the primary attacking force bivouacked to the south of Santa Cruz, the squadron of 4th Cavalry moved to a position directly off the northeastern shore of Santa Cruz. The general attack against the insurgents in Santa Cruz began at 6:00 a.m. on April 10th. The 4th Cavalry waded ashore just to the north of the city. Only
after the dismounted horse soldiers had deployed and begun advancing did the Filipinos react. A Filipino bugler sounded the insurgent rendition of "attention" and shortly thereafter "commence firing". Captain George H. Gale commanding the cavalry dropped his troops, ordered several volleys by Platoons then advanced by rushes.

As the 4th Cavalry attacked from the north, Weisenburger's command moved from the south. When the southern column met resistance at the bridge just south of Santa Cruz, the Second Battalion of the 14th Infantry charged, dislodged the insurgents and entered the city. The remainder of Weisenburger's force immediately followed. Under pressure from two directions, the insurgents began to withdraw to the northeast. The fire from the American gunboats proved most effective at this point. Throughout the attack on the town the gunboats supported the ground troops with Gatlings and Colts. When the insurgents began to withdraw along the only open avenue, the Gatlings and Colts took their toll in numerous insurgent casualties. In all, the Filipino Army lost 123 men either in killed or wounded and captured. American casualties were three killed and five wounded. By
dusk, the capture of Santa Cruz was complete. Lawton's troops bivouacked that night in the town.

On April 11th, Weisenburger's force left Santa Cruz and after minor resistance occupied Pagsanjan to the east. It was here that the Americans captured six small steam launches and two cascos. Leaving Company E, 14th Infantry behind to act as Provost Guard, the several units still belonging to Weisenburger swung north. The First Battalion, 14th Infantry, minus Company E, was to move to the mouth of the Pagsanjan River there to provide security to a dredging party. When this battalion approached the town of Lumbang, it came under heavy insurgent fire. The insurgents, having destroyed the ferry that provided the only approach, remained relatively secure from the American fire. Since the river was unfordable the infantry battalion disengaged and bivouacked to the south and east of the enemy stronghold. Just before dark Weisenburger and the remaining American contingent crossed the Pagsanjan River at the town of the same name and proceeded to attack the insurgents in Lumbang from the east. With the insurgent force dispersed, the First Battalion continued on its mission at daybreak.
On April 12th the dredge that Lawton had previously requested arrived at the mouth of the Pagsanjan River. At the same time the town of Longos fell to the Second Battalion, 14th Infantry. The North Dakota Volunteers after encountering an ambush along the trail, occupied Paeta on April 13th. The expedition remained in the several towns until April 16th when it began assembling at the mouth of the Pagsanjan River for the trip back to San Pedro Macati.

From the Pagsanjan River the American raiding party boarded their makeshift fleet and arrived at the point of original embarkation by the evening of April 17th. By April 19th all the units that made up Lawton's small force had returned to their original defensive position around Manila. In addition to the captured insurgent Navy the Americans returned with one Nordenfeldt gun and one Hotchkiss gun. Lawton's force had accomplished all assigned tasks save one.

Elwell Otis could report to Washington that his seizure of Santa Cruz was completed. In the same message the Eighth Corps Commander reported that destruction of the insurgent navy opened changes for a northern advance.
Malolos did not prove suitable as a base for water-borne resupply. Insurgent harassment of the Manila-Dagupan railroad caused various problems. Capture of Calumpit would correct these difficulties.
Footnotes - Chapter Three

1. Robert L. Beisner, Twelve Against Empire: The Anti-Imperialists, 1898-1900; Beisner gives an excellent survey of the anti-imperialists movement.

2. James LeRoy, The Americans in the Philippines: A History of the Conquest and the First Five Years of Occupation, Vol. II, 18-19; Although Aguinaldo had deployed his forces as indicated, neither he nor any other Filipino should be held solely responsible for the outbreak of hostilities. The Filipino officers in command of Santa Ana and San Juan del Monte were attending a ball on the evening of February 4th, other officers in command of "districts" surrounding Manila were either at Malolos or had returned home to spend the Sunday with their families. The Malolos government and several of the senior Filipino commanders were ready to break the tenuous peace that did exist. But the evidence at hand shows that they were caught off guard by the outbreak on February 4, 1899.


7. Ibid. 8; Sorley, 14th U.S. Infantry, 36-38.

7-8; Bradley A. Fiske, War Time in Manila, 199.

9. When the Filipinos completed their investiture of the city of Manila, they cut off the city's water supply by the capture of the Pumping Station immediately to the east of Manila. The insurgents' activity caused extreme hardship on the garrison and civilian population within the city. When the Americans captured Manila this was one of the first problems - primarily the health aspect - that they had to overcome.


19. Ibid., Vol II, 906.


22. Ibid., 153, 169; Oliver L. Spauldin, The United States Army in War and Peace, 378-379.


24. Ibid.: Two other services schools had been established before the Spanish-American War. These were the United States Engineer School at Willets Point, New York, (1890), and The United States Medical School (1893). The Medical School was supposed to instruct candidates for admission to the Medical Corps in Army procedures and medical practice.


27. Ibid., 154-155.

28. Ibid., 146.

29. Ibid., 169.


31. Annual Report of the War Department, Fiscal Year Ended June 30, 1899; 56th Congress, 1st Session, Document No. 2, Vol. 1, Parts 4 and 5: Serial Set 3902. 43. (Hereafter this annual report will be referred to as Report, Serial Set 3902 or Report, Serial Set 3903.): "The command is now fairly well supplied with all needful quartermaster's articles excepting wagon transportation. The Volunteers are still armed with the old Springfield rifle, but steps have been taken to supply the most reliable of them with Krag-Jorgensen and smokeless ammunition."

33. Parker, "Some Random Notes on the Fighting in the Philippines," 319; Owen Kenan, "The American Soldier in the Tropics: His Food, Clothing, Equipment and Work," *Journal of the Military Service Institution of the United States*, Vol. XXIX (Nov, 1900), 342: Parker states that: "The soldier's rifle and ammunition belt weighed fifteen pounds; his three days' rations and haversack, ten pounds; his blanket and poncho, seven pounds; his filled canteen, four pounds; a total of thirty-eight pounds. Kenan suggested because of the weight problem that the Krag-Jorgensen carbine replace the Krag-Jorgensen rifle. The carbine was lighter, smaller, and easily carried "by Infantry in the thick bush. It is equally as accurate for necessary ranges of engagement." The rifle and the carbine withstood hard use equally well. Kenan further suggested that the Infantry do away with the bayonet since it served no purpose, thus producing additional weight only. The bayonet should be replaced with a well made knife "similar to the bolo" and issued to the non-commissioned officers and the members of the band. Kenan went on with his suggestions by recommending that the load bearing equipment (the cartridge belt) be modified to include suspenders that crossed each shoulder and were held together by connecting straps. This would allow the individual rifle man to carry comfortably 100 or more rounds of ammunition.

34. Mabey, *The Utah Batteries*, 16.

35. Ibid.


39. Ibid., Adjutant General, Correspondence, Vol. II, The War Department eventually instructed the Eighth Army Corps Commander to dispatch an officer to Hong Kong to act as an "agent" who would work through the police in that British Colony's ports to thwart shipment of arms to the Filipinos.


41. Ibid., 324.


43. Ibid., 242.

44. Correspondence, Vol. II, 1011, Teodore A. Agoncillo, Malolos: The Crisis of the Republic, 530; the official report by the insurgent government to the effect that Luna was dead was not released until the 8th of June. Only then did American officials learn that the insurgent Commander of Military Forces no longer held power.

45. Ibid., 674.

46. Ibid., 675

47. Ibid.

48. Ibid., 675-676.

49. Ibid., 573-539.

50. Ibid., 539.

51. Newton A. Strait, Alphabetical List of Battles; A Summary of Events of the War of the Rebellion, 1860-1865; Spanish-American War, Philippine Insurrection, 1898-1900; Troubles in China, 1900; with Other Valuable Information in Regard to the Various Wars, 202-203.

53. Adjutant General, Correspondence, Vol. II, 231; Otis informed Washington that: "Until yesterday field operations here since capturing Caloocan of minor nature, consisting of driving back small bands insurgents with considerable loss to latter. Yesterday General Wheaton with Twentieth, Twenty-second Infantry, the Oregon and Washingtons, section Sixth Artillery and Squadron Fourth Cavalry, attacked large force of enemy, drove them back and took line of Pasig River, which he now holds."

54. Ibid., 931.

55. Baclagon, Philippine Campaigns, 87.

56. Ibid., 87-88; Adjutant General, Correspondence, Vol. II, 934-935.

57. Ibid., 938.


59. Baclagon, Philippine Campaigns, 90

60. Ibid.


62. Adjutant General, Correspondence, Vol. II, 944


64. Ibid., 623; Frederick Funston, Memories of Two Wars, Cuban and Philippine Experiences, 236-237.


67. Ibid., 944.


69. Report, Serial Set 3903, 23.

70. Adjutant General, Correspondence, Vol. II, 948.


74. Adjutant General, Correspondence, Vol. II, 952.

75. Report, Serial Set 3903, 395.

76. Ibid.

78. Adjutant General, Correspondence, Vol. II, 955.


80. Ibid.; Spauldin, The United States Army in War and Peace, 385; Report, Serial Set 3903, 31-32.

81. Cameron, "The Fourth Cavalry with General Lawton in Luzon," 624; Sorley, 14th U.S. Infantry, 42; Report, Serial Set 3903, 34.

82. Sorley, 14th U.S. Infantry, 43.


87. Ibid.


89. Because of time and troops available to Lawton, the previously proposed operation against Calamba on the south shore of the lake, an adjunct to his mission during the expedition on the lake, was cancelled. This particular operation would take place at a future date in coordination with the "Army's Navy", operating on Laguna de Bay.

CHAPTER FOUR - Capture Aguinaldo

Otis faced two major problems when he began to plan for the capture of Calumpit. The first - the releasing the States' Volunteers - he could temporarily overcome. The second - the weather - even the Corps Commander could not solve. The rainy season started in a little over one month. Any operation conducted in northern Luzon had to take this into account. Although volunteer units assured Otis their continued service until replacements arrived from the United States, the General knew that he could not extend their services indefinitely. Taking full advantage, he ordered MacArthur to prepare for a movement north. Simultaneously, he issued instructions to Major General Lawton to organize an independent column.

Without security to his right flank, MacArthur could not advance along his single line of communications. Lawton's column was to strike north and east of MacArthur to relieve pressure from the Second Division front and to provide security to that division's right flank. MacArthur with his division was to advance to Calumpit leaving a small force, under Major William A. Kobbé at Malolos. Kobbé's mission was security of the railroad
between Bigaa and Malolos. Lawton's operation could not protect this section of MacArthur's line of communications.

The independent column was the first to advance. Lawton divided his 4,000 man force into two columns. The larger of the two columns composed of the 22d Infantry, eight companies of the 3d Infantry, eight companies of the North Dakota Volunteers, three dismounted troops of the 4th Cavalry, two mountain guns and one platoon from D Battery, 6th Artillery, assembled at La Loma Church on April 22, 1899. This was Lawton's main body. The second column - eight companies of the Minnesota Volunteers, eight companies of Oregon Volunteers and I Troop (mounted), 4th Cavalry - assembled at Bocava one day later. Lawton's ultimate objective was the town of Baliuag. The main body was to advance through Novaliches, San José and Norzagaray. At Norzagaray the main and secondary columns would unite and proceed west to Baliuag.

Movement from La Loma Church commenced early in the morning of April 22nd. By noon Novaliches fell to Lawton after minor opposition. Two days later San José fell. While closing the main column on San José, Lawton received news from Lieutenant Charles T. Boyd of I Troop, 4th Cavalry, that Norzagaray was in American hands. The
insurgents defending Norzagaray had not offered the Americans strong resistance. When the Bocave column reached the bluffs overlooking the town, the enemy withdrew to the north and west. By nightfall April 26th, Lawton had assembled all of his force at Norzagaray and had out-posted Angat. Otis ordered Lawton to remain in the vicinity of Norzagaray - Angat until further instructed.

MacArthur's advance, timed for the morning of April 24th, began prematurely. The rivers to his front and right front being unfordable, MacArthur dispatched Major J. Franklin Bell with a troop of cavalry to reconnoiter for possible crossing sites. Major Bell found not only a crossing site but also an entrenched insurgent force in the vicinity of Quinqua. In the ensuing battle, involving four American infantry battalions and at least four American artillery pieces, both sides suffered heavy casualties. The Americans lost seven killed and another forty-five wounded. Among the dead was the Regimental Commander of the Nebraska Volunteers, Colonel Stotsenburg. By late evening the Americans' repetitive frontal assaults forced the insurgents to retreat. The Nebraskans continued the reconnaissance and by dawn of the 24th forced
Only the insurgent trenches in which they made stands are shown. There were many others along the road and river.
a crossing over the Calumpit River. General Hale's
brigade soon followed and advanced along the north side
of the river toward Calumpit. During the 24th, the rebels
made two stands against Hale. The first, midway between
Guinqua and Pulilan, and the second approximately a mile
and one half to the west of Pulilan were easily overcome
by Hale. Through the continued use of the frontal assaults
against prepared positions the second brigade again
suffered casualties, this time five killed and fifteen
wounded. Absorbing his losses Hale moved forward and
by the 25th occupied positions immediately to the east
and directly across the river from Calumpit.

While Hale moved to attack Calumpit from the east,
Brigadier General Wheaton, having replaced Brigadier
General Otis as commander of the first brigade, second
division, moved his brigade toward Calumpit. The first
brigade accompanied by armed train cars advanced along
the railroad. The train cars, pushed by Chinese coolie
labor for lack of locomotives, each carried three rapid-
fire naval rifles. Boiler plates protected the guns
and crews from small arms fire.

By the 25th MacArthur's two columns converged at
the junction of the Bagbag and Calumpit Rivers. The northern section of the bridge across the Bagbag River had been dropped by the insurgents. The Americans had to wade across. Calumpit fell on the 26th with only minor insurgent resistance. The town's defenders withdrew to secondary positions behind the Rio Grande de Pampanga. MacArthur now faced the task of carrying what appeared to be well-constructed "bomb-proof" shelters on the west bank of the Rio Grande de Pampanga. As was their habit the insurgents destroyed the only bridge in the immediate vicinity. The rebels also positioned a Maxim machine gun and several old cannon so as to oppose any cross-river assault.

Having no pontoon bridges available for a crossing, MacArthur had to search for alternate crossing sites. Colonel Funston, Kansas Volunteers, provided the solution. After one of his non-commissioned officers had reconnoitered possible crossing sites down river, Funston decided to attempt a night river crossing using makeshift rafts. During the night of April 26th, the Kansas Volunteers attempted the crossing only to be forced back by Filipino small arms fire. Undaunted, Funston prepared
another attempt for noon the next day. A detachment from the Kansas Volunteers moved approximately six hundred yards down river. At noon on the 27th, Privates White and Trembly swam across the river trailing ropes. Arriving on the west bank, the two Kansans tied their ropes to a tree stump and proceeded toward the insurgents' positions. Funston with forty soldiers immediately followed White and Trembly who were now engaged in an American style prank.

That neither private had a weapon did not deter them. White and Trembly sneaked to within throwing distance of the enemy defenses and proceeded to pelt the defenders with mudballs. By this time Funston and his small detachment were flanking the rebel positions. Wheaton, meanwhile, started some of his troops across the bridge frame that the insurgent had failed to destroy. The insurgents under a frontal attack, a flanking attack, and White and Trembly's mudballs, decided that retreat was appropriate and withdrew hand towing their precious Maxim. MacArthur reported to General Otis that Calumpit and the immediate vicinity were clear of enemy forces.

As they had done immediately after the fall of Malolos, American troops at Calumpit did not pursue the retreating insurrectos. Although Wheaton's Brigade
moved to and occupied the town of Santo Tomas several miles to the northwest of Calumpit, MacArthur retained the larger portion of his command in the immediate vicinity of Calumpit. The division commander was concerned about his line of communication. It took him one week to complete the resupply of his division. Finally, the Second Division advanced northwest through Santo Tomas to San Fernando. Calumpit became the forward supply depot while San Fernando became the division's headquarters. At San Fernando the Americans established the first permanent field hospital. Prior to the occupation of San Fernando all wounded were evacuated by any means available to Manila.

Lawton's command initiated a second series of operations on May 1st. While the second division corrected its problems with the railroad, the independent force again in two columns advanced to the west along both banks of the Guinqua River (also called the Calumpit River). Halfway to the final objective of Baliaug the northern column developed a considerable contact in the vicinity of San Rafael. The insurgents fought fiercely but were eventually dispersed. Both American columns then halted
for the night. As he moved his force toward Baliuag, Lawton directed Captain George Gale and one mounted and three dismounted troops of cavalry to pursue the insurgents who had escaped the northern column's attacks of the previous day. Lawton and Gale calculated that the insurgents would fall back to San Miguel. After three miles of pursuit, Gale's four troops ran into the rear guard of the retreating enemy. Obviously, Gregario del Pilar had expected such a move by General Lawton, for the Filipinos were well entrenched across Gale's line of advance. The Captain attempted to flank the enemy. After a prolonged skirmish, Captain Gale decided against further pursuit. The extreme heat during the forced march and the skirmish had caused twenty-one cases of heat exhaustion. Eight men were unconscious. Gale rested his men then returned them to Baliuag.

By noon, May 2nd, the towns of Bustos and Baliuag fell to the advancing Americans. Defending insurgents continued to retreat north. During Lawton's two-day operation, the independent column had dispersed 1600 enemy soldiers under Gregario del Pilar and captured 150,000 bushels of rice and 265 tons of sugar.
Otis instructed Lawton to remain in the vicinity of Baliuag until further notice. General Lawton did, however, secure permission to advance selected units to the north. On May 4th, Lawton dispatched Colonel Summers with elements from the Oregon and Minnesota volunteers, the Third Infantry and one Utah Volunteer artillery piece to take Maasin. Maasin straddled the most direct route to San Miguel where the Americans thought an insurgent force was gathering.

Maasin's capture would give the Americans a vital river crossing site. From Maasin the attacking troops could move directly to San Ildefonso. Approximately four miles north of Maasin, San Ildefonso bordered the Candaba Swamp. The Baliuag-San Ildefonso-San Miguel road, crossing rice fields that extended to the mountains on the east and the Rio Grande de Pampanga on the west, was the only approach open to the Americans.

Summer's composite command advance to Maasin without major incidents, arriving there in the late afternoon. From the 4th through the 12th Lawton's command remained in Baliuag and Maasin. He confined his operations to
patrolling to the west and north while awaiting further instructions from Manila. His patrols eventually became too active, for on May 12th a detachment of scouts initiated a running battle with a superior insurgent force. Without waiting for reinforcements or instructions the twenty-man patrol defeated the insurgents and captured San Ildefonso. Lawton immediately dispatched a garrison force to this newly acquired town while at the same time appeasing a mildly irritated Otis. Lawton's instructions had been to hold in place. The apology was premature. The same group of scouts repeated the previous day's exploits by capturing San Miguel. This time the twenty men did not fare as well as on May 12th. Of the twenty Americans who attack the three hundred insurgents occupying San Miguel only eleven survived. The major portion of Lawton's command closed on San Miguel by May 15th.

General Otis had proposed to MacArthur on May 11th, that the second division move from its positions at San Fernando to the northeast to Candaba there to link up with Lawton's force. After the link-up both forces would attack enemy concentrations in the vicinity of Arayat. MacArthur argued against this plan. He countered Otis' proposal stating that General Luna with 2500 Filipinos
faced his division's positions around San Fernando. Additional reports indicated that Luna had a 1000-man reserve force in the vicinity of Mexico just a few miles to the northeast of San Fernando. MacArthur also pointed out to the corps commander that the poor condition of the supply line between Calumpit and San Fernando precluded any movement at that time. Otis accepted MacArthur's views and left the second division at San Fernando.

This did not diminish the Corps Commander's desire to provide an alternate means of supply and communications with General Lawton. Nor did this mean that Otis abandoned the thought of attacking Arayat. While MacArthur sat at San Fernando repairing the railroad to his rear and confronting Luna to his front, Otis directed Lawton to continue north. On May 17th, Lawton captured San Isidro, the second insurgent capitol.

Otis then directed Major Kobbé, the commander of the security forces between Malolos and Bigaa, to assemble a 1500-man detachment at Calumpit by May 16th. Kobbé and his men, accompanied by shallow draught Army gunboats and supplies for Lawton departed Calumpit on May 17th. Moving up the river the expedition proceeded to Candaba
where it remained until May 21st. On the 20th, Otis ordered Lawton to proceed down the Rio Grande de Pampanga from San Isidro to Arayat where he was to link-up with Major Kobbé's expedition. This joint movement was completed on May 21st, neither force encountering any opposition.

May 21st marked the end of the operations that established the "northern defense line". Units under Lawton's command that did not accompany him down the Rio Grande de Pampanga began to withdraw towards Baliuag. MacArthur's division depleted by the requirements for security to his line of communications with Manila — now some 48 miles in length — began consolidating its holdings.

Otis' situation report submitted to Washington on May 22nd reflected his optimism with the events on the north front. With Luna and a deteriorating insurgent force retiring on Tarlac, the town of San Antonio, Cabiao and Arayat cleared of insurgents, and the Rio Grande de Pampanga navigable as far inland as San Isidro, the Corps Commander could turn his attention to the large insurgent force concentrating south of Manila. The Commander felt that:

"We must keep what we had gained, and could do that by establishing a line to the front, extending from San Fernando
on the left to Baliuag on the right from which it would be easy to resume operations. General Lawton was recalled, a sufficient force placed at Candaba, San Luis, Calumpit, and Baliuag to hold the country in the rear, and steps were taken to return and ship the volunteers as rapidly as circumstances would permit. 34

Besides, the rainy season would soon set in severely restricting any operation on the alluvial plain to the north of Manila. One additional factor helped Otis in his decision for terminating further movement to the north—the return of militia units to the United States.

By reducing the extended northern area of operations, Otis felt the departure of volunteers would not endanger the remaining troops in the Army of Occupation. Otis began releasing the 16,000 volunteer troops shortly after terminating northern movement. Otis did not deny that the force reduction would impair his operational ability, however. Without additional troops Otis doubted that he could conduct any large operations.

As early as March, 1899, the President, the Secretary of War, and Congress recognized the problems inherent in the return of the state volunteer units. McKinley was empowered to retain on active duty those state vol-
unteers who either individually or by units re-enlisted for a period not to exceed six months. Congress gave McKinley this authorization in Section 15 of the Army Bill approved on March 2, 1899. In addition to providing for the voluntary extension of state units, Congress granted the President the power to call for Federal Volunteers, not to exceed 35,000 men. The Army Bill also realigned those regular units on active service, as well. Each active regiment would have three majors rather than the previously authorized two. Each major, under the law, would command a battalion, and the Regimental Lieutenant Colonel could return to his principal duties as the Regimental commander's senior assistant.

Congress authorized a total of twenty-nine new regiments. Those who joined the infantry would enter regiments numbered from twenty-six through forty-nine. The 48th and 49th Infantry Regiments were designated for black troops. Volunteers entering the cavalry found only three regiments, the 11th through the 13th. The 11th Cavalry, 36th and 37th Infantry Regiments were to be recruited in the Philippines. As Otis began shipping militia regiments back to the United States, President
McKinley told the Secretary of War to begin forming ten regiments of volunteer infantry. This first step in reinforcing the Eighth Corps took place on July 5, 1899. Thirteen days later McKinley instructed Secretary Alger to recruit two additional infantry regiments and one cavalry regiment. On August 17, 1899, ten more infantry regiments were being recruited.

In the interim, Otis received regular troops to augment his shrinking command. These regular replacements were not in sufficient number to offset the 16,000 departing state volunteers. Between May 29th and October 11th (the date the first federal volunteer unit arrived from the United States) a total of 16,381 enlisted men arrived in the Philippines. Had all of these men and their officers been combat troops, Otis could have at least stabilized his force. Unfortunately for the American command such was not the case. Many were recruits destined to fill out understrength units then serving in the islands. Others were signal corps men. Still others were troops already belonging to regiments on the line.

Regular soldiers and their officers remaining in the Philippines while the volunteers were departing also
had their concerns. The several long campaigns and numerous skirmishes had pointed out deficiencies in training, organization and tactics.

Of considerable concern was the ever-present shortage of command personnel. This shortage necessitated an increased reliance on organization. Although troops knew about and operated in military formations, the squad, the most basic of military organizations, failed as an effective control measure. In many instances the squad organization failed to provide the required unity for accomplishing missions in the most efficient manner. Major General Lawton recognized the failure as a principal cause to problems of accountability and maneuverability on the battlefield.

To correct this deplorable situation, he issued instructions designed to increase emphasis through continued training on squad organization. His desired results were simple: Through continuous drilling, each soldier in time of battle would naturally feel and act as a member of his squad.

Company K, 13th Infantry Regiment provides an excellent example to illustrate the need for and the
result of such training. Shortly after landing at Manila, the importance of low-level leadership became clear to K Company. Nine days after its arrival, K Company took part in an operation immediately to the south of the capital. This unit's first action showed the Company Commander, Captain P. E. Pierce, that he had problems. When he attempted to attack entrenched insurgents by a series of rushes on June 10th, 1899, Pierce initially could not move his men forward on the double time. Once he finally had his unit on the move, the Company Commander could not stop them. The squad leaders — the logical individuals to assist Pierce — proved of little use. The company was eager to attack. But it lacked the fine elements of discipline necessary to react to its commander! While in the attack nearly forty per cent of the infantrymen discarded most of their equipment. Squads became disorganized. Those squad leaders who were present could not or did not control their men.

Because of other occurrences similar to this, Lawton initiated his corrective actions. From the middle of June through the end of October, whether on security duty or field operations, squad organization became the by-word. Non-commissioned officers received thorough
instruction in their duties as junior leaders. Unit commanders repeatedly reminded their NCO's of their failures during the June operation. While doing duty in the trenches surrounding Manila, unit commanders held their squad leaders strictly responsible for the police and maintenance of their respective areas of responsibility. Should a particular squad leader fail in his duties, the chief-of-section received the reprimand. Under the direct supervision of his chief-of-section, each squad leader had to inspect the weapons and equipment of his men at every evening retreat and during the formal Saturday inspection. Every roll call was by squad. Should an individual be absent, his squad leader had to know the absentee's status and location. Company commanders conducted numerous alerts, during which all men had to arm themselves and run to their assigned positions.

Not contented with simple drills, unit commanders conducted as many practice marches as possible. During the practice marches the non-commissioned officers had to keep their men under control at all times. Should an enlisted man lose any equipment, both he and his squad leader were subject to company punishment. Squad leaders took their squads on reconnaissance missions when not
otherwise engaged. Upon completion of these patrols the squad leader had to submit a written report and a sketch map of the terrain reconnoitered. The private soldier received instruction as to his responsibilities as a member of a squad. The training emphasized the support expected of him to his immediate superior. Every individual learned the seriousness of straggling while in formation and of discarding equipment.

American commanders encountered other problems. Many of the recruits who arrived in the Philippines during the summer and early fall of 1899 were unfamiliar with their individual weapons. Many recruits had never received basic instruction in firing their weapons, not to mention the use of volley fire. Military commanders at all levels recognized that target practice would have to be employed. A simple solution evolved. For those recruits assigned to field units, unit commanders placed targets in front of the outpost line. Under the watchful eye of an experienced non-commissioned officer the new men would engage the targets. In some instances the target practice resulted in small engagements-by-fire with local insurgent forces. However, a certain amount of expertise resulted from such training.
General military activities continued throughout summer and early fall of 1899. State volunteers returned home; federal volunteers prepared for shipment to the war zone; on-site training continued for those troops remaining in the Philippines; and field operations, though limited in scope, continued. In time, Lawton ordered two columns to chase Pio del Pilar through Morong Peninsula, east of Manila. Within two days American troops had cleared the objective area of insurgents. An outgrowth of the Morong Peninsula operation was the Army's navy.

Almost immediately after the dispersal of Pio del Pilar's force, the American command decided that a flotilla of cascos and shallow-draught gunboats operating on Laguna de Bay could disrupt further communications between Aguinaldo's government and his forces south of Manila. The American could also control trade and fishing on the Laguna de Bay and prevent enemy troops from concentrating at any point along the shore.

Three cascos and the guhboat Napidan were the nucleus of the flotilla. The cascos, acting as floating billets for troops C, G, and L, Fourth Cavalry, carried double-tiered bunks and a very small, makeshift galley. The Napidan provided the locomotion for the cascos and
the artillery support for the dismounted cavalrymen.

The general tactic employed by the floating command involved the very rudiments of finding the enemy. After assembling the command following a landing or engagement, the cascos would be anchored. The Napidan would then patrol the shoreline for signs of enemy activity. Intelligence reports provided some information. But the small command remained active, trying to develop its own situations. The Army's navy ranged from Mantinlupa to Paeta, from Calamba to Morong.

Troops being mustered into service in the United States for duty in the Philippines faced the same problem that American forces in the islands were experiencing -- the need for training. The Army finally recognized the necessity of adequate preparation, but found it difficult to accomplish some of the needed instruction. Department commanders within the United States were responsible for the organization, training and support for volunteer regiments raised in their departments. Brigadier General Henry C. Merriam and Colonel Chambers McKibbin both identified as a major stumbling block the constant changes of personnel and troop units. Under these conditions it
was extremely difficult to provide effective instruction to the new volunteer regiments. The 33rd United States Volunteer Infantry regiment which was organized at Fort Sam Houston, Texas had only two months to prepare for shipment overseas. The Department of Texas Commander placed considerable amount of emphasis on target practice, other aspects of military training had to be slighted. The prewar training routine was leisurely; but, now that the United States needed troops to continue operations in a remote corner of the southern Pacific, time was of the essence.

General Otis also believed that time was important. He had operations to prepare for. As early as July, 1899, the senior American commander recognized the importance of further advances into northern Luzon. Basing his conclusions on increased enemy activity against MacArthur's positions around San Fernando and on intelligence reports, Otis determined that the bulk of the insurgent army remained north of Manila. He estimated that the insurgents possessed some 25,000 rifles in the northern provinces in the general vicinity of the northern defensive line. Thus in early August, the Corps Commander began preparations to capture or scatter this major insurgent force.
He and his staff further determined that if the Americans attacked the insurgents only on one front, the rebels would withdraw to the mountains to the north and east of their present locations.  With this in mind Otis set into motion the necessary preparations for a three-front operation.  His plan was to cut off the avenues of withdrawal to the east and to the north with two separate commands then attack the surrounded enemy with MacArthur's division.

All other operations on Luzon became secondary in importance.  Major commanders had to consider the proposed northern campaign when positioning their troops.  Force realignment occurred with a single purpose -- how it would affect the northern front.  In early August MacArthur directed a series of limited movements to the north.  These limited attacks eventually secured the town of Mabalagat.  The second division's short advance served to strengthen the northern defense line and force insurgent troops further to the north and away from Calumpit.  Calumpit became a major transshipment point for supplies needed to support extended operations.  By late September rations and ammunition began collecting at this river town.  When enough supplies had been accumulated at
Calumpit and sufficient troops were available, the command in Manila hoped to move the stores up the Rio Grande de Pampanga to the abandoned Spanish outpost at San Isidro.

Before initiating the final steps of his plan, Otis had to take into account the projected arrival of the federal volunteers. The Corps Commander could approximate the time of these arrivals from dispatches sent from Washington. The Adjutant General, Henry C. Cobin, insured that the departure date of each volunteer regiment was forwarded to Manila. Thus, Otis knew at least a month in advance the arrival time of units shipped to the Philippines. By September 30, 1899, Otis knew how many troops he would have by the end of October. And because of the upcoming campaign only one of these regiments would be deployed outside of Luzon. The initial steps now completed, the final preparatory moves began.

On October 9, 1899, Brigadier General Samuel B. M. Young, commanding an advance brigade, moved from Calumpit towards Arayat in the first of a series of marches to establish San Isidro as a major resupply depot. By October 13th, the first resupplies from Calumpit began to
arrive at the new forward supply point. While Young advanced slowly up the Rio Grande de Pampanga, Otis directed his Chief-of-Staff, Brigadier General Theodore Schwan, to assemble an expeditionary force to conduct a limited operation into Cavite Province. Schwan was to destroy, if possible, the active insurgent force under Manuel Trias. Trias' force of approximately 1,770 soldiers not only endangered Cavite Province; more importantly it threatened Manila and the planned operation to the north. Schwan's provisional brigade departed Bacoor on October 8th and proceeded to Novaleta thence to Rosario and finally San Francisco de Malabon. From San Francisco de Malabon, Schwan recommended to Otis that the captured towns be garrisoned by the Americans. Otis turned down the recommendations. And after Schwan's columns reached Dasmarinas on the evening of October 21st, Otis directed his Chief-of-Staff to return to Baccor. The six-day excursion into Cavite Province dispersed Trias' force. Otis returned his attention to the northern front.

As Schwan's expeditionary force closed back on Baccor, Young's force was consolidating its positions at Arayat. At Arayat the advanced element waited for addi-
Major General Lawton would take command of this force once enough troops were concentrated. Otis' plan called for Lawton's command to complete a flanking movement from San Isidro to the east of Tarlac and immediately to the west of the Rio Grande de Pampanga. By operating this far to the east, the Americans could seal the insurgent escape routes to the Sierra Madres. While at Arayat, Young received Lt. Batson's newly organized battalion of Macababe Scouts and a battalion of the 22d Infantry. After Young's detachment of engineers finished constructing a rope ferry across the Rio Grande de Pampanga, the Macabe Scouts and the 22d Infantry began advancing up the east bank of the swollen river. This was on October 11th.

On the 18th, the First Squadron, Fourth Cavalry, reinforced Major John G. Ballance who commanded the battalion of 22d Infantry. This force proceeded towards San Isidro occupying the town after a running battle with insurgents defending Cabio. San Isidro then became the base of supply. Lawton joined Young at San Isidro on the 18th. He began preparations for further movements to the north and northeast in order to complete his...
flanking operation. Because of the swollen river and the need to accumulate supplies at this point, the majority of Lawton's command remained in the vicinity of San Isidro.

In the later part of October, MacArthur began his preparations for the advance. MacArthur's mission was to proceed up the Manila-Dagupan railroad to capture the insurgent capital, Tarlac. Once Tarlac fell, the Second Division would continue up the railroad toward Dagupan. To accomplish his mission, the division commander had approximately 5,000 troops available out of a total force of 7,000. Although the insurgents had destroyed a good portion of the railroad to his front, the road bed provided a good line of advance. The principal obstacles that faced his command were the Paruau and Tarlac Rivers which were swollen with the rains. MacArthur, "preparing and conducting his campaign as precisely as he made his daily toilet," began to concentrate his main force at Angeles. On November 7th, MacArthur issued the necessary orders for the general advance to begin in the morning of the 9th.

Three days prior to MacArthur's advance, the third command of this campaign departed Manila under Brigadier General Wheaton. Wheaton's mission was to conduct a
landing in the Lingayen Gulf in the vicinity of Dagupan, occupy positions along the coastal road running to the northern reaches of Luzon while at the same time proceed east to link up with Lawton's command. Such a maneuver would not only close off the best route of withdrawal to northern Luzon but also seal any escape routes into the Central Cordillera Mountains. Wheaton and 2,500 men aboard the Sheridan and Aztec and accompanied by the Navy's Princeton, Bennington and Helena arrived off San Fabian in the afternoon of November 7th. After the Navy shelled this town for approximately two hours, Wheaton ordered landings. The lead element, K Company, 13th Infantry, landed at 4 p.m. against slight resistance. Pierce's company advanced about a mile and one half beyond San Fabian where it established an outpost line. By dusk the remainder of Wheaton's troops had landed and occupied San Fabian. For the next several days Wheaton's command conducted scouting operations to the north and east while pushing those insurgent forces to the west of San Fabian back upon Dagupan. On November 11th, Colonel Hare's Thirty-Third Volunteer Infantry, part of Wheaton's force, encountered a large insurgent force at San Jacinto only six miles to the east of San Fabian. After heavy fighting during which the Americans lost seven killed
and fifteen wounded General Tinio's troops were driven from the town. After this brisk encounter Wheaton resumed scouting operations. More by change than by design, the scouting parties captured Filipe Bruncamio, Aguinaldo's late Secretary of Foreign Affairs, and Aguinaldo's mother and son. By November 26th, nearly three weeks after the initial landing in Lingayen Gulf, the Americans occupied Dagupan.

As Wheaton conducted reconnaissance operations out of San Fabian, MacArthur moved north along the rail line. By November 11th, his force had cleared Bamban and was nearing Tarlac. Bell, now a Colonel in the United States Volunteers, moved his regiment out of Bamban to reconnoiter the enemy's capital. As he approached Tarlac, Bell discovered that the town contained no insurgent forces. Relaying this information back to MacArthur, the reconnaissance group occupied Tarlac. On November 13th, MacArthur established his headquarters at Tarlac. The bulk of the second division remained here for four days, while the Ninth Infantry as directed by the Division Commander prepared Bamban as a supply depot prior to the division's anticipated move further north. It now became a race. Formal opposition to the Americans was crumbling.
The enemy offered no battle to the Americans as they took Bamban and Tarlac. Gerona fell to MacArthur's force on November 17th without incident. Members of the insurgent government and the Filipino Army were fleeing north attempting to avoid capture.

What appeared as the final defect of Aguinaldo and the Filipino Army was really a shift of emphasis on the type of warfare best suited to the Filipinos. Just prior to his flight from Bayambang on the evening of November 12th, Aguinaldo and his military commanders held a final council of war. During the meeting, the insurgent leaders decided to resort to pure guerrilla tactics. It was painfully obvious that the Americans, better equipped and better organized, could defeat the rebels in conventional battle. The council hoped that by using flying columns and guerrilla bands they could prolong the war and possibly even defeat the Americans.

Otis still had a chance to destroy the insurgent movement. If the Americans captured Aguinaldo, formal leadership would no longer exist. The insurgent government which had suffered the defection of many prominent Filipinos throughout the conflict would become impudent. It was up to General Lawton to accomplish this capture.
By late November 13th, Otis reported to Washington that Lawton's advanced units, under Young's command, were in the process of closing the trap. A squadron of the 3d Cavalry had occupied Tayug; a squadron of the 4th Cavalry had captured Carranglan; San Nicolos was in American hands. Thus, Otis speculated that:

"Indications are that insurgents will not escape to mountain capital at Bayonbang without great difficulty and loss, if at all."81

The Americans did not close the escape routes in time. Rather than retiring on Bayamban, Aguinaldo and his retinue left Pozorrubio and head northwest toward the southern tip of the coastal province, Ilocos Sur. Realizing that Aguinaldo had evaded successfully Otis' hoped for entrapment, S.B.M. Young with fewer than one hundred cavalrmen and an advance guard of Macabebe Scouts departed Pozorrubio in pursuit. By November 28th, Young began receiving reinforcements, Aguinaldo and his rear guard commanded by Brigadier General Gregoria del Pilar moved inland toward Bantoc. del Pilar noticed the defensive significance of Tirad Pass and sought Aguinaldo's permission to occupy and defend this terrain. By so doing, del Pilar could insure his President's escape. Aguinaldo agreed. The pass, nestled between Mt. Tirad
on the south and Mt. Estilate on the north, was a natural defensive position. And to pursue Aguinaldo, the Americans would have to use the pass which was no more than 100 yards wide at its floor and 4000 feet above sea level. The advancing Americans would have to climb 2500 feet to negotiate this terrain.

Major Peyton C. March, commanding the 33d Infantry, left Candon on November 30th. His mission was to keep Aguinaldo from joining General Tinio in Abra Province. By 10 a.m. December 2nd, March and his troops began the climb to Tirad Pass. del Pilar and his sixty men waited until March's battalion was in range. When the fighting began, March sent Lieutenant Tomkin's company to flank the insurgents' position. After two hours of near vertical climbing on the southern side of the entrance of the pass, Tomkin's force reached a position which exposed the Filipinos to plunging fire. At approximately the same time March ordered an attack. del Pilar ordered the remnants of his small command to fall back to the second line of prepared positions. The 33d Infantry finally carried the enemy's position, losing two killed and nine wounded in the process. The defense cost del Pilar his life and most of his command. But the battle of Tirad
Pass allowed Aguinaldo to escape. The 33d Infantry chased Aguinaldo until December 7th, when Major March abandoned the pursuit. The Americans would have to wait another year and a half to capture the leader of the insurgency.
Footnotes - Chapter Four


12. Newton A. Strait, Alphabetical List of Battles: A Summary of Events of the War of the Rebellion, 1860-1865; Spanish-American War, Philippine In-
surrection, 1898-1900; Troubles in China, 1900; with Other Valuable Information in Regard to the Various Wars, 178.


19. Ibid., 39-40; Adjutant General, Correspondence, Vol. II, 975.


26. Adjutant General, Correspondence, Vol. II, 982; Chief of Engineers, Department of the Philippines, Army Map Service, San Miguel, Philippines, Sheet 3356 II.


34. Annual Report, Serial Set 3902, 120-121.


38. Sexton, Soldiers in the Sun, 162; Strait, Alphabetical List, 200.

39. Ibid.

40. Ibid.

41. Ibid., 202-203


43. Ibid., 410.
44. Ibid., 411-413.
45. Ibid., 413.
46. Ibid.; Needom Freeman, A Soldier in the Philippines, 6: Freeman recounts the daily routine of his unit as one that very liesurely prepared for the possibility of war. Physical fitness exercises, for an example, were held only one month in three. Daily routine was conducive to neatness, but not necessarily for war.
48. Ibid.
50. Ibid., 631.
51. Ibid.
53. Ibid., 226-227, 228-231.
54. Ibid., 231.
55. Ibid., 207, 211.
56. Ibid., 211.
57. Cameron, "The Fourth Cavalry with General Lawton, " 839; Annual Report, Serial Set 4073, 211
58. Ibid., 207, 215.
59. Adjutant General, Correspondence, Vol. II, 1050
60. Annual Report, Serial Set 4073, 208.


68. Cameron, "The Fourth Cavalry with General Lawton," 842; *Annual Report*, Serial Set 4073, 209: The Macabebe Scouts were formed under the direction of General Otis who was in agreement with M. G. Arthur MacArthur as to the concept. When organized with the single purpose of seeking out the insurgents in the marshes in that area, Otis initially authorized two companies of 129 men each to form a battalion of Macabebe Scouts. When it became apparent that the Macabebes were valuable additions to the American Army of Occupation, B.G. S.B.M. Young requested their services. The Battalion was formally organized and First Lieutenant Batson, Fourth Cavalry, became their commander. Batson and his scouts proved to be well worth the effort as the campaign against the insurgents progressed.


70. *Ibid*.


77. *Ibid.*, 139: Adjutant General, Correspondence, Vol. II, 1108-1109: In addition to capturing Aguinaldo's Mother and Son, Wheaton's command captured from the insurgents $2000.00 worth of Gold, and other personal effects of the Filipinos "President." The day following the above indicated captures, Wheaton's provisional brigade also captured five 3-inch muzzle-loading rifles, twelve rifles, 12,000 rounds of Maxim ammunition, 1,000 rounds of shrapnel ammunition, 800 pounds of power, and released some ninety-four Spanish and seven American prisoners. (Several accounts have severely criticized Wheaton for his supposed inactivity. Even though he was a favorite of General Otis, Wheaton and his provisional brigade did perform admirable services immediately after their landing off of San Fabian. Any observer must take into account that Wheaton's force was fairly well isolated and could not be immediately reinforced as could both MacArthur and Lawton. Under these conditions, Wheaton can be partially excused for not pursuing the planned link-up with Lawton and Young with more vigor.)


85. Chief of Engineers, Department of the Philippines, Army Map Service, *Bauquen, Philippines*, Sheet 3262 II.


87. Strait, *Alphabetical List*, 181. (Listed as Tila Pass.)

CHAPTER FIVE - Pacify

By December 12, 1899, the situation north of Manila and the Pasig River line stabilized. The Americans and the Filipinos would have several large meeting engagements in the next several weeks; but for a few heroic adventures by a handful of Americans and several last-minute operations, the troops of MacArthur's division possessed all important population centers in northern Luzon. Otis reported to Washington:

"...No Concentrated insurgent force of importance in Luzon north of Manila, southern Luzon will not offer serious resistance; troops moving for operations in that section, organized rebellion no longer exists, and troops active pursuing robber bands. All important and threatened centers of population, north occupied." 2

Although Otis was overly optimistic about the end of organized rebellion, his message set the tone for future events - "Troops active pursing..." So long as Emilio Aguinaldo and Generals Tinio, Trias, Malvar, and Pio del Pilar remained free organized rebellion would continue. These important insurrectos would either have to be captured or forced to surrender. To accomplish capture or surrender dictated a change in American tactics. Until the Filipino decision of November 12, 1899, the insurgents followed
western-style tactics. Prior to the rearguard action at Tirad Pass, military units of both sides used brigade-and division-sized units. Otis did not anticipate the change. Nor did American field commanders immediately recognize the difference.

Brigadier General Frederick D. Grant moved into Bataan peninsula and the Zambales mountains employing two large parallel columns. He encountered no significant resistance and declared the area clear. Brigadier General S.B.M. Young, receiving reinforcements daily, continued securing the northwestern coast of Luzon. Young's force also encountered only minor resistance. Major General Lawton, active in Bulucan Province, had cleared that area of large enemy forces.

American commanders, apparently completely successful in the northern provinces had no way of knowing of Aguinaldo's directive to his field commanders. To the Americans it was a simple case of military success. Even the Filipino military commanders did not know the complete extent of their new organization.

Eluding Major March's pursuing infantry, Aguinaldo commenced directing his rebel forces through courier-carried codes. He and his senior assistants divided the
countryside into districts. What Aguinaldo proposed before the fall of Malolos became the new insurgent organization. Each district, under the command of a general officer, responded directly to Aguinaldo's headquarters. Should a district field commander fall into the hands of the Americans, he could not disclose vital insurgent information. Only if an insurgent messenger was captured and the code broken did the Americans have a reasonable chance to capture Emilio Aguinaldo.

Direct action against the insurgents during the final days of 1899, then, was limited to engaging enemy troop concentrations. The insurgents did begin displaying warning signs of future tactics through the use of ambushes and hit-and-run raids. But Filipino troop concentrations remained the first American objective. Pio del Pilar had begun assembling remnants of the insurgent units that had escaped the American advance of November, 1899. He collected his growing command in the vicinity of San Mateo in the Mariquina Valley. Northeast of the Pumping Station, San Mateo offered a well-placed defender a strategic stronghold. The town sat on the left bank of the Mariquina River. Immediately to the east were the southern foothills of the Sierra Madres. A mere six miles
to the southwest was the all-important Pumping Station. Should del Pilar be successful in gathering a large force at San Mateo, he would not only threaten the Pumping Station but also control important mountain trails. Small groups of insurgents would then be able to pass freely between northern and southern Luzon.

Otis ordered General Lawton to attack the insurgents at San Mateo. On December 17th, Lawton held a coordination meeting with the commanders of the 11th Cavalry and the 24th, 27th, and 29th Infantries. Although he did not disclose the final destination of the operation, Lawton appointed Colonel Herbert H. Sargent to command the infantry and Colonel James Lockett the cavalry. On the 18th the two subordinates were told that their destination would be San Mateo. Lockett, accompanied by one mounted and one dismounted squadron left the Pumping Station at midnight. After he delivered the dismounted squadron to Colonel Sargent, the Cavalry Commander would proceed north of San Mateo, cross the Mariquina River and attack the town from the northeast. At 6 a.m. Sargent and Lockett rendezvoused on the ridge overlooking San Mateo from the west. General Lawton, having planned to join Colonel Sargent's force during their advance, did not witness the rendezvous.

He was lost. The terrain was miserable. The road
selected by Lawton and Sargent for the infantry advance rapidly dwindled to nothing. Sargent's column, traveling in darkness and suffering from the unseasonably heavy rainfall, had to hack its way through bamboo thickets to arrive at the ridge line at the appointed hour. Lawton joined the provisional brigade after it deployed along the west bank of the Mariquina.

Original plans called for the infantry to attack San Mateo using several fords directly opposite the town. These plans were soon abandoned. The late typhoon rains had so swollen the river that any crossing appeared out of the question. Sargent sent out reconnaissance parties to locate alternate means of crossing. The parties had no success. By this time the Americans and the insurgents had been exchanging fire for two hours.

Then General Lawton became a casualty. Having just finished comforting a wounded aide, Lawton departed the makeshift field aid station. Almost immediately, the general was struck by a bullet above his heart. The dying Lawton and his wounded aide had located a fording site adjacent to the left side of the town. The tall American, still wearing his white pith helmet, sent word to that effect to Colonel Sargent. Lawton then died.
CAMPAIGN OF SAN MATEO
December 19, 1899

- Outpost line
- Route of 27th line
- Route of 1st Cav
- Route of 2nd line

HA TF - Assembly point for dismounted troops

MANILA BAY

MANILA AQUEDUCT

CALCOCO

INALONG CHURCH

NOVALICHES

MARIQUINA

SAN MATEO

MTA

MONTALBA

PASIG
Sargent ordered Companies E and G, 29th Infantry across the ford. The two units moved out, crossed the ford and struck the enemy's right flank. Almost immediately the insurgents began to withdraw. During their retreat, the enemy encountered Colonel Lockett's column coming from the northeast. This further confused and dispersed del Pilar's command. By late December 19th, San Mateo was an American position. Unknown to Colonels Sargent and Lockett the battle of San Mateo was to be the last fixed battle in northern Luzon. From December 19th forward the enemy would practice every trick available to the guerrilla. It was up to the Americans to counter such tactics.

Prior to formal entry into guerrilla warfare, the Filipinos defended the positions in western fashion. The nationalists prepared entrenchments with great care. They often spent several months constructing elaborate systems of supporting lines. The main fortification had several tiers. In well-drained terrain, the insurgents constructed trenches without parapets. In soggy areas, the Filipinos favored parapets on both sides of the defensive trench. Regardless of the terrain, however, all trenchworks appeared to have one common denominator. The Filipinos always
bult runways for retiring insurgents. The escape route would lead to a thicket, a river bottom, or a stretch of broken ground. The exit points always allowed the insurgents to escape undetected. These elaborate entrenchments disappeared as fighting reverted to guerrilla-anti-guerrilla warfare.

When the insurgents abandoned their formal defensive methods they also abandoned the formal and cumbersome western style organization. Aguinaldo allowed his remaining loyal countrymen to fight the Americans in a manner more natural to the Filipinos. Gone were the companies, battalions and divisions. The "fraction" became the cornerstone for all guerrilla units. A corporal or a sergeant commanded the fraction, each fraction theoretically having seven riflemen and two bolomen. When two or more fractions gathered together, the resulting organization was a band. The band was commanded by a junior officer. The group consisted of two or more bands and was commanded by the Jefe Guerrillero-the chief guerrilla.

Because of their new mission of annoyance and harassment, insurgent units were to avoid being taken by surprise. Surprise had to remain a guerrilla "weapon". The insurgent command placed emphasis on the use of both dismounted and mounted scouts as well as spies. These
human alarms were to keep local guerrilla commanders apprised of the Americans' movements. It also allowed the Filipinos to apply effectively the dreaded ambush.

Filipino ambush techniques were simple - in theory. The practical effectiveness of the techniques varied with each Jefe Guerrillero. In theory, the enemy scouts or spies would notify immediately the local guerrilla commander when an American convoy or troop column departed its garrison. The Jefe Guerrillero would select favorable terrain for his ambush. He next positioned his bands. One band was placed to cover the rear of the approaching American column. A second band was located so that it would engage the American leading element. Normally, the first and second bands would be placed on the same side of the Americans' route of march. A third band, should the Chief Guerrilla have that many, would take its position on the opposite flank. The triangular ambush formation permitted the insurgents self-supporting fire while at the same time engaging the entire American column. The attackers could also leap-frog their bands in either direction.

Insurgent forces received an important benefit when they switched their tactics. One of the most overworked phrases used when discussing any insurgency is: the
separation of the insurgent from his base of support - the people. Unfortunately, the trite phrase had considerable applicability to the American anti-guerrilla efforts in the Philippines. The population, either through loyalty or terrorism, provided support and cover to many guerrilla units. The Americans soon learned the difficulty of distinguishing the local merchant or farmer from the active guerrilla. The shabbily garbed native waving to an American patrol as it passed could very well be one of the men who participated in the enemy ambush the previous day. He might be a scout or the Jefe Guerrillero himself. Until the native was seen with a guerrilla group, captured during an enemy operation, or turned in by a defector, the Americans had no way of knowing where the native's loyalties rested.

As the insurgents changed their tactics, American commanders had to adjust their own operational methods. During the coming months it was rare to see more than a 20 battalion employed in a single operation. Most of the fighting began by surprise. Prior to the American adjustment, American commanders commenced operations in classic style. They concentrated their forces. They conducted
movements to contact. The field commanders deployed their forces into line formation, attempted large-scale flanking operations and encircling movements. Prior to January, 1900, each commander had a reserve force at his disposal. Brigade Commanders often designated the unit that would act as a reserve.

Even prior to the adjustment, however, published drill regulations were not rigidly followed. Drill regulations directed that company commanders prior to an attack should first order their men into a line of sections or squads, then into a line of skirmishers. Such maneuvering took time. Thus, many company commanders ordered their men to form the line of skirmishers directly from the column formation as soon as they were in range of the enemy's entrenchments. On the other hand, fire control followed the "book". Most company officers preferred the volley over the random-fire technique. Generally the junior officers used volley-by-platoons to counter the insurgents' popping up, firing their weapons, and then disappearing. Through the use of platoon volley the company commander could place continuous yet regular fire on his target. There were a few officers who disagreed
with this procedure. General Lawton, for example, felt that controlled fire reduced effectiveness. Lawton's solution was the use of continuous, rapid individual shots.

MacArthur disagreed with Lawton. Soldiers in the second division found fire discipline in accordance with the "book". General MacArthur equated volley fire directly with fire control. His troops became adept at "combing the bamboo." As late as 1902, MacArthur still believed firmly in the use of the volley. The General stated:

"In light of the American experience, the volley should not only be retained as a useful form of fire action, but it should be developed by largely increased target practice therein, to include all ranges up to two thousand yards."

James Parker, a veteran of the Philippine campaigns, reinforced MacArthur's convictions. He specified what he thought to be the appropriate times for volley fire when he stated:

"It is believed that independent fire should be permitted only in either of the following cases:

a. When the troops are all good shots and accustomed to being under fire.

b. When the circumstances of such that no failure in ammunition supply is possible."
c. At very short ranges, where deliberate aiming of a line will afford the enemy good target." 26

And under these conditions, volley fire remained the standard practice of the Americans even after the insurgents changed their tactics.

As the frequency of enemy ambushes increased, the Americans did away with the reserve, so fashionable in 1899. The company commander no longer used the company support. Concentration of forces on the battlefield became an idea of the past. Commanders at all levels had to apply immediately their operational assets to thwart the insurgents.

If they were ambushed in relatively open terrain the American units not under fire immediately deployed to the threatened unit's flanks and advanced forward. Smaller units operating in less favorable terrain learned to use the cover of darkness for extended movements. The Americans learned to avoid roads and trails. While on the move they extended their spacing one yard beyond the two-yard interval called for by the drill regulation. In open terrain, the interval between individuals increased even further. The average company began to employ an advance guard of five or six men under the command
of an experienced non-commissioned officer. The main body followed at a distance of approximately one hundred yards. A rear guard, similar in composition to the advance guard, trailed the main body by another one hundred yards.

Throughout 1899, American commanders used artillery as a "fixing force." Primarily used to hold an insurgent force in his defensive position so that advancing infantry could attack the rebels, artillery did not flourish during 1899. The role of artillery further declined in 1900. Poor road, numerous streams and rugged terrain required the Americans to operate in light, mobile formations. Artillery—even horse drawn artillery—limited mobility. As previously related, all too often artillerymen had to ford their animals while hand dragging their pieces across too narrow and too weak structures. Even the introduction of special artillery weapons proved ineffective. As the insurrection continued, artillery became primarily a defensive weapon.

American experience in the first year of the insurrection did show the need for mounted troops, however. The commander equipped with cavalry or mounted infantry could out perform the commander without such luxuries.
Mounted troops could perform long marches, yet remain fresh should they have to conduct an attack. The rains did not reduce significantly their effectiveness. Whereas the infantry suffered on the muddy roads and in the swollen rivers, the mounted soldiers negotiated these natural hindrances with relative ease. With the guerrilla war continuing, the importance of mounted soldiers increased.

Field commanders early in the insurrection learned the importance of the scout. The Americans, displaying their usual proficiency in unpreparedness, landed in Manila with very few maps and only one experienced topographer. By using scouts, the field commanders learned not only of the enemy's location but also of the terrain. Hand picked because of their frontier experience, the scouts also could develop military situations for their commanders. Unfortunately, even the American scouts had difficulty in performing their tasks. If natives were enlisted into such service the rewards would far outweigh the expense.

Originally enlisted to operate against the insurgents in their own province, the Macabebe Scouts proved exceptional soldiers. Lawton was so impressed with their services that he requested Otis to allow the scouts to accompany his force in the campaign of the fall of 1899.
Young effectively used the Macabebes during his pursuit of Aguinaldo in November-December, 1899. One of the principal advantages of employing this native force was its complete independence from normal military logistical support. The Macabebe's knowledge of the terrain placed him in further demand. While the nationalists attempted to wear down the military both in the United States and the Philippines, the advantages of using selected native organizations became more apparent. In May, 1900, the Commanding General of the Division of the Philippines issued an order authorizing the creation of the "Philippine Cavalry."

One asset that the American command did show as it entered into the "new phase" of the insurrection was its adaptability. With the enemy's organized forces dispersed from the battlefield and all important centers in northern Luzon occupied, the Americans could turn to formal pacification. Organization was important to the success of that pacification. Although Otis' recommendations for the creation of several departments within the archipelago went unanswered until mid-1900, he followed his own proposals as early as September, 1899. Basically, the
Second Division Commander was responsible for northern Luzon. The First Division Commander operated south of Manila. By March 29, 1900, when Otis received permission to establish four departments in the newly created Division of the Philippines, the American structure already existed.

Troops in the newly created Department of Northern Luzon continued -- as they had as early as January, 1900 -- their "Second Lieutenant's War." They continued garrisoning large towns and small. The number of garrisons increased between January, 1900, and September, 1900, from 122 to 413. By August 10, 1900, Wheaton (having replaced MacArthur who in early May, succeeded retiring General Otis as commander of all American forces in the Philippines) commanded nearly 25,000 soldiers. Similar to MacArthur before him, Wheaton did not confine his efforts solely to field operations. In the first five months of his command Wheaton's force constructed more than 1000 miles of wagon roads and pack trails and 1500 miles of telegraph lines. His forces organized municipal governments in each town that they occupied. By late August the command's efforts resulted in considerable damage to the rebels.
Establishing municipal governments in occupied towns did not immediately solve the problem of local insurgents, however. As long as an insurgent force remained in the proximity of an American garrisoned town, the municipal government, either voluntarily or through coercion, secretly gave the guerrillas support. The task, then, was to destroy the infrastructure. Only through the capture of an insurgent who knew members of the local shadow government or through the revelations of a "traitor" could the Americans terminate the insurrection. Recognizing this problem, MacArthur issued a proclamation of amnesty. The results garnered from this proclamation were disappointing. But the first step had been taken to induce the insurgents peacefully to lay down their arms.

As the weather deteriorated into incessant rain, the insurgents stepped up their hit-and-run tactics throughout Luzon. But the number of enemy surrenders was also on the increase. Toward the end of the rainy season a significant surrender occurred. On December 30, 1900, nearly 2200 insurrectos arrived at Santa Maria, Ilocos Sur, and denounced the rebellion. In mass they took the oath of allegiance to the United States. General
S.B.M. Young, present at the allegiance ceremony, attributed the surrender to the continued and vigorous prosecution of counter-guerrilla operations. He also felt the re-election of President McKinley played a significant role in this unprecedented surrender.

By February 12, 1901, MacArthur could wire Washington that all districts in the Department of the Northern Luzon, save one, were free of any "...formidable organized [insurgent] force...." On March 27th, Brigadier General Frederick Funston arrived in Manila with none other than Emilio Aguinaldo.

Funston, who had no formal military experience prior to the Spanish-American War, had captured the insurgent President. Accompanied by four American officers, a captured-but-willing insurgent messenger, and seventy-eight Macabebe Scouts, the general walked into Aguinaldo's camp at Palanan, Isabela Province.

Through a series of conferences, MacArthur convinced Aguinaldo to take the oath of allegiance and to issue a proclamation calling for an end of hostilities. Aguinaldo did both on April 19, 1901. The ex-insurgent's actions had almost immediate results on northern Luzon. The insurgent leaders in Abra Province surrendered on April 20th.
Ex-priest Agupay, insurgent leader in Ilocos Norte Province, surrendered on April 28th. Soon followed Generals Tinio and Mascardo. Even before Tinio's and Mascardo's surrenders, MacArthur was confident enough to wire Washington that the insurrection in the Department of the northern Luzon was ended.

American military leaders could now devote their attention to Southern Luzon and the capture of General Malvar. Major General Adna Chaffee would soon replace Arthur MacArthur as commander of the Division of the Philippines. The military governor of the islands would soon relinquish his civil authority to William Howard Taft. Even though the insurrection was over in northern Luzon, the American soldiers would continue the Philippine campaigns.
Footnotes - Chapter Five


5. Ibid.


8. Sergent, "The Action at San Mateo," 42; Spauldin, The United States Army in War and Peace, 388; LeRoy, The Americans in the Philippines, Vol. II, 157; Immediately prior to the move on San Mateo, the American forces controlled a line that did not extend beyond the Pumping Station. San Mateo, occupied by Hall's brigade in late March, 1899, would have to be recaptured, this time against formal opposition.


10. Ibid., 45-46.


16. Ibid., 498.

17. Ibid., 499.

18. Ibid., 498, 499, 507.

19. Ibid., 507.


21. *Annual Report of the War Department, Fiscal Year Ended June 30, 1899*, 56th Congress, 1st Session, Document No. 2, Vol. 1; Parts 4 and 5; Serial Set 3903, 23, 392. (hereafter this portion of the annual report will be referred to as *Annual Report, Serial Set 3902 or 3903*.)


23. Ibid., 332.

24. Ibid.


26. James Parker, "Memorandum on 'The Knell of the Volley'," Journal of the Military Service Institution of the United States, Vol. XXX (Mar, 1902), 256; Parker, "Some Random Notes on the Fighting in the Philippines," 334: The amount of ammunition expended by American troops in the field in order to gain a hit was "low". The amount varied between 100 to 300 rounds, according to the range at which the target was engaged.

27. Ibid., 329.


29. Ibid., 503-503.


31. Ibid., 335-336: Even the machineguns did not seem to accomplish that much in the way of offensive weaponry. The gunboats did on occasion use them to a degree of effectiveness. The effectiveness did, however, depend on the element of surprise. The experimental dynamite gun proved almost completely ineffective. In October, 1899, at Calamba the Americans tested a Sim's Dudley dynamite gun. The gun was aimed at the insurgents' trenches and fired three times. According to Parker, the noise was terrific. The mud and dirt flew up like a volcano. The insurgents all departed their positions. When they ran into an insurgent officer, the retreating insurgents returned to their defensive positions. The Americans fired another shot. When the noise died away the entire insurgent line got up out of their trenches and, standing in front of their trenches, took their hats off and made a low bow.

32. Ibid., 324,336.

34. John F. Bass, "Our New Possessions - the Philippines," Harper's Weekly Magazine, Vol. XLIII (Feb 4, 1899), 119: "When our expedition landed in Manila, we had no war maps and no knowledge of the country in which our campaign was to be conducted."


38. Charles D. Rhodes, "Utilization of Native Troops in Our Foreign Possession," Journal of the Military Service Institution of the United States, Vol. XXX (Jan, 1902), 7: "It is thus quite clear that a force of native troops can march from one end of Luzon to the other and not be compelled to call upon staff departments for a single article of food, transportation, or equipage."

39. Ibid., 9-12; Adjutant General, U.S. Army, Correspondence, Vol. II, 1197: As early as August 7, 1900, General MacArthur could not recommend an increase in the number of native scouts then in the services of the United States. Those that were serving the Americans had been selected because of their "loyalty" to the United States. At that time and under the conditions, MacArthur felt that he could not recommend a further increased. However, by June, 1901, MacArthur was asking the War Department permission to extend the services of the native scouts under the Volunteer Act of March, 1899. MacArthur further recommended that any Volunteer Officer that was so inclined should be allowed to join the scout organization as a commander. He further declared that the services of the scouts were indespensible. Within three days Washington approved his recommendations. On June 16, 1901, the Secretary of War directed the American
commander in the Philippines to continue the services of the "Philippine Cavalry" and other scout organizations under further notice. They were no longer to be paid out the insular funds. Rather, they were to be paid by the funds authorized to the active army under congressional approval.


41. Ibid., 1154.

42. Spauldin; The United States Army in War and Peace, 388.

43. LeRoy, The Americans in the Philippines, Vol. II, 210-217: LeRoy points out that from December 1, 1899, to April 6, 1900, MacArthur's "divisional" outposts in northern Luzon had increased from 35 stations to 117 stations. The complete number of garrisons in the islands by the end of March, 1900, exceeded 500. LeRoy further explains that the 3,400 rifles captured in northern Luzon between April and July, 1900, were captured one to thirty at a time by the small scouting parties that operated out of the numerous outposts.

44. Adjutant General, Division of the Philippines, Annual Report of Major General Arthur MacArthur, Commanding, Division of the Philippines, Headquarters Department of Northern Luzon, Major General Loyd Wheaton, Commanding, chart between pages 56 and 57: In the six districts under Wheaton's command there were the: 3d, 12th, 13th, 16th, 19th, 22d, 24th, 25th, 27th, 32d, 34th, 35th, 41st, and 49th Infantry; Battery D, 6th Artillery; Troop H, 4th Cavalry; and the Squadron of Philippine Cavalry.


47. Ibid., 11.


49. Ibid., 1232.

50. Ibid., 1253.


52. Adjutant General, U.S. Army, Correspondence, Vol. II 1262-1263; The account rendered MacArthur is probably the simplest. Other accounts either demean Funston for trickery or unduly praise him for heroic action. The simple truth appears to be that Funston saw an opportunity, convinced his superiors of possible success, and completed his mission.


54. Ibid., 1273.

55. Ibid., 1286, 1287.
American military involvement in the Philippines did not end with Aguinaldo's capture. The American army had to capture or destroy other important insurgent leaders before stamping out the insurrection. Field commanders had to crush the rising banditry that characterized the general situation after 1901. The command in Manila increased the number of Filipinos serving in the Philippine Cavalry to aid the field commanders. The American Civil Governor of the Philippines organized the Philippine Constabulary, a paramilitary national police force, to assist in the pacification of the islands.

As the United States extended its control over the island group, the experience the army gained while campaigning on Luzon became increasingly important. As contested areas were pacified, they passed from American military control to American civil control. In those areas no longer contested, local elections took place. New schools opened. By the end of 1901, 1000 American educators were teaching the natives in the Philippines.

Still, military operations continued. Numerous bands of bandits harassed the population and the many American
garrisons. Playing on the natural superstitions of the Filipinos stimulated by the plague, crop failures, and incomprehensible deaths of the carabaos, the bandits extorted and killed many civilians and soldiers. In northern Luzon, the American army and its native troops searched out such people as: Felipe Salvador who as a self-proclaimed prophet operated from a secret base on Mount Arayat for nearly ten years after Aguinaldo's surrender; Ruperto Rios who proclaimed himself to be the Son of Good and terrorized the countryside until his capture in 1903; and Marcario Sakay, a self-appointed President of the Philippine Republic. There were many motivators for these men who posed a threat to peace. A few of the "outlaws" felt strongly about complete independence. A majority of the bandit leaders, however, sought nothing more than personal power.

Although the American army was unprepared at the beginning of the Spanish-American War, it adjusted to the necessity of long campaigning and ever-increasing small-unit actions. The senior leadership -- Elwell Otis, Henry Lawton, Arthur MacArthur, and Loyd Wheaton to mention a few -- contributed to the army's eventual success. When called upon by their superiors, the company grade officers responded with enthusiasm. Many junior officers received
increasing amounts of responsibility and authority.

American army organization underwent several changes between 1898 and 1905. The Spanish-American War and the Philippine Insurrection caused the Secretary of War to lobby for a reorganized senior staff. Formal and progressive training became a reality. Regimental organizations were finally fixed. The regiments and their battalions received additional staff assistants. Battalions and Squadrions, in the past varying from two or more companies, became fixed at four companies with sequential letter designators.

The United States' experience in imperialism resulted in a small proficient regular force. Senior commanders learned responsibility while the junior officers learned independent action. The Philippines provided an extremely important training ground for American military participation in future events.
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