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A Recruit in the Philippines: A Firsthand Perspective of American Imperialism

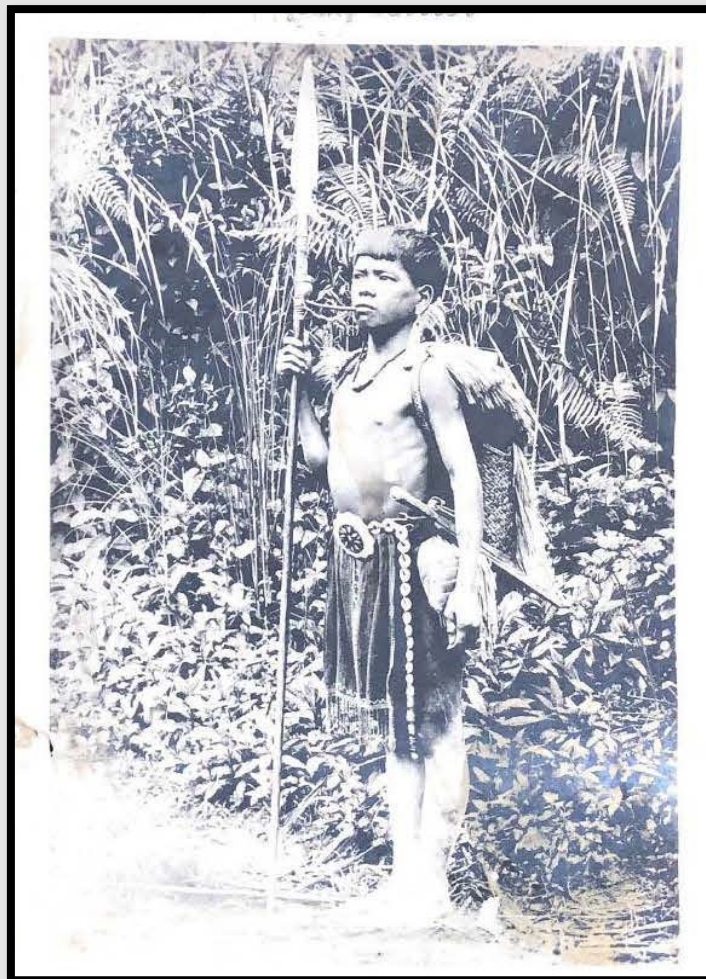


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Message from the Editor

As a follow up to the last edition, Will Reaves has written a new article about Grover C. Graham, who was the commander at Camp Robinson during WWII. Graham's family donated a second scrapbook that covers his earlier military career before he came to Camp Robinson in the late 1930s. COL Graham's military career began when he enlisted in the Army from Arkansas during the first decade of the 20th century. Reaves looks at Graham's time in the Philippines when he was a young, raw private. Reaves also analyses the photographs from the Philippines Private Graham included in his scrapbook.

In his featured artifact article, COL Matthew Anderson provides insight about the Caliber .45, M3A1, also known as the Grease Gun. The Arkansas National Guard has one on display. In addition, this issue of the *Arkansas Military History Journal* includes several photos of soldiers training on the ranges during WWII. Although these photos do not show training with the M3A1, they still provide a glimpse of firearm training at Camp Robinson as young men prepared for combat.

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Photo from COL Grover C. Graham's Scrapbook
Collection, photo details page 14.

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A Recruit in the Philippines: A Firsthand Perspective of American Imperialism

By Will Reaves¹

Imperialism can be tricky to define. History professor Harrison Wright has stated that, “It is commonplace that historians have no generally accepted definition of the term, ‘Imperialism.’” In recent years, each user of the term has defined it as he/she has pleased or not defined it at all. Some have even used it in a variety of ways in the same work. The result has been a sort of “semantic chaos.”² Though Wright makes his statement in a derogatory fashion, it is still best to define in some way what imperialism is for the purposes of this essay. So, in keeping with the tradition of self-definition, I assert that imperialism is the dominance of one political state over another. The reasoning is often rooted in the need for economic resources. While imperialism often utilizes military force, it does not necessarily require it. Economic dominance and pressure from the markets of one nation onto another constitutes imperialism.

In our contemporary time, the term imperialism has been and continues to be deconstructed. Though this seems to be done mostly by poststructuralists within academia, this reexamination of history and the destruction of culture and agency for people groups across the globe has crossed over to the public sector in many ways. A few examples include the ongoing decolonization of museums and works of literature by nonwestern authors such as Jamaica Kincaid.³ I will not get into these topics in any detail in this paper, nor do I offer an in-depth analysis of western imperialism and the negative effects of this history on people across the globe. Entire books and dissertations have already beaten me to the punch on that account, and I doubt there is enough space available for that in a single journal article. Rather, this paper puts forward a different form of scholarship: an analysis of photographs taken between 1909 and 1911 that give direct insight into what imperialism looked like in the Philippines. A few of these photographs were taken by an American soldier stationed on the island of Leyte, while others are reproductions of other photographs. These photographs, some of which have never been published, act as an incredible insight into a period in military history that has, for the most part, been overlooked in the public consciousness. Though perhaps unorthodox, this paper has several components. On one hand, it is a written analysis of American imperialism via the Philippine-American War. On the other hand, it is a narrative telling of Private Grover Graham’s experience while stationed in the Philippines and his time in the military before his arrival to Camp Downes. Finally, it is also a photographic essay looking at the visuals that soldiers like Pvt. Graham saw. It is important to note that this piece is not a condemnation of

¹ Will Reaves is a graduate student in the Heritage Studies Program at Arkansas State University.

² Harrison Wright, “Imperialism: The Word and its Meaning” *Social Research* 34, no. 4 (1967): 660–74. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/40970749>.

³ Examples of decolonization in museums are the returning of artifacts and items of cultural importance to people from which these items were originally taken. “Smithsonian Returns 29 Benin Bronzes to the National Commission for Museums and Monuments in Nigeria” October 11, 2022, <https://www.si.edu/newsdesk/releases/smithsonian-returns-29-benin-bronzes-national-commission-museums-and-monuments>; and “The story of Nigeria’s stolen Benin Bronzes, and the London museum returning them” September 17, 2022, <https://www.nationalgeographic.com/travel/article/nigeria-stolen-benin-bronzes-london-museum>; For a specific postcolonial work by Jamaica Kincaid, read *A Small Place* (New York: Farrar, Straus, Giroux) 1988.

those soldiers who served during conflicts of imperialism. These soldiers were simply following orders given to them. However, we must not erase history by overlooking sections of our past that are now harshly judged.

The photographs in this article arrived at the Arkansas National Guard Museum by way of a scrapbook belonging to Colonel Grover C. Graham. Keeping meticulous records of his military career, Col. Graham created two distinct scrapbooks of his service. One of these scrapbooks detailed his career as the head of the Arkansas Civilian Conservation Corps during the Great Depression and then the Commander of Camp Robinson during World War Two.⁴ The other scrapbook focused on his early career in the military, starting with him leaving home to work as a mail carrier when he was sixteen and ending with him being stationed in Jacksonville, Florida prior to his appointment to the CCC.⁵ It is this older scrapbook from which the content of this piece derives. Thankfully for researchers, Graham left his own typed out recollections and interpretations of events documented in the scrapbooks. Because of these recollections, we can get into the mind of Graham himself, a valuable primary source.

Born in the Faulkner County, Arkansas community of Cascade Springs, now known as Naylor, on November 25, 1887, Grover Cleveland Graham came from a farming background. "I have broken in many young colts with their first bridle and saddle. I have ridden young steers and even had them in teams. I have driven many times, in my youth, horse and buggy," stated Graham.⁶ As a teenager, he started working as a mail carrier, though his dream was to play professional baseball. He eventually left his hometown and went to Little Rock where he was the "Assistant to the Chief Clerk" of the master mechanic at Argenta. Of this job he said, "I was never certain as to my duties and responsibilities. I practiced baseball most every day and, occasionally, acted as a messenger to pick up small packages for the master mechanic in Argenta. I liked my job very much but felt I wasn't earning my salary. One day I summoned up courage to inquire of the "Chief Clerk" what I could do to help him more. He said, "Just keep out of my way." I learned later that he didn't like baseball players."⁷

Eventually, Graham decided to leave his baseball aspirations behind and join the Army. He wrote, "During the period I was employed as the assistant to the Chief Clerk and playing baseball, I learned that I was good enough for semi-professional baseball in the city leagues and the sort but not nearly good enough to ever become a professional because of my general physique and general physical strength etc. I then decided that my second choice - - to become a soldier, had a greater appeal to me."⁸

He enlisted in Little Rock at the Old Recruiting Office on the second floor at the corner of Main and Markham Streets.⁹ He had to obtain his parents' consent to enlist, which apparently took some convincing, but within a day of getting the consent he was sent by train to Jefferson

⁴ For more information on this scrapbook, see Volume 17 No. 2 of the Arkansas Military History Journal, or for an entirely digitized version of this scrapbook, visit, <https://arngmuseum.com/journal-archives/>.

⁵ In Jacksonville, Graham served in the Organized Reserves of the Fourth Corps Area. COL Grover C. Graham, Scrapbook, Arkansas National Guard Museum.

⁶ Graham, Scrapbook.

⁷ Ibid.

⁸ Ibid

⁹ Ibid

Barracks in St. Louis on March 14, 1908.¹⁰ When he arrived at the barracks, Graham had some difficulty with the results of his medical inspection. “Later in the morning, I was escorted to the hospital for examination and was told that I was underweight (5ft 11 inches tall, weight 130 lbs.). I had to wait for several days until a waiver was received by the Adjutant General of the Army authorizing my enlistment. On final examination I was told that my tonsils would have to be removed. This was an unheard of for me, and I was scared to death for fear I might die on the operating table. However, for some reason unknown to me, the operation never took place.”¹¹

Graham also recalls that military clothing was an adjustment for him. “It took me about an hour to put on the uniform and button all the buttons and lace all the laces- shoe laces, legging laces and laces on the lower part of the breeches - - -laces, laces, buttons, buttons, ever so many of both. Every lace had to be laced and every button had to be buttoned. On sound of first call by the bugler, we were told that we had ten minutes to dress and get out into the outside formation. On that first morning it took us more than 45 minutes to dress in uniform with all the laces and all the buttons.”¹²

However, the biggest adjustment for Graham was not the clothing, but the language used by officers. After the verbal chewing received from the officers for being late, Graham became unsure of his decision to join the Army. He recalled, “Here we began to learn that corporals and sergeants used a meaningful language all their own - - - a beginning of a new life to me - - a new life with no home environments- - no feminine touch - - - a new language, simple, unrefined, and spoken in terms that all could understand - - -. I began to wonder whether I really wanted to be a soldier. I had taken the Oath for a three-year enlistment and that, now, seemed to be a mighty long time in the future.”¹³

After completing enlistment at Jefferson Barracks, Graham was sent for training at Fort Sam Houston in San Antonio. He arrived at his post in Texas and was assigned to Company I, 9th Infantry as the only recruit. He was trained by a drill sergeant named Mike Rooney, who Graham described as a, “... a very grouchy Irishman whom I later learned to know as the ‘typical drill sergeant’ of the old army.”¹⁴

Aside from dealing with a grumpy drill sergeant, Graham also recalled a great deal of loneliness and isolation at Fort Sam Houston. He wrote, “I was the youngest in the company and the only recruit. I had no close associations with the other soldiers in the company because of my youth and the main fact that I was ‘just a young recruit’ - - - I felt the isolation very keenly, at the beginning, but realized there was nothing I could do about it.”¹⁵ However, not all his time at

¹⁰ Ibid

¹¹ Ibid

¹² Ibid

¹³ Ibid.

¹⁴ Ibid.

¹⁵ Ibid.

Fort Sam Houston was negative. Graham did list out some historic achievements during his time in Texas.



The first military photograph of Grover Graham. Taken while at Fort Sam Houston in San Antonio, 1909.

Some of the high points of my first years of military service at Fort Sam Houston, including more than 200 miles of practice marches through the dry alkali dust on the plains of Texas to Leon Springs for target practice including range firing where I qualified as “Sharpshooter” which gave me three dollars extra monthly pay, marching from Fort Sam Houston, through the gumbo mud to Dallas, Texas where we gave demonstrations of “Butts- Manuel”, Parades, and Wall Scaling at the State Fair. I was a member of the wall scaling team which established the World's Record of 65 men scaling a twelve-foot wall in one minute and twenty seconds, which was carried in the Worlds Almanac for many years. I was selected to be a member of the Bodyguard for the late President Taft’s tour through Texas when he visited in the year of 1908, including El Paso and San Antonio where he dedicated the new army Chapel at Fort Sam Houston.

During the fall of the year 1908, the Wright Brothers were experimenting in the development of the first airplane on the old Polo Field just north of Fort Sam Houston. When the framework of the first plane was completed, a request was made for 100 volunteer soldiers from Fort Sam Houston to help in getting the plane off the ground. I was one of the volunteers. We attached a five-hundred-foot rope to the plane and with an automobile driven by 1st Lieutenant Leonard, and the hundred soldiers, distributed at intervals along the rope, we pulled the plane with (the) pilot off the ground to a height of approximately one hundred feet. This was one the earliest experiments, if not the first one of record- We called it a ‘big kite with a goofy man in it’, little did we know that this was to go down in history as a test and the beginning of modern development of the airplane of today.’¹⁶

In 1909, the 9th Infantry was transferred to Camp Downes near Ormoc on the Philippine Island of Leyte. Before proceeding further into the story of Graham’s early career in the Army, a summary of the New Imperialism of the 19th Century and the Philippine-American War is needed for context. The term ‘New Imperialism’ refers specifically to the era of imperialism to come from the late 19th and Early 20th Centuries. What separates New Imperialism from the former era is the verboseness in the total number of cultures and peoples that were affected by the actions of Imperialistic nations. Historical movements do not happen in a vacuum, and to understand how and why this came to be, one must consider the effects of the Industrial Revolution. One of the many ways in which the Industrial Revolution changed the world is through advancements in military and transportation technologies enabling Western nations to exert control over cultures without mechanization with far greater ease. Industrialization also inherently created a demand to control places of natural resources so that resources from these places could be used in Western cultures. Philosophies of the New Imperialism such as Social Darwinism, rooted in racism and jingoism, justified the decimation of groups of people in the eyes of Western citizenry.

¹⁶ Ibid.

As for the United States' involvement in this period of imperialism, look at the example found in the Philippines. Starting in 1896, a Filipino revolutionary group called the Katipunan rebelled against the Spanish Colonizers who ruled the islands for the previous 300 years. Though the Katipunan managed some military successes in the field against the Spanish, tensions briefly subsided with the Pact of Biak-na-Bato on December 14, 1897, between the Spanish and the Katipunan. In exchange for money, leaders of the revolution left the Philippines. This peace, however, was short-lived. Across the globe, another of Spain's colonies, Cuba, was also rebelling. Sent to protect American interests on the island, the USS Maine exploded in Havana Harbor, killing $\frac{3}{4}$ of her crew on February 15, 1898. The cause was not known, though the American press was quick to blame the Spanish government and sensationalize the event. For years leading up to the explosion of the Maine, public opinion in the United States supported Cuban attempts at revolution.¹⁷ The Maine incident was ultimately the straw that broke the camel's back, and the United States declared war on Spain. On April 21, 1898, the Spanish-American War began. In the Pacific, the Philippine Revolution resumed with Spain distracted and ultimately weakened by war with the United States. Leaders of the Revolution broke the Pact of Biak-na-Bato and returned to their homeland, aided by American ships, and resumed fighting the Spanish. During this time, the Philippines officially declared their independence on June 12, 1898. However, when the Spanish-American War ended with the Treaty of Paris on December 10, 1898, the United States annexed the Philippines and did not recognize Filipino independence. On the decision to annex the Philippines, President William McKinley said,

When next I realized that the Philippines had dropped into our laps, I confess I did not know what to do with them. I sought counsel from all sides-Democrats as well as Republicans-but got little help. I thought first we would take only Manila; then Luzon; then other islands, perhaps, also. I walked the floor of the White House night after night until midnight; and I am not ashamed to tell you, gentlemen, that I went down on my knees and prayed to Almighty God for light and guidance more than one night. And one night late it came to me this way-I don't know how it was, but it came:

(1) That we could not give them back to Spain-that would be cowardly and dishonorable.

(2) That we could not turn them over to France or Germany, our commercial rivals in the Orient-that would be bad business and discreditable.

(3) That we could not leave them to themselves-they were unfit for self-government, and they would soon have anarchy and misrule worse than Spain's was; and

¹⁷ William Randolph Hearst, famed newspaper publisher of the day, apparently responded to a letter from artist Frederick Remington complaining of lack of war with Spain, with, "You furnish the pictures, and I'll furnish the war". This example goes to show that American media was inherently biased towards supporting war with Spain. Nick Kapur "William McKinley's Values and the Origins of the Spanish-American War: A Reinterpretation." *Presidential Studies Quarterly* 41, no. 1 (2011): 18-38. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/23884754>.

*(4) That there was nothing left for us to do but to take them all, and to educate the Filipinos, and uplift and civilize and Christianize them and by God's grace do the very best we could by them, as our fellow men for whom Christ also died.*¹⁸

Within this quote, we see the Imperialist ideas of the “White Man's Burden” on full display-¹⁹ the jingoistic notion that non-western nations had not advanced past barbarism, and thus were unable to govern themselves. Furthermore, Western governments considered it their responsibility to enable mission-based operations of the conversion of people to Christianity. Never mind the fact that in the Philippines, Catholicism had already been established on the islands via 300 years of Spanish Colonization.

American troops in the Philippines faced stiff resistance from those same rebel groups they had previously helped to defeat the Spanish. The first major engagement of the Philippine-American War started in what became known as the Battle of Manila on February 4-5, 1899. In 1902, the United States declared the war ended, having captured the leader of the insurgency, Emilio Aguinaldo. However, fighting with various rebel groups continued well into the 1910s.²⁰ Such was the situation that Private Graham and the rest of the 9th Infantry went into in 1909.

After leaving from San Francisco, the next stop made by the 9th Infantry was Hawaii, where Graham got his first taste of the tropics. “We traveled on for a few hours and then Diamond Head, on the Island of Oahu and near the city of Honolulu where we docked for three days’ rest and recreation... My first sight of palms, coco-nut trees with real coconuts, banana trees with real bananas, tropical flowers and plants of all types and description. Diamond Head standing as a monument, the remains of a large mountain destroyed by volcano. The young boys diving to the bottom of the sea for coin thrown into the water by us from the transport. Another landscape and physical part of foreign geography was being unfolded to me.”²¹

The next island they arrived at after leaving Oahu was Guam, which Graham remarks that “... nothing of eventful nature took place except the sight of great schools of flying fish.”²² After dropping off supplies in Guam, the 9th Infantry continued to the Philippines. The regiment was split up into three battalions, two of which were stationed on the Island of Cebu, the other in Camp Downes on the Island of Leyte. Private Graham was a part of the latter group. “This Island station was 450 miles south of Manila and, almost completely isolated from the outside world. The mail and supplies were delivered by inter island transport from Manila only once every

¹⁸ General James Rusling, “Interview with President William McKinley,” *The Christian Advocate* 22 January 1903, 17.

¹⁹ The term ‘White Man's Burden’ itself originated as a response to the Philippine-American War. Rudyard Kipling, perhaps most famous today for writing *The Jungle Book*, wrote a poem called *The White Man's Burden* in 1899 for the Diamond Jubilee of Queen Victoria. In this poem, he praises the United States for ‘civilizing’ the Philippines.

²⁰ The last recorded engagement of this kind was the Battle of Bud Bagsak on June 13, 1913.

²¹ Graham, Scrapbook.

²² Ibid.

forty-five days. Thus, we only received our mail from the United States once in forty-five days.”²³

From 1909 to 1911, Private Graham was stationed at Camp Downes. During this time, another soldier in his battalion who went by the name Jeter happened to also be a photographer and set up his own photographic studio. Here, he took photos of Ormac, the camp, and the native people that the men at Camp Downes encountered.

In these never-before-seen photographs, imperialism, and native culture meet. These photos have a clear historic value as a primary source, but also have value from a cultural anthropology perspective, as they document native people and lands before the Westernization and modernization of the islands. The remainder of this essay will utilize both the photographs from Jeter's Studio as well as Graham's own recollection to explore the 9th Infantry's time in Leyte.

In his recollections of his time in the Philippines, Graham embodied some language common of the time of imperialism in describing foreign cultures. For example, when he reached San Francisco for his discharge from the Army, he said, “... it was good to be back into civilization,” as if to say the Philippines were inherently backwards.²⁴ To be fair, Leyte was a far cry from the rural Arkansas setting of which grew up. “Our surroundings were completely tropical - - - including large coconut groves, banana groves, coffee groves, hemp plantations, rice plantations, all forms of sugar production plants, rubber trees, bread fruit trees and many other tropical growths too numerous to mention.”²⁵ One aspect of being stationed on Leyte that stuck out to Graham was race. He noted, “Besides the 500 officers and soldiers in our battalion, there were less than ten white people on the entire island.”²⁶ In keeping with a common, westernized perspective of the times, Graham referred to the people of Leyte as “Our Brown Neighbors.”



Image of native Filipinos taking a bath in a river. Graham notes that these individuals happened to have clothing. COL. Grover Graham Scrapbook. Arkansas National Guard Museum.

²³ Ibid

²⁴ Ibid

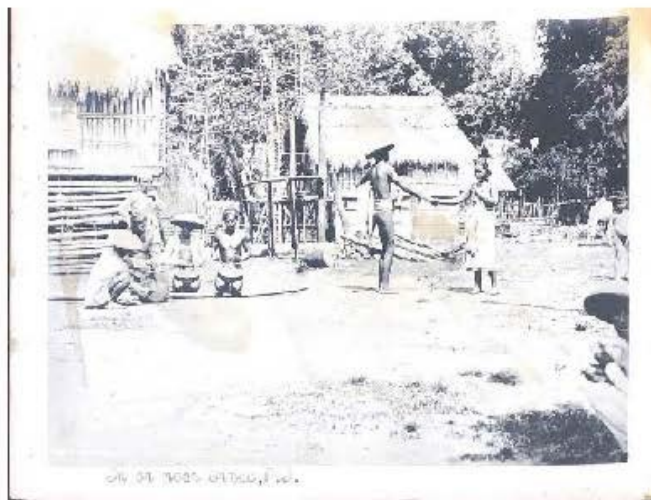
²⁵ Ibid

²⁶ Ibid



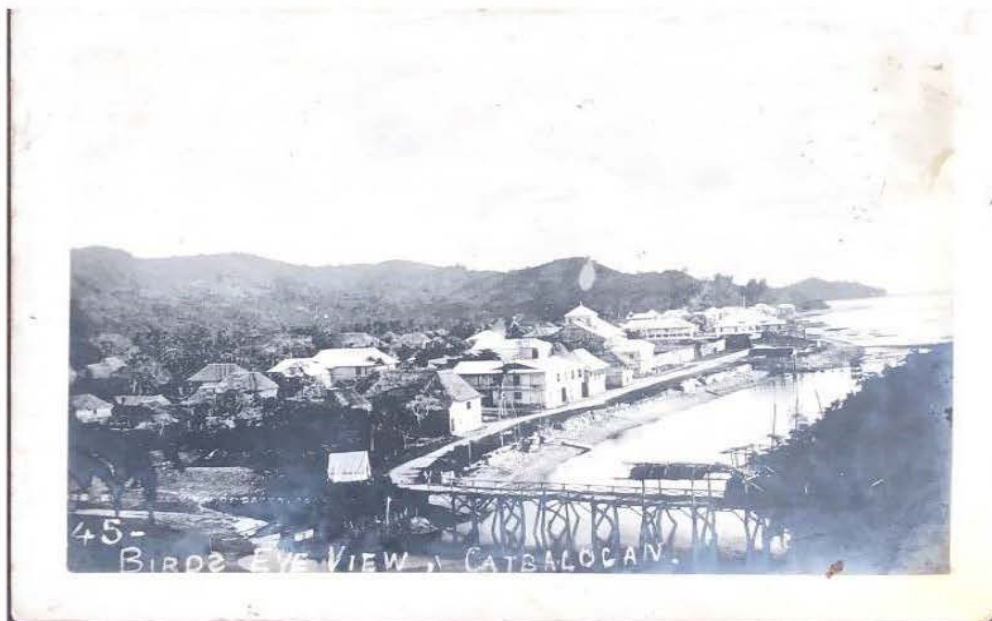
Graham notes that the all-purpose animal in the Philippines was the water buffalo, commonly called the Caraboo. COL. Graham Scrapbook. Arkansas National Guard Museum.

Everything from native agricultural practices to transportation to toiletries are recorded in these photographs.



Aspects of intangible cultural heritage are present in these photographs. One of which is traditional Filipino dance. COL. Graham Scrapbook. Arkansas National Guard Museum.

One way in which imperialism is seen in these photographs is in the way native architecture clashes with western buildings in the town of Ormac. He even notices that the dry docks and trestle for narrow gauge railway is reserved for western enterprises.



Notice that the building in the background is owned by someone with British connections, while the workers are native Filipinos. Pictures like these demonstrate the power dynamics of labor and economics in places subjugated by imperialism. COL. Grover Graham Scrapbook. Arkansas National Guard Museum.



This picture shows Jeter's Studio after a storm. This soldier with the name Jeter was a photographer and took many of these pictures during his down time.



While his battalion did not seem to have any issues or conflicts with natives, they were not necessarily trustful of them either, saying, “The natives were friendly but could not be trusted entirely or rather explicitly.”²⁷ The most interaction soldiers seemed to have with natives dealt with chickens; buying them for food and attending cock fights. However, lack of conflict with natives did not extend to the entire 9th Infantry. Graham references an attack on Company C, stationed at Camp Connel on the island of Samar. Graham recalls that 56 soldiers were killed and 6 escaped, and that the attack was made to get arms for a tribe of rebels.²⁸ More than likely, the attack that Graham is referencing is the Balangiga Massacre, which happened eight years before in 1901. Though Graham states that the reason for this attack was due to gathering arms, other sources claim that the reason for the massacre originated with the men of the 9th Infantry chopping down vegetation used for food by locals in an effort to clean up the town for the arrival of the Army’s inspector general.²⁹ On the morning of September 28, a group of townspeople armed mostly with *bolos*, small swords common in traditional Filipino culture, attacked the mess tent where the majority of the American force was eating breakfast unarmed, as well as a parish house where the officers were. Though Graham states that 56 individuals were killed, the actual number ranges. Major Frederick J. Combe, Chief Surgeon first district department of the Visayas, reported:

²⁷ Ibid.

²⁸ Ibid.

²⁹ Rolando Borrinaga, ["The Balangiga Conflict: Its Causes, Impact and Meaning"](#).

The following estimates of our losses I believe to be correct: the strength of command at Balangiga, September 28, was three officers, seventy enlisted of Company C, 9th Infantry, and one private of the hospital corps, a total of seventy-four. They are accounted for as follows: killed and buried at Balangiga, three officers and twenty-nine enlisted men; killed on beach, bodies not recovered, three; escaped to Bassey, twenty-six, escaped to Tanauan, two; found by second relief expedition, one hospital corps private and two charred bodies unrecognizable; picked up by relief expedition, two; total accounted for twenty-eight, missing six. The missing were unquestionably killed in the barracks and the building subsequently burned. Of the twenty-six that reached Bassey four have died, making our total loss through death, and missing forty-eight. There are only twenty-six survivors of the original command. Several of these are wounded, some very severely.³⁰



An image of Camo Connel, the site of the Balangiga Massacre.

In examining newspapers reporting on the Balangiga Massacre, the portrayal of Filipinos as barbarians and cannibals are very apparent.³¹ This image largely did go away by the time Graham arrived in the Philippines. However, even greater focus than cannibalism for Graham was the practice of headhunting. "Headhunters were found in the mountains of northern Luzon. The Iguaroto was hostile to the American troops. Their religion is "The more heads cut off the more glory after death."³² He is correct in that the Igorot, or Cordilleran People of the northern highlands of Luzon were the primary group responsible for headhunting in the Philippines up until the practice was suppressed during American colonial rule.³³ While Graham does include authentic pictures of headhunters of the Philippines in the scrapbook, due to their graphic and disturbing content, those are not being included in this article.

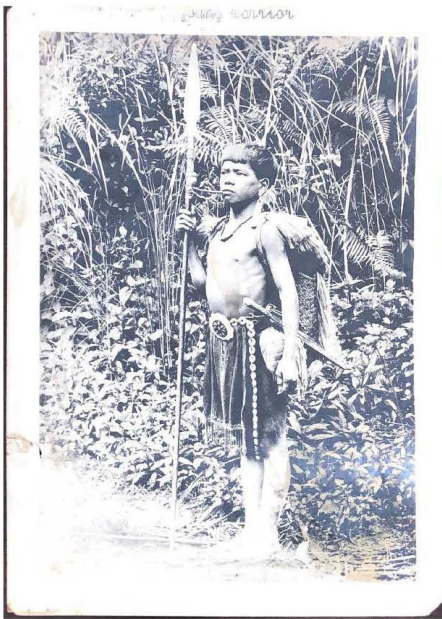
³⁰ *Evening star*. 12 Dec. 1901.

³¹ *Ibid*

³² Graham, Scrapbook.

³³ Dean Worcester "The Non-Christian Tribes of Northern Luzon" *The Philippine Journal of Science*, October 1906.

However, he does include a picture of native hunters and a young warrior in the traditional garb of native Filipinos along with pictures of headhunters, so that is what is shown here.



For the men stationed at Camp Downes, however, natural phenomena proved to be more deadly than the people they encountered. Typhoon season was from June to October, and during the three years Graham was stationed there, they were hit twice. “The first year, 1909, the typhoon was severe but did not destroy our barracks. The second year 1910, our barracks were destroyed with not a single building left standing. We always knew several hours in advance of its arrival as the weather bureau was in the adjacent city of Ormoc and kept us posted on its directional trend. In the fury of this typhoon, most of us received injury of one form or other but no fatalities. I received a long cut on my shin, about six inches long but I never knew when it happened or how it happened to this day. Several hours after the severe part of the typhoon had passed, I felt a stinging sensation on my shin and unwrapped my legging to see what it was. I found the cut but couldn’t recall how or when it occurred.”³⁴ Graham also writes a little bit on earthquakes felt in the region, though they seemed to be so commonplace and did little damage, so he does not spend a great deal of time writing on them.



Ormoc. The large building towards the center is the U.S. Weather Bureau.

³⁴ Graham, Scrapbook.

Graham writes that the temperature stood around 90 degrees year-round. Thus, staying hydrated was of paramount importance, yet all water consumed by American soldiers had to be boiled and treated at the pump house, and there was no way of cooling down. "... for two years I had no drinking water except just lukewarm. I think I missed a cold drink of water more than anything else."³⁵ Water flowing from local streams was cold, yet there was punishment to be had for any soldier caught drinking it. "...the water was polluted, and it was a court-martial offense and a \$5.00 fine for anyone caught drinking as the streams, with its pollution, carried all forms of serious illness. One soldier died with cholera as a direct result of his drinking water from a nearby stream."³⁶

Though drinking water was an annoyance for Graham and the rest of the troops at Camp Downes, plenty of it came down from the sky for three months. "Torrents upon torrents of rain, beyond imagination, fell with no let-up. Not even an hour of the day or night - - - just constant sheets of rain. When the skies are clear, at night, the stars seem as big as basket balls and hand as a solid uniform mass over the skies. The(y) are so bright you can read a newspaper by star light."³⁷

Camp life consisted of drilling from 7:00-8:00 AM and then finding recreational activities to do for the rest of the day. Graham writes that during his time in the Philippines, some of the older soldiers who previously saw him as "just a young recruit" started to become more friendly with him. He recalls that he grew very close with three other soldiers and that they spent a great deal together playing blackjack and poker. Reading newspapers and writing home to families and friends back in the states was available but sparsely so due to the slow nature of crossing the ocean. "We soon learned to know the approximate date of arrival of the inter-island mail and supply boat and the site of smoke from the transport far out over the horizon was the most welcome sight as we knew it would bring our mail and news from our homeland. The library subscriptions to newspapers include the Manila News, New Times (Sunday edition), Chicago Tribune, and the St. Louis Globe. All weekly accumulations over the forty-five-day period arrived in the same mail. Likewise, all the letter(s) that had been written. It took several days to catch up on our reading."³⁸ Hiking in the mountains was also recorded by Graham, and playing with monkeys on trails seems to have been a great amusement to Graham. "We watched the antics of wild monkeys and played tricks on them to watch their reaction. If we ran from them, like being scared, they would chase us, if we charged at them, they would turn and run the other way making all sorts of noises and screams."

While cards, reading, and hiking passed the time on the island, the two most popular forms of passing the time were swimming in the sea and playing baseball. On swimming, he said, "We spent a great deal of our time swimming in Ormoc Bay. We swam in groups of two or more and it was nothing unusual to swim out three or four miles from shore. We learned that the dog faced shark infesting the waters were perfectly harmless, as well as the large tuna and dolphin. It was nothing unusual to swim into a school of these large species. We were required to carry along with us, a large hunting knife issued to us and carried in our belts, just in case of need to defend ourselves. However, no harm ever came to any of

³⁵ Ibid.

³⁶ Ibid.

³⁷ Ibid.

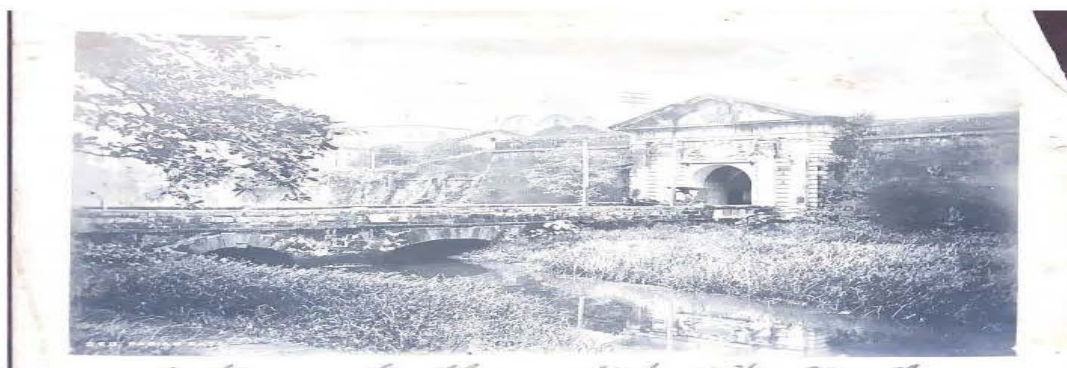
³⁸ Ibid.

us, and we felt entirely safe on our swimming expeditions. Our favorite pass-time was catching seahorses.”³⁹

Given his background, Graham wrote extensively about playing baseball with the rest of the men of the regiment. In fact, he describes pitching the winning championship game amongst other companies in the South Philippines as the, “...height of my glory and accomplishments, up to this time, as a soldier.” and that “The team picked me up on their shoulders and carried me to the barracks.”⁴⁰ However, this glory soon turned to gloom. “... my spirits were completely ruined upon (the) arrival of my old ‘rookie drill sergeant’ who was the coach of my team. He came in and cussed me in every kind of language he could think of. It was the worst ever.”⁴¹ The reasoning for this was because Rooney called him to walk the batter, the best on the opposing team. This was going to make the bases loaded with the game on the line, yet Graham was going to have a better chance of striking out the next batter. Refusing the orders of a superior and coach, he pitched three straight strikes over the plate and struck out the batter. The coach said he would rather lose than win the game by a “freak of luck.”⁴²

After his three years of service, it was time for Graham to go back home to be discharged. The vessel that was carrying him home had not made it very far when it encountered major difficulty. Mt. Mayon, a stratovolcano on Luzon, erupted, killing around 300 people, and causing the sea to become extremely rough. Furthermore, the ship was caught in the tail end of a typhoon. Locked below deck, Graham says, “Nothing ever happened in my life, before or since, so sickening and so horrible to live through.”⁴³

The next stop on the way was Manila, where they were docked for three days. During that time, Graham got to see a different, urban side of the Philippines. Pictures that he has of Manila clearly show Western influences via Catholic churches and ceremonies. Imperialistic influences are also noticeable in a park resembling those found in western cultures as well as technology such as power lines. However, during this time, not all Filipino culture was destroyed by outside influence in Manila. One picture shows Filipino musicians playing with traditional bamboo instruments.



The entrance to Manila. COL. Graham Scrapbook. Arkansas National Guard Museum.

³⁹ Ibid.

⁴⁰ Ibid.

⁴¹ Ibid.

⁴² Ibid.

⁴³ Ibid.





A burial ceremony in Manila. COL. Graham Scrapbook. Arkansas National Guard Museum.

On March 8, 1911, Graham arrived back in the states. So ended his experience in the Philippines. He was discharged on March 18, but he did not return to civilian life for long. Missing the Army life he had grown to appreciate, he reenlisted at Jefferson Barracks and was assigned to the 22nd Infantry at Fort Sam Houston. During his service in the 22nd, he was deployed to the Mexican Border for the Punitive Expedition and was deployed to France during World War One as a First Lieutenant with the 308th Infantry. While in France, he was promoted to Captain and organized the first Regimental Personnel Section of the American Expeditionary Force.⁴⁴ After the war, he was stationed at Fort Jay on Governors Island in New York Harbor, Fort McPherson in Georgia, and Camp McClellan in Alabama.⁴⁵

In 1927, history seemed to repeat itself for now Captain Graham. Once again, he was pulling into Honolulu on a military assignment, assuming command of the Service Company at Schofield Barracks on Oahu. "To my wife, Ruby and our daughter Ruby, the arrival at port and seeing the young native boys dive to the bottom of the ocean for pennies or nickels thrown into the waters by the passengers was of great interest and curiosity. To me it recalled the time some eighteen years before, when I had arrived on the transport enroute to the Philippines and had leave for three days on the Island and in Honolulu. It was far beyond a dream come true that the passing of time would bring me back to this port with a wife and

⁴⁴ Among the items in the scrapbook detailing the famed Lost Battalion, which came from his regiment. Ibid.

⁴⁵ During his time at Fort Jay, Graham served as bodyguard to the Prince of Wales during his first visit to the United States of America. Ibid.

two daughters.”⁴⁶ It seems that despite seeing war up close in France, the years had still treated Grover Graham well since he was last in the Pacific.

Yet time has not been good to all people and those who have been subject to loss of agency and autonomy due to imperialism. There is now a major push for decolonizing in the public sphere, and this idea is especially prominent in the field of history. The photographs presented in Col. Graham’s scrapbook and now in this article hint at what this looked like firsthand, and the written recollections of Col Graham give an insight into the minds of those on the frontline of imperialism.

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⁴⁶ Ibid.

Featured Artifact: U.S. Submachine Gun, Caliber .45, M3A1

By Colonel Matthew W. Anderson



With the War spreading rapidly in Europe and Asia in 1940, the US Army Ordnance Department took note of the advances in manufacturing and weapons technology in other nations. They began the process to evaluate American arms to determine what could be done to ensure America could rapidly and efficiently meet the production demands necessary to achieve victory in the coming world war.

One category of weapons that were being used to great effect was the submachine gun. Germany had developed the MP38 which was a compact folding stock automatic, firing 9mm pistol ammunition from a 30 round detachable box magazine. It had milled parts and was superseded by the MP40, which was produced with a combination of stamped and milled parts that reduced cost and increased the speed of production. The British developed their own submachine gun called the STEN and with the STEN Mark III was able to mass produce an even cheaper predominantly stamped metal weapon with only the bolt and barrel being milled without sacrificing reliability and accuracy. America had its own submachine developed at the end of WWI the iconic, accurate and reliable M1928 Thompson SMG. In the short term, the Thompson SMG would be refined as much as possible to reduce cost and production time with the development of the M1 and M1A1 variants, but it was clear that there were limits in what could be done.

The Ordnance Department, Chief of Small Arms Research and Development, Colonel Rene R. Studler, received a directive to proceed with the development of an improved submachine gun. Several submachine guns from various nations were acquired for test and evaluation to include the German MP40, British STEN and the Australian Owen Carbine. These were compared to the Thompson SMG and results were used to develop a requirements list which was published on 6 February 1941. The criteria were for it to be sturdy, inexpensive, rapidly manufactured, easily disassembled for cleaning, could not use critical wartime materials, chambered for .45 cal ammunition, cyclic rate of fire not to exceed 500 rounds per minute, able to select either semi-

auto or full auto and finally hit a six foot square target 90 out of 100 times when fired from the standing position at 50 yards.

George J. Hyde was selected to design a weapon that would meet specifications then collaborate with Frederick W. Sampson, Chief Engineer, Inland Division of General Motors Corporation to incorporate design refinements that would simplify manufacturing processes and speed up production.

The first prototype was the T15. This was further refined and simplified when it was determined that select fire was not necessary since the slow rate of fire would allow an operator to fire single shot from the full auto position with some practice. The auto only prototype was the T20.

Except for the bolt and barrel which were required to be milled, all other parts were pressed or stamped from sheet metal. Spot welding was used to assemble the frame/receiver/pistol grip together giving it a cheap, crude appearance. With the stock extended it measured 29.8 inches and with the wire stock stored it was a compact 22.8 inches. Empty it weighed 8.2 lbs. With a 30-round magazine it weighed 9.9 lbs. Rate of fire 450 rounds per minute. Sights were fixed at 100 yards. The bolt was a solid block of steel with a fixed firing pin milled into the face. The bolt travelled fore and aft on two guide rods with springs allowing the bolt to move freely without touching the stamped metal sides. This reduced friction/heat and allowed it to continue to function even when dirty. The M3 operated from the open bolt and was put on safe by simply closing the dust cover.

In November 1942, service trials under simulated combat conditions were conducted on five T20s at Aberdeen Proving Grounds with representatives from the Infantry Board, Airborne Command, and the Armored Forces Board evaluating the performance. The results were very positive, which prompted the Ordnance Department to recommend adoption as the U.S. Submachine Gun, Caliber .45, M3 on 24 December 1942.

On 11 January 1943, the M3 was officially approved, and a contract was awarded to Guide Lamp Division of General Motors Corporation of Anderson, Indiana for 300,000 units. Guide Lamp normally produced headlights for vehicles. however, wartime production required manufacturers to retool as needed to produce arms. Guide Lamp had just concluded the manufacture of one million FP-45 Liberator Pistols that were delivered to resistance forces around the world. They now used their experience to produce the M3.

By May 1943, the first M3s began to come off the production line. However, the first 20,000 were rejected by inspectors when it was discovered that there were warped and misaligned frames/receivers due to spot welders applying too much heat during the assembly of the stamped metal parts. Even so, by the end of 1943, 85,130 M3s were delivered. Cost of an M3 came to \$20.94, which was less than half the cost of an M1A1 Thompson SMG at \$45.00 each. This resulted in the War Department considering the M3 as a disposable weapon which meant that there would not be additional orders for parts to repair and maintain the M3s in inventory as was done with other arms. In theory, if an M3 became unserviceable it would simply be turned in and went through the disposal process and a new one would be issued.

The first M3s were delivered to the 82nd and 101st Airborne Divisions in time for Operation OVERLORD the invasion of Normandy on 6 June 1944. After action reports on the M3 were mixed with some still preferring the hefty, durable, and reliable Thompson SMG while others commenting positively about the M3s light weight, and compact size, which allowed it to be stowed on the person to be readily available to put into operation even before getting on the ground if necessary. Issues began to be reported up when the crank type charging handle was found to be poorly constructed and would break off if dropped or banged hard rendering it impossible to load the weapon. Another issue was that the magazine was found to be difficult to load a full 30 rounds especially in the cold and tended to jam when a small amount of dirt found its way inside. Finally, the magazine release was too loose, allowing the magazine to fall out at times.

Despite the guidance to turn in and replace unserviceable weapons, there was often not a ready supply of replacements, so Ordnance units improvised to keep them running by welding on better charging handles. For the magazine release, a ball peen hammer was rapped against the release to reduce the clearance and gain a firm fitting. The Ordnance Department took note of these issues and rapidly fielded a magazine loading tool and plastic protective covers to address the magazine issues.

By mid-1944, stateside Army and Marine units training for combat began to receive and train with the new M3. It continued to receive mixed reviews. During this time the M3 also began to be called by many names but the one that stuck was “The Grease Gun” since it looked somewhat like the grease gun tools commonly used on military vehicles at the time. Sherman Tanks began to be equipped with as many as five M3s to provide local security. Very few M3s made it to the Pacific Theater being mainly used by tank crews and Navy Beach Raiding Parties. France, Russia, and Chinese Nationalists also received several M3s as part of the Lend Lease program. By the end of 1944 343,372 M3s were delivered.

Having taken note of the issues with the M3 in combat, several refinements were made to the M3 such as adding a tab to the wire stock that would aid in loading rounds quickly in a magazine. One tube on the wire stock was threaded to accept a wire bore brush. The oiler that was a separate metal tube attached to the side of the M3 was replaced with an oiler that was incorporated into the pistol grip. A guard was added around the magazine release button to prevent accidental release. To fix the problem of the hand crank charging handle, which would often break, the bolt was redesigned to have a large hole machined into it that allowed for the operator to insert a finger to pull the bolt back. The stamped receiver was also modified with a slot in line with the ejection port to allow for the bolt to be pulled rearward with a finger. The rear sight was reinforced, and the dust cover was enlarged to cover the slot and changed to improve the safety feature to prevent slam fires. These changes were officially approved on 21 December 1944, and incorporated into the M3A1.

An Army Combat Observations Report dated February 5, 1945, detailed what small-unit leaders in the 99th Infantry Division thought of their new close-combat firearm: “The M3 Submachine Gun is the best weapon we use for patrolling. It can be put into action quickly, and at short ranges is accurate and powerful.” Staff Sergeant J. W. Logan, serving with Co. D, 101st Infantry

Regiment, 26th Infantry Division, went on to suggest that each “machine-gun squad leader should carry a submachine gun rather than the M1 rifle.”

By the end of 1945 178,192 M3s and 15,469 M3A1s were delivered. Total production of M3s and M3A1s came to 622,163. After the war, M3s remaining in inventory were modified to meet the M3A1 specifications.

With the outbreak of the Korean War, another contract for 70,000 M3A1s was awarded to Ithaca Gun Company. Ithaca also produced repair parts to keep existing stock in serviceable condition. Production did not begin until 1955 so production was cancelled after only 33,227 M3A1s had been manufactured.

In 1957, the M3A1 was withdrawn from general service but continued to be used by armored vehicle crews and special forces units through Vietnam and Desert Storm.

Of note, when Delta Force was formed in 1977, suppressed M3A1s were included in the units' inventory due to the common use of .45 ACP with the M1911A1s and the compact size for close quarters combat. Delta Force used Suppressed M3A1s on Operation Eagle Claw in Iran in 1980.

The M3 and M3A1 marked a shift in thinking for American arms designers, manufacturers, the Ordnance Department and Soldiers from finely crafted forged and milled steel and wood requiring highly skilled labor, time consuming processes, and exacting tolerances to pressed and stamped parts that could be assembled and spot welded in 1.4 minutes. The need for large quantities to be made quickly available at an affordable cost while still providing an accurate and reliable submachine gun drove many to look for solutions beyond what was considered accepted standards in small arms at the time. While America was not the lead in this transformational shift, it certainly produced in the M3A1 a rugged and reliable submachine gun that served in many parts of the world for 60 years and influenced the design and manufacturing of small arms for many decades.



M3A1 could be fired with the wire stock retracted as showed above or extended as shown below. To move the wire stock the operator only needs to push the button/locking pin in on the upper part of the pistol grip.





This appears to be an M3 that was converted to M3A1 at some point. One indicator is the serial number range the other is the guard around the magazine release is placed on the magazine well over the make and model stamp.



The spring clip holds the screw on barrel nut in place. If this spring is damaged it is possible to fire enough rounds to cause the barrel nut to unscrew and fall off. Capt. Jan Patronek a Company Commander in the 101st in Vietnam described being on a patrol where they were ambushed. While laying down fire with a Grease Gun to cover the withdraw, he found his gun stopped functioning and the barrel laying on the berm in front of him.



Sticking out of the pistol grip is the screw on oil brush partially removed. Inside is a compartment where oil is stored.



With the dust cover in the closed position even with the bolt to the rear, the weapon was rendered safe. There was no other safety selector. The dust cover would not open or allow the weapon to fire at the press of the trigger.



Once the dust cover was opened the operator could reach in and insert their finger into the hole in the bolt and pull it aft to lock the bolt to the rear. The Grease Gun would be ready to fire. (Bolt not shown)



The flash hider originally designated as T-34, was a prototype during World War II. It was put into production in the early 1950s and standardized as the Hider, Flash, M9.

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WWII Ranges at Camp Robinson

To prepare for combat, soldiers during World War II, trained with firearms at the ranges at Camp Robinson. Marksmanship was an important element in a soldier's training. These photos show some of that training on Post. *Ranges photos are from the National Archives Collection.*



LEFT: Photo shows the firing line of the first day of range firing by the 66th Battalion, 14th Training Regiment. Camp Robinson, Arkansas.

February 23, 1942.

RIGHT: The first day of firing on practice firing range No. 10 by three-week old recruits in the 66th Battalion, 14th Training Regiment. Despite the rain and mud, the men were willing to endure it to prime their marksmanship and speed up their training. Col. James P. Gomner is in charge. Camp Robinson, Arkansas.

February 23, 1942.





TOP LEFT: Soldiers of Co. B., 72nd Battalion, 5th Training Regiment, Camp Robinson, Arkansas, at rapid fire with .30 caliber rifle. Scorers and telephone operators in foreground.

March 27, 1942

CENTER RIGHT: General view showing the waiting line and firing line with men firing and coaches instructing. Men of the B. Co., 63rd Battalion, 13th Regiment. Camp Robinson, Arkansas.

March 5, 1942



BOTTOM LEFT: At hunched position are Pvt. Willard R. Carstans, rifleman, being coached by Pvt. Francis J. Panlissan on range, Camp Robinson, Arkansas. Both are from Kankakee, Ill. And are of Co. D., 63rd Training Battalion.

May 6, 1942

TOP RIGHT: Members of Co. A, 55th Training Battalion, 12th Regiment at Camp Robinson, Arkansas, practicing 'triangulation' or shot group exercise.

Left to Right: Pvt. Ralph F. Stone, Kankakee, Ill; John V. Roedier, Collinsville, Ill., Pvt. Thomas Velisarie, East Moline, Ill., Pvt. Constant J. Shipley, Chicago, Ill., and Sgt. Charles H. Parks, Klamath Falls, Oregon.

March 5, 1942



CENTER LEFT: Pvt. Wilber L. Porter, Mound City, Mo. Coached by Pvt. Charles W. Pevestorff, Higginsville, Mo., demonstrates the standing position, one of the four basic stances assigned by rifleman, Co. D. 63rd Battalion 13th Regiment.

March 6, 1942

BOTTOM RIGHT: Photo shows the new auxiliary Antiaircraft range prepared by Plans and Training Section of the 14th Regiment, Branch Immaterial Replacement Training Center (BIRTC), Camp Joseph T. Robinson, Arkansas, under the supervision of Capt. J. J. Stovall, who is shown directing classes in protection against enemy aircraft.

August 2, 1942



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