

ABSTRACT

The Philippine Scouts and the Practice of Counter-Insurgency in the Philippine-American War, 1899-1913

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More than one-hundred years ago, the United States fought a counter-insurgency campaign in the Philippines similar to those currently being waged in Iraq and Afghanistan. Winning against a guerrilla opponent has been a challenging goal that requires allies from the population. Success in the Philippines demanded the U.S. Army develop methods of warfare now considered basic to modern counter-insurgency. How the Philippine Scouts' applied these methods will be explored in this thesis. The Scouts comprised the first host-nation security force the United States formed to conduct counter-insurgency operations. The Scouts' success in achieving security permitted the United States to gain control of the archipelago. The actions of the Philippine Scouts brought not only combat victories, but also insured political, social, and economic progress under a civil government. This type of progress, in a modern counter-insurgency scenario, allows the United States to transfer all governance and security responsibility to a host-nation.

The Philippine Scouts and the Practice of Counter-Insurgency
in the Philippine-American War, 1899-1913

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CONTENTS

Introduction	1
Origins of War	5
Philippine Scouts-Beginning and Evolution	16
Clear, Hold, Build	34
Walking the Beat-Military/Civil Police Combined Action	65
Special Operations-Manhunt	87
Conclusion	99
Primary Source Bibliography	105
Secondary Source Bibliography	106

CHAPTER ONE

Introduction

Warfare is a grave concern to any nation. The United States is currently engaged in a struggle against insurgencies in Iraq and Afghanistan. There its forces confront guerrillas and terrorists in a war without frontlines, and that occurs within the civilian population. The United States did not desire or prepare for that type of war but a guerilla war has occurred. Unlike conventional war, insurgency is asymmetrical. A nation or non-state entity like Al-Qaida, encountering an opponent greater in number or capability, neutralizes their opponents' strengths by using non-conventional means of warfare. Al-Qaida-in-Iraq and the Taliban in Afghanistan have managed to fight technologically and materially superior U.S. troops to a stalemate. They have done so using guerrilla tactics that stressed ambush, small-scale combat, hit-and-run attacks, melting into the environment, and gaining the support or acquiescence of the civilian populations by persuasion or terrorism. In fighting against an insurgency, a military force must gain the support of the civilian population. That requires the embracing of counter-insurgency as the major means for the United States to achieve victory.

The *U.S. Army Field Manual No. 3-24* defines counter-insurgency as the “military, paramilitary, political, economic, psychological, and civic actions taken by a government to defeat insurgency”.¹ One of the Army’s most vital actions as a counter-insurgent force involves the creation of a host-nation security forces. For Iraq and

¹John A. Nagl, David H. Petraeus, James F. Amos, and Sarah Sewall, eds., *The U.S. Army/Marine Corps Counterinsurgency Field Manual*. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2006), 2.

Afghanistan counter-insurgency requires their governments to support militaries and police loyal to those governments, thereby ensuring security and stability and fighting their respective insurgencies. Ultimately, a capable HSNF force will allow the U.S. can pull out of a theater of operations in whole or in part. Developing and sustaining a host-nation security force requires an amicable relationship with a native population whose citizens can be persuaded to serve under or along-side a foreign army. They must be convinced that their self-interests and the self-interests of the United States might coincide in a mutually beneficial relationship. This task is not a new one for the U.S. military. More than one-hundred years ago, the United States fought a counter-insurgency campaign in the Philippines islands, the Philippine-American War. That campaign grew out of the earlier Spanish-American War and lasted from 1899-1913. The Army's operations there bore many similarities to its current operations in the Middle East and Central Asia. One of the most important was the creation of a native military organization that fought in support of the United States. That organization was known as the Philippine Scouts.

The Scouts were Filipinos armed and trained by U.S. forces to fight as auxiliaries against their fellow countrymen who were conducting an insurgency for independence from U.S. colonization. Scouts fought as supporting units with U.S. troops and were led by Army officers. They served as combat soldiers, as guides assisting American troop movements, and as spies gathering intelligence on local insurgent groups. They knew the terrain and the people as well as the enemy did and used the same guerrilla tactics. Their service proved invaluable in defeating and securing colonial control of the Philippines by the United States. The Philippine Scouts were stationed and fought on virtually every populated island against diverse enemies. They first clashed on Luzon in 1899 with the

Tagalog-dominated insurgents of the Philippine Republic led by Emilio Aguinaldo. They struggled against the Pulajanes revolting on Samar in the first years of the 20th Century. The Scouts concluded their first decade-and-a half of service in 1913 battling their most daunting opponents, the Moros of the Islamic southern Philippines. Meanwhile they fought ladrones (bandits) alongside U.S.-trained native police serving in a paramilitary role.

All of the Scouts eagerly volunteered for service with the United States. Those who served and helped defeat the Filipino insurgency viewed their service as a means of protecting their communities and their way of life. The Scouts lived in a fractured and factionalized society with hostile neighbors who sought to purchase or coerce their loyalty. If Scouts fell captive to insurgents they were often tortured and summarily executed. The war in the Philippines was never a simple tale of the oppressor versus the oppressed. Instead, the multitude of Filipino ethnic, tribal, and linguistic communities vied for advantage and protection from one another and the fortunes of war determined whether they sided with the United States or the insurgency.

The United States won the Philippine-American War by 1913 by understanding and exploiting these divisions among their insurgent enemy. The creation and utilization of the Philippine Scouts as a HNSF force was a crucial part of that process. Success in the Philippines demanded the U.S. Army create and develop methods of warfare that are considered basic to modern counter-insurgency which include Logical Lines of Operations, Clear-Hold-Build, Military/Civil Police Combined Action, and Special Operations.

How the Scouts' applied these methods will be explored as part of this thesis.

Their performance as counter-insurgents will also be compared to their modern

counterparts in Iraq and Afghanistan. The Philippine Scouts operated in type of war where their achievements were not solely decisive. They were part of a progression where their success in pacification permitted the United States to gain political control of the archipelago.

The assumption of political control then allowed for the establishment of elected local and provincial governments, economic expansion, greater educational opportunities, and infrastructural improvements that eventually won the support and loyalty of the civilian population, if not its affection. Winning against an insurgency has always been a challenging goal that requires allies from within the population. The formation and application of a host-nation security force such as the Philippine Scouts, in a counter-insurgency scenario, is not only vital for combat success, but also insures political, social, and economic success. Ultimately, such success allows the United States to transfer all responsibility for governance and population security to the host-nation.

CHAPTER TWO

Origins of War

For more than three-hundred years, from the 16th to the end of the 19th century, Spain ruled the Philippines. Spain's only colony in the Pacific or Asia, the islands were governed by clergy of the state-run Catholic Church. Called friars by the Filipinos, the clergy was organized in a hierarchical structure. The secular clergy, the pastors, were Filipino. Their superiors were the regular clergy, either members of religious orders like monks and friars, or they served in high offices as bishops or archbishops. The regular clergy were Spaniards or were born of Spanish parentage in the Philippines. Parish churches served as provincial capitals in many instances, and the regular clergy ran the territories' administrations.¹

Near the conclusion of the 19th century, the regular clergy owned the most prosperous agricultural estates in the archipelago, especially in the Tagalog regions of southern and central Luzon. The vast majority of Filipinos, clergy and non-clergy, could never hope to own similar holdings, or even possess more miniscule properties. Instead, they were reduced to being tenant farmers at risk of eviction if rents were not paid. Tagalog elites like Apolinario Mabini, angry at what they perceived as land-grabbing by theft and fraud supported by a corrupt Spanish government, petitioned for redress while encouraging tenant farmers to disrupt the estate operations of their landlords.²

¹John R. M. Taylor, *The Philippine Insurrection against the United States: A Compilation of Documents with Notes and Introduction, Vol. 1* (Pasay City, Philippines: Eugenio Lopez Foundation, 1971), 31-7.

²*Ibid.*, 57-58

Tagalog opposition to Spanish rule soon became nationalistic as they represented the demographic majority on Luzon, the largest and most populated island in the Philippines. Jose Rizal, arguably the intellectual father of Philippine nationalism, wrote against the excesses of the regular clergy and formed the La Liga Filipina (Philippine League). The League advocated for political freedom peaceably underground since it was an illegal organization under Spanish law. However, others argued for a violent solution to Spanish colonialism. In 1892, Andres Bonifacio formed a secret society with four initial members, modeled on the Free Masons, that he named the Katipunan (Most High, Most Venerable Society of the Sons of the People).³

The Katipunan's founders saw their secret society as an embryo for formenting rebellion. The group soon took the form of a secret government with Bonifacio at the head of the Supreme Council. The Council, in turn, organized cells in the provinces that recruited members, gathered weapons, and distributed propaganda. By the summer of 1896, the Supreme Council ordered the Katipunan to prepare an assassination campaign targeting Spanish political officials and the Spanish population at large.⁴ With the outbreak of rebellion later in the year, the Katipunan became the nucleus of the Filipino resistance against Spain and later the United States.

Bonifacio created the Katipunan, but leadership of the revolt he unleashed at Balintawak was soon assumed by a 27-year-old Tagalog named Emilio Aguinaldo. Fighting broke out in the Tagalog provinces around the capital of Manila in late August 1896. Spanish troops and their native levies faced attacks by the Katipunan, with the Filipinos losing the majority of engagements. Despite the reverses, the ranks of the

³ Augusto de Viana, *The I Stories: The Events in the Philippine Revolution and the Filipino-American War as Told by Its Eyewitnesses and Participants* (Manila, Spain: University of Santo Tomas Publishing House, 2006), 20-22.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 22, 58-9

Katipunan swelled with deserting native troops and civilians armed merely with bolo knives or crude spears. Aguinaldo then waged a protracted guerilla war that convinced the Spanish to agree to a truce in mid-December 1897. Under the terms of the agreement, Aguinaldo and his lieutenants were sent into exile to Hong Kong, and all weapons they had acquired had to be turned over to Spanish authorities. In return, the Spanish paid Aguinaldo 600,000 pesos.⁵

Aguinaldo used his stay in Hong Kong to buy more arms and to form a junta to launch another rebellion. By April of 1898, Aguinaldo was back in the Philippines with the assistance of the United States. The United States declared war against Spain on the issue of Cuba in that month. The Filipino revolt now became a part of the larger struggle that was the Spanish-American War. With the goal of resuming Filipino rebellion, Aguinaldo planned to establish a constitutional republic and declared himself a dictator as a temporary expedient due to the state of war. The Tagalog towns and villages surrounding Manila soon fell to the Filipino rebels. The capital underwent a state of siege. Spanish troops in the city were blockaded on land by Aguinaldo and by sea from the American fleet under Admiral Dewey.⁶

With Spanish colonial rule of the Philippines all but ended, Aguinaldo declared independence on June 12, 1898. Two weeks later, he was named President of the Philippine Republic aided by a cabinet with Mabini as chief adviser. A legislative assembly called the Revolutionary Congress acted as the peoples' representatives.⁷

⁵Ely D. Somera, "The Philippine Scouts: Their Early Organization and History, 1899-1903" (Master's thesis, University of San Francisco, 1959), 12-17.

⁶*Ibid.*, 19-22.

⁷*Ibid.*, 27.

The Philippine independence movement appeared poised to seize Manila and end the Spanish colonial regime. However, the credit for the victory against the Spanish must go to the United States. After Dewey's victory against the Spanish fleet in Manila Bay in April, the United States landed a 12, 500-man force under General Wesley Merritt before Manila in support of the Filipino rebels. The force was also there to restore law and order to the islands after the revolt ended, though U.S. President William McKinley did not stipulate exactly how. To begin the effort, General Merritt and the Manila garrison commander agreed to a surrender of the Spanish forces which excluded Filipino involvement. Aguinaldo was not consulted as to the terms of surrender and his troops were not allowed to enter the capital.⁸

Having achieved victory against the Spanish in the Philippines, the United States had to settle the future status of the archipelago. The country was politically divided over the questions of expansion and annexation, with Republicans and Democrats generally taking up imperialist and anti-imperialist causes respectively. President McKinley had some paternalistic motivations for eventually annexing the islands. However, his chief reasons for doing so were strategic. European powers such as Great Britain and Germany and the rising nation of Japan had established colonies and naval bases throughout the Pacific and Asia. China, the economic prize of these imperial expansions, already saw its territories being divided and its sovereignty threatened.⁹

The Philippines, in the eyes of the McKinley administration, was a potential target for the colonial powers. Aguinaldo had the loyalty of the Tagalog population on Luzon, but the United States did not believe the ethnic and tribal groups of the other islands

⁸Max Boot, *The Savage Wars of Peace: Small Wars and the Rise of American Power* (New York: Basic Books, 2002), 104.

⁹*Ibid.*, 105.

would follow suit. Also, there were doubts that Aguinaldo could provide political stability or create a military strong enough to rebuff imperial advances. McKinley decided annexation was the logical policy for his country to pursue. Spain and the United States signed the Treaty of Paris ending their war in December 1898. Under the treaty's terms, the United States acquired the Philippines for the price of \$20 million.¹⁰

After annexation, the U.S. forces in Manila and the Filipino insurgents in its environs co-existed in a mutually tense and uneasy peace. That peace broke asunder in February 1899. American troops overran Filipino entrenchments, seizing Manila's suburbs. But the harsh climate prevented further offensive action until the fall. General Ewell Otis, who succeeded General Merritt as commander of U.S. troops, launched a triple offensive thrust into northern Luzon to take the island and encircle and capture Aguinaldo's army. Otis's operations were successful in seizing territory. The Filipino army, after the offensive, no longer possessed the strength necessary to fight a conventional war. However, the second goal of his plan proved unsuccessful. The ground commanders failed to close off Aguinaldo's escape routes through the mountain passes running down central Luzon. In a suicidal stand atop Tila Pass on December 2, 1899, referred to as the "Filipino Thermopylae," sixty men under Filipino general Gregorio del Pilar held out against an entire battalion of Americans for more than two hours before being annihilated. By sacrificing their lives, the Filipino defenders permitted Aguinaldo's escape and guaranteed that the war, now the Philippine-American War, continued.¹¹

¹⁰*Ibid.*, 105-6.

¹¹*Ibid.*, 111.

The destruction of the Filipino insurgents' conventional military structure, with Aguinaldo as sole commander-in-chief of the country's armed forces, resulted in regional warlords assuming greater control of local units. Commanders such as General Vicente Lukban on the island of Samar and General Ambrosio Moxica on Leyte became responsible for maintaining troops, supplies, communications, and departmental organizations as the U.S. military increased its control of the islands. The commanders had to perform these duties without the ability to keep a set location to direct operations. They learned to work in mobile headquarters a step ahead of American troop patrols. Contact with Aguinaldo became very difficult in this environment, so the warlords also had to assume a political as well as military leadership and build their power by persuasion and compromise like politicians.¹²

Local commanders revamped their forces to fight a guerrilla war. Units of the regular, rebel, army were reformed into formations of approximately 120 men, equally divided between soldiers equipped with rifles and those outfitted with bolos, large knives with the same size and function as machetes. The regular army defended a commander's strongpoints in a specific region or controlled towns and villages from which a commander operated the bulk of the forces. A second military organization, the militia, was filled with men drafted from the civilian population. Equipped mostly with bolos, the militia operated from the towns where its members resided. They were tasked with the roles of defending these towns and securing the insurgents' shadow governments, put in place by the local commanders. Also, the militia evolved into the insurgents' state-

¹²Brian McAllister Linn, *The Philippine-American War, 1899-1902* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2000), 186.

sponsored terrorism units employed to assassinate collaborators and strike fear into the rest.¹³

For Aguinaldo, the switch from conventional to guerrilla war, meant a change of doctrine. Unable to achieve a decisive victory on a set battlefield, the rebel commander-in-chief instead wanted to wear down the resolve of the U.S. forces the commanders and the individual soldiers. The United States, if his strategy proved successful, had to then acknowledge it could not exert control over the population because the cost in men, material, and treasure rose to prohibitive rates. The failure of military force against a guerrilla war seemingly undeniable, the U.S. had to consider seeking political accommodations that would result in an independent Philippines. Aguinaldo's commanders instructed lower insurgent leaders to fight well-prepared hit-and-run operations emphasizing surprise and mobility. He judged small reconnaissance patrols and supply convoys as the best targets for ambush due to their small size and their vulnerability as they moved from secured areas manned by larger units. If insurgent leaders were attacked by larger American units, they were instructed to prepare strong defenses in their areas of operations. U.S. forces assaulting these defenses suffered unavoidable casualties. In addition, the preparation of stout fortifications allowed for swift withdrawal by the Filipino defenders, keeping the guerrilla force in tact.¹⁴

Along with ambush, insurgents laid booby traps to frustrate U.S. troop movements and cut telegraph lines deny effective communications between outposts in the various towns of a province. Shunning military uniforms, insurgents resided in

¹³*Ibid.*, 187.

¹⁴U.S. Department of War, Philippines. Military Governor, *Annual Report of Major General Arthur MacArthur, U.S. Volunteers, Commanding Division of Philippines, Military Governor in Philippine Islands, Vol. I* (Manila, 1902), Appendix I, 14-21.

American held towns as civilians, using their cover to gather intelligence and to stockpile and hide weapons. Large groups of insurgents, usually no more than 50 men, attacked isolated garrisons. Using hit-and run tactics, they raked the positions with bursts of gunfire before retreating quickly into the surrounding countryside. While the attacks did not result in heavy casualties, they did, in conjunction with other activities, make the job of U.S. forces to pacify an area far more difficult than otherwise.¹⁵

Aguinaldo believed political accommodations from the United States might be forthcoming if American voters elected an anti-imperialist Democrat as president to succeed Republican McKinley in the 1900 election. The anti-war movement in the United States allied itself to the Democratic Party with William Jennings Bryan its standard-bearer. The Filipino insurgency failed to change the political landscape in Washington. But, it did succeed in changing the military guard in Manila. General Ewell Otis, leader of U.S. forces since late 1898 and the architect of the victorious campaign of the fall of 1899, resigned in the spring of 1900 disappointed over his failure to stem the now widespread insurgency.¹⁶ The United States found that taking territory did not mean that the population ceased cooperation with their compatriots in arms. The guerrilla war in the provinces proved daunting to a U.S. military unprepared to fight it. But the war of ambush was not the totality of the Filipino effort against the United States. The Filipino insurgency realized that the civilian population was the key to continuing the war.

To maintain a war effort against an enemy occupying its territories and resources, the Filipinos developed parallel, or shadow, governments to counter American efforts to establish friendly municipal governments in the islands' towns and villages. The governments grew out of the initial cooperation between civilians and guerrillas as U.S.

¹⁵Linn, *Philippine War*, 188-90.

¹⁶Boot, *The Savage Wars of Peace*, 113-14.

forces came to occupy the municipalities. Civilians shared intelligence on troop movements, hid weapons caches, gave food and money to insurgents, and spread propaganda and disinformation. Steadily, local guerrilla leaders brought these activities under their respective leaderships in the form of shadow governments.¹⁷

Operating clandestinely, the secret political organizations established departments to collect taxes to pay for the purchase of the weapons and supplies the guerrillas required. Along with raising revenues, the governments recruited and conscripted men for the units, commandeered transportation for military purposes, and created judicial systems. The judicial systems served dual purposes. First, they competed with the United States in establishing law and order and punishing individuals for crimes such as murder or banditry. However, the bandits, or *ladrones*, possessed vital skills in covert warfare, and the insurgent leaders from Aguinaldo on down often had an uneasy relationship with them. Second, the structures of justice served as the legal means to punish Filipinos collaborating, or accused of collaborating, with the Americans.¹⁸

As an example of a shadow government in action, the insurgent government on the island of Panay procured taxes through the political leadership of the villages. The leader of a town, the *presidente*, acted as a revenue agent for the island's guerrilla overlord Martin Delgado. The *presidente* raised the funds from levies on cultural functions like funerals or on products deemed luxury goods. In addition, the *presidente*, along with the rest of the city fathers, bought war bonds with their own money. Refusal to such things meant a death sentence.¹⁹

¹⁷Linn, *Philippine War*, 191-93.

¹⁸*Ibid.*

¹⁹*Ibid.*, 246.

Under Delgado, the guerrilla leaders of Panay, so-called “chiefs of zones,” controlled the judicial system and dispensed verdicts for offenses against military and civilian ordinances. Filipinos accused of collaboration were brought before a military court-martial. Offenders of the civil law faced trial by a court presided over by the zone chiefs and the guerrilla leader General Leandro Fullon.²⁰

Modern examples of the use of shadow governments by insurgencies exist today in Iraq and Afghanistan. In Iraq, Al-Qaida and Sunni insurgent allies ran entire towns supposedly under the formal control of the United States or the Iraqi government. And, as in the Philippines, the insurgents in Iraq used terrorism as their main method to maintain control.

A collaborator, or americanista as the insurgents called him, lived in an atmosphere of unchecked intimidation and violence. As American military and civil authorities gained native support for their rule through policies of “benevolent assimilation,” guerrilla leaders reacted brutally to put a stop to their enemies’ momentum. Americanistas became targets of torture and murder. Many times U.S. troops on patrols came upon the mutilated bodies of collaborators. Pantaleon Garcia, a guerrilla general on Luzon, and his successors ordered kidnappings and summary executions of Filipino municipal leaders identified as americanistas. Vicente Lukan, on Samar, made numerous actions such as spying capital crimes. He ordered three men suspected of collaborating with the Americans on the island to be buried alive. The entire family of one of the accused was slaughtered. In Batangas province of southern Luzon, Juan Cailles assassinated almost 30 people in eight months. One guerilla unit in the northern

²⁰John R. M. Taylor, *The Philippine Insurrection against the United States: a Compilation of Documents with Notes and Introduction Vol. 5* (Pasay City, Philippines: Eugenio Lopez Foundation, 1971), 571-72.

provinces of Ilocano committed acts of mass murder. Its members brutally killed 30 people with bolos and then dumped their bodies in prepared graves.²¹

Aguinaldo, along with many in the leadership of the insurgency, objected initially to acts of terrorism against enemy soldiers, but not americanistas. This changed when the U.S. military began executing insurgents for actions against its troops or against collaborators. Aguinaldo responded with a policy of retribution in which American soldiers themselves became victims of terrorism. Prisoners-of-war who could not be released in an exchange were executed. Many subordinates did not carry out the instructions, continuing to treat POWs with great care. But a few took no American prisoners. Soldiers unlucky enough to be captured in such circumstances were stabbed or shot to death or experienced tortures like having their eyes gouged or being roasted over an open fire.²²

The U.S. military entered the war in the Philippines unprepared for the insurgency's use of guerrilla war, shadow government, and terrorism. Consequently, the gains of the United States' hard won conventional military campaigns were put at risk unless American forces could develop measures to thwart the enemy's asymmetrical strategy. To fight a successful counter-insurgency campaign, the U.S. military learned to look for help from within the fragmented multi-tribal society that had been torn apart after years of war. The men who came from this society to support the American war effort coalesced into the ranks of the islands' first host-nation security force, the Philippine Scouts.

²¹Linn, *Philippine War*, 194-95.

²²*Ibid.*, 195

CHAPTER THREE

Philippine Scouts: Beginning and Evolution

The United States wished to alleviate two core problems when it formed a host-nation security force to combat the Filipino insurgency: manpower needs and the urgency of cultivating support from the native population. Each problem existed because of the presence of the other. The military and political authorities on the islands could not ask the U.S. military to fight a years-long campaign with large combat forces. The military, especially the Army, was not large enough to logistically sustain the high levels of men and material it wanted to quash the insurgency alone. Significant numbers of U.S. combat troops would have to be withdrawn due to enlistment constraints and the normal stresses of prolonged combat. Native support, congenial native support, for the permanent American presence in the Philippines was the goal for President McKinley's policy of "benevolent assimilation." The President had in mind an altruistic program of economic and social modernization for the islands.¹ He did not desire the perception of a war of conquest and thus disallowed the examples of previous conquests by other colonial powers (European division of Africa and China) to govern American conduct in the Philippines, at least in principle.

Unfortunately for the United States, colonizing the Philippines with a minimal level of combat troops and a maximum level of native cooperation necessitated ending the volatile security situation. This must happen before implementing designs of nation-

¹Max Boot, *The Savage Wars of Peace: Small Wars and the Rise of American Power* (New York: Basic Books, 2002), 106.

building and social-engineering. Encouraging natives' enlistments into military and paramilitary organizations under the control of a foreign power occupying their country proved a challenging endeavor.

The manpower issue was never satisfactorily remedied by military commanders or their civilian superiors. The U.S. Army under General Elwell Otis fielded 30,000 soldiers in Manila in the spring of 1899. Only half this number was engaged in combat operations at any particular time. The size and rugged topography of Luzon left units overstretched and unable to effectively guard many areas won in hard-fought offensives. Many huddled in remote garrisons vulnerable to attack. Communications and supply of stations remained vulnerable to a large degree from insurgents fighting with guerrilla tactics even before Aguinaldo's declaration in November. Aguinaldo changed his war strategy at that time from conventional war to insurgency when his army could not defeat superior American forces in open battle. Compounding the crisis, the U.S. force in the Philippines was built around a core of state volunteer units. These units had originally been raised to fight the Spanish in Cuba. Their enlistments expired in mid-summer 1899. While the United States raised the more nationalized U.S. Volunteers, up to 35,000, as replacements, this did not seriously boost American combat power against the Filipinos.²

Otis' successor in the spring of 1900, General Arthur MacArthur, planned to increase occupation forces' size to 45,000 soldiers within a year and garrison them at only a few strategic points in the archipelago. MacArthur then undercut the advantages of an increase of forces by substantially expanding the number of garrisons the Army had to defend.³ Eventually, his force swelled to 70,000 troops, the largest number to serve in

²Brian McAllister Linn, *The Philippine-American War, 1899-1902* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2000), 121-25.

³*Ibid.*, 210.

the Philippines and more than half the total strength of the U.S. Army of the time. Even with such a great number, less than a third, 24,000 troops, could be sustained in combat operations. The use of brute force through sheer manpower to crush the insurgency was not a feasible option for the United States.⁴

Manpower limitations for the U.S. military left it without a conventional combat solution. The guerrilla war took away options. But it gave almost as many back through the dissension of the native population. The Philippine Republic under Aguinaldo ruled peoples of various tribal backgrounds. Principally, though, it was run by men from the Tagalog provinces of central and southern Luzon, the home of Aguinaldo and the majority of his senior officers. In non-Tagalog areas such as the Visayas, the islands of Leyte, Samar, civil officials in those municipalities chafed under the rule of Tagalog guerrilla chiefs who usurped their authority and heavily taxed their export-reliant economies while doing little to promote an effective defense.⁵

Tagalog military forces were sent to the Ilocos provinces of north-western Luzon, in the fall of 1898 to solidify Aguinaldo's authority under his general Manuel Tinio (also a Tagalog). Some soldiers murdered, raped or robbed local citizens, and their actions generated armed confrontations. For the most part, they escaped punishment from military or civil authorities. The Ilocano militiamen defending their towns were led by Tagalog officers of the army and not their own commanders. They had to submit to work details and they could not prevent officers from mistreating civilians for committing minor offenses of disobedience. Fortunately, such offenses against self-government and the rule of law were not as prevalent in Ilocos as in the Cagayan Valley where the

⁴Boot, *The Savage Wars of Peace*, 114, 126-27.

⁵Linn, *Philippine War*, 175.

Tagalog-dominated army ruled it like a medieval fiefdom, committing inhuman tortures on prisoners and strong-arming local merchants.⁶

One particular episode of misrule in Ilocos that helped galvanize regional support for the United States was the murder of Francisco Madrid, a popular businessman and civic leader, by Tagalog guerrillas in 1900. The U.S. military guarded Madrid's son so he might be safe enough to attend his father's funeral. The Americans later used his assassination to generate recruitment of Ilocanos into scout and police forces.⁷

The Philippine Scouts formed as a result of the U.S. military's persistent needs for manpower and native support to fight the insurgency. The Scouts developed into a host-nation security force through the process of what is today called in modern counter-insurgency doctrine Logical Lines of Operation (L.L.O.). L.L.O. is "a logical line that connects action on nodes and/or decisive points related in time and purpose with an objective."⁸

The U.S. Army uses L.L.O.s to understand how combat operations, HNSF development, infrastructure development and services (roads, schools), political stability (ex. municipal), and the local economy, relate to each other. The basic philosophy is that success in counter-insurgency is achieved by the simultaneous and successful implementation of operations in all these areas. The result is a host nation that is stable and can manage its own affairs effectively. Each L.L.O contains basic procedures and a

⁶Orlino A Ochoa, *The Tinio Brigade: Anti-American Resistance in the Ilocos Provinces, 1899-1901* (Quezon City, Philippines: New Day Publishers, 1989), 56-9.

⁷Brian McAllister Linn, *The U.S. Army and Counterinsurgency in the Philippine War, 1899-1902* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1989), 81 .

⁸John A Nagl, David H. Petraeus, James F. Amos, and Sarah Sewall, eds., *The U.S. Army/Marine Corps Counterinsurgency Field Manual* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2006), 13.

step-by-step formula for achieving desired goals.⁹ The HNSF L.L.O. used in Iraq and Afghanistan follows this outline: development of initial concept and mission, recruitment, training, organization, bases and training, and operations under advisors.¹⁰

The men who created and filled the ranks of the Philippine Scouts did not follow all of these steps, but they did operate under many of them. All insurgencies develop differently and Army officers responsible for executions of L.L.O.s today are encouraged to improvise according to circumstances. That was the case in the Philippines.

Development of Initial Concept and Mission

The idea for the Philippine Scouts originated from the tactical observations of Matthew Batson, a lieutenant in the U.S. Fourth Cavalry. Lt. Batson won the Congressional Medal of Honor for heroism in action on July 26, 1899. He single-handedly routed Filipino insurgents from defensive positions after swimming the width of the San Juan River (southern Luzon) under heavy fire.¹¹

Fighting in central Luzon in the spring and summer 1899, Batson led a scouting (reconnaissance) detachment tasked with guarding the flanks of the American advance heading north out of Manila to the province of Pampanga. Frustrated by the marches' sloth and logistical difficulties due to the paucity of roads and the abundance of rivers, Lieutenant Batson saw how the native Macabebes in canoes (bancas) traversed their native region with little hinderance. The Macabebes he met during operations in Pampanga appeared friendly to the American cause, and over a hundred volunteered

⁹*Ibid.*, 151-56

¹⁰*Ibid.*, 156.

¹¹Ely D Somera, "The Philippine Scouts: Their Early Organization and History, 1899-1903" (Master's thesis, University of San Francisco, 1959), 147.

their services to Batson. He believed that if he were allowed to recruit them he could help drastically alleviate the supply problems plaguing the U.S. offensive. Batson also thought the Macabebes could be employed to serve as a rear-guard security force against insurgents that stayed in Pampanga after the Army continued its advance northward.¹²

On July 16, 1899, Batson submitted a letter to the 8th Corps Adjutant-General headquarters in Manila asking for permission to form a Macabebe scout force. In the letter, he reviewed the movement and transport difficulties facing U.S. Army units operating in Pampanga province. He especially pointed to the lack of existing bridges that could handle sizable supply traffic or survive the heavy use of large bodies of men. Arguing that the amount of time needed to surmount these obstacles prevented soldiers from effectively performing their duties in the region, Lt. Batson proposed the arming and equipping of friendly Macabebes armed with carbines and canoes and tasked with the role providing of mobile riverine security teams. According to the Lieutenant, a successful use of the Macabebes would reduce insurgent activity in the province and increase protection of precious bridges and overall lines of supply and communication.¹³

Batson's proposal for creating a small Macabebe scout unit garnered twelve endorsements from various line and general officers from the commander of the Fourth Cavalry to General Arthur MacArthur. Their thoughts on the idea of arming Filipinos and the novelty of Batson's experiment were decidedly mixed. Questions arose about the reliability and loyalty of native units. Lt. Batson's proposal was finally approved by

¹²James Richard Wollard, "The Philippine Scouts: The Development of America's Colonial Army" (Master's thesis, Ohio State University, 1975), 2-3.

¹³Somera, *Philippine Scouts*, 123-24.

General Elwell Otis on September 10, 1899.¹⁴ By that date, however, the Lieutenant had grander visions for the Scouts.

Recruitment

Batson chose the Macabebes for the first inductions into Scout companies because of their skills in scouting, reconnaissance, and guerrilla combat. The Macabebes, as a small ethnic enclave in central Luzon, also had long and very antagonistic relations with the much larger Tagalog. They viewed the Tagalog-led Philippine Republic under Aguinaldo with deep hostility, accusing its general officers, Tagalog and non-Tagalog, of abuses and criminal acts. Many Macabebes like Bonfacio Dizon saw their service with the Americans as crucial toward ending unnecessary bloodshed from hopelessly stubborn rebels. He ultimately participated in General Frederick Funston's capture of Aguinaldo in March 1901.¹⁵

Barely over 10,000 in number, the Macabebe had kept control of their meager territory in Pampanga with close, intimate links to the Spanish authorities governing the region before the 1896 revolt. Many of the tribe joined long-existing native regiments that fought alongside the Spanish against Aguinaldo's rebel army. When the Spanish left the Philippines in 1898, many of the Macabebe soldiers and their families turned to the United States as its new patron against Tagalog retribution. Many had already been murdered when their town (called Macabebe from which they were named) fell to Aguinaldo's forces. However, General Otis was initially suspicious of their requests for

¹⁴Somera, *Philippine Scouts*, 124-28.

¹⁵Augusto De Viana, *The I Stories: The Events in the Philippine Revolution and The Filipino-American War as Told by Its Eyewitnesses and Participants* (Manila, Spain: University of Santo Tomas Publishing House, 2006), 121-23.

protection because he didn't know who amongst the native population could be trusted. Only later did he reluctantly accede to the Macabebes' wishes.¹⁶

On the first of September 1899, Lt. Batson submitted to the 8th Corps Adjutant-General a proposal to expand his Macabebe force into a full-size company numbering 100 men. He expounded on a rudimentary organizational and operational formula for the proposed company. The Lieutenant wanted two commissioned officers, a captain and lieutenant, commanding sixteen non-commissioned officers and seventy-two privates. Batson asked for the commissioned and senior non-commissioned officers (sergeants) to be drawn from the U.S. Army, with lower non-commissioned officers (corporals) drawn from the Macabebes. He wanted his native troops paid from the Army payroll and equipped with Army issue carbines. To facilitate an effective working relationship between the Macabebes and their American officers, Batson requested the services of interpreters fluent in English as well as Spanish and native languages and dialects. Unlike his first proposal to use the Macabebes, the second gained rapid approval in the space of two weeks. Lt. Batson's new native company was authorized to serve under the Army Quartermaster, was paid in Mexican currency (half U.S. currency rate), and was issued clothing allowances and canoes.¹⁷

The Scouts were born, though not yet officially christened into the U.S. Army. Batson's Macabebes had much more to prove when Otis moved against Aguinaldo in the fall offensive. The idea of the Scouts, though, eventually radiated everywhere in the Philippines.

When it chose the route of recruiting native troops to help fight its war, the United States followed the examples of their European counterparts, including Spain. The

¹⁶Wollard, *Philippine Scouts*, 5-7.

¹⁷Somera, *Philippine Scouts*, 129-31.

European colonial powers had used its levies as part of a “divide and conquer” strategy pitting competing ethnic groups against one another. This had resulted in the destruction of any possible unified front against colonization. Similarly, the United States viewed the raising of loyal and reliable Scout companies as an effective propaganda tool against the insurgents. It wanted Filipinos to see the partnership as a positive outcome of supporting American occupation. Filipinos who threw their support from Aguinaldo to the United States could see material rewards in higher economic, political, and social standing than otherwise. Also, the success of the Scouts proved to the Filipinos that the United States was sincere in its policy of benevolent assimilation and that it genuinely wanted native participation, especially in ensuring a stable security environment.¹⁸

The first Scout company raised after Batson’s Macabebes was a small unit from the island of Negros. Formed in January of 1900, it was attached to the 6th U.S. Infantry regiment then occupying the island. Batson succeeded in expanding the involvement of the Macabebe with the raising of a native cavalry regiment, the Squadron Philippine Cavalry, that March. Lt. Batson was promoted to the rank of major and put in command of the regiment, which was placed under the authority of the Paymaster Department.¹⁹

The first sizable Scout companies outside Luzon were mustered on the island of Leyte in April of 1900 under the command of Major Henry T. Allen, the future head of the Philippine Constabulary. Though it was named as the First Leyte Scouts, it was actually filled with recruits from Samar. The unit grew to a size of 100 soldiers and was originally employed as garrison detachments throughout the island. The Second Leyte Scouts, formed on native soil this time, was raised in September. Both companies were

¹⁸Clayton D. Laurie, “The Philippine Scouts: America’s Colonial Army, 1899-1913,” *Philippine Studies* 37 no. 2 (1989): 4-191.

¹⁹Somera, *Philippine Scouts*, 51-3.

attached to the 43rd U.S. Infantry and saw some of the first combat by Scouts that month against guerrillas.²⁰

The native group that drew the most recruits for the Scouts, after the Macabebe, was the Ilocano. Only 50 Ilocano were recruited as Scouts from March through June 1900 due to General Otis' reluctance to form the larger Scout companies General Frederick Funston asked for.²¹ Another company of Ilocano of 120 was formed in January 1901 and attached to the 27th U.S. Infantry for service outside the Ilocos provinces. Eventually, more companies were formed by the summer of 1901.²²

By October 1900, the U.S. Army became comfortable enough with utilizing Scout units in combat alongside its forces that it raised companies from among the Tagalog population. The first company, called the Lowe Scouts, was only partially filled with Tagalog volunteers. Most Scouts were from another ethnic group, possibly Macabebe. The Lowe Scouts served under the Quartermaster's Department. The Cagayan Scout company formed in January of 1901. Eventually four companies were attached to the 35th U.S.V. Infantry (Volunteers).²³

Within two years of Batson's first proposal to use the Macabebes as native troops, the U.S. Army was employing more than 5,000 Scouts. These Scouts were divided into 46 companies stationed throughout the Philippines.²⁴ With growth came organization and greater emphasis on training as the Philippine Scouts became more firmly incorporated into the U.S. Army.

²⁰Donald Chaput, "Founding of the Leyte Scouts," *Leyte-Samar Studies* 9, no. 2 (1975): 5-10.

²¹Linn, *Counterinsurgency*, 81-2.

²²Somera, *Philippine Scouts*, 55, 143.

²³*Ebid.*, 50, 54-5.

²⁴Laurie, *Philippine Scouts*, 182.

Training and Organization

Initially, the Philippine Scouts received minimal formal training. From 1899 through 1901, the U.S. Army mostly looked for recruits who had already learned some traditional combat and other skills conducive to living and operating as counter-guerrillas fighting an elusive enemy. The average Scout possessed greater knowledge of his region's geography and topography than his American counterpart stationed there. The former knew his neighbors and which of his neighbors were or might be insurgents. Finally, the Scout were already acquainted with the languages and traditions of the islands and did not need to be taught them. As the use of Filipinos as soldiers progressed and expanded, however, Secretary of War Elihu Root wanted their training to emphasize the type of discipline, fitness, technical skill, and hierarchical authority that characterized the environment of the U.S. military.²⁵

When Scout companies from the islands of Leyte, Samar, Cebu, and Panay were raised in 1900, American commanders in those areas, unlike Batson, put their recruits through a rigorous screening process. Recruits wishing to join a Scout company had to undergo a physical fitness test and a thorough background check where members of a recruit's family and village were questioned about his character and activities. Recruits who successfully passed those steps were then posted to non-combat duties, and their conduct and efficiency in the handling of those duties were evaluated. Only after achieving a satisfactory evaluation was a recruit then put into a combat unit where he would then learn close-order drill, weapons, how to guard installations, and how to speak

²⁵Wollard, *Philippine Scouts*, 55-6.

English. Because of the difficulty of the training process, only 20% of the initial recruits made their way into combat units.²⁶

Of all the Scouts serving up to 1901, the members of the Squadron Philippine Cavalry were the most disciplined and capable. Major Matthew Batson, more than any other officer in the U.S. Army at the time, trained those native recruits in the mold of the American soldier. Wanting to perfect the Squadron into a mobile strike force against insurgents, Batson based his unit in a barracks and training compound near Manila. The 500 Macabebe recruits trained over 4 hours a day for six weeks, and all orders and instructions from their American officers were given in English. In practice verbal instruction was supplemented by gestures and sign language. They were issued uniforms and taught Army regulations on dress and personal maintenance. Filipinos tasked as non-commissioned officers were taught how to lead enlisted men in close-order drill and work details. They also learned staff work and administrative duties. Though they organized the Squadron as a cavalry unit, the Army never requisitioned the horses they needed. As a result, the Macabebes trained as infantry, able to fight as a single force or in small detachments. They performed superbly in combat. However, they occasionally abused civilians and captured guerrillas unless closely monitored by American officers.²⁷

Training for the Scouts improved after 1901 as the companies became formal units in the U.S. Army. The experience of the Scouts at the St. Louis Exposition (a lavish World's Fair) in 1904 showed how they had improved and underscored the direction the U.S. Army was taking the Scouts. Four companies of Scouts, organized into the 'Provisional Battalion', trained for six months before their transfer to the United States. Once there, the Scouts received U.S. Army issue weapons and uniforms, plus machetes,

²⁶*Ibid.*, 57-8.

²⁷*Ibid.*, 78-83.

and immediately commenced training in their use. Training lasted three hours a day with close-order drill, construction details, guard duty, and classes in English and American history at the Exposition, where their skills were witnessed by almost one million visitors. The Scout exhibition at St. Louis proved to be one of the most popular, and the training regimen the units received became the model for instructing all new recruits. However, events in the Philippines, on the island of Samar, prevented them from being effectively put into practice for quite some time.²⁸

The Philippine Scouts was officially established and organized as a permanent military unit of the U.S. Army by an act of Congress on February 2, 1901. Under the act's provisions, the President was authorized to raise native contingents in the Philippines and organize them according to Army regulations into companies or larger units as he saw fit. The President was also authorized to name and assign American and Filipino commissioned and non-commissioned officers. Filipinos could only be commissioned officers under provisional (temporary) appointments if they had upstanding fitness records and flawless backgrounds. American officers retained the responsibility for personally choosing new recruits and vetting them. The names of the various Scout companies also changed with the new regulations. Previously, these units were designated by the operational area where they were stationed (for example the Fourth District on Luzon). After passage of the act of February 2nd, Scout companies were designated by ethnic or regional affiliation. Now, there were the Ilocano and the Cagayan Native Scouts.²⁹

²⁸*Ibid.*, 129-36.

²⁹*Ibid.*, 63-7.

The composition of the Philippine Scout companies themselves was specified under the Army's General Orders No. 293 on September 27, 1901. Each of the fifty companies formed and adopted by the Army was given an authorized strength of 104 troops, not including two commissioned officers. Under the commissioned officers were eighteen non-commissioned officers, eight sergeants and ten corporals. The body of a company consisted of eighty-one privates. Rounding out a company's membership were two cooks, an artificier (craftsman or technician) and two musicians. A first and a second lieutenant, under temporary orders, led a company as its contingent of commissioned officers.³⁰

Scout companies no longer served under non-combat departments in the Army such as the Quartermaster, but were posted under the direction of Division headquarters and the four departments in the islands (Northern Luzon, Southern Luzon, Visayas, Mindanao and Jolo). Like the U.S. Army, the Philippine Scouts administered muster sheets and payrolls on a monthly basis and issued numerical designations with their tribal ones (for example 4th Macabebe Company) The Army divided the assignments of the 50 various Scout companies by department. It stationed the 1st-28th companies in Northern Luzon. Southern Luzon received the 29th-34th companies. The 35th-47th companies were assigned to the Visayas (for example Leyte and Samar) and the 48th-50th companies were assigned to the Moro provinces of Mindanao and Jolo. Weapons and equipment for the Philippine Scouts became standardized. The Army armed each Scout with a Springfield .45 caliber rifle or carbine. The arming of the Scouts companies was done in phases as

³⁰Somera, *Philippine Scouts*, 144.

weapons requisitions were approved in turn and fulfilled by each division's ordinance commands.³¹

U.S. Army commissioned officers were soon assigned to lead the Philippine Scout companies on an unofficially permanent basis, despite their so-called temporary orders. This was because regulations governing their terms of command would not be formalized until the mid 1920's. On their muster sheets, the abbreviation "PS" was inscribed by each officer's name and rank to designate that his service was not with a regular Army unit. The designation meant that the officers were barred from assuming positions with their former units or any other American commands. Officers were permitted to pursue higher education opportunities in their branch or military occupational specialty at Army schools on the islands. Finally, eligible officers could serve on senior officers' staffs, but only in the Philippines.³²

Because of the enforced permanence of their duty stations, commissioned officers of Scout companies inadvertently learned more than was expected about their native soldiers. After years of service, officers became better acquainted with the culture and traditions of the enlisted men and often learned to partially communicate in a regional language or dialect. The smart C.O. used the contact to build trust between them. More importantly, officers learned how better to evaluate each Scouts' professional acumen and exploit that knowledge to improve the companies' discipline and combat performance.³³

³¹*Ibid.*, 145-6.

³²John Olson, *The Philippine Scouts* (San Antonio: Philippine Scout Heritage Society, 1996), 7.

³³*Ibid.*, 7.

Following the success of the Provisional Battalion's exhibition in St. Louis in 1904, the United States decided to make it a permanent unit of the U.S. Army, renamed the First Battalion. The uprisings of the Pulajanes on Samar during 1904 and 1905 galvanized the creation of further Scout battalions. The scarcity of Scout and Constabulary troops to handle the crisis required the deployment of U.S. troops. The Army possessed just over 13,000 troops in the Philippines by 1905 versus 70,000 in 1900. The Army wanted to turn over security responsibilities on the islands to the native forces as the majority of American forces gradually drew down and went home. Beginning in February 1905 the War Department authorized the expansion of the Philippines Scouts to seven battalions consisting of four companies apiece.³⁴

The enlargement of the Philippine Scouts brought with it a change of mission. The Army was now confident that its native soldiers, now professionals, had the manpower and training to manage a successful transition of responsibility. The Scouts became a conventional military force assigned the role of external defense of Navy installations against a sea-based invasion (presumably from Japan). After 1907, its troops took over garrisoning bases previously occupied by American soldiers. The organization expanded again, to twelve battalions by the end of the decade. Each company's complement of men rose from 104 to 110 effectives.³⁵

The officer corps of the Scouts was expanded as well. In 1908, Congress instituted the rank of captain to lead the new battalions. It also updated and codified regulations for application and promotion of commissioned officers. Finally, all Scout

³⁴Wollard, *Philippine Scouts*, 136-42.

³⁵*Ibid.*, 147.

companies received new U.S. Army issue weapons and equipment judged necessary for a professional organization.³⁶

Operations Under Advisors

The Scouts' first significant combat operations occurred as part of General Otis's fall offensive against Aguinaldo in northern and central Luzon in the fall of 1899. On October 17th, Lt. Matthew Batson's Macabebe Scout company fought its first offensive battle against insurgents at Libutad, routing the enemy from their prepared defenses and inflicting 93 casualties (killed, wounded, captured). As a combat commander, Lt. Batson led from the front. He divided his Macabebe force into three groups. The first group was a small team positioned between the commander and the main force. It functioned both as skirmishers and as an initial assault force directly under Batson's command. The rest of the company was divided into two columns positioned behind the team. These columns acted as guards against insurgent flank attacks and as supporting assault troops when attacking. Batson arranged his company in this fashion to ensure the effective leadership and discipline of his force during combat.³⁷

One of the most harrowing moments for Batson's native unit occurred at a barrio (village) called Santiago on November 2, 1899. Sent to reconnoiter the area for insurgents, the company walked into an ambush. Surrounded and under heavy fire by a numerically superior enemy, Batson's scouts returned fire and then quickly outflanked the insurgents. After breaking the trap, they cleared the village of insurgents and burned it to the ground to prevent it from being reoccupied. Batson's unit was soon reinforced with Macabebes from another company and a detachment of U.S. cavalry. Batson then

³⁶*Ibid.*, 147-48.

³⁷*Ibid.*, 16-24.

counterattacked and defeated insurgents that were defending neighboring towns, inflicting heavy casualties.³⁸

The Tagalog Lowe Scouts also fought in the northern campaign, operating in the Ilocos provinces of northwestern Luzon. In a journal he kept during his service as a cartographer in the U.S. Army, John Clifford Brown occasionally commented on the activities of the Macabebe and Lowe Scouts in the offensive. In mid-November 1899, as U.S. forces advanced into Ilocano territory, the Lowe Scouts marched on the town of St. Nicholas. The company occupied Dagupan on the 18th. Here the Scouts recruited into the unit native Ilocano volunteers who had just previously been insurgents. The Lowe Scouts continued on the march to the towns of Binalowen and then Vassilis from the 19th through the 22nd. Unlike their Macabebe counterparts fighting to the south, the Tagalogs did not face much opposition. Most Ilocanos were not fighting, and Brown tells of a population appreciative of the Americans and willing to resume their lives and business with the insurgents gone. Commenting on the Scouts themselves, he appreciated the leadership skills of the officers, if not their distinctly unconventional dress and manners. The native enlisted men, according to Brown, had incredible endurance and he admired the grueling speed and at which they marched, but he noted that they eventually fatigued like all soldiers.³⁹

The conventional war in the Philippines and the Scouts's participation in it came to a close in December 1899. The guerrilla war began soon after. From this point on, for more than a decade of service, the Philippines Scouts waged a campaign of counter-insurgency against elusive and determined opponents.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, 28-31.

³⁹ Joseph C. McCallus, *Gentleman Soldier: John Clifford Brown & the Philippine-American War* (College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 2004), 139-41.

CHAPTER FOUR

Clear, Hold, Build

Believing that the conventional war destroyed the insurgents' hopes for an independent state, and underestimating the endurance of the guerrilla war, the United States saw itself ready to form a civil government for the Philippines. On March 16, 1900, President McKinley authorized the organization of the Philippine Commission with future president William Howard Taft selected as President of the Board. Four commissioners were to serve under him: Dean C. Worcester, Luke E. Wright, Henry C. Idea, and Bernard Moses.¹

In his instructions to the Commission, President McKinley tasked it with the responsibility of transferring powers from the military governor, General Otis, to a civil administration within six months, by September 1st. The Commission's first priority was to establish municipal governments in the provinces under cooperative Filipino leaders. The native leaders remained in nominal control of their towns or villages. But the Commission acted as an observer and supervisor guaranteeing law and order, the distribution of services, and the breadth of American control. It selected Americans for most administrative posts above the municipal level. After the municipal governments were formed, the Commission would then develop and staff provincial governments, with attention paid to tribal boundaries and local geography. McKinley also gave the Commission the power to run and reform the Philippines' Spanish colonial judicial,

¹United States, Philippine Commission, *Reports of the Philippine Commission, Civil Governor, and Heads of Executive Departments of Civil Government of Philippine Islands (1900-1903)* (Washington, D.C., U.S. GPO, 1904), XV-3.

taxation, and educational systems. The Filipinos were granted many of the same rights that Americans possessed under the Constitution. They had the right of trial by jury, freedom of speech, and freedom of religion, among others. The President believed that a responsible American-dominated political body, acting as a form of tutor, could instill in the Filipinos an understanding and appreciation of how a democratic government worked. In addition, he hoped to train the Filipinos into effective civil servants and political leaders. The one regulation of the Philippine Commission that was to have the greatest impact on the average Filipino, to this day, was making English the islands' official language. McKinley made English the language of instruction in schools with the goal of growing a unified mono-lingual society from a multi-lingual, multi-tribal, and multi-ethnic composition of various cultures.²

Taft believed the institution of the Philippine Commission reflected the desire of the Filipino population at large for an effective and just civil government. Like McKinley, he unswervingly trusted in the ability of the Commission's promises of democratic rule, under the United States, to diminish the Filipino's will to fight for independence. Because of his beliefs, Taft disregarded the U.S. military's opinions on the Commission's viability. The military argued that many Filipinos did not see the Commission as legitimate and supported the guerrillas. The volatile nature of the security situation in the Philippines, military officials informed Taft, left the institution of civil government in doubt.³

Before President McKinley established the Philippine Commission, the U.S. Army attempted to form municipal governments. As his units gained control of the

²*Ibid.*, 5-10.

³Bonifacio S. Salamanca, *The Filipino Reaction to American Rule, 1901-1913* (Hamden, Conn: Shoe String Press, 1968), 30-1.

provinces following the success of the 1899 offensives, General Ewell Otis garrisoned most of the sizable population centers. He then went forward with a program of a “civil” military occupation. He hoped it would draw Filipino support to the United States and away from fomenting insurrection. Thus, with the apparent end of combat operations, the American soldier’s role changed from combat to armed civil and social service worker. The commanding officer of the unit garrison became the chief administrator and political officer. General Otis facilitated this transition, creating four political and administrative districts to govern the people of Luzon.⁴

Municipal governments, under military control, were set up in a rudimentary fashion. Usually they consisted of a two-tier presidente (mayor) and city council governing structure protected by hurriedly recruited local police. Unlike Taft and the Philippine Commission, the average Army officer believed the chief priority of the municipal government was to be stable, not democratic. Though elections were held for the offices of mayor and city council, the right to vote was only the privilege of the town’s elite citizens. Because of their educational and financial status, the Army saw the elite as best prepared to effectively assume the reins of leadership.⁵

After the development of civil government, improved medical care and disease treatment and prevention became one of the highest priorities under Otis’ administration. The Army created a board of health to treat Filipinos afflicted with smallpox, leprosy, typhoid fever, and bubonic plague. While mostly active in Manila, the board’s medical officers travelled the countryside to treat patients and administer vaccines for smallpox. Villages and towns where citizens became inflected with typhoid or bubonic plagued

⁴Brian McAllister Linn, *The U.S. Army and Counterinsurgency in the Philippine War, 1899-1902* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1989), 20-1.

⁵*Ibid.*, 21.

were quarantined to prevent further outbreaks. Medical officers brought patients from the towns to hospitals equipped to diagnose and treat diseases. The Army's anti-viral vaccination program inoculated over 600,000 Filipinos and Army/Navy personal during 1899 and 1900.⁶

Combined with the expansion of medical services, cities like Manila received better sanitation, improved streets and bridges, and the building or refurbishment of marketplaces. Land for parks was also allocated and maintained. In Manila, the public works department fell under Army control. Between July 1899 and June 1900, the U.S. Army spent more than \$70,000 in Manila alone for building and repair costs covering sanitation, streets, parks, marketplaces, and fires.⁷ The Army built and improved on infrastructure in rural areas as well. Roads and bridges were constructed or repaired with local building materials and transportation, thus helping the local areas' economies while relieving municipal governments of the financial burden.⁸

In the field of education, soldiers turned into teachers. The Ilocos provinces boasted over 200 schools with over 10,000 Filipino children attending. The typical Army primary school was primitive in infrastructure and curriculum. The American soldier taught English with whatever limited classroom supplies (ex. chalk) he had available or could find.⁹

The Army established its first school on the fortress island of Corregidor, which guarded Manila Bay. In the city of Manila and its surrounding suburbs, the Army ran a

⁶U.S. Department of War, Philippines, Military Governor, *Report of Major-General E. S. Otis on Military Operations and Civil Affairs in the Philippine Islands, 1899* (Washington, D.C., 1899), 284-86.

⁷*Ibid.*, 294-96.

⁸Linn, *Counterinsurgency*, 21.

⁹*Ibid.*

school system of 5,000 students attending 30 schools. Army chaplain William D. McKinnon, 1st California Volunteers, was its superintendent. As superintendent McKinnon hired American and Filipino teachers and made English the language of instruction.¹⁰

Unfortunately, the Army's efforts at reconstruction and civil government were undermined by General Otis' refusal to assess objectively the security situation as guerrilla warfare and terrorism discouraged many Filipinos from cooperating with the Army. Like the Philippine Commission, and his military and civilian descendents in Iraq and Afghanistan, Otis was too optimistic about the progress of his civic programs and too dismissive of the threat of insurgency.¹¹

When General Arthur MacArthur replaced Otis as commander of U.S. forces in the Philippines in May of 1900, he grew alarmed at the virulence of the guerrilla war and the Army's seeming impotence in stamping it out. The size of the U.S. military presence on the archipelago was too small to adequately garrison it and administer its responsibilities to millions of people. Troops were stationed in small detachments in far-flung posts all over the Philippines. This situation prevented General MacArthur from concentrating forces for operations against guerrillas when they seriously threatened a town or post. Removing troops from one region to another for such operations left the areas they abandoned unprotected and vulnerable to terrorist acts against Filipino collaborators. Many of the Filipinos those Army officers placed as officials and civil

¹⁰Salamanca, *Filipino Reaction to American Rule*, 82-3.

¹¹Linn, *Counterinsurgency*, 21.

servants in the municipal governments covertly supported local guerrilla forces and assisted them in targeting fellow citizens cooperating with the Army.¹²

MacArthur inherited control of 63,000 troops from Otis, veterans of the conventional war phase of 1899. Dispersed far and wide in approximately 100 garrisons, these soldiers inflicted grievous casualties on the guerrillas, but the pace of fighting actually increased. During November and December 1899, before Aguinaldo declared a guerrilla war, the U.S. Army engaged the insurgents in over 200 skirmishes and suffered 371 casualties, killed and wounded. From January through April 1900, just before Otis left his command, the Army fought over 400 contests and suffered 462 casualties, killed and wounded. Out of a command of 63,000, MacArthur had to contend with a combined total of 833 casualties in the previous six months, almost one of every 63 men stationed in the Philippines. Before he left, Otis had estimated that to prevent insurrection and lawlessness by armed force alone required the garrisoning of 250,000 men. However, even with that assessment, he insisted that the Army had virtually pacified the entire Philippines. Though there had been surrenders and captures of many insurgents and weapons, the guerrilla forces throughout the archipelago could boast possession of almost 17,000 rifles of various models.¹³

In June 1900, General MacArthur issued a three month amnesty, ending in September, to give insurgents still fighting an opportunity to surrender before he recommitted the Army to offensive operations (June-September in the Philippines is monsoon season). Over 5,000 guerrillas accepted amnesty, including some leaders. Many of them were either previously in U.S. custody for some time or retired soldiers

¹²*Ibid.*, 21-2.

¹³Robert D. Ramsey, *Savage Wars of Peace: Case Studies of Pacification in the Philippines, 1900-1902* (Fort Leavenworth, Kan.: Combat Studies Institute Press, 2007), 22-3.

and commanders living in American-occupied zones. Insurgent activity on Luzon increased in September as the date for the crucial November presidential election in the United States drew closer. American casualties increased in parallel. Though U.S. forces won the majority of their engagements, the guerrillas could launch over twenty attacks a day. Garrisons in some provinces fought desperate siege actions. Certain guerrilla units were strong enough to fight American troops in conventional-style set-piece battles. Filipino rebels, for the first time, held defensive positions against furious assaults from the U.S. military, causing casualties in gruesome numbers. Reconnaissance and combat patrols grew intolerantly dangerous as the guerrillas improved their skills in ambush.¹⁴

On the island of Marinduque, on September 13, 1900, 2,000 insurgents under Maximo Abad ambushed fifty-four men of Company F, 29th U.S.V. led by Captain Devereux Shields. After three hours of fighting, unable to retreat, and with a fifth of his command killed or wounded, Shields surrendered. In one battle, the insurgents on the island destroyed one-third of the Army's combat strength. They quickly followed up that success on the 15th with the destruction of the American-occupied town of Santa Cruz and the assassination of its mayor. The Army garrison there under 1st Lt. M.H. Wilson was then besieged. It would not be relieved for nearly two weeks.¹⁵

Frustrated by the increase in violence and dismayed with the failure of his amnesty, General MacArthur wanted to pursue a strategy of multi-prong pacification to obtain security. But, the uncertain outcome of the November presidential election delayed implementation. McKinley's re-election that fall freed MacArthur to transform the Army's Philippine mission into a policy of aggressive counter-insurgency. Otis' civic

¹⁴Linn, *Counterinsurgency*, 22-3.

¹⁵Andrew J. Birtle, "The U.S. Army's Pacification of Marinduque, Philippine Islands, April 1900-April 1901," *Journal of Military History* 61, no. 2 (April 1997): 255-282.

programs for political development, social services, and infrastructural improvement remained. However, MacArthur believed a secure environment should exist for the programs' success, especially for the safety of Filipinos involved with those efforts. He increased the size of the Army's contingent in the archipelago to its height of 70,000. The influx of additional forces allowed for an increase in offensive operations in critical areas where insurgent activity was highest. The reinforcements were sorely needed, but they could not by themselves provide sufficient combat power for MacArthur's renewed effort. The Philippine Scouts' service with the U.S. Army expanded under his tenure. Its companies would see their most sustained combat so far.¹⁶

Along with providing reinforcements, General MacArthur changed the Army's rules of engagement in order to give his troops more tools to fight the guerrillas. The change also gave a legal framework for how soldiers should properly conduct themselves in a guerrilla war. On December 20, 1900, he issued orders putting the islands under a state of martial law according to the edicts of General Orders 100. Many local commanders were already practicing some of its regulations.¹⁷

Also known as the Lieber Code, G.O. 100 originated in 1863 during the Civil War when Union forces needed guidelines on how to govern Southern civilians in a military occupation. G.O. 100 covers 157 regulations in ten sections. Section I stated how martial law was enacted and how its severity may vary according to the level of violence in an area and according to the discretion of the local commander. Guerrillas and their civilian supporters could be tried before a military tribunal. The overriding objective of martial law was to create an environment that fostered the peaceful restoration of civil

¹⁶Linn, *Counterinsurgency*, 24-5.

¹⁷*Ibid.*, 24.

law and peace. Section II covered the legal status of property owned by insurgents. The Army had the right to seize such property, but any other kind of private or public property was protected. The section also covered punishments for American soldiers committing criminal acts against civilians. Section III governed the treatment of uniformed prisoners of war.¹⁸

Section IV of G.O. 100 concerned the regulations for dealing with “partisans.” G.O. 100 defined partisans as uniformed combatants fighting as guerrillas. They were to be treated as formal prisoners of war. However, non-uniformed combatants did not receive the same status. Their legal status was similar to that of criminals. ‘War-rebels,’ individuals who incited rebellion in American-occupied territory, did not receive prisoner-of-war status. Section V regulated treatment of couriers, spies, and ‘war-traitors.’ Spies, if captured, faced execution. American troops spying for the enemy also risked capital punishment. War-traitors were civilians who violated the edicts of martial law by acting as spies for the enemy. If caught and convicted before a tribunal, war-traitors were was executed. Section VI outlined the rules of flags of truce and prisoner exchanges. Section VII reviewed the paroling of prisoners of war. Section VIII regulated the conditions under which an insurgent leader may request an armistice or a surrender of his men, weapons, and equipment. Section IX outlawed the assassinations of uniformed insurgents and civilians. Section X defined the descriptions of insurrection, civil war, and rebellion. Insurrection and rebellion were defined as similar, except a rebellion was larger in scope. A civil war was defined as a struggle between factions where both claim political legitimacy.¹⁹

¹⁸Ramsey, *Savage Wars*, 135-47, 159.

¹⁹*Ibid.*, 148-57.

General MacArthur's strategy to use a reinforced Army with a change of doctrine as emphasized under General Orders 100 is similar to the U.S. Army's core approach to modern counter-insurgency. This approach is termed 'Clear-Hold-Build' (CHB). The term describes the Army's efforts to take control of an operational zone and to maintain that control until the defeat of the insurgent group there is assured. The effort is a three step approach with the goals of physical security, effective host-nation control of the local population, and garnering the population's support and cooperation in aiding the U.S. Army's control of the physical and political geography.²⁰

The first approach, the Clear, is the initial combat phase of the operational strategy. Troops wrest control of a town, county, or province from the enemy and crush all resistance in the area through offensive operations like house-to-house searches, constant patrols, raids, and ambushes. After the completion of offensive operations, the role of the Army is one of transferring security responsibility to local forces. This transfer is covered in the second approach of CHB, the Hold.²¹

In the Hold phase, the security duties fall to the host-nation security force (HNSF). The HNSF functions in both an offensive and defensive posture. It also assists the U.S. Army in combined operations. It may commit the same offensive tactics that the Army conducted in the Clear phase. The insurgents will likely attempt to retake control of territory they have lost, thus the HNSF must then efficiently carry out patrols, raids, intelligence collection, or other actions to disrupt the insurgents' efforts. In addition to being an offensive force, the HNSF is responsible for garrisoning the area and guarding "key infrastructure" (e.g. water, electricity, oil) from destruction by insurgent action. The

²⁰John A. Nagl, David H. Petraeus, James F. Amos, and Sarah Sewall, eds., *The U.S. Army/Marine Corps Counterinsurgency Field Manual* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2006), 174.

²¹*Ibid.*, 175-76.

HNSF is also responsible for guaranteeing the safety of the host-nation political administration for the area as it seeks to reassert its legitimate governing powers.²²

The Build phase of CHB is a continuation and expansion of the Hold phase. The host-nation security force actively seeks out insurgents and guards the local infrastructure and government. But it does so with a close working relationship with the civilian population until the insurgent threat is removed or virtually eliminated. Then the relationship evolves into a partnership dedicated to the area's reconstruction. The HNSF become a rebuilding and social service arm. Among various tasks it may accomplish in this role are trash collection, road building, building schools, and training the local police force.²³

The Hold phase of CHB most accurately describes the mission of the Philippine Scouts under MacArthur's command. The Scouts patrolled the countryside alongside Army units, looking for the locations of guerrilla strongholds. They garrisoned towns and cities, guarding infrastructure and the municipal government and collecting intelligence on local insurgent groups. The Scouts' assistance in holding areas against insurgents permitted the assertion of friendly civil governments and American supremacy in the islands' provinces.²⁴

Samar and Leyte

The missions of the Philippine Scouts covered here took place from June through October 1901. General MacArthur was replaced the month before by General Adna Chaffee, but Chaffee faithfully followed the counter-insurgency doctrine of G.O. 100 and

²²*Ibid.*, 177-78.

²³*Ibid.*, 179-80.

²⁴Linn, *Counterinsurgency*, 25-6.

aggressively used the Scouts for this purpose. The Scouts' assignment at its stations on Samar and Leyte was long-range patrol duty with American forces like the 1st U.S. Infantry and 9th U.S. Cavalry regiments. The companies eventually attached to the Samar post in 1901 were the 23rd, 24th, 35th, 36th, 38th, 39th, and 45th. The 37th company was stationed in Leyte. These units were filled with local recruits from the island itself. Scouts from the island of Panay and Luzon were also stationed on Samar. General Jacob H. Smith commanded U.S. forces on both islands due to their close proximity to one another.²⁵

Scout activity in the month of June was fairly light. On Samar, a company of Panay Scouts under a Capt. or Lt. Hunsacker, marched in support of a company of the 1st infantry to the town of Matiguinao after it was burned and looted by guerrillas led by Vicente Lukban on the 22nd. The Scout company was left in Matiguinao to establish a base for patrolling the region around it. Eleven days before, Scouts on Leyte engaged eight guerrillas wielding bolos, killing one and taking seven prisoner. The mission of Hunsacker's Panay Scouts on Samar expanded in July when it was assigned long-range patrol duties in combination with the 1st and 9th Infantry and the 9th and 10th Cavalry. During their patrolling, the Scouts assisted American troops in destroying weapons caches and enemy encampments, and capturing insurgents. The company did not experience any engagements. After twenty-seven days, the Panay Scouts left Samar to rest and refit. Leyte Island was quieter. On June 21st, Lt. Hendryx engaged insurgents

²⁵U.S. Department of War., United States. Army, Philippine Division, *Annual Report of Major General Adna R. Chaffee, U.S. Army, Commanding Division of the Philippines. Oct. 1, 1901-Sept. 30, 1902, Vol. I* (Manila, 1902), 4-5, 8-9, 62-65.

while patrolling in the mountainous interior. He destroyed an encampment filled with supplies and seized a weapons cache of three brass artillery cannons and two rifles.²⁶

The Scouts on Samar experienced no action of note in the month of August 1901. Some American units did see action against insurgents, but most soldiers were occupied with accepting the surrenders of guerrillas, including Lukban's wife, and attempting to resettle the island's residents back into normal civil society. The Scouts on Leyte, on the last day of the month, worked with U.S. troops in an operation against guerrillas on the nearby island of Biliran. They evacuated Filipino civilians who had fled there from Samar to join the insurgent stronghold. An enemy garrison and supply depot were destroyed.²⁷

The Samar Scout companies began to see increased action in September as insurgent activity against U.S. forces rose violently. On September 14th, the 35th company under Lt. Ray Hoover, in a combined operation with the 1st Infantry, seized a guerrilla encampment near the town of Magpog after a brief firefight. There had been an increase in such operations since the 2nd when a twelve-man squad from the 9th Infantry was attacked by insurgents as they were guarding a telephone. Two men were killed, two were wounded. However, the infamous event which would make Samar the most important center of counter-insurgency operations in late 1901 was the so-called "Balangiga Massacre" on September 28th. In a well-coordinated surprise attack on the garrison at Balangiga, ninety guerrillas killed forty-four soldiers and officers of Company

²⁶*Ibid.*, 8-15.

²⁷*Ibid.*, 16-19.

C of the 9th Infantry, including its commanding officer. The insurgents seized almost sixty rifles and tens of thousands of rounds of ammunition.²⁸

As a result of the devastation wrought on Company C, the presence of U.S. troops and Philippine Scouts on Samar dramatically escalated in October. One battalion from the 7th Infantry and four companies from the 26th entered Samar by the middle of the month. The two Scout companies garrisoned there at half-strength were filled out to regulation complements of 104 men. Half of Hunsacker's Panay Scouts rotated back to Samar. Two Ilocano Scout companies were sent from Luzon for garrison duty at Catbalogan and Catarman. The 9th and 1st Infantry performed most of the patrols in the rural areas, attacking guerrilla bands and destroying food supplies used by the insurgents. The role of the Scouts garrisoning towns such as Catbalogan was to assist in the destruction of urban insurgent networks of municipal government officials and townspeople helping fund the guerrilla bands in the countryside.²⁹

The hostilities on Samar lasted until early 1902 with the capture of guerrilla chief Vicente Lukban. After that year, the Philippine Scouts took over garrison duties for much of Samar and Leyte islands when most U.S. forces pulled out. By 1907, 23 Scout companies occupied bases in 20 towns on both islands and shared this duty with Constabulary units. Along with guarding the towns themselves, the Scouts maintained the operation of the telephone and telegraph lines and stations first established by the Army.³⁰

²⁸*Ibid.*, 21-8.

²⁹*Ibid.*, 34-6.

³⁰Donald Chaput, "Troops and Communications on the Leyte-Samar in 1907," *Leyte-Samar Studies* 13 no 2. (1979): 147-49.

The Ilocanos: First District, Luzon

In the northwestern Luzon provinces of the Ilocanos in 1900 (Ilocos Norte and Sur, Abra, La Union), the command of the Filipino insurgency fell to a 22-year-old Tagalog general named Manuel Tinio. In the 1896 revolt against Spain, he had brought a Tagalog expeditionary unit to take the Ilocano territories for Aguinaldo's Philippine Republic. After expelling Spain, Tinio formed a brigade of Tagalog and local recruits numbered at 3,500 soldiers and fortified the region against American encroachment in 1899 as Otis' northern offensive destroyed Filipino resistance in central Luzon.³¹

Tinio divided his brigade into five commands called Guerrillas, with each unit consecutively numbered No. 1-5. The provinces under his authority either possessed one Guerrilla of each numerical designation or some of each. One of the provinces that exemplified the former was Ilocos Sur, where Tinio kept his headquarters in the town of Santa Rosa in the far north of the territory. Guarding his headquarters was Guerrilla No. 1, which also garrisoned the towns of Cabagao, Sinait, and Lapog. South of No. 1 was Guerrilla No. 2, stationed at Magaingal, Banta, and Santo Domingo. Guerrilla No. 3 occupied the lands south of the aforementioned No. 2. It guarded the Banaoang and Tangadan mountain passes leading to Abra province. Guerrilla No. 4 guarded the central areas of the Ilocos Sur and the towns of Santiago, Santa Maria, Candon, Banayoyo, and Lidlidda. Guerrilla No. 5 garrisoned the far south of the province. It was the first of the Tinio Brigade to fight the Americans when they entered Ilocos Sur in December 1899.³²

The U.S. Army easily defeated elements of the Tinio Brigade in conventional operations throughout the Ilocano provinces, annihilating a significant proportion of the

³¹Linn, *Counterinsurgency*, 30-2.

³²Orlino A. Ochoa, *The Tinio Brigade: Anti-American Resistance in the Ilocos Provinces, 1899-1901* (Quezon City, Philippines: New Day Publishers, 1989), 206.

unit in Ilocos Norte in early December 1899. Afterwards, U.S. troops rapidly fanned out through the territory, and General Otis was keen to form municipal governments headed by supportive Ilocanos. He placed the northwestern provinces within his nascent First District. Picked to administer and guard the First District was 57-year-old Brig. General Samuel B.M. Young. An aggressive cavalry commander who almost made Aguinaldo his prisoner, he led the counter-insurgency campaign against Tinio until he was replaced by General J. Franklin Bell in February of 1901.³³

The first Scout unit to enter the Ilocos with U.S. forces was the Tagalog Lowe Scouts. Realizing the need for more forces to garrison and patrol the territory, and despite concerns over loyalty, many junior and senior Army officers called for the expansion of the Lowe Scout company with provincial recruits. Within a year, over 100 Ilocano recruits were raised and the unit grew to 250 soldiers. These tenderfoot Scouts joined the veteran Tagalog in long-range reconnaissance and combat patrols. General Young also married the Scouts into his growing intelligence network of native spies and informants. The Ilocano Scouts possessed ingrained knowledge of the local terrain and languages that the U.S. Army needed to route out the guerrillas hidden within the population. The Scouts collected intelligence on guerrilla bands and urban networks gleaned from patrol work and transferred their finds to the First District's head intelligence officer Captain John G. Ballance. The officer then analyzed the intelligence (e.g. documents) for relevant and timely information in order to capture insurgent leaders and cells. He also used the intelligence he received to recommend civil action programs

³³Linn, *Counterinsurgency*, 32-3, 54.

that encouraged economically-depressed Filipinos to support the American occupation (e.g. job programs, road-building) and not the insurgency.³⁴

Early in Young's counter-insurgency campaign, the Scouts fought in a huge combined operation with U.S. troops from the 33rd U.S.V. Infantry in May 1900. General Young received intelligence on the 8th on the locations of two sizable elements of the Tinio Brigade. One was personally led by Manuel Tinio at Licuan. The other was guarding Emilio Aguinaldo, who was still desperately attempting to escape capture and imprisonment under the Americans, in Laboagan. Young ordered Colonel Luther Hare, commander of the 33rd U.S.V., to form and lead a mobile force of 300 men against both forces and capture both Tinio and Aguinaldo. According to Young's instructions, Colonel Hare composed his detachment of 200 infantry (half mounted, half on foot) and 100 Scouts. Hare's unit came close to capturing Aguinaldo at a village called Asibanglan on May 19th. A squadron under Major Peyton C. March overwhelmed the defenses Tinio Brigade's First Bulacan Battalion. But the Battalion held back the Americans long enough with a stubborn rear-guard action to allow Aguinaldo to escape. The assault against Tinio's force at Licuan on the 20th was also unsuccessful. General Young's intelligence concerning Manuel Tinio's whereabouts was faulty. However, Hare did engage Aguinaldo's personal cavalry bodyguard, led by Captain Julio Tinio, close to Malibcong. The guard performed its duty; Aguinaldo remained a fugitive at large.³⁵

Manuel Tinio increased the pace of his guerrilla war against General Young in June of 1900. Raids on the 33rd U.S.V. headquarters at Bangued, Abra province, in June inaugurated nearly six months of unrelenting pressure on American garrisons, convoys,

³⁴*Ibid.*, 30-2.

³⁵Ochoa, *Tinio Brigade*, 176-81.

and patrols. On July 22, a guerrilla band defeated a small unit of U.S. troops from the 12th U.S. Infantry regiment guarding a supply convoy. The detachment suffered six casualties killed or wounded. The guerrillas captured all of the convoy's shipments. A U.S. Cavalry patrol in September became surrounded and was nearly destroyed in detail when a relief force counterattacked and forced the insurgents to withdraw. A month earlier, guerrillas ambushed and defeated a Scout patrol under Lt. Henry N. Wray. Lt. Wray was killed and three Scouts were taken prisoner (later released). The members of the patrol not killed or captured retreated in disorder. The Tinio Brigade achieved its greatest victory in its guerrilla war when insurgents led by Juan Villamor ambushed and defeated a force of 100 American soldiers at the town of Cosocos in Abra. After this event, guerrilla activity intensified further during October and November with attacks on patrols and garrisons in Abra and Ilocos Sur.³⁶

Young responded to Tinio's guerrilla campaigns with an increase in the number of U.S. Army and Philippine Scout units stationed in the Ilocano provinces and stepped up the pace of their patrol operations. By the first of the year, 1901, the U.S. Army transferred the 3rd U.S. Cavalry, 34th U.S.V. Infantry, the 5th U.S. Infantry, the 36th U.S.V. Infantry, and the 48th U.S.V. Infantry to the First District. General Young expanded the Scout presence in the First District to 550 men divided into eleven fifty-troop companies. The Scout companies were configured in this fashion because the very mobile insurgent groups in the provinces usually operated in bands of fifty men. Young wanted his native auxiliaries to have the same mobility in operations as his adversary Tinio possessed. The now sizable Scout contingent now had a headquarters base in the

³⁶*Ibid.*, 189-95.

Ilocos Sur town of Santa Maria. Companies were then assigned to garrison posts in the town of Santa (Ilocos Sur) and San Fernando (La Union).³⁷

Command of the First District shifted from General Young to Brig. Gen J. Franklin Bell on February 28, 1901. General Bell brought to the Army's anti-guerrilla campaign a more sophisticated understanding of the importance of the civilian population's role in propagating the insurgency. He gradually introduced new programs to force the population to choose the Americans over the Tinio Brigade. Bell expanded upon Young's use of Filipino civilians as spies. He paid for tips leading to the capture of insurgent leaders and weapons. Politicians and activists of the pro-American Federal Party, the first legal Filipino political party allowed under American rule, were brought in to campaign for peaceful co-existence with the United States, to encourage guerrillas to surrender, and to establish civil government. Members of municipal governments that supported insurgents or failed to inform U.S. military authorities of their activities were brought before a military court. The offending officials could face the punishment of imprisonment or deportation south to Manila. In Abra province, Bell introduced to the First District the policy of concentration. Later used extensively by General Bell in Batangas in 1902, concentration enabled the Army to separate the civilian population from the guerrillas. Citizens of towns such as Bucay were forced to remain there under guard and not allowed to travel outside its limits. Bell had food crops confiscated from the rural areas, especially from farms owned by guerrilla leaders, to feed the civilians confined to the municipalities. Crops not transported back to the towns were burned.³⁸

³⁷*Ibid.*, 195, 199-201.

³⁸Linn, *Counterinsurgency*, 24, 54-7.

To effectively exploit his measures to separate the civilians from the guerrillas, General Bell increased the number and rate of patrols and raids. Young's reinforcement of the U.S. Army's presence in the Ilocano territories (5,866 U.S. troops and 568 Scouts in March 1901) the previous year allowed Bell to maintain almost constant patrols in the field. He employed his soldiers in compact and highly mobile squads of fifty men. These squads engaged incessantly in small-scale operations, capturing guerrillas, seizing weapons caches, and destroying encampments. The reinforcements also allowed General Bell to coordinate missions on guerrilla bases in the countryside or towns with the Army's various commands throughout the First District.³⁹

As part of Bell's expansion of combat operations, a company of Scouts moved from its base at San Fernando in La Union province in early March to the Ilocos Sur town of Quimpusa. Once there, the Scout company set up a new headquarters and swept the locality with reconnaissance patrols to help locate and stop the movements of the Tinio Brigade's Guerrilla No. 5. On March 9th, the company destroyed the base of an insurgent unit located in the town of Santa Maria and all of its supplies. A guerrilla encampment near the town of Santa was raided by a different Scout company on the 17th. Five buildings were razed and 5,000 pounds of rice were burned.⁴⁰

The constant operations of the U.S. Army and the Scouts, combined with Bell's policies of removing the population from insurgent influence and control, quickly persuaded the guerrillas to surrender. Manuel Tinio surrendered to U.S. forces on April 30th after a month-long negotiation over terms with the Federal Party. A day earlier, Juan Villamor surrendered and publicly proclaimed his allegiance to the United States. On

³⁹*Ibid.*, 54-8.

⁴⁰Ochosa, *Tinio Brigade*, 202-4.

May 1st, Bell announced that insurgents could now surrender and return home without threat of arrest and military trial. The insurgency then abruptly ended. Wishing to promote peaceful co-existence between Americans and Filipinos, General Bell refused to prosecute Tinio and other guerrilla leaders for war crimes like acts of terrorism. Villamor became an official of the U.S. government.⁴¹

Southern Luzon-Second District-Third Separate Brigade

The region south of Manila is known in Philippine history as the seedbed of Filipino nationalism and is the origin of the nation's wars against Spain and the United States. These are the Tagalog provinces of Cavite, Batangas, Laguna, and Tayabas. Jose Rizal was born in the province of Laguna. Emilio Aguinaldo came from the province of Cavite, as did many of his military leaders and political supporters. The Tagalog region of southern Luzon was the last area for the United States to pacify and offered the last stand for Aguinaldo's guerrilla war. U.S. forces entered southern Luzon in early January 1900. Two brigades of 8,000 American soldiers and two companies of 200 Macabebe Scouts under Maj. General John C. Bates attacked insurgent forces led by Lt. General Mariano Trias. Cavite, Batangas, and Tayabas province fell to U.S. troops after just one month of conventional operations. In a sharp engagement against the defenses of Trias's subordinate Miguel Malvar's 1,000-man force in Batangas, the Army overwhelmed his fortifications, seized his headquarters, and inflicted 84 casualties, killed and wounded. In the course of the rapid operation, almost 200 Spanish prisoners-of-war, imprisoned since the 1896 rebellion, were freed and 20,000 pesos from the insurgents' treasury were confiscated. American commanders and troops alike hoped a short occupation with a

⁴¹Linn, *Counterinsurgency*, 60.

transition toward friendly civil governments could be accomplished with little opposition or bloodshed.⁴²

Unfortunately for U.S. hopes, the guerrilla warfare that followed made the contest for the Tagalog region among the ugliest of the war. Out of their shattered units devastated by the American assault, guerrilla commanders Miguel Malvar and Juan Cailles reformed the insurgency and took it underground. Throughout the spring of 1900, Malvar and Cailles formed town-based militias and rural guerrilla bands led by officers from the wealthy and elite of the Tagalog ethnic group. Because both commanders hailed from southern Luzon (Malvar from Batangas and Cailles from Laguna) they had intimate personal and professional links to their officers and their families. Thus, the loyalty of these subordinates was assured. With regard to municipal leaders like the mayors and city councils, Malvar conscripted them into a massive support organization. According to his “Guerrilla Warfare Instructions” proclamation, published in the fall of 1900, civil officials were responsible for aiding the militia and guerrilla units with supplies of food, equipment, sanctuary, and funds. Also, these leaders were expected to work closely with their military counterparts in the jobs of gathering intelligence on U.S. garrisons and troop movements and providing any logistical help they could. Both Malvar and Cailles persuaded town leaders to cooperate through very public acts of intimidation and assassinations of collaborating Americanistas. Malvar organized his insurgents into columns of fifty to sixty men with a third to half being riflemen. He equipped the rest with bolos. Malvar wanted his units to achieve a balance of mobility and firepower against the superior American forces.⁴³

⁴²Ramsey, *Savage Wars*, 71-3.

⁴³*Ibid.*, 76-9.

When Malvar's and Cailles's guerrilla campaign began in the late spring and early summer, the U.S. Army's garrison strength in southern Luzon had fallen from the original 8,000 troops to 5,000. As a result, the guerrillas possessed almost complete freedom of movement outside the towns because there were not enough American soldiers to stop their activities. The insurgents forced unprotected towns to pay taxes to the various guerrilla bands and forcibly conscripted unlucky citizens into their ranks. Like other provinces in the Philippines, remote Army garrisons faced the increasing strain of unrelenting attacks. Patrols experienced constant harassment. Filipino snipers roamed southern Luzon looking for American targets of opportunity. Malvar and Cailles increased the number of operations they conducted over 400% over the months of June-August 1900. In that time, the insurgents engaged the Americans fifty-four times. Though the Americans lost only forty casualties, killed and wounded, they experienced greater tragedies inflicted by disease. The monsoon season and the pace of operations induced incredible numbers of medical casualties. The 39th U.S.V., Infantry, for example, suffered 111 deaths from disease out of 744 officers and enlisted men in the regiment. Over 1,500 American soldiers left the Second District that summer for treatment or for disability. The combination of battle and medical casualties left the United States without a sound military solution to the conflict in the Tagalog region.⁴⁴

On September 17, 1900, near Mavitac in Laguna, 90 men of Company L, 15th U.S. Infantry, Capt. David D. Mitchell commanding, and 40 men of Company K, 15th U.S. Infantry under Capt. George F. Cooke assaulted a heavily entrenched position held by 800 insurgents commanded by Juan Cailles. The following encounter left the U.S. Army with 24 killed and 19 wounded, or 43 out of 140 engaged. This was the single

⁴⁴*Ibid.*, 80-7.

worst loss of U.S. troops in southern Luzon and in the entire war for the Philippines. A month later, on October 21st, twenty-one soldiers walked into an ambush against 400 guerrillas. The Americans suffered six casualties, and the guerrillas suffered 100. While the security situation in the Second District deteriorated that fall, the U.S. Volunteer units began to leave the Philippines and were replaced with regular Army units.⁴⁵

Despite the security downturn, the U.S. Army took a few positive steps in 1901 to right the situation. The Tagalog provinces were put under martial law according to the regulations under G.O. 100. Some garrison officers established local native police forces to maintain order. The Federal Party convinced many guerrilla leaders to surrender and accept American sovereignty. General John Bates was replaced by Brig. Generals Samuel S. Sumner and James F. Wade. An offensive undertaken by the pair in the summer of 1901 against the insurgents forced Cailles to surrender (June 24th) with his 600 men, almost 400 rifles, and 4,000 rounds of ammunition. However, Malvar was not brought in and he continued the insurgency. Exacerbating this error, neither Sumner nor Wade took the initiative to form a district intelligence unit to adequately exploit intelligence sources from the population. Nor did they form Scout companies from the region to fight or spy on their fellow citizens whom they knew supported the guerrillas. Non-native Tagalog units were dispatched to southern Luzon in June 1901. But Scout units would not be involved in serious combat for much of this period until the command of the provinces fell to General J. Franklin Bell.⁴⁶

At the end of November 1901, Major General Adna Chaffee, commander of all U.S. forces in the Philippines, replaced Sumner and Wade with Brig. General J. Franklin

⁴⁵*Ibid.*, 87-9.

⁴⁶*Ibid.*, 89-95.

Bell. Bell's successful counter-insurgency operations in the Ilocano provinces the previous spring gave him the reputation in the Army as a troubleshooter for resolving guerrilla wars. General Chaffee, responding to the continuing violence in southern Luzon, Samar, and elsewhere, reorganized the island's military commands from four districts to seven brigades. He also increased the force size in the Philippines from 37,000 to 48,000 troops. General MacArthur's army of 70,000, which Chaffee had inherited, fell drastically in numbers with the departure of the U.S. Volunteer units in late 1900. Of the 11,000-man increase, Bell's command, now designated the Third Separate Brigade, received 2,600 reinforcements, or a rise from 5,000 to 7,600. A significant portion of these reinforcements comprised six companies of Philippine Scouts, totaling 680 men. The companies' were demographically diverse, as Macabebes, Tagalogs, and Ilocano units were all well represented.⁴⁷

Utilizing his experience quelling the guerrilla war in the First District, General Bell organized a similar program for the Third Separate Brigade. The thirty-eight telegraphic circulars and general orders he issued throughout his campaign provided for his troops a detailed and effective plan of action against the insurgency. As in Abra province before, Bell introduced the Tagalog region to his concentration policy. Restricted to so-called "zones of protection," civilians could not travel outside the urban centers. They had to bring as much food and belongings into these zones from the countryside as they could. Bell set Christmas 1901 as the deadline for this transfer of residence. Any areas left outside the zones of protection were designated as insurgent territory and as combat zones. Any property or food left in these areas was confiscated or destroyed. General Bell directed that all civilians within the zones should be provided

⁴⁷*Ibid.*, 94-6.

adequate food, medical care, and security from terrorism. Other familiar programs from the Ilocano provinces that Bell brought to the Third Separate Brigade were tips and rewards about insurgents and weapons and military courts and trials for guerrillas. His most urgent improvement to operations in was the creation of an intelligence unit for the Brigade.⁴⁸

It was the intelligence battle wherein the Philippine Scouts became an integral part of the Army's strategy to win southern Luzon for the first time. The role outlined by Bell for the Scouts was as spies and counter-intelligence operatives working alongside native informants and police and the Brigade's intelligence officers in the region's towns and cities. Guerrilla sympathizers within the urban areas assisted the insurgency by collecting funds through taxes, transferring weapons and equipment to them, and providing safe houses for hiding from the Americans. The Scouts fought a shadow war in the streets, patiently uncovering who was helping the insurgents and conducting raids on homes and offices to capture the sympathizers. They then transferred these sympathizers to the custody of intelligence officers.⁴⁹

The intelligence officers used the information provided by sympathizers to give General Bell reports on the membership of guerrilla bands and urban networks. Wanting to receive the intelligence in a simple but comprehensive manner, Bell gave instructions for the information to be placed on 8x3 cards with standardized categories. The

⁴⁸*Ibid.*, 97-101.

⁴⁹J. Franklin Bell, *Telegraphic Circulars and General Orders Regulating Campaign against Insurgents and Proclamations and Circular Letters Relating to Reconstruction after Close of War* (Batangas Province: Headquarters Third Separate Brigade, 1902), 4.

categories included an individual's name, age, martial status, race, residence and occupation, and his or her political history.⁵⁰

Scout participation in anti-guerrilla combat operations in southern Luzon began in August 1901, ending in April 1902. On August 29, 1901, a small unit of Scouts participated in a patrol with Company F, U.S. 8th Infantry Regiment. The unit encountered and engaged a guerrilla band of 20 men near the village of Magdalena in Laguna province. The Scouts killed two insurgents and seized seven rifles. October 8th, a detachment of Macabebe Scouts and 21st Infantry Regiment soldiers attacked a 300-man insurgent body defending its base neighboring the village of Talisao, Tayabas. The Army-Scout force received timely reinforcements from other units of the 21st Infantry, preventing a defeat and serious casualties. The Scouts' commanding officer, 2nd Lt. Robert R. Bean, was killed in the course of the fighting. Another Scout suffered mortal wounds.⁵¹

On November 22nd, eight days before General Bell is named the commander of the Third Separate Brigade, ten Macabebe Scouts and eleven men from the 8th Infantry attacked and routed a small guerrilla band at the town of Luisiana. One insurgent was captured, along with a cache of seventeen rifles. One Scout received a wound to his ankle. On December 9th, near the village of Santa Ana, fifty Ilocano Scouts acting as advanced guards for a supply convoy with elements of the 21st Infantry, and 6th Cavalry were ambushed by guerrillas while in transit to Tiaon. No soldier or Scout was killed or wounded in the engagement. Five guerrillas were wounded. Two days later, a forty-

⁵⁰Ibid., 35-6.

⁵¹U.S. Department of War., United States. Army, Philippine Division, *Annual Report of Major General Adna R. Chaffee, U.S. Army, commanding Division of the Philippines. Oct. 1, 1901-Sept. 30, 1902, Vol. II* (Manila, 1902), 35-6.

eight-man patrol of the 17th Ilocano Scout Company, under a Lt. Hennessy, took a low-level guerrilla leader into custody after a raid on his headquarters near the town of Lipa. With him was a small weapons cache of three rifles and seven bolos and documents collected for intelligence. The next day, a six-troop squad of the 17th Ilocanos made a spectacular coup against the guerrillas operating in the mountains overlooking Lipa. They captured forty-two insurgents. A weapons cache of twenty-one rifles and 840 rounds of ammunition were seized. A building housing the guerrillas' entire rice supply was burned to the ground along with its contents. The Scouts achieved this masterstroke without having to use their weapons. On the same day, the 4th Macabebe Scout Company, in a combined operation with the 21st Infantry, fought insurgents at Tiason in an hours-long battle. The fight left one Macabebe wounded and one American soldier killed. On the 15th, the 17th Ilocano Scouts again achieved a tremendous victory over their guerrilla enemies. At the village of San Benita, they captured an insurgent colonel with a large pile of communiqués between guerrilla bands that proved to be an intelligence boon.⁵²

December 16, 1901, twenty-five Scouts of the 4th Macabebe under Lt. Reese conducted an aggressive combat patrol near the town of Lobo, flushing out and routing insurgent units along its axis of advance. Two insurgent dwellings and a cache of twenty rifles were destroyed. On the 17th, fifty 2nd Macabebe Scouts working in coordination with the 3rd Infantry and the 21st Infantry attacked a force of 20 guerrillas at the village of Sampa, Batangas. This was the culmination of a five-day patrol through the province's mountains. December 19th, several men of the 16th Native Scouts Company escorted a two-wagon supply convoy with the 6th Cavalry when it was attacked by guerrillas. The

⁵²*Ibid.*, 38-41.

Scouts and cavalymen repulsed the assault, with one scout wounded. On the 21st, a thirty-man detachment of the 7th Macabebe Scout Company under Lt. R. E. Brooks, with Company K of the 20th Infantry, routed guerrillas based near the town of Tayson. Six insurgents were killed, one captured, and a rifle with 50 rounds of ammunition were seized. The insurgent encampment and its consignment of three tons of rice were destroyed. December 30th, the day before New Year's Eve 1901, the 10th Macabebe Scout Company in a combined operation with the 8th Infantry, assaulted a small guerrilla band near Mount Macalog. The insurgents suffered eight casualties, killed, wounded, and captured.⁵³

After a month of preparation from his appointment on November 30, 1901, through December, General Bell was ready by the first of January 1902 to begin his great offensive against Malvar's guerrillas. He planned successive clearance operations along the borders of Batangas and Tayabas provinces where the insurgency was strongest. Bell initiated the first phase of his effort at guerrilla strongholds in the Lobo Mountains in Batangas.⁵⁴

Against the guerrillas in the Lobo Mountains, on January 1st, the Army threw in two giant columns of troops to sweep the region. The first contained elements of the 5th and 21st Infantry, 6th and 1st Cavalry regiments and the 14th, 16th, 18th, and 21st Native Scouts Companies, or 800 men in total. The second possessed elements of the 1st Cavalry, 20th and 21st Infantry, and the 4th, 7th, 10th, and 17th Scouts Companies, or 1,000 men total. Operating in fifty-man columns, the Scouts advanced in deliberative fashion along Batangas' coast, marching through the towns of Taysan and San Juan de Boc-Boc.

⁵³*Ibid.*, 41-5.

⁵⁴Ramsey, *Savage Wars*, 100.

The Scouts' mission was to destroy the insurgents' food supplies such as cattle, rice, hogs, corn, and chickens. They experienced some resistance, but it was dispirited and infrequent. The Scouts, working under their American counterparts, captured and destroyed numerous enemy bases. Although fewer than twenty insurgents were killed or captured, 800 rounds of ammunition and 1150 uniforms became Army property. The guerrillas' food supplies in the region vanished. Over 1,400 tons of rice and 3,000 bushels of corn were burned. The entirety of the insurgents' horses, cattle, and hogs fell to Army and Scout bullets and steel.⁵⁵

The raid on the Lobo Mountain strongholds compelled many insurgent leaders to surrender their men and weapons en masse during the rest of January and much of February. The Army exploited its success further, raiding more encampments and destroying more supplies. Fighting still occurred and the risks inherent in the fighting presented themselves as clearly as ever. February 11th, the 1st Macabebe Scout Company fought a guerrilla band in the Lipa Mountains, killing five, with one Scout wounded. On March 14th, a squad of eight Macabebe Scouts under a Lt. McNab, patrolling in the village of San Roque, ambushed a band of five insurgents, killing three. On April 14, 1902, two civilian scouts with a fifteen-troop detachment of the 21st Infantry, twenty-one armed Filipino civilian volunteers from Lipa, and seven Scouts from the 30th Native Scouts, assaulted an encampment of sixty guerrillas, routing them with no casualties. They seized one thousand cavans of rice, or 48 to 55 tons. Two days after this raid, on the 16th, Miguel Malvar gave up his struggle and submitted to General Bell. Malvar's lieutenants gradually surrendered over the next two weeks.⁵⁶

⁵⁵Chaffee, *Vol. II*, 46-7.

⁵⁶*Ibid.*, 47-55.

At the conclusion of hostilities in the Tagalog provinces of southern Luzon, U.S. Army and Philippine Scout units had killed or wounded a total of 470 insurgents. Another 1,102 were captured. The total number of insurgent weapons, captured or surrendered to U.S. forces, stood at a combined figure 4,240 rifles, pistols, and shotguns. The sweeps even brought in fourteen artillery pieces.⁵⁷

The contest between General Bell and Miguel Malvar in southern Luzon was the last battle between the United States and insurgents in Aguinaldo's guerrilla war. President Theodore Roosevelt announced the formal end to hostilities on the Philippine islands on July 4, 1902. Over 4,000 Americans had lost their lives to combat or diseases from 1899 to 1902. Almost 3,000 troops suffered wounds of various severities. Practically every unit in the U.S. Army at that time served on the archipelago. At least 20,000 insurgents died in the three years of fighting, and about 200,000 civilians succumbed to the ravages of a cholera epidemic spawned from the war. The Philippine-American War was over for most of the U.S. Army. But for the Philippine Scouts, the end of the guerilla war only meant they would face new challenges as the United States assumed effective control of its new colonial possession.⁵⁸

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, 55-7.

⁵⁸ Ramsey, *Savage Wars*, 102-3.

CHAPTER FIVE

Walking the Beat-Military/Civil Police Combined Action

One of the difficult challenges of counter-insurgency that American soldiers in the Philippines and their successors in Iraq and Afghanistan all dealt with was the transition of territorial control and administration from the U.S. military to the host-nation's civil government. A successful transfer of responsibility to a stable government enables the United States to remove its forces and return them home. That is what occurred in the Philippines. A year after President Theodore Roosevelt declared the guerrilla war over in July of 1902, the U.S. Army had reduced its troop levels in the archipelago from approximately 50,000 soldiers to just 17,000. By 1904, only 12,000 American soldiers remained in the Philippines.¹ Although guerrilla war is finally crushed and the military's responsibilities recede, security issues remain, now criminal ones, which the infant civil authority must confront. To tackle these new law-enforcement challenges to a peaceful society, the host-nation must have well-trained and skilled local and national police forces to arrest criminals and bring them before a court of law. It must also have police that possess paramilitary training to combat especially tough threats to the country's authority and legitimacy.

Like Iraq and Afghanistan today, the U.S. Army in the Philippines provided some of the needed assistance to the native police force: the Philippine Constabulary. The Constabulary was formed as the law enforcement arm of the islands' civil government,

¹Vick Hurley, *Jungle Patrol: The Story of the Philippine Constabulary* (New York: E.P. Dutton, 1938), 64.

the Philippine Commission, headed by its Governor-General William Howard Taft. On July 4, 1902, the same day President Roosevelt proclaimed the insurgency's end, Secretary of War Elihu Root transferred complete control of the Philippines, with the exception of Moro province, from the U.S. Army to the Philippine Commission.²

The Commission hoped to quickly raise municipal police forces headed by Americans and loyal Filipino subordinates. It recommended to Washington that local police units should eventually be highly organized under clear lines of authority. Furthermore, the Commission believed the municipal police had to be able to function both independently and in coordination with regional counterparts against mobile criminal gangs, while operating under tight U.S. supervision. The native police eventually grew into a proficient organization able to provide the islands with law and order against the ladrones, the bandits. In its first decade, however, the Constables were not at a sufficient strength or level of training to take over internal security duties without support. The return of American troops back to the United States left the Constabulary without a strong Army presence it could rely upon in case of emergency situations. The Philippine Commission wanted a strong garrison to remain on the islands, but it recognized that as politically unfeasible for the United States government. Moreover, it understood the lack of knowledge that Army troops always held of Filipino culture and languages. The Commission needed the assistance of an alternative military organization to aid the new police forces. Its members therefore looked, despite their long-standing

²Bonifacio S. Salamanca, *The Filipino Reaction to American Rule, 1901-1913* (Hamden, Conn: Shoe String Press, 1968), 33-4.

reservations of about its loyalty and competence, to the service of the Philippines' first host-nation security force, the Philippine Scouts.³

The Scouts' role under the Commission switched from anti-guerrilla combats soldier to temporary police officers patrolling the islands side-by-side with the Constabulary. The trials of combat for the Philippine Scouts did not end or even lessen with its new duties as cops walking the beat. Indeed, the trials grew in ferocity and the enemies the Scouts fought proved even more implacable than the insurgents ever did. The native troops helped bring the ladrones to justice and fought with the constables against the dreaded Pulajanes and the intractable Moros.

The United States Army's current counter-insurgency doctrine strongly emphasizes the development of an effective host-nation police force. Credible legal, political, economic, and social institutions, whether in the Philippines, Iraq, or Afghanistan, depend on the rule of law being enforced by trained members of police forces that possess multiple skills. These skills include criminal investigations, riot control, border enforcement, interrogating prisoners, security of public transportation and municipal infrastructure, intelligence, and paramilitary missions. Several years of thorough evaluation and instruction may be required before the civilian population sees its police forces as effective and legitimate arms of the host-nation's government.⁴

The jobs of the U.S. military pertaining to native police are two-fold: instructors and advisors. Members of the military function as instructors training new cadets and

³United States, Philippine Commission, Reports of the Philippine Commission, Civil governor, and Heads of Executive Departments of Civil Government of Philippine Islands (1900-1903) (Washington, D.C., U.S. GPO, 1904), 93-7.

⁴John A. Nagl, David H. Petraeus, James F. Amos, and Sarah Sewall, eds., *The U.S. Army/Marine Corps Counterinsurgency Field Manual* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2006), 230-32.

officers. Instructors are especially stressed to train their charges in the proper modes of prisoner detention and that these procedures conform to international legal standards. In addition, instructors must groom the certified support personnel (e.g. administration, vehicle maintenance, weapons specialists) the police will rely upon when its officers go out on patrol⁵

As advisors, the U.S. military typically coordinates with active police units. Advisors provide planning, logistical, and operational assistance, while the host-nation police takes the lead performing the missions. U.S. military forces can, and often are, called upon to execute missions in support of a police operation, but under stricter rules of engagement than a normal combat scenario. Host-nation military forces may also be involved in operations with the police. The involvement of a HNSF military in an internal security capacity is not seen as ideal in the U.S. military's current views, but the difficulties facing a host-nation determines how closely its military and police forces cooperate. Eventually, as circumstances improve, the responsibilities of the two agencies will diverge into specialized attentions to either external or internal security.⁶

The Philippine Commission, in its regulation of Act 175, created the Constabulary on August 18, 1901. Under the Act, the Philippine Constabulary was divided into 150-man detachments serving each province (forty in total) under the direction of so-called Inspectors, who were American. Five American chiefs of police (one Chief, four Assistant Chiefs) served as the Constabulary's overall leadership. Governor William

⁵*Ibid.*, 232.

⁶*Ibid.*, 212-13, 233.

Howard Taft chose Captain Henry T. Allen, U.S. 6th Cavalry, as the first Chief of Police. Allen had formed the Leyte Scouts in early 1900.⁷

Near the end of 1901, almost 2,500 Filipinos joined the native police, serving under 183 Inspectors (U.S. Army officers) in about 100 stations throughout the Philippines. By the end of 1903, the Constabulary grew to a force of 5,000 police manning 200 stations. The Scouts fielded a force of 4,800 troops by comparison. The police were armed with old 45-caliber Springfield and Remington rifles and shotguns rather than the Army's more modern Krag-Jorgensen rifles.⁸

On December 23, 1902, the Philippine Commission passed Act 568, re-creating the Constabulary into a para-military unit. U.S. Army officers commissioned in the native police received appropriate service ranks: Major (four), Captain (ten), and 1st and 2nd Lieutenants. A newly created rank of 3rd Lieutenant was reserved for newest members of the Constabulary officer corps. The leadership expanded from four to six assistant chiefs. Current and prospective officers now had to pass exams for entry and promotion. The exams covered a range of subjects from basic grammar and mathematics to drill instruction and physical fitness.⁹

The Philippine Commission tasked the Constabulary with the enforcement of laws and ordinances enshrined in the Spanish Penal Code as amended by the Acts of the Commission and municipal ordinances and published in the force's operational manual. Acts 518 and 1121 defined the legal classification of brigandage as individuals armed for the purpose of robbery (esp. agricultural crops and livestock) or kidnapping for ransom.

⁷Hurley, *Jungle Patrol*, 60, 71-2.

⁸*Ibid.*, 63, 79, 96.

⁹*Ibid.*, 110-11.

This offense is listed first in the Manual's list of primary offenses against law and order. The Acts laid out the evidence necessary for the Constables to prove guilt and justify conviction in court and the punishment for individuals arrested and convicted of accessory to a crime. Constabulary officers were authorized under municipal codes to form posses of able-bodied male citizens to assist in the arrest of ladrones. Act 519 and Act 899 empowered the Constabulary to arrest vagrants. The right of municipalities to enforce vagrancy laws was covered under Act 82 and Act 1683 of the Philippine Commission charged municipalities with the duty to cooperate with the Constabulary in the apprehension of ladrones or other criminals under the threat of two years of imprisonment for non-compliance. Further acts of the Commission covered regulations on firearms violations and licensing, homicide, rape, and arson, and theft.¹⁰

The Philippine Scouts were ordered to assist the Constabulary with the enforcements of the civil codes by an Act of Congress on January 30, 1903. The Scouts continued to serve and receive pay under the U.S. Army and their own (American) officers. Each Scout was issued a copy of the Constabulary operational manual with orders to return it after the completion of his detail with the police. During their stints with the Constabulary, the Scout officers acted as peace officers. As temporary police, the Scouts had the power to arrest individuals for violating the civil law, guard the accused and escort them to trial, and track down and bring in escaped convicts. Governor-General Taft requested some Scout companies to aid the Director of Health with the enforcement of national and municipal sanitary and health laws. The War Department directed that the chosen Scout companies were subject to the regulations of

¹⁰Philippine Constabulary, *Manual for the Philippine Constabulary, 1911* (Manila: Bureau of Printing, 1911), 71-5.

General Orders 99, which empowered the Chief (Allen) and Assistant Chiefs of Constabulary with the right to command the movement of the units operating in districts they controlled. The Army bore the costs of transport and rental property used during operations. After the threat to public order was alleviated, local district directors of Constabulary were required to inform Chief Allen so that the Scouts could be returned to service with the Army.

Ladrones

In the spring of 1905, eighteen Philippine Scout companies served with Constabulary units against bandit groups all over Luzon and the island of Samar. Of the eighteen companies, fourteen operated in the Tagalog provinces of southern Luzon, Cavite, Batangas, Rizal and Laguna. Two companies were stationed in northern Luzon. Finally, two companies, the 1st and 5th Philippine Scouts, served on Samar.¹¹

Two companies stationed in southern Luzon, the 11th and 23rd PS, were transferred to the Bataan peninsula in April to patrol the region and end a wave of banditry by ladrones. They were also used to patrol the border between Bataan and Cavite province in order to prevent bandits from achieving freedom of movement and thereby expanding their criminal activity. On one such patrol, the 23rd PS under a Lieutenant Costello ambushed a ladrone band. In the ensuing engagement Lt. Costello was wounded, one bandit was killed, and two weapons were confiscated.¹²

¹¹Cameron W. Forbes, Annual Report Of Secretary of War, 1905, Report of the Philippine Commission, 4 vols (Manila: Philippine Commission, 1905), 64.

¹²Ibid., 64.

The 9th PS patrolled the province of Nueva Ecija in northern Luzon with its base at the future WWII POW camp in Cabaunatuan. The majority of the unit carried out missions from the town of San Isidro and Penaranda. The 9th did not make any major arrests or confiscations of arms or stolen property. Instead, its constant presence in Nueva Ecija effectively discouraged ladrone bands from attempting to conduct their activities in the province.¹³

The 19th Philippine Scouts operated in the neighboring province of Bulacan, having been sent from its previous station in Laguna province. The unit had detachments scattered in every section of the territory, in the towns of Meyeauayan, Santa Maria, and Polo. The 19th PS worked closely with the Constabulary, traversing the mountainous terrain in a persistent effort to stop the raiders of a bandit leader called Sakay.¹⁴

From April through November 1905, these four Scout companies alone conducted over 1,800 patrols in their areas of operation, covering a combined distance of 27, 251 miles. They killed thirty-four bandits, wounded sixteen, and arrested seventy-four. Another seventeen surrendered peaceably. Almost sixty weapons were confiscated, along with 1,600 rounds of ammunition. Seventeen stolen horses and oxen were returned to their owners. The Constabulary, in conjunction with the Scouts, from January through June 1905 conducted over 3,000 patrols covering 90,000 miles in the provinces of Bataan, Batangas, Bulacan, Cavite, Laguna, Nueva Ecija, Nueva Vizcaya, Pampanga,

¹³*Ibid.*, 64

¹⁴*Ibid.*, 64-5.

Rizal, Tarlac, and Zambales. Together, the Constables and Scouts fought 120 battles with the ladrones, killing over fifty, wounding thirty-four, and capturing 263.¹⁵

Pulajanes (Samar)

The Pulajanes and the terror they inflicted on the residents of Samar was the gravest security challenge for the Scouts and Constabulary since the end of the insurgency in 1902. The term pulajan has its root in the word pula from the local dialects on Samar and Leyte. Pula is red in English, and it describes the color of the clothing of the hill tribes on the islands. The Pulajanes on Samar lived as poor rice and hemp farmers in the mountains and traded their crops in the markets in the coastal towns. The traditionally peaceful tribesmen lacked the type of financial education or business skills fielded by the coastal merchants and the shipping interests. As a result, the Pulajan was usually cheated out of the fair market value for his product, often receiving less than half of what it was worth. If he attempted to argue the injustice of a transaction, the unlucky mountain man was arrested and thrown in jail without trial or legal representation. For generations, the Pulajanes tolerated the abuse out of a sense of powerlessness and fear of a larger world they knew little about. This situation changed by 1904 as the hill tribes united under religiously militant leaders who used Christian rhetoric and symbolism to turn a fight for justice into a holy war against enemies viewed as anti-christs. The Pulajanes soon formed sizable fighting forces of up to 1,000 bolo-wielding warriors. Eventually, some 7,000 to 10,000 Pulajanes on Samar joined these forces.¹⁶

¹⁵*Ibid.*, 65-6.

¹⁶Hurley, *Jungle Patrol*, 130-32.

The mountain men fought the Scouts and Constabulary with simple but devastating tactics. Foregoing detailed ideas of offense or defense, they attacked with numerically-overwhelming human waves shouting cries of “Tad-Tad,” “Chop to Pieces.” Scout or Constabulary units unlucky enough to face a Pulajan charge were literally engulfed and crushed as their superior firepower was often not enough to avert a butchery of cold steel. The defenseless families living in the towns and villages along Samar’s shores never had the chance to fight back; entire towns were massacred and burned to the ground. Many became long-suffering captives of the hill tribes bent on revenge.¹⁷

The Pulajanes revolt erupted in July 1904. The town of Taurian was one of the first victims. The warriors murdered twenty-six people, slashing them to pieces with bolos. July 10th, the village of Cantaguio was raided by a band of Pulajanes under the leadership of Julian Caducay. The local teniente (Filipino representative of the Philippine Commission) was severely burned with a torch made from the village’s American flag doused in kerosene. To add further insult to the government representative, the Pulajanes removed the teniente’s lips in a gruesome surgery with a bolo. The lieutenant of the municipal police, also Filipino, along with several of his officers, was summarily executed. Cantaguio was then set afire and fifty villagers became captives. They were marched off to the mountains. Most were girls driven into a life of sexual slavery; the hill tribesmen’s’ designated them as their new concubines.¹⁸

The force presence on Samar in July of 1904 was too small to secure the towns or go on the offensive against the Pulajanes. On an island encompassing a territory of 5,000

¹⁷*Ibid.*, 132.

¹⁸*Ibid.*, 132-33.

square miles, the U.S. Army maintained several garrisons whose only mission was guarding their posts. In addition, these units operated under strict rules of engagement preventing them from conducting operations outside their immediate areas. This policy allowed the Philippine Commission to claim that the security situation on Samar was calm and did not justify declaring martial law. Such an action would indicate to Washington that it had clearly failed to do the job of pacifying the island's inhabitants.¹⁹

The Philippine Scouts on the island were only slightly stronger than the Army, which garrisoned its regimental headquarters in the town of Calbayog with a small force, while a full company ran missions out of its base in Laoang. The Constabulary patrolled the island from far-flung stations unconnected by a viable road network (five miles in 1904) with less than 400 hundred men. The latest intelligence reports on the Pulajanes greatly underestimated their size and their effectiveness. The Commission believed the small combined presence of U.S. and HNSF forces on Samar was large enough to handle what was perceived to be small bands of renegades numbering no more than twenty men each. In fact, the mountain tribes were gathering thousands of armed followers, showcasing a previously unknown and unrecognized ability to organize quickly and efficiently.²⁰

Constabulary patrols began to come under ever increasing attacks by the fall. Pulajan warriors in large bodies, often numbering 200 to 300, ambushed and virtually wiped out many of the patrols they engaged, and no prisoners were taken. The red-clothed victors then took the policemen's weapons and ammunition to supplement their

¹⁹*Ibid.*, 188.

²⁰*Ibid.*, 188-89.

arsenals of bolos. Even after receiving incoming reports describing events such as these, the Commission was not prepared to declare martial law.²¹

By November of 1904 the Philippine Scouts took the field against the Pulajanes. They too became the victims of the blood-curdling human waves. On November 10 Pulajan warriors overran a small element of Scouts guarding the town of Oras, killing thirteen and capturing a significant supply of weapons. On December 12, 1904, a detachment of the 38th Philippine Scouts, commanded by Lieutenant Hayt, was conducting a reconnaissance patrol near the village of Dolores when they were attacked by a mass of about 1,000 armed tribesmen under their leader, Pedro de la Cruz. Lt. Hayt and his Scouts fought valiently, killing 300 Pulajanes, almost a third of the attacking force. But, like many Constabulary patrols before them, they were exterminated. Only one man escaped. The rest of the Scouts died surrounded by the bodies of the enemy they killed. The 37th PS suffered the same fate on the 26th. The entire company, under Lieutenant Morton Avery, was cruelly extinguished after being caught patrolling swampland close to Oras. Only two men from the 37th PS escaped. The Pulajanes seized the opportunity from both victories to take sizable stockpiles of weapons and ammunition.²²

After the annihilations of the 37th and 38th Scout companies, the Philippine Commission realized the extent of the deteriorating situation on Samar and immediately put the Scouts and Constabulary under a united command under Chief Henry Allen. However, the Army itself did not yet field its own units to restore the island's security. The Commission hesitated to declare martial law. A declaration of martial law would

²¹*Ibid.*, 189-96.

²²*Ibid.*, 197-202.

have required the Army to take over the security effort, and the Commission was still unprepared to admit its fallings to the military or to Washington. Fifty-three towns and villages ceased to exist on Samar in 1904 after the Pulajanes finished raiding them, 50,000 people were now refugees.²³

The hill tribes soon united their separate efforts into one collective movement led by Enrique Dagujob. The militant commander expanded the scope of the massacres on Samar and forced the United States to concentrate large forces on the island to stop him. The Commission reinforced the combined Scout-Constabulary force with units of both organizations brought to Samar from other islands. At the end of 1904, the unified commanded swell from 700-1800 men. In addition, the Commission permitted the Army to employ 1,600 troops to garrison many of the towns previously guarded by native soldiers or police. The participation of the Army in a support role gave Chief Allen greater offensive power and flexibility to deal with Dagujob. Nearly 5,000 warriors had already been killed and 12,000 arrested by the close of the year, with 7,000 rifles and 45,000 rounds of ammunition confiscated. The cost of these successes for the Scouts and Constabulary was high. Two-hundred and eight officers and enlisted men lost their lives to Pulajan steel or bullets. Over a thousand died from diseases suffered from grueling patrols day after day.²⁴

On January 8, 1905, the 37th Philippine Scouts, under its new commander Lt. Averill, together with fifty Constables clashed with Dagujob's warriors and drove them out of the town of Maslog. On February 3, elements of the 18th and 35th PS assaulted and

²³*Ibid.*, 202-4.

²⁴*Ibid.*, 206-7, 232.

overran Dagujob's well-fortified headquarters. He retreated to back to Maslog where the Constabulary pounced on him two weeks later. Despite such victories over the Pulajanes, the Scout-Constabulary force was still too small to complete the job of pacifying Samar on its own. In late May, Chief Allen asked for and received expanded Army assistance. The 8th and 21st Infantry regiments arrived to take over responsibility for control of eastern Samar while the native forces operated in the western zone. About 1,600 more troops from the 12th and 14th Infantry assumed garrison duties in the coastal towns. The Pulajan movement on Samar destroyed had the social structure, bringing the island near chaos. Many citizens joined bands to protect themselves and feed their families. Law and order ceased to exist. The Army failed to receive much cooperation from civilians due to fear of reprisal, and the incessant fighting hit the Commission's budget hard.²⁵

May 1905 saw a change in strategy for both the Army and the Scout-Constabulary force. The unified native corps would now go on the offensive with U.S. troops. Future squadrons sent against the Pulajanes were divided equally in strength between American soldiers and Scouts/Constabulary.²⁶

The new strategy brought immediate results with the targeting of the Pulajan leader Enrique Dagujob and his stronghold. A task force of the 21st Infantry, Company E, under Captain Cromwell Stacey left its base in the town of Laguan on June 1, 1905. A large section of the 44th Philippine Scouts, Captain W.W. Taylor in command, joined the 21st at Catubig with bearers and guides. The guides were led by Constabulary 3rd Lt. Juan Sulse. As well as providing guides, he acted as an observer of the coming operation

²⁵*Ibid.*, 233-37.

²⁶*Ibid.*, 237.

against Dagujob. After three days slogging through heavy rainforest, the unit assembled before the Pulajan encampment. Fifty-one soldiers and scouts hit Dagujob's sanctuary at dawn against 400 enemy. The Pulajan warriors were well-armed with ample rifles and other small-arms. But the fight was short. Dagujob, a number of his lieutenants, and more than ninety Pulajanes died in thirty minutes of intense combat. Two prisoners showing the effects of systematic torture were freed.²⁷

With the death of their commander Enrique Dagujob, the Pulajanes movement on Samar fractured geographically and politically. The combined Army-Scout-Constabulary units conducted regular sweeps against renegade bands, especially in the north and east. In the field, the minimal command-and-control structure and operational tempo of the red-clothed fighters disintegrated under the strain of being hemmed in by unceasing patrols and raids. Most of the island was secure by the end of June 1905. However, Constabulary units continued to fight Pulajanes until early 1906.²⁸

Moros

The Moro people of the southern Philippines were traditionally followers of Islam, while the majority of the islands' peoples practiced Christianity. The Moros lived on the island of Mindanao and the islands of the Sulu Archipelago (Jolo, Basilan). These Muslim Filipinos had fought Spanish rule since the arrival of Europeans in the 16th Century. Over that period the Moros garnered a reputation as fierce, fanatical, and suicidal warriors who utterly refused to submit to any level of Spanish authority. After the United States defeated Spain in 1898 and seized the Philippines, it instituted a military

²⁷*Ibid.*, 240-44.

²⁸*Ibid.*, 246, 248-51.

government for the territory, re-named Moro Province, from 1899 to 1913. During that period, three generals enforced American policy over their new subjects. The first was Leonard Wood (1903-1906), then Tasker Bliss (1906-1909), and finally John J. Pershing (1909-1913).²⁹

When it first encountered and assumed control over the Moros in 1899, the United States was still fighting to subdue the guerrilla war waging on Luzon and islands farther to the north. As a result, the U.S. military ruled over Moro Province until 1903 in a non-interventionist fashion. It did not initiate combat operations, and Moro chieftains, called *datus*, were allowed to continue ruling with full authority, despite practices and customs Americans found unacceptable. Such practices included slavery, polygamy, authoritarianism, arbitrary laws, and blood feuds between Moros and non-Moros.³⁰

With the end of the guerrilla war in 1902, the United States felt freer to reform or abolish the elements of Moro society it believed backward and savage. Beginning with General Woods' tenure as military governor in 1903, the Army scrapped traditional laws and put all Moros under a new legal system. The Army also abolished slavery. The Spanish-era *cedula* tax (citizenship tax on adult males) was reinstated. The powers of the *datu* chieftains were curtailed, taking away their political and judicial authority. Army officers assumed the roles of civil governors in the place of the historical rulers. Laws were enacted by a newly formed legislative body under the Army and not the Moro village. If Wood met any resistance to his program, he dealt with it through punitive

²⁹Brian M. De Toy, *Turning Victory into Success: Military Operations after the Campaign: Leonard Wood, John J. Pershing and Pacifying the Moros in the Philippines: Americans in a Muslim Land, 99-114*, Fort Leavenworth: Combat Studies Institute Press, 2004, <http://cgsc.leavenworth.army.mil/>.

³⁰*Ibid.*, 89-90.

expeditions against villages, causing lopsided casualty figures (e.g. 500 Moros killed to seventeen U.S. troops after combat operations on island of Jolo). However, General Wood did improve many of the economic and social conditions of Moro Province. He expanded business activity with new marketplaces and refurbished roads and ports. Schools were built and sanitation improved under Woods' administration, while incidents of disease declined.³¹

Bliss and Pershing became more conciliatory in their treatment of the Moros. They discontinued the punitive expeditions and instead followed a policy of targeted punishment. Pershing tried to win the support of the local population by expanding upon Woods' programs of building roads and schools and learning about Moro culture. He also returned to the *datus* some of their own autonomy and kept the military out of local affairs. Pershing wanted to persuade the Moros to gradually accept the benefits of American rule. His scholarship on Moro society taught him how to show and earn respect. However, his 1911 policy of weapons confiscation (guns and hand weapons), intended to preserve peace and security, had the opposite effect of engendering hostility and renewed fighting.³²

The Moros saw their proud independence and ancient religious and cultural traditions threatened with extinction by the hand of new, alien, and rapidly-implemented American policies. They always viewed the *cedula* as an arrogant Spanish, and now American, tribute payment issued by foreign overlords, and they remained too proud to pay. The restrictions on the *datus*' powers, the striking down of their laws, and the

³¹*Ibid.*, 91-4.

³²*Ibid.*, 97-9.

abolition of slavery were seen as steps to wipe away the Moros' Muslim faith and convert them to Christianity. This perception, coupled with the American perception of Moros as obstinate, untrustworthy, incapable, and religiously extreme human beings, guaranteed long and bitter conflict.³³

The Moros fought the U.S. military as guerrilla warriors and as defensive specialists. Moro guerrilla warfare exemplified the tactics of the Juramentado. The Juramentado was a suicidal warrior who had been blessed by religious authorities to carry out a one-man campaign against U.S. troops or other enemies. He would try to kill or maim as many of his enemies as possible until he died in combat.³⁴ Armed with only daggers, swords, and spears, Juramentados committed hundreds of solitary attacks over a decade of conflict. On the island of Mindanao, in October 1911, one Juramentado attacked the base of the 2nd Cavalry regiment. He killed five soldiers despite being peppered with rifle shot and a point-blank blast from a shotgun. Another lone warrior, on Jolo, charged at a sentry post under heavy fire. He butchered two soldiers with a sword before dropping dead from nine rifle and pistol bullets to the chest and face. In yet another instance, eight Juramentados assaulted a large Constabulary camp surrounded with a sea of tangled barbed wire. Somehow, seven got through the wire and wounded many of the native police before being killed.³⁵

Despite the tremendous psychological terror which the Juramentados inflicted on the American soldier, what historically won wars for the Moros, especially against the

³³*Ibid.*, 92-3.

³⁴*Ibid.*, 93.

³⁵Hurley, *Jungle Patrol*, 315-19.

Spanish, was their expertise in building earthen fortresses called cottas.³⁶ Cottas were built with available natural materials in a simple construction design that could be built quickly and easily mass produced by anyone wishing to fight against American control and cultivate support to do so. Cotta construction typically began with a fort made with ten-foot walls made of dirt and rock. At the tops of the walls were numerous and well-spaced rifle pits. Each pit was equipped with bamboo tubes which Moro commanders used to view the progress of the enemy and direct counter-fire while being hidden from view. Obstacles made of bamboo were placed in front of the walls to impede attempts to assault the fort. In between the obstacles and the fort, a wide moat was constructed. Either filled with water or empty, the only access points across it were bamboo poles used as bridges. For the Scouts and Constabulary, waging war against the Moros required slowly and surely destroying the cottas.³⁷

Scout and Constabulary units first went into battle against the cottas in 1904. On Mindanao, the Constabulary operated a station in the town of Kudarangan. The Scouts and the 17th Infantry stationed garrisons there with two and three companies respectively. Each garrison sent out patrols into the bush to hunt down Moro guerrillas or to locate and destroy the cottas. Unfortunately, the combined efforts proved ineffective. The Moro regularly picked off members of these patrols and stole weapons without suffering losses of their own. Company F, 17th Infantry, lost 19 men in an ambush. Desperate to correct the problem, General Wood put Constabulary Lt. Leonard Furlong in charge of a small reconnaissance unit tasked with uncovering the extent of the Moro threat in the region. With only fourteen Constables, Lt. Furlong marched through the territory defeating

³⁶DeToy, *Turning Victory into Success*, 93.

³⁷Hurley, *Jungle Patrol*, 279.

guerrilla attacks, killing two, capturing three weapons and forcing the Moros to defend their major cotta in the Kudarangan area.³⁸

Though impressive, Furlong's patrol against the Kudarangan Moros did not prove as audacious as his other encounters. In the summer of 1906, Lt. Furlong led a small squad of eleven Constables, Scouts, and Moro civilian volunteers into the village of Bugasan, Mindanao, to arrest the men responsible for the death of an American soldier. He believed that the fugitives were few in number and holed up in a residence in the village. Actually there was a force of 100 Moros there. They encircled and struck Furlong's unit the moment it came to arrest the perpetrators. Miraculously, the lieutenant fought his way out of the trap and brought his men home without suffering any casualties. Six of the Moros died by his own hand.³⁹

In January 1913, the beginning of the last year of conflict with the Moros, the Scouts and the 6th Constabulary Company (Moro) on the island of Jolo launched a joint attack against the Sahipas Cotta. The Moro fortress was located on a flat plain barely twelve miles from the island's major city of the same name. Unlike most cottas, which were made of a combination of earth and rock, the Saiphas Cotta comprised ten feet of rock walls and boulders nearly impervious to artillery fire.⁴⁰

The combined Scout-Constabulary force, in fact, bombarded the cotta with one-pounder mountain guns prior to its assault. While some structures in the fortress sustained fire damage, the rock walls suffered little damage. The Scouts under a Captain McNally attacked first. His force immediately lost five men to Moro sharpshooters.

³⁸*Ibid.*, 281.

³⁹*Ibid.*

⁴⁰*Ibid.*, 324.

Another nine Scouts fell wounded. McNally himself was killed. The remainder of the force retreated. The Scouts' attack thwarted, the Constabulary, commanded by a Lieutenant Cochrun, went into action. Other riflemen cut down two Constables and wounded another six. Constable Lt. Whitney was hit in the leg. Scout Lt. Townsend, helping Whitney lead the native police, died from a sniper's bullet. Only two officers, lieutenants in the Scouts and Constabulary, remained as effective operational commanders. The attack was suspended. The wounded were evacuated to a makeshift aid station out of range of Moro bullets. The mountain guns renewed another salvo against the cotta's rock edifice. This time the new artillery barrage inflicted major damage to the walls and set fire to the bamboo obstacles surrounding the fort. The two officers led another charge against the cotta. They managed briefly to pierce the defenses and enter the stronghold, killing many of the Moros inside. But, both Scouts and Constabulary possessed too few men to exploit this breach, and the defenders soon repulsed them. The force again withdrew, this time to an Army post called Camp Taglibi. The ship transferred the wounded to an Army hospital in Jolo City. One final time, the much reduced Scouts and Constables marched against the Sahipas Cotta. Unlike before, the Moros slipped away, leaving the now heavily damaged fortification to its new owners.⁴¹

In late June to early July 1913, the 16th and 24th Philippine Scout companies, based on Jolo, destroyed two cottas in operations in the vicinity of Jolo City. Like the earlier struggle for the Sahipas Cotta, the Scouts began the attacks on the neighboring Tahil and Jahanal cottas with an artillery barrage from a mountain gun battery. They supplemented the bombardment with a unit of sappers armed with sticks of dynamite.

⁴¹*Ibid.*, 325-26.

The unit threw the dynamite into and on top of the cottas' walls, breaching holes leading to the forts' interiors. With the way now clear, soldiers from both Scout companies swarmed their objectives, routing out defenders from their rifle pits. The Jahanal Cotta proved tougher than its sister Tahil. To conquer the Jahanal Cotta, Lt. Walker of the 16th PS brought a mountain gun near a small breach in one of the walls and fired through it into the mass of defenders inside. Most of the Moros died covered with shrapnel wounds. The rest died vainly in the Scouts' mop-up action. The Scouts fought another successful action on Jolo against a cotta on Mount Talipao in October. Fifty Moros died fruitlessly trying to prevent the Scouts from reaching the summit. Dynamite and bayonets were employed to devastating effect against the cotta itself.

On December 15, 1913, in one of the last engagements against the Moros, a Scout-Constabulary force under 21-year-old Constable Lt. Donald Root fought a gang of bandits encamped on Mamaya Peak on Mindanao. The fierce fighting between the Scouts/Constables and the Raja Muda Randi band claimed Lieutenant Root as one of its first casualties. Badly hit and bleeding profusely, he stubbornly refused to suspend the assault. He left the battlefield unconscious. Severely wounded from the encounter, Lt. Root received the Constabulary's highest honor, the Medal of Valor.⁴²

⁴²*Ibid.*, 331, 342-44.

CHAPTER SIX

Special Operations-Manhunt

In our nation's current conflicts in Iraq and Afghanistan, Special Operations Forces provide a multitude of skills and expertly-trained personnel to assist conventional U.S. military and the host-nation security forces. Each SOF soldier is trained in a number of tasks usually departmentalized in the conventional forces. Such tasks include civil affairs, psychological operations, intelligence-collection, languages, and geographical and cultural backgrounds. In addition, SOF's have training in light-infantry tactics, combat medicine, communications, and counter-terrorism.¹

Of all the units the Army and Marine Corps field in their operations, the Special Operations Forces are best suited to conduct counter-insurgency operations. The primary mission for the SOF's in the current conflicts is to help train and advise host-nation security forces, including HNSF special operations, in FID (foreign internal defense). In fact, this has been the historic role of SOF in earlier counter-insurgency campaigns from Vietnam and El Salvador to the present.²

Alongside training of the HNSF, the Special Operations Forces conduct another mission in the counter-insurgency fight: counter-terrorism. Their training in languages and culture, combined with light-infantry and intelligence-collection skills, make them well-suited to locate and break up terrorist cells before they slaughter innocent civilians or destroy vital infrastructure. It is a specialization unique to the Special Operations

¹John A. Nagl, David H. Petraeus, James F. Amos, and Sarah Sewall, eds., *The U.S. Army/Marine Corps Counterinsurgency Field Manual*. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2006), 60-1.

²*Ibid.*, 203.

community. Unfortunately, the Army's current counter-insurgency manual does not go into greater detail on the types of missions counter-terrorist units undertake.³

However, in Iraq and Afghanistan, SOF's have been regularly employed to track down and arrest, or kill, mid-to-high level leaders in insurgent and terrorist organizations. If successful, the arrests of such difficult-to-replace bosses irreparably damage their organizations' ability to remain effective. Special Operations troops in the War on Terror have brought in leaders from the Taliban, Al-Qaida, the Mehdi Army, and Iranian-trained Special Groups. Iraqi and Afghan Special Forces units participate in the operations, operating independently or under SOF advisors. More than a hundred years ago, the United States conducted similar man-hunts for Filipino insurgent leaders. And, as today, host-nation security forces, the Philippine Scouts, assisted in their apprehensions. The following pages in the chapter give accounts of three such missions the Scouts undertook that helped end the insurgency: the captures of Emilio Aguinaldo and Vicente Lukban, and the death of San Miguel.

Emilio Aguinaldo

Since his escape from capture by American forces in the December of 1899, Aguinaldo had successfully hidden his locations from the U.S. Army for more than a year. He engineered his disappearance with tight security measures. No one outside his inner circle knew his exact whereabouts. Only select couriers carefully vetted and vouched for beforehand, carried his communications to the various guerrilla organizations throughout Luzon. Desperate to find Aguinaldo and stamp out the leadership of the insurgency, the Army spent thousands of troops and many months in a vain search for his hideout. Then,

³*Ibid.*, 60.

on February 8, 1901, troops of the 24th U.S. Infantry, commanded by Colonel Frederick Funston, received the surrender of one of Aguinaldo's couriers. Presenting himself to Colonel Funston at the latter's headquarters in San Isidro, Nueva Ecija province, Luzon, the courier, Cecilio Segismundo, turned over his collection of coded dispatches. These dispatches were meant to go to various guerrilla chiefs operating all over the island. Sick of the hazardous travel and mortal danger of duty to what he judged a lost cause, Segismundo switched his allegiance to the United States. He told Funston that Aguinaldo now had a secret base in the town of Palanan in eastern Luzon. It was so secret that even the local residents were unaware that the Filipino leader lived among them.⁴

After deciding Segismundo had told the truth about Aguinaldo's location, Colonel Funston asked for and received the courier's assistance in a mission to seize the enemy general and president. The plan, to enter Aguinaldo's headquarters undetected and take him prisoner, depended on deception and surprise. Failure to achieve either would alert Aguinaldo, and the opportunity to take him would vanish. To achieve both, Funston picked the services of the Macabebe Scouts. Many spoke Tagalog fluently and, unlike American soldiers, wore uniforms similar to the insurgents. American officers would still accompany the Scouts. In this operation, however, they played the part of prisoners being brought under guard to Aguinaldo by a guerrilla band. To keep Aguinaldo in place, Funston forged a coded message from an insurgent leader notifying the Filipino leader of the eminent arrival of reinforcements. With General MacArthur's endorsement of the plan, Funston then secured the use of the naval transport *Vicksburg* to shepherd his task force to Luzon's eastern coast. The body of the task force itself was comprised of

⁴Frederick Funston, *Memories of Two Wars; Cuban and Philippine Experiences* (New York: C. Scribner's Sons, 1911), 384-88.

eighty-one men of Company D, 1st Macabebe Scout Battalion. All were Tagalog speakers with extensive combat experience. They were armed with an assortment of rifles commonly used by insurgents rather than their regulation-issue Krag-Jorgensons.⁵

The *Vicksburg* left Manila on March 6, 1901, under a veil of heavy secrecy. Colonel Funston led the expedition personally. During the journey, the Macabebes' American officers constantly drilled the men until they memorized their roles as fake insurgents escorting prisoners. Funston had selected ten officers to play the part of the unfortunate captives of a cartography unit. He brought ten "captured" Krag rifles on the *Vicksburg* to make the ploy seem even more genuine. Funston also brought along a few former prominent insurgents, Dinisio Bato, Lazaro Segovia, Gregorio Cadhit, and Hilario Tal Placido, who, like Segismundo, masqueraded as guerrilla leaders. On March 12, Funston anchored the *Vicksburg* on Polillo Island where he purchased three very large sailing canoes. Too large to put on the ship, he had them towed behind it. These canoes were large enough to transport the entire task force. Knowing that Aguinaldo employed lookouts along the coastline to spot American ships, Funston planned to transfer his command to the canoes to avoid detection. Unfortunately, in route, all three of them sank during a storm. Now, Funston hoped he could sail the transport close to the objective and stay unseen.⁶

On the 14th of March, the *Vicksburg* landed Funston, his officers, and the eighty-one Macabebe Scouts in the dead of night on the shores of Casiguran Bay, more than 100 miles from Palanan. Colonel Funston sent a letter to the mayor of Casiguran town in the

⁵*Ibid.*, 391-97.

⁶*Ibid.*, 398-402.

care of Segismundo and two Scouts announcing the arrival of the “reinforcements” for Aguinaldo with their “prisoners”. Upon their arrival at the town, the deputy mayor greeted Segismundo, and the task force became welcome guests with a band celebrating their entry with music. Segovia acted as the leader of the fake guerrilla unit. The deputy mayor furnished several houses as provisional barracks for the Scouts and another as a jail for Funston and the other captive officers. After accepting Casiguran’s naive hospitality for three days, and some food for the long journey, Funston started again for Palanan. His route followed the coastline for most of the march, and it rained heavily during the week-long ordeal to see Aguinaldo. The Scouts supplemented their limited food supplies with fish and snails they caught along the way.⁷

On March 22, ten miles outside Palanan, Funston’s detachment was spotted by one of Aguinaldo’s lookouts. The lookout escorted the men to a planned holding area for the prisoners eight miles from Aguinaldo’s camp. Seeing that the mission would end there, if that occurred, Funston concocted another of his fake letters. This letter stated that Aguinaldo issued new orders for the prisoners to be brought to Palanan. The warden of the makeshift prison swallowed the ruse, and the task force once again set out for Aguinaldo’s encampment. They were nearly caught by an insurgent unit, marching in the opposite direction to the holding area to take charge of the “prisoners”. The close-call caused Funston and the officers to be separated from the Macabebe Scouts who had gone on ahead as the “reinforcements.”⁸ Near the edge of the town, two of Aguinaldo’s officers greeted the Scout force, now under Segovia and Tal Placido, and escorted them to see their general. At his base, Aguinaldo fielded a small force of fifty men and seven

⁷*Ibid.*, 404-14.

⁸*Ibid.*, 416-18.

officers. The Filipino leader lined up his men to act as an honor guard at the base parade ground welcoming the “reinforcements”. Segovia and Tal Placido conferred with Aguinaldo at his headquarters. The Scouts directly faced the honor guard across the grounds. At Segovia’s order, the Macabebes fired upon the honor guard, killing two of them and wounding the leader of Aguinaldo’s military band. Tal Placido then grabbed Aguinaldo, restraining him in a rear bear hug. Funston arrived soon after to reassume command of the task force and take Aguinaldo and his officers and men into custody. One of Funston’s officers took pictures of the now unfortunate general. Eighteen rifles and 1,000 rounds of ammunition were captured. The entire stockpile of communications to insurgent leaders was also seized. Funston marched his august prisoner and his unit to Palanan Bay. From there, they re-embarked onto the *Vicksburg* on March 25 to sail back to Manila.⁹

Funston’s triumphant task force arrived in Manila on March 28, 1901. Aguinaldo issued a call to all remaining insurgent leaders that they should surrender and pledge their loyalty to the United States. His proclamation convinced many of them to do so, helping shorten and end the insurgency.¹⁰

Vicente Lukban

Vicente Lukban was the chief guerrilla leader on the island of Samar from 1901 to 1902, where he commanded 3,000 insurgents. Like many of Aguinaldo’s generals, Lukban was Tagalog, born in Tayabas province in southern Luzon. He had first fought against the Spaniards in 1896 and then against American forces in the Tagalog region.

⁹*Ibid.*, 419-24.

¹⁰*Ibid.*, 425-28.

After the capture of Aguinaldo in March of 1901, Lukban became the chief focus of American efforts to end the insurgency. Those efforts intensified in the aftermath of the Balangiga Massacre in September 1901 when over fifty U.S. troops died in a brutal surprise attack on the town. Even before the episode galvanized the United States to hunt him down, Lukban narrowly escaped a raid in mid-August by troops of the U.S. 1st Infantry Regiment against his headquarters in the village of Del Rosario. However, although he escaped, his wife, son, and mother-in-law fell into American custody. Lukban, with a small contingent of men, sought refuge in the remote Yava River Valley. There he and his men moved around constantly to avoid discovery from Army or Scout patrols. No word on his location was heard for several months.¹¹

Then, on February 11, 1902, native spies reported to the Army's Laguan garrison Lukban's position at the village of Tamay. The garrison's commander, Captain George Bell, Jr., wanted to act quickly on the intelligence before Lukban shifted his location yet again. Nominally, Bell possessed enough troops from the two companies based in Laguan, Company B, 1st Infantry and the 39th Philippine Scouts. Unfortunately, the majority of these forces were conducting patrols elsewhere. Only half of the 39th's strength remained on base. Command of the remaining Scouts from Leyte and Samar fell to 1st Lieutenant Alphonse Strebler, formerly a soldier in the Prussian army. Bell ordered Lt. Strebler out into the field to locate and capture Lukban. Strebler left Laguan with forty Scouts and nine U.S. troops on the morning of the 12th. Now began a week-long odyssey to find the elusive guerrilla leader. Barely a day into the search, a soldier fell victim to a booby-trap, badly tearing up his foot. Two other soldiers brought him to a

¹¹Eugene F. Ganley, "Mountain Chase," *Military Affairs* 24, no. 4, Winter 1960-1961, 203-5.

hospital at Tagabira. On February 14, Valentine's Day, Lt. Strebler and the men of the 39th PS crossed the rapid-choked Sag-od River using rope-lines thrown across it to form a makeshift "bridge". They then gingerly crossed on the bridge, careful not to slip into the fast-flowing river forty feet below, and quickly marched toward the village of San Juan de Buan. But Strebler, not trusting the loyalty of his guide, returned to the crossing at the Sag-od and encamped the 39th there. Lt. Strebler turned over the duties of guide to the company's chief NCO, Sergeant Pedro Lora. Thirty years old, a native of the island of Leyte, and already a veteran of campaigns with both the Spanish and American armies, Sgt. Lora played a pivotal role in the capture of Lukban.¹²

On February 15, 1902, the 39th PS moved from the Sag-od into jungle and mountains. Sgt. Lora led as the expedition's guide. The area the Scouts now traversed swarmed with insurgent bands. Worried about exposing his unit's position, Lt. Strebler forbade his Scouts from firing their weapons without his express authorization. Lora spotted one such band resting by a cave. The Sergeant, with two other Scouts, rounded up the guerrillas using only their bayonets. No one suffered casualties on either side. The next day, Lt. Strebler's company reached the Yava River, following its banks until it came to a village with the same namesake. A guerrilla force garrisoned the village. From information gleaned from the insurgents captured the previous day, Strebler and Lora believed Lukban himself took refuge there. Just like Lora's action on the 15th, Strebler raided Yava with a bayonet charge. Similar to the 15th, no one from either side was killed, and the Scouts captured all of the insurgents. However, Lukban still eluded capture. Hoping he still roamed the vicinity, Lt. Strebler fanned the surrounding mountains with patrols. Each patrol came back at the end of the 16th with no prisoners or

¹²*Ibid.*, 205-8.

word of Lukban, except two. On February 17, the of first of the two patrols, led by a Corporal Repasa, captured four guerrillas along with communications from the guerrilla chief, and repatriated four carbines stripped from the dead of Company C, 9th Infantry at Balangiga. Repasa's patrol had accidentally walked into the insurgents' encampment. Suddenly, the Corporal faced off against a charging, bolo-wielding guerrilla. Still obeying Strebler's order not to discharge his weapon, Repasa and another corporal named Briones wrestled and clubbed the insurgent until he dropped to the ground unconscious. The second patrol captured one guerrilla who told the Scouts that Lukban was staying in the village of Matarag.¹³

On February 18, 1902, the 39th PS, Sgt. Lora still leading from the front, quickened its marching pace. The Scouts captured another insurgent. This one held yet another message from Lukban, addressed to the mayor of Maleju village. Lt. Strebler launched an attack on the village, but found it empty, except for the mayor himself. The mayor informed Strebler that Lukban's headquarters was located in the nearby mountains. Now desperate, the 39th practically ran the two hours' distance, most now barefoot, over hard ground covered with leeches. They surrounded Lukban's hideout, a lone hut situated on a jungle trail. Lukban and two insurgent officers were trapped inside. Strebler prepared to attack the hut, dividing his forces into two groups. One group of twenty Scouts under Strebler and Lora covered the front entrance while another group of ten Scouts under a Sergeant Bayona guarded the rear. After his men got into position, Strebler assaulted the hut. However, just when the Scouts reached its walls,

¹³*Ibid.*, 208-9.

Lukban calmly exited the entrance in his uniform and surrendered to the Lieutenant.¹⁴

Vicente Lukban's capture meant the downfall of the insurgency on Samar and the surrenders of all the other guerilla leaders on the island. It also crushed the last spot of effective resistance in the Philippines. After the end of his military career, Lukban fought in the political arena and was elected governor of his home province of Tayabas. Sgt. Lora's exploits earned him a promotion to the rank of Lieutenant in the United States Army. He became the first Filipino Scout to achieve the honor. He died a year later from cholera. He was 32 years old.¹⁵

San Miguel

After the official suppression of the insurgency in July 1902, many guerrilla commanders turned into renegades stubbornly continuing the fight long after the last chance for victory. San Miguel was one such commander. Foremost among insurgent leaders in the central Luzon provinces of Bulacan and Rizal, he became one of the last holdouts after Aguinaldo and Lukban surrendered. Instead of turning himself in, San Miguel created a new resistance army in 1903 to fight the United States. He named it the New Katipuneros, a reference to the Katipunan, the resistance organization formed years before by Andres Bonifacio and later commanded by Aguinaldo to fight the Spanish. In early 1903, San Miguel led the New Katipuneros in a struggle against the fledging Constabulary. His renegade guerrillas frustrated the efforts of the native police to enforce the laws and authority of the Philippine Commission in Bulacan and Rizal. Chief Allen received the assistance of seven Scout companies. One of these companies was the the

¹⁴*Ibid.*, 209-10.

¹⁵*Ibid.*, 210.

4th Philippine Scouts, under 1st Lt. Boss Reese, which the Army transferred from Batangas to the city of Caloocan, bordering both Bulacan and Rizal, on February 23rd. Immediately after its arrival, the 4th began a month-long patrol of both provinces. The combined force of 2,000 Scouts and Constables patrolled the provinces heavily, forcing the New Katipuneros to engage them in battles that drained their pitiful reserves of men and weapons. The overwhelming presence of both forces also stripped the guerrilla leader of access to the civilian population. However, San Miguel still refused to concede defeat.¹⁶

The Army suspected that the pressure being exerted on San Miguel had convinced him to relocate outside Bulacan and Rizal. Believing he had retreated to an area called Corral Na Bato, just outside of Manila, the Army ordered the 4th PS under Lt. Reese and the 1st PS under Lt. Frank Nickerson to comb the region. They were ordered to ascertain San Miguel's location and capture him. Even though it had already served over a month in the field without rest, the 4th PS, together with the 1st PS, left Caloocan with a force of 170 men on March 27, 1903. After arriving in the town of San Francisco del Monte on the same day, the two Scout companies divided their forces into about eight twenty-man squads and swept the Corral Na Bato from the north to the southeast. In order to sweep the large area with so few men, the squads operated approximately a mile apart from one another. When one squad made contact with an enemy force, all others were ordered to go instantly to that location and support it.¹⁷

¹⁶James Richard Wollard, "The Philippine Scouts: the Development of America's Colonial Army." (Master's thesis, Ohio State University, 1975), 103-4.

¹⁷*Ibid.*, 104-5.

Less than three hours elapsed when one of the squads found San Miguel and 150 New Katipuneros holed up in an abandoned and crumbling Spanish fort. The fort was arranged in an L-shape with thick walls, bordering the San Francisco del Monte River, Most of the fort's approaches were blocked by dense brush and bamboo growth, making flanking movements impossible. The men inside could fire unimpeded from within the walls without risking retaliation. More squads from the 4th and 1st PS quickly converged on the fort to cut off every avenue of escape. Both sides traded withering barrages of rifle fire for over half-an-hour with no casualties and no effect. Realizing he could only take the fort through a direct attack on the enemy's positions, Lt. Reese led thirty-five Scouts on a suicidal charge against the north and east walls. Insurgents at both positions were routed after a brief fight at close-quarters, fleeing right into the guns of the other Scouts. Sixty of the New Katipuneros died in the melee, including San Miguel. He tried, like many of his guerillas, to rush the Scout positions and cross the river to make his escape. Although, some New Katipuneros did escape, San Miguel died from wounds he received in the battle. The 1st and 4th PS together suffered fifteen casualties, including three killed. Lt. Reese was wounded as he led his outnumbered Scouts over the walls. With the loss of their leader at the Corral Na Bato fort, the New Katipunero insurgent movement faded away.¹⁸

¹⁸*Ibid.*, 331, 342-44.

CHAPTER SEVEN

Conclusion

The Philippine-American War from 1899 to 1913 proved a highly unusual type of military and political challenge for the United States. Iraq and Afghanistan present similar challenges today. The counter-insurgency campaigns the U.S. military wages now must be guided and judged by the historical lessons from our country's involvement in the Philippines more than 100 years ago. The highest lesson our military must learn in order to win any counter-insurgency campaign is the building and fielding of the host-nation security force.

The Philippine Scouts comprised the first host-nation security force formed and trained by the United States to conduct counter-insurgency operations. The Scouts' success in battle against the insurgents, the Pulajanes, and the Moros, permitted the United States to transition the Philippines from military control to civilian government. The importance of transition can never be underestimated in counter-insurgency warfare, past or present.

The United States wished to assume strategic military control and create a colonial government on the archipelago. More importantly, it wished to do so with limited manpower and expenditures. To achieve such success, the United States had to give the Filipinos themselves strong incentives to work with their American rulers and against the native insurgency. Filipinos who cooperated with the United States achieved wide latitude of political freedoms and self-government. Economic life improved dramatically from the primitive conditions of Spanish colonialism. Infrastructure projects like roads, bridges, and ports were built or expanded upon to enhance economic

activity, transportation, and communication. Public education for many Filipinos, rich and poor, became a possibility for the first time.

The many advantages gained from cooperation with the U.S. encouraged many Filipinos to fight alongside the U.S. military as part of the Philippine Scouts in order to provide the security and order necessary for a peaceful Philippines. As the Scouts' improved in training and combat performance, they assumed more responsibility for providing security for the islands. The United States, in turn, was able to steadily reduce its own military presence and avoid the expenses required to maintain a large, long-term occupation over a population of eight million people. The price that would have been paid if the U.S. had adopted the latter policy includes more than financial cost. In four years of war against Filipino insurgents, the U.S. Army lost more than 4,000 men to combat and disease. The insurgents lost more than 15,000. Civilian deaths due to collateral damage, terrorism, diseases, economic disaster, and social dislocation topped 200,000 people.¹ If the United States had fought a purely conventional war and followed it up with a more invasive occupation requiring much larger military forces the results of the war would have been more disastrous still.

A clear example of how the war in the Philippines would have been more disastrous is the British experience in the Boer War. Like the initial period of the Philippine-American War, the Boer War in South Africa was fought from 1899-1902. Great Britain, like the United States, fought a guerrilla enemy (commandos) that had the support of the civilian population. Unlike the United States, however, Britain refused to adopt a counter-insurgency strategy to fight the Boers and politically persuade them to

¹Max Boot, *The Savage Wars of Peace: Small Wars and the Rise of American Power*. (New York: Basic Books, 2002), 125.

end their war for independence. Early in the war for South Africa, Major-General Lord Kitchener decided to wage a standard conventional war against the Boer guerrillas, using overwhelming force under a very centralized command structure. By contrast, U.S. Army generals in the Philippines, such as J. Franklin Bell, were allowed and encouraged to run their local areas of operations with great autonomy. Thus, Bell could fashion a pacification policy that balanced punishments from G.O. 100 and the zones of protection with rewards and incentives to encourage the insurgents to surrender. In South Africa, Kitchener played the part of a micro-manager, personally directing the size and scope of all areas of operations, regardless of conditions.²

Seeing the South African war as a traditional colonial expedition to punish unruly natives, Kitchener had no motivations to form strong and reliable HNSF's. Britain did employ Boer and African native troops and police, over 30,000, five times the number of the Philippine Scouts. However, the British treated their native forces as second-rate untrained levies only good for selective guard duties. Virtually none of these units saw combat.³ The Philippine Scouts themselves performed guard duties in their service with the U.S. Army. But, such duties were utilized as part of a steadily more comprehensive and sophisticated training program meant to prepare the Filipino soldiers to take over from their American counterparts. Their units fought in many engagements, and some within the ranks were given command and administrative responsibilities as non-commissioned officers. Eventually, a few earned commissions in the U.S. Army.

Instead of seeing the advantage of the HNSF concept, Kitchener, and Britain's civilian leadership, poured an incredible amount of manpower into the fight against the

²Eversley Belfield, *The Boer War* (London: Archon Books, 1975), 30-1.

³*Ibid.*, 132.

Boers. In all, 500,000 British (Regular, Militia, Yeomans and Volunteers), Australian, New Zealander, South African (British and Boer), and African troops were fielded against a Boer army of less than 90,000. The entire Boer population in South Africa numbered approximately 450,000 people. Yet, even with an army larger than the entire population it was waging war against, it took the British three years to defeat it. Over 20,000 British soldiers died from battle or disease. By comparison, 4,000 Boer troops lost their lives. Exasperated with the civilian population's continued support for the guerrillas, Kitchener put 114,000 (most of them women and children) into thirty-six concentration camps. Another 100,000 Africans supporting the Boers entered similar camps. There the inmates suffered horrifically from poor sanitation, unchecked epidemics, and lack of food. Unlike General Bell's concentration policy in southern Luzon, General Kitchener provided no serious administration of the camps. He left that responsibility to often corrupt and brutal officers who had no training in handling prisoners of whatever number. Consequently, 20,000 Boer civilians died as captives. The numbers for African deaths is unknown.⁴

The legacy of the Boer War was one of lingering bitterness between the British and white South Africans that lasted well into the 20th Century. Great Britain did succeed in maintaining control of one of the most strategic points on the African continent. It served the country well during both World Wars. But, the price the British had to pay was to see South Africa slowly evolve into an apartheid state. Attempting to salve the wounds of the conflict, the British granted the Boers the right to exclude the African majority from the political process. In fact, the British sacrificed their political programs

⁴*Ibid.*, 141-42, 168.

of immigration and broad democratic participation for the country so the Boers could be appeased.⁵

The legacy of the United States' involvement in the Philippines, by contrast, bequeathed a country shaped heavily by American democratic institutions, allowing them to become the first nation in Asia or the Pacific to have an elected legislature (1907). In the decades after the end of hostilities, the United States followed a gradual program in which the Filipinos achieved more political freedoms and autonomy, culminating first with a commonwealth in 1935 and then independence in 1946. The Filipinos were and often are now critical of U.S. motivations regarding their islands. But, during the Japanese occupation of the country in World War II, the Filipinos remained steadfastly loyal to the United States. The Philippine Scouts, after 1913, had settled into a life as garrison troops guarding the land of a future independent country. When Japan invaded the islands, however, the Scouts again entered combat, fighting tenaciously on Bataan and Corregidor. The Filipinos fought as soldiers and guerrillas in their fight for liberty, with the Americans fighting beside them.⁶

From 1899 to 1913, the Philippine Scouts' participated in various types of missions crucial to the U.S. Army's successful counter-insurgency program. As combat soldiers fighting with U.S. troops in the field, the Scouts provided essential support and skills in the war against the guerrillas. This relieved the Army of the task of calling up more units which had either been physically spent for constant deployments or reluctant to travel from the United States, where the general public was growing increasingly disenchanted with the war's continuation. As guides, spies, and reconnaissance units,

⁵Thomas Pakenham, *The Boer War* (New York: Random House, 1979), 611-12.

⁶Boot, *The Savage Wars of Peace*, 125.

Philippine Scout companies gathered valuable intelligence from the insurgents' civilian supporters and from captured documents. The intelligence collected led to the breakup of urban cells and resulted in the destruction of guerrilla infrastructure and supplies. As police officers, the Scouts assisted the Constabulary with the discharge of the rule of law. In an era of Philippine history when the country was still not yet stable and civil government struggled to assert itself, the Philippine Scouts enforced the law and protected the civilian population at great cost to themselves. Finally, as Special Operations soldiers, the Scouts captured or killed high-level leaders of the insurgency frustrating the establishment of American control. The capture or death of the insurgency's leadership, at the hands of the Philippine Scouts, wrecked its further prosecution. Guerrillas, seeing their commanders killed or imprisoned and forced to pledge loyalty to the United States, saw no other recourse than to surrender and hope for leniency.

Creating and fielding a host-nation security force like the Philippine Scouts is not a guarantee of success in a counter-insurgency scenario. But such a force does give its creator greater opportunities to succeed. For political, economic, and social goals to be met, security of a locality, a province or state, a region, and a country must also be met. Only a partnership with allies from within the civilian population can grant such positive outcomes and allow for transition. Only after a strong, capable, and reliable HNSF is in place to protect the host-nation and assure peaceful governance and population security can every single American soldier come home.

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