

Crossing the Cordillera: Aguinaldo and Identity Politics

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ABSTRACT

Because they have been in the margins of empire, the indigenous peoples of the Philippines are invisible in national narratives. Pertinent to the time at the turn of the 20th century when Filipinos were undergoing the process of forming a nation, this question is posed: Were the indigenous peoples participants or mere spectators of the period?¹ This paper focuses on the *tribus independientes*² of the Cordillera at the turn of the 20th century when the subject population of Filipinas was in the process of developing a national consciousness. It was also during this period

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when the region had a close encounter with Emilio Aguinaldo who was being pursued by the American forces. It was a chance interaction, but it was laden with the formation of inter-ethnic images between the Igorots and the revolutionary forces. The paper begins with a survey of the historiography of the period as context to the Cordillera-Aguinaldo forces encounter; presents the conditions in the region and the relations of the region with the revolutionary government; and analyzes Simeon Villa's journal and other related sources as bases for the reactions of both the Igorots and the revolutionary forces when Emilio Aguinaldo's party crossed the Cordillera.

KEYWORDS

Cordillera, historiography, inter-ethnic images, Aguinaldo, Philippine-American War

CORDILLERA HISTORIOGRAPHY AND THE PHILIPPINE-AMERICAN WAR

Frontier areas or spaces whose experiences are within the framework of what James C. Scott calls "the art of not being governed" are hardly visible in national narratives. The celebration of the centennials of the Philippine Revolution and the declaration of Philippine independence in the context of the Philippine-American War provided an arena for the production of local and regional histories. Two patterns of historical writing are discernible. The first group of historiographic works attempted to capture translations of national events to local communities and

regions. One example is locating Katipunan chapters in local communities. This body of works tends to assume that national events are unifying threads with utter disregard for diversities in responses of and conditions in Filipino local communities. The second group of historiographic works created nuanced histories that recognize the heterogeneity among Filipino communities despite efforts of the Spanish colonial order to consolidate its empire. At the turn of the 20th century, Filipinos were in a spectrum of direct colonialism and pericolonialism. These two general categories need not be antithetical; even if local and regional histories punctuate the differences rather than similarities in experiences, they contribute immensely to a more meaningful national narrative.

The events surrounding Emilio Aguinaldo went beyond Manila and its environs. The occasion of the 150th birth anniversary of Emilio Aguinaldo made available a venue to focus on regional and local histories and how these are nuanced but nonetheless relevant to national narratives. The historical memory of Emilio Aguinaldo and his connection to the Cordillera may be merely considered a brief moment of three years, but a critical analysis of the encounter uncovers aspects of the Philippine American-War that are not evident in a generalizing and homogenizing history of the event. Ethnic divides and views of the revolutionaries on Filipino indigenous peoples, to name a few, are apparently just marginal notes.

The book, *Resistance and Revolution in the Cordillera* (1994), a compendium of works on the Cordillera region and its peoples during the events from 1898 to 1902, was

an initiative to contribute to the national narrative. The regional and local histories address the conditions as well as the participation of the peoples of the Cordillera in the events at the turn of the 19th century that are perceived to be national in scope. The occasion of the 150th birth anniversary of Emilio Aguinaldo provided a venue for a review of the historiography of the period.

While diverse in perspectives, the historiographies contained in *Resistance and Revolution in the Cordillera* address a common question: Were the peoples of the Cordillera participants in the events starting from the Philippine Revolution of 1896 until the Philippine-American War that “ended” in 1902? William Henry Scott’s *The Discovery of the Igorots* (1974) remains the most comprehensive work on the Spanish-Igorot encounter. In *Resistance and Revolution*, three articles of Scott focus on responses of the indigenous peoples to the Spanish colonial order. They highlight the triumph of the Cordillera *tribus independientes* in defending their ancestral domain. Even in the absence of a pan-Cordillera resistance in the region, Scott notes that there were attempts to forge alliances among indigenous communities; the Bontoc of 1881 and the Bontoc conspiracy of 1894 were occasions when resistances reached the supra community level. This may be attributed to the level of urbanization of Bontoc where a Spanish garrison was established towards the end of the 19th century.

Luis Talastas, a local historian from Mountain Province, reconstructs how the *ili* (village) of Lias in the eastern section of the province staunchly warded off the

Spaniards in an encounter in the late 1880s. The author emphasizes indigenous practices and worldviews related to war against intruders in general and the Spaniards in particular. This brings us to interrogate local narratives of resistance during the colonial period. Were these reactions anti-colonial or just sporadic reactions to outside forces?

The aforementioned historiographic works are essential in understanding the context to the reactions of the Cordillera indigenous communities to Emilio Aguinaldo and the revolutionary forces when they traversed the Gran Cordillera Central while fleeing from the Americans.

The other historiographic works in *Resistance and Revolution* locate connecting threads to the national movement of the period. A translated narrative of Fanged, a native of Samoki, Bontoc, who was a participant in the Battle of Caloocan in 1899 implies that the national revolutionary forces considered the recruitment of indigenous peoples for the war of liberation. It also reveals the degree of awareness of the indigenous peoples of the space beyond their region. The Itneg of Abra by virtue of their proximity to the Ilocos region which directly experienced political and cultural hispanization were greatly influenced by events in their environs and the influx of Iloko migrants to Abra who eventually became the dominant population. Ilocos history is replete with stories of resistance during the Spanish period some of which have been integrated into the national narrative, e.g., the Silang couple's uprisings, the Basi Revolt, *Ikkis ti Candon* (Cry of Candon) to name a few. Fay Dumagat's "The Role of the Itneg (Tinggian) in the 1896 Revolution" traces the involvement of the Itneg

in the national movements through the recruitments made by Isabelo Abaya of Candon, Gregorio Aglipay, and Juan and Blas Villamor. The Itneg who were recruited by the latter were integrated into the Tinio Brigade. Dumagat poses the question of whether or not the Itneg participation as combatants or supporters of the national movement was anchored on an anti-colonial stance or simply out of curiosity.³

Rowena Reyes Boquiren analyzes the connection of the Ibaloy *baknang* (elites) to the revolutionary forces. She provides an extensive discussion of Ibaloy indigenous social organization at the turn of the 19th century. While the *baknang* offered provisions for the Filipino forces, they eventually became fragmented with some of them serving as mediators between the Americans and the indigenous population; other leaders fled from the new colonizers. At the time Aguinaldo was in Cervantes, the American forces were in La Trinidad, Benguet. There is one interesting ethnographic note in Boquiren's article—the Ibaloy found the *lekto* (*insurrecto*) more oppressive than the colonial regime because their cattle and agricultural produce were confiscated, and the people were taxed heavily.⁴

THE CONDITIONS IN THE CORDILLERA ON THE EVE OF THE PHILIPPINE-AMERICAN WAR

In 1880 Governor Primo de Rivera remarked: "It is certainly humiliating for Spain and her government at home and abroad to realize that thousands of human beings, some at the portals of the capital of the archipelago and many within sight of Christian towns with resident

civil, military, and ecclesiastical authorities not only live in pre-conquest backwardness but commit crimes and depredations, carrying their audacity to the extent of demanding tribute from the very Christian towns without receiving castigation, without their troubles, and without any authority having been bold enough to impose upon them.”⁵

It is noteworthy that the Cordillera has been subjected to a series of political organizations during the Spanish period if only to make the Igorots embrace *la vida civil y politica*. Initially, there was the creation of military-supervised *corregimientos* for unpacified territories. Eventually, there was the creation of the *Comandancia del Pais de Igorrotes* in 1826. This was subdivided into several *comandancias politicos-militares*, namely: Benguet (1848), Lepanto (1852), Bontoc (1857), Saltan in Kalinga (1859), Quiangan (1889), Amburayan, Apayao and Kayapa (1891).⁶ (Refer to the map in Figure 1.)

William Henry Scott refers to the peoples of the Cordillera as *tribus independientes* to emphasize the degree of autonomy which the Igorots enjoyed even during the late stage of the Spanish regime. Despite the numerous Spanish expeditions to the Igorot mines, and even ordinances of good government that were issued prescribing upland and Igorot contact, the Igorots remained relatively free. Bontoc was host to a military outpost as early as 1859, and three years earlier, the Lepanto area was the site of the Sociedad Minero-Metalurgica Cantabro-Filipina de Mancayan, the first mining claim during the Spanish period. Nevertheless, these efforts did not gain headway in

integrating the Cordillera peoples into the colonial polity. It was the western section of the Cordillera that was more exposed to direct contact with the Spanish colonizers. These areas became contact zones between the Igorots and the lowlanders on the one hand, and the Igorots and the colonizers on the other. The lowlanders, mainly Ilocanos, were usually conscripted to accompany the Spaniards in their pacification campaigns. At the end of the Spanish regime, the Catholic missions all over the Cordillera were abandoned. As the Philippine Republic was established, perhaps even without the knowledge of the Cordillera peoples except for the petty plutocrats of Benguet, the revolutionary forces attempted to attract the Igorots to pledge allegiance to the native government.

Juan Villamor's *Inedita Cronica dela Guerra Americano-Filipina en el Norte de Luzon 1899-1901* shows that the Cordillera would have played a significant role if the war turned into a protracted guerrilla warfare. A survey of some ordinances of the revolutionary government also reveals the adoption of the Spanish strategy of waiving vassalage taxes on the upland peoples if only to convince them to support the Filipino forces.

In July 1899, General Aguinaldo issued a memorandum that appointed representatives of the Cordillera districts. Most of them were lowlanders because the General noted that it was "impossible for a majority of the representatives to attend the sessions" since the meetings would be held in Manila or distant provinces."⁷ The representatives are listed in Table 1.

TABLE 1. APPOINTED CORDILLERA REPRESENTATIVES IN THE REVOLUTIONARY GOVERNMENT^a

CORDILLERA DISTRICT	REPRESENTATIVE	METHOD OF APPOINTMENT
Abra	Enrique del Rosario Juan de Castro	<i>Por decreto</i> <i>Por decreto</i>
Amburayan	Jose Coronel Lino Abaya	<i>Por decreto</i> <i>Por sufragio</i>
Tiagan	Benito Legarda Fernando Ferrer	Both <i>Por decreto</i>
Bontoc	Fernando Canon Mariano Nable Jose	Both <i>por decreto</i>
Lepanto	Leon Apacible Narciso Resurreccion	Both <i>por decreto</i>

It is worthy to note that Lino Abaya, who originated from both the Cordillera and the lowland community of Candon, was elected. Representation for the districts of Kalinga, Apayao, and Ifugao was absent.

On the eve of the Philippine-American War, three conditions in the region and the nation had developed. First, the Cordillera remains autonomous with organizations hardly on the supra-*ili* (village) level except for anti-Spanish alliances like the Bontoc uprising in 1881 and a conspiracy in 1894. Second, while the newly installed republic recognized the Cordillera peoples, the integration of the Cordillera was superficial in the sense that the indigenous peoples were represented in the governing body due to exigencies of the period by lowlanders who were appointed

by Emilio Aguinaldo *por decreto*. Third, the lowland-upland social dichotomy translated to Christian-non-Christian bifurcation was deeply entrenched in Philippine society as reflected in the inter-ethnic images that sub-groups have on one another.

THE IGOROT-AGUINALDO FORCES ENCOUNTER⁹

There are three diaries that chronicled the journey of Emilio Aguinaldo across the Cordillera from the time of his ascent via Cervantes until his surrender or capture in Palanan, Isabela on March 23, 1901. These are the diary of Colonel Simeon A. Villa; the diary of Dr. Santiago Barcelona, translated from Spanish and both compiled for publication by the Bureau of Public Libraries in 1963 in *Aguinaldo's Odyssey*; and the journal of Telesforo Carrasco y Perez.¹⁰

Colonel Simeon Villa's diary was used as main material for this paper because of its comprehensive ethnographic notes. The diary, which was originally in Spanish appears as Exhibit 991 in John Taylor's *The Philippine Insurrection Against the United States*. Colonel Villa, as annotated by Taylor, was a medical officer who was eventually appointed chief of staff of Aguinaldo. He joined the Aguinaldo forces as they crossed the Cordillera to evade the American forces. The diary was apparently a "semi-official record, kept by Villa with the knowledge and consent of Aguinaldo, if, indeed, under his special direction."¹¹

The Etic (Outside) View. Without a doubt, there is a dearth of materials for a comprehensive discussion on

FIGURE 1. THE *COMMANDANCIAS POLITICO MILITARES* OF THE CORDILLERA, 1880

Source: William Henry Scott, *Discovery of the Igorots*

the Igorot-Aguinaldo Forces encounter. Fanged, one of the Bontok combatants in the battle of Caloocan in February 1899, included in his narrative the coming of the Americans in the uplands looking for the “insulektos” (*insurrectos*). This was just a month after the battle in Caloocan. Apparently, he also witnessed the arrival of Aguinaldo. Toward the end of his narrative, he mentioned how Americans pursued the Aguinaldo forces, and that the Americans eventually

“captured the wife and sister of General Aguinaldo.” The two captives were later “conducted,” meaning brought to the lowlands.

The first entry in Villa’s diary was dated November 13, 1899. The succeeding days had Aguinaldo and his party moving from Pangasinan to La Union, then to Ilocos. Obviously, it was from the Candon area that they began their ascent to the Cordillera. They left Angaqui for Cervantes on November 30. During this time they built trenches for their defense on Mount Tila. (Refer to Figure 2 for the route of Aguinaldo as they crossed the Cordillera.) Villa added to his account of November 30: “We are having a pleasant time in the town.” A day after, General Gregorio del Pilar requested to return to Mount Tila to check on the trenches. On December 2, President Aguinaldo received word that the Americans had killed General del Pilar, and that the trenches had been destroyed. In the evening, the remaining Filipino forces continued their climb passing by the settlements of Cayan and Tadian and reaching Bagnen the following morning. Without rest they continued to Sagada and Bontoc then to Talubin until they reached Banane (Banaue) on December 7.

Apparently, the revolutionary forces entered unfamiliar ground. It was the first time for them to encounter the Igorots. Thus, many of Simeon Villa’s entries were ethnographic, describing the Igorots and their way of life. In Banane, they witnessed a “kanao” (a *cañao*) described as a head-dance by Villa.¹² He characterized the Igorrote as follows:

The extensive mountains of northern Luzon are inhabited by a great number of savages, amounting [*sic*] to more than 60,000, according to geography. These live in barrios or ranches considerably separated from each other. They exist on *camotes*, or native potatoes, and anything. At times and on extraordinary occasions, they have rice to eat. They are a people who go naked, and all of them, men and women alike, wear in their ears huge ornaments, which may either made of copper wires and teeth, etc. Their bodies are adorned with black points, or painted with diverse figures. On their necks they always wear collars of copper wire or cords with pieces of broken plates and other such stuff attached. They only cut their hair in front, letting it grow to a length of about 1½ feet. For greasing their hair they use the fresh fat of the hog.¹³

The *cañao* lasted for 6 days. His notes included a description of the dance steps and the adornments, and concluded that Igorots executing the dance “with plumage on their heads presented a scene confusing the vision at first glance.” Villa noted the abundance of *camotes* (sweet potatoes) which became the main item in their meals. The term “Banane breakfast” which consisted of coffee, fried *camote*, and butter became a regular meal of the fleeing Aguinaldo forces.

In the same entry, Villa observed that the Igorot was always with a spear. He articulated that Igorots had “a deep hatred for Christians, but cannot fight them face to face; hence are very treacherous.” This is revealing and a

FIGURE 2. AGUINALDO FORCES' ROUTE ACROSS THE CORDILLERA¹⁵



common lowland perspective of the Igorot as explained in the concluding section of this paper.

After almost a week in the Banane settlement, the revolutionaries realized how dangerous their situation was. They stated that they were being pursued by the Americans, but that the Igorots were also their enemies who were “only waiting for the opportunity to cut off our heads.” Hence, President Aguinaldo formed a council consisting of the

men who were with him, and solicited their suggestions regarding their situation. There was a consensus to send the women to Manila inasmuch as they impeded the plans of the group.¹⁵ Throughout their journey across the Cordillera, the revolutionaries received updates from Igorots who did espionage for them.

On January 5, 1900, the group heaved a sigh of relief as they saw the plains of Nueva Vizcaya: “Now our lives, indeed, are saved from those Igorrotes, who are always armed with spears and arrows, and ready at the least carelessness to rob us of our lives. Hunger, thirst, heat, cold, laborious breathing, nausea and swimming of the head, exhaustion, the dark nights, and the trembling of our legs and knees—all of this is past, and we are through with it for good.”¹⁶

The President ordered his men to check if there were no Igorrotes around as they encamped, and instructed the other members of his party to ensure that nothing threatened their descent to Nueva Vizcaya. When they discovered an Igorot, Barcelona, one of Aguinaldo’s men, “tied a rope around the Igorrote’s neck, hands, feet and waist,” and made sure that the captive was heavily guarded to prevent him from escaping and harming them. The group felt happy and safe afterwards. Eventually, the group encamped here retreated to the uplands of Ifugao and Kalinga. The forces continued their journey to Palanan, arriving in the community on the eve of September 5, 1901. It was in Palanan, Isabela that the President received a letter from Mabini, containing an American proposal for President Aguinaldo to give up the cause of independence. An entry of March 8, 1901 in Simeon Villa’s diary indicated

the President's response: "...that the Filipinos in arms desired no less than independence ..."¹⁸

The Emic (Inside) View. That the Cordillera peoples were absolutely hostile to the fleeing revolutionary forces was not entirely true. A review of Simeon Villa's diary showed that even while in the Cordillera, the President was able to issue orders as well as receive communication from his field commanders. They tapped the Igorots to serve as couriers. The Igorots' long hair was used to hide messages. The Americans learned about this strategy when they captured an Igorot carrying a message from Aguinaldo on December 7, 1899. The Americans soon realized that they should be keen on distinguishing between the revolutionary forces and the indigenous peoples. Colonel Houze told his men: "All persons you meet after you are a mile south of Uguis are insurgents unless they are long-haired mountain men."¹⁸ Any Igorot who sported trimmed hair was Aguinaldo in disguise, according to the Americans. A revolutionary successfully evaded arrest by the Americans when he disguised himself as an Igorot garbed in traditional *bahag* (g-string).¹⁹

There were Igorots who also joined the armed struggle under the command of General Manuel Tinio in the Ilocos, and the lowlanders had a high regard for them. The Tinio Brigade, in fact, established its headquarters among the Itneg.

Nevertheless, Villa's diary highlighted the distrust which the Aguinaldo forces had on the Igorots; a condescending view of the indigenous peoples was evident

in his entries. But why did the Cordillera peoples react the way they did? In a previous work,²⁰ this writer explained that the *tribus independientes* of the Cordillera were reacting to the events of 1899 to 1901 in the same way that they responded to Spanish incursions. Ethnonationalism among the indigenous peoples had the intrinsic goal of preserving tribal sovereignty. When the Spanish expeditions were launched to search for the Igorot mines or to proselytize them, the Igorots set a dividing line between the outsider and insider. Throughout the Spanish colonial period, the indigenous communities of the Cordillera preserved their control over their lands, resources, and their communities. They held on to their indigenous institutions because these distinguished them from the “white men” and the lowlanders who converted to the Christian faith. They always sought refuge in their institutions which guaranteed them protection from a Christian colonial order that was perceived to supplant their gods, their leaders, and their social order. The Igorot view of the Christian colonial order is described in this passage:

The fiestas of the Christians aren't worth anything because it is all just a lot of noise-making with bells and drums and muskets, and then everybody just goes home to his own house to eat what little he has. But the fiestas of our leaders are not like that; they are tasty and satisfying and don't have all that racket. They kill animals by the dozens and everybody drinks till he passes out, and so it goes on for many days. Among you, anybody is mayor or headman, but our leaders never change. No matter how much they spend, they always have more.²¹

When the revolutionary forces arrived in their communities, the Igorots saw them as outsiders. While they were colored men like them (in contrast to the white men), the Igorots were uncertain about these men's intentions. The root of the animosity could be traced back to the early efforts of the Spaniards to reach the Igorot territory through punitive expeditions. They conscripted Ilocanos who accompanied them in pacification campaigns. Such collaboration resulted in the hostile attitude and feeling of mistrust among the Igorots toward the lowlanders for being accomplices of the colonizers. This justified the Igorots' reaction to the Aguinaldo forces when they passed through Igorot settlements as they fled from the pursuing Americans. Villa's diary had accounts of attacks by Igorots who would position themselves on the top of mountains and throw rocks on Aguinaldo and his men. In some instances, the Igorots just abandoned their settlements when they expected the outsiders to arrive.

At the time when Filipino nationalism was taking shape, and the corresponding national movement was being consolidated, the *naciones* of the Cordillera were also reacting to Spanish colonialism. The Cordillera indigenous peoples' ethnonationalism persisted even during the early period of the American regime. To make the reconstruction of national history inclusive, the multi-ethnic character and the distinct histories that various sectors in our society experienced have to be recognized. The indigenous peoples' context of pericolonialism explains the character of their society and their responses.

An account of Igorots participating in an event could be unsettling: “On 24 January 1899, a thousand Igorots down from the hills in G-strings lent a colorful air of national unity to the public oath of allegiance to the Filipino flag administered in Plaza Salcedo in front of the Cathedral.”²² Were the Igorots participants or mere spectators of the events meant to overthrow the colonial order to which they were not integrated?

THE POTENTIALS OF AND THE CHALLENGES TO REGIONAL AND LOCAL HISTORIES

A brief encounter like that of the Aguinaldo forces and the Cordillera indigenous peoples brings us to the potentials of local and regional histories to contribute to our history as a nation. It is from local histories that the voices of the marginalized are heard. Local history is the arena for empowering indigenous peoples and other sectors of Philippine society who may have been silenced by a generalizing and homogenizing national history.

Broader than local history is regional history that establishes shared experiences and ways of life of people. The Cordillera regional history has evolved from a colonial label whose geographic space known as the Gran Cordillera Central is *Pais de Igorrotes*, the country of the unpacified Igorrotes. The area was eventually organized as a *comandancia* in 1826 under the command of Guillermo Galvey. But the distinctness of a region or local community should not keep it self-contained. Mindanao historian, Samuel K. Tan, in discussing the methodology of regional history, emphasizes the challenge to locate the connections

between the region and the nation through events, policies, and aspirations.

NOTES

- 1 I posed this question in the article “Ideology and Inter-ethnic Images: Igorot Participation in the Revolution” in *Resistance and Revolution in the Cordillera*, ed. Delfin Tolentino Jr, (Baguio City: University of the Philippines College Baguio, 1994).
- 2 Adopted from William Henry Scott’s characterization of the indigenous peoples of the Cordillera to emphasize their level of autonomy in contradistinction to the Christianized lowland communities.
- 3 Fay Dumagat, “The Role of the Itneg (Tinggian) in the 1896 Revolution,” in *Resistance and Revolution in the Cordillera*, ed. Delfin L. Tolentino, Jr., (Baguio City: University of the Philippines College Baguio, 1994), 99.
- 4 Rowena Reyes-Boquiren, “Ang Mga Katutubong Lider ng Benguet sa Panahon ng Rebolusyon: Para sa Pambansang Paglaya o Lokal na Awtonomiya,” in *Resistance and Revolution in the Cordillera*, ed. Delfin L. Tolentino, Jr., (Baguio City: University of the Philippines College Baguio, 1994), 129.
- 5 Emma Blair and James Robertson, “Memorial to the Overseas Minister, December 31, 1880” in documentos referentes a la reduccion de infieles e inmigracion en las provincias de Cagayan y la Isabela dictatados como primeras disposiciones adoptadas por el Exmo. Sr. Gobernador D. Fernando Primo de Rivera” in *The Philippine Islands, 1494–1898* (Manila 1881) Vol 14, 12-13; cited in William Henry Scott, *History on the Cordillera: Collected Writings on Mountain Province History* (Baguio City: Baguio Printing and Publishing Company, 1975), 10.
- 6 Scott, *The Discovery of the Igorots*, 4, cited in Maria Nela Florendo, “Cordillera Resistances Against Assimilation: A Historical

- Interpretation,” Ph.D. diss., (University of the Philippines Diliman, 1992).
- 7 “Exhibit 674” in John R.M. Taylor, *The Philippine Insurrection Against the United States* (Pasay City: Eugenio Lopez Foundation, 1971), 126–130. This diary was translated from Spanish by J.C. Hixson, First Lieutenant, 32nd Infantry, USV, assistant to the officer-in-charge, Division of Military Information, Manila, Philippine Islands, June 5, 1901.
 - 8 Exhibit 673 in Taylor, 124–125. Cited in Maria Nela Florendo, “Ideology and Inter-ethnic Images: Igorot Participation in the Revolution” in *Resistance and Revolution in the Cordillera*, ed. Delfin L. Tolentino, Jr., (Baguio City: University of the Philippines, 1994), 82.
 - 9 Most parts of this section are from two works which the author wrote, namely: “Cordillera Resistances Against Assimilation: A Historical Interpretation,” Ph.D. diss., (University of the Philippines Diliman, 1992), and “Ideology and Inter-ethnic Images: Igorot Participation in the Revolution” in *Resistance and Revolution in the Cordillera*, ed. Delfin L. Tolentino, Jr., (Baguio City and Manila: Cordillera Studies Center and National Commission for Culture and the Arts, 1994).
 - 10 Telesforo Carrasco y Perez, *A Spaniard in Aguinaldo’s Army: The Military Journal of Telesforo Carrasco y Perez*, Trans. Nick Joaquin (Manila: Solar Publication Corporation, 1986).
 - 11 Annotation of the compiler, Exhibit 991, Taylor, 1–2.
 - 12 It is not clear if they actually witnessed a feast after a head-taking activity, or he simply reconstructed the ethnography of the *cañao*. Banane could actually be Banawe or Banawi. In our brief exchanges, Anthropology Professor Emeritus June Chayapas Prill-Brett said “it was not uncommon for European travelers on the Cordillera to mention places that were erroneously spelled.” I also wondered why *camote* (sweet potatoes) was the main item in the Aguinaldo forces’ diet when that Banawe is a rice-producing community. Roy Franklin Barton’s ethnography of the Ifugao

would cite *camote* as a large part of the Ifugao diet, according to Professor Prill-Brett. She added it is possible that the Aguinaldo contingent was in Banawe before the rice harvest.

- 13 Exhibit 991, Taylor, 7.
- 14 Map from the Aguinaldo Shrine, Kawit, Cavite. Taken in March 2019. A similar map is in *Aguinaldo's Odyssey* issued by the Bureau of Public Libraries published in 1963.
- 15 The women got separated from the group on December 21.
- 16 Exhibit 991, Taylor, 19.
- 17 Exhibit 991, Taylor, 94.
- 18 William Henry Scott, *Ilocano Responses to American Aggression, 1900–1901* (Quezon City: New Day Publishers, 1982), 94.
- 19 Maria Nela Florendo, “Ideology and Inter-ethnic Images: Igorot Participation in the Revolution” in *Resistance and Revolution in the Cordillera*, ed. Delfin L. Tolentino, Jr., (Baguio City: University of the Philippines Baguio, 1994), 87.
- 20 Florendo, 1994.
- 21 Translated from the manuscript holdings of the Dominican Archives by William Henry Scott and cited in Scott, *History on the Cordillera* (Manila: MCS Enterprises, Inc., 1975), 196.
- 22 Scott (1982), 20.

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