

Narratives of Three Diaries: A Critical Rereading of the Diaries of Villa, Barcelona, and Carrasco

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ABSTRACT

At the turn of the 20th century, the newly inaugurated government, with Aguinaldo as its president, tried to consolidate its forces in its efforts to fully establish its sovereignty over the entire country. The increasing military presence of American troops and the outbreak of the Philippine-American war, however, posed a threat to the fledgling government and forced Aguinaldo and his entourage to move from one location to another to evade capture. In this article, the narrative of the odyssey of Aguinaldo and his contingent is drawn from diaries, which

provide bits and pieces of the adventures of the revolutionaries while they were on the run. The account of this journey in the Cordillera region until they reached Palanan is equally replete with stories of valor, loyalty, and fortitude among those who followed the President. While historiographies focus on the capture of Aguinaldo, there is a dearth of information relating to their journey from the plains of the Ilocos region to the high mountains of the Cordillera. Historiography depends on the availability and accessibility of sources. These materials, however, need to be scrutinized before the extraction of valuable historical facts. When evidence obtained from a source is taken at its face value, one may end up with a piece of erroneous information. Such is the case in the narratives presented by the translations of the diaries of Villa, Barcelona, and Carrasco. The entries in the diaries, although fragmentary and devoid of the essential details of a storyline, give a panoramic view of the events that unfolded, the people who took part in those events, and the places where those events took place. This article is a critical rereading of these translations. Translations should go through textual criticism to identify variants and discrepancies arising from different versions.

KEYWORDS

Kalinga, historiography, narrative, diaries, sources, revolutionaries, odyssey

After their military engagements against the Spaniards in their quest for self-governance and the eventual establishment of the Philippine Republic, the Filipino revolutionaries faced a new adversary at the outbreak of the Philippine-American War. As a consequence of the hostilities, Emilio Aguinaldo, the President of the first Philippine Republic was on the run with the Americans in hot pursuit. When Aguinaldo and his retinue entered the Cordillera mountain ranges, they first set foot on uncharted territory inhabited by various ethno-linguistic groups that enjoyed freedom from Spanish rule. In fact, the territory which is now known as Kalinga does not appear on Spanish map, although Spanish records mention the existence of the so-called untamed peoples who inhabited the interior of dense forests, which were difficult to penetrate because of the absence of access roads and trails. In some villages, Aguinaldo did not receive a warm welcome from the natives since they were not governed by an *El Presidente* who served as the political authority under Spanish governance. He came across free, independent, and autonomous albeit scattered *ilis* (communities) which were governed by *papangat* (headmen or elders) who convened as a council in times of exigency.

Such details of the odyssey of Aguinaldo in the jungles of Kalinga are not found in history books. Historiographies are focused on the capture of Aguinaldo in Palanan. But the narrative of his journey with his men in the Cordillera region is equally replete with stories of valor, loyalty, and fortitude. It was the charisma of a man and the aspirations of freedom and independence that sustained a physically exhausted contingent.

Historiography depends on the availability and accessibility of sources. These sources, however, have to be scrutinized before the extraction of valuable information that can be regarded as facts that render us the truth. The contents of documents that are purportedly primary and original sources need a closer look before one can make a crucial judgment on their reliability and authenticity. When we take the information from a source at its face value, we may end up with an erroneous fact or detail. Such is the case in the narratives presented by the three authors of the diaries being studied in this paper.

This paper examines the narratives of three individuals whose diaries bring to light a forgotten memory: Villa, Barcelona, and Carrasco. Some historical facts will be drawn from these accounts. Moreover, this paper also reconstructs the route of Aguinaldo's journey in Kalinga in his quest to join Manuel Tinio's forces in Abra.

THE DIARIES: THREE NARRATIVES

The three diaries have great value in historiography because they are the only extant sources that can provide information about the region and its people during that time, as well as what happened on those days when the Filipino revolutionaries traversed the territory as they tried to evade the pursuing American soldiers. Although these written sources do not contain exhaustive historical details of what occurred, but rather fragmentary notes of day-to-day events, they are more valuable than the information gleaned from oral tradition by second or third generation witnesses to the events as they unfolded.

The writing style and contents of the diaries should be considered from the context of when and where each of them was written. The writers of the diaries were on the run; hence, they did not have the luxury of time as well as a conducive environment to write narratives that were literary or scholarly. In all probability, some accounts in the diaries were not written while the event was in progress or after the day was over. The entries might have been written some days later when the diarists had the chance to spend a few days in a more comfortable location.

Despite the scant information on the region and its people, the diaries give readers a glimpse into this mountainous enclave during the early part of the year 1900. The settlements or places mentioned in the diaries still bear their original names today. The mode of travel to these villages is still the same although the Department of Public Works and Highways had opened new roads for vehicles. Much of the landscape has not changed, and the high mountains still stand as witnesses to the travails and hardships of the revolutionaries.

The accounts of the three writers also confirm the historical fact that the natives of the region were not governed by the Spanish colonizers. The Filipino revolutionaries encountered hostile inhabitants of the area. They were not warmly welcomed by the villagers, who were uninformed about the Spanish government and did not know what was happening in the country. Some of them understood the Ilocano language not because of the existence of a Spanish government but as a result of their trading with the Ilocanos. Furthermore, the diarists described the natives as savages.

This description alone hints that the natives were free and independent and that total subjugation of the peoples in the archipelago by Spanish colonizers is inaccurate.

Simeon Villa, a physician by profession, recorded the flight of Aguinaldo and the Filipino revolutionaries. His diary was part of the Philippine Insurgent Records, which the U.S. government turned over to the Philippines in 1957. Santiago Barcelona, who finished his medical studies in Spain in 1893, was the personal physician of Aguinaldo and treasurer of the revolutionary government. The diary he kept is shorter and less detailed. Telesforo Carrasco, a veteran of the Philippine Revolution, was born in Granada, Spain in 1873. After the defeat of the Spanish troops, he surrendered to Pablo Tecson on 1 June 1899, eight years after he arrived in the Philippines. He waived repatriation to Spain and joined the ranks of the Philippine Army. He also kept a diary.¹

THE TRANSLATIONS

The diary of Villa has two translation. The analysis of the diary of Simeon Villa uses two translations: *Aguinaldo's Odyssey as told in the Diaries of Col. Simeon Villa and Dr. Santiago Barcelona*² by the Bureau of Public Libraries, and *The Flight and Wanderings of General Emilio Aguinaldo from Bayambang to Palanan 1899–1901*³ by J.C. Hixson.

Below is a comparison of some excerpts of the translations.

HIXSON TRANSLATION	BUREAU OF PUBLIC LIBRARIES TRANSLATION
February 17 At 4 o'clock in the morning we all got up to take a bite to eat. At 8:20 we set out on the march for Bonafa, going through the mountains always. After many ascents and descents, we finally reached the settlement at 11:30 a.m. As the trip we had just finished was a very short one, we had to continue on to Parasili, the next nearest settlement of the Ifugaos. Nevertheless, we rested in Bonafa for one hour-and-a-half. So at 5 minutes to 1 o'clock p.m. we continued our trip through these mountain ridges, arriving at Parasili at about 5:10 p.m. after having suffered much pain en route because the Ifugaos had placed in the road many pitfalls or stalked sticks beneath the ground to be trod on by our feet. On account of this savagery on the part of the Igorrotes we had to lament three accidents in the shape of wounds to the feet resulting from those stakes or spikes.	February 17 At 4 o'clock in the morning we all woke up and had our breakfast. At 8:20 we started on our trip for Bonafa, reaching it at 1:30. As this trip was quite short, we decided to continue to Parasili, another <i>rancheria</i> of the Ifugaos. We enjoyed, however, an hour's rest without interrupting the resumption of our journey to Parasili, where we arrived at 5:10 o'clock in the afternoon. We suffered many hardships on the way because the Ifugaos had placed <i>pasolos</i> or stakes of bamboo on the ground so that we would stumble on them. As a consequence of this barbaric act of the Ifugaos, we regret deeply the misfortunes that befell its three victims, who were wounded by these stakes.
Commentary: Hixson translation puts the time of arrival at 11:30 a.m. while the Bureau of Public Libraries Translation's (BPLT) time is 1:30. The contingent rested for one-and-a-half hours in the HT while they took an hour's respite in BPLT. The time of departure for Parasili (Paracelis) was mentioned in HT but it is not stated in BPLT.	

HIXSON TRANSLATION	BUREAU OF PUBLIC LIBRARIES TRANSLATION
February 19 As the soldiers were unable to prepare enough rice for our journey, the Honorable President ordered the marching suspended for today, so the soldiers could continue cleaning rice. We were to march on the following morning. At 4 p.m. a gentle rain continued all night long.	February 19 As the soldiers were not able to gather sufficient rice, the President ordered the suspension of our trip to enable them to continue pounding the grain. Tomorrow we shall continue the march. At 5 in the afternoon it began to drizzle. It was cloudy and the rain continued the whole night.
Commentary: Both translations differ about the time when it drizzled in the afternoon: 4 p.m. in HT and 5 p.m. in BPLT.	
February 23 At 4:30 p.m. we received notice from the Ifugaos that unless we went away they would burn our <i>camarines</i> and come to attack us that night as they say there are more on the next mountain ridge. That never bothered us, as they were only armed with lances and bolos.	February 23 At 4:30 in the afternoon we received a warning from the Ifugaos that if we did not leave the place, they would burn our barns and attack us tonight. It was claimed that there were many of them in the next mountain. As they did not have spears and bolos for weapons, they did not worry us. The night was quiet.
Commentary: The statement in HT, “That never bothered us, as they were only armed with lances and bolos” is quite different from the translation of BPL – “As they did not have spears and bolos for weapons, they did not worry us.” The entry “The night was quiet” is not found in HT.	
February 26 All got up at the customary hour. We left Manducayon at 7:25	February 26 Everybody woke up at the usual time. We left Manducayon,

HIXSON TRANSLATION	BUREAU OF PUBLIC LIBRARIES TRANSLATION
a.m. and set out for Dankalan settlement. We at once ran up against a great, lofty mountain ridge. We ascended it, the ascent occupying us until 1:30 p.m. We had to open up roads for our passage as large trees surrounded us on all sides.	heading for Dancalan. We came upon a big mountain which took us up to 1:30 p.m. to climb because we had to open our way through big trees which obstructed our paths in all directions.
Commentary: The time of departure for Maducayon is stated in HT.	
February 27 Everybody got up at the regular hour. At 7:25 a.m. we resumed the march for the Dankalan settlement. On commencing to ascend the mountain ridges we again encountered large rocks which we had to pass over on all fours. We opened up a path for our passage. About 9 a.m. we were attacked on the road by the Kalingas. Our soldiers got even with them for their foolishness and also captured a Remington gun from the Kalingas, who fled at our first volley. When this was over we resumed the march, continuing to ascend the mountain.	February 27 We woke up at the usual time and we continued to Dancalan at 7:15 in the morning. At 9 we were attacked by the Kalingas. Our troops retaliated and snatched a Remington rifle from them. They ran away at the first shot. We continued climbing.
Commentary: Both translations are different with regard to the time when they resumed their journey: 7:25 HT and 7:15 BPLT. The following account, “On commencing to ascend the mountain ridges we again encountered large rocks which we had to pass over on all fours. We opened up a path for our passage” is not found in BPLT.	

HIXSON TRANSLATION	BUREAU OF PUBLIC LIBRARIES TRANSLATION
March 1 The headman and others of Lubo came up to see us at this Gaang settlement. Speaking of the singing of the Gaddans, this is the first night we have had the pleasure of hearing them. The singing is very similar in every respect to that of	March 1 We shall continue tomorrow to Lubu, whose chieftain and others came to Gaang to meet us. Talking of the Gaddang song, this is the first evening that we had the pleasure of listening to it. It is very much similar to those of the
the Chinese. The Gaddans serving as our guides and those who came over from Lubo sung [<i>sic</i>] in chorus this night until about 8 o'clock.	Chinese. Our Gaddang and Lubu guides sang tonight in chorus.
Commentary: The time (8 o'clock) is mentioned in HT.	
March 2 During the time of this conversation, the Honorable President received word that the Gaddan guide who had served us from Maducayan to Gaang had been assassinated, together with his two companions, by the Gaddans of the Lurung settlement while the former were returning to their own settlement. The Honorable President, bearing in mind that those three guides had served us very well, that above all, they would not have come to these places but for our having taken them, and that to a certain degree, it might be said that they died on account of serving us, considered	March 2 While they were talking, the President received a report that the Gaddang guides who followed us from Maducayan to Gaang and two companions were assassinated by inhabitants of the Gaang settlement on their way home. The President, considering that the guides had served us well and would not have gone as far as this place were it not because we took them with us, in short, that they were killed because they wanted to serve us, resolved to punish the assassins. He, therefore, sent fifty men headed by an officer to the Gurong settlement to burn all their houses and shoot all the

HIXSON TRANSLATION	BUREAU OF PUBLIC LIBRARIES TRANSLATION
it proper to punish the murderers. So he sent five men, under the command of an officer, to the Lurung settlement. The detachment started out for that place at 2 p.m. and returned here at 5 o'clock, having carried out the orders.	persons whom they would meet. They left at 2 p.m. and returned at 5 p.m. with their mission accomplished.
Commentary: The assassins in HT are from Lurung (Gulun) while BPLT cites the people from Gaang. There were only five men in HT who were instructed to carry out the orders while there were 50 men in BPLT. The instructions "to burn all their houses and shoot all the persons whom they would meet," are stated in BPLT.	
March 3 We reached the river at 11:15 o'clock and rested until 12 o'clock, on account of the insupportable heat, and then marched on. About 4 p.m. the Gaddans of the settlement presented themselves to the Honorable President and after he had expressed his fraternal sentiments to them, they quietly retired into their houses.	March 3 We reached a river at 11:10 a.m. Here we rested until 12 noon because the heat was insufferable. At 5 p.m. the Gaddangs of this settlement presented themselves to our leader, greeted him then returned to their homes peacefully.
Commentary: Both HT and BPLT differ in time when they reached the river: 11:15 HT and 11:10 BPLT. The Gaddangs presented themselves at 4 p.m. in HT while they presented themselves at 5 p.m. in BPLT.	
March 6 Not one of the Gaddans left the settlement, they greeted the Honorable President. It is very	March 6 Not even one Gaddang comes to greet our President. The place must be probably 2,800 meters

HIXSON TRANSLATION	BUREAU OF PUBLIC LIBRARIES TRANSLATION
probable that the altitude of the settlement is about 7,500 feet, and it is inhabited by some 800 or 1,000 Gaddans.	high and has a population of about 800 to 1,000 Gaddangs.
Commentary: HT states that “not one of the Gaddangs left the settlement, they greeted the Honorable President” while the BPL translation conveys an entirely different meaning: “not even one Gaddang comes to greet our President.”	
March 7 NOTE TO LAYOUT: REMOVE BOTH MARCH 7	March 7 Nothing happens and we continue idling in this settlement.
March 8 Then, too, we are in a good position, on the summit of a lofty mountain ridge having an altitude of 7,500 or 8,000 feet; and if we fail, we will make a retreat to the other mountains, which today are our towns.	March 8 Once our forces are concentrated we can prevent the coming of the enemy pursuing us, for we occupy a good position atop a high mountain, whose height is about 2,800 to 3,000 meters. And in case we could not defend ourselves we could retreat to other mountains which, at present are our “towns.”
Commentary: The altitude in HT is 7,500 or 8,000 feet while BPLT’s altitude is in meters.	
March 11 This morning we felt in these mountains a strong earthquake which lasted about four minutes.	March 11 This morning, about 2 o’clock, we felt a quake which lasted four minutes.
Commentary: BPLT gives the time (2 o’clock) when the earthquake took place.	

HIXSON TRANSLATION	BUREAU OF PUBLIC LIBRARIES TRANSLATION
March 16 By order of the Honorable President, this morning at 5 o'clock 25 soldiers under command of officers Del Pilar and Valentin, set out for the Guilayan settlement to secure in said settlement some 20 carabaos to furnish us all meat, and likewise some salt, since for some days we have been eating neither meat nor salt, though we have never been in want of rice, which exists here in abundance.	March 16 By order of the President, 25 soldiers under the command of Capt. del Pilar and Lt. Valentin depart for Guilayan, a settlement, to procure 20 carabaos for their meat; and salt, for we have been preparing our viands without it. We never lack rice here; it is abundant.
Commentary: HT mentions the time (5 o'clock) when the soldiers left for Guilayan.	
March 18 He also mentions in his report that, according to the people in Abra, General Tinio is on the Bulagao mountain with a large column, and that he has hoisted the Filipino flag on that mountain.	March 18 It was also mentioned in the report, which was based on the news in Abra, that Gen. Tinio, with a big column, was found at the summit of Mount Bulagao, where they were flying the Filipino flag.
March 24 Today is the thirty-first birthday of the illustrious Filipino chieftain, Señor Emilio Aguinaldo, who was born March 22, 1869, in the town of Cavite Viejo, Cavite Province, his parents being Carlos and	March 22 Now is the birthday of the illustrious leader of the Philippines, Emilio Aguinaldo, who was born on March 22, 1869, in the town of Cautit, province of Cavite. He was the son of Carlos

HIXSON TRANSLATION	BUREAU OF PUBLIC LIBRARIES TRANSLATION
Trinidad Famy, very respectable and well-to-do residents of that town. The memorable month of August, 1896, arrived. Aguinaldo was “master” of the Cavite Lodge. Moreover, he was a member of the Katipunan Society and the chief of the many members who were in the town of Cavite Viejo. What was to be done? At 12 o’clock the Honorable President and all the officers and soldiers seated themselves at the table. The following was the menu: Valenciana rice a la good result, spring chicken stuffed with native potatoes, delicious strawberry sauce, suckling pig, stew a la Mauser, apritada, roast beef a la bayonet. Wines, the grand basi of the mountains; fruits of the season; sweets—orange, sherbet, thunder jelly.	and Trinidad Famy, honest and well-to-do citizens of said town. The memorable month of August 1896 found Aguinaldo as “Maestro” of the Cavite Masonic Lodge; he was also affiliated with the Katipunan and elected head of said organization in his town. Then the revolution broke out. What was he to do? At 12 noon they took their places around the table—chiefs, officers and soldiers. The menu was the following: First, paella valenciana with good results. Second, spring chicken stuffed with sweet potatoes with a loving strawberry sauce. Third, roasted pig. Fourth, cocido Mauser style. Fifth, apritada of the Lubuagan mountains. The great basi wine of the mountains. Fruits of the season. Sweets. Thunder jelly.
Commentary: HT entered March 24 in the diary as date of Aguinaldo’s birthday. HT mentions that it was Aguinaldo’s thirty-first birthday. The town where he was born is Cavite Viejo in HT while Cauti is the name	

HIXSON TRANSLATION	BUREAU OF PUBLIC LIBRARIES TRANSLATION
of the town in BPLT. HT includes roast beef a la bayonet, orange, sherbet in the menu. The chiefs were invited in BPLT.	
April 6 Besides these there are many officers and soldiers whose names he does not now recall.	April 6 Besides these there were many other officers and soldiers whom I cannot remember now.
Commentary: HT uses the third person singular while BPLT refers to himself in the first person singular. This entry also indicates that the account was written after the date.	
April 25 During the night of this date Private Gregorio Carpio, a native of Bigaa, Bulacan province, who was a member of the first company of the Bulacan battalion, died from the effects of malarial fever.	April 25 In the evening, a soldier of the 1st Company of the Bulacan Battalion, a native of Bigaa, died of malarial fever.
Commentary: The name of the soldier who died is mentioned in HT.	
May 1 At 3 a.m. the Honorable President received a report from Guinaang settlement to the effect that some 100 Americans are en route here to attack us. This news was confirmed about 5 o'clock in the afternoon by two letters; one from Dolores and the other from Balbalasang, both of which state that the Americans are going to attack us.	May 1 This morning about 3 o'clock the President received a note from Guinaang saying that there were about one hundred Americans on their way to attack us. It was confirmed by two letters just received from Dolores and Balbalasang, both bringing the same news.

HIKSON TRANSLATION	BUREAU OF PUBLIC LIBRARIES TRANSLATION
Commentary: The time (5 o'clock) when the news was confirmed is stated in HT.	
May 11 The Honorable President also received a letter from Manila informing that 17 wagons had been captured by us in Laguna province and in Silang, Cavite province; each of the wagons captured in the first province contained \$5,000 in gold, while each one of those captured in the later province contained \$7,000 in gold, and also ammunition and food supplies.	May 11 A letter from Manila informs him that units in Laguna and Silang (Cavite) have captured seventeen carts loaded with \$5,000 in gold in the former province and \$70,000 in gold in the latter, besides ammunition and drinks.
Commentary: The account in HT is more detailed than that of BPLT. The two translation have different figures: \$7,000 in HT and \$70,000 in BPLT.	

The preceding comparisons reveal the glaring incongruities in both translations. Given the discrepancies in the translations, the original diary entries in Spanish should be consulted to learn what the diarists have actually written.

TRAVERSING AN UNCHARTED TERRITORY

In December 1899, Emilio Aguinaldo and his party reached Kayan. Then, they continued their journey towards Sagada, Bontoc, Mayoyao, and Bunhian. When they reached Isabel, they set up camp in Oscariz where

they received news that American soldiers were marching towards their encampment. Aguinaldo retreated to the Cordillera mountain ranges with a plan to join General Tinio's forces in Abra. After reaching Madukayan, they proceeded to Dacalan, Gulun, Gaang, Lubo, Mangali, and Taloctoc. From Taloctoc they scaled the mountain and reached the summit of Mount Buyayaw then made their descent on their way to Mabungtot. After a short respite, they made their ascent toward Lubuagan, where they settled for more than two months. When they were informed that the Americans were marching toward Lubuagan, the group headed for Guinaang, Ableg, Cagaluan, Dupag, Naneng and Tobbog. They took the route toward Asibanglan when news reached them that the Americans were encamped in what is now known as Tabuk, and they carried on their trek in the direction of Magaogao until they reached Cagayan.

THE ROUTE

During the flight of Aguinaldo and his men toward the Cordillera Region, there were no roads that connected one settlement to another. While there were trails between settlements, in many instances of their travels, there were no paths, and the terrain and topography of the area were unfamiliar to the Filipino revolutionaries. In order to reach a settlement, they asked for or forced local guides to show them the way. The names of the settlements and their corresponding current names as well as the municipality to which they belong are as follows: Parasili (Paracelis, Mountain Province), Caradcad (Calaccad, Tabuk, Kalinga): Maducayan (Natonin, Mountain Province), Dacalan (Tanudan, Kalinga), Gaang (Tanudan, Kalinga), Lubo (Tanudan, Kalinga), Mangali (Tanudan, Kalinga),

Talocloc (Tanudan, Kalinga), Mabongtot (Lubuagan, Kalinga), Lubuagan (Lubuagan, Kalinga), Guinaang, Pugong, Magsilay and Cagaluan (Pasil Kalinga), Naneng (Tabuk, Kalinga), Asibanglan (Pinukpuk, Kalinga), Apatan (Pinukpuk, Kalinga), and Magaogao (Pinukpuk, Kalinga). These settlements which were mentioned in the dairies still exist as barangays of the same names.

ON THE DATES OF ARRIVAL

While the Americans were in hot pursuit, the Filipino revolutionaries tried to evade capture by constantly moving from one settlement to another. Such being the case, Aguinaldo and his men did not stay in one place for a long period of time. In each of the three dairies, one or the other diarist entered a date. There are also some inconsistencies relating to the dates of arrival. The following table is a comparative presentation of the arrival dates to some places indicated in the three dairies.

PLACE	VILLA	BARCELONA	CARRASCO
Oscariz (Ramon, Isabela)	January 7	January 8	January 7
Parasili (Paracelis, Mountain Province)	February 17	February 17	February 17
Caradcad (Calaccad, Tabuk, Kalinga)	February 22	February 20	February 22
Maducayan (Natonin, Mountain Province)	February 24	February 22	February 26

PLACE	VILLA	BARCELONA	CARRASCO
Dacalan (Tanudan, Kalinga)	February 28	February 26	March 1
Gaang (Tanudan, Kalinga)	March 1	February 28	March 2
Lubo (Tanudan, Kalinga)	March 2	March 1	March 3
Mangali (Tanudan, Kalinga)	March 3	March 3	March 4
Talocloc (Tanudan, Kalinga)	March 4	No date	March 5
Mabongtot (Lubuagan, Kalinga)	March 5	No date	March 6
Lubuagan, Kalinga	March 6– May 17	March 6– May 17	March 6– May 18
Guinaang, Pugong, Magsilay, Cagaluán (Pasil, Kalinga)	May 17	May 17	May 18
Naneng (Tabuk, Kalinga)	May 18	No Date	No Date
Asibanglang (Pinukpuk, Kalinga)	No Date	No Date	May 21
Apatan (Pinukpuk, Kalinga)	No Date	No Date	May 22
Magaogao (Pinukpuk, Kalinga)	May 24	No Date	May 25
Enrile (Cagayan)	May 28	No Date	May 28

Villa, Barcelona, and Carrasco similarly indicated February 17, 1900 as their date of arrival in Paracelis. The three diarists wrote different dates of arrival when they reached Calaccad (Villa: February 22, Barcelona: February 20 and Carrasco: February 22). Both Villa and Carrasco put February 22 as the date of arrival. Their arrival in Madukayan differed in the dates which they entered in their diaries: Villa: February 24; Barcelona: February 22, and Carrasco: February 26. In Dacalan, only Villa (February 28) and Barcelona (February 26) mentioned the date of arrival. The dates are again different when they reached Gaang Settlement: Villa: March 1; Barcelona: February 28, and Carrasco: March 2. When they reached the settlement in Lubo, the three recorded different dates: Villa: March 2, Barcelona: March 1, and Carrasco, March 3. Both Villa and Barcelona put March 3 in their diaries while Carrasco wrote down March 4 as the date of their arrival in Mangali. In Taloctoc only Villa, March 4, and Carrasco, March 5 indicated the date of their arrival. Barcelona did not indicate the date of their arrival in Mabongtot while the two others had different entries: Villa, March 5, and Carrasco, March 6. Both Villa and Barcelona entered in their diaries the same date, March 6, while Carrasco wrote March 7 as the day of their arrival in Lubuagan. After more than two months of their sojourn in Lubuagan, they packed up and left. As regards the date of departure from Lubuagan, both Villa and Barcelona specified May 17 while Carrasco mentioned that it was May 18 when they left the village. Only Villa stated the date of their arrival in Naneng: May 18. Carrasco mentioned in his diary that they were in Asibanglan on May 21 and Apatan on May 22. The dates of their arrival in Magaogao were different: Villa, May 24, and Carrasco, May 25. Both Villa and Carrasco

inscribed in the diaries the same date when they reached Enrile in Cagayan: May 28.

Both Villa and Carrasco wrote their diary entries for February 29 while Barcelona did not write any entry for this date. The year 1900, however, was not a leap year.

THE REGION AND ITS INHABITANTS

The diarists described the region as a wilderness with nary a name as a province. There were no roads and the trails were often winding and treacherous. Since the revolutionaries were unfamiliar with the terrain of the region, they had local guides who led the way.

The inhabitants were called Gaddangs, Igorots, and Ifugaos who were portrayed as fierce warriors. In some settlements, the revolutionaries were attacked in sporadic ambushes. Villa narrated an incident that involved the people of Gulun:

The honorable President received word that the Gaddan guide who had served us from Maducayan to Gaang had been assassinated, together with his two companions, by the Gaddans of the Lurung (Gulun) settlement, while the former were returning to their own settlement. The Honorable President, bearing in mind that those three guides had served us very well, that, above all, they would not have come to these places but for our having taken them, and that, to a certain degree, it might be said that they died on account of serving us, considered it proper to punish the murderers. So he sent five men, under

command of an officer, to the Lurung settlement. The detachment started out for that place at 2 p.m. and returned here at 5 o'clock, having carried out the orders.⁴

The settlements were governed by *pangats* (headmen or elders) who were also adjudicators. The diaries mentioned extensive rice terraces that stretch for miles and cover entire mountains. The inhabitants in some settlements either fled or abandoned their villages. There were skirmishes and ambushes by inhabitants who were suspicious of the revolutionaries' arrival in their territorial domain. The Lubo people met them in Gaang and accompanied them to their settlement while in Taloctoc, they were warmly received.

Two reasons can be deduced concerning the lukewarm or hostile attitude of the inhabitants. First, the settlements were independent and were not assimilated into the Spanish colonial rule. Second, there was no *cabeza de barangay* or a form of Spanish government which transmitted information regarding the state of affairs in the Philippines. As any entry into their territory without existing peace pacts and relations constituted possible aggression, the inhabitants' reaction was simply to protect themselves and their territory. The revolutionaries were intruders and were probably regarded as enemies.

THE NARRATIVES

The narratives provide a graphic picture of what Aguinaldo and his men experienced during their flight.

They experienced hunger and thirst, accidents along the way, dropping leeches (*matocs*), and the hostile attitude of the inhabitants. Some drowned in the treacherous rivers. They continued their journey even in the darkness of the night, exhausted with only an ounce of courage to keep them going. There was constant fleeing to evade capture.

The narratives not only mentioned the valor of Aguinaldo's men but also evinced their loyalty toward a man whose charism sustained them throughout their ordeal. The ordeal they experienced was recorded in these diaries which gave readers a glimpse into their journey within an unfamiliar region.

The narratives also provided valuable information concerning the various places mentioned in the diaries. The accounts proved that these places, which still exist today with the same names, were already inhabited long before the 1900s. The different tribes were also independent of one another with headmen governing these communities. The narratives also mentioned the feud between two tribes, Lubo and Mangali, which persisted for many years.

CONCLUSIONS

The narrative of the flight of Emilio Aguinaldo and his men in the mountainous enclave of the Cordillera Region has not been adequately written. The journey that took them to the wilderness of the Cordillera mountain ranges is replete with accounts of survival. On horseback and on foot, they traversed unfamiliar terrain to evade capture. They braved the inhospitable elements of nature,

and overcame physical exhaustion and scarcity of supplies to survive. Their stories depict the resilience of the Filipino revolutionaries in their quest for independence.

The entries in the diaries, although fragmentary and devoid of the essential details of a storyline, presents a panoramic view of the events that unfolded, the people who were involved in those events, and the places where those events took place. For lack of documentary sources on what happened during that period in the Cordillera region, the diaries become our only source of information.

While the diaries are considered primary sources, the information extracted from them should still undergo thorough scrutiny in order to obtain authentic and reliable facts. In studying the three diaries, there were glaring discrepancies noted in the entries of the three writers.

Translations should also be subject to textual criticism to identify variants and discrepancies in the different versions. In the case of the Villa diary which has two translations, there were a number of conspicuous incongruities. Such divergences or inconsistencies can only be rectified by comparing the translation with the original text or document.

NOTES

- ¹ Telesforo Carrasco, *A Spaniard in Aguinaldo's Army*, trans. Nick Joaquin (Manila: Solar Publishing Corporation, 1986).

- ² Simeon Villa, *Aguinaldo's Odyssey as told in the Diaries of Col. Simeon Villa and Dr. Santiago Barcelona*, trans. Bureau of Public Libraries (Manila: Government Printing Office, 1963).
- ³ Simeon Villa, *The Flight and Wanderings of General Emilio Aguinaldo from Bayambang to Palanan 1899–1901: A Diary* (Manila: Philippine Historical Association, 1969).
- ⁴ Villa, *The Flight and Wanderings of General Emilio Aguinaldo*, 136.

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