

The Ilubuagens in Emilio Aguinaldo's Sojourn in Lubuagan

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ABSTRACT

The involvement of the indigenous peoples of Lubuagan, Kalinga in the struggle for freedom and nationhood during the Philippine-American War remains unwritten in history books and is not taught in schools. This paper attempts to fill the gap in historical knowledge by foregrounding the rich *ha kalan cha iyawi* (transmitted oral accounts) about President Emilio Aguinaldo's sojourn in the town. It discusses the narrative of the natives of Lubuagan (pronounced as "Lubuagen" by the locals) to recognize their contributions for Agileychu

(Aguinaldo) and for the Filipino Republic. The Ilubuagens (people of Lubuagan) welcomed the President and his men: they were housed, fed, and protected, as they were thought to be *manchugong* (refugees). In the context of the *bochong* (bilateral peace pact) culture, they were provided with reliable information, their sick were cared for, and they had locals serving as trailblazers, escorts, sentinels, runners, scouts, and porters. Ultimately, they were guided to safety from annihilation or capture by enemy pursuers. The Ilubuagens showed an altruistic attitude and allegiance to Agileychu and his troops because of their innate goodwill, generosity, and hospitality, which were firmly anchored in their religious beliefs. To define the role of the Ilubuagens in national history is also to rectify misconceptions about them, and to appreciate their rich culture.

KEYWORDS

Lubuagan, Kalinga, culture, bochong, hospitality, Agileychu, Emilio Aguinaldo

INTRODUCTION

Why President Emilio Aguinaldo came to Lubuagan is part of the story of the Filipino nation's struggle against American aggression. Desiring to make the Philippines its colony, the United States started to crush the newly established Filipino Republic. Placing Manila under military occupation and continuously deploying ground troops,

the American soldiers fired at the Filipinos on the night of February 4, 1899 that started the Philippine-American War. With all their might, the Filipinos courageously fought to defend the country from the American assaults, but when they could no longer combat the more advanced American invading forces in Central Luzon's battlefields, the Filipino army shifted to guerrilla warfare starting on November 13, 1899.¹ President Aguinaldo had already transferred his headquarters to Pampanga, then to Nueva Ecija, and then to Tarlac, until he was forced to go farther north to avoid capture by the Americans. He trekked across the Cordillera mountains until he reached Isabela where he planned to proceed to Abra. Upon learning about the presence of American soldiers in Abra, he decided to set up his headquarters in Lubuagan.²

Aguinaldo encamped in Lubuagan, which was then a town of independent tribes incorporated in Abra Province under the Filipino Republic, from March 6 to May 17, 1900. While this sojourn of Agileychu (Aguinaldo)³ is memorialized through a historical marker installed in Lubuagan, present elder Ilubuagens⁴ felt that the marker texts failed to recognize the notable deeds of their ancestors who gave full support and assistance to Aguinaldo and, by implication, to the Filipino Republic. By welcoming, sheltering, and cooperating with the President, the Ilubuagens directly supported the war effort to the extent of sacrificing their personal and tribal interests. Their compliance and humble submission for the sake of the President became their significant contribution to the cause of Philippine nationalism, so much so that they also deserve recognition.

This paper presents a new perspective in the narrative of Aguinaldo's life and exploits while in Lubuagan, and the Ilubuagens' participation. It also concretizes the role of the Iluko (Ilokano) language, the Ilubuagen-Tinggian (Itneg), and the Ilubuagen-Ilokano confluences in uniting the colonized lowlands and unconquered upland peoples of northern Luzon in the fight for Philippine independence. Despite their lack of experience of Spanish colonial subjugation, the Ilubuagens were contributive in nation-building.

A large part of this research comes from the oral recollections of Lubuagan elders. Known as *ha kalan cha iyawi*, these firsthand accounts of participants and eyewitnesses of the events perpetuated by oral transmission and handed down from their generations to the next are slowly fading into oblivion. *Ha kalan cha iyawi* about Agileychu not only record the Ilubuagen resilience and cultural values but also provide a local perspective of national events. Thus, it is important to codify *ha kalan cha iyawi* as a repository of credible historical knowledge of the indigenous peoples of Lubuagan, Kalinga.

HA KALAN CHA IYAWI (TRANSMITTED ORAL ACCOUNTS)

Historical inquiry values primary sources like reports, journals or diaries and memoirs written by the persons who witnessed and participated in the events under study. The diaries of Dr. Simeon A. Villa, Dr. Santiago Barcelona and First Lieutenant Telesforo P. Carrasco are firsthand written accounts of Aguinaldo's encampment in Lubuagan.⁵ They

were among the officials accompanying the President throughout his journeys to the north. However, their diaries showed only Aguinaldo's side of the story. The Ilubuagens seem to play trivial roles in their depiction in the diaries. To enrich this traditional historical knowledge, this paper shall include the Ilubuagen side of the story, a cogent part of the narrative, through the oral accounts of the Ilubuagens who also witnessed and participated in the events in 1900.

In foregrounding the oral accounts on Aguinaldo's sojourn in Lubuagan, it is important to highlight their provenance. Whenever Ilubuagens talk about the past, they always say "*ha kalan cha iyawi*," which means "according to our forebears" or "what our ancestors said." *Iyaw*i is an Ilubuagen word that comes from the combination of the prefix *i* that refers to a person or people, and the root word *awi* to earlier point of time, past, or bygone. In its strict sense, *iyaw*i refers to bygone people from whom living generations of Ilubuagens descend, and who are more remote in the degree of consanguinity than present Ilubuagens' grandparents.⁶

However, the concept of *iyaw*i in this paper includes the informants' grandparents who were youngsters or young adults in 1900. They gave oral evidence of the historical events in the form of storytelling or recollection passing these down to younger generations, especially to those of their grandchildren who now constitute the informants of this writer. Thus, *ha kalan cha iyaw*i categorically refers to oral accounts of past events in hindsight from people of an earlier period, of common heritage, and with traceable

genealogical relationship to present elder Ilubuagens to whom these firsthand oral accounts were transmitted. The latter are now the keepers or bearers of *ha kalan cha iyawi*.

The main informants for this paper are Messrs. Emmanuel “Manuel” G. Bacacao, Roger “Loche” A. Bun-as, Dagson “Chegson” A. Tubban, and Domingo “Chullug” Bongat. Manuel Bacacao, 76 years old, acquired his knowledge about the subject from his maternal grandmother Gellapi (1880–1974), also known as Chuut, who witnessed Aguinaldo’s presence in Lubuagan, from Sacyeg (1890–1979), and Biangyagen, alias Ayyatu (1875–1965), among others. Biangyagen was one of the local escorts when Aguinaldo was in Lubuagan; he carried the President on his back when he got sick during a reconnaissance trip from Awichon Plateau to Sitio Tiwod. Bacacao also learned from Lagasca Puncas (b. 1939) and Eddie Kissob (b. 1950s) what they heard from Tulloy (Umpig) of Choglac (middle-aged in 1900).⁷

Loche Bun-as, 52, learned about the account of Biaculi (Accot) of Sitio Agsiyang through Bucayon Gawiyan (b. 1948) who heard the story from Iway (1889–1969) and about Tulloy from Arsenio Omos-ao (b. 1955) and from Desingko Awas (b. 1950s). The latter gathered it from Gantak (born after 1900), Tulloy’s niece. Bun-as also heard the story about Biaculi from Joseph Pilaked (1949–2016), who heard it from Aminyo Dao-ang (b. 1920s). Dao-ang heard about Biaculi from his grandfather Iweg (Ogang), middle-aged in 1900. Bun-as also picked up the anecdote of Liaben (Liaban) Bannas (1889–1988) from Arsenio Omos-ao who obtained the story from Gumpalay (born

after 1900), Liaben's nephew. Bun-as also came to know about the account of his great grandfather Bialutan (1892–1960s) from his uncle Maximo Bun-as (b. 1946), and the stories about Agileychu's trips to Uma from the elders Martin Longao (b. 1938), Gavino Dolipas (b. 1948) and Camilo Longao (b. 1960s).⁸

Chegson Tubban, age 81, has knowledge about the interactions of Aguinaldo and his troops with the men from Uma from his grandfather Challang (adult bachelor in 1900). These men from Uma were Gumatay (Keybia) and his son Keyaching (Sapangkay) of Sitio Bilongbong and Gotgotong, Machogyom and Umange of Bilongbong.⁹

Chullug Bongat, 63, heard about Machogyom and Umange's story from Beggas, his father-in-law, who had heard about these stories from Umange himself.¹⁰

Direct transmission of *ha kalan cha iyawi* about Aguinaldo is from grandparent to grandchild, a particularly affectionate relationship among the Ilubuagens. What adds to the credibility of the stories, although perceived as Ilubuagen folklore or oral tradition, are the diaries of Aguinaldo's staff who were with him in Lubuagan. The verbal accounts retrieved from the informants, together with the new insights gained from re-examining the diaries, provide a fair estimation of what the Ilubuagens thought about what happened in 1900. Although being considered as secondary sources, *ha kalan cha iyawi* should not be treated as subaltern type of source materials especially in the reconstruction of a history that is more significant to Lubuagan, Kalinga's indigenous peoples but should be

perceived as verifiable narrations, which to a certain extent, have unveiled a great part of the tribe's life and spirit.

PLACE AND PEOPLE

The Municipality of Lubuagan is one of the eight local government units of Kalinga Province in the Cordillera Administrative Region. Lubuagan's topography is mountainous with moderate slopes. Lubuagan Town Proper (Brgy. Poblacion), with an elevation of 780 to 900 meters, is located on the eastern slope of Mount Tiking, the peak of which reaches about 1,380 meters. The Municipality's lowest portions are its two big rivers, Cayacayam (Chico) and Pasil, which run through the Municipality's eastern and northern margins respectively, joined by Tanudan River, becomes a large tributary of Cagayan River. Aguinaldo certainly realized on sight that Lubuagan could serve as his temporary safe hiding place. Tiking Ridge when combined with Payontoc and Beyngabiang Ridges to the north, and Byelalao Ridge to the south form a natural wall shielding the town from three sides, thereby making Lubuagan an ideal place of retreat and security.

Kalinga was home to a number of independent tribes, which, in the nineteenth century, were known as "Guinaanes" or "Igorrotes de Guinaan."¹¹ Their name was derived from Guinaang settlement, which was part of Abra Province then (Guinaang, Pasil, Kalinga today). The Guinaanes occupied an area from the confines of Banao (Byanao or Vanaw) tribe of Saltan River in the north to Tocucan Heights in Bontoc Province in the south, and from Tanudan River Basin up to Dupag and Naneng in

the east, and to Abra River Valley where they merged with the Tinggians to the west. They were depicted as “bloody infidels of the province who lived like wild beasts and attacked with reed sticks and iron spears those who intended to visit them and who sometimes made hostile excursions against the Tinggians.”¹² This ferocity of the Guinaanes are also mentioned in expedition reports and memoirs during the Spanish period.¹³

Despite this stigma of savagery stamped on the Guinaanes, peaceful relations developed among them and their Tinggian and Ilokano neighbors due to intermarriage and trade. The Ilubuagens also engaged in barter trade with the Iluko and Ichay-as (Tinggians). During Aguinaldo's time in Lubuagan, the Ilubuagens have already been travelling to Kanchong (Candon), Leybiakan (Narvacan), Biangod (Bangued), Bigan (Vigan) and Laweg (Laoag) for trade. The Ilubuagens were similarly bartering with Twao (Tuao, Cagayan) and Kyabyagen (Cabagan, Isabela).¹⁴ Through these movements in the lowlands, the Ilubuagens were also updated about the political developments in the country, like the newly established Filipino government, and the war that erupted with the Americans.

When Aguinaldo and his party arrived in Lubuagan, Carrasco noted in his diary that the people spoke Ilokano.¹⁵ Villa also documented the ability of the villages' inhabitants, including those of Pugong, to communicate with Aguinaldo and his troops. He added that when the group reached Mabongtot, there were men who just came from Abra and confirmed the news that the province was already under the Americans.¹⁶

BOCHONG (PEACE PACT)

The various tribes of what is now Kalinga Province have been practicing the bochong (bilateral peace pact or treaty) system, strengthened by affinal or consanguineal ties. A tribe that grew out of the communion and intermarriage of Igiyaan, Igaang, Imatuun, Isukyu, Ipakak, Imagtongngok, and Imabooy clans, Lubuagan coexisted peacefully with almost all of its neighboring tribes based on the genealogies reconstructed by Bacacao: Taguibong (Puapo-Changtayan/Dangtalan), Cheyupa-Abyog (Dalupa-Ableg), Tangyeg (Tanglag), Mabongtot, Biangad (Bangad), Sumachey (Sumadel), Beyatok (Balatok), Gilaang (Guinaang), Kageywan (Cagалан), Tayoktok (Taloktok), Mangali, Lubo, Gaang, Dacalan, Chalalao (Dananao), Teygew (Tulgao), Byanao, Poswoy, Tomiangan-Meybong/Molbog, Magnao, Nanong (Naneng), Teygu-Pangol (Tulgao-Pangol-Madannaao) Tinglayan, and Basao. The Ilubuagen settlers in eastern Abra produced descendants who are now known as Binongan Tinggians. These inter-tribal kinships established a solid deterrent against contentions and offered strong motivations for conflict resolution.¹⁷ Case studies on the *bochong* institution by American Anthropologist Roy F. Barton suggest that this already existed even before the American period and was well placed when Aguinaldo came to Lubuagan.¹⁸

Through the *bochong*, peaceful relations were perpetuated, inter-tribal conflicts were settled, and mutual aid and security were provided especially for the people of the allied towns who customarily traveled together in long distance journeys. Towns of their *kabochong* (tribes with which the Ilubuagens had a *bochong*) along the trail

to the lowlands served as sanctuaries of Ilubuagens and other allied tribes. Under the *bochong*, the parties that have formed a pact helped protect each other's interests, including their visitors. Aguinaldo and his men, being the guests of Lubuagan were protected not only by their hosts, but also by their *kabochong*, who informed them about the movements of the Americans in their respective towns.¹⁹ One example was on May 17, 1900 when people of Sumadel, a neighboring settlement, informed Lubuagan about the presence of American soldiers. This warning enabled Aguinaldo and his men leave the town immediately.²⁰

LUBUAGAN HOSPITALITY

The Ilubuagens of yore believed in *Yungyung* (Almighty God) who watches over their daily activities ("*Allat si Yungyung un man-i-ischung!*" as the admonition goes) and rewards them for their good deeds by material blessings that they will enjoy as they advance to old age. They also believed that God would be offended if they commit evil acts, would punish them through sickness, famine, death and other vicissitudes, and that the rewards and punishments have a great impact upon their lives.²¹ Past generations of Ilubuagens also believed that kindheartedness to strangers was rewarded by *Yungyung* with a long, prosperous and happy life. However, killing a stranger whom was given shelter and provision is considered abominable in the eyes of God calling this act *paniyaw*. Consequently, the horrendous chastisement was in the form of successive deaths in the family and transmissible among the culprits' descendants of distant future generations till the end of the family line.²²

Thus, safeguarding and sheltering strangers and guests from harm were, therefore, the cornerstone of Ilubuagen hospitality. It is the duty of the *mammangili* (host) or *umili* (citizen of an *ili* or town) to protect the *mangili* (guest or stranger); it is the moral obligation of the homeowner to provide *chugong* (shelter or protection) to a person who seeks refuge in his house. And as the house is under the jurisdiction of the homeowner, so is the *bugis* (territory) of a tribe under that of its citizens based on the *bochong* system. Shedding the blood of a visitor or stranger who comes in peace is a sacrilege and *machemok chi pital/luta* (defiles the tribe's territory). People involved in the crime will not increase too. If land is *lachemok* (defiled), no plant will flourish. This is not literally understood, however. Eating plants that grow on defiled soil is filthy.²³

Given this belief and custom of hospitality and of protecting strangers, it was very unreasonable that the Ilubuagens beheaded Aguinaldo's sick soldiers who were ordered to stay behind in Lubuagan when the President and the rest of the troops abandoned their camp on May 17, 1900 as what U.S. Army Lt. Col. Cornelis de Witt Willcox claimed in 1910.²⁴ Seeking abode in Lubuagan, Aguinaldo and his soldiers were welcomed, protected, and allowed to stay indefinitely in town and later earned a lasting place in the memory of the tribespeople who named their children and grandchildren after them.

BIVOUAC AT COCCOCHONG

When Aguinaldo and his men reached Mabongtot on March 5, 1900, they were able to confirm the information

they received from Taloktok that Abra was already occupied by the Americans. Deciding to set up camp at Lubuagan, they climbed the mountain and proceeded to the summit above the town on March 6, 1900.²⁵ Gellapi recounted that Aguinaldo and his troops appeared over Byelalao Ridge on an early morning bearing poles on which were raised “red-colored fabrics,” presumably the Philippine National Flag and other banners of battalions. From Byelalao, Aguinaldo and his troops marched along the ridge and Tiking’s upper slopes setting up camp at Coccochong.²⁶ Leonardo “Choppaas” Tagaotao, 82 years old, a grandson of Patongao and Amay who welcomed Aguinaldo and his party, recalled the story relayed to him by his father Tagaotao. The recount was of Aguinaldo’s soldiers going over the mountaintop to raise a flag, presumably the state’s colors, formally establishing the sovereignty of the Filipino Republic in Lubuagen.²⁷

Herminia “Tummin” Inga Quitlong, 62, reminisces about her father Clemente Inga (1918–1990) mentioning that his father Sikway, then a young bachelor in 1900, told him that Pangongawan was the exact site of Aguinaldo’s encampment. It was a flat area on the southern portion of Coccochong. Pangongawan has a commanding view of the entire town. Sikway added that from Pangongawan, Aguinaldo and his soldiers later descended to the *ili* citing the presence of numerous horses that camped at Pangongawan.²⁸

Bacacao’s grandmother also added that the townspeople being preoccupied with their daily chores that day, did not go out to welcome the President and his

troops. The Ilubuagens, unintimidated by armed strangers, neither hid nor evacuated. Feeling secured in their *ili*, they just remained vigilant and waited for the newcomers to make the first move in approaching them.²⁹ Villa's diary entry of March 6, 1900 noted that not one of the locals came to greet the President, he writes, "[t]here could be no greater suffering than this."³⁰

PATONGAO AND AMAY

Gellapi recalled that it was Patongao who brought Aguinaldo and his soldiers down to the settlement from Coccochong. No one knows who approached who but what is certain is that Patongao was then working in his *uma* (swidden) at Magangey located just below Coccochong when Aguinaldo and his army arrived in the area. It was the start of *Lechew* season during which the primary livelihood activity was cutting undergrowth foliage, bushes, and trees in the *tebya* (selected swidden sites).

The son of Camagayan (Aggey), Igaang of Sitio Gotgotong, Patongao (b. 1840) belonged to the *kachangyan* (noble) class. Also known as Kisob, Patongao was married first to Logyao of the same clan, who bore him a daughter and a son. After Logyao died, Patongao married Amay, Isukyu-Igiyaan of Tiwod. Amay also had two boys with her first husband Ayangchu, Ipakak-Ilubo also of Tiwod. In 1900, Patongao and Amay lived in Tiwod with their sons.³¹ Patongao and Amay's family welcomed Aguinaldo and his army, as *mangili* (guests) with a *peyalus* (feast) as a gesture of hospitality. He butchered animals to feed his guests of over a hundred. Their relatives living nearby provided rice

and animals and assisted the couple in preparing food to be served to their guests, and would have also feasted with them.³²

On March 8, 1900 an Ilubo gave the news that 300 Americans had arrived in Lubo.³³ Carrasco noted that the news caused them to prepare for eventuality but since they have not heard about it after a day, he surmised that it must be false information so that they would leave the place.³⁴ Basilio "Alikmas" Dawagan, 78, also heard stories of elders in his hometown about the American soldiers arriving in Lubo and looking for Aguinaldo. But the locals of Lubo pointed to a different direction. With this deception, the Americans either changed their course or retraced their route.³⁵ The *papangat* (tribal political leaders or chieftains) of Lubuagan certainly discussed and decided that Aguinaldo and his men should be treated as *mangili* seeking asylum in town.³⁶

How the Ilubuagens came to treat Aguinaldo and his soldiers as *mangili-manchugong* (guests-refugees) signifies not only the tribespeople's strict adherence to their religious beliefs but also the influence of kinship in decision-making regarding community and inter-tribal affairs. Lubuagan genealogies reveal that Amay was related by consanguinity and affinity to at least 13 of the 25 tribal chieftains during that period. Patongao was related to seven tribal leaders. It can be said that Patongao and Amay's kins in the "council of elders" supported their decision to protect Aguinaldo. Moreover, the tribal chieftains would have thought that their success in sheltering a large number of guests would surely bring honor to them at home and would ensure

respect in other towns with which they had a *bochong*. The majority of the Ilubuagan elders could have looked with favor upon the couple's resolve to harbor Aguinaldo and his men.³⁷

Villa's diary entry of March 8, 1900 mentioned of the small dwellings in the settlement where they slept.³⁸ Gellapi manifested that Patongao and Amay's *gilitob* (octagonal house) made of chipped, carved and cut hardwood wallboards and planks characteristic of the houses of *biabiaklang* (rich) and *kakkachangyan* (nobles), located above Tiwod Springs became Aguinaldo's home.³⁹ That "the President can live in any house he chooses" implies that Aguinaldo was treated by the relatives of his host family as their guest too. The President's staff, Villa and Barcelona, lived in one house together with him, while his adjutants Carrasco and fellow Spaniard Maj. Raymundo Jeciel occupied a house beside that of the President. A mess hall for Aguinaldo and his staff was constructed beside his *beyoy* (house). Villa notes that the other officers and the rest of the soldiers lived together, three or four at most in one house. Hence, at least 36 to 48 dwellings in Tiwod and in adjacent Sitio Lonas were occupied by them.⁴⁰

PEYALUS (WELCOME FEAST)

Since the *papangat* resolved to shelter the *mangili*, hospitality soon came to be the whole tribe's collective effort. The *papangat* took turns in welcoming Aguinaldo and his soldiers by giving them a *peyalus* (*palanus*) not only as a ritual feast in receiving a guest, but also as a customary gesture of their deference and high regard for their guest,

the President of the Filipino government. Rendering a *peyalus* as a social courtesy to the town's guests was part of the obligations of Lubuagan's political leaders.

Aside from Patongao and Amay, other elders in Lubuagan were identified to have offered Aguinaldo a *peyalus*. Tulloy (Umpig) proudly shared to his descendants, "*Inyosog ko pay si Agileychu ud Choglac ot peylusak!*" ("I too invited Aguinaldo to Choglac and banqueted him!").⁴¹ Biaculi (Accot) also rendered a *palanus* for the President at his residence in Agsiyang, even offering his house to him where Aguinaldo stayed for a night. Biaculi was remembered as a generous *biaklang* (rich man). His show of enthusiasm and affection to Aguinaldo was also associated with his aspirations to become a *pangat* of the town. Patongao's brother, Bummusao of Gotgotong, would have also welcomed Aguinaldo with a *peyalus* lest people would find fault with him if he did not strive to equal his brother's cordial reception of the President.⁴²

The arrival of the President of the Filipino Republic became known to the surrounding towns and villages. Their *papangat* with some townsfolk headed to Lubuagan for a courtesy visit, bringing Aguinaldo food as welcome gifts. Villa noted these visits in his diary: in his entry of March 6, he mentioned that the chieftains of Pugong settlement met with the President, while his entry of March 12 cited that "the inhabitants of nearby settlements continue coming to greet our great leader."⁴³ Chieftain Binuangan of Nanong (Naneng), accompanied by a few residents of his settlement, hiked to Lubuagan bringing a small amount of rice as a gift to Aguinaldo.⁴⁴

The young boys for their part willingly reaped grass for the *mangili*'s horses primarily out of their curiosity about the "strange" beasts like Bialutan (son of Sagiling and Simmok) and Liaben (son of Bellas and Langwed), all Imagtongngok-Imabooy from Sitio Mabilong. Sacyeg, son of Gadchewan and Gattaog of Imagtongngok-Imabooy-Igiyaan kinships of Sitio Changoy, also recalled that "*chakamin chua kan Codiam chi mantuntun-od umoy lakasakasakati si kalon chi kabiayon Agileychu*" ("Codiam and I had been going together gathering grass for Aguinaldo's horses").⁴⁵

BIANGYAGEN'S RESCUE OF AGUINALDO

Once settled in Lubuagan, Aguinaldo established his headquarters with outposts and trails for his reconnaissance trips escorted by the locals. One of them was Biangyagen (Ayyatu), the first-born son of Amay with her first husband. Biangyagen was a young adult bachelor when Aguinaldo became his family's guest. When asked in an interview in 1964 about the stories that he piggybacked Aguinaldo from Awichon to Tiwod, Biangyagen smiled and replied, "*Ha kabinggek sachi*" ("I was young then"), and narrated the incident:

Biluylak ked chicha ud Awichon, labiala sachin Agileychu. Allan losan kami man-ot-otap kapon Gilaang si simpapalikutkutcha suychachula. Ilak pun lan-eytingoy buggey chi pangat ked "maul-ulao kanu," kalan chi Iluko un buyonmi ked maslayan si ibin. Kama bo si cha uchum istay gey manlangyangaak pun inggew chi bellata un adcheliyan. Mawalaswasak ot liwasok chi osan panga ot iyachalik. Ilak pu nanislaanmi sissiya

un umasuk. Tungowak gey ot pagilabok. Mangayaak si chua un tubu ot ichangchangko. Ummatong ked si akit inchappak si begangla. Kalak si Iluko, "pum-ong ka begangla, mapse." Losancha bo amin langaya si tubu si ichangchangcha ked inchappacha si apingla. Ituchola uyola ot ichappacha bo si uyola.

Ummuloy ked li liklala, "intakon" kalan Agileychu. Intang-oycha chua un suychachu ked kalak si angosko un chipun makwa un chua mangakli. Inyak gey si silagungala ot ayak chi chuan ikila. Kommamod kan sakon. Intodtodchak kon intagecha ud Sagikat cheyan chi Cheyayong. Langayaayakkami ot ichaumko ud Gaang. Ummilong kami pun Gaang, inkasin cha pin-a chilappan si bellata. Langoykami Tabiangao, Mapipit ya Kimatan. Inkao-asmi siya ud Tiwod.⁴⁶

[I accompanied them to Awichon when Aguinaldo unexpectedly contracted skin allergy. We were all looking down at Guinaang when all his soldiers suddenly panicked, not knowing what to do. When I gazed at Aguinaldo, he had drooped already as "he felt dizzy" said the Ilokano soldier who was then on the verge of tears. Luckily, when I looked around, I saw a *bellata* shrub. I rushed to grab a branch. When I looked at the place where we cooked, I saw that it was still smoking. I fed it to start a fire. I picked two *bellata* leaves, heated them near the fire then impressed them on the neck of Aguinaldo. I warned the Ilokano soldier that "when Aguinaldo's neck swells due to allergy, he will be strangled." The soldiers imitated what I was doing. Aguinaldo

pointed to his head scratching it so we also pressed heated *bellata* leaves on his head and face.

When he felt relief, Aguinaldo said, “let’s go.” Two soldiers carried him. I saw that they struggled through the trail so I went in front of them, pointed to my back then held Aguinaldo’s feet. He also clung to me. I carried him in climbing up to Sagikat below Cheyayong. Then we followed the irrigation ditch in going down. When we reached Gaang, I put him down telling those who gathered to help that the person was afflicted with skin allergy. So, they also pressed heated leaves of *bellata* on his body. Then we went down to Tabiangao, Mapipit then to Kimatan. We brought him back to Tiwod.]⁴⁷

This account about the President’s reconnaissance trip during which he returned sick was mentioned in Villa’s diary entry dated March 14, 1900: “They were back at 3 o’clock in the afternoon, but the President was indisposed because he had suffered hunger. In the evening, he still had an upset stomach with nausea and slight dizziness. He was given the necessary treatment.”⁴⁸ Biangyagen led Aguinaldo and his men to the northern edge of Awichon Plateau, which is around 1,000 meters high, towering over the town of Guinaang and its villages Pugong, Galdang and Maluksad found across Pasil River to the north. His presence of mind and knowledge in curing *biala* (skin allergy) saved Aguinaldo’s life. Biangyagen surely had to do something as it was also his responsibility to ensure the safety of his family’s guest. Biangyagen also remembered that someone relieved him of carrying Aguinaldo from

Gaang to Tiwod but did not cite his name, and that they continued impressing heated *bellata* leaves on Aguinaldo's infected skin after they arrived. One of Aguinaldo's companions in the house (either Villa or Barcelona) at first would not want them to get near the President, fearful that the disease could be contagious or would worsen if treated incorrectly. But he later let them do as they thought best.⁴⁹ Barcelona and Carrasco did not have entry of this date in their respective diaries.

AGUINALDO'S BIRTHDAY IN LUBUAGAN

Gellapi remembered in 1964 an event in Aguinaldo's time during which there was a ceremonious meal attended by numerous people, including the *papangat*. She attested that:

Inyalacha inwanwan un man-islacha mangkabiakot. Kalancha, "man-islakayo ta itugonyo lu bigat ta mangkopya si Agileychu."

Guminga pu gangsa, lampasiagtokami un ummoy lamma-o. Gumatongkami pun si kampocha, inggew chi tallagen un kingwacha. Siya langisap-ayanmi si cha tugonmi.

Magamput po tatachok, kalancha Iluko un beyon Agileychu, laapun umoyan ta mangantako yan. Kalan bo mangkameyong-eg, mabukeykayo un bebbebai ya aalak. Mabiin chi inkayo mikalkaliwkiw si cha lalleyaki ya u-ukom. Labukey bo amin cha bebai ya aalak.

Mibuwas ked, sinyoyokyokcha ummoy lakakan. Kalancha “keynga ga ischa si singkawed ga inkamo cha ked pillucha bo si asin kan inti!” Abus bo ami latipoy si ageg lakaalan. Sinyoyokyok bo kalu cha suychachun Agileychu ti laapun nanlamisaan si kingwacha un tallagen. Awed gey kallu osa summalliked langan.

Kalan kalu cha Iluko, paimus Presidente lu puggey un pasigsimsim chi kingwacha si mangkapiya un ilutoncha suychachu. Ibegacha kalu “pun un amod ossiya asin cha la-uto.” Amod kalu yokyok Agileychu, kalala kalu “un keynga ischa un pin-acha iyayeg ti achipuncha asilan ked mallamsit. Sachi lampa-utuwak si mampipiya un uto ta simsimancha gattok un makan.”⁵⁰

[We were told beforehand to cook rice as contribution to Aguinaldo’s affair. They said ‘tomorrow, Aguinaldo will have an occasion so the women should bring cooked rice.’

When we heard the sound of gongs the next day each of us carried pots on our heads going to the affair. When we arrived at their camp, we saw that they erected a platform where we put our pots of cooked rice.

When the dancing was over, the Ilokano soldiers of Aguinaldo announced that no one was to leave because everyone was invited to eat. The old men, however, said that it was not proper for the women and children to be mixing with the men and the officials. So the women and children dispersed.

After the affair, the men who joined the banquet were laughing saying “what a waste of meat mixing many things with it and putting too much salt and sugar on it!” Only the stew was touched. They too did not escape the ridicule of the soldiers since no one among them used the table. Each one squatted where he was and ate.

The Ilokano soldiers said that the President asked why the delicious food was not eaten and they told Aguinaldo, “The food was salty.” Then he laughed saying, “I was always thinking that they were wasting meat because they didn’t use salt so that their food was always tasteless. That is why I asked that delicious food be served so that they will know what delicious food should taste.”⁵¹

Gellapi grasped the concept of *ukom* (judge) to mean a high-ranking government official from the title of the head of the Filipino Republic’s provincial judiciary that was instituted for Bontoc, Isabela and Lubuagan.⁵² In her memory, she used this term to refer to Aguinaldo, his staff, and the military officers who accompanied him. This proves that Gellapi recognized the important status of Aguinaldo and his companions. Aguinaldo was acknowledged as the President of the Filipino government.

About the food seasoned with salt and sugar mentioned in the feast, Bacacao explained that her grandmother, Gellapi, never ate viands seasoned with salt.⁵³ Villa wrote about this need for salt in his diary of March 16, 1900, “... to procure 20 carabaos for their meat; and salt, for we have

been preparing our viands without it.”⁵⁴ These observations imply that the Ilubuagens of Gellapi’s time were accustomed to a non-salt diet. By attending successive feasts given in his honor, Aguinaldo must have noticed that the Ilubuagens’ principal delight during banquets were carabeef, pork, or dog meat stew, but were bland and without seasoning.

The chiefs of Lubuagan graced Aguinaldo’s occasion, and Carrasco described this, dated March 22: “At eleven a.m. came the officers with the volunteer troops and we all escorted His Excellency the President to the soldiers’ mess hall, where the banquet had been prepared. At noon sharp the meal began and it turned out to be various and abundant. At the table were the Igorot chieftains of this rancheria and never in their life had they witnessed such a celebration or had eaten as on this day.” The birthday celebrant and his “guests” were entertained by a *musicong bumbong* (bamboo band) using bamboo wind instruments and comprising 25 soldier-musicians. The *Marcha Nacional Filipina* (Philippine National Anthem) was also played by the troops’ brass band, *musica del batallon*, for the first time in Lubuagan.⁵⁵

The leaders of Lubuagan and prominent men had felt an equal treatment. Surprisingly for the soldiers, of all the dishes that were served, only the *Cocido a la Mauser* (carabeef stew), which is akin to the *latipoy* (stew), was relished by the locals who could not eat without a hot broth.⁵⁶ Although the Ilubuagens made fun of their orientation on “Filipino fiesta” initiated by the President himself, this gesture of Aguinaldo succeeded in winning their hearts and minds.

LOCAL MILITIA

The Ilubuagens were actively involved in the military operations of Aguinaldo and his troops. They served as guides, scouts, and sentinels. Carrasco cited the *fuerza franca de servicio* (volunteer troops) that attended the President's birthday party. He again noted the presence of the *oficiales francos de servicio y la tropa* (officers of the militia and the troops) in another affair.⁵⁷ It can be inferred that this local militia was composed of *mambibilog* (men who can run fast, dexterous or able-bodied males), particularly of *mansosokey* (fighting men), which would include almost all of the younger and middle-aged *papangat* and *mamangpangngaton* (men rising to tribal political leadership).⁵⁸

At least one Ilubuagen was always with the *mangili* whenever they went out for whatever purpose as evidenced by Biangyagen who accompanied them to Awichon. Lookout towers and outposts, which communicated through heliographic and flag signals and were established atop Byelalao, Payontoc, Pudpud Hill and Bubung at Malangoy (Manangol) Ridge to see from a distance anybody approaching Lubuagan, were also manned by Ilubuagen sentinels. Thirty-third U.S. Volunteers Infantry Maj. Peyton C. March's expedition's report about the American assault on Lubuagan on May 17, 1900 said that they rounded up an *Igorrote* in the signal station over which Mabongtot can be seen (in Byelalao).⁵⁹

The trench built halfway up the slope on the road to Guinaang was baptized "Pilar."⁶⁰ It suggests that Aguinaldo

and his troops named specific places in town and these were probably used as codes to disguise the location of fortifications in Lubuagan for security reasons.

Bacacao learned from Gellapi and other past elders the following placenames: Manila (locally pronounced as Malila or Manina) refers to Tiwod and Sitio Songbob-Mapitpitok where the President's quarters, his staff's and their mess hall and the soldiers' camp were located; Tagaytay (pronounced as Tagoytoy) was the site of the soldiers' triangular table beside Pudpud Hill at Tabtabya Ridge; Cavite (Kabiti) to a portion of the residential area of Lonas where the officers and men were lodged. The outpost with watchtower and signal station over Pudpud was called Bantay (Bientay).⁶¹

Villa and Carrasco's diaries are replete with details demonstrating the efficiency of the local militia. They guarded the town's perimeters and provided reliable information about the movements of the American forces that enabled Aguinaldo to leave Lubuagan immediately on May 17, 1900.⁶²

The Ilubuagens' commitment and loyalty to the Filipino cause was clearly exemplified through their continued acts of espionage even after Aguinaldo and his men had already pulled out. While the group was already at Kageywan, an Ilubuagen scout would still come reporting about the enemy. Another local scout followed them to Asibiangyan (Asibanglan) reporting to the President the tragic fate of the 14 convalescent men, who were ordered to stay behind, in the hands of the American soldiers.⁶³

TUKON: BAYANIHAN CULTURE OF THE ILUBUAGENS

Lubuagan's *tukon* refers to the old practice of giving voluntary manual labor, wherein the only expense of the *nantukon* (person who invited volunteers) for the *latkon* (people who volunteered to work) are their meals and drinks during the days of service. This custom is still a viable practice among Ilubuagens to this day.⁶⁴

When Aguinaldo intended to scout from over the Lubuagan mountains the trail from Guinaang to Abra via Balatoc situated across Pasil to the north, he asked the tribespeople's assistance in constructing a path wide enough for his horses to pass. The local leaders heeded his request and sent out for Gumatay, the middle-aged *pangat* of the Uma villages of Magmag-an, Bangtitan, Bilongbong and Apungoy, to organize and undertake the trail-building work through the spirit of civic unity and cooperation among the tribe folk. A young man then who took part in the undertaking, Challang recounted to his grandson Chegson Tubban that the volunteer laborers opened and widened a path by clearing the vegetation, digging, and leveling the soil.⁶⁵

Estimated to be a few kilometers long, the horse-trail was laid out from Bilongbong going down to Mallongan, Tangkiben, and Sul-ot. Then it went up to Ayom, Bantiyao up to Kaguting. Without dynamites, the trail could not proceed beyond Kaguting, since the place was rocky and in a precipitous slope.⁶⁶ Umangeg, then a young

adult bachelor and a *mangpangpangaton* of Bilongbong, welcomed Aguinaldo and his men with a *peyalus* and gongs when they arrived in his village.⁶⁷

Aguinaldo's coming to Uma is corroborated by Villa's March 26, 1900 diary entry when he, accompanied by Major Geronimo Gatmaitan, Carrasco, and some men, reconnoitered the mountains leading to Licuan.⁶⁸ Aguinaldo, together with Barcelona, Gatmaitan, Carrasco and a few soldiers, also made a reconnaissance trip on April 23, 1900 from Lubuagan to Guinaang via Payontoc Ridge and from Guinaang to Bilongbong the following day.⁶⁹ This time, it was Gumatay who welcomed them in Uma with a *peyalus*. Aguinaldo and his troops came to Uma again and told the people that the Americans had arrived chasing them. This indicates that they followed the trail via Bilongbong when they evacuated Lubuagan. Some portions of the trail can still be seen at Brgy. Western Uma, Lubuagan, Kalinga.⁷⁰ This reconnaissance horse trail, which the Ilubuagens built through *tukon*, is another indication of their active support to the President and the Filipino Republic.

MACHOGYOM AND AGUINALDO'S RETREAT FROM LUBUAGAN

The peaceful life of Aguinaldo and his men in Lubuagan ended on May 17, 1900 when news came that American soldiers were already at Sumadel intending to attack. With the Americans in Sumadel proceeding towards Mabongtot and with the presence of the enemies in Balbalasang to the north, the President decided to evacuate the town leaving behind under the care of the Ilubuagens 14 of his

soldiers who could not walk because of serious illness. That morning, Aguinaldo commissioned First Lieutenant Alberto Bautista to leave for Cagayan as an advance party to establish a Katipunan society in that sector.⁷¹

Aguinaldo and his soldiers climbed up to Bilongbong bringing all their horses and baggage. Then they asked for a guide who knew the way to Cagayan. Middle-aged Machogyom was appointed. Gumatay and other inhabitants of Uma knew Machogyom to be knowledgeable on the trails going to the eastern lowlands as he had been traveling to Limos (now part of Pinukpuk, Kalinga) and Tuao to engage in barter trade. The adventurous Umangeg also volunteered but dissuaded by his father Machogyom, so he only went with the retreating forces as far as Guinaang.⁷² Then young bachelors Pallayoc of Lonas and Peyoc of Songbob-Mapitpitok also volunteered as escorts.⁷³ Carrasco mentioned that the retreating Filipino forces also had porters, presumably locals from Lubuagan.⁷⁴ Pallayoc and Peyoc were able to come home alive but kept silent about what happened during the retreat. As for Machogyom, he died in Asibiangyan while discharging his duty.⁷⁵

HONORING AGUINALDO AND HIS MEN

The naming of children and grandchildren after Aguinaldo and some of his men is direct evidence of the good fellowship that prospered between the *mangili* and the *umili* in 1900. Bygone generations used to name their descendants after those of their ancestors to perpetuate their memory. They preferred naming their male descendants after the *papangat* of their clan hoping that the young would

emulate their good deeds or heroic feats. The naming of progenies after non-relative and non-Kalinga visitors who were *silulud* (literally, “treated like a sibling” or befriended) seems to have begun since Aguinaldo’s abode in town.⁷⁶

Paul Alicog (b. June 11, 1924) was the grandson of Oggas, middle-aged man who participated in the horse trail-building in Uma in Aguinaldo’s time. Paul’s name is indicative of Maj. Gregorio Paul, one of Aguinaldo’s soldiers, who reconnoitered Bilongbong. Others were named from “Aminyo,” a corrupted form of Emilio in the Lubuagan vernacular. Faustino Aminyo (b. April 29, 1926) was the son of Magayam (Sommoy), who was then an adolescent living in Sitio Gaang in 1900. Aminyo Dao-ang (b. 1920s) was the grandson of Iweg (Ogang) of Agsiyang, then a young adult when Aguinaldo came to his village.⁷⁷

Aguinaldo Bassiag (b. April 9, 1900) was Keyaching’s son. Keyaching was the son of Gumatay and Geyyao, Patongao’s sister. Keyaching and Gumatay both became associated with the President during his reconnaissance trips to Uma. Aguinaldo Bassiag was already named “Bessieg” as he was more likely born before 1900. He later registered as “Aguinaldo Bassiag” and he also preferred to be called “Generaldo,” which is reminiscent of General Aguinaldo.⁷⁸

Antonio Canao (b.1901) was Patongao’s grandson. Originally named “Kalaw” after a lowly soldier in Aguinaldo’s army who became close to his folks, Canao later adopted his Ilokanized given name as his surname. Meanwhile, his scion Anastacio Canao (b. 1937) insisted on using the name “Dayao” (“Chayao” in the vernacular)

after one of Aguinaldo's soldiers who befriended his family back in 1900, most probably 1st Lt. Teodoro Dayao.⁷⁹ The latter was a member of the Bulacan Battalion and part of the team detailed to President Aguinaldo.⁸⁰

Aguinaldo "Cusay" Mangngik (b.1930) was the great grandson of Tulloy (Umpig). Cusay's grandfather Anggaben was already married in 1900. Either Tulloy or Anggaben gave the name in memory of the family's reception of the President and the friendship he offered in exchange. Interestingly, Kiley and Puttiyak named their son "Tinio" (b.1901), must be after Gen. Manuel Tinio. Residing at Sitio Gongogong, Tinio's parents were still adolescents during Aguinaldo's time.⁸¹ Gen. Tinio went to Lubuagan to report to Aguinaldo about the status of the war in Ilocos; he stayed in Lubuagan from April 12, 1900 to April 16, 1900.⁸²

Emilio Uyam (b.1916) was the only son of Uyam, an Imabooy-Isukyu adult bachelor living with his widowed mother Machulay in Mabilong and a *mangpangngaton* in 1900. Emilio's *otan* (nickname) was "Iminyo," another corrupted form of Emilio. Uyam named his son after Aguinaldo who he befriended and welcomed in his home with a feast.⁸³

These names provide a hint of who's who in the story of the Ilubuagens who warmly welcomed Aguinaldo. The naming of the locals of their children and grandchildren after Aguinaldo and his soldiers were indication of their good memories during the latter's brief stay in town.

CONCLUSION

The stories about Aguinaldo's encampment in Lubuagan form part of the treasured oral tradition of the town. These are continuously being shared by the present elder generations, a source of pride for the Municipality, and a catalyst for its tourism development. In March 2000, the centennial commemoration of Aguinaldo's sojourn in Lubuagan was held. The National Historical Institute unveiled the historical marker at the President Emilio Aguinaldo Park. A statue of the President was constructed at the park through the initiative of Mr. Emmanuel Bacacao, then a member of the Provincial Board. Since 2011, the local government commemorates Aguinaldo's arrival in peace in Lubuagan in 1900 as part of the annual, week-long Laga Festival, which showcases the traditional brightly colored cotton textiles produced by the backstrap weaving industry of the tribeswomen. Present *mammaangsan* (elders) also advocate for the recognition of Lubuagen as one of the temporary capitals of the First Philippine Republic, which reflects their desire that the contribution of their ancestors in the struggle to save the government be acknowledged and given honor by the Filipino nation.

The Ilubuagen side of the story aims to give clarity and share about the lives of indigenous peoples. The claims that they were very much annoyed by Aguinaldo's prolonged stay in Lubuagan and were indifferent to the nationalist cause are without basis. On their cruelty, barbarity, treachery, and their inability to unite among themselves and with other ethnolinguistic groups, *ha kalan cha iyawi* reveal the genuine goodness of the Ilubuagens and their willingness

to partake in the arduous process of forming a nation while in the midst of a war against foreign aggression.

By foregrounding *ha kalan cha iyawi*, the beneficent and admirable beliefs behind the Ilubuagen hospitable practices or traits are accentuated. Oral tradition reflects the *bochong* system, the traditional way of instituting amity and solidarity among the indigenous peoples of Kalinga, and how this served to benefit the President and his troops. It also highlights the comradeship that flourished between the Ilubuagens and Aguinaldo and his men as evidenced by the naming of their offsprings after their *mangili*, and by the absence of memory of abuses committed by the Filipino troops while in town. The significant role of the Ilubuagens in Aguinaldo's sojourn in Lubuagan is worthy of recognition in the future historical marker from the National Historical Commission of the Philippines and in history books.

NOTES

- 1 Teodoro A. Agoncillo, *Malolos: The Crisis of the Republic* (Quezon City: University of the Philippines Press, 1960), 451–454.
- 2 Details about Aguinaldo's evacuation to northern Luzon are recorded in the diaries of his officers in *Aguinaldo's Odyssey: As Told in the Diaries of Col. Simeon Villa and Dr. Santiago Barcelona* (Manila: Bureau of Public Libraries, 1963), 3–46; Telesforo P. Carrasco, *A Spaniard in Aguinaldo's Army: The Military Journal of Telesforo Carrasco y Perez*, Translated by Nick Joaquin (Manila: Solar Publishing Corporation, 1986), 58–63, 187–191; "The Flight and Wanderings of Emilio Aguinaldo, From His

Abandonment of Bayambang until His Capture in Palanan: A Diary by Simeon A. Villa, A Member of His Staff,” translated by J. C. Hixon, in John R. M. Taylor, *The Philippine Insurrection Against the United States: A Compilation of Documents with Notes and Introduction*, vol. 5 (Pasay City: Eugenio Lopez Foundation, 1971), 1–44.

- 3 Referring to Aguinaldo; *Agileychu* is spelled as pronounced in Lilubuagen (native language of Lubuagen tribe) by past generations of Ilubuagens; The ‘bar y’ (Y or y) is a phonetic symbol that corresponds to an unusual speech sound which occurs in the native language of Lubuagan, Kalinga; The sound of the phoneme /y/ is as if pronouncing the sound of /y/ with the tongue receding. The main informants of this writer recognize this notation as the representation of this unique speech sound in their mother tongue; In orthography, non-native speakers usually substitute the bar y with letter ‘l,’ ‘r,’ ‘y’ or ‘h’ according to the informants interviewed by this writer in Emmanuel G. Bacacao, interview by this writer, March 1 and 5, April 11–14, June 20–25, and August 25–26, 2019, Brgy. Bulanao, Tabuk City, Kalinga; Roger A. Bun-as, interview by this writer, March 2 and 5, April 11–14, June 20–25, and August 24–25, 2019, Brgy. Dangoy, Lubuagan, Kalinga.
- 4 Citizens of Lubuagan, Kalinga and/or members of the Lubuagen tribe.
- 5 *Aguinaldo’s Odyssey*, 46–64, 116–118; Carrasco, 58–63, 187–191; “Flight and Wanderings,” 44–61.
- 6 Bacacao and Bun-as, interviews.
- 7 Bacacao, interview.
- 8 Bun-as, interview.
- 9 Dagson Tubban, interview by this writer, August 24, 2019, Brgy. Western Uma, Lubuagan, Kalinga.
- 10 Domingo Bongat, interview by this writer, August 24, 2019, Brgy. Western Uma, Lubuagan, Kalinga.

- 11 Ferdinand Blumentritt, "List of the Native Tribes of the Philippines and of the Languages Spoken by Them," translated by O. T. Mason, in *Annual Report of the Smithsonian Institution 1899* (Washington DC: Government Printing Office, 1901), 530, 535.
- 12 Rdo. P. Fray Angel Perez, OSA, *Relaciones agustinianas de las razas del norte de Luzon* (Manila: Bureau of Public Printing, 1904), 349–350, 365.
- 13 For a detailed discussion on the enmity that characterized the relations among "Guinaanes" and between the former and the Tinggians, see Paul P. de la Gironiere, *Twenty Years in the Philippines* (New York: Harper & Brothers Publishers, 1854), 107–137; William H. Scott, *The Discovery of the Igorots: Spanish Contacts with the Pagans of Northern Luzon* (Quezon City: New Day Publishers, 1974), 220, 222, 224; Idem, *History on the Cordillera: Collected Writings on Cordillera History* (Baguio City: Baguio Printing and Publishing Co., Inc., 1975), 129, 139–140, 270; Carl Semper, Richard von Drasche, Hans Meyer, Alexander Schadenberg and Otto Scheerer, *German Travelers on the Cordillera (1860–1890)*, edited by William Henry Scott (Manila: Filipiniana Book Guild, 1975), 13.
- 14 As shared by Bacacao's maternal grandmother Gellapi about her childhood in Lubuagan in Bacacao, interview.
- 15 Carrasco, 58, 187.
- 16 *Aguinaldo's Odyssey*, 45; "Flight and Wanderings," 43–44.
- 17 Bacacao, interview.
- 18 See Roy F. Barton, *The Kalingas: Their Institutions and Custom Law* (Chicago, Illinois: University of Chicago Press, 1949).
- 19 Bacacao, interview.
- 20 *Aguinaldo's Odyssey*, 63, "Flight and Wanderings," 60–61.
- 21 Bacacao, interview.

- 22 Ibid.; Miguel Sugguiyao, *The Kalinga Hilltribe of the Philippines*, 2nd ed. (Quezon City: Office for Northern Cultural Communities, 1998), 80–85.
- 23 Bacacao, interview.
- 24 Cornelis de Witt Willcox, *The Headhunters of Northern Luzon: From Ifugao to Kalinga; A Ride Through the Mountains of Northern Luzon with an Appendix on the Independence of the Philippines* (Kansas City, Mo.: Franklin Hudson Publishing Company, 1912), 225.
- 25 *Aguinaldo's Odyssey*, 45–46; “Flight and Wanderings,” 43–44.
- 26 As narrated by Gellapi, who was then a young girl when Aguinaldo was in Lubuagan in Bacacao, interview.
- 27 Choppaas Tagaotao mentioned this fact to Bacacao in Bacacao, interview.
- 28 Herminia Inga Quitlong, interview by this writer, August 25, 2019, Brgy. Bulanao, Tabuk City, Kalinga.
- 29 Bacacao, interview.
- 30 *Aguinaldo's Odyssey*, 46.
- 31 Bacacao, interview.
- 32 Ibid.
- 33 *Aguinaldo's Odyssey*, 47; “Flight and Wanderings,” 45.
- 34 Carrasco, 59.
- 35 Basilio Dawagan, interview by this writer, August 26, 2019, Brgy. Bulanao, Tabuk City.
- 36 Bacacao, interview.
- 37 Bacacao, interview.
- 38 *Aguinaldo's Odyssey*, 47; “Flight and Wanderings,” 45.

- 39 Bacacao, interview.
- 40 *Aguinaldo's Odyssey*, 47; "Flight and Wanderings," 45.
- 41 Bacacao and Bun-as, interviews.
- 42 Ibid.
- 43 *Aguinaldo's Odyssey*, 48; "Flight and Wanderings," 46.
- 44 *Aguinaldo's Odyssey*, 56; "Flight and Wanderings," 54-55.
- 45 Bacacao, interview.
- 46 Ibid.
- 47 Translated by Bacacao.
- 48 *Aguinaldo's Odyssey*, 48; "Flight and Wanderings," 46.
- 49 Bacacao, interview.
- 50 Ibid.
- 51 Translated by Bacacao.
- 52 Sulpicio Guevarra, ed., *The Laws of the First Philippine Republic (The Laws of Malolos), 1898-1899* (Manila: National Historical Institute, 1972), 172-173.
- 53 Bacacao, interview.
- 54 *Aguinaldo's Odyssey*, 53; "Flight and Wanderings," 52.
- 55 Carrasco, 60, 189; Carrasco mentions the presence of an army brass band (*musico del Batallon*) in his diary entry of April 16, 1900 in Carrasco, 63, 190.
- 56 Bacacao and Bun-as, interviews.
- 57 Carrasco, 60, 63, 189, 191.
- 58 Bacacao, interview.

- 59 *Facts About the Filipinos*, vol. 1, no. 9 (Boston: Philippine Information Society, 1900–1901), 26–27.
- 60 Carrasco, 63, 191.
- 61 Bacacao, interview.
- 62 *Aguinaldo's Odyssey*, 63, 118; “Flight and Wanderings,” 60–61; Carrasco, 63, 191.
- 63 Carrasco, 63, 191; *Aguinaldo's Odyssey*, 63, 65, 67; “Flight and Wanderings,” 61–63, 65; Also in David H. Bain, *Sitting in Darkness: Americans in the Philippines* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1984), 289.
- 64 Bongat, Tubban, Bun-as, and Bacacao, interviews.
- 65 Tubban, interview.
- 66 Ibid.
- 67 Tubban and Bongat, interviews.
- 68 *Aguinaldo's Odyssey*, 55; “Flight and Wanderings,” 53.
- 69 *Aguinaldo's Odyssey*, 60; “Flight and Wanderings,” 58.
- 70 Tubban, interview.
- 71 *Aguinaldo's Odyssey*, 63–65; “Flight and Wanderings,” 60–62; Carrasco, 63, 191.
- 72 Tubban and Bongat, interviews.
- 73 Bacacao, interview.
- 74 Carrasco, 64, 192.
- 75 Bongat, Tubban, Bun-as, and Bacacao, interviews.
- 76 Bacacao and Bun-as, interviews.
- 77 Ibid.
- 78 Bacacao, interview.

79 Ibid.

80 *Aguinaldo's Odyssey*, 38; "Flight and Wanderings," 36; Carrasco, 65, 193.

81 Bacacao, interview.

82 *Aguinaldo's Odyssey*, 59; "Flight and Wanderings," 57; Barcelona records that Gen. Tinio arrived in Lubuagan on April 15, 1900 and left the town on April 17, 1900 in *Aguinaldo's Odyssey*, 117; Carrasco gives April 13, 1900 and April 17, 1900 as the Gen Tinio's date of arrival in and departure from Lubuagan, respectively, in Carrasco 63, 189–191.

83 Bacacao and Bun-as, interviews.

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