

Bicentennial Commemoration of the Birth of Hermano Puli: A Historiographic Study

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ABSTRACT

Part of the work of historians is to settle historical controversies such as conflicting dates and sites of historical events, or biographical information of important persons involved, for purposes of historical accuracy and aid to legislation among others. One example of a historical controversy is the birth of Apolinario de la Cruz or Hermano Puli, the known figure of the Cofradia de San Jose of Tayabas. His story represents a turning point in the history of oppression suffered by ordinary Filipinos under the colonial rule of Spain—the struggle for

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religious freedom. Hermano Puli humbly pursued this struggle, first by establishing the Cofradia, and ultimately by his undaunted conviction paid dearly with his life. This paper presents the historiographical study undertaken to ascertain the date of birth of Hermano Puli by thoroughly scouring and analysing primary archival sources.

KEYWORDS

Hermano Puli, Cofradia de San Jose, Tayabas, historiography, archival sources, secondary documents

INTRODUCTION

One characteristic that distinguishes the historians from other scholars is their obsession to know the minute details of a historic event. Historians want to identify the exact place where the event happened, the date when it happened, and the persons involved in it. In writing a person's biography for instance, the date of birth is a very important detail that must be established accurately. Ascertaining the date of birth of famous Filipinos who were born in this century is quite easy. Records of the Philippine Statistics Authority, baptismal records, school registration forms, and the oral accounts of their parents and childhood playmates are the usual sources of information. But if one will deal with Filipinos born more than a century ago, identifying their date of birth is quite challenging. This applies not only to ordinary Filipinos but also to well-

known heroes like Apolinario Mabini. For several decades, Mabini's birthday was celebrated every 23rd of July. But after his original baptismal certificate was discovered in the archives of the University of Santo Tomas, it was changed to 22 July because the document says that when he was baptized on 23 July 1864, he was a "child of one day" (*de un dia nacido*).¹

It is quite ironic that the date of birth of another Apolinario (Apolinario de la Cruz aka Hermano Puli) became controversial in recent times. Hermano Puli was born in Lucban, Quezon and he came from a middle-class family. His parents were Pablo de la Cruz and Juana Andres, both devout Catholics. He attended the local public primary school in Lucban and in 1829, he tried to join the Dominican Order. Unfortunately, his application was rejected and because of this, he decided to work as a lay brother (*donado*) at the San Juan de Dios Hospital. Later, he was admitted to the Cofradía de San Juan de Dios, a brotherhood affiliated with the hospital. In December 1832, De la Cruz, along with more than a dozen residents of Tayabas, founded the Cofradía de San José (Confraternity of St. Joseph). He then became known to his followers as Hermano Puli. They recruited members from Tayabas, Laguna, Cavite, Batangas, Camarines provinces, and from other nearby provinces. By 1841, the Cofradía had considerably grown with an estimated 4,500 to 5,000 members.

In 1840, Fr. Antonio Mateo, the vicar of Tayabas, became suspicious of the Cofradía's monthly masses and of reports that the organization was collecting fees. He

also dignified the rumor that the Cofradía was planning to murder the *alcaldes* of Camarines and Laguna. A year later, Fr. Mateo accused the members of the Cofradia of conducting heretical activities. This prompted the *gobernadorcillo* of Lucban to raid the Cofradía's headquarters while the members were having their monthly meeting. Colonial officials arrested 243 Cofradía members and confiscated their cash box, two large portraits of Puli, and Puli's letters to the Cofradía. Hermano Puli sent a letter to Archbishop José Seguí stating that the Cofradía was not against canon law. He also wrote to Governor-General Marcelino de Oraá Lecumberri requesting him to recognize the Cofradia as a legitimate religious organization. The Governor-General personally reviewed the petition and was disturbed by the Cofradía's policy to exclude Spaniards and *mestizos* from joining without Puli's approval. Because of this, De Oraá declared the Cofradia a seditious organization.

In July 1841, De Oraá outlawed the Cofradía and ordered the arrest of its members. Puli immediately went into hiding to avoid capture. On 23 October 1841, *Alcalde Mayor* Joaquín Ortega mobilized 300 men and attacked the Cofradía's camp. Members of the Cofradía fought back resulting in the death of Ortega and many of his men. When the Governor-General heard the news, he ordered Col. Joaquín Huet to neutralize the Cofradia. The battle between the Cofradía and the government forces lasted for four hours and Hermano Puli's fighters suffered heavy casualties. Puli fled to Sariaya but was captured by Colonel Huet's forces the following evening. On 4 November 1841, he was tried and ordered executed by firing squad.

The authorities had his body quartered and parts of his body were exhibited in Lucban and the nearby towns.

Hermano Puli died a martyr. The date of his death was not difficult to establish because his execution was witnessed and documented by several people. However, confirming his date of birth, which could be likened to Mabini's case, became a historiographic issue recently. It all started when the National Historical Commission of the Philippines (NHCP) was preparing for the commemoration of the bicentennial of his birth. NHCP researchers discovered that the two markers installed by the Commission in the province of Quezon were at odds when it came to Puli's date of birth. One marker states that he was born on 23 July 1814 and the other says that it was on 22 July 1815. Since the NHCP was planning to hold national commemorations of Hermano Puli's birth, the agency felt the urgency to determine the correct date of his birthday.

ORIGIN OF THE CONTROVERSY

It has been the standard procedure of NHCP to create a preparatory committee for milestone celebrations. For the commemoration of the bicentenary of Hermano Puli's birth, the committee organized was chaired by NHCP Executive Director Ludovico Badoy and its members included representatives from the Department of Education, Department of the Interior and Local Government, National Commission for Culture and the Arts, Provincial Government of Quezon, Local Government

of Tayabas, GSIS Museum, SM Supermalls, and some NHCP staffers. In their 7 March 2014 meeting held in the municipal hall of Lucban, Director Badoy proposed the preparation of an official program to commemorate the 200th birth anniversary of Hermano Puli on 23 July 2014. Mr. Ryan Palad, the curator of GSIS Museum, seconded the motion of Director Badoy but he raised pertinent issues concerning Hermano Puli's birthday. He requested the members of the committee to examine the minutes of the trial of Hermano Puli. The records indicated that Hermano Puli was 27 years old when he was tried in 1841. Ms. Quennie Palafox, NHCP researcher, argued that the committee could not rely on the minutes which were written only by a stenographer. She recommended celebrating the bicentennial anniversary in 2015, as well as considering 23 July 1815 as Hermano Puli's birthday based on the book of Gabriel Beato Francisco. After a series of exchanges, Dir. Badoy suggested to the committee to let the NHCP Board decide on the conflicting dates of birth of Hermano Puli's birthday.

The research work conducted by the Research, Publication and Heraldic Division (RPHD) of NHCP revealed that for several decades, 22 July 1815 was regarded as the date of Hermano Puli's birth. This date had been used by the Commission since 1965 and it could be traced back to the research done by Hector K. Villaroel, a researcher of the National Historical Commission (forerunner of the NHCP). The date was first used in Hermano Puli's biographical sketch by Villaroel in the NHC book, *Eminent Filipinos* (1970);² in the *Historical Calendar 1521-1969* in 1970;³ and in *Filipinos in History* in 1989.⁴ These

publications popularized the claim that Hermano Puli was born on 22 July 1815 and the basis of Villaroel, allegedly, was Puli's baptismal records.

Years before the commemoration of Hermano Puli's bicentenary, local historians of Quezon could not agree as to his definitive date of birth. Some were inclined to give more credence to the trial records and to hold the celebration on 23 July 2014. Obviously, this stance has not been free from criticism because certain historians maintain that the birthday of Hermano Puli was not the primary issue of the trial and, therefore, should not be given that much importance. It is possible that because of the psychological pressure on him, he could not have been lucid and accurate when he was pressed for his age during the interrogation. To settle this issue once and for all, NHCP undertook a thorough investigation of the extant primary sources that could help determine Hermano Puli's birthday.

CONFLICTING ARCHIVAL SOURCES

The RPHD searched extensively for archival materials that could shed light on the contradictory dates. Consulted were the archives of the Hospitaller Order of the Brothers of Saint John of God (the order of Hermano Puli), and the archives of the See of Nueva Caceres in Naga City (which had jurisdiction over Quezon Province during the Spanish colonial period). Unfortunately, the search yielded negative results. Also checked was the collection of the National Archives of the Philippines (NAP) and luckily, primary sources were found. The NHCP Board deemed them useful in determining the date of birth of Hermano Puli.

All in all, the RPHD presented three written sources; two of them are primary sources providing the contradicting years, i.e., 1813 and 1814, and the third one is a secondary source. The last one has complete information (22 July 1815) allegedly based on the baptismal record of Hermano Puli that the author purportedly saw personally.

The National Archives of the Philippines has two sets of documents on Apolinario dela Cruz which are both useful in determining his age. The first one is the report of Juan Francisco Gutierrez, the Spanish fiscal of Sariaya. It is dated 3 November 1841 and narrates what transpired during the trial of Hermano Puli. Written by Gutierrez, the report contains the signature of Hermano Puli. There are three copies of Gutierrez's report in the Apolinario dela Cruz bundle. One is a report dated 3 November 1841 written by Gutierrez⁵ and an undated copy of the same report signed by Gov. Gen. Marcelino de Oraá Lecumberri.⁶ The third one is a similar document dated 5 November 1841.⁷ As in most trial records, the accused was required to identify himself and give his personal circumstances. It was in this context that Hermano Puli gave his name, domicile, and age (27). He did not mention his complete date of birth but since the year of the trial is known, then his birthday could be deduced by subtracting his age from the year of the trial. Doing so will lead to the conclusion that he was born in 1814.

It can be claimed, on the one hand, that the historiographical value of the information found in the Gutierrez report rests on the fact that it came from a person [Gutierrez] who was present during the trial. In short, it is

an eyewitness account and, therefore, an important piece of evidence in determining the date of birth of Hermano Puli. Moreover, the time interval when Hermano Puli gave the information about his age and when the report was written by Gutierrez is very close. Hence, the possibility that the information given is inaccurate is remote. The profession of the writer is also relevant in this case. Fiscals are trained in the discipline of law and expected to give an accurate account of what happened. Moreover, the issue at hand is not material to the case filed against the accused. Therefore, there is no reason why Hermano Puli and Gutierrez will tell a lie on this matter. Lastly, Hermano Puli certified the veracity of the report's contents as evidenced by his signature. Taking all these factors into consideration, one could say that the report of Gutierrez is a good guide that could help identify the date of birth of Hermano Puli.

On the other hand, the Gutierrez report as a source of information of Hermano Puli's age is not above reproach. One could argue that it is not a holographic declaration (a document written by the person who signed it) and is, therefore, not a primary source. It was written by an officer of the court and the possibility that it contains "clerical errors" will always be there. Even if the person himself is the source, anyone could still argue that this information should not be regarded as gospel truth. There are trial records in which the witness gave inaccurate personal details. A classic example is the case of Gregoria de Jesus, the wife of Andres Bonifacio. During the trial of her husband, she declared that her age was 19. But records show that she was born in 1875. Since she was born in 1875, her correct age during the trial was not 19 but 22.⁸

The context or setting of Hermano Puli's trial is also relevant in evaluating the veracity and reliability of the Gutierrez report. One should note that people can get emotionally and psychologically distressed when on trial. They are not completely in control of their mind and emotions and there is always the possibility of unintentionally giving inaccurate information about themselves. It is true that Hermano Puli's age and date of birth are irrelevant to the case filed against him and, therefore, he has no reason to lie about them. But it is also probable that since these facts are immaterial to his case, he did not pay much attention to them and gave information perfunctorily. Lastly, based on the certification attached to the Gutierrez report, Hermano Puli was tried, interrogated, and sentenced to death on the day he was arrested (3 November 1841) and the sentence was carried out the following day.⁹ Hence, even if he signed the document, there is very little probability that he was given ample time to read, counter-check, and validate the information contained therein.

Two other archival documents that provide information about Hermano Puli's age and birthday were written by Gutierrez de los Rios, fiscal of Tayabas. No doubt the "Apolinario de la Cruz" in the report of De los Rios refers to Hermano Puli because it contains the *padron* (list) of *hermanos* (brothers) of the Cofradía de San Jose y voto del Santísimo Rosario.¹⁰ Hermano Puli's name was mentioned first and followed by Octabio Ygnacio de San Jorge,¹¹ his right-hand man.¹² Dated 1841, the documents have personal identifier codes, e.g., age, place of birth, and civil status of Hermano Puli. Again, these documents

are problematic since they contradict each other. The first report mentions “Apolinario dela Cruz, de edad de veinte y siete años,”¹³ while the second one states “Apolinario de la Cruz, ydad 28.”¹⁴ These sources give two possible birth years of Hermano Puli, which are 1814 and 1813. Hence, these two documents hardly offer a clue to the correct date of birth of Hermano Puli because the criticism raised against the Gutierrez report also applies to the report of De los Rios.

DISPUTING A SECONDARY SOURCE

Another date of birth of Hermano Puli which is inconsistent with the date given in Gutierrez’s and De los Rios’s reports surfaced in 1915. In his book entitled *Ang Kasaysayan ni Apolinario de la Cruz na may Pamagat na Hermano Pulê*, Gabriel Beato Francisco claimed that based on the baptismal record in Lucban Church, Hermano Puli was born on 23 July 1815. He also identified Hermano Puli’s parents, namely Pablo de la Cruz and Juana Andrea. The names of Hermano Puli’s parents appear in the NAP’s “Apolinario de la Cruz” bundles at least on the following folios:

- Report of Saturnino Cristobal to the Spanish authorities regarding the members of the Cofradía, Lucban, 19 October 1840 (Hermano Puli’s parents were mentioned first in the list)¹⁵
- List of Cofradía leaders in various localities, 5 July 1840¹⁶
- Table of monthly Cofradía tasking, undated¹⁷

Compared to the reports of Gutierrez and De los Rios, Francisco's narrative is longer and more detailed. Moreover, it contains vital information about Hermano Puli. He wrote:

*Ang tunay na pangalan ni hermano Pulê, na aking binangit sa sinunda'y Apolinario (sic) de la Cruz, taong tunay sa Lukban, anak ni Pablo de la Cruz at ni Juana Andrea, na napapangkat sa Balangay Santa Rosa, at ayon sa Libro de Partida na kanyang kinatatala'y bininyagan ng ika 23 ng Hulio ng 1815, sa gulang na ikalawang araw ng paring koadhutor na si G. Eduardo Cecilio Soriano at ang inaamá ó padrino'y si G. Faustino de San Buenaventura na asawa ni G. Felipa Catalina.*¹⁸

(The true name of the mentioned Hermano Puli is Apolinario de la Cruz, a native of Lukban, son of Pablo de la Cruz and Juana Andrea of barrio Santa Rosa, and according to an entry in the Baptismal Book he was baptized on 23 July 1815, already two days old by coadjutor Fr. Eduardo Cecilio Soriano with Faustino de San Buenaventura, husband of [a certain] Felipa Catalina, standing as the godfather.)

Francisco recounted in his book that he did extensive research and interviewed the old folks of Tayabas, Batangas, and other places where Hermano Puli's Cofradía had followers. Thus, he was able to produce a very detailed account of the circumstances surrounding the birth and baptism of Hermano Puli. He alleged that he personally saw Hermano Puli's baptismal record in Lucban Church which

enabled him to provide a lot of information. Essentially, he wrote that Hermano Puli was two days old when he was baptized on 23 July 1815. Using this date as reference, one could safely deduce that Hermano Puli was born on 21 July 1815. Francisco also gave the name of the parents of Hermano Puli and the barrio where they lived. Lastly, he identified the name and position of the priest who baptized Hermano Puli and the one who stood as his godfather. All these details are important in historiography because they can be used as evidence to debunk or uphold the veracity of Francisco's narrative.

Francisco wrote that the incumbent *gobernadorcillo* (the equivalent of a municipal mayor today) of Lucban when Hermano Puli was born was Jose Bonifacio who assumed the position in 1815.¹⁹ He also claimed that the Franciscan parish priest of Lucban at that time was Fr. Ramon Sanchez, OFM. When the NHCP Board of Commissioners deliberated on this issue, RPHD head Mr. Alvin Alcid confirmed that the information given by Francisco is corroborated by postwar secondary sources. For instance, the 1953 Historical Data Papers confirm that Jose Bonifacio was indeed the *gobernadorcillo* of Lucban in 1815²⁰ (in 1814, it was Alejo Antonio Gregorio). Furthermore, the same source says that Fr. Sanchez was the parish priest of Lucban around the time Hermano Puli was born. The parish priest figured in the local history of Lucban because he initiated the construction of the Lucban Church in 1812. He, together with other Franciscans in Tayabas province, was also instrumental in ousting the *alcalde mayor* (the equivalent of a provincial governor today) of Tayabas for excessive tribute collection and the

unjust implementation of *polos y servicios* (forced labor) which the 1812 Cadiz Constitution prohibited.²¹

The account of Francisco is very rich in details but the NHCP commissioners were reluctant to use it as basis in settling the controversial issue. This non-concurrence stemmed from the fact that the claim of Francisco could no longer be validated because the baptismal records of Lucban Church, specifically the volume that Francisco had quoted, was destroyed when the church was bombed by the U.S. Air Force during the World War II.²² Using Francisco's account would mean that the NHCP decided on a historiographical issue based on a secondary source whose evidence is non-verifiable.

NHCP TEMPORARY DECISION

In its report to the NHCP Board on 7 September 2015, the RPHD did not give that much credence to the trial records as presented by Gutierrez and De los Rios. It argued that when Hermano Puli signed the trial record, he was under duress and that it only gave his age and not his actual date of birth. Using Francisco's account as basis, the RPHD recommended to the Board to declare 22 July 1815 as the date of birth of Hermano Puli. Current NHCP Chairman Dr. Rene R. Escalante, who at that time was one of the NHCP commissioners, questioned the recommendation of the RPHD and the credibility of Francisco. He argued that it was reckless to rely on Francisco's account because it would give too much weight to his claim that he "personally saw the baptismal record of Hermano Puli." Unless a copy of the baptismal record

is presented, Francisco's account will remain a secondary source. Escalante argued that the trial record signed by the NHCP Board to favor the trial record signed by Hermano Puli himself which mentions that he was 27 years old during the trial in November 1841, making "1814" his year of birth. The minutes of the NHCP Board meeting state:

...the credibility of the author (Francisco) who featured Puli's birth certificate was questioned because the original certificate could not be produced, hence rendering the source a secondary source. The NHCP ruled that the trial record in which Pule stated his age remains the only primary source that points to the date of his birth.²³

As regards the day-and-month of his birth, 23 July was considered. The Board took into account the old Catholic tradition in which parents and priests would normally name the child after the saint whose feast day falls on the day when the child is born.²⁴ In the case of Hermano Puli, 23 July was regarded as the day-and-month of his birth because it is the feast day of San Apolinar de Ravena. There are also some sources in the National Archives under the "Apolinario dela Cruz" bundle for the years 1835, 1836, 1839, and 1840 that corroborate the decision of the NHCP Board. These archival documents indicate that the members of the Cofradía observed the feast day of San Apolinar de Ravena on Hermano Puli's birthday. They referred to the date as "*kapistahan ng Pundador*" ("feast of the Founder") and "*nagpaselebra...sa santo na kalagyo niya*" ("celebrated...the feast day of his namesake saint").

HISTORICAL MARKER FOR HERMANO PULI

Long before Hermano Puli's date of birth became controversial, there were two historical markers for Hermano Puli that acknowledge his importance in Philippine history. The first one was unveiled by the National Historical Institute (forerunner of the NHCP) in Barangay Nalunao, Lucban, Quezon on 7 November 1977. On 9 October 2009, the Hermano Puli Memorial Committee of the Quezon Provincial Government requested that a marker be installed at the base of the statue of Hermano Puli in Barangay Isabang, Tayabas, Quezon. The marker was unveiled the following year. The 2010 marker text is based on the original marker that the National Historical Institute installed in 1977.²⁵ Both are consistent as far as the date (22 July 1815) and place of his birth (Pandak, Lukban), are concerned. Both indicate the same date of death, i.e., 4 November 1841. The 1977 marker specifies that he died in an encounter with the Spaniards but the 2010 marker is silent as to the circumstances surrounding his death. Herewith are the texts of the two markers.

NHI Marker, Lukban, Quezon, 1977:

APOLINARIO DE LA CRUZ

Lalong kilala sa pangalang "Hermano Pule." Isinilang noong Hulyo 22, 1815 sa sitio Pandak ng bayang ito ng Lukban, Quezon, kung saan niya natamo ang pangunahing pag-aaral ng pananampalataya. Natanggap na Hermano sa San Juan de Dios. Kabilang sa labing-siyam na dating Hermano na nagtatag ng

Cofradia de San Jose, na naging tagapagtanggol ng kalayaan sa pananampalataya at ng karapatang panlipunan. Namatay noong Nobyembre 4, 1841 sa isang sagupaan ng mga Pilipino at mga Kastila.

NHI Marker, Brgy. Isabang, Tayabas, Quezon, 2010:

APOLINARIO DE LA CRUZ
(1814-1841)

Lalong kilala sa pangalang “Hermano Pule.” Isinilang, 23 Hulyo 1814 sa Sitio Pandak, Lukban, Quezon, kung saan natamo niya ang pangunahing pag-aaral ng pananampalataya. Natanggap na Hermano sa San Juan de Dios. Kabilang sa nagtatag ng Cofradia de San Jose, na naging tagapagtanggol ng kalayaan sa pananampalataya at ng karapatang panlipunan. Yumao 4 Nobyembre 1841.

On 7 September 2015, the NHCP Board agreed to discard the 1977 historical marker and make the necessary corrections to the 2010 historical marker on Hermano Puli for purposes of consistency and historical accuracy. Three changes were highlighted in the text. First, his name has been changed from “Pule” to “Puli.” This is to follow the tradition of the local folks of Quezon. Second, it gives the day, month, and year of his birth which is 23 July 1814. Third, the new marker corrects the 1977 marker on the details of Hermano Puli’s death. It mentions that he was captured, tried, sentenced to death, and executed the next day. It also relates that after his death, his body was quartered and his head was placed in a cage and displayed

at the entrance of the town of Lucban. Herewith is the complete text of the 2018 marker:

NHCP Marker, Brgy. Isabang, Tayabas, Quezon, 2018:

APOLINARIO DE LA CRUZ
(1814-1841)

Tagapagtaguyod ng kalayaan sa pagsamba at martir ng bayan. Isinilang sa Tayabas, ngayo'y lalawigan ng Quezon, 23 Hulyo 1814. Nakilala sa bansag na Hermano Puli. Habang Donado o lingkod ng Orden Hospitalaria de San Juan de Dios sa Maynila, itinatag niya sa Tayabas ang Cofradia de San Jose, isang kapatirang relihiyoso, 1832. Pinangambahan kapwa ng simbahan at pamahalaang Espanyol dahil sa dami ng mga tagasunod mula sa Tayabas, Batangas, at Laguna. Dinakip, nilitis, at pinatawan ng parusang kamatayan, Sariaya, Tayabas, 3 Nobyembre 1841. Binitay at pinagpira-piraso ang katawan at saka isinilid ang ulo sa hawla na isinabit sa pasukan ng Lukban, 4 Nobyembre 1841.

CONCLUSION

It is basic in historiography that between a primary and a secondary source, historians should base their decision on the former. If primary sources are not available, then historians may use traditional practices and the historical context of the period as basis of their narrative. These were the principles that the NHCP Board used in deciding the date, month, and year of the birth of Hermano Puli.

After thoroughly studying the sources presented by the RPHD, the NHCP Board decided to commemorate the bicentennial anniversary of Hermano Puli's birthday on 23 July 2014. The Board gave more credence to the trial records and the tradition of the members of the Cofradia de San Jose who celebrated Hermano Puli's birthday on the feast day of San Apolinar de Ravena.

The members of the NHCP Board were aware that the sources they used in resolving the issue have their own strengths and weaknesses and, therefore, they could not come up with a definitive ruling. Nevertheless, they agreed to endorse for the meantime "23 July 1814" as the birthdate of Hermano Puli. The NHCP Board also issued a caveat that their decision will remain open "until a new, reliable source emerges."²⁶ They did not rule out the possibility that in the future, a copy of Hermano Puli's baptismal record might surface or a new primary source might be discovered. But they had to make this urgent ruling because the committee organizing the bicentennial celebration of Hermano Puli's birthday needed this data.

The NHCP Board's decision favoring 1814 was reached on 18 August 2014, i.e., almost a month after the supposed bicentenary celebration of Hermano Puli's birthday. The members of the Hermano Puli birth bicentenary Technical Working Group (TWG) felt a befitting bicentenary celebration must be held in 2015. On 25 May 2015, Bro. Joseph P. Magliozzi, O.H., a member of the Hospitaller Order of the Brothers of Saint John of God and the TWG, requested the NHCP to reconsider 22 July 1815 as the factual date of birth of Hermano Puli.

The NHCP recognized the merit of the request and agreed to push through with the national celebration on 22 July 2015 but advised that no categorical reference be made to Hermano Puli's birth anniversary.

NOTES

- 1 Fidel Villaroel O.P., "Apolinario Mabini: His Birthdate and Student Years. <http://malacanang.gov.ph/8083-apolinario-mabini-his-birth-date-and-student-years/>
- 2 Hector K. Villaroel, *Eminent Filipinos* (Manila: National Historical Commission, 1965), 84.
- 3 National Historical Commission, *Historical Calendar 1521-1969* (Manila: National Historical Commission, 1970), 118.
- 4 See National Historical Institute, *Filipinos in History*. (Manila: National Historical Institute, 1989), 1:151-5.
- 5 "Declaración Indagatoria de Apolinario dela Cruz, ante el Sr. Fiscal, bajo juramento, y por medio de preguntados, dijo sus datos personales, sus varios llamados por haber firmado la *cofradía* titulada del Señor San José y voto del Santísimo Rosario, el objeto, su aconsejador Padre Ciriaco de los Santos y diez y nueve personas de Tayabas. Apolinario dela Cruz-Juan Francisco Gutiérrez, Tayabas, 3 de Noviembre de 1841." *Apolinario dela Cruz 1840-1842*, Tomo III, Expediente 29, Folios 160/160-78, National Archives of the Philippines (subsequent citation will just mention NAP).
- 6 "Declaración Indagatoria del ex-donado Apolinario dela Cruz; con ratificación que en la presencia de los sres. que suscriben, presto a su declaración el ex-donado Apolinario dela Cruz. Marcelino Oraa, Manila, 5 de noviembre 1841." *Apolinario dela Cruz (año 1841, 1842, 1843 y 1870*, Tomo I, Expediente 3, Folios 41/41-8, NAP.

- 7 “Carta al Excmo. Secretario del Estado y del Marino, comercio y Gobernación de Ultramar, dando su opinión sobre la consulta que dirige al Ministro de la Guerra y que da parte de la rebelión estallada en la provincia de Tayabas, promovida por Ex. donado Apolinario dela Cruz, etc. Marcelino Oraá, Manila 5 de noviembre de 1841.” *Apolinario dela Cruz (año 1841, 1842, 1843 y 1870*, Tomo I, Expediente 7, Folios 56-59, NAP.
- 8 Teodoro M. Kalaw, *The Court-Martial of Andres Bonifacio* (Manila: Manila Book Co., 1926), 29.
- 9 “Ratificación, que en presencia de los Sres. que suscriben como el comandante General de la columna de operaciones, el gobernador Político y Militar, *alcalde mayor* de Laguna, etc. hizo el Escribano, al Sr. Fiscal dela declaración que el preso ex-donado Apolinario de la Cruz presto.” *Apolinario dela Cruz 1840-1842*, Tomo III, Expediente 30, Folios 178-81, NAP.
- 10 Complete name of Hermano Puli’s *Cofradía*. Cf. “Octabio Ygnacio de San Jorge.” *Apolinario dela Cruz, Cofradía de San Jose (antecedentes)*, Tomo IV, Expediente 23-30, folios 103/103-106, NAP.
- 11 A native of Majayjay, Laguna, Octabio merged his own *Cofradía de Smo. Rosario* with *Cofradía de San Jose* in 1837, thus the entire name of *Cofradía* of Hermano Puli is actually *Cofradía de San Jose* y voto del Santísimo Rosario. Octabio was described by Gov. Gen. Oraá “titulad hermano mayor de la pretendida *Cofradía*” on 5 November 1841. Cf. “Octabio Ygnacio de San Jorge.” *Apolinario dela Cruz, Cofradía de San Jose (antecedentes)*, Tomo IV, Expediente 23-30, folios 103/103-106, NAP; “Carta al Excmo. Secretario del Estado y del Marino, comercio y Gobernación de Ultramar, dando su opinión sobre la consulta que dirige al Ministro de la Guerra y que da parte de la rebelión estallada en la provincia de Tayabas, promovida por Ex. donado Apolinario dela Cruz, etc. Marcelino Oraá, Manila 5 de noviembre de 1841.” *Apolinario dela Cruz (año 1841, 1842, 1843 y 1870*, Tomo I, Expediente 7, Folios 56/56-59. NAP.

- 12 “Padron expresivos de los nombres edades, pueblos de residencia y clase de los Hermanos de la pseudo-*cofradia* del señor San Jose i voto del Smo. Rosario, Gutierrez de los Rios, Tayabas, 1841.” *Apolinario dela Cruz, Cofradia de San Jose (antecedentes)*, Tomo IV, Expediente 1, folios 1/1-22, NAP.
- 13 Text reads: “Pregdo. por su nombre, edad, estado, Patria, Religion y empleo: Dijo: Se llama Apolinario dela Cruz, *de edad de veinte y siete años*, estado Soltero, natural del Pueblo de Lucban de esta Provincia de Tayabas, su Religión C. A. R. (Católica Apostólica Romana) su empleo, actualmente, ninguna habiendo sido donado del Hospital de San Juan de Dios de Manila.” (Italics supplied); Translation: “Asked about his name, age, (civil) status, native land, religion and occupation: [The prisoner] said that: His name is Apolinario dela Cruz, aged twenty-seven, Single, born in the town of Lucban in this province of Tayabas, [his] religion, Roman Catholic Apostolic, his occupation, formerly a donado (lay brother) of the San Juan de Dios Hospital, Manila.” Cf. “Declaración Indagatoria del preso ex-donado Apolinario dela Cruz ante el Fiscal en el pueblo de Sariaya escoltado desde punto por la partida de Infantería y Cavalleria, las varias preguntas y correspondientes respuestas.” *Apolinario dela Cruz 1840-1841*, Tomo II, Expediente 62, Folios 158/157-72, National Archives of the Philippines (NAP).
- 14 “Padron expresivos de los nombres edades, pueblos de residencia y clase de los Hermanos de la pseudo-*cofradia* del señor San Jose i voto del Smo. Rosario, Gutierrez de los Rios, Tayabas, 1841.” *Apolinario dela Cruz, Cofradia de San Jose (antecedentes)*, Tomo IV, Expediente 1, folios 1/1-22, NAP.
- 15 “Lista individual de las personas nombradas a nombre dela hermandad del 19 de cada para la colección de las limosnas en cada pueblo; con certificación de Octavio Ignacio de San Jorge, de Majayjay, a quien se le ha conferido el encargo por el hermano Apolinario dela Cruz. Saturnino Cristóbal, Lucban, 19 de octubre de 1840.” *Apolinario dela Cruz 1840-1841*, Tomo II, Expediente 4, Folios 7-8, NAP.

- 16 “Lista ng mga cabecilla na maghahanap ng tao sa cani-caniyang nomino. 5 de Julio de 1840.” *Apolinario dela Cruz 1840-1841*, Tomo II, Expediente 20, Folios 41-3, NAP.
- 17 “Tabla ng pagrenebaja ng dalauang tauo sa bauat ysang dize y nueve ytoy parang lugar discanzo sapagka,t, ang daluang dia 12 (?) lamang ang y bibigay sa comunidad, nang dalauang nasabi sa baua,t, buan ay na y tong masusunod ang cacalangcap.” *Apolinario dela Cruz 1840-1841*, Tomo II, Expediente 28, Folio 59, NAP.
- 18 Gabriel Beato Francisco, *Ang Kasaysayan ni Apolinario de la Cruz na may Pamagat na Hermano Pulé* (Maynila: A. ng L., 1915), 27.
- 19 Francisco, *Ang Kasaysayan*, 30.
- 20 National Library of the Philippines, *History and Cultural Life of the Town (Lucban)* (Manila: NLP Microfilm Section, 1954), 62.
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- 22 Sanz, “Lucban,” 110.
- 23 NHCP Library, “Minutes of the NHCP oard Meeting, 7 September 2015,” *Minutes of the NHCP Board Meeting 2015*, Vol. 2, File 5 October 2015, 10.
- 24 Luciano P.R. Santiago, *The Art of Ancestor Hunting in the Philippines* (Quezon City: New Day Publishers, 1990), 10.
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