

The *Universidad Literaria de Filipinas* and Other Legacies of President Emilio Aguinaldo in Tarlac (1899)

LINO L. DIZON

ABSTRACT

This paper re-assesses President Emilio Aguinaldo's stay in Tarlac Province from June 6 to November 12, 1899 and highlights important events, including the founding of the *Universidad Literaria de Filipinas* (Literary University of the Philippines). Other Aguinaldo legacies in the province were the Tarlac Revolutionary Congress, the Philippine–Spanish Friendship Day Decree of June 30, 1899, and the release of his *Reseña Verídica de la Revolución Filipina* on September 23, 1899.

LINO L. DIZON, Ph.D., is professor of History and Philippine Studies, and head of the Tarlaqueño Studies at Tarlac State University. He is one of the commissioners of the National Historical Commission of the Philippines.

KEYWORDS

Emilio Aguinaldo, Tarlac Revolutionary Congress,
Universidad Literaria de Filipinas, Aguinaldo
Republic

INTRODUCTION

This paper intends to revisit the legacies of President Emilio Aguinaldo while in Tarlac Province—his fourth revolutionary capital—from June 6 to November 12, 1899, including but not limited to the founding of the Universidad Literaria de Filipinas (Literary University of the Philippines).

Much of the historiography of the so-called Aguinaldo Republic has been concentrated on the initial Malolos, Bulacan phase of the struggle, leaving out in the process certain details—most of them important but forgotten—of what could have been an exciting bureaucratic and governmental experience of the reputed “first Republic of Asia.”

For many historians, it was at Tarlac where “the Aguinaldo government attained its fullest function as a republic.”¹ This paper thus underscores the affairs as well as the laws and decrees that were passed by both President Aguinaldo and the Revolutionary Congress in Tarlac, including the so-called Fil-Hispano Friendship Decree of June 30, 1899, which honored the Spanish soldiers who made their last and brave stand in the church of Baler,

Aurora. It discusses at greater length the Universidad Literaria de Filipinas and other rudiments of the Aguinaldo government. Controversial chapters of Philippine history such as the death of General Antonio Luna and Apolinario Mabini's criticisms through the *La Independencia*, were part of the consequential events that contributed to the legacies of the Tarlac episode to Philippine history such as the publication of the *El Heraldo de la Revolucion* and the *Reseña Veridica de la Revolucion* of Emilio Aguinaldo.

It is the goal of this paper to present a national history with the trimmings of local historiography.

CABECERA: TARLAC AS AGUINALDO'S ULTIMATE AND COMPLICATED REVOLUTIONARY CAPITAL

Whether planned or by a mere twist of fate, Tarlac became the fourth capital of the Aguinaldo government on June 6, 1899. Externally, the relentless offense of American forces rendered the previous fastnesses—the Nueva Ecijan towns of San Isidro and Cabanatuan, which were the seats of the government since March 29 earlier that year—unsecure. Internally, strife gnawed within the top echelon of the Filipino Republic when General Antonio Luna was assassinated on June 5, 1898 in Cabanatuan. To mitigate the strain that such unfortunate events might have brought to the morale of the army and the cabinet, perhaps the only option for President Aguinaldo would have been to move out of his erstwhile capitals.

Still, other perspectives on this event cannot be discounted. For one, the choice of Tarlac as the capital

seemed to have been a point of contention between President Aguinaldo and General Luna prior to the latter's assassination. John R.M. Taylor, a captain of the 14th Infantry Regiment of the United States Army and responsible for the so-called Philippine Insurgent Records (the collection of documents seized from Philippine revolutionaries during the Philippine–American War), observed:

Before the death of Luna he had gone through Benguet Province to find a new site for the capital which would be fit for a continued defense; but Aguinaldo preferred Tarlac, and proclaimed it the capital of the republic on June 6.²

It must be clarified, however, that it was not the town of Tarlac,³ but that of Bamban, approximately 26 kilometers away, that was proclaimed as the headquarters of the captain-general of the Philippines on June 6. In this proclamation, President Aguinaldo also assumed the command of all military operations, a function vacated by General Luna and which Aguinaldo himself was interested in earlier but held it in abeyance instead, so as to avoid a direct confrontation with his former rival.

Bamban is located at the southernmost tip of the Province of Tarlac, along the Pampanga border. It was said to be a former Aeta settlement. The place name's etymology was from a rattan species *Donax Caninaeformis* K. Schum, popularly known as Banban (or Bamban), which can still be seen thriving along the banks of the Parua and Sacobia

rivers, but these might have dwindled after the eruption of Mount Pinatubo.

Although perhaps discounted by our historians, Bamban was the crux of the Filipino Republic during the whirlwind days of 1899. From every angle—and as this paper would prove—Bamban was an important site of those critical events in that period of our history.

The potential of Bamban for defense purposes was recognized by General Luna. He saw something promising in its terrain of rolling hills and raging rivers that were not found in other areas he had been to in his earlier campaigns such as Bagbag, Calumpit, Apalit, and Sto. Tomas. Thus, after they were driven out of Sto. Tomas by the Americans, the general's troops stationed along the Angeles–Magalang line, which included Bamban. Confident that he was on safer grounds, General Luna stayed here for a respite, having been wounded in the Sto. Tomas encounter, and turned over the command to General Venancio Concepcion on May 12. Records showed that it was also in this place where General Francisco Macabulos (Makabulos) transferred his headquarters from Pangasinan, perhaps as a back-up for General Concepcion's troops.

At the height of the Luna–Aguinaldo schism partly due to the then-Cabinet members' disagreement on the issue of national autonomy, President Aguinaldo issued one of his controversial directives: to replace General Concepcion of the Bamban command with his own man, Colonel Urbano Lacuna.⁴ General Macabulos, too, was transferred along the San Fernando–Mexico line. General

Jose Alejandrino, a known supporter of Luna and who would be writing of these developments in a later memoir (*La senda del sacrificio*), had so many sentiments on these developments. In a conference with President Aguinaldo in Angeles after the death of General Luna, Alejandrino had this to say:

Aguinaldo, as usual, excused himself in good words and we talked of other things, but General Concepcion was relieved by Lacuna of the command of the lines in Bamban. All the chiefs of the regiments organized by Luna were equally relieved and detained with General Concepcion. In this manner they destroyed the work created thru so much effort by the best general ever produced by the war against the Americans, not only according to my opinion but also according to the opinion of many, including the Americans themselves.⁵

Furthermore, it could be recalled too that while he was supposed to be at a conference with General Luna in Cabanatuan, Nueva Ecija on June 5, President Aguinaldo, with his massive troops, had actually left for Bamban. It was the opinion of Mabini that “while Luna was being shot in front of his house in Cabanatuan, he (Aguinaldo) was at Tarlac assuming command of the force which Luna had organized...”⁶

The benefits Bamban offered to Luna in the early days of May 1899 were also the same ones President Aguinaldo enjoyed in the early days of June. In averting

the premonitory “grave situation,” Aguinaldo found in Bamban the most secured place to maintain the status quo.

After Luna died, President Aguinaldo re-established his role as the sole leader of the Republic while still stationed along the Bamban area. He retrieved control over his scattered army and removed remnant factionalism, where known Luna cohorts such as Generals Alejandrino, Hizon, and Concepcion were likewise confronted. It was here where the lesser officers under Luna’s command were purged and hunted. For example, on June 9, the military commander of Tarlac, a certain A. Pascual, relayed the order of the President to the local chiefs of Murcia, Capas, Concepcion, and Bamban to “arrest the commissioners of General Luna for robbing towns, taking horses and arms.”⁷ One victim for such move was Captain Jose Bernal who was murdered by the soldiers of General Servillano Aquino, an Aguinaldo henchman, in Angeles, Pampanga.⁸

The developments in Bamban led the Americans to take a break in their offensives. They had to wait and see. Brimming with confidence, President Aguinaldo had mistaken this as the signal to go on the offensive.

Although affected by internal dissensions within the Filipino forces, General Macabulos did now allow himself to be distracted from his primary duty as a soldier of the Republic. In spite of how much the death of Luna meant to him, he did not take the turn of events personally when President Aguinaldo requested for his services.

Now in command of all military operations, President Aguinaldo planned to retake San Fernando, Pampanga by capitalizing on the start of the rainy season and the lull in the American operations. It was an ambitious move. Together with the troops of Generals Luciano San Miguel and Tomas Mascardo, General Macabulos' battalions were added to the frontline force of four thousand men, which extended to about three miles.⁹ However, they were lacking in arms, with each soldier supplied with about thirty to sixty cartridges only. According to US Captain William T. Sexton, the "attack of the thin over-extended Insurgent line, however, was easily repulsed by the Americans."¹⁰

From May 26 to June 22, nineteen were killed and fifty-three wounded within the four battalions under General Macabulos. An unspecified brigade in the June 11 attack alone resulted in fifteen dead and thirty-nine wounded. One of those wounded was Colonel Servillano Aquino, who later was merited his rank of general. The Macabulos brigade had around 1,700 men but only 880 were armed since May 31.¹¹

Regardless of the setback, General Macabulos' brigade in his San Fernando–Mexico headquarters remained intact. For example, on July 4, Macabulos was apprised by Lt. Col. Rosendo Simon, his acting commander in San Miguel–Mexico, on the situation in the area.¹² Simon was the major under General Luna who led a group of 240 Kapampangan commandos in the attack of Caloocan in their bid to retake the place on February 27, 1899. In the siege, he reached up to Azcarraga, where he was eventually repelled by the superior arms of the Americans. He then

moved toward Bilibid Prison to free its prisoners and let them participate in the melee. In the process, sixty-five of Simon's soldiers were killed, while the rest were wounded.

When he heard about this incident, Ria-Baja, the Spanish prisoner-chronicler, could not believe the outcome. "I could not," he wrote later after interviewing Simon himself, "understand how even one of them could have come out of that fight alive. Considering that it turned at last into a hand-to-hand combat and that the Yankees greatly outnumbered the Filipinos, the logical thing would have been for all the Filipinos to perish."¹³

General Alejandrino also noted: "This heroic action [*that of Simon and his men* - italics supplied] resounded heavily in the north and aroused the morale of our soldiers, but the authorities in Malolos did not know how to profit from this fruitful lesson."¹⁴

Meanwhile, in his report on the situation in San Fernando-Mexico, Simon reveled in the same heroism when he reported to General Macabulos that "our soldiers fired with indescribable and never before seen enthusiasm." He was referring to the attack the Americans made at 10:05 p.m. of Feb 27, 1899 on the entire defensive line stretching from Carmen in Mexico to Calulut in San Fernando. The skirmish lasted up to 11:30a.m. In the end, the enemies were unable to gain an inch of their position and finally retreated. Simon noted that his men ended up with no ammunitions left, but there were no casualties on their side. Prior to the siege, the Macabulos battalions had only one hundred cartridges—their only supply since May

30. For the eight hundred rifles of the brigade, Simon had requested for twenty thousand rounds of ammunitions.

The brigade struggled to hold their position in San Fernando (which might had been reflective of the scenarios in the other detachments of the Republic). After this last attack, Lt. Col. Simon conveyed to his general the state of their ammunitions supply. That is, that they only had six hundred arms and not a single cartridge left, aside from those left at Bungan Guinto (one of the outposts) and at the San Fernando headquarters, where each had twenty to thirty rounds of ammunitions only.

By June 21, President Aguinaldo might have already admitted to himself that he had failed in his bid to again lead the army in the battlefield. His military performance in the retaking of San Fernando from the Americans was dismal. Thereon, paraphrasing Taylor, Aguinaldo “amused” himself with political works.

According to Filipino historian T.M. Kalaw, Tarlac became the capital of the Philippine Republic only on June 21, 1899.¹⁵ By this, he was actually referring to the Tarlac town (as differentiated from the earlier provisional capital of Bamban, by virtue of the proclamation of June 6). Kalaw also mentioned that the erstwhile capital was Angeles, Pampanga, perhaps unaware of Bamban’s actual role, which would only be revealed later by the Philippine Insurgent Records.

Except for popular accounts, there were no official proclamations that Angeles ever became a capital of the

Philippine Republic. From Nueva Ecija, Aguinaldo chose the former Luna headquarters—i.e., the Pamintuan house in Angeles—as his presidential palace. Although it was here where he celebrated the first anniversary of the Declaration of Independence (June 12), there were minimal official functions performed in this place. In fact, as an account went, Aguinaldo was always in pajamas and playing the piano during his brief stay at the Pamintuan house,¹⁶ perhaps more as a disguise than anything else. If this was a riptoste to the Luna killing, we do not know.

THE TARLAC REVOLUTIONARY CONGRESS

On July 7, 1899, President Aguinaldo issued a decree regarding the election and appointment of the members of the Tarlac Congress so as to avoid the sessions being interrupted “on account of the absence of a sufficient number to form a quorum.”¹⁷ Since most of the provinces were not actually represented in what was deemed a national exercise, revolutionary leaders from Tarlac and the nearby provinces were told to fill up vacant seats. Thus, Tarlaqueño leaders were made to represent other provinces: Don Jose Espinosa was made representative of Tayabas; Marciano Barerra and Luis Navarro, of Leyte; Alfonso Ramos, of Palaos Islands. General Francisco Macabulos was made the delegate for Cebu, together with Felix David, T. Pardo de Tavera, and Ariston Bautista.¹⁸ As late as July 10, some representatives in Pangasinan such as Mariano Noble Jose, Jose Alejandrino, and Isidro Montoya, were still being notified regarding their appointment to the Congress, which was to take place the following day, from 10:00 a.m. to 4:00 p.m.¹⁹ The Tarlac Congress, it should be pointed out,

was a mere resuscitation of the earlier Malolos Congress. On 18 July 1898, President Aguinaldo issued a decree for the election of delegates to a congress to be convened. Five days later, he followed this up with another decree that declared he would be merely appointing representatives instead due to the impracticality of elections during warring times. Originally, fifty delegates were appointed, but the number fluctuated with the passing of days up until the opening of the so-called Malolos Revolutionary Congress of 15 September 1898 at the historic Barasoain Church. Newspapers report that the vicinity of Barasoain and most of the Malolos cabecera was in a festive mood, most especially with the playing of the recently adopted national anthem by the Pasig band.²⁰ Officers of the Congress and other members were elected after President Aguinaldo delivered his speech. Notable achievements of the Malolos Congress include the ratification of the declaration of Philippine independence held at Kawit, Cavite on June 12, 1898; the passage of a law that allowed the Philippines to borrow PhP20 million from banks for government expenses; the establishment of the Universidad Literaria de Filipinas and other schools; the drafting of the Philippine Constitution; and the declaration of war against the United States on June 12, 1899.

In T.M. Kalaw's account, however, the first session of the Tarlac Congress took place only on July 14, 1899, at the San Sebastian Cathedral. Ambrosio Rianzares Bautista was elected President. Some Tarlaqueños were included in the roster: Juan Nepomuceno was elected one of the vice-presidents, while Alfonso Ramos and Luis Navarro were both elected secretaries.²¹

The Congress of Representatives met regularly in the Tarlac Cathedral and, in spite of the abnormal times, managed to pass laws that were reflective of the wisdom of Filipinos in the field of jurisprudence. “In the midst of actively waging a war for political independence,” commented compiler Sulpicio Guevarra, the Filipinos “marvelously succeeded in producing order out of chaos, through laws.”²²

FIL-HISPANO FRIENDSHIP DAY AND OTHER AGUINALDO REVOLUTIONARY DECREES

It was in Tarlac where the Aguinaldo government was able to fully function as a Republic. Certain decrees were issued that had the effects of laws in a regular state (i.e., compared to a provisional government).

On June 30, for example, a decree establishing the Bureau of Paper Money was issued. For such, a *maestranza* (mint) was built in a Smith, Bell & Co. building in Abagon, Gerona, Tarlac at a lot owned by Don Mauricio Ilagan. It was here where coins were minted and paper bills in denominations of two, five, ten and twenty pesos (*papel de moneda*) were printed for circulation by the Aguinaldo Republic.²³

That same day (which records show the Aguinaldo government mistook as June 31), President Aguinaldo issued a decree²⁴ on the surrender of Spaniards in Baler, now part of the province of Aurora. Because of the valor and gallantry displayed by these soldiers, President Aguinaldo, through these decree, “orders that these men be considered

not enemies but friends and that the necessary passes be issued for them to be able to return to Spain.” Since 2002, Republic Act 9137 commemorates the decree as the Philippine-Spanish Friendship Day. The act originally reads:

Habiéndose hecho acreedoras a la admiración del mundo las fuerzas españolas que guarnecían el destacamento de Baler, por el valor, constancia y heroísmo con que aquel puñado de hombres aislados y sin esperanzas de auxilio alguno, ha defendido su bandera, por espacio de un año, realizando una epopeya tan gloriosa y tan propia del legendario valor de los hijos del Cid y de Pelayo, rindiendo culto a las virtudes militares e interpretando los sentimientos del Ejército de esta República, que bizarramente los ha combatido, a propuesta de mi Secretario de Guerra, y de acuerdo con el Consejo de Gobierno, vengo en disponer lo siguiente:

Artº Unico: Los individuos de que se componen las expresadas fuerzas no serán consideradas como prisioneros, sino por el contrario, como amigos; y en su consecuencia se les proveerán por la Capitanía General de los pases necesarios, para que puedan regresar a su país.

Dado en Tarlac a treinta y uno de junio de mil ochocientos noventa y nueve=

El Presidente de la República Emilio Aguinaldo

El Secretario de Guerra interino Ambrosio Flores=

(Es copia)

[The Spanish forces that guarded the Baler detachment deserve the admiration of the world for the valor, perseverance, and heroism with which that handful of isolated men, without hope of any help, have defended their flag for a year, realizing an epic so glorious and so characteristic of the legendary courage of the children of the Cid and Pelayo, paying homage to the military virtues and interpreting the feelings of the Army of this Republic, which has bizarrely fought against them, at the proposal of my Secretary of War, and in agreement with the Governing Council, I have come to dispose the following:

Sole Article: The individuals that comprise the said forces will not be considered as prisoners but as friends; and as a consequence, they will be provided by the General Captancy of the necessary passes so that they can return to their country.

Given in Tarlac on June 31, 1899.

The President of the Republic Emilio Aguinaldo

Interim Secretary of War Ambrosio Flores

(This is a copy.)]

Other important decrees passed at the Tarlac capital included the prescription of fees for civil and canonical marriages (decree dated June 28); the prohibition of merchant vessels flying the American flag from entering any of the territories held by the Philippine Republic (on July 24); the provision for the registration of foreigners (on July 31); the organization of the supreme court and the inferior courts (on September 15); and the promulgation of the General Orders of the army (on November 12).²⁵

AGUINALDO'S LEGACIES ON EDUCATION, INCLUDING THE *UNIVERSIDAD LITERARIA DE FILIPINAS*

On August 4 that year, Aguedo Velarde, the then-secretary of Public Instruction, transmitted the president's decree that set the matriculation period for secondary instruction from August 15 to September 30, 1899. He also mentioned the re-establishment of the *Universidad Literaria de Filipinas* and the Burgos Institute in Tarlac.

Here is a transcription of the decree and the translation by this author:

Decree on the Installation of the *Universidad Literaria de Filipinas* and Burgos Institute in the Capital of Tarlac, August 4, 1899. (Original Document in Spanish)²⁶

Honorable Sr Presidente de la República á propuesta de esta Secretario se ha servido decretar lo siguiente:

“Con el fin de que la juventud estudiosa encuentre todas las facilidades en el camino del saber y del progreso á propuesta del Secretario de Instrucción Pública y de conformidad con el Consejo de Gobierno vengo en decretar provisionalmente lo siguiente:

Artículo Primero. *Quedan facultados los Directores y Profesores de segunda enseñanza competentemente autorizados para enseñar á que puedan examinar de ingreso á los que desean estudiar las asignaturas de segunda enseñanza.*

A la celebración de los exámenes deberán asistir como Jueces dos Profesores de segunda enseñanza de la provincia ó de los inmediatos cuyos títulos ó su copia deberán acompañarse al acta de exámenes que se remitirá a la Secretaria de Instrucción Pública.

Artículo segundo. *Quedan igualmente facultados para matricular a sus alumnos en las asignaturas, cuya enseñanza académica les está autorizada, sin perjuicio de remitir a la Secretaria de Instrucción Publica una relación de los matriculados y de las asignaturas en que lo están.*

Artículo tercero. *Las matriculas quedaran abiertas desde el quince de Agosto hasta el treinta de Setiembre. Los que quieran cursar en el “Instituto Burgos” y matricularse en las Facultades de Derecho, Derecho Administrativo, Medicina, Farmacia y Carrera del Notariado dirigirán sus solicitudes á la Secretaria General de la Universidad Literaria.*

Artículo Cuarto. *La Universidad literaria y el Instituto Burgos quedan instalados en la Cabecera de Tarlac.*

Artículo Quinto. *Los que deseen examinarse de ingreso en el Instituto Burgos se dirigirán al Tribunal para ello establecido.*

Artículo Sexto. *El curso académico correspondiente á 1899 y 1900 empezara el primero de Octubre del presente año y terminarse el quince de mayo del siguiente dentro de los últimos días de este mes tendrá lugar los exámenes de curso.*

Dada en Tarlac á cuatro de Agosto de Agosto de mil ochocientos noventa y nueve.

El Presidente de la República, Emilio Aguinaldo.

(Rubricado)

[The Honorable President of the Republic, upon the recommendation of this Secretary has served to decree the following:

“In order that the studious youth encounter all the facilities in the way of knowledge and progress as proposed by the Secretary of Public Instruction and in accordance with the Governing Council, I provisionally decree the following:

Article One. The Faculty of Directors and teachers of secondary instruction are competently empowered and authorized to administer entrance examinations for those who wish to study courses for secondary school.

Two secondary school teachers from the province or from the immediate ones must attend the examinations as evaluators, whose diplomas or their copy must be accompanied by the examination record that will be sent to the Secretary of Public Instruction..

Article Two. They are also entitled to enrol students in courses. Their academic teaching is authorized, subject to the submission of a list of those enrolled and the subjects in which they are enrolled to the Secretary of Public Instruction.

Article Three. Enrolments will be open from August 15 to September 30. Those who wish to study at the Burgos Institute and enroll in the Faculty of Law, Administrative Law, Medicine, Pharmacy and Notarial Courses should direct their requests to the Secretary-General of the Literary University of the Philippines.

Article Four. The Literary University of the Philippines and the Burgos Institute are installed at the capital town of Tarlac.

Article Five. Those wishing to be considered for enrolment at the Burgos Institute should proceed to the office being established for it.

Article Six. The corresponding academic year of 1899 to 1900 is set to commence on October 1 of the current year and will end on the May 15 of the next year, and the final days of the said month will be spent for examinations.

Given in Tarlac on August 4, 1899.

The President of the Republic, Emilio Aguinaldo.

(With Rubric)]

Universidad Literaria de Filipinas, whose creation was mandated by the Revolutionary Congress, was inaugurated at the Barasoain Church in Malolos, Bulacan (the site of the Philippine Revolutionary Government) on October 19, 1898.²⁷ A number of publications referred to it as Universidad Centifico-Literaria de Filipinas, but the actual decree and a letterhead from the Philippine Insurgent Records mentioned it as Universidad Literaria de Filipinas.²⁸ Courses dealing with law, administrative law, medicine, pharmacy, and notary public were offered. The university was reputed to be the first state university in Asia.²⁹

Five days later, the Burgos Institute, which was akin to a preparatory college, was also created. Its first director was Don Enrique Mendiola.³⁰

As a result of the Philippine Revolution of 1896, many students in Manila were displaced. Sensing their plight, the Malolos Republic prioritized the formation of these schools within the Barasoain compound, together with the Academia Militar de Malolos under the directorship of Major Manuel Sityar and upon the recommendations of General Antonio Luna.

The opening of the university was slated on November 10, 1898³¹—a month after its inauguration—at the Barasoain Church complex in Malolos. The initial scholastic year was programmed until the last day of April 1899.

However, due to the outbreak of the Filipino-American War and the eventual takeover of Malolos by the Americans on March 31, 1899, the decree's academic calendar for the Universidad Literaria de Filipinas was not followed. The schools were forced to fold up even before they could open.

In the initial setup in Malolos, the university was led by the rector, who was chosen among its faculty. Dr. Joaquin Gonzales was the first president/rector, as appointed by President Aguinaldo.

Meanwhile, the original *Claustro de Profesores* included:

- Cayetano Arellano, Pedro Paterno, Arsenio Cruz Herrera, Pablo Ocampo, Hipolito Magsalin, Tomas G.

del Rosario, and Felipe Calderon for Civil, Criminal, and Administrative Law;

- Joaquin Gonzalez, Trinidad H. Pardo de Tavera, Jose Albert, Salvador V. del Rosario, Ariston Bautista, Isidoro Santos, Justo Lukban, Jose Luna, and Francisco Liongson for Medicine and Surgery;
- Mariano V. del Rosario, Antonio Luna, Leon M. Guerrero, Alejandro Albert, Enrique Perez, Manuel Zamora, and Mariano Ocampo for Pharmacy; and
- Aguedo Velarde, Arcadio del Rosario, and Juan Gabriel y Manday for Notarial Studies.

Mariano Crisostomo y Lugo was the secretary-general of the university, as attested by a decree from President Aguinaldo and as proposed by the Secretary of Development, Felipe Buencamino, also on October 19, 1898.³²

The last rector was Leon Ma. Guerrero, who led the university when it re-opened in Tarlac.³³

The academic census for 1899 was set to commence in October. It was slated to end on May 15 the following year.³⁴ On September 15, Aguinaldo appointed professors of Law and Medicine for the Universidad Literaria de Filipinas in Tarlac.³⁵

President Aguinaldo also appointed a novel set of professors (*catedráticos*), both for the university and the

Instituto de Burgos (Burgos Institute). The decree stipulated that all professors appointed ought to be licensed (*Licenciados*) in the respective faculty they were appointed. Thus, the *catedráticos* for the university in Tarlac included:

Catedráticos de los Facultades de Ambos Derechos, de Derecho Administración y de la carrera del Notariado: Don Ambrosio Rianzares Bautista, D. Hugo Ilagan, D. Gracio Gonzaga, D. Alberto Barreto, D. Félix Ferrer, D. Juan Arceo, D. Tiburcio Hilario;

Catedráticos de la facultad de Medicina: D. Maximino Paterno, D. Anastacio Francisco, D. Marciano Barrera, D. Sebastián de Castro, D. Francisco Liongson, D. Catalino L. Bustos, D. Simeón Adriano Villa, D. Félix Bautista, D. Santiago Barcelona, D. Vicente de Jesús;

Catedráticos de la facultad de Farmacia: D. Mariano Girola, D. Mamerto Mánalo, D. Leandro Panlilio, and Don Yldefonso San Agustín.

Meanwhile, the director for the Burgos Institute in Tarlac was Don Domingo Dizon, a licentiate in *Latinidad*. The following were his *profesores*: D. Hilarion Magno, D. Juan Alviar, D. Benigno Ricafort, D. José Torres, D. Victor Garcia, D. Rufino Villaluz, D. Maximo Cabigting, D. Hilarion Cañosa, D. Modesto Joaquin, and D. Jose Espinosa.

In Tarlac, a *Tribunal* was established for those who wished to take entrance examinations for both the

university and the Burgos Institute. Classes were scheduled at the convent of the Tarlac Cathedral.

The list of Board of Examiners of the university's various faculties in Tarlac was released by the rector, Leon Ma. Guerrero, on September 15, 1899.³⁶

Most of these professors were mostly from the Central Luzon region, notably from Tarlac province and its surrounding areas. Don Marciano Barrera was a medical doctor from Concepcion, Tarlac while Don José Espinosa, also a medical doctor, was from the Tarlac *cabecera*. Both would be eventually performing elevated political functions in their respective turfs during the American regime. Don Mamerto Manalo, who was from Cabanatuan, Nueva Ecija, wrote a letter to the Secretary of Public Instruction dated September 23, 1899 to express that he was honored to be appointed to the Faculty of Pharmacy. His province mate, Don Rufino Villaluz from San Isidro, also wrote on September 30 that he was glad for his appointment to the Burgos Institute but had to decline due to the bad state of the road he had to traverse to the capital.

Again, the academic sessions were disrupted by the hostilities around Tarlac. On September 29, 1899, the first and last graduation rites were held, where President Aguinaldo himself had signed the diplomas of the graduates.³⁷ Recall that in Malolos in October of 1898, the original opening schedule of the university was not followed amidst the Revolutionary government's campaigns against the Americans. This was further aggravated by the

formal declaration of the Philippine-American War of 1899, which drove Aguinaldo's government to evacuate their headquarters in many places. The reopening of the university at the Tarlac capital was also set during abnormal times, leading to haphazard graduation activities.

In his speech during the graduation exercises, Rector Leon Ma. Guerrero told the Tarlac graduates:

Members of the graduating class: Do not be deaf to the call of the country; on the contrary, help create a free country, an endeavor in which all your brothers and countrymen are engaged. The soldier faces a shower of bullets and repulses the enemy; the doctor and the pharmacist strengthen the body that it may the better fight for life, and they cure the wounds of the wounded heroes; the engineer will build fortifications; the priest will console the dying, and you, men of the law, will uphold the empire of justice and defend from every attack the glorious liberty of our people.³⁸

Thus, the decree of August 4 that re-established the Universidad Literaria de Filipinas in Tarlac was not fully implemented—and this university had to fold up as well.

THE *RESEÑA VERÍDICA DE LA REVOLUCIÓN FILIPINA*

It was also in Tarlac, in the printing press owned by a Tarlaqueño, Don Zacarias Fajardo, that President

Aguinaldo published his *Reseña Verídica de la Revolución Filipina* on 23 September 1899. According to Carlos P. Romulo: “This was the first history of the revolution ever published and it gained added significance because it contained an indictment against abuses by the American expeditionary forces, presaging My Lai in Southeast Asia.”³⁹

Because the publication that was printed in Tarlac was in Spanish, Aguinaldo’s authorship of the said material was put into question. Among those who queried it was Charles Elliott Burke in his *The Philippines to the End of the Military Régime: America Overseas*. Here, Burke suggested that the publication was probably written by Felipe G. Buencamino and other political leaders.⁴⁰

However, a more recent definitive article⁴¹ written by historian Ambeth Ocampo, a former National Historical Commission of the Philippines (NHCP) chairman, removed doubts on Aguinaldo’s authorship. In his *Philippine Inquirer* article, Ocampo mentioned that a note in fellow historian Teodoro Agoncillo’s *Malolos: Crisis of the Republic* (1960) directed researchers to go over the “John R. Thomas Collection Relating to the Insurrectionist Government of the Philippines, 1898-1899” at the Library of Congress in Washington DC. This collection included a Tagalog version of the Spanish publication in Aguinaldo’s handwriting. Agoncillo also wrote: “Scholars have suspected Felipe Buencamino Sr. of having written the work, but the presence of the original Tagalog draft of the *Reseña* shows that Buencamino merely adapted it into Spanish.”

In 2002, a facsimile of the manuscript and the transcription and Spanish translation was printed by the National Historical Institute (the precursor of NHCP).

TARLAC AS AGUINALDO'S SOCIAL AND CULTURAL CAPITAL

Tarlac, in the midst of the abnormal conditions, was also a social and cultural capital. "In the summer and autumn of 1899," Taylor reported, "Tarlac...was a crowded place. There were fiestas and dinners."⁴²

On October 27, 1899, General Macabulos was informed by Acting Secretary of War Ambrosio Flores about a banquet being planned in honor of Mr. Bryan, "the future president of the United States."⁴³ He was referring to William J. Bryan, the presidential candidate of the Democratic-Populist Party who eventually lost to reelectionist William McKinley of the Republic Party, during the US presidential election of 1900. Both also represented their parties in the preceding election of 1896. In certain meetings and campaigns in the United States, President Aguinaldo was supposedly been pronounced by Mr. Bryan as "one of the heroes of the world," which was a reiteration of the anti-imperialist stand of their party.

In the same communication between Macabulos and Flores, it was also mentioned that as a preliminary activity to the formal banquet, the Masonic society had organized a popular assembly for October 29. The assembly consisted of two parts: "first - at nine a.m. of the 29th the assembly

will convene in a suitable place, a national hymn will inaugurate the exercise, after which appropriate addresses will be delivered; and second - at four p.m. a popular demonstration will take place throughout the town, with bands of music parading the streets; residents will decorate and illuminate their houses.”⁴⁴

Then, on November 2, a formal banquet for Mr. Bryan, “who was represented by American prisoners”,⁴⁵ was hosted by the *asamblea de mujeres*, headed by First Lady Hilaria del Rosaio Aguinaldo. The *presidenta* gave a well-received address for the occasion, but the highlight of the affair was the singing of the hymn specially prepared for that night—the “Himno Aguinaldo–Bryan”—at the Teatro de Tarlac.

There had been commentaries about the banquet such as that by Taylor:

There were quarrels about place and precedence; the members of the council of government all wore the uniforms of major-general or lieutenant-generals, while the heads of administration of the first class wore those of brigadier-generals.

According to popular accounts of some local historians, the revolutionary government building where Aguinaldo held office and performed his official functions and receptions in Tarlac stood on where the vocational building in the College of Engineering campus of the Tarlac State University is located today. The original building was said to have been built of seventeen species of first class

hardwood trees, all taken from the forests of Tarlac. It was believed to have been burned down on March 19, 1906.

While in Tarlac, President Aguinaldo and his family resided in the so-called “White House” owned by a Swiss named Mr. Brughman. It was made of corrugated iron and wood, and built on a site where an electric plant now stands. The first floor of the two-story structure was used as the office of Ambrosio Rianzares Bautista, president of the Tarlac Congress.⁴⁶

Aguinaldo’s presidential command in Tarlac consisted of eight aides, “the senior being a brigadier-general. His staff was composed of nine officers with a major-general as head; the commander of his guard was a colonel.”⁴⁷ Unlike General Isidoro Torres, who was given the title of “Military Governor of the City” when Malolos was still the capital,⁴⁸ General Macabulos was denied the honor of leading the presidential command, despite the fact that he was the then-military governor of Tarlac, the province where the capital town of Tarlac belongs. The honor was bestowed instead to General Gregorio del Pilar.

Del Pilar would also be appointed later as the Commander of the North whose headquarters was at Dagupan, also a known bulwark of General Macabulos.

On the other hand, the presidential household was supervised by President Aguinaldo’s mother. As “mother of the honorable president”, she signed a document that listed thirty-seven servants assigned to the palace.⁴⁹

PREPARING THE REVOLUTIONARY ARMY

If President Aguinaldo managed to afford these frivolities during those uncertain times, it might have been because these were intended as political campaigns to cover up his military setbacks. Or they might have been a last-ditch effort to gain the world's attention. Another possibility is that these were offshoots of his confidence gained from his military officers' reports (such as those of General Venancio Concepcion) that Tarlac was secure against the Americans' reach at that time.

From the moment Tarlac was appointed as the capital, a massive force was formed to block every American passage into the province. The Filipino force consisted of the brigades of Generals Mascardo, San Miguel, Hizon, and Aquino and stretched up to the territory of the Parua River. The defensive line covered the towns of Magalang, Mexico, Mabalacat, and Angeles, in Pampanga; and Bamban, Concepcion, and La Paz, in Tarlac. General Concepcion was the general-in-chief of these brigades and given the title "General in Defense of the Parua River".

In his successive updates to President Aguinaldo on his military operations (especially those transmitted on the last days of August 1899), General Concepcion was optimistic about the impregnability of the Filipino line of defense. After all, there was the presence of natural defenses in the area, particularly mountains such as Ligaya and Iba Mountains that rendered them invulnerable. A railroad line traversed through these mountains, which might be the only weak point in case of an American assault. However,

as General Concepcion retorted, a few disciplined infantry with Mausers were enough to guard the area.⁵⁰

On the other hand, some parts of the Parua River had sandy ground, making the entrance of the enemy easier. Thus, a concentration of troops was recommended along the barrios of San Antonio and Tinabang, and the towns of Magalang, Mabalacat, and Concepcion. Assigned along the invulnerable plain were the troops of General Aquino since the general himself was a native of the area and thus most familiar with its surroundings.

In his followup report dated September 19, General Concepcion was also optimistic about how the rainy season could help their defenses. Because of the conditions of the terrain, it was almost impossible for enemies to initiate an offensive by way of the Nueva Ecija route. The only alternative for the Americans was to pass by Magalang (municipality of Pampanga), which required occupying the barrios of San Bartolome and San Antonio in Concepcion first, including the *pueblo* of Bamban in the rear. From there, the route to Tarlac would have only been through the wagon roads that connected the towns of La Paz and Murcia to the capital.⁵¹

The Americans, who already started their movement toward the local troops' areas, gave up midway, and General Concepcion attributed their decision to inclement weather. Even if the Americans pursued their operations, General Concepcion remained confident in the quality of his own military men, particularly in the "brave General

Servillano Aquino, who, with his brigade, in charge of those lines, will be able to defend Concepcion and cover the retreat from Paruaon in case of necessity.”⁵² In fact, the native troops already had planned to retake Angeles, which was captured in mid-August by the Americans.⁵³

However, the political, social, and military initiatives of the Aguinaldo government in its Tarlac capital were not enough to warrant the true conditions of the Republic and its people caught on the warpath. The real picture is that, aside from the many reports of impressive victories by the Americans, there is something to be said about the morale and enthusiasm of the civilian population’s willingness to rally behind the Filipino flag.

Don Basilio Teodoro, a member of the editorial staff of the *Diariong Tagalog* and a presumed friend of Dr. Jose Rizal, wrote from Moncada, Tarlac to the Secretary of Interior on July 6, 1899, painting a scenario on the plight of the campaigns.⁵⁴ Well into their third year, the wars—first with the Spaniards and then with the Americans—were sustained through voluntary contributions only. Teodoro also noted that majority of the patriotic citizens expected to voluntarily contribute to the expenses of the campaign had “taken the same attitude which they assumed during the war with Spain, that is, they contribute to nothing.” For example, although many people contributed to the maintenance of an arsenal and hospital in Gerona, Tarlac (which might have been the one ordered to be built by General Luna earlier), the town’s richest man contributed only once, in the amount of five pesos.

Because most towns had not contributed, Teodoro recommended that a forced contribution based upon their resources be imposed.

There were, however, a few exceptions. For instance, the people of Camiling had contributed a third of their cattle for the war fund. The people of Concepcion threw their support behind the army of General San Miguel and even helped build the trenches and fortifications along the Mabalacat–Magalang, Pampanga border.

Because the war fund was largely dependent on contributions, some locals, particularly those well known in their area, were appointed to approach people of all classes. In the early stages of the war, the contributions were generous. Even foreign companies contributed to the Filipino causes. For instance, General Macabulos received 111 sacks of rice for his army from C.M. Clark, the agent of Smith, Bell and Co.,⁵⁵ which had a factory in Gerona, Tarlac.

In time, however, as the economy suffered and hostilities persisted, so did the contributions start to dwindle, heavily affecting the Filipinos' campaigns. The Aguinaldo government's directives to local officials to support the army were left unheeded because the people in each locality could not even support themselves. There were groups that resorted to robbery, extortion, and other crimes to survive, and "it must have been difficult for the officials of the town to draw any distinction between the guerillas, the *ladrones*, the bodies of territorial militia, the *sandatahan*, and the organized bands of marauders, all of

whom, with arms in their hands, demanded food, lodging, and money.”⁵⁶

The Filipino army itself was, during this period, far from being perfect. There were dissensions. Generals Concepcion and San Miguel were not in good terms, disrupting the defense at the Parua River. Generals Torres and Hizon were charged with cowardice in the face of the enemy. Of the thirty-four military men tried in Tarlac, eleven were charged as traitors, if not spies. There were complaints of abuse concerning military supplies.⁵⁷

Ironically, just when Tarlac became the next capital of the Republic, so did the name of Tarlaqueño General Macabulos slowly recede into the background right in his own turf. We would have expected him to have been assigned an active part in the government since the center of operations was his former bastion. Instead, he might still had been stationed along the Angeles–Calulut–Mexico–Sta. Cruz–Arayat line and relegated to take charge of the support flank of his former aide, General Servillano Aquino, as attested by an American report.⁵⁸

However, in a letter to lawyer Felipe Agoncillo in Paris on July 25, 1899, Secretary of Development Felipe Buencamino mentioned that General Macabulos, together with Generals Del Pilar and Tirona were “respectively guarding the province of Tarlac, Pangasinan with the ports of Dagupan and Sual and the Ilocan(dia) and Cagayan provinces.”⁵⁹ The recollection of this event, however, might not be in consonance with those found in other historical documents.

Although he was not a military man, Buencamino saw something in the valor of General Macabulos, although he should have held grudges because of the Aguinaldo-Luna feud. After all, Macabulos—like Alejandrino—would be siding with Luna against Buencamino. After the fall of Malolos, Buencamino proposed to the Aguinaldo government the “best means of defense”, where one of the proposed strategies was to concentrate the “forces of Generals Tinio, Tirona, and Macabulos [to] where the invading army is.”⁶⁰ This was not, of course, heeded by President Aguinaldo’s military strategists.

THE AFTERMATH

The Filipino government was under the above-mentioned circumstances when the major American offensive took place.⁶¹ The Americans aimed to take the Tarlac capital and President Aguinaldo once and for all. On October 17, General Lawton left for Arayat with a force of 3,500 to take the town of San Isidro, in Nueva Ecija. An advanced party under General Young took the town two days later. By November 3, territories north of San Fernando, Pampanga were entirely occupied. Another column, under General Wheaton, reeled off to the Lingayen Gulf on November 5, with a support group of 2,500 men and landed in San Fabian four days later. The objective was to connect with the troops of General Lawton and to close Aguinaldo’s possible escape route to the north. In the process, Pangasinan towns along the way crumbled with ease because of minimal defenses. With the relocation of General Macabulos, fortifications along

the coastlines, which were prepared in the early days of February, amounted to nothing.

To complete the triangular offensive act, General Arthur MacArthur also started his attack on November 5, moving northward via Magalang, where the territories up to Arayat were successfully wrestled from Filipino forces. Two American battalions under Colonel Smith took the Magalang–Concepcion road on the same day. There was little opposition, except at the town of Magalang itself, where General Aquino made a valiant stand and suffered a heavy loss among his troops. Another battalion under Colonel J.F. Bell took Mabalacat on November 7.

By November 11, General MacArthur's column moved toward the Tarlac capital, but was confronted by Filipino forces. General Macabulos, with a force of three hundred to four hundred men, reinforced General Aquino's brigade in the ensuing battle along the Bamban–Concepcion road. Yet, MacArthur's formidable army of three thousand was too much. Before the end of the day, the towns of Bamban, Capas, and Concepcion fell in enemy's hand.

The following day, November 12, General MacArthur's forces reached Tarlac, the capital of Aguinaldo's republic. Except for the raging waters brought about by the storm, it was practically deserted. Aguinaldo had fled. The Republic had fallen.

Presaging perhaps such occasion, Aguinaldo had revealed a month earlier (October 5) to some of his officers that he was contemplating to move the capital—

the place where he had accomplished much in his political movement and where he managed to save his army from collapse due to his rivalry with General Luna—"as Tarlac does not possess the hygienic and geographical conditions befitting it for the numerous population of the capital of the republic of the Philippines."⁶² He was then considering Bayombong, Nueva Vizcaya.

The intricacies of the American offense led him, however, to the town of Bayambang in Pangasinan. Just as when General MacArthur was entering his former capital of Tarlac, Aguinaldo managed to notify his scattered forces from his station in Bayambang that the regular army of the fallen Republic had been disbanded and urged them to continue the struggle as roving bands and guerillas.⁶³

In what might had been one of the last directives from President Aguinaldo, the local *presidentes* of Gerona, Victoria, Paniqui, and Moncada were advised to tell their inhabitants not to leave their houses even if the Americans had capture their districts "in order to avoid greater loss of their interest"⁶⁴ and should be in constant lookout for Spanish prisoners-of-war who should be sent under guard to the provincial chief. In the case of the abandonment of the Tarlac capital, General Macabulos was instructed to move his capital to San Miguel de Camiling.

On November 17, five days after the fall of Tarlac, the regular army of Tarlac province was disbanded in Gerona.⁶⁵

Lt. Colonel Howse, who was in charge of a battalion under General Lyod Wheaton's command, reported

on November 18 from Rosales, Pangasinan that the “insurrection was fast breaking up; that individuals were moving south, but that such portions of the enemy were still organized [and] heading for San Miguel de Camiling.”⁶⁶ Evidently, the patriots of Pangasinan still had trust in their former leader, General Macabulos, when he called upon them again for the renewal of the struggle.

In the towns of Pangasinan, most of the population was passive toward the plight of Aguinaldo. There were no worthy reactions from the locals when the Americans arrived and when Aguinaldo was being pursued. Could there have been a different outcome in our history had General Macabulos been designated by Aguinaldo as Commander of the North, a position he used to hold, instead of General Gregorio Del Pilar?

Indeed, time has forgotten what otherwise were significant legacies of Aguinaldo during his government’s stay in Tarlac.

CONCLUSION: TARLAC LEGACIES AND WHAT HAVE BEEN DONE SO FAR

On June 19, 1963, the Tarlac Historical Society (now defunct) issued a resolution that the names of the delegates of the Tarlac Revolutionary Congress be inscribed in “an iron marker similar to those used at Barasoain Church”. The marker shall be installed on one of the undemolished walls of the San Sebastian Cathedral (presently the Tarlac Cathedral). However, the resolution was never implemented.

On April 27, 1969, the Tarlac Historical Society, whose members were appointed as the provincial committee members of the Aguinaldo Centennial Celebration by then-Secretary of Defense Ernesto Mata, planned to erect four markers on President Aguinaldo's stay in Tarlac. These included:

- a. Gerona, Tarlac Town Hall, to commemorate the plant (*maestranza*) where the coins and paper currencies of the Revolutionary Government were printed and minted in 1899;
- b. Victoria, Tarlac residence of Don Juan Garcia, Jr., where President Aguinaldo stayed for a month during the Revolution;
- c. San Sebastian Roman Catholic Cathedral Convent, also in Tarlac town, site of the short-lived Republic in 1899; and
- d. San Sebastian Roman Catholic Cathedral convent, also in Tarlac town, site of the first and last college graduation of the Universidad Literaria Cientifica de Filipinas.

During the General Francisco S. Macabulos Centennial celebration on September 17, 1971, a marker was eventually erected at the Vocational Department of the Tarlac College of Technology (presently the Tarlac State University). This marker was to commemorate President Aguinaldo's stay in 1899. Unfortunately, the marker was

destroyed when a new building was constructed on the site in the early 2000s.

On July 14, 1999, Tarlac State University celebrated the Tarlac Revolutionary Congress with a national conference and the conferment of posthumous Doctor of Laws degree, *honoris causa*, to some delegates from Tarlac.

For his role as president of the Universidad Literaria de Filipinas and the first honorary president of Tarlac State University, President Aguinaldo was also conferred posthumously a Doctor of Public Administration degree, *honoris causa*, by the Tarlac State University on September 29, 2004.

On July 14, 2014, to commemorate the 115th anniversary of the Tarlac Revolutionary Congress, the NHCP installed the “Kabisera ng Pilipinas” marker at the site of the Casa Real of Tarlac, where the College of Engineering and Technology Campus of Tarlac State University now stands. The Casa Real was the government building used by Aguinaldo as his headquarters.

NOTES

- 1 See, for example, Alfredo B. Saulo, *Emilio Aguinaldo: Generalissimo and President of the First Philippine Republic First Republic in Asia* (Quezon City: Phoenix Publishing House, 1983), 353.
- 2 J.R.M. Taylor, *Philippine Insurrection Against the United States: A Compilation of Documents with Notes and Introduction*, five

- volumes (Manila: E. Lopez Foundation, 1971), Vol. II, 231. See also Gen. Jose Alejandrino, *The Price of Freedom (La Senda del Sacrificio): Episodes and Anecdotes of our Struggles for Freedom*. English translation from the Spanish original of 1933. Filipiniana Reprint Series, book no. 18 (Metro Manila: Solar Publishing, 1987), 142.
- 3 Insurgent Philippine Records 9.2, Exh. 659, original in Spanish. *Philippine Insurrection Against the United States*, vol. IV, 107.
 - 4 Alejandrino, *The Price of Freedom*, 160.
 - 5 Ibid.
 - 6 Philippine Insurgent Records 1021.6, as cited by Taylor, *Philippine Insurrection Against the United States*, vol. II, 231.
 - 7 Philippine Insurgent Records 59.10, Exh. 663, original in Spanish. *Philippine Insurrection Against the United States*, vol. IV, 111–112. It might be possible that A. Pascual was the person being referred to by General V. Concepcion when he sent a telegram to the Secretary of War (General Luna) “asking permission to consult with him before coming to an open break with the commander of operations in Tarlac Province.” Philippine Insurgent Records 917.9, as cited by Taylor, *Philippine Insurrection Against the United States*, 220.
 - 8 Teodoro Agoncillo, *Malolos: The Crisis of the Republic* (Quezon City: University of the Philippines, 1960), 538.
 - 9 Taylor, *Philippine Insurrection Against the United States*, vol. II, 234.
 - 10 William Sexton, *Soldiers in the Sun: An Adventure in Imperialism*, 168. As cited by Nick Joaquin, *The Aquinos of Tarlac* (Mandaluyong: Cacho Hermanos, 1983), 58.
 - 11 Philippine Insurgent Records 482.11. Cited in Taylor, *Philippine Insurrection Against the United States*.

- 12 Philippine Insurgent Records 575.4 Exh. 899. Original in Spanish, *Philippine Insurrection Against the United States*, vol. IV, 670–671.
- 13 Ria-Baja. *El Desastre-Filipino*, 345. As cited by Joaquin, *The Aquinos of Tarlac*, 54.
- 14 Alejandrino, *The Price of Freedom*, 123.
- 15 T.M. Kalaw, *Ang Himagsikang Pilipino*. Translated by Virgilio Almario (Manila: National Historical Institute, 1997), 123.
- 16 Visitacion De La Torre, “Forget PX Goods; Angeleños Are Out to Save A Grand Old House,” *Philippine Panorama*, June 24, 1979, 12–13.
- 17 Philippine Insurgent Records 39.1, Exh., vol. IV, 124–126.
- 18 Ibid. See also Philippine Insurgent Records 38.3, Exh. 674, 126–130.
- 19 Philippine Insurgent Records 894.2, Exh. 675, *Ibid.*, 131.
- 20 See for example, “The Philippine Assembly: Aguinaldo Confesses His Ignorance of the Forms of Government,” *The New York Times*, 17 September 1898 and “Philippine General Assembly Duly Opened by Aguinaldo: Message of Thanks to Nations Read by the Dictator,” *The San Francisco Call*, 17 September 1898.
- 21 Kalaw, *Ang Himagsikang Pilipino*, 124.
- 22 S. Guevarra, *Laws of the First Philippine Republic*. Manila: National Historical Institute, 1998. xi. For a comprehensive look on these decrees, see *Philippine Insurrection Against the United States*, vol. IV.
- 23 Historical Markers Text, Tarlac Historical Society. CTS File. See also Justino Matias, “Tidbits of Tarlac History,” 3-pages, Makabulos Centennial Book (hereon MCB). *The Monitor*, 1971.
- 24 Philippine Insurgent Records Folder No. 113, Document No. 11, Roll No. 11. Unfortunately, such important decree was not included in S. Guevarra.

- ²⁵ See S. Guevarra, *Laws of the First Philippine Republic*, 49–50. Also Saulo, *Emilio Aguinaldo*.
- ²⁶ Philippine Insurgent Records, Document 2951, no. 010940. Though the original decree was August 4, 1899, it was re-issued on September 20 that same year for the information of other provinces.
- ²⁷ For the decree on its installation, see S. Guevarra, *Laws of the First Philippine Republic*, 49–50 (Tagalog text) and 51–52 (Spanish text).
- ²⁸ For recent materials that still use this name of the university, see for example, “The Philippine Assembly: Aguinaldo Confesses His Ignorance of the Forms of Government” *New York Times*; Edgar All M. Sembrano, “Old Baliuag ‘Municipio’ Now a Declared Heritage Structure,” *Philippine Daily Inquirer*, 28 September 2015; and Marielle Medina, “Did you know,” *Philippine Daily Inquirer*, 21 September 2015.
- ²⁹ Philippine Insurgent Records Books B.3, Exh. 954. Original in Spanish. *Philippine Insurrection Against the United States*, vol. IV, pp. 747–748. See also R.C. Guevarra, “First Asian University—From Malolos to Tarlac,” *The Monitor* 25th Year Supplement, August 27, 1981 (as reprinted from *The Monitor*, October 15, 1967, 6–H), 30.
- ³⁰ For the decree establishing the Instituto Burgos, see S. Guevarra, *Laws of the First Philippine Republic*, 57–60.
- ³¹ See the decree in S. Guevarra, *Laws of the First Philippine Republic*, 61.
- ³² S. Guevarra, *Laws of the First Philippine Republic*, 53; R. Guevarra, “First Asian University - From Malolos to Tarlac,” *The Monitor*.
- ³³ For the decree on the appointment of faculty members for the University, see S. Guevarra, *Laws of the First Philippine Republic*, 53.
- ³⁴ Ibid.

- 35 Philippine Insurgent Records 171 as cited in Taylor, *Philippine Insurrection Against the United States*, vol. II, 239. For the actual decree, see note 25.
- 36 For the original, see Philippine Insurgent Records File no. 1105 (on Schools & Instruction), no. 3. For the transcribed version, see S. Guevarra, *Laws of the First Philippine Republic*, 55.
- 37 R. Guevarra, "First Asian University-From Malolos to Tarlac."
- 38 Quoted from Esteban de Ocampo's "Aguinaldo Centennial: Congress Ratifies June 12 as Freedom Day," *The Manila Times*, September 29, 1969, 1-A.
- 39 Carlos P. Romulo, "The 8th Ray in the Sun of Our National Flag." Address delivered at the Tarlac Centennial Celebration, December 30, 1974, in *Philippine Panorama*, January 19, 1975, 7.
- 40 Charles Elliott Burke, *The Philippines to the End of the Military Régime; America Overseas* (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill and Company, 1916), 406.
- 41 Ambeth Ocampo, "Emilio Aguinaldo@150," *Philippine Daily Inquirer*, 27 February 2019.
- 42 Taylor, *Philippine Insurrection Against the United States*, p. 238. See also Jose P. Santos. *Ang Malulos sa Dahon ng Kasaysayan* (Gerona, Tarlac: 1936), 81.
- 43 Philippine Insurgent Records 17.9. Exh. 947, Original in Spanish. Cited by Taylor, *Philippine Insurrection Against the United States*, vol. IV, 731.
- 44 Ibid., 731–732.
- 45 Philippine Insurgent Records 1302.6, as cited by Taylor, *Philippine Insurrection Against the United States*, vol. II, 239.
- 46 Culled from Historical Markers Text, Tarlac Historical Society. Center for Tarlaqueño Studies (CTS) File.
- 47 Taylor, *Philippine Insurrection Against the United States*.

- 48 Philippine Insurgent Records 50.10, Exh. 260, vol. III, 367.
- 49 Taylor, *Philippine Insurrection Against the United States*, vol. II.
- 50 From *The Letter-Book of Gen Concepcion*. Philippine Insurgent Records 1210.5, Exh. 906. Original in Spanish. Cited in Taylor, *Philippine Insurrection Against the United States*, vol. IV, 685–688.
- 51 *Ibid.* Philippine Insurgent Records 1210.5, Exh. 917, *Ibid.*, 698.
- 52 *Ibid.*
- 53 See, for example, Philippine Insurgent Records 1210.5, Exh. 915. *Ibid.*, 695–696.
- 54 Philippine Insurgent Records 232.2, Exh. 770, Original in Spanish, vol. IV, 457–459.
- 55 Cited by T. Agoncillo, *op. cit.*, 479
- 56 Taylor, *Philippine Insurrection Against the United States*, vol. II, 241.
- 57 *Ibid.*, 240.
- 58 *Report of the Lieut. General Commanding the Army*, 259, as cited by Joaquin, *The Aquinos of Tarlac*, 61.
- 59 Philippine Insurgent Records Books, C.I. Exh. 731, Contemporary copy in Spanish, *Philippine Insurrection Against the United States*, vol. IV, 227
- 60 Philippine Insurgent Records 371.8, Exh. 871, Original in Spanish and Tagalog, in the handwriting of F. Buencamino, 633.
- 61 These “American offensive” were mostly taken from *Philippine Insurrection Against the United States*, vol. II, specifically Chapters V and VI.
- 62 Taylor, *Philippine Insurrection Against the United States*, vol. II, 251.

- ⁶³ Philippine Insurgent Records 1198, Exh. 711, Original in Spanish. In Taylor, *Philippine Insurrection Against the United States*, vol. IV, 194–195.
- ⁶⁴ Philippine Insurgent Records 638.10, Exh. 710. Original in Spanish. In Taylor, *Philippine Insurrection Against the United States*, vol. IV, 193.
- ⁶⁵ Joaquin, *The Aquinos of Tarlac*, 62.
- ⁶⁶ Taylor, *Philippine Insurrection Against the United States*, vol. II, 252–253.

REFERENCES

- Agoncillo, Teodoro, Malolos: *The Crisis of the Republic*. Quezon City: University of the Philippines, 1960.
- Alejandrino, Jose, *The Price of Freedom (La Senda del Sacrificio): Episodes and Anecdotes of our Struggles for Freedom*. English translation from the Spanish original of 1933. Filipiniana Reprint Series, book no. 18. Metro Manila: Solar Publishing.
- Burke, Charles Elliott. *The Philippines to the End of the Military Régime*; America Overseas. Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill and Company, 1916.
- De La Torre, Visitation. “Forget PX Goods; Angeleños Are Out to Save A Grand Old House,” *Philippine Panorama*, June 24, 1979.
- Guevarra, R.C. “First Asian University—From Malolos to Tarlac,” *The Monitor* 25th Year Supplement, August 27, 1981 (as reprinted from *The Monitor*, October 15, 1967).
- Guevarra, S. *Laws of the First Philippine Republic*. Manila: National Historical Institute, 1998.
- Joaquin, Nick. *The Aquinos of Tarlac*. Mandaluyong: Cacho Hermanos, 1983.

- Kalaw, T.M. *Ang Himagsikang Pilipino*. Translated by Virgilio Almario. Manila: National Historical Institute, 1997, 123.
- Matias, Justino. "Tidbits of Tarlac History," Makabulos Centennial Book. *The Monitor*, 1971.
- Ocampo, Ambeth. "Emilio Aguinaldo@150," *Philippine Daily Inquirer*, 27 February 2019.
- Ocampo, Esteban de. "Aguinaldo Centennial: Congress Ratifies June 12 as Freedom Day," *The Manila Times*, September 29, 1969.
- Romulo, Carlos P. "The 8th Ray in the Sun of Our National Flag." Address delivered at the Tarlac Centennial Celebration, December 30, 1974, in *Philippine Panorama*, January 19, 1975.
- Santos, Jose P. *Ang Malulos sa Dahon ng Kasaysayan*. Gerona, Tarlac, 1936. Reprinted in 2000. Malolos, Bulacan: Center for Bulacan Studies, Bulacan State University.
- Saulo, Alfredo B., *Emilio Aguinaldo: Generalissimo and President of the First Philippine Republic First Republic in Asia*. Quezon City: Phoenix Publishing House, 1983.
- Taylor, J.R.M., *Philippine Insurrection Against the United States: A Compilation of Documents with Notes and Introduction*, five volumes. Manila: E. Lopez Foundation, 1971.