New Light on Gregorio Aglipay from Unpublished Documents in the Manila Archdiocesan Archives

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In any historical or biographical work, it is absolutely important to get at the primary sources. Without them we are in the realm of guesswork, of legend, of printed gossip.

We have seen an instance of this in our last article, on the true birth date of Gregorio Aglipay. We saw how many conflicting statements were being made about the day of the month, and even about the year of his birth. Yet all that chaos could have been prevented by simply looking up a very ordinary piece of primary evidence—the baptismal register of the church in which Aglipay was baptized when he was five days old (niño de cinco días). We shall see many more instances of this need for consulting the primary sources in this present article.

In writing the biography of a public figure, it is relatively easy to chronicle the events of his life which occurred after he had become a public figure, when the spotlight of public attention was already focused on him. What is difficult is to

\(^1\) PHILIPPINE STUDIES V (1957) 370-387.
DATA ON GREGORIO AGLIPAY

fill in the lacuna of his earlier years when he lived in com-
parative obscurity.

In the case of Aglipay, this lacuna is rather large—forty
years—and it is amazing with what conflicting things the
biographers have tried to fill in this lacuna. Aglipay's first
forty years of life are hopelessly chaotic as they are de-
picted by the biographers, many of whom have apparently not
taken the trouble to consult primary sources. Here are ex-
amples of the chaos:

EARLY YEARS

1. It is said by some that Aglipay was orphaned of both
parents at an early age. Osias however talks as if Aglipay's
mother lived on to watch over the boy's education, while
others talk as if Aglipay's father lived on to be imprisoned
with him.

2. This imprisonment is likewise the subject of conflicting
statements. It would seem that the young Aglipay (how young,
the biographers do not agree) fell afoul of the law by not
producing his quota of tobacco and was therefore imprisoned
—with his father, say some of the biographers; with his uncle,

2 Tomás Fonacier Gregorio Aglipay y Labayan, A Short Biography
(Manila 1954) p. 10 (“His parents died when he was barely two years
old”); Isabelo de los Reyes Jr. in The Christian Register (Feb.-Mar.
1957) p. 1 (“His parents having died while still an infant...”); Gregorío C. Evangelista “Aglipay the Paradox” The Saturday Herald
Magazine (1 Oct. 1956) pp. 7-8 (“While still a child, his parents....
died”).

3 Camilo Osias in The Encyclopedia of the Philippines (1st ed.
X p. 149.

4 John Foreman The Philippine Islands (2nd ed. New York 1906)
p. 604; Francis H. Wise The History of the Philippine Independent
Church (mimeographed master’s thesis, University of the Philippines
1954) p. 40; Leon O. Ty “Gregorio Aglipay, Priest, Soldier, Politician”
The Philippines Free Press (7 Sept. 1940); Juan M. Ruiz The Three
Pillars of the Philippine Independent Church (Manila 1950) p. 14;
Camilo Osias in The Encyclopedia of the Philippines loc. cit.
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say others; 5 but others say that it was with his brother—his “only” brother—Canuto. 6 But we have already dealt with this business of the “only” brother. 7 The biographers do not even agree how long Aglipay remained in prison: some say several days, others several hours.

3. Eventually he went to Manila. His motive is variously explained. Some say it was to escape “difficulties”; others, to escape a marriage being forced upon him—though here again it is not clear who was doing the forcing: some say his father, others his parents, others his grandparents. 8

STUDIES

4. What he did in Manila and how long he stayed there is not clear from the authors. Some keep him in Manila for only three years, but others detain him there a much longer time without explaining what he did during all that time. Ruiz for instance says, “ten years later he attended San Juan de Letran…” 9 This would seem to mean he was floating around in Manila for ten years before enrolling in Letran. Others say he stayed two years with Julian Carpio and then went to Letran. 10 It is not even clear where he finished his course in philosophy and letters: some claim in Letran, others in Santo Tomás, while others bypass Santo Tomás altogether and send him directly from Letran to the seminary in Vigan. Osias calls the Vigan seminary a “Dominican” seminary, which of course it was not. Simeón Mandac (who is ordinarily a good authority, being Aglipay’s aide) says that Aglipay stayed thirteen years in Letran as capista and gives the year 1888 as the year of

5 Fonacier loc. cit.; Evangelista art. cit.
7 PHILIPPINE STUDIES V (1957) 385-386.
8 Fonacier loc. cit.; Wise loc. cit.; Evangelista art. cit.; etc.
10 Foreman loc. cit.; Manuel Artigas y Cuerva Galería de Filipinos ilustres (Manila 1917) p. 86; Wise op. cit. p. 41; O. Ty art. cit.; etc.
his entrance into the Vigan seminary.\textsuperscript{11} Zoilo Galang gives the year 1889.\textsuperscript{12} As we shall see later, both years are incorrect.

5. The confusion however is rendered twice confounded by the following account which denies everything heretofore said. According to \textit{The Christian Register} in a special “Church Golden Jubilee Supplement” Aglipay was first instructed in the rudiments by the local maestros in his native town, and then he “entered the town college” and studied there for “six years to earn the bachelor of arts degree.” Aglipay then went to Manila, “enrolling in the Catholic Seminary in Manila” (sic) and after six years was ordained a priest. But that is not all. After his ordination he “later registered in the now defunct Rizal University from where he obtained his licentiate in laws degree.”\textsuperscript{13}

6. But if the most conflicting statements are made as to where or when Aglipay made his studies, everyone appears agreed on one point: that he was possessed of extraordinary talent and superior knowledge, that he put his professors and examiners to shame, etc. Prizes are cited, disputations, professorships.\textsuperscript{14} Remarkably enough, however, no scrap of documentary evidence is brought forward to substantiate the statements. We shall have more to say on this point later in another article.

\textbf{ORDINATION}

7. Where and when Aglipay was ordained is also the subject of controversy. Artigas claims that he was ordained in

\textsuperscript{11} Mandac \textit{op. cit.} pp. 3-4; Osias in the \textit{Encyclopedia} (2nd and 3rd ed.) X, 149.

\textsuperscript{12} \textit{Encyclopedia of the Philippines} (1st ed. 1936) IX, 28. (The corresponding volumes in the second and third edition, namely Vols. XVII, XVIII and XX, do not seem to be off the press yet.)

\textsuperscript{13} \textit{The Christian Register} I, 3 (2 Aug. 1952) 1.

\textsuperscript{14} For instance Wise \textit{op cit.} pp. 46, 49, 50; Ruiz \textit{op. cit.} p. 14; Fonacier \textit{loc. cit.;} Osias \textit{op. cit.;} José L. Llanes “Aglipay and the 1896 Revolution” \textit{Comment} 4 (1957) p. 12; etc.
the Ilocos, others that he was ordained in Manila. The Directorio biográfico filipino gives the year of his ordination as 1890, but Osias puts it nine years later, in 1899.16

ASSIGNMENTS
8. According to Fonacier, Aglipay was assigned as coadjutor to the following parishes “successively” (and a note of authenticity is lent to the list by the archaic spelling of the place names): first Indang (Kabite), then San Pablo (Laguna), then Bukawe (Bulakan), then San Antonio (Nueva Ecija), then Victoria (Tarlak). Fonacier adds that these appointments were made “on the recommendation of his sponsor Sanchez de Luna.” But Isabelo de los Reyes Jr. appears to give a different itinerary. He reverses the order of some of the towns: Indang, San Pablo, San Antonio, Bukawe, Victoria.18 As we shall see later, neither sequence is corroborated by the documents.

OUTBREAK OF REVOLT
9. Where was Aglipay at the outbreak of the Philippine Revolution against Spain in 1896? Calderón says that Aglipay “was a prisoner in Bilibid during the insurrection of 1896.”19 But Fonacier (with Foreman, Robertson, Evangelista) says that “at the time of the outbreak of the Revolution (1896) Aglipay was Coadjutor in Victoria (Tarlak).”20

16 Manuel Artigas y Cuerva Galería de Filipinos ilustres (Manila 1917) p. 86. Incidentally among the papers preserved in the Manila archdiocesan archives, of which more below, is the abjuration of freemasonry made by Artigas before Father Santamaria on 4 March 1925. The document is in File 164 A.

17 Directorio biográfico filipino (Manila 1908) p. 6; Osias in the Encyclopedio (2nd and 3rd ed.) X, 150, repeating what was in the first (1936) edition (V 617): “In 1899 Aglipay was ordained in Manila.” Thus the date could not be ascribed to a printers’ error.

18 Gregorio Aglipay y Labayan p. 12.

19 The Christian Register loc. cit.

20 Calderon Memoirs of the Philippine Revolution in the Encyclopedio of the Philippines (1st ed. 1936) VIII, 541. It is possible that Calderon may have confused Aglipay with de los Reyes Sr.

21 Fonacier op. cit. p. 12; Foreman loc. cit.; James E. Robertson “The Aglipay Schism of the Philippine Islands” The Catholic Historical Review (Oct. 1918) 320; Evangelista art. cit.
1892

Octubre 4.

Sr. Pirentiro Don Gregorio Aglipay. Te dirijo así en el mejor servicio de la Iglesia, venimos en disponerse trabaje en la parroquia de Bocaue, en la provincia de Bulacan, para desempeñar en ella el cargo de Coadjutor, en institución de Don Vitalino de Germán. Lo que participamos en V.R. para su conocimiento y píes consejimiento, sin mencionar el presente de nombramiento, con la misma condición de que deberá vivir en la casa parroquial.

Dios etc. Fr. Bernardino 2. 4.

Octubre 4.

R. Cua Parroco de Bocaue en Bulacan. Con esta fecha hemos nombrado Coadjutor de la

Aglipay is transferred to Bocáue, Bulacan, 4 Oct. 1892
15 Diciembre.

Se. Bro. Dr. Gregorio Aglipay — Por exigir, no puedo hacer mejor servicio de la Iglesia, me niego en disponer se traslade V. a la parroquia de Victoria, en la provincia de Tarlac, para desempeñar en ella el cargo de capellán en sustitución de P. Pedro Pardal. — Lo que por mi voluntad se hará para un conocimiento y el bien de los parroquianos. — Dícese.

Bernardino Arzobispo.

27 Diciembre.

Aglipay is transferred from San Pablo, Laguna to Victoria, Tarlac, 15 Dec. 1896
From the above and from other statements that we shall cite below, the importance of going back to the documents becomes manifest.

II

The documents regarding Aglipay that are preserved in the Manila archdiocesan archives may be divided into five groups.

A. There are thirty-one documents that have reference to his various assignments (destinos) among the parishes of the archdiocese of Manila. Of these documents, five are the most important as they establish definitely the dates of Aglipay’s various assignments.

B. There are, secondly, the records of his periodic examinations before archdiocesan examiners to determine his fitness to hear confessions. There are five sets of such examinations, with a total of fifteen documents.

C. Thirdly, and allied to the above, there are the documents relative to the granting of faculties to celebrate Mass and to hear confessions. There are seven documents in this group.

D. There are seven documents relative to certain permissions sought by Aglipay and granted by the archbishop.

E. Finally, there are various other documents, two concerning Aglipay, ten concerning the early beginnings of Aglipayanism, and five others on various related matters.21

In this paper we shall examine only those documents that deal with the chronology of Aglipay’s movements and certain other allied matters. The text of the thirty-eight documents cited here will be found at the end of this article, on pp. 201-209.

21 For access to the archives we are grateful to Archbishop Rufino J. Santos of Manila; also to the rector of the San Carlos Seminary, Father José Billiet C.I.C.M. for courteous cooperation. The archives are housed in the main building of the major seminary of San Carlos, Makati, Rizal and are now under the charge of the Fathers of the Immaculate Heart of Mary, being formerly under the care of that excellent archivist, Manuel Gracia C.M.
Let us first deal with the chronology of Aglipay's assignments. This should be rather easy to establish since in the Catholic Church assignments to this or that parish are almost always made in writing. Aglipay's assignments were as follows:

1. On 10 April 1890 he was assigned coadjutor in the parish of Indang, Cavite. (This means that he was already a priest in 1890 and therefore could not have been ordained in 1899 as Osias appears to claim.)

2. After eighteen months, he was transferred to San Antonio, Nueva Ecija on 31 October 1891. This appears from a communication dated 4 November 1891 to the Intendente General de Hacienda. A few months later, on 19 February 1892, Aglipay's name appears among the priests who made a spiritual retreat in Gapan, Nueva Ecija. Note that from Indang Aglipay went to San Antonio, Nueva Ecija, not to San Pablo, Laguna, as both Fonacier and de los Reyes Jr. assert.

3. A year after his transfer to San Antonio, Aglipay was again transferred (on 4 October 1892), this time to Bocawe, Bulacan. From another document we learn that he arrived in Bocawe on 14 October 1892.

4. Aglipay had been in Bocawe three years and four months when a peremptory decree, bearing the date 29 February 1896, ordered him to move as soon as possible (se traslade V. a la mayor brevedad posible) to San Pablo, Laguna. Aglipay appears to have complied promptly with this order, as he left Bocawe within five days, namely on 4 March 1896.

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24 Doc. 7 p. 203.
26 Doc. 14 p. 203.
28 Doc. 22 p. 204.
Dr. Gregorio Aglipay

Senti la de esta circunstancia y trató de Vicente de la parte de Tarlac a V.E.Y. con el mar de sido respeto se presenta y espera. Sue predeceso de una consciencia del oficio derecho, le es absolutamente necesario para el deseo de medicos atendidos a su enfermedad permanecer por más tiempo en esta capital, como acredita el sujeto certificado.

Por tanto

V.E.Y. Señor nuestro, como gobernador se debe a buen entendimiento de mis servicios de licencia, para las finanzas, aprobada indicación.

El personaje.

Aglipay's letter dated Manila, 18 February 1898, requesting permission to spend a "longer time" in Manila
Aglipay's letter, 18 February 1898 (Continued)
5. But he was not to stay long in San Pablo. Ten months later, on 15 December 1896, he received another order reassigning him to Victoria, Tarlac.29

This assignment was likewise communicated by the archbishop in his letter of 29 December 1896 to the parish priest of Victoria, Tarlac.30

From these documents it is clear that the correct sequence of Aglipay's assignments is: Indang, San Antonio, Bocawe, San Pablo, Victoria.

It is also clear that from February 1896 to the latter part of December of that same year, he was assigned as coadjutor in San Pablo, Laguna. Therefore he was not in Victoria, Tarlac, as coadjutor at the time of the outbreak of the Revolution against Spain. That outbreak occurred in August 1896, in the celebrated Cry of Balintawak.

FREQUENCY OF TRANSFER

The reader will have noted the frequency, and sometimes the suddenness, with which Aglipay was moved from province to province during the years 1890 to 1896. A non-Catholic chaplain in the United States Armed Forces stationed in the Philippines, the Reverend Francis H. Wise, writing a master's thesis for the University of the Philippines, offers a rather naive explanation for this fact. He says:

For some reason during the five years between 1890-5 Aglipay is moved quite often in the Archbishopric of Manila. Perhaps it was because his superiors were aware of his association with Don Isabelo and others of doubtful reputations. One wonders whether other Filipino priests were also moved often so they would not have opportunity to develop public support. Or in Aglipay's particular case, were they concerned because of his ability, courage, and growing independence?31

Unfortunately, this rather rosy construction of the case is not corroborated by the evidence. In particular, the sudden trans-

29 Doc. 23 p. 204. (See facsimile on p. 180.)
31 Wise op. cit. p. 74.
fer of Aglipay from San Pablo to Victoria was for causes less laudable than "ability, courage and growing independence." We shall treat of this in another place.

SICKNESS OF THE EYES

We come now to the year 1898. Two statements are made by the biographers regarding that year which do not seem to square with the documentary evidence.

The first of these has something to do with the date of Aglipay's coming to Manila in 1898, and with the sickness of the eyes which was used as a reason for coming to Manila. Here is what one biographer says on this subject: "Aglipay... came to Manila feigning sickness of his eyes. His arrival in Manila coincided with the coming of the Americans in May, 1898."

Both of these statements are contradicted by the documents. With regard to the sickness of the eyes which Aglipay allegedly feigned, there are two medical certificates, both bearing numbers as official documents, giving the medical diagnosis of Aglipay's eye trouble. The first of these was issued by the physician Mariano G. Tornel on 17 February 1898 indicating that Aglipay "padece una coroiditis del ojo derecho para cuya curación le es necesario permanecer en esta capital durante dos meses." The other was issued by the physician Gumersindo del Valle ("Catedrático de la Facultad de Medicina, Vice Presidente de la Junta Superior de Sanidad, Laureado por oposición de la Universidad C. de Madrid etc. etc."). It bears the date 20 April 1898. It certifies that Aglipay was suffering from "esclero-coroiditis" which made all work impossible for the present ("le imposibilita por ahora el poder dedicarse a las ocupaciones ordinarias de la vida, y mucho menos en su profesión sacerdotal"). Both of these medical certificates are public do-

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32 Fonacier op. cit. p. 12 (italics ours). See also Wise op. cit. p. 74.
33 Doc. 31 p. 206.
34 Doc. 35 p. 208.
Don Guevarino del Valle, Catedrático de la Facultad de Medicina, Vice-Presidente de la Junta superior de Universidad, designado por apuición de la Universidad de Madrid, etc., etc.

Certifico que Dr. Aglipay, Positivo, tuvo poder de una enfermedad de la vista derecha motivada por esferoma ambilateral, que la imposibilita por ahora el poder adquirir en las excepciones, entre de la vida y deberes mencionados en su profesión, mortal, y para que permita la firma en ella acaba de cuento que menos, etc., etc., etc.

Hermesino del Valle

Medical certificate of Dr. Guevarino del Valle certifying that Aglipay suffered from sclero-coroiditis
Medical certificate of the physician D. Mariano Tornel certifying that Aglipay suffered from coroiditis
Now, if two medical men, apparently well qualified, assert a real eye defect serious enough to necessitate a stay in Manila and an almost total abstention from work, by what right is it asserted that Aglipay "feigned" his eye defect?

MANILA 1898

As for the statement that his arrival in Manila "coincided" with that of the Americans in May 1898, that too is disproved by the documents under discussion. The first medical certificate is dated 17 February 1898. Aglipay forwarded it to the archbishop the following day with a letter requesting a longer stay in Manila ("es absolutamente necesario para atender con medios adecuados a su curación permanecer por más tiempo en esta capital"). This petition was granted by the archbishop who allowed him to stay in Manila two months—the length of time suggested by the physician in the medical certificate. The two-month leave of absence granted him would take him through March and April. The phrase "más tiempo" in Aglipay's petition implies that he had been in Manila even earlier than 17 February, the date of the medical certificate.

On 20 April 1898 the second medical certificate was issued, and appears to have been forwarded together with Aglipay's petition (though this is dated two days earlier, 18 April) asking for a still longer stay in Manila. This petition was again granted by the archbishop, renewing his leave of absence for another two months. These two months would take him to the middle of June. We know from another document (to be discussed farther down) that Aglipay was in Manila on 23 May 1898. This means therefore that he was in Manila from 17 February (or even earlier) to May 1898. Hence, the asser-

35 Doc. 30 p. 206. (See facsimile on pp. 183-184.)
36 Doc. 32 p. 206. (See facsimile on p. 199.)
tion that his coming to Manila "coincided with the coming of the Americans in May, 1898" cannot be sustained.

MISSION TO THE INSURGENTS

The biographers speak of a mission entrusted to Aglipay by both Archbishop Nozaleda and Governor Agusti. On 15 May 1898, so the story goes, Aglipay was sent from Manila to the Filipino forces in the field to try to win them to an alliance with the Spaniards against the Americans. Fonacier gives the date of departure as 16 May. He adds that Aglipay was unsuccessful "so Aglipay decided to go back to his parish, Victoria, Tarlak."37

Aglipay himself tells the story with somewhat different details but with greater vividness. He says:

It is a fact that I was sent by Archbishop Nozaleda and Governor Agustin on May 15, 1898, a few days after the sinking of the Spanish Fleet by Admiral Dewey, to go out and by every means to secure the combination of the Filipinos with the Spaniards, and prevent the Americans from landing or taking possession of these islands. I was authorized to offer autonomy or even independence. I did so; the train was stopped at Bigaa by the Filipino soldiers under Pio del Pilar who spurned my proposition as soon as it was made. I then went on to Arayat, and again tried to deliver the message I was entrusted with, but was put under a guard until I promised to desist in the attempt; I then turned my attention to ministering to the thousands of Spanish prisoners, one of them Bishop Hevia, of the Diocese of Vigan, appointed me to act as Bishop in his stead... After this city passed into the hands of the Americans on August 13, 1898 I conducted eight nuns to Manila, who were prisoners on account of being Spanish and "religious." Archbishop Nozaleda read the letter of authority from Bishop Hevia appointing me Bishop and approved of it, and sent me back to my See in Vigan and all the North of Luzon...38

From these accounts, the impression seems inescapable that Aglipay left Manila on the 15th (or 16th) May 1898, was engaged in rather exciting activities, and returned sometime in August to Manila (or, as Fonacier says, to Tarlac).

37 Fonacier op. cit. 13-14.
38 "The Filipino National Church" The Manila Times (25 Dec. 1902) 25. (Governor Agustin: sic.)
Gregorio Aglipay’s letter dated Manila, 23 May 1898 explaining why he could not prepare for examinations
Unfortunately for these assertions, we find a document signed by Aglipay and dated Manila, 23 May 1898, eight days after his supposed departure from Manila! It is addressed to the archbishop begging for a renewal of faculties (which were to expire on 29 May) without having to submit to an examination. The petition was granted the following day.\(^3\) A photostatic copy of Aglipay's letter is reproduced on the opposite page. The archbishop's reply is reproduced on page 200.

**HIS FATHER'S ILLNESS**

We must go back in time to 1895, to examine another document. This document is also concerned with sickness, this time his father's. It is dated 23 July 1895 and it grants Gregorio Aglipay, coadjutor in the parish of Bocawe, Bulacan, a leave of absence of twelve days to visit his father who was seriously ill (gravísimamente enfermo) in Dagupan.\(^4\) This document printed in full in the appendix to this article, should put an end to all speculations about the father's death when Aglipay was a child. He was apparently alive in 1895, when Aglipay was thirty-five years old. That is, if Aglipay's allegation was true.

**AGLIPAY'S ORDINATION**

An important document in the Manila archdiocesan archives is the dimissorial letter which allowed Aglipay to be ordained.\(^5\) This letter is of great biographical importance as it helps us to fix the date of his ordination and the circumstances under which it was performed. From the letter we gather the following:

1. He was to be ordained in 1889, during the "témporas de Santo Tomás." The "témporas de Santo Tomás" in 1889 occurred on 21 December. The "témporas" (Latin *quattuor tempora*) refer (among other things) to four Saturdays in the

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\(^3\) Docs. 36 and 37 pp. 208-209.

\(^4\) Doc. 29 p. 205.

\(^5\) The letter is reproduced on pages 195-196. It is an official document, with official number and documentary stamp. See Doc. 38 p. 209.
year on which ordinations are usually held. One of these is the third Saturday in Advent. Now, in 1889 the third Saturday in Advent fell on 21 December, which also happened to be the feast of St. Thomas the Apostle. Hence the expression in the document: "témportas de Santo Tomás." We know from other documents, that Aglipay was as a matter of fact ordained on that day: 21 December 1889.42

2. He was to be ordained by Don Fray Bernabé García Cezon who is referred to as "Obispo de Biblios." Biblios was of course a titular bishopric. We know from other sources that Bishop Cezon was a Dominican, a retired missionary bishop from Tonking.43

3. We gather likewise from this document that the see of Nueva Segovia was vacant at the time, and that the bishop of Nueva Cáceres (Naga) was acting as ecclesiastical governor—which extended him, as it were, by the whole length of Luzon: being resident in Camarines and at the same time overseer in the Ilocos.

4. Finally, from the document we learn that the dismissalal letter allowing Aglipay to be ordained was issued by the vicar general of Nueva Segovia, the man with the hard-to-spell name, the licentiate Don José de Gogeascochea y Jáuregui.

42 The Boletín Manilano (Año XIV, Num. 51, Domingo, 22 diciembre 1889) gives the following data: Aglipay was ordained priest in the Dominican church (Santo Domingo) on the previous Saturday (i.e. 21 December), the feast of the Apostle St. Thomas and the Saturday of the vernal quatuor tempora. With Aglipay was ordained another priest, D. Valentin Rubio. (For putting us on the track of the Boletín Manilano, we are grateful to Father Nicolas L. Rosal of the archdiocese of Nueva Segovia.) There is also in the archives a list of priests in the archdiocese, and after Aglipay's name is the word "cismático" and the date of his ordination: 21 Dec. 1889.

43 Espasa Encyclopedia universal ilustrada europeo americana appendice V, 709-711. Mons. García Cezon resigned his position as vicar apostolic in Central Tonking in 1879 and thereafter lived in retirement in Manila. Of course, a bishop, even in retirement, remains a bishop and may exercise the power of orders (if properly authorized) although he no longer enjoys any jurisdiction.
Dismissorial letter allowing Aglipay to be ordained in Manila by Bishop Cezon
DATA ON GREGORIO AGLIPAY

AGLIPAY AND GOGEASCOEHEA

This last point is interesting because it gives a rather comic commentary on the following effusion from a certain Llanes:

He [Aglipay] was fond, however, of engaging his professors in heated discussions on metaphysics and the Canon Law. As a consequence he drew the ire of the Vicar General of the Seminary (sic), Jose Gomez (sic) Gojoescoeshea (sic). When he took the examination given by a synodal assembly (sic!) presided over by Gojoescoeshea (sic), Aglipay demonstrated the Vicar General’s ignorance of moral Theology. Exposed as a fraud, Goejoescoeshea (sic) persecuted him all the more.*

AGLIPAY AND NOZALED

There is another interesting point with regard to Aglipay’s ordination. He was not ordained by Archbishop Nozale. Aglipay was ordained on 21 December 1889. Nozale did not become a bishop until 1890. He was consecrated in Spain, took possession of the archdiocese of Manila by proxy on 29 October 1890, and arrived in Manila in 1891. These facts would seem to dispose of the statement by Wise that what aided Aglipay in being ordained was the fact that Nozale, the archbishop, had been his former teacher in Letran. That may well have been the case, but it is hardly relevant. Nozale was not yet consecrated archbishop and was not even in the Philippines when Aglipay was ordained.

AGLIPAY AND SANCHEZ LUNA

There is also a statement by Isabelo de los Reyes Jr. that “through the mediation of his ‘padrino’ the Rev. Faustino

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* Comment no. 4 loc. cit.

45 Hilario Maria Ocio Compendio de la reseña biográfica de los Religiosos de la provincia del Santísimo Rosario de Filipinas (Manila 1895) pp. 1057-1058, gives the following data on Archbishop Bernardino Nozale O.P.: (a) appointed archbishop by Pope Leo XIII on 27 May 1889; (b) sailed for Spain with Father Hevia on 11 June of that year; (c) was consecrated in the cathedral of Oviedo on 13 April 1890; (d) took possession of his archiepiscopal seat of Manila by proxy (per procuratorem) on 29 November of that year; (e) made his solemn entry into his see on 10 February 1891.

46 Wise op. cit. p. 50.
Sanchez de Luna... Aglipay was *allowed* to be ordained a presbyteer (sic) in Manila. Again that may well have been the case. But there is a very simple explanation for Aglipay's being ordained in Manila by a visiting bishop. He was ordained in Manila because there was no bishop in Vigan. That was why the vicar general of Vigan issued to him the necessary authorization to be ordained in Manila.

There are, incidentally, some documents in the archives concerning the "padrino" in question, Faustino Sánchez Luna. Some of it is to his credit, some of it not. There is a letter patent from Nozaleda which contains Sánchez Luna's *curriculum vitae*. The letter bears the date 9 December 1898. Sánchez Luna is referred to as 59 years of age, which would put his birth in 1839. He must have been a man of no mean attainments, having obtained the magistral canonry of the Manila cathedral despite strong competition. There is however another document entitled *Expediente instruido contra el Magistral Don Faustino Sánchez Luna*.48

**THE Vigan Seminary**

There is a document in the Manila archives entitled *Plan de almas del Obispado de Nva. Segovia correspondiente al año 1890*.49 In this manuscript we find the section: "Seminario Conciliar de Vigan. Se halla a cargo de los RR. PP. Agustinos Descalzos." There follows a list of the professors. The "Agustinos Descalzos" are of course the "Recoletos." They were in charge of the Vigan seminary from 1882 to 1895.60 As Aglipay most probably entered the seminary in 1883,61 and as he was

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48 File 569-B. There are other similar documents about other priests, some of whom were involved in the schismatic or pre-schismatic movement.

49 120-A leg. F.


51 This is the most probable date. See "El Sr. Gregorio Aglipay, Gobernador Eclesiástico de la Diócesis de Nueva Segovia" in *La república filipina* (Jueves, 15 de diciembre, 1898).
VISTO LO ESPONTÁNEO SE LA PRESENTA INSTANCIA INTERVINIENTE PARA EL ARCHIDIACONO D. OLIVIERO AGILPAY, HACIENDO DE PLENO DIPUTADO, EN LA JUNTA DEL GOBIERNO DE MANILA, LA SÚPlica AL GOBIERNO DE MANILA PARA QUE SE DESENNUEVA Y CORRIGA EL DOCUMENTO MANIATADO DE LOS ACTOS DE ALLEGADO, DE ORDOY, DE TRIBUNAL DE POLICÍA Y DEL AUTORIZADO SE DESEMPEÑE Y SE DESEMPEÑE AL INTERESADO DE SU DERECHO ORIGINAL.

[Signature]

[Seal]

The archbishop's decree, dated 19 February 1898, granting Aglipay permission to stay two months in Manila
The archbishop's reply, 24 May 1898, to Aglipay's letter of 23 May
ordained in 1889, his whole seminary training at Vigan was under the Recoletos. Osias' reference to the seminary as "Dominican" must be an oversight. Let us leave it at that.

52 The Vigan seminary changed hands frequently. From 1872 to 1876 it was under the Paules; from 1876 to 1882 under the Augustinians; from 1882 to 1895 under the Recoletos; and then back again to the Augustinians until they had to flee before the revolutionists. On the seminary under the Paules, see Father Gracia's article in the Boletín eclesiástico (1932) 186-202.

The Documents

The facts discussed in the foregoing article were gathered from thirty-eight documents preserved among thousands of others in the Manila archdiocesan archives. To our knowledge these documents have not hitherto been published: we are publishing them here for the first time.

The documents are bundled together into dockets (legajos) which however present an amazing variety in form and content: bound books, papers stitched together, loose sheets, etc., and of course the size of the sheets vary widely. We give here the docket and page number of each document where these are numbered. We use the abbreviations leg. and fol. for docket and page respectively, and the letter v for the the reverse of the page.

To His Excellency the Archbishop of Manila and to the authorities at the seminary in Guadalupe, Makati, Rizal we wish to reiterate our appreciation for allowing us to search through the archives and for placing these papers at our disposal.

P. S. de Achúteguí
M. A. Bernad
I. ASSIGNMENTS TO THE PARISHES

Document 1

Vicaria Foranea de Cavite

Excmo. Sr. — Por la atenta comunicación de V. E. quedo enterado del nombramiento del Presbítero D. Gregorio Aglipay para Coadjutor de la Parroquia de Indan en sustitución de D. Benito Mojica que con igual cargo pasa a la de Naic. Dios...

Imus, Abril 21 de 1890.
Fr. José Ma. Leaste

Document 2

Octubre 30

Sor. Dto. [sic] Cura interino de Yndan. — Con esta fecha hemos nombrado Coadjutor de la parroquia de Indan (de la provincia de) [sic el paréntesis] al Pbro. Dn. Estevan [sic] Avilés, en sustitución de Dn. Gregorio Aglipay, a quien ordenará a [sic] V. de nuestra parte que tan pronto sea relevado se presente en este nuestro [v] Palacio Arzobispal. — Lo que participamos...
Fr. Bernardino, Arzpo.

Document 3

Octubre 30

[23v] quedando dado de baja en este ultimo pueblo el Coadjutor Don Gregorio Aglipay

Document 4

R. P. Vicario Foráneo y Cura Párroco de Imus. — Con esta fecha hemos nombrado Coad [fol. 22] jutor de la parroquia de Naic, en esa Vicaría de su muy digno cargo al Pbro. Dn. Valentín Velasco, en sustitución de D. Esteban Avilés, que pasa a la de Indang en releva de Dn. Gregorio Aglipay que queda dado de baja en esa provincia. — Lo que participamos... Fr. Bernardino, Arzpo.

Document 5

Noviembre 4

DATA ON GREGORIO AGLIPAY  

Document 6  

Vicaría Foránea de Cavite  

E. e. I. S.  

Por la muy respetable comunicación de V.S.I. fecha 30 de octubre pasado quedo enterado ha nombrado Coadjutores de Naic e Indang a los presbíteros D. Valentín Velasco y D. Estevan [sic] Avilés respectivamente, siendo baja en esta provincia el Presbítero D. Gregorio Aglipay. Dios... Imus Nov. 20, de 1891.  

Fr. José Ma. Leaste  

Document 7  

Fr. Juan Arriola (?) to the archbishop, Gapan, 19 Feb. 1892:  

Los Sacerdotes seculares Coadjutores de las Parroquias de esta Vicaría han hecho los santos ejercicios según dispuesto por V. S. Ilma. and among the names: D. Gregorio Aglipay  

Document 8  

Octubre 4  

Sor. Presbítero Don Gregorio Aglipay. — Por exigirlo así el mejor servicio de la Iglesia, venimos en disponer se traslade V. a la parroquia de Bocaue, en la provincia de Bulacan, para desempeñar en ella el cargo de Coadjutor, en sustitución de Don Hilario de Guzman. — Lo que participamos a V.R. [sic] para su conocimiento y fines consiguientes, sirviéndole la presente de nombramiento con la precisa condición de que deberá vd. vivir en la casa parroquial. — Dios etc... Fr. Bernardino, Arzpo.  

Document 9-13  

Under the same date the foregoing appointment is communicated to:  

(a) al R. Cura Párroco de Bocaue en Bulacan;  
(b) [fol. 170] al R. P. Vicario Foráneo y Cura Párroco de Polo;  
(c) al R. P. Vicario Foráneo y Cura Párroco de Gapung, Na. EciJa [sic];  
(e) al Sor. Intendente Gral de Hacienda de estas Islas.  

Document 14  

Parroquia de S. Martín Obispo, Bocaue.  

Eccmo. e Illmo. Señor:  

Tengo el honor de comunicar a V.E.I. como hoy día de la fecha ha llegado a este pueblo el presbítero D. Gregorio Aglipay, nombrado Coadjutor de esta parroquia y ha quedado etalado [sic] en esta Casa Parroquial.  

Dios... Bocaue 14 de Octubre de 1892. Fr. Cipriano Bac [?]
Document 15

To Gregorio Aglipay from Dr. Silvino L. Tuñon in the name of the Ecclesiastical Governor S[ede] P[lena] 29 Feb. 1896:

venimos en disponer se traslade v. a la mayor brevedad posible a la parroquia de S. Pablo, en la provincia de la Laguna para desempeñar en ella el Cargo de Coadjutor

P.A. de S.E.I. el Gobr Ecco. S.P. — Dr. Silvino L. Tuñon

Documents 16-21

Under same date the above appointment communicated to:
(a) [fol. 208] al R.P. Cura Párroco de Bocaue;
(b) [fol. 208] al Vicerio Foráneo y Cura párroco de Obando;
(c) al Cura Párroco de Bulacan y habilitado del Clero secular;
(e) [fol. 209] Al Vicerio Foráneo y Cura Párroco de Sta. Cruz de Laguna;
(f) Al cura Párroco de San Pablo Laguna.

Document 22

Parroquia de S. Martin Obispo. Bocaue.

Muy Ilustre Señor:

Tengo el honor de poner en conocimiento de V.S. como hoy día de la fecha ha salido de esta parroquia para la de San. Pablo en la Laguna, el presbítero D. Gregorio Aglipay para tomar posesión de su nuevo cargo de Coadjutor de dicha Parroquia.

Dios gue. a V.S. ms. as.
Bocaue 4 de marzo de 1896

[firmado] Fr. Cipriano Brac [?]

Muy Ilustre Sr. Gobernador Eclesiástico del Arzobispado de Manila.

Document 23

Sr. Pbro. D. Gregorio Aglipay. — Por exigirlo asi el mejor servicio de la Iglesia venimos en disponer se traslade vd. a la parroquia de Victoria, en la provincia de Tarlac, para desempeñar en ella el cargo de Coadjutor, en sustitución de Dn. Pedro Paredes. — Lo que participamos a Vd. para su conocimiento y fines consiguientes, sirviéndole la presente de nombramiento con la precisa condición de que deberá V. vivir en la casa parroquial. — Dios etc. — Fr. Bernardino, Arzobispo.
DATA ON GREGORIO AGLIPAY

29 Diciembre

R. Cura Párroco de Victoria. — Con fecha 15 del actual hemos nombrado Coadjutor de esa parroquia de su digno cargo al Pbro. Dn. Gregorio Aglipay en sustitución de Dn Pedro Paredes. — Lo que participamos a V.R. para su conocimiento y fines consiguientes, advirtiéndole que de acuerdo con su Prelado Regular hemos dispuesto el mencionado nombramiento con la precisa condición de que el interesado ha [fol. 269] de vivir en la casa parroquial, proporcionándole V.R. habitación en la misma. Dios etc... — Fr. Bernardino Arzobispo.

Document 25

Idem to "Vicario Foráneo y Cura Párroco de Tarlac" informing him of said appointment "for the effects corresponding."

Document 26

Idem to Ecm. [sic] Sr. Intendente General de Hacienda de estas Islas" informing him of said appointment.

para su conocimiento y fines consiguientes, rogándole encarecidamente se digne ordenar que esta comunicación se trascriba a los Centros de Contabilidad correspondiente para los efectos del cobro de haber de los interesados

Documents 27-28

Idem to "Cura Párroco de San Pablo" and [v] to "Vicario Foráneo, Cura Párroco de Sta. Cruz de la Laguna" likewise advising them of said appointment.

II. AGLIPAY'S FATHER'S ILLNESS

Document 29

Arzobispado de Manila.
Manila 23 de Julio de 1895.

Habiéndose presentado en ésta el Pbro. Dn Gregorio Aglipay, Coadjutor de la parroquia de Bocaue, en Bulacan, en súplica de doce días de licencia para poder trasladarse al pueblo de Dagupan, en donde, según dice, se halla su padre gravísimamente enfermo; y contando para ello, como dice que cuenta, con el permiso verbal de su Párroco; por las presentes venimos en conceder al mencionado Pbro. la licencia solicitada. En su virtud, líbrese por Secretaría copia de este nuestro Decreto al recurrent [v] y a su párroco y archívese original.

[Sello y firma] Fr. Bernardino, Arzpo. Por mandado de S.E.I. el Arzobispo mi Sor. Tomas G. Feijoo
III. SICKNESS OF THE EYES

Document 30

Eccmo. e Illmo. Señor.

Dn. Gregorio Aglipay Pbro. secular de este Arzobispado y Coadjutor de Victoria de la Prova. de Tarlac. a V.E.I. con el más debido respeto se presenta y expone. Que padeciendo de una coroiditis [sic, subrayado] del ojo derecho le es absolutamente necesario para atender con medios adecuados a su curación permanecer por más tiempo en esta capital como acredita el adjunto certifico.

Por tanto,
a V.E.Y. humildemente ruega y suplica se digne a bien concederle dos meses de licencia para los fines arriba indicados.

Es gracia [v] que no duda alcanzar de la notoria bondad y generosos sentimientos de V.E.I. cuya importante vida Dios güe. muchos años.

Manila a 18 de febrero de 1898.

[firma autógrafa] Gregorio Aglipay

Document 31

Don Mariano G. Tornel Licenciado en Medicina y Cirugía con residencia y ejercicio en esta capital:

Certifico que D. Gregorio Aglipay coadjutor del pueblo de Victoria de la provincia de Tarlac, padece una coroiditis del ojo derecho para cuya curación le es absolutamente necesario permanecer en esta capital durante dos meses para poder atender con medios adecuados al restablecimiento de su salud.

Y para que pueda hacerlo constar expido esta cer [v] tificación en Manila a diez y siete de Febrero de mil ochocientos noventa y ocho.

[Carta y firma autógrafas] Mariano G. Tornel

Document 32

Manila 19 de Febrero de 1898

Visto lo expuesto en la precedente instancia presentada por el Presbítero D. Gregorio Aglipay, Coadjutor del pueblo de Victoria, en la Provincia de Tarlac, con lo certificado sobre el particular por D. Mariano G. Tornel licenciado en medicina y cirujía, concedemos nuestra licencia al referido Pbro. para permanecer por el tiempo de dos meses en esta Capital, a fin de atender al restablecimiento de su salud.
DATA ON GREGORIO AGLIPAY

En su consecuencia librese por Secretaria copia de este nuestro Decreto, al R. Cura Parroco de Victoria y al interesado y archívese original.

[Sello y firma del] Arzpo.

Por mandado de S.E.I. el Arzobispo mi Señor.
Tomás G. Feijoo, Srio.

Documento 33

Excmo. e Iltmo. Sr. Arzobispo de esta Diocesis de Manila.

Dn. Gregorio Aglipay, Pbro. Coadjutor del pueblo de Victoria (Tarlac) ante V.E. Iltma. manifiesta respetuosamente: que terminándose la licencia que disfruta para estar en esta Capital el dia 19 del actual, y no estando aun completamente restablecido de las dolencias que le aquejan aunque se siente algo mejor que antes, necesita según el Médico que le asiste dos meses más de curación. En vista de lo expuesto a V. E. Iltma. suplica humildemente se digne prorogarle conforme tiene expuesto. Gracia que no duda merecer de la bondad de V.E. Iltma cuya vida gue. Dios m. a.

Manila, 18 de Abril de 1898
Excmo e Iltmo. Sr.

[firmado y rubricado] Gregorio Aglipay

Document 34

En vista de lo expuesto en la precedente instancia presentada por el Pbro. Dn. Gregorio Aglipay, Coadjutor del pueblo de Victoria, en la provincia de Tarlac, con lo certificado sobre el particular por el Médico Sr. D. Gumersindo del Valle; venimos por las presentes en prorrogar por dos meses más la licencia que al referido Presbítero le fue concedida por este Arzobispado en 19 de Febrero próximo pasado, para permanecer en esta Capital a fin de atender en ella al restablecimiento de su salud. Tráscríbase por Secretaría este nuestro Decreto al R. Cura Pco. de Victoria y al interesado y archívese original.

Ef.

[v] nila, 21 de Abril de 1898.

Por mandado de S.E.I. el Arzobispo mi Señor.
Tomas G. Feijoo,
Srio.

[firmado y rubricado]
Document 35

Photostatic copy on p. 187

At top left:
(Sello)
Fabrica N 1.
de la Moneda y Timbre
1898 y 99

At top middle:
(Sello)
102
25 C. de PESO

At top right:
N.1. 388.652

Don Gumersindo del Valle, Catedrático de la Facultad de Medicina, Vice-Presidente de la Junta Superior de Sanidad, Laureado por oposición de la Universidad C de Madrid etc. etc.

Certifico: que Dn. Gregorio Aglipay, Presbítero Coadjutor, padece de una enfermedad de la vista diagnosticada de esclero-coroiditis, que le imposibilita por ahora, el poder dedicarse a las ocupaciones ordinarias de la vida, y mucho menos en su profesión sacerdotal. Y para que conste lo firme en Manila a veinte de Abril de mil ochocientos noventa y ocho,

[firmado y rubricado] Dr. Gumersindo del Valle

IV. THE LETTER OF 23 MAY 1898

Document 36

Separate sheet, double, not sewn to the rest. The signature and rubric alone are in autograph.
Photostatic copy on p. 192

Excmo. e Ilmo. Sr.

D. Gregorio Aglipay, sacerdote del Clero secular de esta Diócesis, ante V.E.Y. respetuosamente se presenta y expone: Que estando para terminar mis ambas licencias de celebrar y confesar el 29 del actual y no habiéndome sido posible ni conveniente dedicarme al repaso o estudio por seguir la prescripción facultativa y por críticas-circunstancias del tiempo que atraviesa el país, A.V.E. Ilma. acudo, suplicando humildemente que, habiendo esto por presentado se digne prorogármelas, si su ilustrado criterio estime procedente.

Gracia que no dudo merecer de la notoria bondad de V.E., cuya vida guarde Dios muchos años.

Manila 23 de Mayo de 1898

Excmo. e Ilmo. Sor.

[firma y rúbrica autógrafa] Gregorio Aglipay

Excmo. e Ilmo. Sor. Arzobispo de esta Diócesis.
DATA ON GREGORIO AGLIPAY

Document 37

At the bottom of the preceding
and then on reverse
Photostatic copy on p. 200

Ma-

[v] nila 24 de Mayo, de 1898
Proróguensele al suplicante las licencias de celebrar y confesar
con las facultades acostumbradas hasta el 29 de Noviembre del pre-
sente año.
Mf Arzpo [con rúbrica] Por mandado de S.E.I.
(Sello) el Arzobispo mi Señor
Tomas G. Feijoo, Srio.
[firmado y rubricado]

Sentado en el libro de la razón [?] No 1610

V. DIMISSORIAL FOR ORDINATION

Document 38

Leg. 21 A
See photostatic copy on pp. 195-96.

Official document bearing number
At top middle:

N. O. 769.095

SELLO 10o A8 1888 y 89
(Figura)
25 C. de PESO

Nos, el Licenciado Don Jose de Gogeascoechea y Jauregui, Pbro., Pro-
visor y Vicario General de este Obispado de Nueva Segovia, Sede
Vacante, Abogado de los Tribunales del Reino etc. etc.

Por las presentes y en virtud de autorización especial que
tenemos del Ilmo. y Rmo. Sr. D. Fr. Arsenio Campo Obispo de
Nueva Cáceres y Gobernador Apostólico de esta Diócesis, con-
cebemos a D. Gregorio Aglipay, Diácono, natural de Batac,
provincia de Ilocos Norte, nuestro consentimiento ratione originis
para que por el Ilmo. y Rmo. Sr. D. Fr. Bernabe García Cezon
Obispo de Biblios, puede conferirsele el Sagrado Orden de Pres-
biterado, en las proximas temporas de Sta. Tomas, o bien extra
tempora a cuyo efecto del expediente instruido, ha resultado ser
digno de ///
/// dicha gracia.

Dadas en el Palacio Episcopal de Vigan, firmadas de Nos,
selladas con el de este Provisorato y Vicaria General y refren-
dadas por el infrascrito Secretario de Camara y Gobierno de
da Diócesis a trece de Diciembre de mil ochocientos ochenta y
nueve.

SELLO
Provto. y
Vica. Genal.
de Na. Segoa.

Lic. Jose de Gogeascoechea (fdo.)
(y rubricado)

Por mandado de S.I.
Eduardo Probanza
Srio
(fmdo. y rubricado)