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The Struggles of the Native Clergy in Pampanga (1771-77)
LUCIANO P. R. SANTIAGO

INDIGENIZATION OF THE AUGUSTINIAN PARISHES
(1771-1772)

One of the controversial achievements of Archbishop Basilio Sancho de Santas Justa y Rufina (1767-1787) was his successful enforcement of the visitation of parishes held by the religious orders. Where his predecessors had failed due to lack of cooperation from the civil government, Archbishop Sancho prevailed in close alliance with two successive Governors-General, Raón and Anda, who were also determined to impose the corollary system of royal patronage on the friars.¹ But it was a success which took a heavy toll, not only on the seasoned protagonists themselves, but even more so on the nameless native clergy who were thrust into the controversy.

In 1768 during the term of Raón, the banishment of the Jesuits, the principal opponents of regal prerogatives, was put into effect by royal decree. In the same year, the Dominicans were deprived of their curacies in Manila and Bataan for rejecting patronage, although they had accepted visitation. The next were the Augustinians who rejected both patronage and visitation. Thus, they were dealt a more severe blow in 1771 during the incumbency of Anda. For this momentous event, our standard reference has been the letter of an anonymous Franciscan to an exiled Jesuit written right after the episode.

1. John N. Schumacher, "The Eighteenth Century Filipino Clergy: A Footnote to De la Costa," in Horacio de la Costa and John N. Schumacher, *The Filipino Clergy: Historical Studies and Future Perspectives* (Manila: Loyola School of Theology, 1979), pp. 60-78.

(In the Manila Council of 1771), it furthermore was decreed that Bishop de Luna should be wrested from his see, and all the Augustinian fathers driven from their parishes. Accordingly, on October 22 and 28 of the year 1771, a large body of soldiery sent therefor from the City of Manila by the governor, gave to thirty-one Indian clerics the parishes of the Augustinian fathers, whom they led away as prisoners after having pillaged their homes in the name of the King, and substituted the said Indian clerics in their place. The same fate that befell the Augustinian fathers was destined for us Franciscans; but, rather than be taken away as prisoners we all abandoned our homes and our parishioners, and went up to our convent on a mountain, where we purposed to struggle with hunger and hardships until God should otherwise dispose of us . . .

They rejoice since they have driven very many religious away from their ministries; but it is greatly to be feared that their joy will soon be turned into mourning. For all the Pampangos, the people who occupy the most fertile and extensive region about the city of Manila—who are the bravest of all the Indians, and excel the rest in religious fervor—are stirring up a revolt against the governor, the archbishop, the Indian clerics, and all their partisans, all of whom they threaten with death. They seem already to have leagued themselves with the Moros, to whom they have already given as captives five of the Indian clerics thrust upon them, in exchange for five Spanish soldiers, besides asking for the Augustinian fathers who were taken away from them by force.²

Unfortunately, since this letter was penned in near-panic from second-hand information, it turned out to be grossly inaccurate. The complete original records of the whole process are well preserved though they have been ignored for more than two centuries at the archdiocesan archives.³

On 24 October 1771, at the request of Anda, the archbishop named twenty-two—not thirty-one—native priests to replace the Augustinians provisionally in their Pampanga parishes. No coadjutors were appointed at this time. His Grace also drew up a long list of admonitions for the clergy to follow in their new assignments. With this assurance, the Governor signed the decree of expulsion of the friars the following day. He then sent detailed in-

2. Emma H. Blair and James A. Robertson, *The Philippine Islands*, vol. 50 (Cleveland: Clark 1903-1909), pp. 319-21; John N. Schumacher, *Readings in Philippine Church History* (Quezon City: Ateneo de Manila University, 1977), pp. 203-4.

3. Archives of the Archdiocese of Manila (henceforth AAM), "Año de 1771. Diligencias instruidas de la remoción y substitución de los Religiosos Augustinos Calzados en la Provincia de la Pampanga." *Expedientes sobre Diferentes Materias* (henceforth EDM) (1730-79); *Libro del Gobierno Eclesiástico* (henceforth I.GE) (1767-71), Doc. 1010.

structions to the *alcalde mayor* of Pampanga, Don Pedro Joseph de Diaz, regarding the manner of execution of the decree, and put him in command of a company of soldiers in the Infantry Division of the King's Regiment. He further pledged his protection and assistance to the Augustinians during the proceedings and on their return trip to Manila.

On the other hand, probably to expedite the transition, Anda made the arbitrary declaration that "all properties belong to the church since the Augustinians take the vow of poverty." Consequently, the controversy dragged on much longer than it should have since, as expected, the Augustinians formally contested this particular policy all the way to Madrid until they obtained a favorable ruling from the king.

Representing the archbishop were the vicar general, Doctor Don Joseph Thomas de Quessada and the most eminent Indio priest in the hierarchy, Bachiller Don Maximo Ignacio, the first Indio rector of the Manila cathedral and the first Indio secretary of the archdiocese. From 28 October to 5 December, starting from the Capital of Bacolor, the awesome caravan of ecclesiastical and civil commissioners proceeded from town to town. (See accompanying map). The entire process transpired in an orderly manner thanks to the magnanimous cooperation of the Augustinians themselves and the town officials. No one was taken prisoner and no pillage was committed by the soldiers, since every single church holding was accounted for and inventoried to the last detail in front of the commissioners and the friars themselves. Notwithstanding Anda's policy on properties, some of the friars still claimed personal possessions, especially books, which they were allowed to keep after inventory. Only one Augustinian, Fray Melchor Xamardo, panicked and fled from his curacy in Macabebe. But he left behind his vicar, Fray Augustin Sarsamendi, who participated in the turnover like the rest of their colleagues. However, Sarsamendi was the only one who refused to sign the documents for the simple reason that he was not the parish priest. The Augustinian historian, Fray Joaquin Martinez de Zuñiga writing thirty years after the event, also claimed that his brothers were arrested and their properties were confiscated.⁴ The second but not the first claim is suggested by the original records.

4. Joaquin Martinez de Zuñiga. *Estadismo de las Islas Filipinas* (1806). (Madrid: 1893). 2:478; idem., *An Historical View of the Philippine Islands* (1803), trans. John

Aggravating the privations of the friars was the fact cited in the letter of the Franciscan that the Pampangos were held in higher esteem by the Spaniards than the rest of the Indios including the Tagalogs. But precisely because of their religious excellence, it is very unlikely that they exhibited the unchristian behavior ascribed to "all" of them by the writer.

The edict for competitive examinations for the vacant curacies was issued in series on 31 January and 5 February 1772. The provisional parish priests, therefore, served for about six months until the proprietary pastors were carefully chosen and appointed on 14 May. None of the interim priests were lost in any way, certainly not by capture by the Moros since they can all be traced at the time of the changing of the ministers and afterwards. Furthermore, five Augustinians led by Fray Gabriel Omar, decided to submit to visitation and the patronato on their own accord and thus obtained pastorships, reducing the number of vacant parishes to seventeen.⁵ Of this maverick group, we will hear more later.

The accompanying table shows the Augustinian curacies in Pampanga in transition from the original to the interim to the new proprietary parish priests. Except for the five Spanish friars who clung to the parishes, all the rest were native priests ranging in racial classification from Indio to Chinese and Spanish mestizos. While in the interim group there were only five Pampangos (both Indios and mestizos) out of twenty-two, their number increased in the proprietary group to nine out of seventeen. Considering regional preferences, this composition must have made the group as a whole more acceptable to the natives. Moreover, of the twenty-two acting pastors, fourteen were ordained by Sancho from 1768 to 1770 and the rest (eight) had been ordained before his term. However, in the permanent group, eleven out of seventeen were his ordines.⁶

The five most prominent names in the list were: B.D. Nicolas Dorotheo Masangcay y Coronel, a promising ordinee of Archbishop Rojo, who was transferred as parish priest of Abucay and

Maver (Manila: Filipiniana Book Guild, 1966). p. 218.

5. AAM, *LGE* (1772-83) folios 2, 3v, 16.

6. AAM, *LGE* (1767-71) and (1772-83) passim; *Catálogos del Clero Secular* (henceforth *CCS*) 1762 and 1776; Salvador P. Escoto and John N. Schumacher. "Filipino Priests of the Archdiocese of Manila, 1782" *PS* 24 (1976): 326-343; Elviro Perez. *Catálogo Bio-Bibliográfico de los Religiosos Augustinos*. . . (Manila: Sto. Tomas, 1901) passim.

Transition of the Parishes of Pampanga (1771-1772)

Parish	Augustinian Pastor	Date of Turn-over	Interim Pastor	RC	Year of Ordn.	Proprietary Pastor (appointed 14 May 1772)	RC	Year of Ordn.
1. Apalit	RPF Juan Altolaquirre (1725-1773)	29 Nov. 1771	BD Mariano Salamat (ca. 1745-ca. 1775)	IT	1770	BD Antonio Ubaldo Bondoc (1744-1801)	IP	1768
2. Arayat	RPF Andres Patiño (1738-1823)	6 Nov. 1771	BD Domingo Perez (1725-ca. 1784)	IT	1756	BD Remigio Boyson (1746-ca. 1796)	MP	1771
3. Bacolor	RPF Manuel Villalba (ca. 1731-1772)	28 Oct. 1771	BD Julian Galang (1741-1808) Vicar Forane	IT	ca. 1765	BD Nicolas Dorotheo Masangcay (1736-1795) Vicar Forane	IP	1760
4. Betis	RPF Francisco Gonzalez (1741-1812)	1 Nov. 1771	BD Antonio Ubaldo Bondoc (1744-1801)	IP	1768	BD Juan Carpio (1744-1777)	MP	1768
5. Candava	RPF Pedro Fregre (ca. 1719-1790)	26 Nov. 1771	BD Pablo Franco (1744-1798)	ME	1768	BD Antonio Toya (1721-1774)	MS	1754
6. Gapang	RPF Nicolás Ripoll (1720-1781)	8 Nov. 1771	BD Fernando de la Cruz (1742-1783)	IT	ca. 1768	Ldo. D. Geronimo Aguas (1721-1782)	IP	ca.1765
7. Guagua	RPF Lorenzo Barrera (1697-1782)	28 Oct. 1771	BD Juan Carpio (ca. 1743-1777)	MP	1768	RFF Gabriel Omar (1738-1796)	E	?
8. Lubao	RPF Diego Noguero (1699-1785)	31 Oct. 1771	BD Martin Victoria (ca. 1748-1772)	?	ca.1768	BD Manuel Zepherino Aguas (ca.1746-ca.1800)	IP	1771
9. Macabebe	RPF Melchor Xamardo (1728- ?)	30 Nov. 1771	BD Antonio Joseph Flores (1719-ca.1785)	IT	1755	BD Julian Galang (1741-1808)	IP	ca.1765

10. Magalang	RPF Joseph Villalonga (1742-1780)	25 Nov. 1771	BD Nicolas Antonio (ca. 1743-ca.1780)	?	1768	BD Manuel Clemente (1722-1779)	IP	ca.1765
11. México	RPF Manuel Sarradel (1727-1790)	5 Dec. 1771	Ldo. D. Geronimo Aguas (1721-1782)	IP	ca.1765	RPF Manuel Sarradel (1727-1790)	E	?
12. Minalin	RPF Joachin Sales (1731-1798)	30 Oct. 1771	Ldo. D. Lorenzo Malaca (ca.1743-1781)	IT	1768	DD Manuel Francisco Tubil (1742-1804)	IP	1771
13. San Fernando	RPF Alberto Tabares (1741-1796)	2 Nov. 1771	BD Blas Antonio Rufino (1733-ca. 1785)	MS	1754	RPF Manuel Soler (1733-1781)	E	?
14. San Jose	RPF Domingo Belveser (1732-1788)	22 Nov. 1771	BD Joseph Manuel Lahom (1740-1777)	IT	1768	BD Joseph Manuel Lahom (1740-1777)	IT	1768
15. San Luis	RPF Sebastian Moren (1736-1778)	29 Nov. 1771	BD Joseph de Leon y San Pedro (1738-1775)	ME	ca.1765	RPF Domingo Belveser (1732-1788)	E	?
16. San Miguel	RPF Manuel de Rivera (1745-1799)	27 Nov. 1771	BD Paulino Saret (1730-ca.1785)	IT	ca.1765	Ldo. D. Lorenzo Malaca (ca.1743-1781)	IT	1768
17. San Simon	RPF Francisco de Medalla (1697-1781)	29 Nov. 1771	BD Sebastian de Lara (1741-ca.1785)	IT	1770	BD Joseph de Leon y San Pedro (1738-1775)	ME	ca.1765
18. Sta. Ana	RPF Mathias Octavio (1743- ?)	6 Nov. 1771	BD Diego Eugenio Gutierrez (1741-ca.1827)	IT	1770	RPF Mariano Alafont (1724-1788)	E	?

Parish	Augustinian Pastor	Date of Turn-over	Interim Pastor	RC	Year of Ordn.	Proprietary Pastor (appointed 14 May 1772)	RC	Year of Ordn.
19. Sta. Rita y Porac	RPF Manuel Soler (1733-1781)	3 Dec. 1771	BD Vizente Eustachio (1744-1796)	IT	1768	BD Vizente Eustachio (1744-1796)	IT	1768
20. Santor y Bongabong	RPF Manuel de la Guareña (1740-1773)	11 Nov. 1771	BD Juan Roque del Castillo (1744-1807)	IT	1769	BD Martin Victoria (1744-1772)	?	1768
21. Sesmoan	RPF Francisco Alvarez (1705-ca.1772)	31 Oct. 1771	BD Remigio Eguiluz de Guzman (1746-ca.1786)	IP	1770	BD Juan Cabrera (1744-ca.1806)	IT	1768
22. Tarlac	RPF Juan António Guiraldes (1741-1786)	24 Nov. 1771	BD Nicolás de Leon (1734-ca.1785)	IT	ca.1765	BD Diego Eugenio Gutierrez (1741-ca.1827)	IT	1770

Abbreviations used in table and text:

BD	–	Bachiller Don	Ldo. D.	–	Licenciado Don
DD	–	Doctor Don	ME	–	Mestizo Español
E	–	Español	MP	–	Mestizo Pampango (i.e., Chinese-Pampango Mestizo)
II	–	Indio Ilocano	MS	–	Mestizo de Sangley (i.e., Chinese Mestizo)
IP	–	Indio Tagalo	RC	–	Racial Classification
IT	–	Indio Tagalo	RPF	–	Reverendo Padre Fray

vicar forane of Bataan to the vicariate of Pampanga; B.D. Julian Galang, Masangcay's predecessor as vicar forane of Pampanga; B.D. Manuel Francisco Tubil, the first Indio Doctor of Sacred Theology who had just graduated from the University of Santo Tomas; B.D. Juan Carpio who had served as president of San Carlos Seminary; and B.D. Remigio Eguiluz de Guzman, who was appointed ecclesiastical notary of the vicariate. There were also two licentiates, Don Geronimo Aguas and Don Lorenzo Malaca. All of them except Malaca, were Pampangos.⁷

ARCHBISHOP SANCHO'S DENUNCIATION OF THE
NATIVE CLERGY (1772) AND HIS RETRACTION OF IT
(1775).

It was exactly one month after he appointed the parish priests of Pampanga that the archbishop issued his pastoral letter dated 14 June 1772 denouncing the entire secular clergy of the archdiocese. Since it has often been quoted by church historians to confirm the incompetence and unworthiness of Sancho's ordinees, it is a pivotal document in the sad chronicles of the Filipino clergy.⁸

Its precise timing as well as the fact that the archbishop appended to it his original instructions to the Pampanga clergy dated 25 October 1771, indicates that he was referring mostly, if not exclusively, to the parish priests of that province. This conclusion is reinforced by the fact that Sancho wrote a similar though less dismal *exhortacion* to the six Filipino pastors of Bataan (only two of whom were his ordinees) on 26 May 1769. This was about six months after he had installed them there to replace the dispossessed Dominicans.⁹

7. Ibid.

8. Juan Ferrando and Joaquín Fonseca, *Historia de los PP. Dominicos en las Islas Filipinas*, vol. 5 (Madrid: Rivadeneyra, 1870), pp. 54-60; Horacio de la Costa, "The Development of the Native Clergy in the Philippines" (1949) in de la Costa and Schumacher, *The Filipino Clergy*, pp. 50-51. Schumacher, "The Eighteenth Century Filipino Clergy," p. 75; idem. *Readings*, pp. 204-5. De la Costa and Schumacher, however, quoted the wrong dates for this pastoral letter (25 Oct. 1771 and 20 May 1769, respectively). The date of the original document as published in full by Ferrando and Fonseca was 14 June 1772 which is quite crucial in the evaluation of this document.

9. Ferrando and Fonseca, *Historia*, pp. 51-54. The six Filipino pastors of Bataan were:

Besides his well-known penchant for hyperbole, Sancho also seems to have developed the defensive stance of preventing future troubles by making it appear as though they were already happening in the present to the persons concerned. Thus, when the king received copies of these reproachful epistles of Sancho most probably from the latter's opponents (pastoral letters are not submitted routinely to the king) and he was asked to explain them, he retracted them in no uncertain terms on 7 January 1775. He stated that his previous criticisms of Filipino priests were based on information which he later found to be false and that he wrote the letter with the end in view of saving his subordinates from committing such errors.¹⁰

This is not hard to believe considering the quality of correspondence of the critics of the native clergy. Witness, for example, the much-quoted letter of the anonymous Franciscan cited earlier and those of two Augustinians to be presented in the next sections. Undoubtedly, the sufferings of the Pampanga clergy, which will be discussed shortly, also enhanced the archbishop's appreciation of his priests there. But the best proofs yet of the truth and sincerity of Sancho's retraction are the biographies of his ordinees who served as parish priests in that province during this troubled period.¹¹

Since Sancho's official books are almost complete (except for the last four years of his term 1784-1787) and supplemented by an abundance of miscellaneous documents, we can trace the careers of all of his ordinees in this study up to the time of their deaths, either during his twenty-year term or during those of his successors. In fact, there was a high mortality rate among them

B.D. Nicolas Dorotheo Masangcay, parish priest of Abucay and vicar forane of Bataan (ordained in 1760);

B.D. Gregorio de Guzman, parish priest of Orion (ordained in ca. 1750);

B.D. Domingo Francisco de Ursua, parish priest of Samal (ordained in 1756);

B.D. Pantaleon de la Fuente, parish priest of Balanga (ordained in 1768);

B.D. Faustino Bautista, parish priest of Orani (ordained in ca. 1767); and

B.D. Modesto Patricio de los Santos, parish priest of Llanahermosa (ordained in ca. 1764). The ecclesiastical notary of the province was B.D. Juan Garcia (ordained in 1768). AAM, *LGE* (1747-50), 1755-56), (1759-64), (1767-71), passim.

10. Salvador P. Escoto. "The Ecclesiastical Controversy of 1767-1776: a Catalyst of Philippine Nationalism." *Journal of Asian History* 10 (1976): 133 as discussed in Schumacher, "The Eighteenth Century Filipino Clergy," p. 75.

11. AAM, *LGE* (1767-1771), (1772-1783), (1789-97), (1797-1803), (1803-1804), (1804-1806), (1815-1824) and (1824-1826) passim; *Libro de Ternas* (1806-1826) passim; *EDM* (1730-1779) and (1779-1799) *CCS* (1776, 1808 and 1812); Escoto and Schumacher "Filipino Priests," pp. 330-342.

which was first noted by Schumacher. Half of this particular group (nine out of nineteen) predeceased their ordaining prelate in their thirties and forties. Their average age was forty-nine.¹² The care of souls under the cloud of prejudice and other stresses was probably a heavy burden.

For comparison, one-third (seven out of twenty-two) of the former Augustinian pastors of Pampanga also died in their thirties and forties. Their average age was sixty.¹³

Contrary to the image painted by previous sources, all of Sancho's ordinees assigned in Pampanga, except one, fulfilled their responsibilities faithfully and capably till their deaths. In fact, in quality and quantity they were probably the most impressive group of Sancho's ordinees ever assembled in one ecclesiastical province in the eighteenth century. The lone exception was B.D. Manuel Zepherino Aguas who was suspended in 1781 from his parish of Lubao for negligence. He was denounced to the archbishop by the vicar forane and his province-mate, Dr. Tubil. This shows that the Pampanga group tried to monitor their own behavior in order to uphold the image and dignity of the Filipino clergy. However, it should be pointed out that even Aguas was later reinstated and henceforth records show that he acquitted himself quite well in his priestly duties.¹⁴

THE NATIVE CLERGY VERSUS THE ALCALDE MAYOR OF PAMPANGA (1772)

The adjustment to the drastic changes in Pampanga was undoubtedly quite difficult, not only for the native pastors but also for the parishioners. But it proved to be even more trying to the alcalde mayor Don Pedro Joseph de Diaz. He was understandably more used to dealing with priests of his own race and perhaps, he executed Anda's decree with great reluctance. With the Augustinians now out of the picture, he must have felt isolated in the province he governed. Unfortunately, the challenging situation did not bring out the best in him. The native priests felt so harassed

12. *Ibid.*; Schumacher, "Eighteenth Century Filipino Clergy."

13. Perez, *Catalogo*.

14. AAM, "Año de 1781. Diligencias pulsadas de la entrega del ministerio de Lubao y de la reducción de su cura parroco a la capital de Manila," EDM (1779-99).

Biographical Resumé of Archbishop Sancho's Ordinees Assigned in Pampanga (1771-1772).

Name	Year of Birth	Birthplace	Year of Ordination	Priestly Career	Year of death and age
B.D. Manuel Zepherino Aguas	ca.1746*	Bacolor, Pga.	1771	1772 PPP of Lubao 1781 suspension for negligence 1790 LCM for 5 years 1791 Ch. of Hda. of Jalajala 1794 LHC for 2 years 1795 LCM for 6 years 1796 LHC for 2 years 1797 Mil. Ch. of Tondo and Pangasinan	ca.1800 (54 yrs.)
B.D. Nicolás Antonio de San Vicente	ca.1743*	?	1768	1771-72 IPP of Magalang 1774 LCM for 2 years 1776 not included in CCS	ca.1775 (32 yrs.)
B.D. Antonio Ubaldo Bondoc	1744	Pga.	1768	1771-72 IPP of Betis 1772-1801 PPP of Apalit 1801 Left bequest to church of Apalit	1801 (57 yrs.)
B.D. Remigio Boyson	1746	Bacolor, Pga.	1771	1772-95 PPP of Arayat 1795 Resigned due to illness and became Ch. of S.J. de Dios Hospital	ca.1796 (50 yrs.)
B.D. Juan Damaceno Cabrera	1744	Quiapo, Manila	1771	1772-90 PPP of Sesmoan 1790-ca.1806 PPP of Masinloc, Zambales	ca.1806 (62 yrs.)

				1794-1803 Vic. For. of Zambales 1803-ca.1806 Chronically ill	
B.D. Juan Evangelista Carpio	ca.1743*	Pga.	1768	1768-72 Pres. of San Carlos Seminary 1771-72 IPP of Guagua 1772-73 PPP of Betis 1773-77 PPP of Bacolor and Pres. of the PPPs of Pga.	1777 (ca.34 yrs.)
B.D. Juan Roque del Castillo	1744	Quingua, Bulacan	1769	1771-72 IPP of Santor and Bongabong 1772-72 Coadj. of Bacolor 1772-73 of Bacolor 1773-1807 PPP of Betis	1807 (63 yrs.)
B.D. Fernando de la Cruz	1742	(Tagalog region)	1768	1771-72 IPP of Gapan Pga. 1772-82 PPP of Antipolo	1783 (41 yrs.)
B.D. Vizente Eustachio	1744	(Tagalog region)	1768	1770-71 Coadj. of Sta. Cruz, Marinduque 1771-72 IPP of Sta. Rita and Porac 1772-96 PPP of Sta. Rita and Porac	1796 (52 yrs.)
B.D. Pablo Franco	1744	Puerto de Cavite	1768	1771-72 IPP of Candava 1774-83 Coadj. of Marikina 1783-98 PPP of Antipolo	1798 (54 yrs.)

Name	Year of Birth	Birthplace	Year of Ordination	Priestly Career	Year of death and age
B.D. Diego Eugenio Gutierrez	1741	Hagonoy, Bulacan	1770	1771-72 IPP of Sta. Ana, Pga. 1772-ca. 1827 PPP of Tarlac Pga.	ca.1827 (ca. 86 yrs.)
B.D. Remigio Eguiluz de Guzman	1746	Pga.	1770	1771-72 IPP of Sismoan 1772-72 Ecclesiastical Notary of Pga. 1772-74 unemployed priest 1774-77 PPP of Samal 1777-79 Ch. of the Cathedral choir 1779-ca. 1785 Ch. of the Royal chapel of the Incarnation	ca.1785 (ca. 39 yrs.)
B.D. Joseph Manuel Lahom	1740	Sta. Cruz, Manila	1768	1771-72 IPP of San Joseph and Palosapis Pga. 1772-77 PPP of Samal	1777 (37 yrs.)
B.D. Sebastian de Lara	1741	Hagonoy, Bulacan	1770	1771-72 IPP of San Simon 1772-74 Coadj. of San Fernando ca. 1774-ca. 1780 Coadj. of Binondo ca.1780-ca. 1785 Ch. in the Indigo Factory in Calabanga, Camarines Sur	ca.1785 (ca. 44 yrs.)

Ldo. D. Lorenzo Malaca y Manabat	ca.1743*	Tambobo (Malabon)	1768	1771-72 PPP of Minalin 1772-81 PPP of San Miguel de Mayumo	1781 (ca. 38 yrs.)
B.D. Mariano de la Santisima Trinidad Salamat	ca.1745*	Quiapo, Manila	1770	1771-72 IPP of Apalit 1771 LCM for 3 years 1774 LCM for 1 year 1776 not included in CCS	ca.1775 (ca. 30 yrs.)
D.D. Manuel Francisco Tubil	1742	Betis, Pga.	1771	1777-77 PPP of Minalin 1777-95 PPP of Bacolor 1781-95 Vic. For. of Pga. 1795-99 Preb. of CC 1799-1805 Canon of CC	1805 (63 yrs.)
B.D. Martín de Victoria	ca.1743*	?	1768	1771-72 IPP of Lubao 1772 PPP of Santor	1772 (ca. 30 yrs.)

Abbreviations used in second table:

CC	– Cathedral Chapter	LHC	– License to hear confessions
CCs	– Catálogo del Clero secular	mil.	– military
Ch.	– Chaplain	Pga.	– Pampanga
Coadj.	– Coadjutor	PPP	– Proprietary Parish Priest
Hda.	– Hacienda	Preb.	– Prebendary
IPP	– Interim Parish Priest	Pres.	– President
LCM	– License to celebrate Masses	Vic. For.	– Vicar Forane

*The year of birth in this case is approximated by subtracting 25 from the year of ordination, 24 years being the minimum age requirement for it.

by him that for the first time in the history of the Filipino secular clergy that we know of they spoke out as a group against the insolent remarks and violent conduct of a colonial official.¹⁵ Thus for the first time also, we find in the archives the natives' side of a controversy vis-a-vis that of the colonialists. Pushed too far, the group finally ran out of patience and refused to be made scapegoats in the power play between the archbishop and the governor on the one hand and the religious orders on the other. In the process, their consciousness as a distinct group started to emerge. Forming the roots of the revolutionary clergy, they were probably the earliest precursors of Gom-Bur-Za.

THE CASE AGAINST DIAZ

We learn from the juridical declarations of these priests that Diaz had been harassing them almost from the start. For instance, in February of 1772, the interim pastor of Arayat B.D. Domingo Perez was granted a sick leave and B.D. Evaristo Puyat was assigned in his place. According to the latter, no sooner had the former left his parish than he was seized by the *gobernadorcillo* of Candava on orders of the *alcalde mayor* and brought back to the rectory. Diaz, who was then supervising the local elections in Arayat, treated Padre Pérez like a fugitive in captivity, examining the parish books which were outside his jurisdiction and berating the priest for permitting too many free burials. Still fuming, the *alcalde* went off to Gapang (then part of Pampanga) where he warned the *principales*: "El Cura que levantare mano contra alguno de vosotros cosa un garrote y réjele cabeza; el cura no puede hacer más que predicar y confesar. Todos los curas están sujetos a mi dominio; hasta que no ahorque algún cura, no he de parar!"¹⁶ (The pastor who would raise a hand on any of you deserves a garrote and a cracked skull. He cannot do more than preach or give confessions. All the pastors are subject to my authority and I will not stop until some pastor gets hanged!)

Two months after the incident in Arayat, B.D. Juan Carpio, then acting parish priest of Guagua, traveled to Bacolor in April of

15. AAM, "Año de 1772. Declaraciones de los PP. Clérigos de la Provincia de la Pampanga contra el Alcalde Mayor de ella." EDM (1730-1779).

16. Details drawn from the "Declaraciones."

1772 to attend to some official papers. He went up to the government house to pay his respects to the *alcalde*. But to his astonishment, Díaz announced to a big group of *principales* who had come from the different towns: "I will give a reward to any one of you who will deliver your pastor here with his hands tied."¹⁷

There must have been other unreported vexations by local authorities. The foregoing two cases came to light only because their priest-witnesses were involved in the main episode of this escalating struggle which centered around the most brilliant figure of them all, B.D. Nicolás Dorotheo Masangcay y Coronel, pastor of Bacolor and vicar forane and ecclesiastical judge of Pampanga. How competently he and his colleagues handled this crisis is a tribute to the vigor and skill of this new generation of native priests.

As a sign of the respect and goodwill Masangcay had achieved among his parishioners in the short span of four months, the sacristan mayor together with the other church sextons and singers arranged a celebration on the occasion of his thirty-sixth birthday. It was also the Feast of the Augustinian St. Nicholas of Tolentino, 10 September 1772 which fell on a Wednesday. Don Nicolás Capid, the sacristan, who was also the Saint's namesake, composed a musical *loa* in his honor and erected a modest stage for the presentation. Unfortunately, the *alcalde* apparently had been looking for an opportunity to pick a quarrel with his ecclesiastical counterpart. "To avoid trouble," Masangcay left the capital on the eve of his birthday and did not come back until the weekend. To his surprise, the sacristan and his colleagues were still waiting for him to celebrate his birthday even if late. Whereupon he gently begged off and persuaded them to hand over the original of the *loa* to him and cancel the presentation altogether.¹⁸

In spite of these elaborate precautions, Sunday 14 September turned out to be a long day of suffering for the native clergy of Pampanga. Just after the early morning high mass, the town mayor, Don Juan Raphael Passi6n, on orders of the *alcalde*, stormed the church premises with three armed soldiers. They pounced upon the sacristan mayor at the rectory and threw him in jail for writing the controversial *loa*, the exact nature of which was never clari-

17. *Ibid.*

18. *Ibid.*

fied except that it was laudatory of Masangcay. They also smashed the small stage which had been constructed between the door of the transept and the rectory. Hence, from the priests' viewpoint, they violated ecclesiastical immunity twice.¹⁹

Evidently, the native priests were of the conviction that their acceptance of the basic procedures of the patronato did not mean the total surrender of immunity. On the other hand, the friars' immunity had been violated earlier precisely because they rejected the entire regalist principle as well as episcopal visitation. In contrast, the *alcalde* had discarded the whole issue of immunity because his concept of patronage was absolute and thus, unfortunately, subject to considerable abuse.

In order not to make matters worse, the prudent Masangcay did not intervene any longer in the fracas. But observing due process, he lost no time in protesting the incident in two separate reports, one for the archbishop and the other for the local ecclesiastical court of which he was the judge. He further instructed the notary, B.D. Remigio de Guzmán, to compile the declarations of the four other priests and laymen who witnessed the disturbances. The priests included De Guzmán himself, the two coadjutors B.D. Evaristo Puyat and B.D. Juan Roque del Castillo and the visiting pastor of Apalit, B.D. Antonio Ubaldo Bondoc who was Masangcay's nephew. They were all in the sacristy with the parish priest when the commotion started and they corroborated Masangcay's account. Armed with these documents, the vicar forane left at once for Manila to personally apprise the archbishop of the case and seek justice.²⁰

In his absence, D.D. Manuel Francisco Tubil, parish priest of Minalin took over as *ad interim* vicar forane; B.D. Juan Roque del Castillo became acting pastor of Bacolor and B.D. Juan Carpio, parish priest of Betis, was given charge of completing the judicial proceedings of that day. Three more witnesses, Don Guillermo Manabat, Don Manuel Arceo and Don Joseph Punu, all prominent citizens of Bacolor courageously came forward to give essentially the same testimony of the incident.²¹

Not content with the early morning disorder, Diaz deployed two more town officials to the rectory to deliver a provocative

19. *Ibid.*

20. *Ibid.*

21. *Ibid.*

letter to Masangcay's substitute on the ground that the vicar had "abandoned" his post. On hearing this misinterpretation of fact, the learned notary Padre Remigio told the messengers in effect to inform Diaz that Masangcay had not abandoned his post since he had designated a replacement, Dr. Tubil. To put it more clearly to them, he referred to the famous case of Fray Melchor Xamardo the former pastor of Macabebe who left his assistant behind when he left his curacy (after the expulsion of the Augustinians) but was not considered to have "abandoned" his post. He thus directed them to deliver the message to Tubil.²²

Diaz was alarmed by the notary's remarks. Apparently, to him, no Indio, whether priest or layman could correct a Spaniard of his status. The native clergy seemed to him to be getting more and more audacious. He thus found the pretext he had evidently been looking for to clamp down on them.

Well before noon, the determined alcalde had summoned all the town officials and a band of soldiers with drawn bayonets and led them to the rectory as though to put down an uprising. Beleaguered but undaunted, Padre de Guzmán in the presence of Padres Bondoc and Del Castillo asked the armed group about their mission. The alcalde told him to go with them to the *casa real* but, of course, he refused. When Diaz repeated his order, the notary asked for the reason for his arrest, whereupon the former invoked the king's name. The Padre reasoned that the king would not order priests to be brought to civil courts. Apparently unable to argue the point, Diaz ordered the soldiers to seize the priest who, in turn, vigorously resisted but in vain. The now subdued priest appealed to the alcalde to at least let him give testimony, and the alcalde agreed and ordered the soldiers to untie him. But then Diaz quickly changed his mind and told him to give testimony, not in the rectory but in the government house. De Guzman, therefore, refused again to go with them. Another scuffle ensued until the priest was overpowered again and forcibly taken prisoner. In the afternoon, he was hastily transferred to Manila.²³ Thus, Padre Remigio Eguiluz de Guzman earned the distinction, as far as we know, of being the first Filipino priest to be imprisoned for defending the rights of the clergy.

22. Ibid.

23. Ibid.

In order to assist the captive priest, the acting pastor of Bacolor, Padre Del Castillo, immediately despatched an account of his ordeal to Masangcay in Manila. Dr. Tubil was also sent for and he hurried to Bacolor, ordering an investigation of the turmoil on Monday morning 15 September. For this purpose, B.D. Joaquín Pasqual Celestino replaced De Guzmán as acting notary.²⁴

Padres Del Castillo and Bondoc first gave their eyewitness accounts of De Guzmán's illegal arrest in ecclesiastical domain. Padres Carpio and Puyat, who had missed the incident, described previous harassments by the *alcalde* which have been recounted here. The confidential file was then sent to Masangcay on 16 September so that he could present it personally to the archbishop.²⁵ As a result of this prompt report, the ecclesiastical notary was apparently released by Governor Anda (who was then still on the side of the native priests) to the custody of the archbishop. Padre de Guzmán stayed after this for more than a year at the San Carlos Seminary as an unemployed priest.²⁶

To keep Masangcay abreast with subsequent events in Pampanga, Padre Bondoc wrote his uncle another letter from Minalin on 16 September. Accordingly, unholy rumors about the native priests had been spreading since he left Bacolor, They were supposed to have provoked the whole crisis by simulating an interdict. The doors of the church had now been left unlocked because the sextons had fled in fear with the keys. The *alcalde* still refused to recognize Dr. Tubil as vicar and regarded him as a usurper. Padre Puyat allegedly consumed the Holy Host outside the Mass on the same Monday morning that the *alcalde* was complaining that the church doors were locked. Who then could have observed him do this under the supposed circumstances? Finally, according to trustworthy sources, Fray Gabriel Omar, parish priest of Guagua had been closely collaborating with the *alcalde* behind the scenes since that fateful Sunday.²⁷

24. *Ibid.*

25. *Ibid.*

26. AAM, "Pedimento del B.D. Remigio de Guzman por la prorogación de su licencia para celebrar misas." 6 Oct. 1773. *EDM* (1730-79).

27. Details drawn from the "Declaraciones."

THE CASE FOR DIAZ

Let us now present the documents from the other side. The alcalde prepared a succinct version of the same incidents on the same Sunday, 14 September. These were corroborated by his two clerks and two town officials. He had been informed that on Saturday evening 13 September, the church bells were not pealed for the Angelus and the Vespers nor for the Matins the next day-break. Nor were the church doors opened on Sunday morning to the "grave scandal" of the people and their potential unrest. In the original, he used the words (*comocion, inquietud, ó disensiones*). He, therefore, sent a sealed letter of inquiry to the pastor only to find out that he had "abandoned" his parish and to be informed of the arrogant behavior of the ecclesiastical notary.²⁸

His two clerks not only confirmed the notary's conduct but added that the latter hit one of the messengers in the mouth. The alcalde, therefore, ordered the arrest of Padre de Guzmán "to let him know that in this province, justice reigns and rules in the name of His Majesty." But no sooner had the alcalde and his party reached the rectory than they were met by the abusive remarks of the notary. This was in great contrast to Diaz' composure during the whole affair. Nonetheless, the latter ordered the former to be tied when he could no longer tolerate his language especially in the presence of the townspeople who had gathered around the premises. On the way to the casa real, however, the Padre continued to be loud and insolent to the worsening scandal of the public. "To guard against the risks of involvement of Padre Remigio's clan in this province, notwithstanding the proven loyalty of the Pam-pangos," Diaz decided to elevate the case immediately to the governor-general.²⁹

Probably on the basis of Padre Bondoc's information, the archbishop also directed Fray Omar on 18 September to comment on the preceding events. The Augustinian pastor promptly produced the following day the most elaborate document in the series.³⁰ Consisting of eight pages, it was equally divided between his nar-

28. Ibid.

29. Ibid..

30. AAM, "Carta del RPF. Gabriel Omar al Arzobispo. 19 Sept. 1772," EDM (1730-79).

ration and legal opinions. It further confirms his direct involvement in the case even though he neither acknowledged nor denied it.

First of all, he made it clear that he strongly disagreed with the accounts of the native priests which he found "quite pathetic." Instead, he declared the following as the "exact and definite" sequence of events. On Saturday, 13 September, the *alcalde* was on his way to hear the Holy Sacrifice of the Mass when he encountered a stage set for a "comedy" and constructed without license beside the main street. He concluded that "the most effective way of inspiring civility among these *Indios* and, in time, the sentiments of vassalage is to make them understand by practical means the true representation of the royal ministers." He assigned the unspecified "task" to a minor official who was, however, rebuffed by the threats of Padre Puyat. The *alcalde* then sent the town mayor himself who was able to carry it out unhindered.³¹

Unfortunately, this deeply perturbed Padre Masangcay (*conturbó a su espíritu*) and he reacted by putting into effect all the manifestations of a true interdict. These, in turn, stirred a commotion among the townspeople. The concerned *alcalde*, therefore, sent a letter of inquiry to Padre Masangcay but he had left for Manila and the other priests misunderstood the messengers. The *alcalde* then sent the letter back to the rectory to give it to whoever was left in the pastor's place. To this, Padre Remigio responded violently and insulted Diaz publicly, thus attracting an even bigger crowd outside. "These are the unmistakable and obvious signs of sedition!" cried Fray Omar. Since Padre Remigio would not listen to the *alcalde*'s appeal for moderation and since the crowd was getting more and more disturbed "which is the natural course of sedition," Díaz was constrained to arrest the ecclesiastical notary.³²

Fray Omar then enumerated the legal grounds which justified the *alcalde*'s position and vouched for his "Christian and noble" character. In contrast, he was full of reproach towards Padres De Guzman and Masangcay, dragging the latter's relatives into the picture as well, without specifying any relevant reasons for it.³³

31. Data taken from the "Carta."

32. *Ibid.*

33. *Ibid.* As a resident of Sta. Cruz, Manila in 1785, Diaz was denounced by the pastor for bigamy, EDM 1779-99.

The foregoing is just an outline of Fray Omar's long letter. For one who did not claim to be an eyewitness to the event, his catalogue of the alleged misdeeds of native priests (which partly repeats those mentioned in Bondoc's letter) is too elaborately and obsessively presented to be credible. For example, he claimed that Padre Puyat said the early morning Mass after taking his breakfast. How would he know this? More seriously, for one who was trying to defend the *alcalde*, his version does not agree with that of the latter on crucial points. For instance, he claimed that Masangcay began the interdict Sunday morning after the arrest of the stage director, whereas the *alcalde* said it started Saturday evening at the Angelus. (Diaz did not even mention the arrest.) Also one of the *Alcalde's* main contention was that Masangcay abandoned his post, but clearly the friar had abandoned this indefensible explanation. In comparison, the statements of the native priests were in complete harmony with one another. To be sure, the views of Fray Omar and his group did not necessarily reflect those of their Order from which they were estranged at this point. In fact, as we shall see, Fray Omar, in particular, turned out to be the bane not only of the Filipino clergy but also of the Augustinian Order. Nevertheless, it is clear that the minds of the *alcalde* and the friar were bound by one grievous theme: *Sedicion!* With this danger signal to the colony, whether real or imagined, all other issues had to take second place including ecclesiastical immunity, freedom of speech and human rights. Thus it appears that by their attitudes and practices contrary to the stated policies, the colonial authorities tended to provoke the native clergy to react negatively as was only expected. Yet when they did, the former tried to turn the tables on them by accusing them of sedition out of proportion to their expected reactions.

EPILOGUE (1772-1777)

The official outcome of this case is not known. But from various entries in Archbishop Sancho's administrative books and other documents we can reasonably reconstruct its aftermath. It appears that the archbishop tried to alleviate the tense situation as soon as possible by reorganizing the key posts in the embattled vicariate of Pampanga.

First, he confirmed on 17 September all the *ad interim* appoint-

ments Masangcay had made before he left Bacolor. The following week, however, on 22 September, he exchanged the positions of the two most prominent Indio priests of his see. B.D. Máximo Ignacio became the acting parish priest of Bacolor and vicar forane of Pampanga and Masangcay took his place as acting secretary of the archbishopric.³⁴ It will be recalled that Ignacio had worked in concert with the *alcalde mayor* during the take-over of the Augustinian parishes the previous year. In the meantime, he had emerged as a peacemaker for the Archbishop and now he was commissioned to make a fact-finding report of the Pampanga situation.

He arrived in Bacolor on the night of 24 September and plunged immediately into work, taking pains to listen to eyewitnesses on both sides and piecing the stray data together. By the end of the next day, he was able to file his first report. The capital was quiet "at least on the outside" and the *alcalde* received him quite graciously. In sum, however, he found the statements of the native priests to be worthy of credence and all the grim rumors about them including the charges of Fray Omar to be "lies." However, the friar denied to him that he was the source of these rumors.³⁵ Later in the course of the inquiry, he also found out that some of the pastors in upper Pampanga had not officially taken possession or received collation of their curacies due to the impassable roads. Thus, on 3 December, the indefatigable vicar left Bacolor to complete the unfinished task. However, he wore himself out in the process and reluctantly returned to the capital on 18 December. Writing about his frustrations to His Grace in a poignant letter on 29 December, he nevertheless found "the consolation of having seen the parishes and ascertaining for myself that your pastors have endeavored and are endeavoring to fulfill as best as they can their obligations in the ministry," in spite of great odds. He especially lamented the general lack of spiritual enthusiasm among the townspeople in the parishes of both secular and Augustinian priests. In the sense that it was unsettling, the insightful vicar called the status quo an "Octavian peace." "But most Illustrious Lord," he concluded his letter, "I burn with regrets because, having observed these problems, I am not able to remedy them.

34. AAM, *LGE* (1772-83) ff. 34-35v.

35. AAM, "Carta del B.D. Maximo Ignacio al Arzobispo. 25 Sept. 1772," *EDM* (1730-79).

May God console us and have pity on these poor priests." Almost exactly three months later, on 30 March 1773, B.D. Máximo Ignacio, the most promising Indio priest of his time expired at the age of forty-two on his peacemaking mission.³⁶

His untimely demise left a void in the archdiocese that only Masangcay could fill at the time. Thus, from being the helmsman of the priests of Pampanga, Masangcay emerged as the undisputed leader of the native clergy in the whole archdiocese. He inherited Ignacio's dual responsibilities as archdiocesan secretary and rector of the cathedral.³⁷

Another reorganization was in order in the still precarious province of Pampanga. Realizing that the obligations of a vicar forane in that district were too heavy for one priest, Archbishop Sancho created the new position of president of the parish priests of Pampanga to take care of the administrative functions, leaving the judicial responsibilities to the vicar forane. On 1 April, he chose B.D. Juan Carpio as the president and B.D. Joseph David as the vicar forane. Both were Pampango-Chinese mestizos. David had to be recalled from semiretirement. He had been ordained by Archbishop Martinez in 1753 and had actually served as the first native vicar of Pampanga from 1767 up to the expulsion of the Augustinians in 1771.³⁸

On 20 September 1773, a year after the ecclesiastical crisis in the province, Padre Carpio also became the proprietary parish priest of Bacolor. He was in turn eventually replaced in the parish of Betis by B.D. Juan Roque del Castillo who had served briefly as acting pastor of Bacolor.³⁹

Though the local church-state controversy had all but faded from view at this point, harassment of native priests by the Augustinian group continued to surface from time to time. The latter had just been officially pardoned for their disobedience by their congregation on 30 August 1773. However, Fray Omar, in particular, continued to agitate not only his Order but also the local clergy. For instance, in the month alone of February, 1774, the

36. AAM, "Carta del B.D. Maximo Ignacio al Arzobispo, 29 Dic. 1772," *EDM* (1730-79); *CCS* 1762; *LGE* (1772-1783) f. 67.

37. AAM, *LGE* (1772-83) ff. 67 and 83v.

38. AAM, *LGE* (1772-83) ff. 67 and 68; (1767-1771). Doc. 31; (1753-55) f. 51v; *CCS* 1762.

39. AAM, *LGE* (1772-83) f. 91v and 97.

tireless letter-writer, Fray Omar fired off a series of five letters to Padre Carpio demanding to exchange his Indio coadjutor, B.D. Joaquín Pascual whom he could not stand with the Spanish mestizo coadjutor of Mexico, Pampanga B.D. Juan Nepomuceno de Mijares. He dismissed the other Indio priests like Padres Sebastián de Lara and Evaristo Puyat as "brushwood." Castigating the president for not answering his letters promptly, he threatened to bypass his authority which he said he did not recognize anyway. Worst of all, he tried again to pit Padre Carpio against the alcalde over the appointment of the town mayor of Guagua. The friar and the alcalde apparently wanted him removed whereas Carpio supported him. Fray Omar thus demanded no less than a direct confrontation among the three of them. Carpio simply sent the archbishop authenticated copies of the friar's letters which were self-evident.⁴⁰

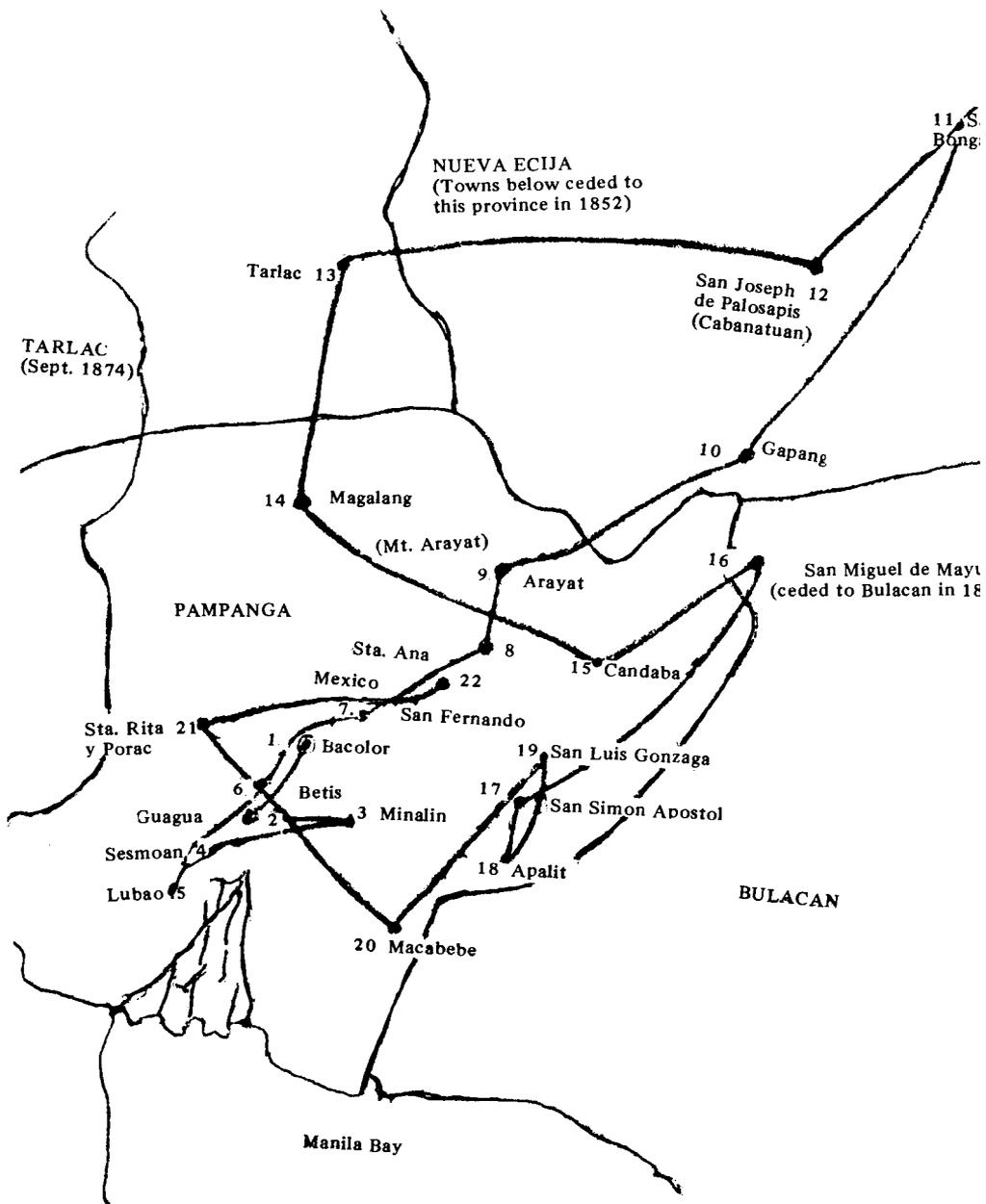
The following month, March 1774, Fray Manuel Soler, parish priest of San Fernando took his turn to thwart the authority of Padre Carpio by refusing to give up his coadjutor B.D. Sebastián de Lara. He, however, informed the archbishop of his decision without providing any clear reason for it, exclaiming cryptically that "the devil has run loose in the province and therefore, it needs a great deal of exorcism!" Soler was closely identified with Omar. One of the latter's last acts in the Philippines was the former's defense in a case against the provincial of their Order. Omar appealed to the Royal Audiencia in 1778. The High Court, however, sentenced Soler for abuses committed while being a pastor in Pampanga.⁴¹

The trials and tribulations of Padre Carpio must have relented some when Fray Omar finally decided to resign the curacy of Guagua two years after the crisis he had helped to bring about. On 1 September 1774, he turned it over to his preferred successor B.D. Juan Nepomuceno de Mijares.⁴² Nevertheless, the stress of his office apparently shortened the days of Padre Carpio as it did those of Padre Ignacio before him. He succumbed in April of 1777

40. Isacio Rodríguez Rodríguez *Historia de la Provincia Agustiniiana del Santísimo Nombre de Jesús de Filipinas*. (Valladolid, 1973). 8:243,292 and 293, notas 194, 337 and 339; AAM, "Traslado literal de las Cartas remitidas por el firmador en ellas al B.D. Juan Carpio. 24 Feb. 1774," EDM (1730-79).

41. AAM, "Carta del RPF Manuel Soler al Arzobispo, 4 Mar. 1774," EDM (1730-79); Rodríguez, *Historia*. 8:293 nota 343.

42. AAM, LGE (1772-83) f. 120.



Map showing the circuitous route taken by the commissioners entrusted with the secularization of the parishes of Pampanga (28 October to 5 December 1771) Starting from the capital of Bacolor (no. 1)

when he was only about thirty-four years old. He predeceased the older vicar forane, B.D. Joseph David who died at fifty-nine in 1781. It appears that after Carpio's death, the administrative responsibilities were reintegrated with the office of the vicar. D.D. Manuel Francisco Tubil successively took over as parish priest of Bacolor (1777) and vicar forane of Pampanga (1781).⁴³

The Augustinian province likewise eventually reached the point of exasperation with the rebellious stance of Fray Omar. In 1778, his assembled brethren voted to grant him the license to return to the peninsula, never more to come back to the Islands.⁴⁴

To round out this chronicle of the native priests—sinned against rather than sinning—we need to answer one more question: What happened to the brave B.D. Remigio Eguiluz de Guzman? After languishing at the San Carlos Seminary for one and a half years, he succeeded on 27 April 1774 to the parish of Samal, Bataan when it fell vacant on the death of its Indio Pastor B.D. Modesto Patricio de los Santos. On 4 June 1777, he was promoted as chaplain of the cathedral choir and after more than a year, he transferred to the Royal Military Chapel of Our Lady of the Incarnation in Manila. As concurrent chaplain of the galleon ships *San Pedro* and *San Joseph*, he crossed the Pacific Ocean twice to Acapulco and back in 1780 and 1783, respectively. In between his voyages, he was sought after as one of the eloquent preachers of the Manila Cathedral who were booked a year in advance. In spite of his apparent physical strength, he died in his forties like many of his colleagues in about 1786.⁴⁵

43. Ibid., ff. 4v-5 and 84-84v.

44. Rodriguez, *Historia*, 8:295 nota 348.

45. AAM *LGE* (1772-83), ff. 111, 7, 32, 64, 97, 132v and 139v. (N.B. new pagination was started in 1777 in this bound *LGE*).