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## **The Hidden Light: The First Filipino Priests**

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## The Hidden Light: The First Filipino Priests

LUCIANO P.R. SANTIAGO

One of the soul-stirring questions in Philippine Church History has always been: who were the first Filipino priests? All catholic communities in the world presumably venerate the memory of their pioneer priests. But one of the ironies of the Philippines as the only Christian nation in Asia for more than four hundred years is that she has never known the names of her first native sons who became priests of the universal church. This emanates from a more basic irony: while the Spanish evangelization of the Philippines was probably one of the most impressive in the records of Christianity, Spanish efforts at developing the Filipino clergy was remarkably tardy and erratic.

To be sure, the illustrious Filipino historian, Fr. Horacio de la Costa, S.J., has laid the groundwork for an answer to the question in his article, "The Development of the Native Clergy in the Philippines" (1947).<sup>1</sup> Had he lived longer or had he not been involved in other pressing tasks, he would have "fleshed out" the answer by this time.

The present researcher, on the other hand, chanced upon the names of the early Filipino priests while gathering data on the history of a town. In the course of writing, the author realized that he had stumbled upon a virtual *terra incognita* in Philippine Church history in which he had to find his own way. For this reason, and from the fact that the author is not a professional historian, let alone a church historian, the present article is at best a preliminary study, for it raises as many tantalizing questions

[See list of abbreviations at the end of article.]

1. Horacio de la Costa, S.J., "The Development of the Native Clergy in the Philippines," *Theological Studies* 8 (1947): 219-50; reprinted in Gerald H. Anderson, ed., *Studies in Philippine Church History* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1969), pp. 65-104.

as the answers it provides. Nevertheless, there are enough new facts and data to justify its publication and hopefully stimulate further research on such luminous figures of the Philippine Church.

## THE SOURCES

The research for this study was done mainly at the Archives of the Archdiocese of Manila (AAM) located at the San Carlos Seminary in Guadalupe, Makati, and partly at the University of Santo Tomas Archives (AUST) in Manila. It was hampered by the fact that most of the *Libros de Ordenes* of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries (as referred to in the text of surviving documents) have been lost.

From the seventeenth century, there are still ordination lists for the following years: 1620-23, 1625-27, 1630, 1653-67, 1672-74, 1685-89.<sup>2</sup> These lists, however, may not be always complete for each year – some pages or parts seem to be missing in a particular year.

From the eighteenth century, the *Libro de Gobierno Ecclesiastico* of Archbishop Diego Camacho y Avila (1697-1706) was missing during the course of this research. However, by an exciting coincidence, while this article was being revised for publication, it turned up under a totally different classification where it had apparently been misplaced for years.<sup>3</sup> Moreover the documentary biography of Camacho, researched from Spanish and Mexican archives by Pedro Rubio Merino provides a lucid background of this period against which we can place our Philippine data.<sup>4</sup> Quite unexpectedly this combination of sources greatly expanded the scope of this work.

The official records<sup>5</sup> including the miscellaneous correspondence of the next Archbishop, Francisco de la Cuesta, Order of San

2. AAM, *LGE* (1620-27), (1653-73); *OG* (1685-89).

3. Its state of preservation is quite poor because a well-meaning hand had tried to patch up its overworked pages with transparent paper and glue. This caused the pages to stick together and attracted tiny ants to nestle in them. Nevertheless, it can still be read adequately with careful handling, except the upper eighth of the pages.

4. AAM, *LGE* (1697-1706) and Pedro Rubio Merino, *Don Diego Camacho y Avila, Arzobispo de Manila y de Guadalajara de Mexico (1695-1712)* (Sevilla: Escuela de Estudios Hispano-Americanos, 1958), pp. 401-41.

5. AAM, *LGE* (1707-23); *CFC* and *CPM*.

Jerónimo (1707-23) are almost completely intact. But again, both Camacho's and Cuesta's crucial *Libros de Ordenes* are nowhere to be found. Fortunately, they can be inferred to a great extent from the official book where the *Licencia para decir la primera y demas missas* are entered for most — but for unknown reasons, not all — newly ordained priests. Likewise, the missing elements in Camacho's book can be inferred from Cuesta's initial documents.

After Archbishop Cuesta's term and about a year of *sede vacante*, there is another long gap of documents from 1725 to 1736 except for stray records of synodal examinations of 1729-34.<sup>6</sup> After 1736, the records are more or less complete.

The time range of this research, therefore, as determined by the availability of records, is from 1620 to 1724. The manuscripts from 1737 onwards were consulted mainly to follow the careers of the subjects as far as possible. Their academic records at the UST Archives were also examined for additional data.<sup>7</sup> Remarkably, the University has accumulated two hundred well-preserved volumes of *Diligencias de Grados* of every candidate for graduation from 1663 to 1898.

To this researcher's knowledge, this is the first study of an early aspect of Philippine church history which is almost entirely drawn from local religious archives. Most if not all previously published works in this category had been based on foreign collections. Hopefully, this article will show how rich and varied our local repositories are and encourage more researchers to use them. Unfortunately, the old diocesan archives of Cebu, Naga and Vigan have perished in past catastrophes.<sup>8</sup>

## CATEGORIES

The *Indio* priests in the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries were not usually specified as such in the records, probably because there were too few of them and it was common knowledge then who they were. Fortunately, for those who were not

6. AAM, LGE (1723-24); EPC.

7. AUST, AG (1663-1713) and (1714-22); DG (1712, 1714, 1715 and 1716).

8. Most probably, the documents missing at the Manila Archdiocesan Archives have duplicates in foreign collections like the Vatican Archives, the *Archivo General de Indias* in Seville, and the Mexican National Archives, which can help to complete this study in the future.

so classified, there is still a combination of other indicators that can be used to identify them.

Half-Filipinos or mestizos, whether Spanish or Chinese are not included in this initial study because it is extremely difficult to identify them since they also used Spanish names. The only exception we made is that of Mro. Joseph de Ocampo because he appears to be the first Chinese mestizo priest and his racial classification was made clear in the original documents.

Three categories of Indio priests were drawn up for this study, based on the type of evidence we have concerning their identity as Indios – as Malay Filipinos were then called by the Spaniards.

To the first category<sup>1</sup> (marked with an asterisk\*) belong those who were definitely identified as Indios and/or whose surnames are unequivocally of Malay derivation. Fortunately, these constitute seventeen out of twenty-eight or almost two-thirds of the list.

The second category (marked with two asterisks) comprises two who were not identified as Indios but whose surnames are most likely of Malay derivation. By coincidence, however, their surnames are also of Spanish or Mexican origin – Tabuyo and Moxica. Therefore, other supportive evidence has to be cited in their cases.

In the third category (marked with three asterisks) are nine who are neither identified as Indios nor bear Malay surnames but about whom exist important indications that they must have been Indios. Six were indicated as Indios in important documents cited in this study (Jeronimo, Garzia, de Leon, Muñoz, Mercado and Sta. Rossa); the other three had surnames which though usually used as first or second names by Spaniards, were also popularly used as family names by early Filipinos (Chrisostomo, Pasqual and Gervacio). Other corroborative evidence is also presented in their cases – further research may be able to determine that they were at least Chinese or Spanish mestizos.

In this article, the first group of Filipino priests refers to those ordained by Archbishop Camacho or one of his suffragan bishops, and the second, those ordained by Archbishop Cuesta or one of his suffragan bishops.

Most of these indio priests were ordained in Manila. However, eight of them moved later to the suffragan dioceses of Cebu, Nueva Segovia and Nueva Caceres (Tabuyo, Jeronimo, Pasqual,

\*See Table, pp. 182-88.

Guinto, Sta. Cruz, Sta. Rossa and the two Manalos). In addition, of the four Baluyots in our series, Francisco was ordained in Manila but assigned to Cebu; Alfonso also ordained in Manila, became a missionary in Nueva Segovia; Martin worked in Nueva Caceres; and lastly Agustin was in Nueva Segovia but later transferred to Manila. Another two, (Saguinsin and Muñoz) although they were ordained in Manila, belonged initially to the clergy of Nueva Caceres but also made the transition to Manila.

We cannot discount the possibility that the very first Filipino priest was ordained not in Manila but in one of the other three original dioceses which were all founded in 1595. This is one of the limitations of this work, for it focuses mainly on Manila, the only archdiocese in the Philippines during the whole Spanish period.

In terms of their regional background, of these early Filipino priests one was probably a Cagayense (Tabuyo) another was an Ilocano (Gervacio); ten were Pampangos (Jeronimo, the four Baluyots, Mañago, Guinto, Sta. Cruz, Mercado and Sta. Rossa) and the rest (sixteen) were Tagalogs.

Judging from their family names, academic background and other records, all came from the native nobility or the *Lakans*, like their counterparts in New Spain. The faithful must have referred to them as *mga Paring-Lakan* (noble priests) which describes not only their lineage but also their character. Being priests of the universal church, they were the first group of Filipinos to leave behind documentary biographies.

Officially, they were called *Bachiller* (Br.) or *Bachiller Don* (B.D.) apparently referring to their bachelor's degree in arts or philosophy. A few who had earned a licentiate's degree were called *Licenciado Don*. In contrast, the friars of the religious orders were elaborately addressed as *Muy Reverendo Padre Fray* (M.R.P.F.).

Lastly, it is edifying to note that the ordination of the first two groups of Filipino priests in the eighteenth century (1699-1723) coincided approximately with the foundation of religious congregations for native women (1684 for the *Beaterio de la Compania*; and 1725 for the *Beaterio de San Sebastian*) as well as the publication of the first religious book by a Filipino, Gaspar Aquino de Belen's *Mahal na Pasion* (1704). It was a Golden Age of Faith. The women were more than a decade ahead, most probably because their spiritual undertaking did not carry with it canonical

status. Hence they were less threatening and more tolerable to ecclesiastical colonialists than the native men aspiring for the priesthood of the universal Church.

## PRELIMINARY QUESTIONS

### PREJUDICE

Most, if not all of the first two groups of Filipino priests, collectively and individually, bore the brunt of prejudice, ranging from the most subtle to the most blatant, at some crucial points of their lives. This can be gleaned quite clearly from both the general discussion as well as their separate biographies. In this sense, the first Filipino priests had to be men of the beatitudes: those who suffer for justice' sake. Under the circumstances, the only choice left for the first native priests was to labor quietly in the Lord's vineyard, their inner light almost completely hidden from view during their lifetime and for ages to come. Only their deeds speak louder than the harsh words of their critics.

De la Costa has demonstrated that various factors coalesced to delay the development of the native clergy. But of these, the most lamentable to the Filipino is that of racial discrimination. In fact, even the other factors cited by de la Costa and Schumacher such as the Patronato concessions to the Religious Orders, the previous experience with Mexican Indios and the inertia of Church and state officials, were at least partly due to or aggravated by racial bias. Nor can "prudence" be constantly invoked to explain the tardy development of the native clergy.

To begin with, racial bias was inherent in the colonial system which was based on the assumption that the Indios were a weak race and hence, they had to be elevated spiritually and politically for their own sake. If this idea was not officially declared as such, it was passionately articulated in the famous letters of Archbishop Felipe Pardo (1680), Archbishop Francisco de la Cuesta, O.S.H. (1708), and Fray Gaspar de San Agustin, O.S.A. (1720). Their uncharitable epistles were penned at strategic stages and constituted a real obstacle in the evolution of the native clergy. They presumed the Indios incompetent and unworthy unless proven otherwise. Thus their perceptions and conclusions were so distort-

ed by racial contempt as to render them, in the author's opinion, totally unacceptable. Nor surprisingly, a great number of inconsistencies appear between what they wrote and what actually happened (as recorded in their own official papers), and even within their writings about the same or related topics. Examples of these, hitherto unknown, were found during the course of this research and are presented here.

Furthermore, no Spanish writer ever brought up the cases filed against their fellow Spanish priests during both Camacho's and Cuesta's terms. This partisan silence, whether conscious or unconscious, gave the false impression to credulous readers that only Indio priests could fall short of religious expectations.

The names of the first Filipino priests were not deemed fit to see print — the archives were the preserve of the colonialists. The early Filipino clergymen had scarcely a voice in them save the entries of bare cold facts regarding the tasks assigned them in the official books, on the one hand; or quite passionate opinions about them expressed in letters, on the other. Hence, mere silence about them must signify that they were doing well in their ministries.

Hence, if we tend to bring up the weaknesses of the colonial system as they affected the Church more than the shortcomings of the Filipinos, it is because the latter have been assumed too quickly, and harped upon so obsessively for so long that they need no repetition here. Nevertheless, we will not cover up the latter's faults as they are unearthed anew in this research. In the same vein, we will not overlook the internal strength of the Church as she struggled to serve "both Majesties."

#### COMPETENCE

In terms of capabilities and accomplishments, we can make out the following five clusters among the trailblazers of Filipino clergy.

*Pre-eminent.* Those who ascended to very high positions in the church hierarchy. If they had belonged to the favored race, they would probably have become prelates. They included B.D. Eugenio de Sta. Cruz, a Pampango, and B.D. Bartholome Saguin-sin, a Tagalog. The former became provisor and vicar general of



Cebu and commissary of the Holy Office among other achievements. The latter, besides being parish priest of Quiapo, became synodal examiner of the archdiocese of Manila, treasurer of the cathedral chapter and author of historical and religious works. They deserved to be called "Fathers of the Philippine Church." The Jesuit historian, Juan Jose Delgado was the first to single them out in his book *Historia General* written in 1751-54 but belatedly published in 1892.<sup>9</sup>

*Outstanding.* Those who worked their way up, to midway positions above the level of parish priests. Such were Licenciado Don Martin Baluyot Panlasigui, who was appointed diocesan secretary of Nueva Caceres and B.D. Juan Guinto who became the first Filipino vicar forane in Paracale, Nueva Caceres.

*Notable or Above-Average.* Those who became parish priests or missionaries instead of being relegated to coadjutorships or sacristanships for life. In this group could be classified the following twelve: B.D. Augustin Tabuyo, B.D. Miguel Jeronimo, Mro. D. Joseph de Ocampo, B.D. Sebastian Polintan, B.D. Santiago Garzia, B.D. Augustin Baluyot, B.D. Sebastian Fabian de Moxica, B.D. Tomas Manalo, B.D. Gregorio de Sta. Rossa and B.D. Juan Chrisostomo; and B.D. Alfonso Baluyot and Licenciado Don Diego Gervacio, the first two Filipino missionaries to Abra.

*Competent or Average.* Those who appeared to have remained coadjutors or priest-sacristans during all or most of their lives. Nine fit this category: B.D. Pedro Domingo de Leon, B.D. Pedro Pasqual, B.D. Juan Mañago, B.D. Thomas Valdez Solit, B.D. Pedro Diaz Mafiosca, B.D. Juan Evangelista Muñoz, B.D. Juan de Mercado and the two B.D. Francisco de Sta. Ana.

*Unknown.* We do not have enough data to be able to definitely classify these four: B.D. Francisco Baluyot, B.D. Ignacio Gregorio Manesay, B.D. Nicholas Manalo and B.D. Simeon Mathias.

In summary, of the twenty-nine Filipino presbyters identified in this study, two were pre-eminent, another two were outstanding, twelve were notable or above average, another nine were competent or average and four were of unknown caliber.

9. Juan Jose Delgado, S.J., *Historia General . . . de Filipinas 1751-54* (Manila: Juan Atayde, 1892), p. 23. Translated by Horacio de la Costa, S.J., *Readings in Philippine History* (Manila: Bookmark, 1965), p. 91.

It seems too good to be true that there were no incompetents among these first Filipino priests, but if there were, we have missed their records, and they must have been the exceptions. The well-publicized letters of Archbishops Pardo and Cuesta and Fray San Agustin (1680-1720) regarding the scandalous incompetence of the early Filipino priests and their race have conditioned our minds to expect the opposite.

B.D. Juan Chrisostomo, who is numbered above among those who were "notable or above-average" for attaining the pastorship of Luban Island in Mindoro, had come close to being permanently labeled as incompetent but he appeared to have transcended his weakness which after all was not one of character but due to insufficient preparation for the priesthood. This problem was partly the responsibility of his Spanish mentors, who, in turn, were just starting at this stage to put together a seminary training program. As de la Costa pointed out, even in the later stages it appears that the ecclesiastical authorities did not really train the early Filipino priests as well as they should have — though they criticized them severely for any resulting deficiencies.<sup>10</sup>

The fact that they were the very first indigenous priests in the land means that they were scrupulously selected, as Delgado indicated in his work. Moreover when Delgado himself observed that there were some unfit early native priests, he was writing between 1751 and 1754. By that time, there were far more Filipino priests than the first two groups who are the subjects of this article.

#### HISTORICAL NEGLECT

A question related to both competence and prejudice is why, with the exception of de la Costa, nobody ever bothered to find out the names of the first native priests. Is it because most Philippine Church historians are not Filipinos and therefore, they cannot be expected to be as interested in this question as the Filipinos themselves? On the other hand, there are not lacking native historians besides de la Costa who could have made this effort earlier by design, — not by chance which initiated the present work.

10. de la Costa, "Development of the Native Clergy," pp. 244-49.

Perhaps the main reason for this lack of research is that unfortunately, in the absence of a wider array of fresh materials, a strong negative impression about the early Filipino clergy has flourished. Hitherto, the limited but dominant sources available have made them appear so insignificant that they hardly seemed worthy of study. Half-consciously, Filipino historians may well have been afraid or ashamed to find skeletons in the closet. The following discussion, however, shows that this fear or shame has been unjustly imposed on our minds by prejudiced writers of the past.

#### ROYAL PATRONAGE

Since almost all Indio priests worked in the parishes, it is important to review first the intricacies of the royal patronage in that level, both in theory and practice. The positions of parish priests and priest-sacristans were created by royal decree and supported by royal funds. Their provisions, therefore, fell under the Patronato system. A parish or sacristy became vacant usually with the promotion or death of the incumbent. (Other "just causes" included resignation, incapacitation, retirement or canonical removal.) Whereupon the prelate of the See issued an edict announcing the vacancy and competitive examinations for it. This was posted on the doors of the cathedral and churches to give it as wide a circulation as possible. All eligible applicants, who might be not only priests but also clerics in minor orders, subdeacons and deacons, were examined by a committee of synodal examiners. The names of the top three placers (*terna*) were then submitted by the prelate to the governor-general as vice royal patron. Finally, the latter selected one for the position (*presentación*) and the prelate issued him the title and canonically installed him (*collación y canónica institución*) as the proprietary parish priest or sacristan mayor (*propietario o en propiedad*). This meant that he could not be displaced from his post except by another canonical process for a serious or just cause. If the chosen candidate was not yet a priest, he was, of course, ordained first before installation.

To get around the system which could be cumbersome in view of the scarcity of secular priests, the bishop not infrequently filled vacant parishes *ad interim* which did not require the governor's assent. The coadjutors or assistant parish priests were also appoint-

ed directly by the bishop. They usually became acting parish priests upon the promotion or death of their immediate superiors until the latter's successor could be named and installed.

An alternative though infrequent way of acquiring a parish or sacristy was by exchange (*permuta*) with an equivalent benefice subject to the bishop's approval. For instance, a sacristanship could be exchanged with a chaplaincy or two, depending on its size (*Capellánias de Misas*); or a lesser parish, with the sacristy of a major curacy.

Undoubtedly, the patronato sought to achieve the ideal collaboration between church and state. Unfortunately, it appears that in practice, the system, being a human instrument, was quite susceptible to the personal biases of the officials charged with its responsibilities at different levels.

In the synodal examinations, for instance, it was not an infrequent occurrence for early Indio priests not to make the score, or if they did, to get a lower grade than their Spanish colleagues who took the same examinations. (See the Rosario parish document of 1721.)<sup>11</sup> The "logical" conclusion, of course, was that the Indios were at least by comparison incompetent. We submit, however, that this judgment is too rash and simplistic, for it fails to analyze the other variables involved in this complicated process.

First, examiners who had developed the foregone conclusion that Indios were inadequate, were surely prone to fulfill their own predictions except, perhaps, when facing exceptional men like Santa Cruz and Saguinsin. Studies show that the personal warmth and race of the examiner have a great deal to do with the performance of the student. If the examiner has a condescending, perhaps even contemptuous attitude, this can conceivably increase the anxiety level of the examinee which, in turn, can lower his performance significantly, even though he is really competent.

Secondly, the ecclesiastical educators did not really train the early Indio priests sufficiently well to ensure competent performance in the examinations or assignments given them. Furthermore, the Spaniards would naturally be more likely to perform better in the synodal examinations, all things being equal, because they were more likely to have had a better education and because

11. AAM, *LGE* (1707-23) folios 135-37.

Spanish was their native tongue — facts the examiners, to be just, should have taken into account.

Other levels of the patronato system were also fraught with twists and turns of partisanship. For example, even if an Indio priest got the same grade as his Spanish counterpart, he would still be listed below the latter according to the colonial concept of the order of races. Thus, if he made the terna, he would most likely take third place if the other two examinees were Spaniards. Moreover, even if he had the best qualifications for the position, the governor-general might prefer the Spaniard over him for presentation (as for example in case of B.D. Francisco de Sta. Ana y Taas for the Curacy of Natives and Morenos).<sup>12</sup> Further, even if the governor nominated him, the prelate might refuse to install him canonically although it was the prelate himself who submitted his name to the governor in the first place, as in the case of B.D. Martin Baluyot Panlasigui for the curacy of Abuyon in Nueva Caceres.<sup>13</sup>

#### THE SPANISH ADVOCATES

Yet it would be absurd to claim that racial prejudice was at work in every case and at all times. For every ruthless Spanish critic of Indio priests, there always emerged a truthful witness from the same race to defend them, although these were given less attention than the former. Their depth enabled these Spaniards to see beyond the pale horizons of their age; linked with those of the first Filipino priests, their names form a refreshing litany of enlightened men.

Archbishops Miguel Garcia Serrano, O.S.A. (1619-29) and Miguel de Poblete (1653-67) might have been among the earliest advocates. There are important data to suggest that they might have ordained the very first Filipino priests in the seventeenth century: Augustin Tabuyo and Miguel Jeronimo. If so, although it is an isolated case, their bold accomplishment represents an unprecedented leap of the spirit transcending racial lines.

Don Diego Antonio Viga (1680), attorney general of the Philippines eagerly supported the first royal decree ordering the

12. AAM, *EPC* (1729-34).

13. AAM, *CFC*

establishment of native seminaries in the Philippines (1677). Unfortunately, he was outnumbered by the solid front of Archbishop Pardo and the superiors of religious orders who opposed its implementation. Before long, he became deeply embroiled in the catastrophic Pardo controversy and died a pitiful prisoner and exile in Cagayan in 1681. Restored to his see, Pardo ordered the removal of Viga's remains from the cathedral in Lal-loc. On the other hand, Pardo himself just before he died appears to have felt some qualms of conscience. In 1689, he set aside a large sum of money for the eventual founding of a seminary for Filipinos.<sup>14</sup>

Pardo's successor, Archbishop Diego Camacho y Avila (1697-1706) proved to be the most steadfast in laying the foundations of the Filipino secular clergy. In fact, he was its founding father. The details of his struggles and achievements therefore, form part of the general discussion here of the development of the native clergy.

Camacho's successor, Archbishop Francisco de la Cuesta (1707-23) at the start of his term, did not share his predecessor's enthusiasm for the Filipino clergy. Nevertheless, when he realized his misjudgement, he did not hesitate to revive Camacho's policy, and to champion the cause of the Indio priests. Bridging the gap between Camacho and Cuesta, Bishop Diego Gorospe of Nueva Segovia (1705-15) had continued to ordain Filipino priests.

Besides the disarming patience and perseverance of the Indio priests themselves, a host of colleagues inspired Cuesta's conversion to their side. Most if not all of them appeared to be criollos who were bound to sympathize with and understand the Filipinos more deeply, having been born and raised in the islands. Independently, they evolved a benevolent policy towards the native clergy as reflected in their official acts and correspondence with the archbishop.

Mro. Don Juan Gonzalez de Guzman who was the provisor of the archdiocese on the death of Pardo (1689) was also the provisor of Nueva Caceres on the death of Bishop Gonzalez (1709), Pardo's last surviving contemporary. It was this dignitary who directed Cuesta's attention to the plight of Licenciado Don Martin Baluyot

14. Pablo Fernandez, O.P., *History of the Church in the Philippines, 1521-1898* (Manila: National Book Store, 1979), p. 47.

Panlasigui, the earliest known Filipino priest in Nueva Caceres.<sup>15</sup> The latter had been presented as parish priest of Abuyon by Governor Zabalburu in 1705 upon nomination by Bishop Gonzalez himself. For obscure reasons, however, the old prelate refused to install him in his parish. Upon hearing his case, Cuesta promptly restored Baluyot to his rightful place.

Another provisor of a vacant see (Nueva Segovia), Mro. Don Julian de Molina, ardently pleaded the cause of B.D. Augustin Baluyot (probably a younger brother or cousin of the other Baluyots) before both the Archbishop and the archdiocesan secretary (1716).<sup>16</sup> The young Pampango had been ordained by the late Bishop Gorospe without clear titles to enable him to work as a priest. Cuesta not only granted him the titles but kept him in Manila for work in the archdiocese.

The first rector of San Phelipe, Licenciado Don Gabriel de Isturis, appears to be instrumental in gradually relaxing the exclusivist policy of the seminary as early as 1712 or five years after its inauguration. To underscore his sympathy for the new Indio seminarians, he founded a chaplaincy for one of them, Francisco Fabian de Sta. Ana, and another one for himself in 1715. He stipulated that after his lifetime and that of Sta. Ana, his chaplaincies should be given to colegiales and porcionistas of San Phelipe who do not have any other ecclesiastical benefice. He nominated the archbishop as their patron and requested forty masses a year for the eternal repose of his soul and those of his relatives and others in Purgatory. Isturis was probably a criollo who had a late vocation, having served as alcalde-in-ordinary of Manila and alcalde mayor of the Parian. Famed for his philanthropy, he also formed an *obra pia* in 1724 for the support of the San Juan de Dios Hospital.<sup>17</sup>

Two close subordinates of Camacho and Cuesta, Dr. Domingo Valencia and Dr. Protazio Cavezas, both criollos, were later promoted to the Bishoprics of Nueva Caceres and Cebu, respective-

15. Gonzalez de Guzman became a *Licenciado* and *Maestro en Filosofia* at UST in 1679. *USTAA, Graduate Listing*, p. 1-A; AAM, CFC.

16. Molina graduated as *Licenciado* and *Maestro en Artes* at UST in 1692. *USTAA, Graduate Listing*, p. 2-A. He might have been the brother of the archdiocesan secretary, Phelipe de Molina y Figueroa, who was born in Arevalo (Iloilo) Panay. William C. Reppetti, S.J., *The College of San Jose of Manila* (Manila, 1941), MS., p. 347; AAM, CFC and CPM.

17. AAM, LGE (1707-23) f. 44v and 45; BR, 45: 173, and 47: 214.

ly.<sup>18</sup> Without predecessors or peers, they elevated Indio priests to coveted positions in their sees. In Nueva Caceres, B.D. Martin Baluyot became the first Filipino diocesan secretary; B.D. Juan Guinto, the first Filipino vicar forane and B.D. Bartholome Saguinsin, the first Filipino priest-sacristan of the cathedral. In Cebu, B.D. Eugenio de Sta. Cruz emerged as the first Filipino provisor and vicar general and commissary of the Holy Office, succeeding Cavezas in those positions.

Finally, the most reflective defender of the early Filipino priests and their race against the disparagement of Fray San Agustin was the Jesuit historian Juan Jose Delgado in his book *Historia General de Philipinas*. Although written in 1750s, this masterpiece was only published in Manila in 1892. In the meantime, San Agustin's letter had gained wide circulation since it had been incorporated in Sinibaldo de Mas' work (1843) and was quoted by Bowring in his book (1859). Blair and Robertson even found "many manuscript copies of it . . . in various collections, archives and libraries."<sup>19</sup> San Agustin was an excellent historian but he clearly nursed some psychological blindspots as manifested by his rancorous disposition in old age, the brunt of which the Indios had to bear. In comparison, Delgado was a rare wholesome soul.

## THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

Some historians have recently claimed that there were actually a few Filipino priests ordained in the seventeenth century. However, Schumacher has clearly pointed out that their conclusions are "based on erroneous data or interpretations." On the other hand, Schumacher has received verbal reports that late seventeenth century baptismal books in some parishes in the Ilocos region contain entries of priests with Ilocano surnames.<sup>20</sup>

The Mormon Church in cooperation with the Catholic Bishops' Conference of the Philippines has microfilmed and catalogued all the canonical books (baptismal, matrimonial and burial) in

18. Valencia was born in Manila, and Cavezas in Vigan. Both graduated from the College of San Jose. Repetti, *The College*, p. 347.

19. BR, 40: 183.

20. John N. Schumacher, S.J., "The Eighteenth Century Filipino Clergy: A Footnote to de la Costa," *Philippine Studies* 26 (1978): 157-73.



Luzon.<sup>21</sup> According to this catalogue, there are no surviving church books in Ilocos earlier than the 1720s. However, in Pangasinan, there are at least three parishes with baptismal books dating back to the mid-seventeenth century or earlier. The latter might indeed provide a definitive answer to this question.

The seventeenth century ordination lists at the Manila Archdiocesan Archives yielded only one priest with a Malay surname: AUGUSTIN TABUYO. He was ordained deacon by Archbishop Miguel Garcia Serrano, O.S.A. (1619-29) on 18 September 1621. As though his ordination had to be justified by an unassailable authority, this identifying line was added after his name *este es criado del dicho Arzobispo*. He was the only one in this long list to be so described. Exactly three months later, he was ordained to the priesthood by the same archbishop on 18 December 1621. This time, he was identified as *criado del Obispo de Nueva Zegovia con Reverendos del dicho Arzobispo*.<sup>22</sup>

There were three more *criados del Obispo de Nueva Zegovia* who were granted the first tonsure in Manila on 19 February 1622.<sup>23</sup> They were Francisco Baquio, Juan Flores and Marcos de Figueroa. However, they do not seem to have pursued their vocations for their names do not appear again in the subsequent lists.

Some historical background is necessary to understand these data. Archbishop Garcia Serrano was the bishop of Nueva Segovia from 1616 to 1619 when he succeeded to the episcopal see of Manila. He must have brought the young Augustin Tabuyo with him to Manila, so that he could personally oversee Tabuyo's training to the priesthood, hence, the title *criado del Arzobispo*. Meanwhile, the new bishop of Nueva Segovia, Dr. Don Juan de Renteria of the secular clergy, finally arrived after a long delay in October or November 1621.<sup>24</sup> Thus when Tabuyo took Holy

21. Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints, *Microfilm Operator's Report*, on Church Books in Luzon, arranged alphabetically according to Provinces. MSS, temporarily located in the UST Main Library, according to directives of the CBCP.

22. AAM, *LGE* (1620-27), Doc. 272, f. 190, and Doc. 274, f. 191v. (He was ordained with Sebastian Ramos who was one of the three earliest known graduates of UST, as *Maestro en Artes*, in ca. 1629).

23. *Ibid.*, Doc. 274, f. 192. (Moreover, Archbishop Garcia Serrano created a multi-racial clergy. He ordained a Japanese Jesuit, Miguel Magsunda (1622) and two Japanese Dominicans, Jacobo de Sta. Maria and Thomas de San Jacintho (1625). The latter two were martyred in Japan (1633 and 1634, respectively) and recently beatified with the Filipino mestizo Lorenzo Ruiz. *Ibid.*, Docs. 274 and 282.).

24. BR, 51: 301-2, and 20: 85.

Orders, he was called instead *criado del Obispo de la Nueva Segovia*. He must have returned to this diocese soon after his ordination.

In 1624, we meet him again as Licenciado Augustin Tabuyo Baldecañas during the expedition to the Igorot mines led by sargento mayor Alonzo Martin Quirante (February to May). He was appointed to this expedition by Bishop Renteria together with the Dominican missionary in Pangasinan, Fray Raymundo Beger, as "cura and vicar" of the group. Beger apparently worked with the 855 Pangasinense-members of the party while Tabuyo served the 893 Ilocano warriors. In the end, however, only Tabuyo was left to become "cura and vicar of the camp and fort of Santiago of the Igolotes" and sign the official reports of the expedition as a principal witness.<sup>25</sup>

In Bugarin's *Diccionario Ibanag-Español* (1854), there is a word *Tabbuyut* which is translated as "De tomar algo, aparandolo en la saya, falda, o' pañuelo,"<sup>26</sup> (Ibanag is the dialect of Cagayan Province where the bishopric of Nueva Segovia was originally located.) This might have been the rootword of *Tabuyo*; the Spaniards frequently dropped terminal consonants of indigenous names.

According to the style of the period, "Baldecañas" ("Valley of bamboos") must have been Tabuyo's maternal surname. Does this mean that his mother was a Spanish lady and therefore, he was a Spanish mestizo? Most probably not. Spanish mestizos then were the offspring of a Spanish father and an India; the reverse combination was a social taboo.<sup>27</sup>

If Tabuyo was indeed an Indio-Filipino, then he must have been the first Filipino priest. If not, he might have been a Mexican expatriate in northern Luzon, which however, was rather unusual and less likely. Needless to say, a great deal of research will be necessary to resolve this issue.

25. Ibid., 20: 262-303.

26. Jose Bugarin, *Diccionario Ibanag-Español* (Manila: Amigos del Pais, 1854), Suplemento, p. 57.

27. Is Tabuyo also a Spanish or Mexican surname? The Spanish historian, Fr. Fidel Villaroel, O.P., said he had never heard of it as a Spanish patronymic, and if it is, it must be very rare. A comparative survey of the telephone directories of the capital cities of the Philippines, Mexico and Spain reveals three subscribers with this family name in Manila, one in Mexico City, and none in Madrid.

In principle, a Filipino Indio could have been ordained at that stage of the Philippine church although admittedly it would have been quite a novel idea. The third Council of Mexico had tried to relax, though only slightly, the ban on the ordination of Indios, as along as "great care [is] exercised in their selection." This was in 1585 or seven years after the creation of the diocese of Manila suffragan to Mexico.

Moreover, Luzon had passed the critical test of "two generations" allowing for sufficient assimilation and maturation of the people in the new Faith so that ordination of native sons could be considered. Of all the religious orders, the Augustinians to which Archbishop Garcia Serrano belonged seemed the most open-minded with regards to this development. They began admitting Indios of the native nobility as early as 1590 or thirty-one years before Tabuyo's ordination. In that year, Martin Lakandula, son of the king of Tondo, received the Augustinian habit as a lay brother but he died soon afterwards. Another thirty-one years after Tabuyo's ordination, another young Lakan, Marcelo de San Agustin entered the same Order as a lay brother on 5 September 1652.<sup>28</sup> His spiritual brethren and namesake, Fray Gaspar de San Agustin, O.S.A., paid homage to him as a musician, composer "and above all, a great servant of God" in his *Conquistas de las Islas Filipinas*. This book was published in Madrid in 1698, a year after Bro. Marcelo's death. Fray Gaspar must have forgotten his example altogether twenty-two years later (1720) when he wrote his vehement discourse against Indio priests and their so-called worthless race.<sup>29</sup>

Besides Tabuyo, there appears to be at least one more Indio priest in the seventeenth century. An extant list of alumni of the Colegio de San Juan de Letran who became "priests and religious" (*sacerdotes y religiosos*) includes the following:

Miguel Jerónimo (de Padres Nobles) entró por el año 1632, Pampango, clérigo presbítero.

28. Elviro Perez, *Catalogo Bio-Bibliografico de los Religiosos Agustinos* . . . (Manila: University of Sto. Tomas, 1901), pp. 67 and 200. The Augustinians were also the only Order in the Philippines in the seventeenth century which included Filipino-Spanish mestizo priests in their roster. *Ibid.*, pp. 204 and 210.

29. Gaspar de San Agustin, *Conquistas de las Islas Filipinas* (Madrid, 1698), p. 490, and Sinibaldo de Mas, *Informe sobre el estado de las Islas Filipinas en 1842* (Madrid, 1843), 3:33.

Juán Lorenzo (desamparado), de Bagumbayan entró por el año 1647, salió para clérigo.<sup>30</sup>

Their names are quite typical of those used by many early Filipinos who seemed to prefer second names to surnames. Since this list was made in 1655, it indicates that one or both of them had been ordained by that time. Indeed, in the case of Jeronimo, we found documentary corroboration at the Archives of the Archdiocese.

On 23 September 1653, Archbishop Poblete ordained a certain Miguel Jeronimo de Morales (written in Latin as Michael Hyeronimus) to the first tonsure and minor orders. His name, however, does not appear again in the subsequent catalogues. The reason might well be that he had transferred to the diocese of Nueva Caceres. On 17 November 1666, Archbishop Poblete, acting as governor of the diocese, sede vacante, appointed Br. Miguel Jeronimo as interim parish priest of Pajo in Camarines (Catanduanes) "with the assistance of and under Mro. Diego Baptista."<sup>31</sup>

The common denominator between Archbishop Garcia Serano who ordained Tabuyo and Archbishop Poblete who ordained Jeronimo was their affirmation of the episcopal right of visitation of Regulars who administered curacies. In fact, as we shall see, this was the common denominator of all the Archbishops who championed the ordination of Indio priests. Clearly, they realized the need for a native clergy in order to overcome the perennial threat of the Religious Orders to resign their curacies in protest of visitation.

## THE FIRST GROUP OF FILIPINO PRIESTS

ARCHBISHOP DIEGO CAMACHO Y AVILA, THE  
FOUNDING FATHER (1697-1706)

If there were Indio priests ordained during the seventeenth century, it seems quite clear that they were very few and far between. It was rather at the close of the seventeenth century that the Filipino secular clergy was belatedly but enthusiastically

30. Evergisto Bazaco, *Historia Documentada del Real Colegio de San Juan de Letran* (Manila: U.S.T. Press, 1933). p. 55.

31. AAM, LGE (1656-1673) Docs. 710 and 760.

launched by Archbishop Camacho, its heroic founder. Heroic, because in the face of intense prejudice and opposition in his time, he still persisted almost singlehandedly (even anticipating the royal order to that effect by seven years) in building its foundations not just for an age, but for all time. For his singleness of purpose, his name should be especially enshrined in the history of the Philippine church. It is significant that he was as misunderstood as the brown priests he ordained.

Born in 1652 of a noble family in Badajoz, Camacho was ordained a secular priest and eventually became canon of the cathedral of his native city. He was elected archbishop of Manila on 29 April 1694. To his disquiet, he learned that there was no seminary yet in the Philippines, and as soon as he arrived in Mexico in 1695, he formally petitioned the King to fill this need in his archdiocese. He was consecrated at the Cathedral of Puebla de los Angeles on 19 August 1696 soon after receiving the papal bull of his appointment. Before he sailed from Acapulco on 30 March 1697, in the midst of a dreadful pestilence, he managed to follow up his petition to the King regarding a seminary in Manila.<sup>32</sup>

From the outset Camacho embarked upon the training of native aspirants for the priesthood while confidently awaiting the formal creation of a seminary. This he did even as he plunged courageously into the controversy over the episcopal visitation of parishes held by the religious orders. As in previous epochs, the latter threatened to resign their curacies and Camacho realized all the more the need for a Filipino clergy in order to counteract this harsh contingency.

The ordination of the first group of Filipino priests by Camacho and his suffragan bishops can be divided into three phases. The first phase occurred between 1697 and 1704 before the arrival of the Royal order of 1702 creating the first Philippine seminary. The second was between 1704 and late 1705 before the Seminary of San Clemente was set up temporarily in a private house in Intramuros. At this point, Bishop Andres Gonzalez, O.P., of Nueva Caceres (1681-1709) followed Camacho's lead albeit ambivalently. The third phase occurred between late 1705 and the middle of 1706 when Camacho left Manila for Guadala-

32. Merino, *Don Diego Camacho*, p. 405; BR. 51: 308.



jara in Mexico. In the last two phases, Camacho found special support in Abbot Gianbattista Sidoti (1704-8) to turn his dream of a native seminary into reality. Therefore, Sidoti should be considered the co-founder of the Filipino secular clergy. The names, categories and curriculum vitae of the first group of Filipino priests are summarized together with those of the second group in the accompanying table. They will be discussed together in the general context of the development of the native clergy.

In the agonizingly slow bureaucratic communications between Spain and the Philippines through Mexico, we have to follow alternately the chain of events on three fronts: Camacho's pioneering struggles in Manila, his languishing petition in Madrid and their repercussions in the Vatican.

#### THE FIRST ORDINEES (1698-1703)

Br. Francisco Baluyot is the first definitely known Indio priest. Camacho apparently ordained him in Advent (December) of 1698 about a year and a half after his arrival. On 20 February 1699, while Baluyot was in Guagua, Pampanga, his hometown, the Archbishop sent him the license to preach and hear confessions of both men and women.<sup>33</sup> By then, Camacho had designated him a priest of the diocese of Cebu which was governed only by an unconsecrated Bishop Miguel Bayot, O.F.M. (1696-1700).<sup>34</sup>

The devout Baluyots turned out to be the first Filipino priestly clan serving all four Philippine dioceses. Besides Francisco, three others of the same surname were among the first two groups of Filipino priests, that is, two in the first group (Alfonzo and Martin) and one in the second group (Augustin).

Camacho also ordained the first known Chinese mestizo priest, Licenciado Joseph de Ocampo about six months after Francisco Baluyot's ordination. A man of means, Ocampo founded his own *capellania de misas* on 23 March 1699 and was installed by the archbishop as its first chaplain on 30 May. As was customary then, he was most probably ordained soon after his installation when he

33. AAM, LGE (1697-1706) f. 112v.

34. Eusebio Gomez Platero, *Catalogo Biografico de los Religiosos Franciscanos de la Provincia de San Gregorio-Magno de Filipinas* . . . (Manila: U.S.T., 1880); *Hierarchia Catholica Medii et Recentioris Aevi*. (Patavii: OFM conv. 1952), vol. 5 (1667-1730) p. 291.

had established his means of support as a priest. This must have occurred in June of 1699 in the Ember week after Pentecost. As far as we know, he was both the first Chinese mestizo to found a capellania as well as the first Chinese mestizo capellan. An erudite man, he was also apparently the first Chinese mestizo to earn licentiate and magistral degrees in Arts at the University of Sto. Tomas.<sup>35</sup>

The second Indio priest to be ordained by Camacho was Br. Ignacio Gregorio Manesay. He acted as a Tagalog translator during the archbishop's pastoral visits of 1698-99. On 19 September 1699, Camacho paused to grant him the license to say his "first and other masses" in the archdiocese for a duration at the will of His Grace. Three months later, on 15 December 1699, Camacho further gave him the title of general confessor for both men and women in the archbishopric.<sup>36</sup>

After an interval of almost four years, Camacho found another important opportunity to elevate the third Indio to the priesthood: Br. Alfonzo Baluyot y Garzia, probably a younger brother or cousin of Francisco. In early 1703, a Regidor of the City of Manila, Captain Thomas de Cruzalegui, in representation of the pagan tribes of the mountains of Abra de Vigan, petitioned Camacho as administrator of the vacant see of Nueva Segovia for a missionary from the secular clergy. In direct response to this request, Camacho ordained Alfonzo sometime in the middle of the same year. On 14 August, he gave him the privilege to celebrate his "first and other masses" for a period of time at the will of the archbishop as well as the titles of "worker and linguist" (*operario y lengua*). Then on 22 August, Camacho made him a preacher and general confessor and nominated him as the missionary to Abra. Governor Zabalburu approved the nomination the next month. Finally, on 7 September 1703, the archbishop formally proclaimed him *Ministro y Misionero Apostolico de los Montes del Abra de Vigan*.<sup>37</sup>

Just before Alfonzo's ordination, Camacho endowed him with a *capellania de misas* on 20 April 1703 to augment his priestly income. Its patron, the governor-general himself, its founder Don

35. AAM, *LGE* (1697-1706) f. 122; AUST, *AG* (1663-1713); USTAA, *Graduate Listing*, p. 2-A.

36. BR 51:42; AAM, *LGE* (1697-1706) ff. 148 v, 154 and Cartas.

37. AAM, *LGE* (1697-1706) ff. 275-76v.



Diego Arcarazo, as well as its first chaplain were all Spaniards. This is probably the first indication of support of Camacho's native clergy by a prominent segment of the Spanish laity. (In 1706, another capellania was made available to Chinese mestizos and Indios by its founders, a Portuguese-Spanish couple Don Domingo and Doña Martina Gomez. They asked Camacho to be its patron.)<sup>38</sup>

Br. Alfonso Baluyot was both the first Indio capellan as well as the first known Indio missionary. His case shows that Camacho independently envisioned a missionary thrust for the native clergy well before his momentous meeting with Archbishop Tournon and Abbot Sidoti sparked a far more elaborate missionary project for the whole of Asia.

FOUNDATION OF THE SEMINARY (1702);  
CAMACHO'S TRANSFER TO MEXICO (1703)

We have to move back in time and place at this point to trace Camacho's petition in the Spanish capital for a native seminary in Manila. Apparently as a result of it, the Madrid government decided to follow up in 1697 the earlier Royal Decree of 1677 which had already ordered the erection of a Philippine seminary. It commanded the incumbent Governor General Fausto Cruzat (1690-1701) to report on what steps, if any, had been taken in that direction in the past two decades and if none, an estimate of the costs involved in starting the project. Correctly assuming that the decree had been shelved, the Council of the Indies endorsed Camacho's entreaty to the King as early as November 1697 proposing the initial number of eight native seminarians. However, Charles II, the last of the Spanish Hapsburgs died three years later, before Cruzat could fashion a response. Instead, the governor's report of 13 June 1700 was received by the new Bourbon King Philip V. In it, he admitted that no seminary had ever been built in Manila because in his opinion there was no need for one, past or present. To refute the governor's claim, Camacho reiterated his supplications to the King in a more urgent tone on 1 and 13 June 1700.<sup>39</sup>

38. *Ibid.*, f. 266v.-67v.; *CM* (1879-81) C.

39. BR 28: 117, 118, and 190; 45:192, and 195; Merino, *Don Diego Camacho*, p. 406.

Camacho won his battle in Madrid. Philip V signed the second Royal Decree creating the Manila Seminary for eight native candidates on 28 April 1702. The order, however, did not reach Manila until two years later. By this time, there was a new Governor General, Domingo Zabalburu (1701-9) who was as recalcitrant to the idea as his predecessor and the Religious Orders had been. On 9 November 1703, Camacho was nominated Bishop of Guadalajara in Mexico. In rapid succession, this was ratified by a Papal Bull on 14 January 1704; a royal cedula followed five months later and Camacho received his new appointment in Manila in June of the following year. Sad news seemed to travel faster. In order to be able to lay the cornerstone of the first Philippine seminary, he decided to postpone his departure for a year.<sup>40</sup>

Although his transfer was a big blow to him, Camacho staunchly refrained from commenting publicly on the possible reasons behind it. But the foregoing chronology clearly shows that his transfer was *not* caused by the way he later exceeded in his zeal the Royal Order of 1702, which was received in Manila in 1704, i.e., only after Camacho had been nominated and confirmed to the see of Guadalajara. It is interesting to note, though, that this precise misinterpretation originated from chroniclers of the Religious Orders such as his contemporary, the Recollect Juan de la Concepcion, and the Augustinian Martinez de Zuñiga, from whom it was unwittingly picked up by modern church historians including de la Costa.<sup>41</sup>

#### *Abbot Gianbattista Sidoti, Co-founder (1704-8)*

The two years between 1704 and 1706 were obviously quite hectic for Camacho. There was so much to accomplish in so little time. Providentially, at precisely this hour of stress and dire need, two dynamic men of God appeared on the shores of Manila on 22 September 1704. They were the Papal Legate to Peking, Archbishop Charles Thomas Maillard de Tournon, on his way to resolve the conflict over the Chinese rites; and a Sicilian secular priest called Abbot Sidoti, a quixotic saint animated with the idea of reintroducing Christianity to Japan. Considering their tasks at

40. Ibid, pp. 435-41; AAM, *LGE* (1697-1706) f. 395.

41. BR 45:192-207 (Juan de la Concepcion's account); Joaquin Martinez de Zuñiga, *Historia de las Islas Philipinas* (Sampaloc, 1803), pp. 415-17.

hand, it was not surprising that their solicitude for the indigenous clergies matched Camacho's. Upon learning of his lonely crusade in Manila, they decided to join hands with him, eventually expanding his project to include seminarians not only from the Philippines but from all over Asia.

In Camacho's behalf, Tournon conferred with Governor Zabalburu regarding the long overdue seminary. When the Legate departed for Macao on 2 April 1705, he left Sidoti behind to pick up where he left off in his transactions with the governor. A charismatic man, Sidoti succeeded in time in converting the shrewd Zabalburu to their side. To complement government expenses, Sidoti personally solicited private contributions in Manila and suburbs from which he received an overwhelming response. The roll of honorable patrons numbered ninety, spearheaded by the archbishop, the governor-general, dignitaries of the cathedral chapter, auditors of the Audiencia and more than fifteen generals. All were Spanish supporters of the native clergy under the inspiration of Camacho and Sidoti. Not lacking in business sense, Sidoti deposited the majority of the funds (twelve thousand pesos) as an *obra pia* with the *Mesa de la Misericordia* so that it could be invested in the galleon trade. In this way, he calculated that the capital would multiply to the point that the seminary could become self-supporting.<sup>42</sup>

No less enthusiastically, the Tagalogs pledged to provide in their own humble way all the necessary stone and limestone, and the Pampangos, all the timber for the seminary building.

As Camacho magnanimously put it to the King, "(Sidoti) prevailed where your Royal Orders and all my efforts failed." He also called him "a true apostle and a selfless man who labored day and night." Hence, although he came to the scene seven years late, Sidoti could be considered the cofounder of the Filipino secular clergy because of his indispensable role in the foundation of the native seminary. This was his penultimate spiritual venture before he suffered imprisonment and death in Japan (1708-15) for which he is better known in ecclesiastical annals.

42. Merino, *Don Diego Camacho*, pp. 410-15; *Enciclopedia Cattolica* (Citta del Vaticano, 1953), 11: 543, and 12: 383.

## THE SECOND ORDINEES (1705)

After the Royal Order of 1702 was received in Manila in 1704 and before a temporary edifice could be secured for the seminary, Archbishop Camacho ordained two more Indio priests. They were Br. Juan Chrisostomo and Br. Juan Mañago. Camacho apparently timed their ordination before the departure of the Papal Legate Tournon for Macao on 2 April 1705. A few months later, Bishop Andres Gonzalez of Nueva Caceres also ordained an Indio priest of the Baluyot clan: Br. Martin Baluyot Panlasigui.

Br. Juan Chrisostomo must have been ordained in the Ember week in Lent in February or March 1705. Camacho sent him to his first assignment in San Pedro de Tunasan as assistant to its parish priest, Mro. Protacio Cabezas, in the Holy Week of 1705. After a year in this position, Camacho recalled him for failing in the subject of moral theology in the synodal examinations. On the other hand, Cabezas who was to become Bishop of Cebu, seemed pleased with his initial performance.<sup>43</sup> Chrisostomo, who became the most controversial of the first group of Filipino priests, persevered and acquitted himself quite well towards the middle part of his career.

Br. Juan Mañago, on the other hand, was the first graduate of the University of Sto. Tomas with a Malay surname. He earned the degree of Bachelor of Arts there in March of 1700. Camacho most probably ordained him at the same time as Chrisostomo. On 5 March 1705, he was nominated by Camacho assistant parish priest (Theniente del Cura) of Santiago outside Intramuros and a chaplain of the Chapel of the Royal Regiment (*Real Tercio*). However, it was only two months later, on 6 May 1705, that he was granted the license to say his "first and other masses" in the archdiocese for a period of time at the will of His Grace.<sup>44</sup>

Not to be left behind, Bishop Gonzalez of Nueva Caceres decided to ordain an Indio priest too, apparently for the first time. He was Br. Martin Baluyot Panlasigui, probably a younger brother or cousin of Francisco and Alfonso, two of the first ordinees. At the latest, Martin received Holy Orders in the September Ember Week of 1705. As though to make up for his lateness in elevating

43. AAM, CPM. (Letter of Cabezas, 20 April 1708).

44. AUST, AG (1663-1713); USTAA, *Graduate Listing*, p. 2-A; AAM, LGE ff. 376, 377v. and 461v.

native candidates, Gonzalez tried to outdo Camacho, his erstwhile foe in the visitation controversy, by nominating Martin as the very first Indio parish priest. Unfortunately, this proved to be only a half-hearted gesture. After Governor Zabalburu approved Martin's nomination on 2 December 1705, Gonzalez changed his mind at the last minute and refused to install Martin in his rightful place during the rest of the Bishop's lifetime. The latter died in 1709 and by order of Archbishop Cuesta, Baluyot Panlasigui was belatedly installed in 1711 to his proprietary parish of Abuyon in Bondoc, Tayabas (now Quezon). Later, under Bishop-Elect Valencia, he became the first Indio diocesan secretary in Nueva Caceres (1716-18).

THE SEMINARY OF SAN CLEMENTE: THE THIRD ORDINEES AND THE FIRST SEMINARIANS (1705-6)

In October of 1705, while patiently negotiating for the start of the construction of the seminary building, Camacho and Sidoti installed the first eight native seminarians temporarily in a house of the royal hacienda in Intramuros. The house had been confiscated by the government from a certain Licenciado Don Manuel Suarez de Oliveira and turned over to Camacho by Zabalburu.<sup>45</sup> The seminary was named San Clemente in honor of the reigning Pontiff.

The third group of Indio ordinees must also have been lodged in this house, although only for about six months. However, we do not know if they were actually numbered among the first eight native seminarians. Most probably, they were all ordained together by Camacho in May of 1706, at the latest, or two months before he left for Mexico. They included Bres. Pedro Domingo de Leon, Pedro Pasqual and Santiago Garzia.

De Leon was appointed assistant parish priest of San Pedro de Tunasan by Camacho on 6 June 1706 to replace Br. Juan Christostomo. He stayed there only until October when he was transferred to Balayan as its coadjutor, which was to be his position for the rest of his life.<sup>46</sup>

While still in minor orders, Br. Pedro Pasqual was named by Camacho a *Notario Receptor* in the archdiocesan court on 28 June

45. Merino, *Don Diego Camacho*, p. 413.

46. AAM, LGE (1697-1706) f. 457v.; CPM (Letter of Cabezas, 20 April 1708).



Planta del Seminario de S. Clemente de Manila. (Foto Cátedra de Historia de América de la Universidad de Sevilla).

1705. He was the first Filipino ecclesiastical notary that we know of. For lack of a specific date, we are assuming that he was ordained by Camacho together with de Leon. He was already recorded a priest on 10 October 1707, two months after Archbishop Cuesta assumed his post in Manila. He was then the coadjutor of San Roque, Cavite under the Japanese pastor and vicar forane, Dr. Lucas Nayto. He also remained a coadjutor all his life, although he died in the diocese of Nueva Caceres with the same rank.<sup>47</sup>

Br. Santiago Garzia, on the other hand, was given the license to wear the clerical habit for the first time by Camacho on 15 September 1704. We are also assuming that he was ordained with de Leon and Pasqual. As early as 7 November 1707, less than three months after Cuesta's arrival, he was already referred to as *Cura de las Estancias* although this was probably in an acting capacity.<sup>48</sup>

There was another seminarian named Br. Nicolas Silvestre who was probably an Indio. He was allowed to wear the clerical garb on 13 September 1704, two days before Garzia. However, he must have left or died young because his name does not appear in any later records.

Finally, to ensure the continuity of the native clergy Camacho apparently raised at least five other Indios to minor orders before his embarkation. Undoubtedly, they were among the first eight native seminarians of San Clemente, among whom Br. Sebastian Polintan stood out prominently. Camacho had ordained him to the diaconate but he was apparently not ready yet for elevation to the priesthood, perhaps because he had not reached the required age even for dispensation. Nevertheless, clearly impressed by his ability, Camacho nominated Polintan as the first Indio parish priest in the archdiocese, in the curacy of Sto. Tomas de los Montes (Batangas). Governor Zabalburu confirmed his appointment on 6 June 1706 and Camacho conferred the formal title upon him three days later. This rendered certain his ordination by Camacho's successor.

Among the Indio seminarians to whom Camacho granted minor orders, we can confidently identify the following, not from

47. AAM, *LGE* (1697-1706) f. 395; *LGE* (1707-23) f. 38v.; *CFC* (Letter of Nayto, 7 November 1707); *CPM* (Letter of Valencia, 31 October 1716).

48. *Ibid.*; *LGE* (1697-1706) f. 329v.; f. 450v-52.

Camacho's official book but from his successor's early records: Bres. Thomas Valdez Solit, Augustin Baluyot de San Miguel, Juan Guinto and Sebastian Fabian de Moxica. (Two other possibilities are Br. Domingo Santiago and Br. Andres de Leon.) Solit was apparently the most advanced in his seminary training whereas the last three had just graduated as Bachelor of Arts from the University of Sto. Tomas in March 1706. Almost all of them were called *clerigos de menores ordenes* shortly after Cuesta took over the archbishopric.<sup>49</sup>

In summary, Archbishop Camacho ordained at the minimum, nine native priests (eight Indios and one Chinese mestizo), one Indio deacon and four Indios to minor orders.

### *The Constitution of San Clemente (1706)*

On board the galleon Capitana Ntra. Sra. del Rosario, San Francisco and Sta. Rosa, on 7 July 1706, Camacho received and approved the carefully completed Constitution of the Colegio Seminario of San Clemente from the hands of its saintly author, Abbot Sidoti.<sup>50</sup> The prologue sounds astonishingly modern for it represents the earliest stirrings of a nation well before its time vis-a-vis the world.

Following the example of both majesties, the people of these Islands have always manifested to the world their spirit of charity. On this occasion, they fulfill this spirit once again by each contributing ample and generous alms both to assist in the building of the College as well as to increase the number of seminarians not only from these Islands but also from all over the Orient.

The seminary constitution distinguished two general classes of seminarians: the eight native students as specified by the royal decrees, and the scholars of the residents and benefactors from both the Philippines and other parts of Asia up to a maximum of seventy-two in commemoration of the seventy-two disciples of Christ. The latter provision turned out to be the most vulnerable to criticism by the opposition. In addition, an unspecified num-

49. AUST, *AG* (1663-1713); AAM, *LGE* (1707-23) ff. 34v-35, 72, 38 (1715); CFC (Letter of Gonzalez de Guzman, 26 May 1708).

50. AGI, "Testimonio de las disposiciones, estatutos y reglas concernientes a la R1. Cedula sobre la forma en que se ha de ejecutar la fundacion del Seminario," (Manila 28 Junio 1707) *Filipinas*, leg. 308, cited in Merino, *Don Diego Camacho*, Appendix 2, pp. 520-43.



ber of porcionistas or student boarders who paid for their education was to be considered for admission.

The three main sections on the seminarians give a vivid idea of how the first two groups of Filipino priests were probably selected as well as their personal, social and regional origins.

The applicants should be between eight and twelve years of age in "their prime innocence" before the onset of puberty. They should also be of legitimate birth and preferably of the nobility on both sides of the family (*principales y cabezas*). Nevertheless, a plebeian of noble character, ability and promise should be preferred to a nobleman with lesser attributes.

By design, the selection process was democratic and decentralized. "Notwithstanding the fact that the Lord Archbishops are the sole judges of this College, it is the precise and indispensable will of the benefactors that the selection of the students proceed in the following manner." First the archbishop would issue an edict certifying the available scholarships, and this was to be circulated throughout the islands. Interested boys should not come to Manila but present themselves first to their respective parish priests together with their baptismal certificates and other credentials. The pastor would then choose one or two with the best qualities and send them to Manila to the care of the dean of the cathedral chapter if he was a secular priest, or to the provincial or vicar of his Order if he was a regular. Finally the general board of examiners (*Congregacion General*) would meet at the appointed time to examine each candidate and deliberate and choose the best qualified among them.

For applicants from other countries, it would suffice initially to present a letter of recommendation from the missionary priest or other appropriate persons. Then the archbishop and the dean would examine them personally and decide on their admission.

In terms of priorities for admission, Philippine natives were to be always given first preference. They apparently included Indios, mestizos and criollos but were to be chosen according to their place of residence or birth in the following order: those of Manila (in recognition of their munificent endowments); those of Pampanga (for providing the timber for the building); those of the Tagalog Provinces (for donating the stone and limestone); those of the dioceses of Nueva Caceres, Nueva Segovia and Cebu,

and finally, the sons of the Negritos (for whom Camacho had shown personal concern), Sambals and Talones.

In the second place came the sons of Chinese parents, whether born in the islands or in China, of Christian or pagan background. In the third place were the sons of the Japanese who would come to the islands, or their half-breeds with other nations. In the fourth place were the sons of the natives of Marianas (Guam), Borneo, Siam (Thailand), Tonkin and Cochin China (Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia) and the Carolines. The fifth or last place was given to the natives of Mindanao, Ternate and Malaca (the Moslem Malays); Ceylon, Bengal, Malabars and Mogores (the latter four groups were called *Morenos* in Manila), and other Oriental Islands.

Thus, virtually the whole spectrum of races was welcome; the only two groups excluded were Jews and heretics who were not inclined to apply in any case.

On the same day that he approved the foregoing document, Camacho, set out for Mexico from the port of Cavite — almost exactly nine years after setting foot in the Philippines.

## EPILOGUE

At the time of Camacho's departure, the seminary construction had progressed very little due to the dilatory tactics of its critics. The Augustinians, for example, had tried to block the initial supply of lumber from Pampanga. Now only Sidoti was left to oversee this seemingly interminable project. He became the main recipient of vicious personal attacks by the opposition both openly and anonymously. But he carried on. Inevitably, the competence of the native seminarians was again called into question. This was the smouldering ember in the controversy. Officially, however, the burning issue was the increase in the number of seminarians to accommodate foreigners as well as natives, contrary to royal intentions.<sup>51</sup>

As early as January of 1707, the fiscal of the Audiencia recommended a major revision of the statutes of San Clemente to conform with the laws of royal patronage. Zabalburu submitted this problem to the cathedral chapter which administered the archdiocese sede vacante. After consulting with the ecclesiastical fiscal,

51. Ibid., pp. 414-15 and 424-29.

the chapter came up with a compromise solution. On 22 May, it petitioned the governor for the immediate inauguration of San Clemente with eight native seminarians as prescribed by the King, but without prejudice to future revisions of the provisions in question. Thus assured, Zabalburu finally authorized the inauguration on 18 June 1707.

While the inauguration was still being planned, the next archbishop, Francisco de la Cuesta, arrived. Being of similar persuasion as the opposition, he arbitrarily quashed Sidoti's constitutions for San Clemente, banning not only foreigners but also Indios and mestizos from admission.

In a manner of speaking, Sidoti died a thousand deaths in Manila before his ultimate death in Japan. Between 1707 and 1708, with his mission in the Philippines almost accomplished but dismantled before his eyes at the last minute, he thrice embarked for the Land of the Rising Sun. On his first two attempts, his ship was wrecked at sea. It was on his third try that he reached Japan on the night of 10 October 1708. General Miguel de Elloriaga, administrator of the recently concluded construction of the seminary accompanied him in his last voyage up to the island of Tanexoxima. He then returned to the Philippines to relay the poignant news to Zabalburu and Cuesta.<sup>52</sup> The Abbot was arrested soon after landing and languished in prison till his death on 15 November 1715.

We now turn to the last years of the other founder, Archbishop Camacho. He had reached Acapulco on 19 December 1706 and took possession of the See of Guadalajara on 25 March 1707. Together with Governor Zabalburu and the Audiencia, he was belatedly reprimanded by the King on 15 August 1708 for their unlicensed expansion of the Manila seminary. His Majesty had learned about these changes only indirectly from the Papal Nuncio in Madrid. Thus, all Camacho got for his blood, sweat and tears in Manila was virulent opposition and now a royal censure.<sup>53</sup> It seemed such a thankless task save for the lasting memory of Filipino gratitude which they showed him especially during his last days in the islands.

52. AAM, CFC (Letters of Zabalburu and Elloriaga, 26 and 27 October 1708)

53. Merino, *Don Diego Camacho*, 429-33.

After serving Guadalajara with characteristic dedication, he passed away on 19 October 1712. "In the universal opinion, he died a just and saintly man," according to Jesuit historian Murillo Velarde. Deep within him, Camacho must have divined, if he had not been informed, that time had vindicated him and Sidoti at this point. For Cuesta, after dismissing their concept of a native clergy, had by now realized his mistake and was starting to pick up its pieces contritely.

In a sense, Camacho had left his heart in Manila. In his testament, he asked that a Requiem Mass be celebrated for his soul at the Manila Cathedral which he had so unselfishly embellished. His last wish was solemnly fulfilled on 26 October 1713 by the Bishop of Nueva Segovia, Don Diego de Gorospe e Yrala.<sup>54</sup>

The Recollect historian, Fray Juan de la Concepcion whose own Order was fiercely entangled with Camacho in the conflict on visitation, paints a sympathetic portrait of this prescient prelate.

He was a zealous and charitable Archbishop. From the due salary of his predecessor, Señor Poblete, from various alms given by the King, and from those given by pious private persons, his zealous diligence got together more than forty thousand pesos. He spent them in this holy church of Manila in its decoration and ornament. He gilded the reredos, beautified the choir, enriched the sacristy with chalices and ornaments, and as well built the excellent steeple from its foundations, and other things. More than twenty thousand pesos were pledged in these expenses and in various alms. He was a vigilant shepherd, and if the violent controversies above mentioned which he had with the regulars occurred, he can very easily be excused in that he did not exceed the authority and dignity of his office. He promoted the missions of Paynaan and San Isidro, where he went in person to induce the Aetas or Negritos to become converted.<sup>55</sup>

Camacho's resplendent cathedral was the setting for his solemn ordinations of the first group of Filipino priests.

## THE SECOND GROUP OF FILIPINO PRIESTS

ARCHBISHOP FRANCISCO DE LA CUESTA, O.S.J.,  
AMBIVALENT REVISIONIST (1706-10)

A theologian and preacher to the King in Madrid, Fray Francisco de la Cuesta of the Order of San Jeronimo was named to the

54. BR 51:308.

55. Ibid., 45:199-200.

archbishopric of Manila 1704. Arriving here three years later, on 12 August 1707 he took possession of the See which was then in the midst of preparations for the inauguration of the Seminary College of San Clemente. In far Rome, the Papal Brief conceding its canonical erection was issued on 15 October 1707, but this would arrive in the Philippines a year later.<sup>56</sup>

If Camacho had been transferred because of his conflicts with the Religious Orders, it was to be expected that his replacement would be more sympathetic to them. Indeed, Cuesta fulfilled this expectation right from the start of his term.

Being the "sole judge" of the Seminary, he decided to abrogate Sidoti's controversial constitution of San Clemente. On 24 October 1707, he formally drew up his new rules and regulations to replace it. He had found the Abbot's rules too ascetic ("They could serve to maintain in perfection the most reformed religious") and impractical ("in the judgment of prudent and experienced men").<sup>57</sup> In stark contrast to Camacho and Sidoti, he not only barred foreigners from admission but also re-interpreted the royal provision for eight native seminarians to mean "sons of Spaniards or at least sons of a Spanish father and mestiza mother who are commonly called *quarterones* and not descendants of Indios, Moros, Negroes or slaves or those sentenced by the Holy Office." As he explained in his *consulta* to Governor Zabalburu also on 24 October, he based his interpretation on the *Recopilacion de Indias* regarding Colleges and Seminaries (Third Law, title 23, book 1). In effect, he displaced the Indio and mestizo seminarians from San Clemente and banned them from ordination. This was in effect going back to the Mexican prohibition of 1555. The governor as Vice Royal Patron conveniently forgetting his understanding with Sidoti, approved the new regulations the following day. Thus, except in name, a totally different seminary was solemnly inaugurated on 8 December 1707.<sup>58</sup>

Notwithstanding these impetuous development, Cuesta gave a few but clear indications of the opposite stand. In the September Ember Days only a month after his arrival, he ordained Br.

56. BR 51:308. (Blair and Robertson state that Cuesta was consecrated in Mexico on 12 August 1707, which is apparently an error.); AAM, LGE (1707-23) f. 2v.; Merino, *Don Diego Camacho*, p. 429.

57. Merino, *Don Diego Camacho*, p. 424.

58. AAM, LGE (1707-23) ff. 43-44v., 44v.-47v. and 55.

Sebastian Polintan to the priesthood and granted him the license to celebrate his "first and other masses" on 26 October 1707.<sup>59</sup> Thus Polintan became the first of the second group of Filipino priests although he had almost completely trained under Camacho. Perhaps, Cuesta did not have much choice in this matter — Camacho had seen to it that Polintan would be ordained by his successor by appointing him parish priest of Sto. Tomas just before he left for Mexico.

Be that as it may, Cuesta soon made an exception of at least another Indio cleric in minor orders. In the middle of 1708, he raised Br. Thomas Valdez Solit to the subdiaconate. At Cuesta's order, Solit had been examined and found competent to become a subdeacon on 26 May 1708 by Mro. Juan Gonzalez de Guzman, one of the synodal examiners who showed sympathy for Indio clerics. Subsequently, Solit became the second Filipino to be ordained (with the title of *Capellan*) by Cuesta most probably in 1710 or at the latest in 1712. Like that of Alfonzo Baluyot's, his two capellanias were endowed and administered by Spaniards, which shows that the development of the Indio clergy had not completely lost support from a loyal minority of the Spanish laity. Still, Solit's case was an exception.<sup>60</sup>

On 20 June 1708 (a few weeks after Solit's elevation to the subdiaconate) Cuesta wrote a letter to the King informing him of his decision "not to ordain them /Indios/." In the same letter, he resolved to admit henceforth none but sons of Spaniards or at least quarterones — a decision which we know now to be according to the revised Rules of the Seminary which he had already determined eight months earlier. Finally in this letter, to justify the changes he had made, he vehemently criticized Camacho for ordaining native priests who were dragging down their own race as well.

He ordained some in his time, and I found them so unfit that even the one most capable of them could not be put on a list of those proposed for the position of sacristan in a church (to my great sorrow) because of his lack of capacity. For the synodal examiners excluded him as being unworthy. And though this is bad enough, it is not the principal reason on which I have formed my conscience in determining not to ordain them.

59. Ibid., f. 49 (He was ordained with Br. Martin de Sta. Cruz who died as parish priest of Livis, Tayabas, diocese of Nueva Caceres. Ibid., f. 61v.).

60. Ibid., f. 166 and CFC (letter of Gonzalez).

Rather, it is the fact that the majority are of evil customs, and have so little good upbringing and culture that because of their natural rusticity, even after they have been brought up among Spaniards, they remain incapable of being dealt with in a civilized manner. Moreover, after ordination they preserve among their own people that same manner of acting that they had when they used to go about naked and barefoot, treating one another in such unbefitting and unworthy fashion that they are an object of scorn and jokes among the Spaniards.<sup>61</sup>

In this Cuesta was grievously mispresenting the Filipino priests. Piecing together contemporary records, we can reasonably identify the "unworthy" native priest as Br. Juan Chrisostomo, the most controversial ordinee of Camacho.<sup>62</sup> By no stretch of imagination could he be considered "the most capable of them." In fact of the nine priests ordained by Camacho that we know of, he was the only one whose competence or worthiness was initially called into question. The other eight were then apparently working quietly either as coadjutors or acting pastors. (For example, on 10 October 1707, he made de Ocampo and Pasqual general confessors and preachers.)<sup>63</sup> Furthermore, Cuesta failed to report to the King that he himself had by then ordained an Indio priest, Br. Sebastian Polintan (who was virtually an ordinee of Camacho) and that Polintan was competently and diligently serving as the first Indio pastor of the archdiocese as evidenced by his letters to the archbishop during this period. In fact, in this position, Polintan's earliest surviving letter to Cuesta was dated 23 June 1708 or just three days after the foregoing letter of the archbishop to the King. Neither did Cuesta cite his recent ordination of Solit to the subdiaconate.

Cuesta seems to have been desperately trying to achieve some semblance of consistency between what he wrote and the vivid examples of Polintan and Solit by focusing critically on Indio priests he did not ordain and the "majority" of their kind. His action alone with regards to Polintan and Solit as well as the lat-

61. AGI, Abp. Cuesta to the King, (Manila 20 June 1708) *Filipinas*, leg. 308, cited by Juan B. Olachea, "Incidencias políticas en la cuestión del clero indígena en Filipinas," *Revista Internacional de Sociología* (1972): 167, and translated by Schumacher, "Filipino Clergy," p. 160. Other parts of this letter are quoted by Merino, *Don Diego Camacho*, p. 424.

62. AAM, CFC (Letters of Don Geronimo de Herrera, 27 June 1708 and Governor Zababuru, 12 June 1709); *LGE* (1707-23) ff. 74, 82 and 99.

63. *Ibid.*, f. 38v.

ter's conduct negated his own contentions about their race – but such is the inconsistency of racial prejudice.

THE TRIUMPH OF PATIENCE:

CUESTA'S TRANSFORMATION (1710-15)

In time, the patient examples of Polintan, Camacho's ordinees and their advocates as well as Cuesta's own mature experience as archbishop must have brought about his change of heart. Ironically, Cuesta was in the process of reviving his predecessor's ideas just when the royal censure of Camacho and Zabalburu reached Manila in about 1710. His Bourbon pride slighted, the King had ordered the demolition of the building of San Clemente and the construction of a new seminary on a different site to be called San Phelipe after His Majesty's and not His Holiness' patron saint.<sup>64</sup>

To be sure, Cuesta's metamorphosis was not proclaimed officially but nevertheless it showed clearly in various ways. For example, in 1710 alone, he made three important decisions favoring particular native priests. First, Cuesta summoned Br. Juan Mañago, one of Camacho's ordinees, to be the only Indio priest among the confessors at the Manila cathedral for the Lenten season (March). Next, he ruled in favor of another Indio priest of the first group, Licenciado Don Martin Baluyot Panlasigui, restoring him to his proprietary parish (May). Thirdly, it is probable that in 1710 Br. Thomas Valdez Solit was ordained by Cuesta.<sup>65</sup>

Another confirmation of Cuesta's change of heart was the examination report of the seminary to the archbishop on 28 May 1714. We learn for the first time that there were two *capistas* who, together with four *colegiales* were found competent to become Bachelors of Arts and begin their theological studies. Since the arts course then took two years to complete (after the preparatory course of *gramatica*), the two capistas must have been in the seminary since 1712 at the latest. If they had also taken the *gramatica* there, which is most likely, then they must have entered the seminary even earlier. Although the term capista was

64. de la Costa, *Readings*, p. 88.

65. AAM, EDM (*Autos*) (1700-40)C; CFC (Letter of Cuesta 30 May 1710).



not defined in this document, we can assume that it meant the same as in the University of Sto. Tomas, that is, generally a non-Spaniard or at least one who has more Indio blood than a quarteron. In the same report, there were eleven *porcionistas* who had just passed the *gramatica* and were to begin the arts course. Again, the term *porcionista* was not defined but we know for a fact that at least one of them was an Indio, Br. Simeon Mathias. He applied for the degree of Bachelor of Arts at the University of Sto. Tomas in 1716 identifying himself as a *porcionista* at the Seminary of San Phelippe since 1714.<sup>66</sup>

Still another significant development was the favored case of a Filipino cleric in minor orders, Br. Francisco Fabian de Sta. Ana. On 27 November 1715, Licenciado Don Gabriel de Isturis, first Rector of San Clemente and then of San Phelippe, founded two chaplaincies with a principal of about ₱2,000 each. He assigned the first chaplaincy to Sta. Ana and the second to himself, as regular means of support. As a *capista*, Sta. Ana had graduated from the University of Sto. Tomas in 1712 with the degree of Bachelor of Arts.<sup>67</sup> He must have then transferred to San Phelipe as a *capista* or *porcionista*. Most likely, since this was the usual custom then, Isturis offered this *capellania* to Sta. Ana in preparation for his ordination early the following year (1716). It is uncommon to find in Cuesta's book Filipino clerics receiving chaplaincies let alone those founded by Spaniards of Isturis' status. Hence this personal choice of Isturis probably reflected a broader change of attitude towards Filipino ecclesiastics at this point. Sta. Ana was the third known Indio *capellan*, after Alfonzo Baluyot and Solit.

In sum, there are many signs that Cuesta began to evince a change of policy towards Indio priests as early as 1710, and certainly not later than 1712. Nevertheless, it was to be a gradual process.

BISHOP DIEGO DE GOROSPE E'IRALA,  
O.P. OF NUEVA SEGOVIA (1705-15)  
TRANSITIONAL GUARDIAN

While Cuesta was still vacillating and shifting policies, a lone

66. AAM, *LGE* (1707-23) f. 200v.; AUST, *DG* (1716).

67. Ibid. (1712); AAM, *LGE* (1707-23) ff. 44v. and 45.

prelate was carrying on Camacho's mission of ordaining Filipino priests as the need arose in his diocese. A native of Puebla de los Angeles, Bishop Gorospe of Nueva Segovia was evidently a sympathizer of the late Camacho. It was he who celebrated the latter's memorial mass at the Manila Cathedral in 1713. Following Camacho's example, he did not hesitate to enforce his episcopal right of visitation on his own Order and that of the Augustinians, both of whom strongly resisted.<sup>68</sup>

He played an important role in the transitional period between Camacho and Cuesta. However, we could not ascertain the chronology of his ordination of native priests nor their number. Of these the earliest we know was his namesake, Br. Diego Gervacio, a native of Ilocos. In about 1713, he sent him to the Mission of Abra originally assigned by Camacho to Br. Alfonzo Baluyot in 1703.<sup>69</sup>

Before he died on 20 May 1715, Gorospe had also raised to the priesthood Br. Augustin Baluyot who had been granted minor orders by Camacho in 1706, but was displaced by Cuesta from the seminary of San Clemente in 1707. Hoping to follow the missionary footsteps of his elder brother or cousin, Alfonso Baluyot, he had found refuge in Gorospe's bishopric. Unfortunately, however, Gorospe or his secretary was not diligent enough in recording his canonical title of ordination. Subsequently, the provisor of the vacant see, Mro. Julian de Molina sent him to Manila in June of 1716 to obtain his *congrua*. The changed Cuesta now granted him his first license to hear confessions on 24 December 1716 and decided to retain him in Manila.<sup>70</sup>

#### THE RESUMPTION OF ORDINATIONS (1716-23)

When did Cuesta resume his interrupted ordination of Filipino priests? Most probably it was in 1716 judging from the foregoing cases of Francisco Fabian de Sta. Ana, Augustin Baluyot, and those of Juan Guinto and Sebastian Fabian de Moxica. The latter three had been graduated as Bachelor of Arts by the University of Sto. Tomas in 1706, given minor orders by Camacho in the same year but dislodged from old San Clemente by Cuesta in 1707. Un-

68. BR 42: 236-37; 44: 147; and 51: 308.

69. AAM, CFC (Letter of Molina 15 June 1716).

70. Ibid.; LGE (1707-23) f. 64v.

wavering in their vocations and steeped in patience, they had languished in minor orders for almost a decade. (To make up for past inequities Cuesta would later promote them as the first Filipino pastors of their respective curacies.)

By 1716, Cuesta was being swamped with urgent letters from his archdiocese and the three suffragan dioceses, with one common lament: the acute shortage of priests. From 1715 to the time he left in 1723, Cuesta was the only prelate in the entire archipelago who could ordain priests. The other three bishoprics were either vacant at first or later governed only by bishops-elect. Thus the total responsibility for solving this grave crisis fell to Cuesta, who was partly accountable for it because of his initial exclusivist stance against the admission of Indios and mestizos to the seminary and their ordination. The very problem which Camacho had sought to remedy but which Cuesta failed to see finally caught up with the latter a decade later. Yet once he saw the light, Cuesta made up for his previous passivity with life and spirit.

In the beginning of Cuesta's term, the displaced Guinto, like Augustin Baluyot, had also tried in vain to gain ordination by participating in the synodal examinations for the vacant sacristy of Santiago outside of Intramuros in March of 1708. He later followed Don Domingo de Valencia, former dean of the Manila Cathedral to Nueva Caceres when the latter transferred there as bishop-elect in 1715. Valencia nominated Guinto as parish priest of Indan in Camarines the following year, upon the death of its old Spanish incumbent, and Cuesta approved this. But Guinto was still stranded in minor orders. Thus Valencia asked Cuesta to ordain Guinto. The archbishop elevated the latter to the priesthood together with four companions (who were also probably Indios) from Nueva Caceres during the Ember Days (*Temporas*) of December 1716.<sup>71</sup>

In the case of Moxica, although we cannot find any earlier ecclesiastical data on him, he must have been also ordained in 1716 at the latest. The earliest entry about him is in January of 1717 when he was already a priest and he was appointed to the newly created position of assistant curate of the parish of Natives and *Morenos* in Manila.<sup>72</sup>

71. AAM, LGE (1707-23) f. 72; (Note: new pagination starts in 1715 in this LGE) ff. 38 and 57; CFC (Letter of Cuesta 31 December 1716).

72. AAM, LGE (1707-23) ff. 64-65v.

Another Filipino priest who was probably ordained by Cuesta in 1716 was Br. Eugenio de Sta. Cruz who together with Saguinsin would become the first two pre-eminent Filipino priests. Sta. Cruz graduated from the University of Sto. Tomas in March of 1716 with the degree of Bachelor of Philosophy. In July 1717, Archbishop Cuesta assigned him to the diocese of Cebu to start as acting parish priest of Ajui in Panay (Ilo-ilo).<sup>73</sup> He gradually rose from the ranks to become second only to his bishop.

In the September Ember Days of 1717, Cuesta conferred Holy Orders on the other pre-eminent Filipino priest, Br. Bartholome Saguinsin, with dispensation for his age. On the same occasion the following year, he raised two more Indio clerics to the priestly dignity: Br. Pedro Diaz Mañosca of the archdiocese and Br. Juan Evangelista Muñoz of Nueva Caceres.<sup>74</sup>

There are four other Indio priests we know whose ordination must have occurred in 1720 at the latest. They include the two Manalos, the younger Sta. Ana and Simeon Mathias. Tomas Manalo and the older Francisco Fabian de Sta. Ana graduated from the University of Sto. Tomas in 1712 whereas Nicolas Manalo finished there two years later. Mathias was a co-graduate of Pedro Diaz Mañosca in the same institution in 1716.<sup>75</sup> We do not know where the younger Sta. Ana studied but most probably it was at the seminary of San Felipe.

The last two Filipino priests to be ordained by Cuesta were Br. Juan de Mercado and Br. Gregorio de Sta. Rossa y Ramos. Mercado was a co-graduate of Eugenio de Sta. Cruz y Mercado at the University of Sto. Tomas with a Baccalaureate degree in Philosophy in 1716. Sta. Rossa, on the other hand, was a colegial at the San Juan de Letran. Both requested to be able to ascend the altar with the title of chaplain on the Feast of St. Mathias, 24 February 1723 which Cuesta promptly approved.<sup>76</sup> Although they were the fourth Indio Capellanes (after Bres. Alfonso Baluyot, Thomas Valdez Solit, and Francisco Fabian de Sta. Ana), their capellanias were the first to be founded specifically for Indio priests by Indio principales.

73. AUST, *AG* (1714-22) and *DG* (1716); AAM, *CFC* (Letter of Alonzo Ruiz 24 July 1717).

74. AAM, *LGE* (1707-23) ff. 86v and 114v.

75. AUST, *AG* (1663-1713) and (1714-22); *DG* (1712, 1714 and 1716).

76. AAM, *CM* (1700-1913) A; *LGE* (1707-23) ff. 177-78v.

By that time, Cuesta was already known as Bishop-Elect of Valladolid de Mechoacan in Mexico. Chastened by his Philippine experience, he left Manila on 22 July 1723. Less than a year later, he died in his next post on 30 May 1724 at the age of 63.<sup>77</sup> All in all, he had ordained at least fifteen Indio priests, thirteen of them during the last half of his sixteen-year term.

#### THE ROSARIO PARISH DOCUMENT OF 1721: INDIO PRIESTS AS PASTORS

From the official book of Archbishop Cuesta comes this pivotal document dated 29 May 1721 which presents the roll of nominees to the vacant curacy of Rosario Batanga.<sup>78</sup> It is crucial for at least three reasons. First it is the earliest list of secular priests to differentiate their racial background, which included nine Indios. Second, it contains the names of many of the first two groups of Filipino priests ordained by Camacho and Cuesta from 1705 to 1720 as confirmed by other documents. And third, it throws new light into the bombastic vexation of Fray San Agustin regarding these brown pioneers in his oft-quoted letter of 8 June 1720.

... if God because of our sins and theirs should desire to chastise the flourishing Christian communities of these Islands by placing them in the hands of natives ordained to the priesthood (which seems likely to happen very soon), if, I say, God does not provide a remedy for this, what abominations will result from it!<sup>79</sup>

Having no other records to go by, de la Costa and Schumacher had interpreted San Agustin's warning as referring to the imminent ordination of the first Filipino priests.<sup>80</sup> As we have seen, however, Camacho had already ordained the first Filipino priests from 1699 to 1706 and Cuesta had revived this policy by 1716. Thus in the light of this study, a re-reading of San Agustin's letter indicates that he was protesting not only the replacement of his Order in a parish by a native priest, but also Archbishop Cuesta's inauguration of a new and henceforth definitive and consistent policy of appointing native priests as full-fledged pastors of

77. Ibid., f. 264; BR 51:309.

78. AAM, LGE (1707-23) ff. 135-37.

79. Mas, *Informe sobre el estado de las Islas Filipinas en 1842*, 3:33.

80. de la Costa, *Readings*, p. 89 and Schumacher, "Filipino Clergy," p. 161.

parishes in the archdiocese. The latter point is made clear by the choice of words of San Agustin, that is, a new policy was in the offing. It is further denoted by the fact that for the first time, every step of the Patronato process was recorded in detail, culminating in this five-paged document. In contrast, about a decade earlier, the promotion of Chrisostomo as pastor of Luban by Cuesta appeared to be a solitary case. In fact, he was the only applicant to the isolated island parish and his installation was only briefly noted.

Not far from Manila, the first of the vacant curacies in question was that of Lobo and Galuan, otherwise known as Rosario in the Province of Balayan (now Batangas). Due to a shortage of secular priests, it had been entrusted in the past thirty years to the Augustinians among whom was San Agustin. The archdiocese, however, must have been attempting to reclaim it as early as the middle of 1720 which apparently agitated San Agustin no end. Officially, however, it was only on 3 November 1720 that the Augustinian provincial wrote to both the ecclesiastical and civil authorities requesting them to either assign the parish to the Augustinians in perpetuity or else release them from the responsibility altogether.

The Church and State at this point were literally united in the person of Archbishop Cuesta who had been acting governor-general since the assassination of Bustamante in October of 1719. Thus the fate of the parish of Rosario appeared to have been pretty much decided in favor of the Filipino secular clergy of which Cuesta had by now become a zealous patron.

The official procedure had still to be followed as prescribed by the Patronato Real. First an edict was promptly issued on 8 November 1720 calling for interested secular priests to present themselves for examinations to fill the vacant post.<sup>81</sup> Without precedence in number, fourteen avid candidates responded, nine or two-thirds of whom were Indios. Thus the Filipino priests of the archdiocese were acutely aware of the dawning of a new era. Almost all of them — except the venerable Polintan, Solit and Chrisostomo — converged on the city on this occasion.

On 29 May 1721, the Archdiocesan government headed by Dr. Geronimo de Herrera (later to become Bishop of Nueva Segovia)

81. AAM, *LGE* (1707-23) f. 132.

"finding today many capable subjects ordained with the title of language and competence who can serve and administer it," forwarded the following roll of nominees from which the Archbishop and Governor Cuesta was to choose the proprietary pastor of Rosario:

1. B.D. Simon Martinez de Osorio, Español
2. B.D. Martin Alvarez, Español
3. B.D. Phelippe Garcia, mestizo
4. B.D. Augustin Baluyot, Pampango
5. B.D. Francisco de Sta. Ana, Indio
6. B.D. Francisco de Sta. Ana y Taas, Indio
7. B.D. Mathias Simon, Indio
8. B.D. Pedro Diaz Mañosca, Indio
9. B.D. Miguel de Castro, Español, Coadjutor de Curato de Biñan
10. B.D. Miguel de Uruya, Español, Capellan Real del Terzio de estas Islas
11. B.D. Juan Mañago, Theniente del Capellan del Hospital Real
12. B.D. Santiago Garzia, Cura de las Estancias de Malabon
13. B.D. Domingo de Leon, Coadjutor de Balayan
14. B.D. Sebastian de Moxica, Theniente del Curato de los Morenos de esta Ciudad.

Archbishop Cuesta, as Vice Royal Patron immediately selected B.D. Augustin Baluyot de San Miguel, the top Filipino on the list, to become the parish priest of Rosario. Undoubtedly, Baluyot did have the most outstanding credentials of all but his being a Pampango must have also added to his advantage in the perception of the colonialists.

We also learn from the same document that B.D. Sebastian Polintan, proprietary parish priest of Sto. Tomas del Monte had been asked to serve concurrently as acting pastor of Rosario probably from the time the Augustinians left until the installation of Baluyot on 28 June 1721.

The foregoing list of nominees is quite interesting to analyze. It was ostensibly arranged according to the results of the synodal examinations. On closer scrutiny, however, it appears to be a pragmatic slate based on (1) whether the subjects were idle or working priests, and (2) the colonial concept of the order of races.

Thus, we can make out two main groups of priests: (1) those who had no definite appointments at the time (numbers 1 to 8) and (2) those who were already established in archdiocesan positions (numbers 9 to 14). Further, each group can be subdivided into two subgroups (A) those who were Spaniards or Spanish mestizo (numbers 1 to 3 and 9 to 10) and (B) those who were Pampangos and other Indios (numbers 4 to 8 and 11 to 14). Although the racial background of numbers 11 to 14 were overlooked, they were clearly implied to be Pampangos and other Indios when compared with the hierarchichal order of the first group. Also, Mañago (number 11) is a Pampango surname to begin with. Moreover, the racial classification of a Spaniard would most likely be specified rather than glossed over in a mixed list like this. From the colonial standpoint the Pampangos were raised a notch higher than other Indios (meaning Tagalogs in this document). As the Jesuit historian Delgado noted, Fray San Agustin, for one, "claims that the Pampangos are different from the rest" and he seemed to reflect the bias of his times.<sup>82</sup>

In outline form, the list appears even more sharply this way:

#### I. Idle Priests

##### A. Spaniards and Mestizo

1. Spaniard
2. Spaniard
3. Spanish Mestizo

##### B. Pampango and other Indios

4. Pampango
5. Indio
6. Indio
7. Indio
8. Indio

#### II. Working Priests

##### A. Spaniards

9. Spaniard
10. Spaniard

##### B. Pampango and other Indios

11. Pampango
12. Indio
13. Indio
14. Indio

The arrangement is too shipshape to be wholly credible to the critical eye. In fact, about four months later, the next priest to top the synodal examinations for the curacy of Natives and Morenos was another Indio, Br. Don Sebastian Fabian de Moxica, who appears last in the Rosario parish list. This was indeed quite a big leap in a brief span of time. A year later, the sixth placer, B.D.

82. Delgado, *Historia General de Filipinas*, p. 23.



Francisco de Sta. Ana y Taas, was made his assistant. Finally, when Moxica died in 1730, he was succeeded by the second placer, Alvarez.<sup>83</sup> In sum, the fourteenth placer was awarded the next curacy; that the sixth placer became his assistant and finally, he was succeeded by the second placer.

Notwithstanding these subtle twists, a new era full of hope and prayer had clearly begun for native priests, and the principalia to which they belonged now joined hands to set up capellanias for their financial support.

#### THE RISE OF NATIVE CAPELLANIAS (1721)

It is recorded that pious Indios started to form *capellanias de misas* to assist their pastors and parishes as early as 1605<sup>84</sup> or barely three decades after the commencement of evangelization of Luzon. Certainly, this must be one of the earliest signs of Filipino acculturation to catholicism. However, the Capellanias of Bres. Juan de Mercado and Gregorio de Sta. Rossa, the last two Indio ordinees of Archbishop Cuesta, were the first to be founded purposely for Filipino seculars by Filipinos, specifically Pampango principales. They were apparently inspired by the resumption of ordinations by Archbishop Cuesta as well as his inauguration of a definitive policy of appointing native priests as proprietary pastors.

The two capellanias of Sta. Rossa were endowed by the Fasic family of Apalit on 12 December 1721 and the Pangisnauan sisters of Mexico on 4 January 1722. That of Mercado was established by the Mallaris of Macabebe on 28 November 1722.<sup>85</sup> Thus, their ordinations as capellanes turned a new leaf in Philippine Church history. It marked the third stage of collaboration between the Indio clergy and laity as initially represented by the principalia. After the latter provided pioneers for the priesthood, and the native community as a whole supplied the construction materials for their short-lived seminary, the principales now found in capellanias a temporal yet enduring means of cooperation with the indigenous clergy for the attainment of their common spiritual goals. Indeed, this was the local Church in action. Imbued with the

83. AAM, *LGE* (1707-23) ff. 148v and 172; *EPC* (1729-34).

84. AAM, *CM* (1605-1930) uncatalogued.

85. *Ibid.*, (1700-1913)A; *LGE* (1707-23) ff. 177-78v.

spirit of charity, their founders invariably expressed preference for poor relatives or in their absence, other poor applicants to serve their capellanias. In this way, they soon opened the door of the priesthood to the less fortunate. For instance, when Mercado died in 1730, he was succeeded in his capellania by Br. Antonio de la Assumpcion, one of the first Filipino plebeian priests.<sup>86</sup>

Finally, it appears that the so-called royal land grants to the Lakans in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries had partly evolved into capellanias a century later to support the development of the Filipino clergy.<sup>87</sup>

## RESUME

Based on de la Costa's and his own studies, Schumacher had divided the first two centuries of the evolution of the Filipino Clergy into three approximate stages: (1) Period of Acculturation (1565-1670); (2) Inertia and Prejudice (1670-1720); and (3) Gradual but Steady Development (1720-68). With the new materials now at our disposal, however, we can sketch a more precise division of this erratic process, including six stages in the first one and a half centuries alone.

### I. SPIRITUAL ASSIMILATION (1565-1620)

During this time, at least three generations of Filipinos were actively adapting to and in turn being formed by, the new religion. Christianity had introduced the virgin concept of priestly celibacy in a previously polygamous society in which, furthermore, the analogous religious ministers had usually been women (*babaylan* and *catalonan*).

### II. PREJUDICE VERSUS ADVOCACY (1620-96)

It appears that as early as 1620, the idea of ordaining Indios to the priesthood was already beginning to take shape — and

86. AAM, CM (1722-1893)B.

87. Nicholas P. Cushner and John A. Larkin, "Royal Land Grants in the Colonia Philippines (1571-1626)," *Philippine Studies* 26 (1978): 102-11. However, it should be pointed out that these estates must have been the communal lands of the natives during pre-hispanic times. On this subject of the capellanias de Misas, a virtual mountain of documents at the archives of the archdiocese (the single largest collection) still awaits the interested researcher.

most probably even carried out boldly in a few isolated instances, for example, by Archbishops Miguel Garcia Serrano, O.S.A. (1621) and Miguel de Poblete (1653). It was also at this stage that non-Spanish prelates like Msgr. Pallu, Vicar Apostolic of Siam, Cochinchina and Tonkin (1672) and Msgr. Cerri, Secretary of Propaganda Fide (1680) pointed out to royal and pontifical authorities, respectively, the potentials of, and necessity for, a Filipino clergy.

Finally in 1677, a royal decree was issued ordering the creation of native seminaries in the Philippines. Unfortunately, although it was eloquently supported by the Attorney-General Don Diego Antonio Viga, it was effectively blocked by Archbishop Pardo and the superiors of Religious Orders in Manila.

### III. LAYING OF THE FOUNDATIONS (1697-1706)

The Filipino secular clergy was ushered in by Archbishop Camacho belatedly but ardently at the end of the seventeenth century. This stage can be divided into three phases. From 1697 to 1704 before the royal order of 1702 (again commanding the erection of a Philippine seminary) was received in Manila, Archbishop Camacho at his own initiative had already started training and ordaining native priests (Francisco Baluyot, de Ocampo, Manesay and Alfonso Baluyot).

From 1704 to 1705, Camacho was helped by Abbot Giambattista Sidoti in founding the Seminary of San Clemente. During this time, he continued to ordain Filipino priests (Chrisostomo and Mañago). Bishop Andres Gonzalez, O.P., of Nueva Caceres also ordained the first Indio priest in his diocese (Martin Baluyot).

Finally, the provisional Seminary of San Clemente was opened in October 1705 admitting the first Indio seminarians including Polintan, Solit, Augustin Baluyot, Guinto and Moxica. Before his departure for Mexico in 1706, Camacho elevated Polintan to the diaconate and the latter four to the Minor Orders. He also ordained at least three more Indios to the priesthood (de Leon, Pasqual and Garzia).

In general, Camacho assigned the pioneer Filipino priests as coadjutors or acting pastors of parishes. However, he also installed Br. Alfonso Baluyot y Garzia as the first Indio Capellan as well as the first Indio missionary (to Abra) in 1703. Further, he appoint-

ed Br. Sebastian Polintan who was then still a deacon as the first Indio pastor of the archdiocese (in Sto. Tomas, Batangas) in 1706. This period also saw the emergence of the Baluyots of Guagua, Pampanga (Francisco, Alfonzo, Martin and Augustin) as the first Filipino priestly clan.

#### IV. INTERRUPTION AND AMBIVALENCE (1707-10)

Unfortunately, with Camacho's transfer to the archbishopric of Guadalajara in Mexico (apparently as a result of his conflicts with the Religious Orders over episcopal visitations) his initial accomplishments were interrupted by his successor, Archbishop Cuesta who was initially of the opposite persuasion. Racial prejudice which characterized the second state, regained its dominance albeit in an ambivalent form. On the one hand, Cuesta banned the Indios and mestizos from entering the seminary and from ordination. He quashed Sidoti's Constitution of San Clemente at the eleventh hour and inaugurated a totally different seminary. On the other hand, he had made an exception of Polintan whom he ordained to the priesthood soon after his arrival (1707) and of Solit whom he raised to the subdiaconate (1708).

In the meantime, Bishop Diego de Gorospe, O.P., of Nueva Segovia (1705-15) continued Camacho's policy of ordaining native priests in his diocese (Gervasio and Augustin Baluyot).

#### V. RESOLUTION AND TRANSITION (1710-16)

Because of the patient examples of the first Filipino priests so far ordained as well as the moderating influence of their Spanish advocates, Cuesta gradually relaxed his discriminatory policies against admitting Indios and mestizos to the Manila seminary. Most probably it was in 1710 that he ordained Br. Thomas Valdez Solit with the title of Capellan. Solit's two capellanias were founded by Spaniards, a minority of whom had remained loyal to the concept of an Indio clergy previously fostered by Camacho and Sidoti.

#### VI. RESTORATION AND INVIGORATION (1716-23)

Impelled by the acute shortage of priests not only in the archdiocese but also in the three suffragan dioceses, Cuesta finally

resumed the regular ordination of Indio priests from 1716 up to the time of his departure for his next assignment in the bishopric of Valladolid de Mechoacan in Mexico.

An important sub-stage here was Cuesta's inauguration in 1721 of a definitive and consistent policy of appointing Filipino parish priests to vacant curacies, a move bitterly opposed by Fray Gaspar de San Agustin, O.S.A. At the same time, the native principalia were inspired to found Capellanias to sustain the growth of the Filipino clergy who, in this initial period, came exclusively from their ranks.

## ABBREVIATIONS USED:

## ARCHIVES:

- AAM – Archives of the Archdiocese of Manila  
 AGI – Archivo General de Indias  
 AUST – Archives of the University of Sto. Tomas

## REFERENCES:

- AG – *Asientos de Grados*. U.S.T. 1663-1713; 1714-22; 1720-77 (Catalogued)  
 See USTAA below.
- BR – Blair, Emma H. and Robertson, James A. *The Philippine Islands 1493-1898*. (Cleveland: Clark, 1903-9). 55 vols.
- CCS – *Catalogos del Clero Secular*. "Razon Individual de la Clerecia del Arzobispado de Manila. 1762." Folder A.
- CFC – *Cartas escriptas al Dr. Dn. Francisco de la Cuesta, Arzobispo de Manila 1707-23*. (Uncatalogued but arranged chronologically and bound with LGE below.)
- CM – *Capellanias de Misas* 1605-1930 (Uncatalogued)
- CPM – *Cartas escriptas at Mro. Dn. Phelipe de Molina, Secretario del Arzobispado 1707-24*. (Uncatalogued but arranged chronologically and bound with LGE below.)
- DG – *Diligencias de Grados*. U.S.T. 1663-1898 (Catalogued)
- EDM – *Expedientes sobre diferentes materias* (Uncatalogued)
- EE – *Estipendios Ecclesiasticos 1722-24 and 1747-76*. (Uncatalogued but arranged chronologically.)
- EPC – *Examenes para provision de curatos 1729-34*. (Uncatalogued.) Those of other years are included in LGE below.
- LGE – *Libro del Gobierno Ecclesiastico*.  
 Catalogued: 1620-27; 1653-73; 1723-24; 1737-42; 1737-50;  
 1751-52; 1747-56; 1767-71.  
 Uncatalogued: 1697-1706; 1706-7; 1707-23; 1753-55;  
 1759-64; 1760-69; 1772-83.
- OG – *Ordenes Generales, 1685-89*. (Uncatalogued) Those of other years are incorporated in LGE above.
- USTAA – UST Alumni Association. *Graduate Listing 1611-1971*. (Manila. UST. 1972). pp. 1a to 2b. This list is based on *Asientos de Grados* (AG).

## BIOGRAPHICAL RESUMES

NAME	Year and Place of Ordination	Summary of Data
<b><u>I. THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY</u></b>		
1. B.D. Augustin Tabuyo**	1621	1621 (Sept. 18) ordained as Deacon
	Manila	1621 (Dec. 18) ordained as Priest
		1624 Curate and Vicar of the Igorots
2. B.D. Miguel Jeronimo***	ca. 1655	1632 Entered Colegio de San Juan de Letran
	Nueva Caceres	1653 Ordination to minor orders
		1655 Included in the List of Priests and Religious Alumni of Letran
		1666 Interim Parish Priest of Pajo, Diocese of Camarines.
<b><u>II. THE FIRST GROUP</u></b>		
1. B.D. Francisco Baluyot*	1699	1699 (Feb. 20) Priest of the Diocese of Cebu, license as Preacher and General Confessor in Guagua, Pampanga
	Manila	
2. Mro. D. Joseph de Ocampo (Chinese mestizo)	1699	1699 Cleric in Minor Orders; Founded his own Capellania de Misas; Installed as chaplain of same; Licentiate in Arts, U.S.T.; Sub-deacon
	Manila	1700 Master of Arts, U.S.T.; Acting Pastor of Bala-yan
		1702 Acting Pastor of the Estancias of Malabon (Cavite);

		1702-6	Assistant Pastor of Ermita
		1706-16	Assistant Pastor of Quiapo in charge of town of San Anton (Sampaloc).
		1716	Died
3. Ignacio Gregorio Manesay*	1699 Manila	1698-99	Cleric in Minor Orders; accompanies Abp. Camacho in his Episcopal Visitations; translated petition of new converts of Antipolo and suburbs.
		1699	(Sept. 19) License to say his "First and other Masses" in Manila; (Dec. 15) License as General confessor in Manila.
4. Alfonso Baluyot y Garzia*	1703 Manila	1703	(April 20) Cleric in Minor Orders; Installed as chaplain of the Capellania of Don Diego Arcarazo
		1703	(Aug. 14th) License to say First and other Masses
		1703	(Aug. 22) License as Preacher and Gen. Confessor and nomination as Missionary to Abra
		1703- ca.1713	Ministro y Misionero Apostolico de los Montes de Abra de Vigan
		1721	Coadjutor and Mayordomo of the Vigan Cathedral
5. B.D. Juan Chrisostomo***	1705 Manila	1705-6	Coadjutor of San Pedro de Tunasan
		1709	Coadjutor of Santiago, Extramuros de Manila
		1709	Priest-Sacristan of Luban, Mindoro and Ecclesiastical Notary of same.
		1712	Pastor of same



6. B.D. Juan Mañago*	1705 Manila	1700	A.B., U.S.T.
		1705	(May 6) License to say his "First and other Masses"; Assistant Pastor of Santiago, Extramuros de Manila and a chaplain of the Royal Regiment
		1710	Confessor at the Manila Cathedral during Lent
		1721	Assistant Chaplain of the Royal Hospital and participant in the synodal exams for the curacy of Rosario, Batangas.
7. Ldo. D. Martin Baluyot Panlasigui*	1705 Nueva Caceres	1705	(Dec. 2) Nominated Proprietary Parish Priest of Abuyon, Tayabas
		1706	Acting Pastor of Caramoan
		1711	Installed belatedly as Pastor of Abuyon
		1716-18	Diocesan Secretary of Nueva Caceres
8. B.D. Pedro Domingo de Leon***	1706 Manila	1706	(June 6) Coadjutor of San Pedro de Tunasan
		1706	Coadjutor of Balayan
		1721	Participant in the synodal exams for the Curacy of Rosario, Batangas
		1724	Acting Notary of Vicariate of Balayan
9. B.D. Pedro Pasqual***	1706 Manila	1705	Cleric in Minor Orders; Ecclesiastical Notary
		1706-15	Coadjutor of San Roque, Cavite
10. B.D. Santiago Garzia***	1706 Manila	1716	Died as Coadjutor of Caramoan, N. Caceres
		1704	License to wear clerical habit
		1707	(Acting) Parish Priest of the Estancias of San Francisco de Malabon
		ca.1710	Acting Parish Priest of same

1721 Participant in the synodal exams for the Curacy of Rosario, Batangas

### III. THE SECOND GROUP

- |   |                           |                 |   |
|---|---------------------------|-----------------|---|
| 1. B.D. Sebastian Polintan*             | 1707<br>Manila            | 1706            | (June 9) Deacon; nominated as Pastor of Sto. Tomas, Batangas  |
|   |                           | 1707            | (Oct. 26) License to say his "First and other Masses"   |
|   |                           | 1707-39<br>1739 | Proprietary Parish Priest of Sto. Tomas<br>(Jan. 28) died   |
| 2. B.D. Thomas Valdez Solit*            | ca. 1710<br>Manila        | 1708            | Ordained as Subdeacon   |
|   |                           | ca.1710         | Chaplain of the Capellanias of Angulo and Sambrano  |
|   |                           | 1713-54<br>1754 | Priest-Sacristan of Ermita<br>(Dec. 28) died  |
| 3. B.D. Diego Gervacio***               | ca. 1713<br>Nueva Segovia | ca.1713         | Priest of Nueva Segovia; appointed Missionary to Abra de Vigan  |
|   |                           | 1722            | (July 9) Companion of Bres. Francisco de Sta. Ana and Juan de Ocampo on their way to Vigan as transferees from Manila; Absolved by Abp. Cuesta for accidental death of a lady parishioner he had punished |
|   |                           | 1728            | Still missionary in Abra de Vigan   |
| 4. B.D. Augustin Baluyot de San Miguel* | ca. 1714<br>Nueva Segovia | 1706            | A.B., U.S.T.  |
|   |                           | 1706-14         | Cleric in minor orders  |
|   |                           | 1719-20         | Chaplain of the ship <i>San Andres</i>  |
|   |                           | 1721-37<br>1737 | Parish Priest of Rosario, Batangas<br>(March 30) died   |

5. B.D. Juan Guinto*	1716 Manila	1706	A.B., U.S.T.
		1706-16	Cleric in minor orders
		1716-52	Pastor of Indan, Nueva Caceres
		ca.1745-52	Vicar Forane of Paracale
6. B.D. Sebastian Fabian de Moxica**	ca.1716 Manila	ca.1754	Died
		1706	A.B., U.S.T.
		1706-16	Cleric in minor orders
		1717	Assistant Parish Priest of Natives and <i>Morenos</i>
		1721-30	Parish Priest of same
		1721	Participant in synodal exams for Curacy of Rosario, Batangas
7. B.D. Eugenio de Sta. Cruz y Mercado*	ca. 1716 Manila	1730	Died
		1716	Bachelor of Philosophy, U.S.T.
		1717	Acting Pastor of Ajui, Diocese of Cebu
		1718	Coadjutor of Dumaguete
		ca.1743-52	Provisor and Vicar General of Cebu, Synodal Examiner, Commissary of the Holy Office, Pastor of Ajui and Acting Pastor of the Parian of Cebu
		1752	Died
8. B.D. Francisco Fabian de Sta. Ana*	ca. 1716 Manila	1712	A.B., U.S.T.
		1715	First Chaplain of the Capellania of Ldo. Don Gabriel de Isturis, first Rector of San Felipe.
		1721	Participant in synodal exams for Curacy of Rosario, Batangas
		1722	Transferred to Diocese of Nueva Segovia

9. B.D. Francisco de Sta. Ana y Taas*	ca. 1717 Manila	1692	Born in San Fernando de Dilao (Paco)
		1721	Participant in synodal exams for Curacy of Rosario, Batangas
		1722	Assistant Parish Priest of Natives and <i>Morenos</i> of the City of Manila
		ca.1745	Priest-Sacristan of Same
		1755	Priest-Sacristan of the Manila Cathedral
		1762	Still in same position
		1775	Died
10. B.D. Bartholome Saguinsin*	1717 Manila	1693	Born in Antipolo
		1717	Priest-Sacristan of the Cathedral of Nueva Caceres
		1719-21	Diocesan Secretary of Nueva Caceres
		1721-28	Priest-Sacristan of Quiapo
		1723-28	Coadjutor of Quiapo
		ca.1728-68	Parish Priest of Quiapo
		1730-66	Synodal Examiner of the Archdiocese of Manila
		1766	Publication of his book <i>Illustrissimo Doctori</i> in honor of Gov. Anda
		1767	Golden Jubilee
		1768-69	Treasurer of the Manila Cathedral Chapter
11. B.D. Thomas Manalo*	ca. 1717 Manila	1770-72	Parish Priest of Quiapo again
		1772	(March 1) Died
		1712	A.B., U.S.T.
		1746	Died as Pastor of San Nicolas de Tugauon, Diocese of Cebu

12. B.D. Nicolas Manalo*	ca. 1718 Manila	1714 1722-24	A.B., U.S.T. Acting Priest-Sacristan of the Cathedral of Cebu
13. B.D. Pedro Diaz Mañosca*	1718 Manila	1716 1720 1721	A.B., U.S.T. Assistant Priest-Sacristan of the Curacy of Natives and <i>Morenos</i> of the City of Manila Participant in synodal exams for Curacy of Rosario
14. B.D. Juan Evangelista Munoz***	1718 Manila	ca. 1725 1737 1748	Transferred from Diocese of Nueva Caceres to Archdiocese of Manila Coadjutor of Rosario, Batangas on the Death of B.D. Augustin Baluyot; became interim Parish Priest. Coadjutor of Bauan, Batangas
15. B.D. Simeon Mathias*	ca. 1718 Manila	1716 1721	A.B., U.S.T. ( <i>Porcionista</i> of the Seminary of San Phelippe) Participant in synodal exams for Curacy of Rosario, Batangas
16. B.D. Juan de Mercado***	1723 Manila	1696 1716 1723 1730	Born in Quiapo Bachelor of Philosophy, U.S.T. First Chaplain of the Capellania of the Mallaris of Pampanga Died
17. B.D. Gregorio de Sta. Rossa y Ramos***	1723 Manila	1723 1723 1752	Colegial of San Juan de Letran First Chaplain of the Capellanias of the Facies and Pangisnauanans of Pampanga. Listed as Parish Priest of Virac, Catanduanes