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Pedro S. De Achutegui and Miguel A. Bernad

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The True Birth Date of Gregorio Aglipay

PEDRO S. DE ACHUTEGUI
and MIGUEL A. BERNAD

I

THE poet or story-teller may give free rein to his imagination. His function is to "create." The historian has a different function. He may not give free rein to *his* imagination. He is bound by the facts of history. He may not "create"; he may only "re-create." He is a good or a bad historian in proportion as he is successful in digging up the true facts and in presenting them as accurately as possible and in the historical context in which they happened.

Thus the historian's first task is to be sure of his facts. He must get at the most reliable documents. If these are not available, he must obtain his facts elsewhere from other reliable sources. It is only when there is no way of getting at the sources that the historian is allowed to guess, and even then he must guess wisely, not wildly; his guesses must fit the other known facts of history. And whenever he hazards a guess, he must inform his reader that he is guessing. He must never disguise his guesses as incontrovertible facts. Only by thus being honest with his readers does a historian come to merit their respect. Honesty and accuracy are the hall-marks of the scholar. Without these, there is no genuine scholarship.

That it is not always easy to get at the documents is quite evident. In the case of Philippine documents, some have been lost in the wars. Others have perished in local disasters like fires and floods and similar causes. In our search for documents relative to Aglipay and Aglipayanism we have sometimes met with such frustrating instances. Two cases may be cited:

We wanted to look up the scholastic records of Aglipay in the seminary at Vigan where he had been a student. These we were not able to find. It seems that the records of the seminary had been sent to Manila on board the vessel *Gravina* when the Augustinian Recollect Fathers left the seminary at Vigan, and the boat sank with all its cargo. There is of course the slim possibility that the records in question were not in the Fathers' baggage that went down with the ship, but to date we have found no trace of the missing records.¹

Another instance: On 6 August 1957 we were kindly accorded an interview by Isabelo de los Reyes Jr., head of the trinitarian faction of the Philippine Independent Church. We told him that we were interested in locating the original of two documents: one a decree of General Aguinaldo appointing Aglipay military vicar general; the other a decree of Mons. Hevia Campomanes, bishop of Nueva Segovia, appointing Aglipay ecclesiastical governor of that diocese. Mr. de los Reyes informed us that Aglipay had given those and other documents in his presence to the learned bibliophile Epifanio de los Santos, and that he thought the documents might still be with Epifanio's son José.

We made inquiries. We found that the de los Santos house had been burned down by Huks in 1953. Many documents

¹ In a letter dated 12 May 1957 the Rev. Fidel García O.R.S.A., archivist of the Provincial library of the Augustinian Recollect Order in Marcilla, Navarre (Spain) says: "Tambien me dice este Padre [R.P. Marcelino Simonena O.R.S.A., misionero en Filipinas antes y después de la Revolución] que nuestros religiosos al abandonar el Seminario [de Vigan] habían decidido volver a Manila por el vapor 'Gravina'. Al efecto en él depositaron todo su equipaje. Pero a última hora determinaron hacer su viaje por tierra y enviar el equipaje por el susodicho vapor. Este no llegó a Manila. Se hundió en el mar con todo el cargamento. Será ésta la explicación de que no haya más documentos relativos al Seminario de Vigan en nuestro Archivo Provincial?"

perished in the flames with that house. These may have been among them. They may of course be still extant somewhere and may turn up some day, but this is unlikely.²

II

Unfortunately many writers do not bother to look up the documents even when these are easily accessible. Many things are given as facts which are merely guesses or perhaps merely claims.

In examining the literature that has been accumulating about Aglipay and Aglipayanism during the past fifty-five years, we were startled to find two glaring situations: one was the wide divergence among writers about even the simplest facts, like the number of members of the Aglipayan Church or the date when Aglipay was born—giving rise to the suspicion that no one had bothered to look up the real facts. The other was the recurrence of certain “facts” and anecdotes, giving rise to the suspicion that one writer was merely repeating what another writer had said—again without bothering to verify the “facts” or anecdotes in question.

For instance, just how many members did the Aglipayan Church have in the first years of its existence? On 26 October 1903 the publication *La Iglesia Filipina Independiente* edited by Isabelo de los Reyes claimed five million members of the church “*según nota que nos ha facilitado la Secretaria general*”

² The following news dispatch from S. Isidro, N. Ecija, 5 April 1953 published in *The Manila Post* tells the sad story of this great cultural loss to the Philippines: “*Huks burn Art Shrine belonging to late Scholar.* — Hukbalahaps who raided this town on the night of Holy Thursday burned the house of the late Epifanio de los Santos which was popularly known as the ‘Shrine of art and wisdom,’ causing destruction of valuable historic documents and works of art estimated at half a million pesos....Gutted by the fire was the library of de los Santos which had always been considered the best private library in the country....” *The Sunday Times* speaking of a similar destruction of documents says of the Santos collection: “The private library and collection of Jose P. de los Santos, considered one of the best in the country, was also destroyed. However Mr. Santos managed to save the Andrés Bonifacio and Emilio Jacinto original manuscripts which are irreplaceable...”

(according to statistics furnished by the secretariate general).³ Two months later Gregorio Aglipay himself writing to *The Manila Times* asserted that in his church "There are over two hundred committees in existence with three million adherents".⁴ This is a discrepancy of two millions. Obviously Aglipay had not received the same statistics from his own secretariate general!

Of course in the period 1903-1908 it was difficult to get the real statistics. Even the man who later became Director of the Bureau of the Census seems to have been mistaken.⁵ In succeeding decades more accurate figures could be obtained—yet the same wide divergence of claims regarding membership in the Aglipayan Church has persisted. Aglipay himself in 1935 claimed four million followers.⁶ But only eight years later (1943) his successor as "supreme bishop," Santiago Fonacier, placed the number at 2,300,000.⁷ If both figures are correct, then the Aglipayan Church must have lost 1,700,000 in eight years. It is doubtful if Aglipayan authorities would admit that.

³ *La Iglesia Filipina Independiente* no. 3 (26 Oct. 1903) p. 10.

⁴ "The Filipino National Church" *The Manila Times* 25 December 1903 p. 25.

⁵ Felipe Buencamino Sr. in an article dated 1906 but included in 1939 as an introduction to Manuel Lagasca's *The Philippine Independent Church: its origin, significance and importance. A reply to Rev. Godofredo Albano* (Bakarra, Ilocos Norte 3 July 1939) p. 5 says: "After three years of existence, this Church has... more than 4,000,000 adherents." Mr. Buencamino himself, after he had become Director of the Bureau of the Census, had to publish figures considerably less than four million. *Vide infra*.

⁶ Geo. A. Malcolm *The Commonwealth of the Philippines* (New York 1936) pp. 309-310, a section read by Isabelo de los Reyes Jr., in which reference is made to a recent (1935) press statement by Gregorio Aglipay setting the number of his adherents at four millions.

⁷ "According to the last Census taken by the Government in 1938 this Church has a membership of 1,575,608. We believe, however, that the followers of the Church are no less than 2,300,000." — From the records of the Bureau of Religious Affairs, Manila, 22 December 1943, Director Engracio Fabre. Information furnished to Mr. Okano, Religious Section, Department of Information, Imperial Japanese Forces. —We are indebted for this information to the Rev. Conrado Quiambao of the diocese of San Fernando.

Other claims are conflicting. Camilo C. Diel, a bishop of the Aglipayan Church in *The Christian Register* (1953) claimed four millions.⁸ A few months later the same *Christian Register* (1954) said that there were "no less than" 3,500,000.⁹ The official *Directory* of the Philippine Independent Church (1955) claimed "well over" three million.¹⁰ But a newly consecrated bishop in the Philippine Independent Church and its new secretary general, made a more sanguine claim: "The Philippine Independent Church has *twenty million* members in all the countries of the world."¹¹

In this matter even historians otherwise reliable have sometimes gone astray. For instance Dr. Eufronio M. Alip, speaking of the number of Aglipayans, says: "... in the exuberance of these nationalistic sentiments, three million Filipinos, according to the *Census of 1903*, had embraced the new religion.¹² We regret to say that we not only have not been able to find that figure in the *Census of 1903*, but the statement actually contradicts the official statement of the *Census of 1918* which

⁸ *The Christian Register* Official Publication of the Philippine Independent Church, September 1953.

⁹ *Ibid.* February 1954.

¹⁰ *The Philippine Independent Church Official National Directory* 1955 p. iv cites the number 1,456,114 given by the *Census of 1948* and adds: "However it does not coincide with our Church's records which show well over three million baptized members."

¹¹ M. Lagasca *The Philippine Independent Church* p. 33. The Spanish text which accompanies the English on parallel pages does not give "twenty millions" but merely "*millones*." Incidentally Lagasca also makes the startling claim that "In Italy itself there are *millions* of inhabitants who are members of the Waldense Church" (emphasis added). The standard works of reference put the number of Waldenses not at "millions" but at from twenty to thirty thousand. The *Lexikon fur Theologie und Kirche* (X 728-731 s.v. Waldenser) gives 22,907. The *Encyclopedia Americana* 1948 ed. (23: 355-361 s.v. "Religious sects") gives "more than 20,000." The *Encyclopedia Britannica* 11th ed. (28: 257-258 s.v.) gives 26,311. The *Encyclopedia Cattolica* (Vaticano 1954, XII s.v. Valdo e Valdesi) says: "*Non superano in tutto il mondo la cifra de 30,000.*" It is obvious that works like Lagasca's are not to be taken seriously.

¹² Eufronio M. Alip "Aglipayanism: A Critical Exposition" *Unitas* XX no. 4 (Oct. 1941). Italics added.

says that the Census of 1903 gave no figures on the number of Aglipayans or Protestants, but merely of "Christians" and "non-Christians." Here is what the Census of 1918 says:

VII. Religion. The Census of 1903 contains no specific data concerning the Religion of the Inhabitants of the Philippine Islands, evidently because it was then held, and justly so, that inasmuch as the Filipino People was Catholic, it was not necessary to include such data in the Census...¹³

While writers, even Aglipayan authorities, differed so widely among themselves as to the number of Aglipayans in the country, the Bureau of the Census was consistently publishing its own authoritative figures, beginning with the Census of 1918. The number of Aglipayans between 1918 and 1948 remained steadily at about a million and a half. The exact figures are as follows:¹⁴

Year	Total population of the Philippines	Aglipayans	Percentage of total population
1918	10,314,310	1,417,448	13.7%
1938	16,000,303	1,573,608	9.8%
1948	19,234,182	1,456,114	7.6%

In other words, during the thirty years between 1918 and 1948, while the total population of the Philippines rose from ten million to nineteen million inhabitants, the number of Aglipayans remained steadily at only a million and a half, so that the percentage of Aglipayans decreased from thirteen to only seven per cent of the total population. If the Census figures are to be believed, there is no basis for the claims made above: not even for the lowest estimate of two million and a half, and certainly not for the most extravagant claim of "twenty million members in all the countries of the world."

¹³ *Census of the Philippine Islands*, 1918, Vol. II (Manila, Bureau of Printing, 1921) p. 49. The 1903 Census listed 647,740 "non-christians" and 6,987,686 "Christians" without further determination of sects.

¹⁴ *Census of the Philippine Islands*, 1918 (dated 31 December 1918); *Census of the Philippine Islands*, 1938 (dated 1 January 1939); *Census of the Philippines*, 1948 III (dated 1 October 1948. Manila Bureau of Printing, 1956). Comparisons relevant to our case are made in the Census itself. See *Census* 1918 II 19 and 51; *Census* 1948 III 371 and 375.

III

We now come to another example of historical inaccuracy, even more strange since the facts could have been easily verified from existing documents. The point is small but is symptomatic. The point in question is: *When was Gregorio Aglipay born?*

Two encyclopedias generally considered trustworthy differ on the date by six years. The *Encyclopedia Americana* in its latest (1957) edition gives the year of Aglipay's birth as "about 1864."¹⁵ The same date is given in previous editions of that encyclopedia. Espasa on the other hand places Aglipay's birth six years later, on 7 May 1870.¹⁶ But these two encyclopedias are obviously singing *extra chorum* as the majority of writers are agreed that Aglipay was born in May of the year 1860. About the exact day in May, there is a wide variety of opinions. Some say he was born on the 7th, some on the 8th, others on the 9th of May.

The 7th of May has few adherents. There is Foreman.¹⁷ There is an article in a newspaper in 1898.¹⁸ There is the Espasa article already mentioned (although it misses the year by a decade). There are a few others, among whom the most noteworthy is the learned scholar Wenceslao E. Retana.¹⁹

The 9th of May has many more adherents. Camilo Osias writing in the *Encyclopedia of the Philippines* says, "Gregorio Aglipay y Labayan was born in Ilocos Norte Province on May 9, 1860." Osias is careful to inform us that he knows what he

¹⁵ *Encyclopedia Americana* (1957) I 238 s.v. "Aglipay."

¹⁶ *Enciclopedia universal ilustrada europeo-americana* III 362.

¹⁷ John Foreman *The Philippine Islands* (New York 1906) p. 604.

¹⁸ "El Sr. Gregorio Aglipay, gobernador eclesiástico de la diócesis de Nueva Segovia" (apuntes biográficos) *La república filipina* Jueves 15 dic. 1898.

¹⁹ W. E. Retana "La Iglesia Filipina Independiente" *Por esos mundos* (abril 1908) cited by James E. Robertson "The Aglipay Schism in the Philippine Islands" *The Catholic Historical Review* (Oct. 1918) 319 note 5. — Copies of Retana's article are difficult to find. One of the few existing copies in the Philippines (if not the only one) is in the possession of Dr. José P. Bantug.

is talking about: "I further deepened and increased my understanding of Aglipayanism since my appointment as Resident Commissioner in the United States..."²⁰

George A. Malcolm also gives 9 May as Aglipay's birthday, although he seems to be leaning on the authority of Isabelo de los Reyes Jr.²¹ Oddly enough however, as we shall point out below, Isabelo de los Reyes Jr. wrote an article this year (1957) stating that Aglipay was born on the 8th, not the 9th.

Others who give 9 May as Aglipay's birthday are Manuel Artigas in his *Galería de Filipinos ilustres*,²² Juan M. Ruiz in *The Three Pillars of the Philippine Independent Church*,²³ Leon O. Ty in the *Philippines Free Press*.²⁴ The *Directorio biográfico filipino* likewise gives the 9th,²⁵ as does the learned student of Philippine history, James E. Robertson,²⁶ although he cites Retana to the contrary.

On 21 January 1903 an Aglipayan weekly journal *La Verdad* made its maiden appearance. It carried a photograph of Aglipay in episcopal robes, with the caption: "*El Arzobispo Aglipay nació en Batak, Ilocos Norte, el 9 de Mayo de 1860.*"²⁷ More recently, Armando J. Malay in an article in *The Manila Times* gives 9 May as Aglipay's birth date.²⁸

²⁰ *Encyclopedia of the Philippines* V "Education and Religion" pp. 611, 617.

²¹ *Op. cit.* pp. 309-310.

²² Manuel Artigas y Cuerva *Galería de Filipinos ilustres* (Manila, 1917) p. 86.

²³ Juan M. Ruiz *The Three Pillars of the Philippine Independent Church* (Manila, 1950) p. 14.

²⁴ Leon O. Ty "Gregorio Aglipay: Priest, Soldier, Politician" *Philippines Free Press* 7 September 1940.

²⁵ *Directorio biográfico filipino* (Manila, P. Reyes y Cia editores, 1908) p. 6 — It is to be noted that the more recent *Dictionary of National Biography* by E. A. Manuel has no entry on Aglipay.

²⁶ *Op. cit.* p. 319.

²⁷ *La Verdad* nuevo periódico semanario, órgano de la Iglesia Filipina Independiente, A. W. Prautch, Dr. Xeres Burgos, Sr. Cenon Hilario directores, año 1, num. 1, Manila 21 de enero de 1903.

²⁸ "Today in Philippine History" *The Manila Times* 9 May 1951.

This belief that Aglipay was born on May 9th may have arisen from his name, Gregorio. Someone may have reasoned as follows: In the Philippines children are usually called after the saint of the day; now the feast of St. Gregory Nazianzen falls on 9 May; therefore... In any case we find an Aglipayan calendar of 1904²⁹ with the following entry:

Mayo, 9: Lun. San Gregorio Nacianceno.—Nacimiento del Ilustre Gregorio Aglipay en 1860. Obispo Maximo de la Iglesia Nasional (sic) Filipina.

IV

The more official view however seems to be in favor of the 8th of May. Isabelo de los Reyes Jr., head of the trinitarian faction of the Aglipayan Church, stated in an article published recently (1957): "Mons. Gregorio Aglipay y Labayan was born at Batak, Ilocos Norte, on May 8, 1860, and the next day was baptized."³⁰ Pedro Ramos, head of the unitarian faction of the same church supports the same view,³¹ as do Tomas Fonacier, dean of the college of liberal arts and acting executive vice-president of the University of the Philippines (and a brother of the former *Obispo Máximo* Santiago Fonacier),³² and Zoilo Galang in *The Encyclopedia of the Philippines*.³³ It should be noted of this encyclopedia, however, that in another volume the birth date is given as 9 May—which is merely another of the innumerable examples of the historical imprecision that we have been deploring.

On 24 July of this year (1957) we journeyed to Laoag to interview the former aid-de-camp to Gregorio Aglipay and first

²⁹ *Sao't Iloco Calendario ni Dr. Jose Rizal*, 1904 Naited ti Paubos. Inaramid ni A. W. Prautch, 26 Calle Gunao, Manila.

³⁰ "Biographical data on Bishop Gregorio Aglipay y Labayan" *The Christian Register* February-March 1957 p. 1.

³¹ *The Manila Chronicle* 21 April 1956. Cf. also the *Proceedings of the Asamblea Magna* 1952 of the unitarian faction p. 29.

³² *Gregorio Aglipay y Labayan: a short biography* (Manila 1954) p. 10.

³³ Vol. IX "Builders of the new Philippines" pp. 27-28 (cf. Introduction by Camilo Osias pp. v-vi). The passage is repeated verbatim from Zoilo Galang's earlier work *Leaders of the Philippines* (Manila 1932).

executive secretary of the Philippine Independent Church and who later became twice governor of Ilocos Norte, the Honorable Simeón Mandac. He received us very kindly and loaned us a copy of his unpublished manuscript, a biography of Aglipay.³⁴ Mr. Mandac too is of the opinion that Aglipay was born on 8 May, an opinion which appears on page 2 of his manuscript.

The popularity of the 8th of May received, so to speak, an official seal of approval when the Philippine Historical Committee erected in Batac, Ilocos Norte, a plaque marking the site of Aglipay's birth. The plaque reads as follows (and it will be noted later that it contains two historical inaccuracies):

PHILIPPINES HISTORICAL COMMITTEE. 1949. BIRTHPLACE OF GREGORIO AGLIPAY. SITE WHERE ARCHBISHOP GREGORIO AGLIPAY, SOLDIER, RELIGIOUS REFORMER AND PATRIOT, WAS BORN, 8 MAY 1860. SON OF PEDRO AGLIPAY AND VICTORIA LABAYAN. ORDAINED CATHOLIC PRIEST, 1889; FIRST MILITARY CHAPLAIN OF THE PHILIPPINE REVOLUTION, 1896; MEMBER OF THE MALOLOS CONGRESS AND VICAR GENERAL OF THE REVOLUTION, 1898; AND FOUNDER OF THE PHILIPPINE INDEPENDENT CHURCH, 1902. DIED, 1 SEPTEMBER 1940.

A photograph of this marker is appended to this article (see Plate 1). After this commemorative plaque was set up, it is easy to understand why several subsequent writers should take it for granted that 8 May was Aglipay's birthday.

We have therefore a curious situation: a prominent figure in Philippine life, a religious and a political leader (Aglipay was Quezon's opponent for the presidency of the Philippines in 1935), the subject of much writing and only recently dead—yet three different days in May and three different years are given as his birth date. The explanation would seem to be obvious: independent scholarship has not taken the trouble to dig up the records and verify the date.

³⁴ *Actividades del Fundador de la Iglesia Filipina Independiente, Obispo Máximo Dr. Gregorio Aglipay D.D.* por Simeon Mandac, Veterano de la Revolución y Miembro del Foro Filipino. Unpublished manuscript. 220 typewritten pages.

This trouble we have taken and we have found that none of the dates above tally with the records. It would seem that Gregorio Aglipay was not born on the 7th or the 8th or the 9th of May 1860.

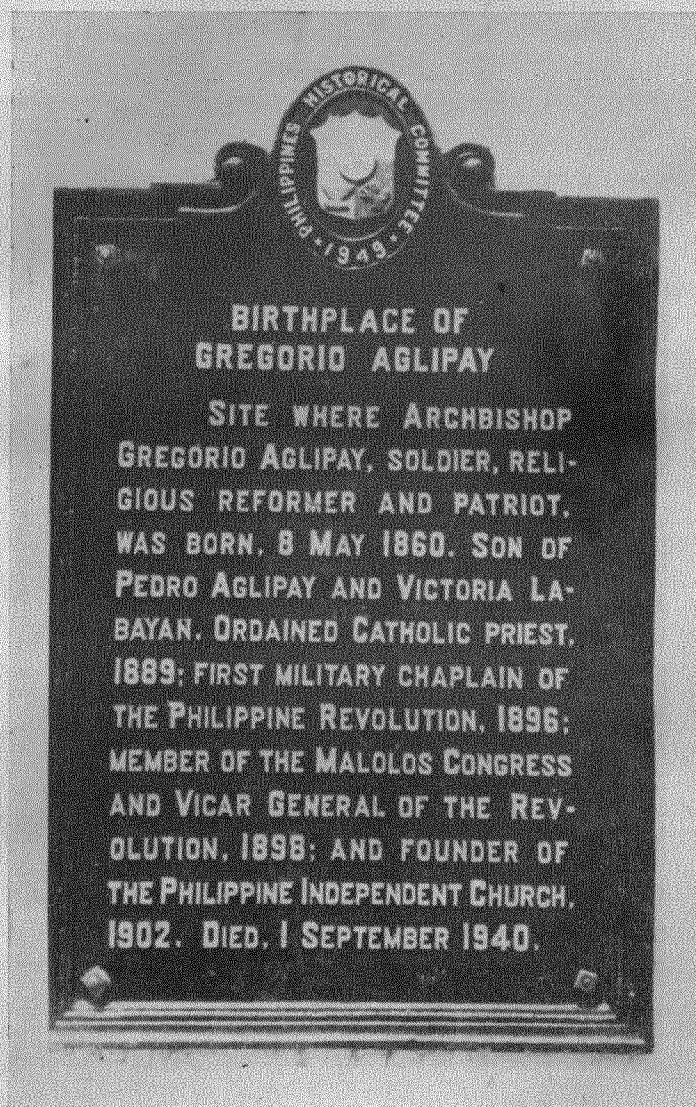
V

In Batac, not far from the site of Aglipay's birth marked by the commemorative plaque, is the Catholic parish church. The present building is relatively new, for the Aglipayans themselves had burned down the old church where Gregorio Aglipay had been baptized as a child. But though the old church has perished, the church records have been saved. They go back a century before Aglipay's birth.

Our attention was first called to the existence of these records by Father Isaias X. Edralin S.J., superior of La Ignaciana, Manila, and himself the author of a manuscript life of Aglipay. He showed us a letter from Father Elpidio F. Jaramillo containing a transcription of the baptismal record of Aglipay. With this clue at our disposal we went to Batac and examined the records and took photostatic copies of the pertinent entries.³⁵

The records we have examined are the books of baptisms, confirmations and funerals; in particular the following: (a) *Libro de Bautismos, Libro 12*. This volume contains entries from 22 December 1855 to 7 November 1860. It contains 596 folios exclusive of the episcopal decree at the beginning. (b) *Libro de Confirmaciones* without volume number. This contains entries from 22 January 1855 to 30 November 1890. (c) *Libro de entierros. Libro 7* contains 490 folios covering the period from 15 February 1857 to 23 July 1864. *Libro 8* (501 folios) goes from 24 July 1864 to 12 May 1871. *Libro 9* (359 folios) embraces the period from 24 May 1871 to 4 September 1877.

³⁵ We are grateful to Mons. Juan Sison, coadjutor archbishop of Nueva Segovia, for the gracious permission to make free use of the parish records and to Father José Pineda, parish priest of the Church of the Immaculate Conception, for his kind and courteous cooperation.



Obviously for our present purpose the baptismal register is the most relevant, though we shall refer to the other records later regarding certain details of Aglipay's parentage. The baptismal record of Aglipay is found on folio 536 of volume 12. The entry is as follows:

En nueve de Mayo de mil ochocientos sesenta años. El Padre Presbítero D. Domingo Agbayani, Clérigo de este Obispado y Coadjutor de este pueblo de Batác, con mi licencia bautizó solemnemente á Gregorio Aglipay Cruz, niño de cinco días, hijo legítimo de Pedro Aglipay Cruz y Victoriana Labayan Hilario del Barangay de D. Bartolomé Pobre del Pueblo de Paoay. Fué su Padrino D. Apolonio Quiaoit vecino de este dicho Pueblo á quien se advirtió el parentesco espiritual, y demás obligaciones. Y lo firmé.

Fr. José Inés

Candela...1 rl.

(At left margin) Barangay de D. Bartolomé Pobre.

(At right margin) Gregorio.

A photostatic copy of this entry is appended to this article (see Plate 2). Translated that entry says:

On 9 May 1860. The secular priest D. Domingo Agbayani, cleric of this diocese and assistant priest in this town of Batac, with my permission solemnly baptized Gregorio Aglipay Cruz, a boy five days old, legitimate son of Pedro Aglipay Cruz and Victoriana Labayan Hilario of the Barangay of D. Bartolomé Pobre of the town of Paoay. His godfather was D. Apolonio Quiaoit, an inhabitant of this said town, to whom were made known the spiritual relationship and other obligations [he was thus incurring]. And I signed it.

Fr.[ay] José Inés

Candle: 1 real

(At left margin) Barangay of D. Bartolomé Pobre

(At right margin) Gregorio

From this entry a number of facts seem to be clear. Among them: (a) Gregorio Aglipay was baptized on 9 May 1860; (b) he was *five days old* on the day of baptism.

"Niño de cinco días." It is interesting in this connection to record an old custom (fairly widespread in the past, disappearing today) of having children baptized on the same day that they were born. In the baptismal records such children are referred to as "*niño de un día*" (one day old). We have inquired from old pastors and others on this point. It seems

to be the ordinary way of talking to refer to a child as "one day old" on the day of its birth. The day after its birth it is "two days old." It is "three days old" the day after that; etc. This would mean that Gregorio Aglipay, *niño de cinco días* when baptized on 9 May, must have been born *on the 5th of May*.³⁶

VI

Other facts are clear from this entry: Gregorio was a legitimate son; his father's name was Pedro Aglipay Cruz; his mother's name was Victoriana Labayan Hilario; his family belonged to the Barangay of D. Bartolomé Pobre; his godfather was Apolonio Quiaoit; the baptizing priest was Father Domingo Agbayani, a secular priest of the diocese [of Nueva Segovia]; the parish priest was Fray José Inés, a friar.

It is interesting to note that his mother's name was Victoriana and not Victoria as the commemorative plaque in Batac and several writers have it. Her name appears as Victoriana not only here but also elsewhere in the records. For instance in the baptismal entry of her son Benito who was born 21 March 1857³⁷ as well as in his death entry (Benito was

³⁶ Father Isaias X. Edralin S.J., a native son of Ilocos Norte who for over a decade was parish priest in the Ilocos and in Pangasinan says in a letter to us: "Todos los párrocos contamos 1-2-3-4-5 desde el día del Nacimiento, así en general en todo Filipinas. De manera que absolutamente digo: Aglipay nació el 5 de mayo."

³⁷ *Libro de Bautismo, Libro 12*, fol. 169: "En veinte y uno de Marzo de mil ochocientos cincuenta y siete años: el Padre Presbítero D. Justo de los Reyes, Coadjutor de este pueblo de Batac, con mi licencia bautizó solemnemente a Benito Aglipay Cruz, niño de un día, hijo legítimo de Pedro Aglipay Cruz y Victoriana Labayan Hilario del Barangay del Capitán pasado don Justo Crisóstomo de Quiaoit de este pueblo. Fue su padrino Guillermo Aquilisan Hilario vecino de este dicho pueblo, a quien se advirtió el parentesco espiritual y demás obligaciones. Y lo firme. Fr. José Inés.—Candela 1 real. Campana 4 reales."

buried 14 April 1869).³⁸ And again in the records of her own funeral which occurred on 23 December 1861.³⁹

It might be worth while noting, from this last entry, that Gregorio Aglipay lost his mother when he was less than two years old. To be orphaned at such an age is an important fact: it is seldom without psychological repercussions.

We note further that his mother's family name was Labayan and not Labangan as Zoilo Galang in the *Encyclopedia of the Philippines* has it in more than one place, a circumstance which indicates that this was not a typographical error. The name Labangan may indeed be philologically correct but we have not met with that name in any of the parish records consulted. Sometimes a Lagangan or a Lagayan appears, but not Labangan. In any case Aglipay's mother's name appears consistently, as we have seen, as Labayan.

VII

Another fact might be worth noting. We have mentioned above the baptismal and death entries of Benito Aglipay, older

³⁸ *Libro de Entierros, Libro 8*, fol. 356v contains the following entry: "En catorce de abril de mil ochocientos sesenta y nueve años fué sepultado en el Cementerio de esta Parroquia el cadáver de Benito Aglipay Cruz Indio que falleció de muerte natural, soltero hijo de Pedro, y Victoriana Labayan Hilario naturales de este pueblo, labradores. No recibió sacramentos por no haber avisado a tiempo. Y por verdad lo firmo. Fr. José Inés. Derechos 7 pesos. Octava 7 reales. Candelá 2 reales" (Al margen izquierdo) Barangay de D. Mariano Crisóstomo. (Al margen derecho) Benito Aglipay Cruz.

³⁹ *Libro de entierros, Libro 7*, fol. 319v.: "En veinte y tres de Diciembre de mil ochocientos sesenta y un años: el Padre Presbítero D. Domingo Agbayani Clérigo de este Obispado y Coadjutor de este Pueblo de Batác, con mi licencia enterró en el Cementerio de esta Iglesia a Victoriana Labayan Hilario casada con Julián Aglipay Cruz, reservados del Barangay de D. Saturnino Crisóstomo de este Pueblo. Recibió todos los santos Sacramentos. Fué su entierro: Acompañamiento con Posas y Vigilia. Y para que conste lo firmé fecha ut supra. Fr. José Inés." On the left margin: "Victoriana Labayan Hilario. Barangay de D. Saturnino Crisóstomo."—The husband's name is given as Julian instead of Pedro. This is probably a mistake. In *Libro 8* fol. 491v. is recorded the burial of Juliana Labayan Hilario, buried 5 February 1871. This was probably a sister of Victoriana and to put one name for another is a frequent mistake of copyists.

brother of Gregorio. According to these entries he was born 21 March 1857 and buried 14 April 1869. He was "unmarried": indeed he was only twelve.

We mention this because Tomas Fonacier, of the University of the Philippines, says that Gregorio Aglipay was "the younger of two children" and that the elder was called Canuto.⁴⁰ We have found no mention of this Canuto in the parish records. Either Mr. Fonacier has mistaken Canuto for Benito, or he is mistaken in saying that Gregorio was "the younger of two children." If Canuto existed and if he was an older brother of Gregorio and if he was not identical with Benito, then there were not two but three brothers, and Gregorio was not "the younger of two children."

Fonacier indeed goes farther. He says: "He [Gregorio] was the younger of two children, the older being Don Canuto, a *maestro* and a pioneer, who founded towns and settlements in Central Luzon."⁴¹ Upon what sources, documentary or otherwise, these assertions are made we do not know. All we know is that they do not tally with the records we have found.

VIII

The priest whose signature appears in Aglipay's baptismal record and the other records that we have mentioned was Fray José Inés, an Augustinian. He himself died in Batac nine years after Aglipay's baptism. The record of his burial is found in volume 8 of the death records, folio 413v. It goes as follows:

En dos de Diciembre de mil ochocientos sesenta y nueve años: fué sepultado en el cementerio de esta parroquia el cadáver del M.R.P. Ex-Definidor y Vicario Foráneo Fr. José Inés, Cura Párroco de este pueblo de Batac, que falleció de muerte natural. Recibió todos los santos Sacramentos. Y por verdad lo firmo. Antonio de la Cuesta(?)

IX

One final remark about Aglipay's family names as given in his baptismal record. The family names "Aglipay Cruz" and

⁴⁰ Tomas S. Fonacier *Gregorio Aglipay y Labayan* p. 10

⁴¹ Ibid.

"Labayan Hilario" appear frequently in the records we have consulted.

Apart from some infants baptized, confirmed or interred, we find the following persons bearing the family name Aglipay Cruz: Eulalio, Faustina, Marcelo, Marcelino, Nicolás, Felipe, Deogracias, Juventino, Celestina and Victoriana. How these were related to Aglipay's father is not always clear.

With the name Labayan Hilario we find: Anacleto, Cleto, Regino, Juan, Honorata, Dionisio, Dionisia, Antonio, Maximiano, Amadeo, Sabina, Balbina, Felix, Juliana, Cándido.

Some interesting theories could be constructed from the records, but that would take us too far afield.