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Texts and Documents

Documents Relating to Father Jose Burgos and the Cavite Mutiny of 1872

JOHN N. SCHUMACHER, S.J.
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One of the most important factors in the emergence of Filipino nationalism in the second half of the nineteenth century was undoubtedly the struggle for the rights of the Filipino clergy which culminated in the martyrdom of Fathers Burgos, Gómez, and Zamora in 1872. What had been an intra-Church dispute between secular and regular clergy over the parishes, dating back to the seventeenth century, became a nationalist movement, which joined forces with the lay reformists who had come into the open during the period following the accession of Governor-General Carlos María de la Torre in 1869. The tragic climax to the movement was the execution of the three priests and the exile of many of their priest and lay associates. It put a temporary stop to nationalist activity, but it was crucial in giving a direction to subsequent Filipino nationalism. The most striking testimony to this is Rizal's witness: "Were it not for 1872, Rizal would now be a Jesuit and instead of writing the *Noli Me Tangere*, would have written the contrary" Examples could be multiplied; it was the survivors of 1872, their pupils, brothers, and sons who were to be the leading figures of the Propaganda Movement and even of the Revolution and the Malolos Republic — Marcelo del Pilar, Fr. Mariano Sevilla, Felipe Buencamino, Ambrosio Rianzares Bautista, José María Basa, Gregorio Sanciangco and Paciano Rizal, to name a few.

The Spanish government shrouded the events of 1872 in mystery, and the records of the trial of the three priests have remained unavailable even until today, presumably in the Archivo General Militar in Segovia. On the other hand, various versions of the events of 1872

and their antecedents have circulated here in the Philippines, together with many documents and literary works of dubious origin, attributed to Burgos or purporting to be records of his trial. In preparation for the coming centenary of the execution of the three priests, the editors propose to publish here some of the documents which have been located in various archives. It is their hope that these may contribute to clarifying these events, and aid in the writing of a satisfactory history of this crucial episode in the formation of the Filipino nation.

Not all of the documents published here are completely unknown. Some of them have previously been published by Manuel Artigas y Cuerva in his book, *Los sucesos de 1872* (Manila, 1914). However, Artigas gave no indication of his sources, thus casting doubt on the genuineness of his documents, and contradictory ones have been published. The editors have therefore considered it worth-while to republish certain of these documents, together with an English translation for readers of today, particularly since, as will appear from a comparison of the original text here reproduced with that of Artigas, the latter was at times careless in his transcription and even omitted small sections.

The first document, originally published by Artigas,¹ apparently from a poor copy, is here a transcription from the original, bearing the signature of Archbishop Gregorio Melitón Martínez, now in the Archivo Histórico Nacional in Madrid, Sección de Ultramar, Dirección de Gracia y Justicia, legajo 2255, in a folder bearing the title: "Manila, Exposición del Arzobispo sobre el clero secular." The letter is addressed by the Archbishop to Marshal Francisco Serrano, then Regent of Spain since the dethronement of Isabel II by the Revolution of 1868. Besides its value as a testimony to the innocence of the Filipino clergy of the charges of disloyalty brought against them, it likewise gives a useful survey of the various steps in the evolution of the dispute between Filipino secular clergy and the Spanish regular orders, tracing the history of the dispute from the suspension of the

¹Manuel Artigas y Cuerva, *Los sucesos de 1872. Reseña histórica bio-bibliográfica* (Manila: Imp. de "La Vanguardia", 1911), pp. 14-31. There are a number of errors in transcription, either by Artigas or by the copyist who made the copy used by Artigas, since the original was in Madrid. Most of these are minor, but at times the sense is completely obscured. An English translation appeared in Austin Craig and Conrado Benitez, *Philippine Progress prior to 1898* (Manila: Philippine Education Co., 1916), pp. 121-128. The translation, said to be made from "a copy obtained from the Manila Executive Bureau Archives", is very likely from the same copy used by Artigas. Besides reproducing the errors of transcription, it had a number of mistranslations, some of them substantial.

decree secularizing the parishes in 1776, down to the date of its writing.

The documents in section II, from the Philippine National Archives, concern the censorship exercised over mail addressed to various individuals, among them Father Burgos and other Filipino priests. The principal document in this section is the fourth in chronological order, from the Governor of the Province of Manila, relaying notice of letters of Fathers Burgos and Zamora detained in the post-office, and asking authorization from the Governor-General to have them turned over to the prosecuting fiscal for the court-martial of the priests. Included with this document are copies of two earlier orders from the time of Governor-General de la Torre, ordering the censorship of the mail of various Filipinos whose names would figure prominently in 1872. Found together with these is a list containing further names, which, though not an official document, would seem to indicate that there were later additions to the list of names contained in de la Torre's official letters reproduced here. All these documents are of interest as confirming the indications of the Archbishop's letters in section V that the suspicions against Burgos and others arrested in 1872 were not given ear to only by Izquierdo, but had been earlier entertained by the supposedly friendly and liberal de la Torre.

In spite of this fact, however, the documents in section III would indicate that no real evidence of disloyal or illegal activity existed against Burgos as late as September 1871, when he was promoted on a temporary basis to a canonry in the Chapter of the Manila Cathedral. For the appointment was made by Governor-General Izquierdo, on the recommendation of the Archbishop. The first, second, and fourth documents are to be found in the Philippine National Archives, the third in the Archives of the Archdiocese of Manila.

The series of telegrams in section IV indicates the progress of the struggle to put down the insurrection from the first call of the Governor of Cavite for reinforcements on the morning of January 21 to the capture of the last of the insurrectionists on the morning of the following day. These would all seem to be copies forwarded by Pedro Franco, the Director of the Telegraph, on January 23, and are signed by him in his official capacity. As will be observed, a number of these messages had originally been sent by him during the course of the fighting, to keep the Governor-General informed. All of these telegrams are to be found in the Philippine National Archives.

The letter of the Archbishop to the Governor-General in section V, likewise from the Philippine National Archives, is a plea for clemency in reply to the communication of Izquierdo relaying the accusations of complicity in rebellion against various priests. While condemning the rebellion and asking clemency for the guilty, it is careful not to accept as proven the guilt of any of the priests accused.

Document VI is a communication to the Governor-General from the President of the Court-Martial which had condemned the three priests, together with Francisco Zaldua, to the garrote, and others to exile. The Governor-General is requested to transmit the sentence of the three priests to the Archbishop so that the latter might defrock them before their execution. The sentence itself, which follows, has already been reproduced by Artigas without indicating his source, but in mutilated form.² The authentic document reproduced here from the Philippine National Archives gives evidence of the inauthenticity of the supposed transcript of the trial of the three priests which has been printed at various times, most recently under the title, *El infame proceso...*, or earlier in a supposed account by one Francisco de Liñan, entitled *Historia veridica de la sangrienta algarada de Cavite*. It is hoped to treat more fully in a subsequent article the question of authenticity with regard to this and other documents concerning, or attributed to, Burgos.

The documents have been transcribed here as they appear in the originals, including the often inconsistent spelling of various words. Spanish accents are more often than not missing in the original documents, except in some cases where necessary for the sense, and have not been supplied by the editors where lacking. Insertions of the editors are put in square brackets, including question marks in a few instances where the original handwriting was difficult to decipher and the transcription may be doubtful. Abbreviations have generally been spelled out, except in a few cases frequently recurring, such as *Exmo. Sor.*, *V.E.*, etc. Sentences appearing in parenthesis in sections II, V, and VI, are contemporary additions, attesting the authenticity of the text of the copies, or indicating the subject treated in a document. Other brief notations which appear on some of the originals, clearly only the work of archival clerks, and generally merely letters or numbers, have been omitted. The translations are those of the editors, who also wish to acknowledge the assistance of Mrs. Cecilia Noroña of the Spanish Department of the Ateneo de Manila University, in translating some of the documents.

²*Op. cit.*, pp. 130-134.

THE TEXTS AND TRANSLATIONS

- I. The Archbishop's exposition regarding the history of the antagonism between secular and regular clergy. (Archbishop Gregorio Melitón Martínez to Marshal Francisco Serrano, Regent of Spain.)
- II. Documents concerning the censorship of mail addressed to various individuals, among them Father Burgos and other Filipino priests.
- III. Documents indicating that no real evidence of disloyal or illegal activity existed against Burgos as late as September 1871.
- IV. Telegrams indicating the progress of the Cavite revolt from 21 January to 22 January.
- V. The letter of Archbishop Gregorio Melitón Martínez to the Governor-General pleading clemency for the guilty.
- VI. a) A communication to the Governor-General from the President of the Court-Martial.
b) The Sentence.

Serenísimo Señor:

El Arzobispo que suscribe se dirige respetuosamente a V. A. impulsado por su verdadero amor a la Patria, y por la obligacion que le incumbe de procurar la tranquilidad de su diócesis frecuentemente conmovida y alterada por la entrega de los curatos del clero secular, concedidos a las corporaciones regulares de algunos años a esta parte, causa de un antagonismo cada vez mas marcado entrambos cleros; el cual va tomando un giro que pronto o tarde puede ser funesto a nuestra amada España.

Solo con el objeto de señalar la época del principio de este antagonismo mencionará la Real Cedula de ocho de Junio de mil ochocientos veinte y seis, por la que fueron restituidos a las comunidades religiosas los curatos administrados por el clero secular desde el segundo periodo del gobierno de D. Simon de Anda y Salazar.³ Por justa que fuese semejante medida, como los Sacerdotes indígenas habian poseido aquellas parroquias por mas de medio siglo, y las consideraban ya suyas, sentian grande pena cada vez que por muerte o traslacion de alguno de ellos ingresaba para reemplazarle un religioso. Por fallecimiento del cura del pueblo de San Simon ocurrido en el año actual ha quedado del todo cumplimentada la mencionada Real Cedula.

Tambien se puede citar como causa, que diera incremento al creciente antagonismo, la Real Orden de nueve de Marzo del mil ochocientos cuarenta y nueve, por la cual se concedieron a los regulares siete parroquias de la provincia de Cavite pertenecientes al Clero secular, a saber, las de Bacoor, Cavite el viejo y Silan a los Agustinos Recoletos, y las de Santa

³ Simón de Anda, who had assumed the Governor-General's post during the British occupation, 1762-1764, was made Governor-General by royal appointment 1770-1776. In 1774 a Royal Cedula ordered the turning over of the parishes from the regular to the secular clergy. After two years, due to the unsatisfactory performance of many of the poorly prepared and hastily ordained secular clergy, this cedula,

Most Serene Sir:

The Archbishop undersigned addresses himself respectfully to your Highness, impelled by his true love for the Fatherland and by the obligation he has to procure the tranquility of his diocese, which has been so frequently disturbed and stirred up by the handing over of the curacies of the secular clergy to the religious orders for some years now. This has resulted in a growing antagonism between the regular and secular clergy, which is now taking a turn which sooner or later can be disastrous for our beloved Spain.

With the sole purpose of marking out the period when this antagonism began, I will mention the Royal Cedula of June 8, 1826. By this Cedula, the curacies administered by the secular clergy from the time of the second period of government of Don Simon de Anda y Salazar were restored to the religious communities. Just though this measure may have been, inasmuch as the native priests had possessed those parishes for more than half a century and considered them already their own, they felt great pain every time that, because of the death or transferral of one of them, a religious entered to replace him. Due to the death of the parish priest of the town of San Simon which took place during this current year, the above mentioned Royal Cedula has now been fully carried out.

Another cause for the increasing antagonism which can be mentioned is the Royal Order of March 9, 1849 by which the religious were given seven parishes of the province of Cavite belonging to the secular clergy, that is, those of Bacoar, Cavite el Viejo, and Silang to the Augustinian Recoletos and

having first been suspended by Anda himself, was withdrawn by the King. It was only in 1826, however, that the process was reversed, and the parishes which had been secularized before 1776 were ordered to be returned to the religious orders, after fifty years of possession by the Filipino secular clergy.

Cruz y San Francisco de Malabon, Naic e Indan a los Dominicanos: se han posesionado ya de cinco de ellas a medida que han ido vacando. Pero lo que llevó al colmo el antagonismo y llenó de indignacion al clero indígena fué la Real Orden de diez de Setiembre de mil ochocientos sesenta y uno, sobre la cual y sus consecuencias intenta el que firma llamar especialmente la elevada atencion de V. A.

Habiendose resuelto por el artículo 13 del Real Decreto de treinta de Julio de mil ochocientos cincuenta y nueve, relativo al establecimiento del gobierno de Mindanao, que los sacerdotes de la Compañia de Jesús se encargasen de la administracion de las parroquias, doctrinas⁴ y misiones vivas de aquella Isla, poseidas y dirigidas entonces por los regulares Recoletos de la Provincia de San Nicolas de Tolentino;⁵ era necesario fijar las reglas que determinasen la manera de llevar a cabo dicha disposicion de un modo conveniente. Para llenar este objeto se dió la citada Real Orden de diez de Setiembre, y ademas se otorgó por ella a los Recoletos la indemnizacion de administrar los curatos de la provincia de Cavite ù otros (del Arzobispado de Manila, como se declaró posteriormente) que hubiere servidos por el clero indígena.

Son muy de notar las circunstancias en que se expidió esta Real Orden. En primer lugar la Mitra estaba vacante,⁶ período durante el cual prescriben los Sagrados cánones y aconseja la prudencia que no se introduzca innovacion alguna: en segundo no se oyó el dictamen de la autoridad ordinaria eclesiástica, aqui, donde por cosas mucho menos importantes se

⁴A *doctrina* was a town which had risen above the status of mission, but was not yet ready to be made a parish.

⁵After the Jesuits were expelled from the Philippines in 1768, their parishes and missions in Mindanao had eventually been turned over to the Recoletos, who also had certain parishes there. When the Jesuits were brought back to the Islands in 1859, with the purpose of evangelizing the still largely non-Christian peoples of Mindanao, it was decreed that in order to obtain unity of mission activity, the entire island should be turned over to them, including not only their own former parishes, but also those which had originally been

those of Santa Cruz and San Francisco de Malabon, Naic and Indang to the Dominicans. Five of these have already been taken possession of by the religious as they have become vacant. But what has brought the antagonism to its highest point and filled the native clergy with indignation was the Royal Order of September 10, 1861. It is this Order and its consequences that the undersigned wishes especially to call to the lofty attention of your Highness.

Article 13 of the Royal Decree of July 30, 1859 relative to the establishment of the government of Mindanao, disposed that the priests of the Society of Jesus should take charge of the administration of the parishes, *doctrinas*, and active missions of that island, which at that time were in the possession and under the direction of the Recoletos of the province of San Nicolas de Tolentino. It was then necessary to set down the rules which should determine the manner of bringing about the above-mentioned disposition in a fitting manner. To fulfill this purpose the above-mentioned Royal Order of September 10 was issued. Moreover, in accordance with it, the Recoletos were given as compensation the administration of the curacies of the province of Cavite or of others (of the Archbishopric of Manila as was later declared) which had been served until then by the native clergy.

The circumstances in which this Royal Order was issued are deserving of particular attention. In the first place, the Archbishopric was vacant. During such a period, the Sacred Canons prescribe, and prudence indeed counsels, that no innovation should be introduced. In the second place, the opinion of the ordinary ecclesiastical authority was not heard. And that here where for matters of much less importance,

founded by the Recoletos, with the latter receiving compensation elsewhere.

⁶ Archbishop José Aranguren died on April 18, 1861. Archbishop Gregorio Melitón Martínez did not arrive to take possession of the vacant see until May 27, 1862. During the interval it was governed by the Vicar-Capitular, Father Pedro Peláez.

instruyen voluminosos espedientes;⁷ y en tercero se sabia ya que el Sacerdote nombrado para la Mitra de Manila no era conocedor de la anómala administracion eclesiástica de las Islas Filipinas ni de sus usos y costumbres (motivo por el cual renunciara tan grave cargo, y no le admitiera sino despues de vivas instancias);⁸ y que por lo tanto habia de transcurrir bastante tiempo antes de que pudiera reclamar con pleno conocimiento de causa. Se someten al elevado criterio de V. A. las precedentes indicaciones.

Al tomar el exponente posesion del Arzobispado a fines de Mayo de mil ochocientos sesenta y dos encontró sobremanera conmovido al clero indígena; y por todas partes se le urgia a que pidiese la revocacion de la enunciada Real Orden de diez de Setiembre. No se dejó arrastrar ni de instancias ni de ruegos, antes bien intimamente persuadido en aquel tiempo de que al Gobierno Supremo le asistirian fuertes y sólidas razones para tomar tan grave determinacion, se dispuso a cumplirla, como la ha cumplido, con toda fidelidad y exactitud. Si se opuso con mesura a que se adjudicara a los Padres Recoletos el curato de Antipolo fué, porque entendia estar fuera de la Real Orden su exagerada pretencion: y no iba tan fuera de camino, cuando el Consejo de Estado en pleno se adhirió a su parecer, segun resulta de la Real Orden de diez y nueve de Mayo de mil ochocientos sesenta y cuatro,⁹ que usa de la fórmula *oido el Consejo de Estado*, lo cual indica una resolucion contraria a lo consultado. Mas al presente, despues de una larga residencia en el pais y con algun conocimiento del Estado eclesiástico y de su administracion, y de las cosas y de las personas, cada vez ve con mas claridad que no estan destituidas de fundamento las quejas del clero indígena; que

⁷An *expediente* is the collection of all the documents pertaining to a particular subject.

⁸Before his nomination to the Archbishopric of Manila, the Archbishop had been a canon of the Archdiocese of Valladolid in Spain, and had never been in the Philippines.

voluminous *expedientes* are drawn up. In the third place, the priest named for the Archbishopric of Manila was already known not to be well acquainted with the anomalous ecclesiastical administration of the Philippine Islands nor with its usages and customs. (It was for this reason that he renounced so grave a responsibility and did not accept it except after insistent urgings.) And therefore, a considerable amount of time had to pass before he could make representations with full knowledge of the case. These circumstances I submit to the lofty judgement of your Highness.

When the undersigned took possession of the Archbishopric at the end of May 1862, he found the native clergy greatly stirred up. From all sides, he was urged to ask for the revocation of the above-mentioned Royal Order of the tenth of September. He did not permit himself to be carried along either by demands or requests but rather, inwardly convinced at that time that the Supreme Government of the nation must have strong and solid reasons for taking so serious a decision, he disposed himself to carry it out, as he has carried it out, with all fidelity and exactness. If he showed a moderate opposition to the adjudication to the Recoletos Fathers of the curacy of Antipolo, it was because he understood this exaggerated claim to be outside the scope of the Royal Order. In this position he was not very far wrong, since the Council of State, meeting in plenary session, adhered to his opinion, as may be seen from the Royal Order of May 19, 1864 which makes use of the formula: *the Council of State having been heard*. This phrase indicates a resolution contrary to the opinion submitted for consultation. But at present, after a long residence in the country and with some knowledge of the ecclesiastical estate and of its administration, and of affairs and of persons, he sees with ever greater clarity that the complaints of the native clergy were not lacking in

⁹This Royal Order confirmed the turning over of the curacy of Antipolo to the Recoletos in spite of the protest of the secular clergy.

hay que hacer un esfuerzo para acomodar la Real Orden de diez de Setiembre de mil ochocientos sesenta y uno a las reglas de la conveniencia y equidad; y que, si se atiende a sus resultados, se concluirá que tampoco se conforma del todo con las de la sana política. Se espondrán brevemente estos asertos.

El Gobierno Supremo estuvo en su lugar al encomendar al reconocido celo de los Sacerdotes de la Compañía de Jesus la administracion de los curatos y misiones de Mindanao: para ello le autorizaban las leyes del Patronato consignadas en el Código Indiano;¹⁰ y muy digno es de alabanza que se diese a los Padres Recoletos un testimonio de aprecio por sus servicios, y que se les concediese una compensacion por la pérdida de los establecimientos religiosos de Mindanao; pues aunque muchos de estos fueron creados por los antiguos Jesuitas, ya ellos los venian poseyendo y los habian hecho suyos por el derecho de prescripcion. Pero si se hubiera tenido presente que tambien merecen grande aprecio los servicios de los Sacerdotes indígenas, los cuales en vicisitudes adversas siempre se han portado como fieles subditos de España, y que en el ministerio parroquial como coadjutores llevan siempre lo mas rudo de la carga; de ninguna manera se lastimara a clase tan benemérita por compensar a otra cualquiera; y se *habria excogitado una manera mas suave y equitativa* para llenar los deseos del Gobierno. La misma Diócesis de Cebú, en cuya circunscripcion se hallaba a la sazón toda la Isla de Mindanao,¹¹ apenas ofrecia al efecto obstáculo alguno; ya que, como hubiera sido muy conforme a la equidad,

¹⁰According to the privileges granted to the King of Spain under the *Patronato Real*, he had the right to name all bishops and parish priests everywhere in the Spanish colonial empire. The original privileges granted by the Popes of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, together with their extensions and interpretations by the regalists of a later age, were incorporated into the *Recopilación de Leyes de los Reynos de Indias*, the code by which Spain's overseas empire was ruled.

foundation. He likewise sees that it is necessary to make an effort to adapt the Royal Order of September 10, 1861 to the norms of what is fitting and just. Finally, he sees that if one attends to the results, one will conclude that this Order is likewise not totally in conformity with a sound policy. These assertions will now be explained briefly.

The Supreme Government was within its prerogatives in entrusting to the acknowledged zeal of the priests of the Society of Jesus the administration of the parishes and missions of Mindanao. It was authorized to do this by the laws of the Patronato as laid down in the Code of the Indies. Moreover, it was very praiseworthy that the Recoleta Fathers be given a testimony of gratitude for their services, and that they be given some compensation for the loss of the religious establishments of Mindanao. For although it is true that many of the latter parishes were created by the Jesuits of earlier times, still the Recoletos had been in possession of them and had made them their own by right of prescription. But the services of the native priests likewise deserve great esteem, for in all adversities they have always conducted themselves as loyal subjects of Spain, and as coadjutors in the parochial ministry they always carry the heaviest part of the burden. Had this been taken into consideration, never would injury have been done to a class of men so well-deserving in order to compensate any other class whatsoever, and a manner more gentle and more equitative would have been excogitated to fulfill the desires of the government. The diocese of Cebu itself, within whose boundaries at that time the entire island of Mindanao was to be found, as a matter of fact presented scarcely any obstacle to this end. For it would not have been a question

¹¹Until the creation of the diocese of Jaro in 1865, the diocese of Cebu comprised the entire Visayas and Mindanao. After the separation, the southern part of Mindanao and the Sulu Archipelago formed part of Jaro, the northern part remaining with Cebu.

no se compensára con parroquias de otros regulares a los Recoletos, a los cuales se habian cedido anteriormente todas las de la Isla de Negros pertenecientes al clero secular por falta de personal de esta clase.

Los curatos de la Diócesis mencionada eran doscientos treinta y siete de los cuales los cuarenta y ocho pertenecian al clero secular. La estrechez de su Seminario, falta de profesores é ignorancia del idioma español, cuyo conocimiento es indispensable para el estudio de la latinidad y Teología moral sino impedian la formacion del competente número de Sacerdotes para el regimen de las indicadas parroquias, de ningun modo permitian que prestase el que fuere menester para los que en clase de Coadjutores ayudan a los parrocos en la administracion de Sacramentos y cuidado de los enfermos: aquel seminario merece con razon el nombre de Colegio, porque los naturales acuden a él con el fin de aprender la lengua española, y le abandonan en su mayor parte cuando la hablan medianamente. Baste decir que habia, y todavia hay, dentro la antigua circunscripcion del Obispado de Cebu pueblos, no aglomerados, sino compuestos de barrios distantes y diseminados de diez y seis mil y mas almas, cuya administracion espiritual se desempeña por un solo Sacerdote religioso por lo comun de edad provecita. En esta atención no se puede dudar que su celoso Prelado hubiera recibido con satisfaccion el auxilio de veinte y siete religiosos que se encargáran de otras tantas parroquias, porque hubiera mejorado manifiestamente el servicio parroquial, y le quedarian aun veintiun curatos con que premiar a los coadjutores que, dentro su escaso numero, se distinguiesen por su virtud, ciencia y laboriosidad.

Falto como está el Arzobispado de Manila de personal para atender a todas las necesidades espirituales de los fieles, siendo el existente apenas suficiente para acudir en circun-

of compensating the Recoletos with parishes of other religious, and thus much in conformity with justice, for previously all the parishes of the island of Negros had been handed over to the Recoletos, though they had formerly belonged to the secular clergy, because of the lack of personnel of the latter class.

The curacies of the diocese of Cebu were two hundred and thirty seven. Of these, forty eight belonged to the secular clergy. Such factors as the limited size of its seminary, the lack of professors and the ignorance of the Spanish language, the knowledge of which is indispensable for the study of Latin and of Moral Theology, though they did not prevent the formation of a sufficient number of secular priests to take care of the above-mentioned parishes, in no sense permitted that the diocese furnish the number needed as coadjutors to help the parish priests in the administration of the sacraments and the care of the sick. That seminary well deserves the name of College, because the natives go to it with the purpose of learning the Spanish language and for the most part abandon it when they speak Spanish moderately well. Let it suffice to say that there were and still are within the former boundaries of the Bishopric of Cebu, towns not thickly populated but composed of distant and scattered barrios, having 16,000 and more souls whose spiritual administration is carried out by a single religious priest, ordinarily one of advanced age. In this situation, one cannot doubt that the zealous Prelate of the diocese would have received with satisfaction the aid of twenty-seven religious who would take charge of an equal number of parishes, because in this fashion the service of the parishes would manifestly have been improved. And still there would have remained twenty-one parishes with which to reward those coadjutors who, within their small number, should distinguish themselves for their virtue, knowledge, and hard work.

In spite of the lack which the Archbishopric of Manila has of sufficient personnel to attend to all the spiritual necessities of the faithful, inasmuch as the existing personnel is scarcely sufficient in normal circumstances to take care of

stancias normales a las de mas urgencia, forma sin embargo bajo el concepto propuesto un completo contraste con la Diócesis de Cebú. Porque en el Arzobispado, que a la sazón tenía un millon cuatrocientos mil habitantes proximamente, con ciento y noventa parroquias servidas por ambos cleros, deducidas de las pertenecientes al secular las que se habian de devolver en virtud de la Real Cedula de 1826; las que dispuso se entregaran a los Recoletos y Dominicos la Real Orden de 1849; y las veintisiete con que segun la de 10 de Setiembre de 1861 se han de compensar los curatos y misiones, que los Recoletos habran de entregar a los Jesuitas en Mindanao; solo quedarán doce para premiar a los coadjutores beneméritos. Los sacerdotes de esta clase son, comparandolos con los de Cebú, muy numerosos; pues no hay curato que pase de cuatro mil almas cuyo Parroco no tenga su coadjutor, dos los que pasan de ocho mil, tres los de doce mil, y así sucesivamente hasta el de Taal que cuenta siete. Continuemos el parangon de ambas Diócesis.

Si en la de Cebú, hay pocos que entienden la lengua española, son muchos los que la hablan en Manila y provincias limítrofes; y a la estrechez del Seminario de aquella corresponde en esta la Universidad de Santo Tomas, el Colegio de San Juan de Letran y el de San Jose, donde numerosos alumnos se dedican al estudio de la latinidad, Filosofia, Teologia y sagrados Cánones; y no debe omitirse el Seminario de San Carlos apesar de que por las contrariedades consignadas en exposicion separada no se halle a la altura, que demanda la importancia de la Capital del Archipiélago Filipino, reducido y conservado para España principalmente por el sentimiento religioso. ¿No proclaman los precedentes datos que debieran compensar los perjuicios sufridos por los Recoletos con curatos de la Diócesis de Cebú y no con los de Manila?

those of most urgency, nonetheless, when viewed under the concept which has been proposed, it forms a complete contrast with the diocese of Cebu. For the Archbishopric at that time had approximately 1,400,000 inhabitants, with 190 parishes served by the regular and secular clergy. If we deduct from those pertaining to the secular clergy those which had to be restored by virtue of the Royal Cedula of 1826, those which the Royal Order of 1849 disposed should be handed over to the Recoletos and the Dominicans, and the twenty-seven which, according to the Cedula of September 10, 1861, are to be used to compensate the curacies and missions which the Recoletos are to hand over to the Jesuits in Mindanao, there will remain only twelve to reward deserving coadjutors. The priests of this latter class, in comparison to those of Cebu, are very numerous. For there is no parish which has more than 4,000 souls whose parish priest does not have a coadjutor, and those of more than 8,000 have two; those of 12,000, three, and so on, up to the parish of Taal which has seven. Let us continue the comparison of the two dioceses.

In the diocese of Cebu, there are few who understand the Spanish language. There are many who speak it in Manila and in the nearby provinces. While the diocese of Cebu has a small seminary, that of Manila has the University of Santo Tomas, the College of San Juan de Letran, and the College of San Jose, where numerous students dedicate themselves to the study of Latin, of Philosophy, of Theology, and of the sacred Canons. Nor should we omit the Seminary of San Carlos, in spite of the fact that due to the adverse circumstances explained in a separate exposition, it is not at the level which the importance of the capital of the Philippine Archipelago demands. For the latter has been brought under Spanish rule and preserved for Spain principally by the religious sentiment of its population. Do not the foregoing data proclaim that the losses suffered by the Recoletos ought to be compensated with parishes from the diocese of Cebu and not with those of Manila?

No resalta menos el espíritu poco conforme con la conveniencia y equidad, que dictó la Real Orden de 10 de Setiembre de 1861, de la comparacion que hacen los Sacerdotes indígenas entre las misiones y curatos entregados por los religiosos Recoletos y los que estos reciben en este Arzobispado. Dignese V. A. pasar la vista por el estado adjunto,¹² y acaso convendra con ellos: y con ellos tambien observara que si a la palabra *indemnizacion*, que significa tanto como resarcimiento de daños sufridos, se le dá la estension que arroja su resultado, habria muchos que deseáran se les causase daño para recibir el valor décuplo de lo que hubieren perdido. Y es muy de notar que, si bien el curato de Antipolo tiene poco vecindario, es sin embargo tal la devocion de los pueblos a la imagen de la Virgen que en él se venera, tal la afluencia de gentes hasta de las mas remotas provincias que durante el mes de Mayo concurren a este celebre Santuario, y tales y de tanta cuantia las limosnas de las misas encargadas, que se le reputa como la perla de los Curatos, como una de las parroquias mas pingues de todo el Archipielago. No es de estrañar por lo tanto que el clero secular sintiese sobremanera su pérdida, ni le falta alguna razon para insistir en que la Real Orden de 19 de Mayo de 1864 no se conforma mucho con la de 10 de Setiembre de 1861.

Ademas de los hechos espuestos, que han creado y fomentado el antagonismo y animosidad del clero secular contra el regular, es necesario añadir otro, para que V. A. pueda formar un juicio completo del descontento de los Sacerdotes indígenas.

Para proveer el Curato de San Rafael en la provincia de Bulacan, vacante por defuncion de su parroco, se libraron edictos por termino de sesenta dias, que se cumplieron el 17 de Febrero de 1868. El concursó se celebró en los dias 21, 22, y 23 siguientes, siendo examinados por el método prescrito

¹²The original is followed by two tables, signed by D. Cándido Ureta, the chief dignitary of the Cathedral Chapter, which have been omitted here. They are comparative tables of the towns handed over, or to be handed over, by the Recoletos to the Jesuits, and the ones received in compensation by the former in the Archdiocese of Manila.

The lack of the spirit of equity and justice in the Royal Order of September 10, 1861, is no less striking if we make the comparison which the native priests make between the missions and parishes handed over by the Recoletos and those which they receive in this Archbishopric. Let Your Highness glance at the enclosed list, and perhaps you will agree with them. And together with them you will likewise observe that if the word *indemnization*, which signifies something like the reparation of losses which have been suffered, receives the extension which its results manifest, there would be many who would desire to suffer loss in order to receive ten times the value of that which they had lost. Moreover, it is to be noted that if it is true that the parish of Antipolo has a relatively small number of parishioners, nonetheless the devotion of the towns to the image of the Virgin which is venerated there is so great, and the crowds which come even from the most remote provinces during the month of May to this celebrated sanctuary are so large, and the alms offered for Masses are so many and so large, that this parish is considered to be the pearl of the curacies as being one of the richest in the Archipelago. It is not strange therefore that the secular clergy felt very strongly its loss, nor are they without justification in insisting that the Royal Order of May 19, 1864 is not very much in conformity with that of September 10, 1861.

In addition to the facts that have been expounded here, which have created and accentuated the antagonism and animosity of the secular clergy against the regular, it is necessary also to add another fact in order that your Highness may be able to form a complete judgement of the discontent of the native priests. In order to provide for the parish of San Rafael in the province of Bulacan, which was vacant because of the death of its parish priest, edicts were issued to be answered within sixty days, a date which came due on February 17, 1868. The competition took place on the 21st, 22nd and 23rd of the following month, during which were examined according to the method of examination prescribed

por el Papa Benedicto XIV los diez y siete opositores que se presentaron.¹³ Ya estaban calificados los ejercicios literarios y arreglada la terna, que se dirigió al Vice Real Patrono el 2 de Marzo; pero el día anterior recibió el Prelado Diocesano un oficio de aquel incluyendo una reclamación del Vicario Provincial de los Agustinos calzados, pidiendo se adjudicase dicho curato a su Provincia. Ynmediatamente se contestó rogando al Vice Real Patrono que diese curso a la terna por hallarse el clero secular en posesión del curato, haber adquirido los opositores derecho a él por el acto del concurso, y no haberse interpuesto la reclamación en tiempo hábil, sin perjuicio de ventilar después la cuestión entablada por el Reverendo Vicario Provincial, que versaba sobre la propiedad: la respuesta fué denegar tan justa petición a pretexto de que se prejuzgaria la cuestión, confundiendo lastimosamente el derecho de posesión con el de propiedad: se le hizo ver con toda claridad la equivocación, en que se incurria; y se contestó que el Vice Real Patronato no reformaba lo que una vez había resuelto.

No tuvo mejor éxito la cuestión de propiedad. Se unió al expediente el original canónico seguido en 1746 para su erección a excitación del Vice Real Patrono y con arreglo a las disposiciones canónicas y leyes de Indias: también se le unieron testimonios de los nombramientos de los curas capellanes que sirvieron el mismo curato desde el año últimamente citado hasta 1808, desde cuya fecha en adelante confesaba el Vicario Provincial se había provisto previa oposición y presentación de la terna al Vice Real Patrono en Sacerdotes se-

¹³In the parishes entrusted to the secular clergy, (not those of religious) competitive examination, were held to determine the candidates to be presented to the Governor-General, as Vice-Royal Patron. The three highest examinees were placed on the *terna* or list, from which the Governor-General chose the one to be presented to the Archbishop for canonical installation as parish priest.

by Pope Benedict XIV, the seventeen examinees who presented themselves. The written examinations were already graded and the *terna* had been drawn up, which was sent to the Vice-Royal Patron on March 2. However, the preceding day, the Diocesan Prelate received a communication from the latter enclosing a claim of the Vicar Provincial of the Calced Augustinians, asking that the above mentioned curacy be adjudicated to his province. Immediately the Prelate replied, asking the Vice-Royal Patron to give course to the *terna*, since the secular clergy was in possession of the curacy, since the examinees had acquired a right to it by the fact of the competitive examinations, and since the claim had not been interposed within the proper time, without prejudice to discussing later the question brought up by the Vicar Provincial, which concerned the proprietorship. The reply of the Vice-Royal Patron was to refuse so just a petition on the pretext that it would prejudice the question, thus lamentably confusing the right of possession with the right of proprietorship. An effort was made to make him see with all clarity the equivocation incurred. But the answer came back that the Vice-Royal *Patronato* did not go back on what it had once decided.

The question of proprietorship had no better success. The canonical original drawn up in 1746 for the erection of the parish at the instance of the Vice-Royal Patron and in accordance with the canonical dispositions and the Laws of the Indies was joined to the *expediente*. Moreover, testimonies of the nominations of the chaplains who served the same curacy from the above-named year until 1808 were likewise added. From the latter date onwards, the Vicar Provincial himself admitted that the provision of the curacy had been made on secular priests after competitive examinations and the presentation of the *terna* to the Vice-Royal Patron. In

culares. A la ereccion canónica, titulo el mas legal y fuerte, y a una posesion continua, pacifica, inequivoca y manifiesta de ciento veintidos años, oponia el Vicario Provincial que su corporacion habia reclamado a los pocos dias de la ereccion; efectivamente presentó dos escritos que fueron contestados por el Provincial de San Juan de Dios, a cuyo instituto pertenecia la hacienda de San Rafael;¹⁴ pero en ciento veintidos años no ha tenido por conveniente pedir resolucion. Acaso porque al principio tenia el curato solo unos ochenta pobres indios, vaqueros y labradores, y ahora pasa de trece mil almas. Tambien oponia que habiendo sido restituidos los religiosos por Real Cedula de 8 de Junio de 1826 en la administracion de curatos y doctrinas de estas Yslas al ser y estado que tenian cuando fueron secularizados por Real Cedula de 11 de Diciembre de 1776; debia ser comprendido el de San Rafael sito en territorio a ellos concedido; pero es de advertir que dicho curato no pudo ser secularizado por que desde su origen fue secular; y que no le son aplicables las dos citadas Reales Cedulas, a no dar a las leyes efecto retroactivo; puesto que fue creado treinta años antes de ser espedida la de 1776. Espuestas estas razones con otras sumamente debiles en una larga y nebulosa ponencia, que fué prohijada por el Consejo de Administracion, y con la que se conformó el Vice Real Patrono sin alterar ni una letra, quedó terminado este asunto. Por que aunque el que firma rogó al mismo que elevara el expediente a la resolucion del Gobierno Supremo juntamente con una consulta de dos letrados, que le remitió con oficio, no lo pudo conseguir; y por respeto a la Autoridad Superior de las Yslas, cuyo prestigio trata siempre de sostener, desistió de toda gestion ulterior. Esta terminacion produjo un

¹⁴The Order of St. John of God had originally been brought to the Philippines to administer the hospital which came to be known as San Juan de Dios and others. With the supression of the religious

opposition to the canonical erection, the strongest legal title, and to the continuous, peaceful, unchallenged and clear possession of 122 years, the Vicar Provincial offered the objection that his Order had entered a protest a few days after the canonical erection. As a matter of fact, he presented two documents which had been answered by the Provincial of the Order of St. John of God, to which the hacienda of San Rafael belonged. But in 122 years, the Augustinians had not considered it necessary to ask for a resolution of their petition. Perhaps the reason for this is that in the beginning the parish had only some eighty poor Indios, cowherds and farmers, while today it has more than 13,000 souls. He also offered in opposition the allegation that the religious had been restored by the Royal Cedula of June 8, 1826 in the administration of the curacies and missions of these islands to the state of things which had been in existence at the time the parishes were secularized by the Royal Cedula of December 11, 1776; the parish of San Rafael, he therefore alleged, ought to be included, being located in the territory granted to them. But it should be observed that the above-mentioned curacy could not be secularized, since from its origin it was secular; and the two Royal Cedulas cited are not applicable to it, unless retroactive effect be given to the laws, inasmuch as it was created thirty years before the law of 1776 was decreed. Upon propounding these reasons together with others of little force in a long and obscure exposition, which was adopted by the Council of Administration and agreed to by the Vice-Royal Patron without the alteration of a single letter, the affair was terminated. For although the undersigned asked the Vice-Royal Patron that the *expediente* be elevated to the resolution of the Supreme Government, together with a legal consultation which he sent him with an official letter, he could not obtain his request. Out of respect for the Superior Authority of the Islands, whose prestige the undersigned always tries to maintain, he gave up all further action. This

orders in Spain in 1836, they ceased to exist in the Philippines likewise during the course of the nineteenth century.

verdadero escandalo en los Sacerdotes del pais, y les aumentó sobremanera el dolor de tan grandes y repetidas pérdidas.

El principio generador de las contrariedades, que en todas las esferas experimenta el clero indigena, es la opinion de algunos años a esta parte en boga, de que se sigue una conducta imprudente consintiendo que se hallen al frente de algunas parroquias Sacerdotes del pais. Los que asi piensan prescinden absolutamente de los hechos, y pasean libremente su imaginacion por los campos de la teoria. Ciertamente que, si ahora hubiere de plantearse de nuevo la administracion eclesiástica del Archipielago Filipino, y fuera posible que viniesen de España suficientes Ministros para atender a las necesidades espirituales de sus populosas parroquias, apenas se encontraria un peninsular de buen seso, a quien no pareciera aceptable tan político pensamiento. Pero la cuestion no es teórica sino eminentemente práctica, y antes de resolverla es indispensable examinar previamente otras que ofrecen graves dificultades v.g. atendido el enfriamiento del sentimiento religioso ¿se podria contar con la vocacion de jovenes en número considerable dispuestos a abandonar su patria para venir a prestar los servicios del ministerio espiritual en un clima tan lejano, y que tiene fama de malas condiciones higiénicas? ¿convendria al tesoro público sufragar los gastos necesarios para el establecimiento y manutencion de los Colegios, profesores y alumnos y los de equipo y pasaje de tantos individuos desde la Peninsula a las Yslas Filipinas? Y cuando esto no ofreciera dificultad alguna, y partiendo del estado actual ¿no se ha de tener ningun peligro de conservar al clero indigena en la creciente exacerbacion en que se encuentra?

Póngase cualquiera en su lugar, y reflexione sobre la serie de medidas de que se ha hecho mérito, y no podrá menos de reconocer que los enormes daños sufridos, y los que todavia le amenazan, dan sobrados y fuertes motivos para que, no obstante su timidez, conviertan en animadversion su

termination of the affair produced a real scandal among the native priests, and greatly increased their pain at such great and repeated losses.

The principle which has been responsible for the frustrations which the native clergy experiences in every sphere, is the opinion which has been in vogue for some years now here, that it is a very imprudent policy which is being followed in permitting that native priests be at the head of any parishes. Those who think in this manner prescind absolutely from the facts and let their imaginations wander freely through the vast fields of theory. It is certainly true that if one were once more to create today from the beginning the ecclesiastical administration of the Philippine Archipelago, and if it were possible that sufficient ministers should come from Spain to attend to the spiritual necessities of its populous parishes, scarcely a single Peninsular of good sense would be found who would not consider such a politically wise opinion acceptable. But the question is not theoretical but eminently practical. And before resolving it, it is absolutely necessary to examine first other serious difficulties which occur. For example, given the cooling of religious sentiment, could one count on the vocation of young men in considerable numbers, disposed to abandon their native country to come and give the services of the spiritual ministry in a region so far away and with the reputation of poor hygienic conditions? Would it suit the public treasury to pay the necessary expenses for the establishment and maintenance of colleges, professors and students, and the expenses for equipment and passage of so many individuals from the Peninsula to the Philippine Islands? And even if this did not offer any difficulty, and considering only the actual state of things, is there no danger in keeping the native clergy in the increasing state of exasperation in which it is at present?

Let anyone put himself in their place, and reflect on the series of measures which have been recounted, and he cannot but recognize that the enormous losses suffered and those which still threaten them give them strong and sufficient motives so that in spite of their timidity they may turn their

antigua fidelidad y respeto a los Españoles. Antes administraban los curatos de las provincias de Zambales, Bataan y la Pampanga, de los que fueron desposeídos;¹⁵ y cuando confiaban que con la devolucion de estas parroquias habian cesado todos sus males, reciben nuevos y rudos golpes que renuevan y enconan la llaga. Porque no corresponde ya a su resentimiento contra los regulares la calificacion de antagonismo de clase, a la cual se ha circunscrito mientras atribuyeron su mala suerte a la ambicion y poderio de las corporaciones religiosas; ahora que, a vista de repetidas pruebas, observan que las Autoridades cooperan a las inmoderadas aspiraciones de aquellas, y que en opinion de los mismos Sacerdotes del pais se ha adoptado el sistema de reducirlos a la nulidad; salvan la antigua valla, dirigen sus miradas a mayor altura, y lo que antes se reducía a animadversion de los regulares, se reviste de una forma de caracter anti-español: ya no se recatan de decir que si los angloamericanos o los ingleses se apoderasen del Archipielago Filipino, de seguro les guardarian mas consideraciones que las que merecen de los Españoles. Y he aqui, Serenisimo Señor, que por eludir un peligro imaginario, se va creando uno real y verdadero.

Facilmente se comprende que de insistir en el cumplimiento de la Real Orden de 10 de Setiembre, habrá de trascurrir un periodo tan largo, como el que se ha invertido desde 1826 hasta el año, que hoy fina, para completar la entrega de los curatos a los regulares conforme a la Real Cedula arriba citada; y tambien se comprende que, renovandose el sentimiento de los naturales cada vez que se les desposee de un curato, como sucede al presente con la pérdida de los de Rosario en la provincia de Batangas y el de Cavite, de los que se van a hacer cargo los Recoletos en compensacion de la parroquia de Dapitan y mision de Lubungan, que entregaron

¹⁵ By the decree of 1826, which provided that as the curacies became vacant through the transferral or death of the secular priest occupying them, they should gradually be turned over to the religious

ancient fidelity and respect toward the Spaniards into aversion. Previously they administered the curacies of the provinces of Zambales, Bataan and Pampanga, and they were dispossessed of these. When they trusted that with the turning over of these parishes, all their ills had ceased, they receive rough new blows which reopen and inflame the wound. For no longer can their resentment against the regulars be considered a class antagonism, to which it had limited itself while they attributed their misfortune to the ambition and power of the religious orders. Now that in the light of repeated trials they observe that the authorities cooperate with the immoderate aspirations of the latter and that in the opinion of the native priests themselves, the system has been adopted of reducing them to nullity, they pass over the ancient wall and direct their eyes to a loftier height. What before was simply resentment of the regular orders now takes on a kind of anti-Spanish character. They do not hesitate to say that if the Americans or the English should take possession of the Philippine Archipelago, certainly they would show them more consideration than they receive from the Spaniards. Thus it is, Most Serene Sir, that in order to escape an imaginary danger, a very real and true one is being created.

One will easily understand that if one insists on the fulfillment of the Royal Order of September 10, it will be necessary that just as long a period pass as has elapsed from 1826 to the year which today comes to an end, in order to complete the handing over of the curacies to the regulars in conformity with the Royal Cedula cited above. Moreover, it is to be understood that renewing the resentment of the natives each time one dispossesses them of a curacy, as is happening at present with the loss of those of Rosario in the province of Batangas and that of Cavite, of which the Recoletos are going to take charge in compensation for the parish of Dapitan and the mission of Lubungan which they handed over to the

orders. The last of these, as the Archbishop notes, was actually turned over in 1870.

a los Padres Jesuitas en Julio ultimo; se llena su corazon de una amarga pena, la cual lejos de encontrar algun lenitivo, se exacerba al verse destituidos de todo género de apoyo, cuando por otra parte suponen que la influencia de sus antagonistas a todas partes alcanza. Es tanto mas urgente proveer de pronto remedio a su descontento y exasperacion, cuanto que si continúa por tiempo considerable la efervescencia, que en ellos ha notado el infrascrito a su regreso del Concilio Vaticano,¹⁶ se dará margen a que los sentimientos de los Sacerdotes indígenas se propaguen a sus padres, parientes y a todo el pueblo Filipino, con quien están mas en contacto que el clero regular; y a que el mal tome graves proporciones. No se ocultará a la elevada penetracion de V. A. la alta conveniencia, la necesidad de apagar este pequeño fuego, que supuesta una eventualidad, puede convertirse en un vasto incendio, al cual acaso servirian en primer termino de pábulo los mismos que se empeñan en difundir temores vanos: y vanos se pueden llamar pues hasta ahora de las esquisitas diligencias practicadas para justificar las acusaciones lanzadas ultimamente contra el clero secular nunca ha resultado prueba alguna positiva.

Por los motivos espuestos juzga el esponente que se debe reformar la Real Orden de 10 de Setiembre de 1861 y sus aclaratorias en la parte que afecta al Arzobispado de Manila, restituyendo las cosas por medidas prontas y eficaces al ser y estado que tenian en aquella fecha; que los curatos y misiones de Mindanao entregados por los Padres Recoletos a los Padres de la Compañia de Jesus se compensen con otros de la Diócesis de Cebú y de la de Jaro, que de ella se segregó en 1867, a prorata de las parroquias servidas por el clero secular en cada una de ellas, para suplir la falta de Sacerdotes indígenas, que en ambas se siente; y ultimamente, que se disponga la remision al Ministerio de Ultramar del expediente original instruido a instancia del Vicario Provincial

¹⁶ The First Vatican Council opened in December 1869 and closed in July 1870.

Jesuit fathers last July, their heart is filled with bitter sorrow. Far from finding any alleviation, it grows more bitter at seeing themselves despoiled of every kind of support, since on the other hand they suppose that the influence of their antagonists reaches everywhere. It is so much the more urgent to provide a prompt remedy to their discontent and exasperation since if the excitement which the undersigned has noticed in them since his return from the Vatican Council continues for a considerable time, occasion will be offered for the resentments of the native priests to be passed on to their parents, relatives, and to the whole Filipino people, with whom they are more in contact than is the regular clergy. Thus the evil will take on serious proportions. It cannot be hidden from the lofty penetration of Your Highness how highly suitable, how necessary it is to put out this little fire, which, if an accident should occur, can be converted into a vast conflagration, in which perhaps the first to serve as food for the flames would be the very ones who occupy themselves in spreading their vain fears. These fears can certainly be called vain, since up till now, [in spite of] the exquisite efforts which have been made to justify the accusations lately made against the secular clergy, there has never come forth any positive proof.

For the motives here expounded, the undersigned judges that the Royal Order of September 10, 1861 and its explanatory notes, to the extent they affect the Archbishopric of Manila, should be reformed. Things should be restored by prompt and efficacious measures to the state which they had on the latter date. Moreover the curacies and missions of Mindanao handed over by the Recoleta Fathers to the Fathers of the Society of Jesus ought to be compensated with others from the diocese of Cebu and that of Jaro, which was separated from the former in 1867, in proportion to the number of parishes served by the secular clergy in each one of them. Thus there will be filled up the lack of native priests which is felt in both dioceses. Finally let the original *expediente* drawn up at the instance of the Vicar Provincial (now Pro-

(ahora Procurador en esa Corte) de los Agustinos calzados sobre pertenencia de la parroquia de San Rafael en la provincia de Bulacan, a fin de que, examinado, se resuelva lo que fuere conforme a justicia, a la cual se faltó de una manera notoria a juicio del clero secular.

A V. A. suplica rendidamente el esponente que así lo determine, en la seguridad de que no solo calmará la inquietud de los ánimos, sino que afirmada por la ~~g~~entitud la nunca desmentida fidelidad del clero secular Filipino, se estrecharán mas y mas los lazos que unen este feraz Archipiélago a nuestra amada España.

El Señor conserve muchos años la vida de V. A. y le favorezca con todo linage de luces y gracias para bien de la Religion Católica y de nuestra querida Patria. Manila 31 de Diciembre de 1870.

Serenísimo Señor,

[Signed] Gregorio Arzobispo de Manila

Serenísimo Señor Regente del Reyno

curator in Madrid) of the calced Augustinians concerning the proprietorship of the parish of San Rafael in the province of Bulacan be sent back to the Overseas Ministry. Thus, after examination, the resolution may be taken which will be in conformity with justice, a justice which was notoriously lacking according to the judgement of the secular clergy.

The undersigned earnestly begs Your Highness, that he may so determine in the assurance that not only will he calm the disquiet of minds, but having strengthened through the bond of gratitude the never-disproved fidelity of the Filipino secular clergy, the ties which unite this fertile archipelago to our beloved Spain will be drawn ever closer and closer.

May the Lord preserve for many years the life of Your Highness and favor you with every kind of lights and graces for the good of the Catholic religion and of our beloved country.

Manila, December 31, 1870.

Most Serene Sir,

[Signed] Gregorio, Archbishop of Manila

To the Most Serene Sir, Regent of the Realm.

[Title-page] (Sobre Correspondencia sospechosa interceptada)

[Seal] Administracion General de Correos de Filipinas.
 Gobierno Superior Civil de Filipinas = Reservado = Conviene a los intereses del Estado que V. S. detenga las cartas que procedentes de Europa y de Hongkong lleguen a esa administracion con sobre a D. José Gabriel Esquivel, D. Tomás Fuentes, D. Manuel Fuentes, D. Ambrosio Bautista, D. Agustin Mendoza, D. José Burgos, D. Juan Adriano, D. Ignacio Rocha, y D. Joaquin Loizaga (hijo) = Dios guarde a V.S. muchos años. Manila 22 de Diciembre de 1869. La Torre = Sr. Administrador General de Correos de Filipinas.

Gobierno Superior Civil de Filipinas = Reservado = Como consecuencia de la orden que ayer dirigí a V.S. para que detuviera la correspondencia que procedente de Europa y Hongkong llegase con sobre para los señores allí espresados, he dispuesto que el Sr. Gobernador Civil de esta provincia¹⁷ se ponga de acuerdo con V.S. y previas las formalidades reglamentarias proceda al examen de la Correspondencia y a darme cuenta del resultado = Dios guarde a V.S. muchos años. Manila 23 de diciembre de 1869 = La Torre = Sor. Administrador general de Correos. — Son copias.

[Signature illegible]

¹⁷The province of Manila, then comprising today's Greater Manila and the western part of Rizal province. In 1872 the Governor was Jose María Díaz, who signs the fourth document in this section.

II

[Translation]

[Title-page] On the interception of suspect correspondence.

* * *

[Seal] General Administration of the Post Office of the Philippines

From: The Supreme Civil Government of the Philippines

Confidential

It is necessary in the interest of the State that you hold all letters coming from Europe and Hong Kong that arrive in that office addressed to D. Jose Gabriel Esquivel, D. Tomas Fuentes, D. Manuel Fuentes, D. Ambrosio Bautista, D. Agustin Mendoza, D. Jose Burgos, D. Juan Adriano, D. Ignacio Rocha, and D. Joaquin Loyzaga, Jr.

May God keep Your Excellency many years. Manila, 22 December 1869. La Torre = To the Postmaster-General of the Philippines.

* * *

From: The Supreme Civil Government of the Philippines

Confidential

In compliance with the order sent you yesterday to hold the correspondence coming from Europe and Hong Kong addressed to the gentlemen there mentioned, I have ordered that the Civil Governor of that province make arrangements with you to examine the letters, after the prescribed formalities, and to report to me the results.

May God keep Your Excellency many years. Manila, 23 December 1869. La Torre = To the Postmaster General.

(True Copies)

[Signature illegible]

1869

[Rough draft in another hand]

Pardo,¹⁸ Leon,¹⁹ Paraiso,²⁰ Burgos, Garchitorena,²¹ Cura de Quiapo,²² de Sta. Cruz,²³ de Pampanga que este de rector de un Colegio,²⁴ un sacerdote de San Jose,²⁵ Zamora, Rocha,²⁶ Esquivel, Reyes²⁷ [in another hand apparently added later], Basa (hermanos).²⁸

Correspondencia interceptada en Diciembre 1869

[Seal] Gobierno Civil de la Provincia de Manila

Excmo. Sor. La Administracion general de correos con esta fecha me dice lo siguiente: "En vista de la atenta comunicacion de V.E. de 27 del actual pongo en su conocimiento que en esta Administracion existen ya cartas para los presbíteros Don José Burgos, y Don Jacinto Zamora de los comprendidos en la relacion que se sirve incluirme.

Tengo el honor de manifestarlo a V.E. para que se sirva designar la hora y lugar en que con arreglo de lo que prescribe el capitulo 25 del título 12 de la ordenanza general de correos deben ser entregadas a los interesados en presencia del Juez por el Oficial de esta dependencia comisionado al efecto para que abiertas por los mismos queda al arbitrio del Juez obrar conforme a justicia.

Debo advertir a V.E. que si los reos estuviesen privados de toda comunicacion y fuese preciso abrir sus cartas con

¹⁸Joaquín Pardo de Tavera, *Consejero de Administración*, and Professor of law at the University of Santo Tomás. Deported to the Marianas in 1872.

¹⁹Probably Jose Mauricio de Leon, lawyer, deported to the Marianas in 1872.

²⁰Enrique Paraiso, merchant, condemned to ten years' imprisonment in 1872, together with Maximo Inocencio and Crisanto de los Reyes. Cf. documents in section VI.

[Seal] Civil Government of the Province of Manila

Your Excellency:

The General Administration of the Posts has on this date written me as follows:

“In view of the kind letter of Your Excellency, dated the 27th of this month, I have the honor to inform you that this office already has letters for the priests Don Jose Burgos and Don Jacinto Zamora, from among those mentioned in the list you are so good as to furnish me.

I have the honor to inform Your Excellency of this, so that he may appoint the time and place for the delivery of said letters to the interested parties by a designated official of this office, in the presence of the Judge, in accordance with the provisions of Chapter 25, Section 12, of the general regulations of the Post Office. Then, once opened by the same persons, it is left to the discretion of the Judge to act in conformity with what is just.

I should call to Your Excellency's attention that in case the defendants should be denied all communication, and there should be need to open their letters as prescribed

²¹Angel Garchitorena, carriage manufacturer, prominent among those who serenaded de la Torre in July 1869, but not among those imprisoned or exiled in 1872.

²²Father Jose Guevara, deported to the Marianas in 1872.

²³Father Agustin Mendoza, deported to the Marianas in 1872.

²⁴We cannot identify this person.

²⁵Probably Father Marianc Sevilla, deported to the Marianas in 1872.

²⁶Either Ignacio Rocha, businessman; or Lorenzo Rocha, an artist; both of whom were prominent at the serenade of de la Torre mentioned above.

²⁷Probably Crisanto de los Reyes, businessman, sentenced to ten years imprisonment in 1872. Cf. section VI.

²⁸José and Pío Basa, businessmen, both deported to the Marianas in 1872.

arreglo al Capitulo 26 del mismo Título debe impetrarse la orden del Exmo. Sor. Gobernador Superior Civil Subdelegado del Ramo[?]²⁹ escepto el unico caso en que la urgencia sea tal que no permita esperar, que entonces bastará comunicacion que asi lo espese.”

Lo que tengo el honor de trascribir a V.E. rogandole se sirva autorizarme á fin de que la correspondencia de los espresados reos sea entregada al Fiscal de Guerra competente que entiende en la causa de los mismos. Dios guarde a V.E. muchos años. Manila 29 de enero de 1872.

Excmo. Sor.

[Signed] Jose Ma. Diaz

Exmo. Sor. Gobernador Superior Civil de Filipinas.

²⁹The original at this point is somewhat difficult to decipher. If our transcription is correct, the phrase would seem to mean that the Governor-General could give this authorization in his capacity as sub-delegate of the national postal service.

in Chapter 26 of the same Section, the order of His Excellency, the Supreme Civil Governor, Subdelegate of the Branch, is required. The only exception to this is when the urgency is such that it is impossible to wait. In this case, a communication to that effect would be sufficient."

I have the honor to transmit this to Your Excellency, requesting you to be so good as to authorize me, so that the letters of the said defendants may be handed over to the proper military fiscal in charge of the case. May God keep Your Excellency many years. Manila, 29 January 1872.

I am, Your Excellency,

[signed] Jose Maria Diaz

To His Excellency, the Supreme Civil Governor of the Philippines.

III

[Seal] Arzobispado de Manila

Exmo. Sor.

Tengo la honra de pasar a manos de V.E. la adjunta terna³⁰ para la provicion interina de la Canongia Magistral de esta Santa Yglesia Catedral que se halla sin servidor por promocion del Dr. Dn. Candido Ureta y Manzanares que la obtenia en propiedad.

Dios guarde a V.E. muchos años. Manila 25 de Agosto de 1871.

Exmo. Sor.

[signed] Gregorio Arzobispo

Exmo. Sr. Gobernador Supervisor Vice Patrono de estas Islas.

[Seal] Arzobispado de Manila

Exmo. Sor.

Hallandose sin servidor la Canongia Magistral de esta Santa Iglesia Catedral por promocion a la Dignidad de Maestrescuela del Dr. Dn. Candido Ureta y Manzanares que la desempeñaba en propiedad, tengo la honra de proponer a V.E. para servir interinamente dicha Canongia á los sugetos siguientes.³¹

En. 1.^{er} lugar al Dr. Dn. José Burgos, Cura en propiedad del Sagrario³² de esta Ciudad.

³⁰The *terna* was the list of three names to be proposed by the Archbishop, from which the Governor-General as Vice-Royal Patron would choose one to be presented for the ecclesiastical office. See note 13 above.

³¹The magistral canonry (*canongia magistral*) and the *maestrescuela* (literally *school-master*) were positions in the Cathedral Chapter (prebends), which had attached to them certain annual incomes, paid by the Spanish government under the system of the *Real Patronato*. Originally they had certain duties of preaching and lecturing in theology attached to them. The position of *maestrescuela* was of higher rank than the *canongia magistral*. Permanent or proprietary appointments to these ecclesiastical benefices were made by the Ministerio de Ultramar in Spain, but the Governor-General had the right to

III

[Translation]

[Seal] Archbishopric of Manila

Your Excellency:

I have the honor to send to Your Excellency the attached *terna* for the temporary provision of the Magistral Canonry of this Cathedral, since it is at present vacant, due to the promotion of Doctor Don Candido Ureta y Manzanares, who held the proprietary title to it.

May God keep Your Excellency many years.

I am, Your Excellency,

[signed] Gregorio, Archbishop

To His Excellency the Governor-General and Vice-Patron of these Islands.

* * *

[Seal] Archbishopric of Manila

Your Excellency:

Inasmuch as the Magistral Canonry of this Cathedral is at present vacant, due to the promotion to the dignity of *Maestrescuela* of Doctor Don Candido Ureta y Manzanares, who held the proprietary title to it, I have the honor to propose to Your Excellency the following names as candidates to serve temporarily in said Canonry:

In first place, Doctor Don Jose Burgos, proprietary Rector of the Cathedral parish of this city.

make interim appointments, in his function as Vice-Royal Patron. The prebends or canonries of higher rank were known as *Dignidades*.

³²The *Sagrario* was the parish of the Cathedral, whose Rector (*cura*) was responsible for the pastoral care of the people living in that parish, while the prebends of the Cathedral Chapter did not of themselves involve any obligation to pastoral duties in any parish, in the system then existing, but only the chanting of the Divine Office in choir and other ceremonial duties. Such ecclesiastical sinecures no longer generally exist in that form today.

En 2.^o lugar al Dr. Dn. Manuel Clemente, Rector del Real Colegio de San Jose y Catedratico del 4.^o año de 2.^a Enseñanza en el mismo Colegio.

En 3.^{er} lugar al Dr. Dn. Mariano Sevilla, Catedratico de 3.^{er} año de 2.^a Enseñanza en el referido Colegio.

De los tres propuestos puede V.E. presentar al que fuere de su mayor agrado y crea mas util para el desempeño de la referida Canongia. Pongo en 1.^{er} lugar al Dr. Dn. José Burgos porque ha sido dos veces Prebendado interino.

Manila 25 de Agosto de 1871.

[signed] Gregorio Arzobispo

Exmo. e Illmo. Señor. Con esta fecha he decretado lo siguiente: En vista de la precedente comunicación del Exmo. e Illmo. Señor Arzobispo y de la adjunta terna para la provisión interina de la Dignidad de Magistral de esta Santa Iglesia Catedral que se halla sin servidor por promoción del Dr. D. Candido Ureta Manzanares que la obtenía en propiedad, este Gobierno Superior Vice-Real Patronato presenta para servir interinamente la referida Dignidad de Magistral al Dr. D. Jose Burgos, Cura en propiedad propuesta en primer lugar de la referida terna.

Lo que traslado a Vuestra Excelencia Ilustrisima para su conocimiento y efectos correspondientes.

Dios guarde a Vuestra Excelencia muchos años. Manila 28 de Agosto de 1871.

[signed] R. de Izquierdo

Exmo. e Illmo. Señor Arzobispo

[Seal] Cabildo Eclesiastico de Manila
Escmo. Sor.

En el día de ayer tomó posesión de la Canongia Magistral de esta Santa Iglesia que accidentalmente se hallaba vacante

In the second place, Doctor Don Manuel Clemente, Rector of the Real Colegio de San Jose, and Professor of the fourth year of secondary education in the same Colegio.

In the third place, Doctor Don Mariano Sevilla, Professor of the third year of secondary education in the above-mentioned Colegio.

Of the three candidates proposed, Your Excellency may choose the one who is most acceptable to him, and whom he believes to be most apt for the performance of the duties of said Canonry. I place the name of Doctor Don Jose Burgos in first place because he has twice been acting Prebendary.

[signed] Gregorio, Archbishop

Manila, 25 August 1871.

* * *

Your Excellency:

On this date I have decreed the following: In view of the preceding communication of His Excellency, the Most Reverend Archbishop, and of the accompanying *terna* for provision of the office of Magistral Canon of the Cathedral, which is at present vacant due to the promotion of Dr. Don Candido Ureta Manzanares who held the proprietary title to this position, the Governor-General and Vice-Royal Patron designates to fill temporarily said office of Magistral Canon, Dr. Don Jose Burgos, proprietary Rector of the parish, who was proposed in first place on the above-mentioned *terna*.

I communicate this to Your Excellency for your information and the corresponding action.

God keep Your Excellency many years. Manila, August 28, 1871.

[signed] R. de Izquierdo

To His Excellency the Most Reverend Archbishop

* * *

[Seal] The Cathedral Chapter of Manila

Your Excellency

Yesterday the Rector of the Cathedral parish, Dr. Don Jose Burgos took possession of the office of Magistral Canon of this Church which happened to be vacant because of the pro-

por promocion del que la obtenia el cura rector del Sagrario Doctor Don Jose Burgos, presentado por V.E. para servir interinamente dicha Canongia por superior decreto de 28 de Agosto proximo pasado.

Lo que esta corporacion tiene el honor de participar a V.E. para su superior conocimiento y efectos que convengan.

Dios guarde a V.E. muchos años. Manila 5 de Setiembre de 1871.

Excelentisimo Señor Gobernador Superior Civil y Vice Real Patrono de estas Islas.³³

[signed]

Vicente J. Cinana
Telesforo de la Trinidad
Candido Ureta
Jose S. Padilla
Lucas Gutierrez Calderon
de la Barca y Gonzalez

Pedro Mago
Mateo Yagiue
Juan E. Rodrigo
Juan Adriano
Francisco Ruiz de Valdivia
Cecilio Valdivia

³³There are a number of other associated documents in the Philippine National Archives, connected with this appointment — communications between the Governor-General, the *Intendente de Hacienda*, the *Ordenador de Pagos*, and the Cathedral Chapter. However, since they are in general mere notifications from one official to another, and contain no details of importance beyond what is reproduced here, they have been omitted.

motion of the one holding it. By superior decree of August 28, he was presented by Your Excellency to fill this office temporarily.

This body has the honor to communicate this to you for your information and for the corresponding effects.

God keep Your Excellency many years. Manila, 5 September 1871.

To His Excellency the Supreme Civil Governor and Vice-Royal Patron of the Islands.

[Signed]

Vicente J. Cinana
Telesforo de la Trinidad
Candido Ureta
Jose S. Padilla
Lucas Gutierrez Calderon
de la Barca y Gonzalez

Pedro Mago
Mateo Yagüe
Juan E. Rodrigo
Juan Adriano
Francisco Ruiz de Valdivia
Cecilio Valdivia

IV

[Title-page:] *Despachos Recibidos*

Telégrafo destinatario: Manila

Telégrafo espedidor: Cavite

Numero 1. A las 8⁵ de la mañana del dia 21 de enero 1872.

Palabras.

Al Exmo Sor. Capitan General

El Gobernador de Cavite

La fuerza San Felipe e Infanteria Marina sublevada fuego toda la noche; algunos heridos oficiales y tropa; necesito refuerza con urgencia. Se ignora la situacion del Arcenal. (Manila 23 enero 1872, El Director de la Linea [signed] Pedro Franco)

Telégrafo destinatario: Mñan [Malacañan]

Telégrafo espedidor: Cavite

Numero _____

A las 8⁵ de la mañana del dia 21 de Enero 1872.

Palabras.

Continuacion del Parte —

No tengo Artilleria

Nota — No ve el Vigia de Cavite por calima.

([signed] Agripino Atuima[?])

Telégrafo destinatario: Manila

Telégrafo espedidor: Cavite

Numero 2. A las 8²⁰[?] de la mañana del dia 21 de enero de 1872.

Palabras

Al Capitan del Puerto

El Comandante del Arcenal

La goleta Santa Filomena acaba de caer al agua ahora que son las 5 de la tarde.³⁴

(Manila 23 de enero 1872, El Director de la linea [signed] Pedro Franco).

IV

[Translation]

(1) To Manila from Cavite; 8:05 A.M., 21 January 1872.

To His Excellency, the Captain General.

From the Governor of Cavite

Uprising in Fort San Felipe and among the Marine detachment. Firing all night; some officers and soldiers wounded. Need reinforcements urgently. Situation in Arsenal unknown.

(Manila, 23 January 1872 — [signed] Pedro Franco, Director of the Telegraph).

To Malacañan from Cavite, 8:05 A.M., 21 January 1872.

Continuation of the dispatch:

I have no artillery.

Note: The lookout of Cavite cannot see because of the haze.

[signed] Agripino Atuima [?]

* * *

(2) To Manila from Cavite; 8:20 A.M., 21 January 1872.

To the Captain of the Port.

From the Commandant of the Arsenal.

The schooner *Santa Filomena* just set out, now that it is 5 P.M. [sic]

(Manila, 23 January 1872 — [signed] Pedro Franco, Director of the Telegraph).

³⁴The inconsistency between the time at which the telegraph was supposed to have been sent and the text of the telegram is obvious, but seems inexplicable without supposing some error in the text.

Telégrafo destinatario: Manila

Telégrafo espedidor: Cavite

Numero 3.

A las 11 de la m[añana] del dia 21 de enero de 1872.

Palabras

Al Exmo Sor. Capitan General

El General 2^o Cabo.³⁵

Llegado y desembarcado sin novedad. Los insurrectos en numero de 200 del Batallon de Artilleria y la fuerza de Marina y del Arcenal son dueños de la fuerza y de mucha parte del Arcenal. El con toda lealtad he[?] íntegro defendiendo [sic] España.³⁶ Estan circumvalados; refuerzo los puestos y avisaré de las operaciones sucesivas. Comandante necesita carne pues todo el mundo ha huido. Hay unos heridos y unos 16 muertos la mayor parte. (Manila 23 enero 1872. El Director de la Linea [signed] Pedro Franco).

Telégrafo destinatario: _____

Telégrafo espedidor: _____

Numero 4.

A las 11⁷ de la m[añana] del dia 21 de enero de 1872.

Palabras

El Director de la Linea

Al Exmo. Sor. Capitan General

Se observa un cañonero y hace disparos al parecer dirigidos al Fuerte Guadalupe. (Manila 23 enero de 1872. El Director de la Linea [signed] Pedro Franco).

³⁵ The *General* 2^o Cabo, was the second in authority in the Philippines, both in the civil and military capacities of the Governor-

(3) To Manila from Cavite; 11:00 A.M., 21 January 1872.

To His Excellency, the Captain General

From the Commanding General

Safely landed and disembarked. The rebels, numbering 200, from the Artillery Battalion, the Marine detachment, and the Arsenal, control the Fort and much of the Arsenal. The [?] is intact, defending Spain with complete loyalty. They are surrounded; I am reinforcing the positions and will report subsequent operations. The *Comandante* needs meat [?], since everyone has fled. There are some wounded and some 16 dead; the majority.

(Manila, 23 January 1872 — [signed] Pedro Franco, Director of the Telegraph).

* * *

(4) 11:07 A.M.; 21 January 1872.

To His Excellency, the Captain General

From the Director of the Telegraph.

A gunboat is seen, apparently firing in the direction of Fort Guadalupe.

(Manila, 23 January 1872 — [signed] Pedro Franco, Director of the Telegraph).

general. He was the ordinary supreme commanding officer of troops in action, and the term has therefore here been translated as "Commanding General" for want of a better equivalent in English.

³⁶The text of this sentence is untranslatable as it stands, and some word(s) would seem to be missing. A likely conjecture is that the reference is to infantry regiment no. 7, which was rallied by its commander, Lieutenant-Colonel Horacio Sawa, and refused to join the insurrectionists. Cf. the account of José Montero y Vidal, *Historia general de Filipinas* (3 vols.; Madrid, 1887-1895), III, 574.

Telégrafo destinatario: _____

Telégrafo espedidor: _____

Numero 4 duplicado.

A las 12⁵⁰ de la t[arde] del dia 21 de enero 1872.

Palabras

El Director de la Linea

Al Exmo. Sor. Capitan General.

El Cañonero de 3 palos hace algunos disparos que son contestados por el fuerte San Felipe. (Manila 23 enero 1872. El Director de la Linea [signed] Pedro Franco).

Telégrafo destinatario: _____

Telégrafo espedidor: _____

Numero 5.

A la 1 de la t[arde] del dia 21 de enero de 1872.

Palabras

El Director de la Linea.

Al Exmo. Sor. Capitan General.

El Vapor "Manila" sale de Cavite para esta.

(Manila 23 enero 1872. El Director de la Linea [signed] Pedro Franco).

Telégrafo destinatario: Manila

Telégrafo espedidor: Cavite

Numero 6.

A las 1²⁹ de la t[arde] del dia 21 de enero 1872.

Palabras

Al Exmo. Sor. Capitan General.

El Capitan del Puerto.

El desembarco sin novedad; continua la resistencia del Arcenal esperando la Infanteria opere. (Manila 23 enero de 1872. El Director de la Linea [signed] Pedro Franco).

(4 repeated) 12:50 P.M., 21 January 1872.

To His Excellency, the Captain General

From the Director of the Telegraph

The three-masted gunboat is firing, and the fire is being returned by Fort San Felipe.

(Manila, 23 January 1872 — [signed] Pedro Franco, Director of the Telegraph).

* * *

(5) 1:00 P.M., 21 January 1872.

To His Excellency, the Captain General

From the Director of the Telegraph

The steam vessel *Manila* is leaving Cavite for here.

(Manila, 23 January 1872 — [signed] Pedro Franco, Director of the Telegraph).

* * *

(6) From Cavite to Manila; 1:29 P.M., 21 January 1872.

To His Excellency, the Captain General

From the Captain of the Port

Safe disembarkation; continued resistance from the Arsenal; waiting for Infantry operations.

(Manila, 23 January 1872 — [signed] Pedro Franco, Director of the Telegraph).

Telégrafo destinatario: _____

Telégrafo espedidor: Manila

Numero 7.

A las 2⁵ de la t[arde] del dia 21 de enero 1872.

Palabras

El Director de la Linea.

Al Exmo. Sor. Capitan General.

El cañonero de 3 palos fondeado en Cañacao³⁷ y el numero 9 fondeado fuera del Arcenal. Las dos Faluas[?] ocultas dentro del Arcenal. (Manila 23 enero 1872. El Director de la Linea [signed] Pedro Franco).

Telégrafo destinatario: _____

Telégrafo espedidor: Manila

Numero 8.

A las 2¹⁰ de la t[arde] del dia 21 de enero 1872.

Palabras

El Director de la Linea

Al Exmo. Sor. Capitan General.

A las 2¹⁰ se hacen disparos de fusileria y son contestados con algunos tiros tambien de fusil al parecer entre la muralla y el cuartel del numero 7. El Vapor que salio de Manila esta entrando en Cavite a las 2.25. (Manila 23 enero 1872. El Director de la linea [signed] Pedro Franco).

Telégrafo destinatario: _____

Telégrafo espedidor: Manila

Numero 9.

A las 3⁵ de la t[arde] del dia 21 de enero 1872.

Palabras

El Director de la Linea

Al Exmo. Sor. Capitan General.

Sigue observandose fuego de fusileria en la Plasa de la fuerza de Cavite y dentro del Arcenal. (Manila 23 enero de 1872. El Director de la Linea [signed] Pedro Franco).

(7) From Manila; 2:05 P.M., 21 January 1872.

To His Excellency, the Captain General

From the Director of the Telegraph

The three-masted gunboat has cast anchor in Cañacao and number 9 is anchored outside the Arsenal. The two long-boats are hidden inside the Arsenal.

(Manila, 23 January 1872 — [signed] Pedro Franco, Director of the Telegraph).

* * *

(8) From Manila; 2:10 P.M., 21 January 1872.

To His Excellency, the Captain General

From the Director of the Telegraph

At 2:10 there is musketry fire, which is being answered by some musket shots, apparently between the rampart and the barracks of Number 7. The steam-vessel which left Manila is entering Cavite at 2:25.

(Manila, 23 January 1872 — [signed] Pedro Franco, Director of the Telegraph).

* * *

(9) From Manila; 3:05; P.M., 21 January 1872.

To His Excellency, the Captain General

From the Director of the Telegraph

Musketry fire continues to be observed in the plaza of the Fort of Cavite and inside the Arsenal.

(Manila, 23 January 1872 — [signed] Pedro Franco, Director of the Telegraph).

³¹Cañacao is an inlet below the fort of Cavite.

[There is no number 10]

Telégrafo destinatario: Manila

Telégrafo espedidor: Cavite

Numero 11

A las 4²¹ de la t[arde] del dia 21 de enero 1872

Palabras

El Comandante General de Marina

Al Capitan General.

Los insurrectos empiesan a fugarse y se han matado de
7 a 12. (Manila 23 enero 1872. El Director de la Linea
[signed] Pedro Franco).

Telégrafo destinatario: _____

Telégrafo espedidor: Manila

Numero 12.

A las 5¹⁰ de la t[arde] del dia de 21 de enero 1872.

Palabras

El Director de la Linea.

Al Exmo Sor. Capitan General.

Vapor "Manila" ha fondeado; el Isabel I hase rumbo a
este rio. Siguen disparos de fusileria en el Arcenal de
Cavite. (Manila 23 enero 1872. El Director de la Linea
[signed] Pedro Franco).

Telégrafo destinatario: _____

Telégrafo espedidor: Manila

Numero 13.

A las 5⁴ de la t[arde] del dia 21 de enero 1872.

Palabras

El Director de la Linea

Al Exmo. Sor. Capitan General

El Vapor Isabel I cambió de rumbo y se dirigió al Arcenal.

A las 5²⁵ han disparado dos cañonazos en la fuerza contra
el cuartel numero 7 al parecer. No se perciven disparos

- (11) From Cavite to Manila; 4:21 P.M., 21 January 1872.
To the Captain General
From the Commandant-General of the Navy
The rebels are beginning to flee; between 7 and 12
have been killed.
- (Manila, 23 January 1872 — [signed] Pedro Franco, Director
of the Telegraph).

* * *

- (12) From Manila; 5:10 P.M., 21 January 1872.
To His Excellency, the Captain General
From the Director of the Telegraph
The steam-vessel *Manila* has cast anchor; the *Isabel*
I is en route to this river.
Musket fire continues in the Arsenal of Cavite.
- (Manila, 23 January 1872 — [signed] Pedro Franco, Director
of the Telegraph).

* * *

- (13) From Manila; 5:04 [sic] P.M., 21 January 1872.
To His Excellency, the Captain General
From the Director of the Telegraph
The steam-vessel *Isabel I* changed direction and
turned to the Arsenal. At 5:25 they fired two cannon
shots into the Fort, apparently against the barracks
of Number 7. No musket fire can be perceived. Gun-

de fusileria. El Cañonero numero 9 disparo un cañonazo contra la fuerza a las 5⁴⁸. El Cañonero de 3 palos disparó otro cañonazo.³⁸ (Manila 23 enero 1872. El Director de la Linea [signed] Pedro Franco).

Telégrafo destinatario: _____

Telégrafo espedidor: Manila

Numero 14.

A las 6¹⁰ de la m[añana] del dia 22 de enero 1872.

Palabras

El Director de la Linea.

Al Exmo. Sor. Capitan General.

Desde las 5⁴⁵ de la mañana se oyen disparos de cañon en la plaza de Cavite al parecer disparados desde la Bateria del Presidio. (Manila 23 de enero de 1872. El Director de la linea [signed] Pedro Franco).

Telégrafo destinatario: _____

Telégrafo espedidor: Manila

Numero 15.

A las 6³⁷ de la mañana del dia 22 de enero 1872.

Palabras

El Director de la linea

Al Exmo. Sor. Capitan General.

El lienzo N. E. de la Fuerza de Cavite se observa derruido. No hay disparos. (Manila 23 de enero de 1872. El Director de la linea [signed] Pedro Franco).

Telégrafo destinatario: Manila

Telégrafo espedidor: Cavite

Numero 16.

A las 7³⁸ de la m[añana] del dia 22 de enero 1872.

Palabras

Al General 2º Cabo.

El Exmo. Sor. Capitan General.

A las 6 de la mañana dispuse rompiesen el fuego dos

boat number 9 fired a cannon shot against the Fort at 5:48. The three-masted gunboat fired another cannon shot.

(Manila, 23 January 1872 — [signed] Pedro Franco, Director of the Telegraph).

* * *

(14) From Manila; 6:10 A.M., 22 January 1872.

To His Excellency, the Captain General

From the Director of the Telegraph

Since 5:45 A.M. cannon shots are heard in the plaza of Cavite, apparently coming from the battery of the *presidio*.

(Manila, 23 January 1872 — [signed] Pedro Franco, Director of the Telegraph).

* * *

(15) From Manila; 6:37 A.M., 22 January 1872.

To His Excellency, the Captain General

From the Director of the Telegraph

The northeast portion of the wall of the Fort of Cavite is seen to be destroyed. There is no firing.

(Manila, 23 January 1872 — [signed] Pedro Franco, Director of the Telegraph).

* * *

(16) From Cavite to Manila; 7:38 A.M., 22 January 1872.

To His Excellency, the Captain General

From the Commanding General

At 6:00 A.M. I ordered the two batteries to begin fir-

³⁸The discrepancies between the time of the dispatch of the telegraph and the times given in the text are perhaps best explained by the omission of a number in the heading of the telegraph, so that 5⁴ should probably be 5⁴⁸ or 5⁴⁹.

baterias que apoyaron el asalto simultaneo que hize dar por tres columnas. A las 7 el Pavellon nacional ondea en la Real Fuerza de San Felipe al grito de Viva España. Por escrito y cañonero parte detallada. (Manila 23 enero 1872. El director de la linea [signed] Pedro Franco).

Telégrafo destinatario: Manila

Telégrafo espedidor: Cavite

Numero 17 Reservado

A las 9⁴⁹ de la mañana del dia 22 de enero 1872.

Palabras

Reserbado

El General 2^o Cabo.

Al Exmo. Sor. Capitan General.

Asegurese la persona del Padre Burgos, Cura de San Pedro por convenir al servicio. (Es copia, [signed] Pedro Franco)³⁹

Telégrafo destinatario: Manila

Telégrafo espedidor: Cavite

Numero 17

A las 10 de la mañana del dia 22 de enero 1872.

Palabras

Reserbado

El General 2^o Cabo

Al Exmo. Sor. Capitan General

Asegurese la persona del Padre Burgos, Cura de San Pedro⁴⁰ (continua hablando) (El Director de la Linea [signed] Pedro Franco).

[next page]

Telégrafo destinatario: _____

Telégrafo espedidor: Manila [sic]

Numero 17 (continuacion)

A las 10²⁵ de la mañana del dia 22 de enero 1872.

Palabras

—por convenir al servicio.

(El Director de la linea, Pedro Franco)

ing in support of the simultaneous assault which I had the three columns make.

At 7:00 A.M. the national flag flies over the Royal Fort of San Felipe, accompanied by shouts of "Viva España!" Detailed report in writing by gunboat.

(Manila, 23 January 1872 — [signed] Pedro Franco, Director of the Telegraph).

* * *

(17) —Confidential — From Cavite to Manila; 9:49 A.M., 22 January 1872.

Confidential

To His Excellency, the Captain General

From the Commanding General

Take into custody Father Burgos, Rector of San Pedro, for the good of the service.

(True copy — [signed] Pedro Franco)

* * *

(17) [sic] From Cavite to Manila; 10 A.M., 22 January 1872.

Confidential

To His Excellency, the Captain General

From the Commanding General

Take into custody Father Burgos, Rector of San Pedro (telegram continued — [signed] Pedro Franco, Director of the Telegraph).

* * *

(17 [sic] continued) From Manila [sic]; 10:25 A.M., 22 January 1872.

— for the good of the service.

([signed] Pedro Franco, Director of the Telegraph).

³⁹There seems likewise to be some confusion in the times stated on telegraph no. 17, since the one marked "*Es copia*" has an earlier hour on it than the supposed original. As noted in the introduction, all the telegrams reproduced here would seem to be copies forwarded by the Director of the Telegraph on January 23, and the copying appears to have been done with some carelessness.

⁴⁰San Pedro was the title of the *Sagrario*, or Cathedral parish.

Telégrafo destinatario: Manila

Telégrafo espedidor: Cavite

Numero 17 duplicado

A las 11⁸ de la mañana del dia 23 de enero de 1872.

Palabras

El General 2º Cabo

Al Exmo. Sor. Capitan General

A las 11 salgo para esa capital con los Regimientos
numeros 1 y 2. (Manila 23 enero 1872. El Director de la
linea [signed] Pedro Franco).

Telégrafo destinatario: Manila

Telégrafo espedidor: Cavite

Numero 18

A las 11²¹ de la mañana del dia 23 de enero de 1872.

Palabras

Al Exmo. Sor. Capitan General.

El Gobernador de Cavite.

El General 2º Cabo sale con los regimientos numeros 1 y 2.
(Manila 23 enero 1872. El Director [signed] Pedro
Franco).

(17 — repeated) [sic] From Cavite to Manila; 11:08 A.M., 23 January 1872.

To His Excellency, the Captain General

From the Commanding General

At 11:00 I leave for the Capital with Regiments number 1 and 2.

(Manila, 23 January 1872 — [signed] Pedro Franco, Director of the Telegraph).

* * *

(18) From Cavite to Manila; 11:21 A.M., 23 January 1872.

To His Excellency, the Captain General

From the Governor of Cavite

The Commanding General is leaving with Regiments number 1 and 2.

(Manila, 23 January 1872 — [signed] Pedro Franco, Director of the Telegraph).

[Seal]

Arzobispado de Manila.

Reservado.

Excelentísimo Señor: A mi regreso de la interrumpida visita pastoral de la provincia de Zambales me he enterado de la comunicacion reservado, que Vuestra Excelencia me dirigió con fecha 24 del actual. Despues de mencionar en ella la sublevacion de Cavite sofocada por el valor del Ejército y de la Marina y el castigo de los ilusos que la sirvieron de brazo, se ocupa V.E. de los instigadores de tan infame crimen pertenecientes al estado eclesiástico, y me cita V.E. los nombres del D. José Burgos, D. Agustin Mendoza, D. José Guevara, D. Mariano, y D. Feliciano Gomez,⁴¹ y D. Mariano Sevilla Catedratico del Colegio de San José, de cuya fidelidad se sospechaba hace mucho tiempo. Interrumpiendo el extracto de su respetable comunicacion debo consignar en honor de la verdad que por la opinion pública, por los antecesores de V.E. y por V.E. mismo he sabido que se calificaba de anti-españoles a los Párrocos Mendoza, Guevara y D. Mariano Gomez; que comenzó a hablarse de Burgos en el mismo sentido en 1869, y de una manera mas acentuada desde el año próximo pasado; pero que hasta estos últimos dias no he oido mezclar los nombres de D. Feliciano Gomez y Sevilla con los de los sacerdotes desafectos a nuestra amada patria.

Tiene tambien V.E. la dignacion de manifestarme, que cumpliendo el deber sacratisimo de conservar íntegra la nacionalidad española, ha formado el irrevocable propósito de adoptar con ellos una medida rigorosísima, pronta y ejemplar, si como pudiera suceder hubieran sabido prepararse para aparecer inocentes a los ojos de la ley, de la misma manera

⁴¹Father Feliciano Gómez is said to have been a nephew of Father Mariano Gomez, who happened to be with him in his convento in Bacoar when the latter was arrested. Accounts differ as to whether he was among those priests deported to the Marianas.

[Translation]

[Seal]

Archbishopric of Manila

Confidential

Your Excellency:

Upon my return from my interrupted pastoral visit to the province of Zambales, I was informed of the confidential letter which your Excellency addressed to me, dated the 24th of the present month. In it you mention the Cavite uprising which was quelled by the bravery of the Army and of the Navy, as well as the punishment of those misguided men who took part in it. Your Excellency then goes on to speak of those instigators of so infamous a crime who belong to the clergy, citing the names of Don Jose Burgos, Don Agustin Mendoza, Don Jose Guevara, Don Mariano and Don Feliciano Gomez, and Don Mariano Sevilla, professor of the Colegio de San Jose, whose loyalty has long been suspect. Interrupting my summary of your honorable letter, I must note, in respect for the truth, that I knew from public rumor, from Your Excellency's predecessors and from yourself, that the parish priests Mendoza, Guevara, and Don Mariano Gomez were considered to be anti-Spanish. I knew that the same began to be said of Burgos in 1869, and this the more so during the past year, but up to this time I have not heard mentioned the names of Don Feliciano Gomez and Sevilla among those priests who are ill-disposed towards our beloved country.

Your Excellency is also good enough to make known to me that in accordance with your sacred duty to preserve intact the Spanish national territory, you have made the irrevocable decision to adopt swift, rigorous, and exemplary measures with them, if, as could happen, they have been clever enough to make themselves appear innocent in the eyes of the law, just

que han sabido seducir a los incautos sin acompañarlos en la hora del peligro, abrigando como abriga V.E. el íntimo convencimiento, y teniendo datos de la complicidad de los sacerdotes espresados.

Ha creído V.E. oportuno darme conocimiento de su resolución y reclama y exige mi patriótica y eficaz cooperación en la forma mas esplicita y mas completa, para todo lo que pueda necesitarla y como debo prestarsela para acallar el desasosiego que el crimen de Cavite ha infundido a esta sociedad de suyo pacífica y tranquila.

Exmo. Señor: a las diez de la noche del día veinticinco tuve noticia de la bastarda insurrección de Cavite en el pueblo de Baní de la provincia de Zambales; a las cuatro de la mañana siguiente monté a caballo, y tomando un carruaje en Sual, a la una llegué a Lingayen, cabecera de Pangasinan, y a las doce de la noche, a Camelin; el 27 por la noche descansé en Bacolor, y aprovechando el vapor que salió de Guagua anteayer conseguí entrar a esta Capital despues de mediodía. El soportar las molestias consiguientes a un viaje tan rápido no ha tenido mas objeto que ponerme como era de mi deber al lado de la primera Autoridad de este Archipiélago, la cual bien merece serlo por las dotes de inteligencia, actividad y prudencia que ha desplegado en tan grave conflicto, para prestarle mi ayuda en todo lo poco que valgo y puedo. El peligro, a Dios gracias y al valiente Ejército y Marina, se ha disipado sin embargo aquí me tiene V.E. dispuesto a no omitir medio alguno no solo para calmar ahora el desasosiego producido por el crimen de Cavite, sino tambien para apoyar las medidas que tiendan a asegurar la tranquilidad futura de esta porcion del territorio español, y a promover su prosperidad moral y material, como siempre he tratado de hacerlo.

Bien conozco, Exmo. Sor., que el trascendental atentado de Cavite merece un grande castigo: le reclaman de consuno el gravísimo delito de revelion contra la patria, las victimas inocentes sacrificadas, y la ejemplaridad de la pena, que en

as they have known how to seduce the unthinking without accompanying them in the hour of danger. You have made this decision in the profound conviction of the complicity of the above-named priests, of which you have proofs.

Your Excellency has thought it good to inform me of your resolution, calling on and demanding my effective patriotic cooperation in the fullest and most explicit manner, wherever it may be needed and in a fashion calculated to appease the unrest that the crime of Cavite has brought to this ordinarily quiet and peaceful community.

Your Excellency, at ten o'clock in the evening of the 25th, while in the town of Bani, province of Zambales, I had news of the unnatural insurrection of Cavite. At four o'clock the following morning I set out on horseback, and after taking a carriage at Sual, I arrived at one o'clock in Lingayen, the capital of Pangasinan, and at midnight in Camelin. The night of the 27th I rested in Bacolor, and taking advantage of a boat which left Guagua the day before yesterday, I was able to reach this capital in the afternoon. The only purpose I had in enduring the inconveniences accompanying such a rapid journey was, in accordance with my duty, to put myself at the side of the first Authority of this Archipelago, one who well deserves this post because of the intelligence, activity, and prudence that he has displayed in this conflict of such a serious nature, to give him whatever little aid I can. Thanks to God and to the brave Army and Navy, the danger has passed. However, I am now at the disposition of Your Excellency, ready to take every means possible, not only to calm now the unrest produced by the crime of Cavite, but likewise to give my support to all measures aiming at insuring the future tranquility of this portion of the Spanish domain, and to promote its moral and material prosperity, as I have always tried to do.

I well realize, Your Excellency, that the uprising in Cavite with its far-reaching consequences deserves a severe punishment; the grave crime of rebellion against the fatherland likewise demands it, as do the innocent victims who have been sacrificed and the need for an example which may for the future

adelante sirva de valla a los genios discolos y mal avenidos con toda autoridad. Pero reconociendo, como reconozco, esta verdad, no puedo prescindir de la índole del alto aunque inmerecido caracter de que estoy investido, y de rogarle en nombre de la religion que se mitiguen las penas en cuanto lo consientan las leyes y la seguridad del orden y de la tranquilidad futura, hasta evitar si es posible el derramamiento de sangre.* Asi lo espero del noble corazon de V.E. de cuyos sentimientos generosos no puedo menos de prometerme que asi como ha sido fuerte y enérgico para extinguir el fuego de la rebellion, una vez apagado será benigno y compasivo con los culpables, conciliando con su reconocida ilustracion y prudencia la misericordia con los fueros de la justicia.

Dios guarde a V.E. muchos años. Manila 30 de Enero de 1872.

Exmo. Sor.
Gregorio, Arzobispo

Excelentísimo Señor Gobernador Superior Civil de estas Islas.

*The final phrase, "hasta evitar si es posible el derramamiento de sangre," seems to have been inserted later in another hand.

serve as a barrier against those ungovernable spirits who are discontented with all authority. But, acknowledging this truth, as I do, I cannot ignore the character of the lofty, though unmerited, character with which I have been invested and must therefore beg you in the name of religion to mitigate the penalties to the extent that the laws and the maintenance of order and of future tranquility permit, even avoiding, if possible, the shedding of blood. This is what I hope from the noble heart of Your Excellency, whose generous sentiments I cannot but count on. Thus, just as it has been strong and energetic in extinguishing the flame of revolt, after the flame has been put out, it will be kind and merciful with the guilty, reconciling, in your well-known intelligence and prudence, mercy with the demands of justice.

God keep Your Excellency many years. Manila, January 30, 1872.

I have the honor to be, Your Excellency,

Gregorio, Archbishop.

To His Excellency, the Supreme Civil Governor of these Islands.

VI

[Title-page]

(Testimonio de condena de los Presbiteros D. Jose Burgos, D. Jacinto Zamora, D. Mariano Gomez, y los paisanos Maximo Inocencio, Crisanto de los Reyes, Francisco Zaldua y Enrique Paraiso).

* * *

[Seal] Consejo de Guerra Permanente de Manila.

Escmo. Señor: Tengo el honor de elevar a manos de V.E. testimonio de condena de los Presbiteros D. Jose Burgos, D. Jacinto Zamora y Don Mariano Gomez por si estima conveniente pasarlo al Escmo. e Illmo. Sr. Arzobispo de esta diocesis; para la degradacion correspondiente. Dios guarde a V.E. muchos años. Manila 15 de Febrero de 1872.

Exmo. Señor

El Coronel Teniente Coronel Presidente⁴²

Excelentisimo Señor Gobernador superior Civil de estas islas.

* * *

Don Tomas Garcia Cernuda y Ramos, Teniente del Regimiento de Infanteria Rey numero uno y secretario de la causa que se instruye con motivo de la sublebacion ocurrida en Cavite en la noche del veinte del proximo pasado Enero y de la que es fiscal el Señor Comandante segundo Gefe del Regimiento de Infanteria Reyna numero dos D. Manuel Boscasa y Perez.

Certifico: Que en los folios (163 al 167) de la causa instruida contra D. José Burgos, D. Jacinto Zamora, D. Mariano Gomez, Presviteros y los paisanos Maximo Inocencio, Crisanto de los Reyes, Francisco Saldua y D. Enrique Paraiso acusados de instigadores y complices de la rebelión que estalló en la Plaza de Cavite el dia veinte del proximo pasado Enero, existen la

⁴²The meaning of this somewhat peculiar title is perhaps that the ordinary presiding officer of the court-martial would be a Colonel, but that in this particular case the office was being filled by a Lieutenant-Colonel. Or possibly that the Lieutenant-Colonel held the brevet rank of Colonel.

VI

[Translation]

[Title-page]*

(Attestation of the sentence of the priests, Don Jose Burgos, Don Jacinto Zamora, Don Mariano Gomez, and the laymen Maximo Inocencio, Crisanto de los Reyes, Francisco Zaldua, and Enrique Paraiso).

* * *

[Seal]

Permanent Court-Martial of Manila.

Your Excellency:

I have the honor to present to Your Excellency a copy of the sentence imposed on the following priests, Don Jose Burgos, Don Jacinto Zamora, and Don Mariano Gomez, so that if you think it fitting, you may transmit it to His Excellency, the most illustrious Archbishop of this diocese so that he may proceed to the degradation demanded.

God preserve Your Excellency many years. Manila, February 15, 1872.

I am, Your Excellency,

The Presiding Lieutenant Colonel
To His Excellency the Supreme Civil Governor of these Islands.

* * *

Don Tomas Garcia Cernuda y Ramos, lieutenant of the Infantry Regiment *Rey* No. 1 and secretary for the case drawn up as a result of the uprising which occurred in Cavite on the night of January 20 in which Don Manuel Boscasa y Perez, second-in-command of the Infantry Regiment *Reyna*, No. 2, is fiscal

I certify: That in the folios (163-167) of the case brought against D. Jose Burgos, D. Jacinto Zamora, D. Mariano Gomez, priests, and the civilians Maximo Inocencio, Crisanto de los Reyes, Francisco Saldua and D. Enrique Paraiso, accused as instigators and accomplices in the rebellion that broke out in the Fort of Cavite on the 20th day of last January,

sentencia, decretos del Excelentísimo Señor Capitán General, Dictamen del Auditor, notificación de la sentencia á los reos de presidio y diligencia de haberse egecutado la misma; todo lo cual copiado a la letra es como sigue = *Sentencia* = Visto y examinado el proceso formado por el Señor D. Manuel Boscasa y Perez, Comandante Segundo Gefe del Regimiento de Infanteria Reyna numero dos, contra D. José Burgos Canónigo interino de esta santa Iglesia Catedral, D. Jacinto Zamora cura párroco de la misma, D. Mariano Gomez cura párraco tambien del pueblo de Bacoor de la Provincia de Cavite, D. Enrique Paraiso empleado cesante y los particulares Maximo Inocencio, Crisanto de los Reyes y Francisco Saldua, iniciados del delito de conspiracion contra la constitucion politica del Estado, y del de autores de la rebelion militar estallada en la Plaza de Cavite, la noche del veinte de Enero proximo pasado; todo con el fin de segregar este Archipiélago de la Madre Patria, proclamandose en él la República y atacando de esta manera directamente la integridad de la Monarquia; héchose por dicho Señor relación de todo lo actuado al Consejo de Guerra que presidia el señor Coronel Teniente Coronel D. Francisco Moscoso y Lara, concurriendo como vocales los señores D. José Cañizares, Capitan del Regimiento de Infanteria Magallanes, D. Enrique Tobar, Comandante graduado Capitan del de la Reyna numero dos, D. Eustacio Gijon del del Infante numero cuatro, D. Federico Novellas, D. Francisco Salado, y D. Jose Montalbo, Capitanes del Regimiento numero uno con asistencia del señor Ase-sor de Guerra, D. José Luciano Roca; todo bien examinado con la conclusion fiscal y las defensas de los procuradores de los reos, ha condenado y condena el Consejo por unanimidad de votos a los referidos Presviteros D. José Burgos, D. Jacinto Zamora y D. Mariano Gomez y al paisano Francisco Saldua a la pena de muerte en garrote vil con arreglo al articulo primero de la ley de diez y siete de Abril de mil ochocientos veinte y uno por hallarse en participacion de los delitos expresados, perfectamente comprobada; y a Maximo Inocencio, Crisanto de los Reyes y D. Enrique Paraiso á diez años de presidio con retencion al primero y al ultimo y al segundo a diez años de presidio

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are found the sentence, the decrees of His Excellency the Captain General, the opinion of the Auditor, the notification of the sentence given to those condemned to imprisonment, and the certification of its having been carried out. A true copy of all of the above is as follows: — *Sentence* — Having seen and examined the case formulated by D. Manuel Boscasa y Perez, second-in-command of the Infantry Regiment *Reyna* No. 2 against D. Jose Burgos, acting canon of the Cathedral, D. Jacinto Zamora, parish priest of the same, D. Mariano Gomez, parish priest of the town of Bacoar, Cavite province, D. Enrique Paraiso, a former employee of the government, and the following private persons — Maximo Inocencio, Crisanto de los Reyes and Francisco Saldua, of the crime of conspiracy against the constituted authority of the country and of being authors of the military rebellion that broke out in the Fort of Cavite on the night of last January 20, all this with the sole purpose of separating this Archipelago from the mother country, proclaiming in it a republic, and thus directly attacking the integrity of the Monarchy; said gentleman having reported all that had been done to the Court-Martial presided over by Lieutenant Colonel D. Francisco Moscoso y Lara, and having as members D. Jose Cañizares, captain of the Infantry Regiment *Magallanes*, D. Enrique Tobar, brevet commandant, captain of *Reyna* No. 2, D. Eustacio Gijon, of *Infante*, No. 4, D. Federico Novellas, D. Francisco Salado and D. Jose Montalbo, captains of Regiment No. 1, and with the assistance of the Military Assessor, D. Jose Luciano Roca. Having carefully examined everything, with the conclusion of the fiscal and the defense offered by the lawyers of the accused, the court has condemned and condemns by unanimous vote the above-mentioned priests, D. Jose Burgos, D. Jacinto Zamora and D. Mariano Gomez and the civilian Francisco Saldua to the penalty of death by the garrote, in accordance with Article I of the law dated April 17, 1821, for their fully proven participation in the said crimes. Maximo Inocencio, Crisanto de los Reyes and D. Enrique Paraiso are condemned to ten years imprisonment with the clause of retention for Inocencio and Paraiso; and ten years imprisonment without

sin la clausula de retencion en armonia con el espiritu de dicho Artículo y con las prescripciones generales de la legislacion militar, y de esta sentencia se pasará testimonio al Excelentísimo é Ilustrísimo Señor Arzobispo de la Diócesis para la desonoracion de los eclesiasticos D. José Burgos, D. Jacinto Zamora y D. Mariano Gomez, advirtiendole que en caso necesario se llevará á efecto la sentencia con arreglo a las prescripciones de la Real Orden de diez y siete de Octubre de mil ochocientos treinta y cinco. = Manila quince de Febrero de mil ochocientos setenta y dos. = Francisco Moscoso, = Jose Cañizares = Enrique Tobar = Eustacio Gijon = Federico Novellas = Francisco Salado = Jose Montalbo. = Manila quince de Febrero de mil ochocientos setenta y dos. = Al Señor Auditor de Guerra para que se sirva emitir su dictamen. = Izquierdo. = Excelentísimo Señor: Habiendo visto el proceso que precede instruido contra D. Jose Burgos y con-reos por delito de conspiracion y rebelión militar con obgeto de segregar este Archipiélago de la Nación Española y examinando la sentencia que en el ha pronunciada el Consejo de Guerra permanente reunido en esta Plaza el dia de hoy, la encuentro arreglada a la legislacion vigente que es la que el mencionado Consejo ha aplicado y a los meritos de las actuaciones = Soy pues de dictamen de que puede V. E. servirse aprobar y mandar egecutar la mencionada sentencia en todos sus pronunciamientos, pero V. E. como siempre resolverá lo mas justo. = Manila quince de Febrero de mil ochocientos setenta y dos. = Excelentísimo Señor = Manuel Asensi = Manila quince de Febrero de mil ochocientos setenta y dos. = Conforme con el anterior dictamen del Señor Auditor de Guerra devuelbase el proceso al Señor Presidente del Consejo de Guerra permanente de esta Plaza para su egecucion = R. de Izquierdo. = Notificacion de la sentencia á los reos de presidio = Acto continuo se trasladó el Señor fiscal con el secretario actuante a la Real Fuerza de Santiago y Carcel de Bilibit donde estan presos los reos D. Enrique Paraiso, Maximo Inocencio y Crisanto de los Reyes y puestos de rodillas se les leyó por mí el secretario respectivamente a cada uno la sentencia del Consejo de Guerra que condena á D. Enrique Parai-

the clause of retention for Crisanto de los Reyes, in conformity with the spirit of the above Article and with the general prescriptions of military legislation. This sentence will be made known to His Excellency the Most Reverend Archbishop of the diocese for the degradation of the priests D. Jose Burgos, D. Jacinto Zamora and D. Mariano Gomez, advising him that if necessary, the sentence will take effect in accordance with the provisions of the Royal Order dated October 17, 1835. = Manila February 15, 1872. = Francisco Moscoso = Jose Cañizares = Enrique Tobar = Eustacio Gijon = Federico Novellas = Francisco Salado = Jose Montalbo = Manila February 15, 1872. To the Military Assessor, for his opinion. = Izquierdo. = Your Excellency: Having seen the proceedings of the case instituted against D. Jose Burgos and his co-accused for the crime of conspiracy and rebellion for the purpose of separating this Archipelago from the Spanish nation, and after examining the sentence pronounced on him by the permanent court-martial convened on this day in this Fort, I find it in accord with the present legislation which the said court has applied and with the merits of the case. = I am therefore of the opinion that Your Excellency can approve it and have the said sentence executed in all its parts, but Your Excellency, as always, will decide what is most just. = Manila, February 15, 1872 = I am, Your Excellency, Manuel Asensi = Manila, February 15, 1872. = I approve the aforesaid opinion of the Military Assessor. Return the record to the President of the permanent court-martial of this Fort for execution. = R. de Izquierdo. = Notification of the sentence to those condemned to imprisonment. = The fiscal went with the acting secretary to Fort Santiago and Bilibid Prison where the guilty men, D. Enrique Paraiso, Maximo Inocencio and Crisanto de los Reyes, are imprisoned. The sentence was read by me, the Secretary, to each of the prisoners on their knees, condemning D. Enri-

so y Maximo Inocencio a diez años de presidio con retención y á Crisanto de los Reyes á diez años de presidio sin la clausula de retencion y quedando todos enterados dispuso el Señor Juez fiscal, conste por diligencia que firma conmigo el secretario que certifico. = Manuel Boscasa = Tomás G. Cernuda.

Y para que conste doy el presente de orden del Señor fiscal, en Manila a diez y ocho de Febrero de mil ochocientos setenta y dos.

[Signed] Tomas G. Cernuda

V^{to} B^{no}

[Signed] M. Boscasa

que Paraiso and Maximo Inocencio to ten years imprisonment with retention and to Crisanto de los Reyes to ten years imprisonment without the clause of retention. All being informed the Fiscal ordered that it be attested by the document which the secretary who certified it signs with me. Manuel Boscasa. Tomas G. Cernuda.

And so that this may be attested, I present this document by order of the fiscal, in Manila, 18 February 1872.

[signed] Tomas G. Cernuda

Seen and approved,

[signed] M. Boscasa