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Aglipay as Ecclesiastical Governor Of Nueva Segovia: His Circular Letters

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I

WHEN the Philippine Revolution broke out against Spain in August 1896, the Catholic Church in the Philippine Islands comprised only one ecclesiastical province, with the metropolitan see in Manila and with suffragan jurisdictions in Nueva Segovia, Nueva Cáceres, Cebú and Jaro. The diocese of Nueva Segovia then comprised all of the northern provinces of Luzon. Its territory was enormous. From Pangasinan and Tarlac in Central Luzon, its territory extended northwards through the Ilocos provinces, then eastwards through the Mountain Province to the provinces of the Cagayan Valley (Cagayan, Isabela and Nueva Vizcaya). It also included all the small islands north of Luzon.

Today, all this territory is an entire ecclesiastical province with the metropolitan see at Vigan and with five suffragan jurisdictions: namely, the diocese of Lingayen-Dagupan, the diocese of Tuguegarao, the apostolic vicariate of the Mountain Province, the prelature *nullius* of Bangued, Abra, and the prelature *nullius* of Batanes. But at the time of which we speak,

it was all only one diocese, under only one bishop whose cathedral was in Vigan, Ilocos Sur.

Vigan had not always been the seat of the diocese. When the diocese was erected in 1595, the diocesan seat was established in "Nueva Segovia" in the province of Cagayan. In 1758 the bishop transferred his residence from Lallo in Cagayan to Vigan, and there it has remained to the present. The diocese however retained its original name, Nueva Segovia.

The years 1896 to 1900 were trying years for the Philippines. The Filipinos fought first against Spain, and later, beginning 4 February 1899, against the Americans whom they had at first welcomed as friends and allies. When military resistance to the American forces collapsed in the field, the Filipinos resorted to guerrilla warfare until the American forces finally won and a civil government established under American sovereignty.

Among the Spaniards who found themselves prisoners of the Filipino insurgents during these years were a number of priests and religious.¹ Among them was the bishop of Nueva Segovia, the Dominican, Monseñor Don Fray José Hevia Campomanes.² He was held prisoner first at Aparri then at Alcalá in the province of Cagayan, in which latter place he and other prisoners were held for a time "*del todo incomunicados*."³

¹ On the imprisonment of the priests and religious, see among others the following works: Ulpiano Herrero *Nuestra prisión* (Manila 1900); Joaquín Durán *Episodios de la revolución filipina* (Manila 1900); Graciano Martínez *Memorias del cautiverio* (Manila 1900).

² Born in Spain in 1841, he arrived in the Philippines in 1863, was ordained priest in Manila in 1864, created bishop of Nueva Segovia in June 1889, consecrated in Spain and returned to take possession of his diocese on 19 June 1890. He was a prisoner of the Filipino forces for sixteen months.

³ So Bishop Hevia Campomanes said in a letter to Eustaquio Gallardo under date of 4 December 1898. The letter is cited by Epifanio de los Santos in his article "Don Miguel Morayta" in the *Philippine Review*, Vol. II, No. 3, March 1917, p. 25 footnote 5. The bishop was not only imprisoned but beaten up and tortured. See his testimony before the Philippine Commission, pp. 122-133 of the work cited in footnote 42 below.

Being thus impeded in the government of his vast diocese, he tried to provide for the needs of his flock. From Aparri in Cagayan on 20 August 1898, he issued circular letters appointing vicars forane. Among others, the priest D. Estaquio Gallardo was made vicar forane for Ilocos Sur,⁴ and D. Doroteo Foronda vicar forane "*del Valle de Cagayan, y distritos militares del mismo*."⁵

While a prisoner in Alcalá, Bishop Hevia Campomanes was prevailed upon to make further provision for the government of his diocese. He appointed an ecclesiastical governor. The man he had wanted to appoint was Eustaquio Gallardo. He did not have a chance to do so. He explains the reason in a letter which he wrote to Gallardo on 4 December 1898.⁶ Instead, the man whom he appointed ecclesiastical governor was Gregorio Aglipay.

II

At the time of the outbreak of the Revolution, Father Aglipay (as we have seen in a previous article)⁷ was a coadjutor priest in San Pablo, Laguna, from which parish he was transferred in December 1896 to Victoria, Tarlac, where he was likewise to serve as coadjutor. In early 1898, as we have also seen previously, Aglipay obtained permission to stay in Manila to undergo treatment for an eye-ailment. He was in Manila when the Americans arrived in 1898.⁸

On 20 October 1898, General Emilio Aguinaldo appointed Father Aglipay *vicario general castrense*,⁹ a position which we may translate as chief chaplain, or deputy military ordinary. Twenty-six days later, on 15 November 1898 Bishop Hevia Campomanes appointed him ecclesiastical governor of the diocese of Nueva Segovia.

⁴ *Libro de órdenes y providencias episcopales* (Vigan) fols. 225-225v.

⁵ *Libro de órdenes y providencias episcopales* (Iligan) I fol. 117v.

⁶ See *supra*, note 3.

⁷ PHILIPPINE STUDIES VI (1958) 174 ff.

⁸ *Ibid.* pp. 186 ff.

⁹ Epifanio de los Santos "Don Miguel Morayta" *The Philippine Review* Vol. II no. 3 (March 1917) p. 25, footnote 2.

The original document of Aglipay's appointment as ecclesiastical governor has apparently been lost, but Epifanio de los Santos has published its full text, and he was a careful scholar. We are reprinting it below. (See Appendix B.)

There is also a circular issued from Alcalá on that same date, 15 November 1898, in which Bishop Hevia Campomanes announces to the diocese the appointment of Gregorio Aglipay as ecclesiastical governor. (See Circular c in Appendix C below.)

We might note in passing that Aglipay's appointment as *vicario general castrense* preceded his appointment as ecclesiastical governor. This is contrary to the statements of not a few authors who invert the sequence of events.¹⁰ The true sequence of events is important in this case, as it eventually decided the issue as to whether or not Aglipay's appointment as ecclesiastical governor was canonically valid. That, however, is another story with which we are not concerned for the present. We should also note that three months before his assumption of office, Aglipay had already exercised jurisdiction in Nueva Segovia by appointing Eustaquio Gallardo vicar general on 4 September 1898.¹¹

Aglipay's installation as ecclesiastical governor appears to have been a solemn affair attended with much fanfare. After the formal ceremonies in the Vigan cathedral (a solemn Mass and Te Deum), a military parade was held in his honor, which he watched from the windows ("*balcones*") of the episcopal palace. He then gave orders to have the Spanish friars who were imprisoned in the seminary building transferred to less comodious quarters—to the town jail for common criminals. He visited them there that night. He was dressed in the uniform of a general, with sword, riding boots, and the baton of command. He had just come from the dance which the town

¹⁰ Among those in error on this point are: Homer C. Stuntz *The Philippines and the Far East* (Cincinnati 1904) pp. 488-489; *Encyclopedia Americana* (1957) I 238; *Encyclopedia of the Philippines* (first ed.) V 618, citing Laubach *The People of the Philippines*; W. Cameron Forbes *The Philippine Islands* (Harvard 1945) p. 61, footnote 1; etc.

¹¹ See Circular 1 in Appendix A below.

had tendered in his honor. A strange way for a priest to celebrate his elevation to a priestly office, that of ecclesiastical governor of a diocese!¹²

In this article we are interested in Aglipay's actuations as ecclesiastical governor, and for that reason we shall study the circular letters, decrees and directives which he issued in that capacity.

III

Today, with the abundance of printing presses, mimeograph machines and other duplicating devices, the circular letters of a bishop are issued in printed or mimeographed form to the various parishes, where they may be easily kept on file. But in the 1890's and even later the circulars were copied by hand and sent out to the parishes where they were transcribed, again by hand, into a special book reserved for the purpose. This book, kept in every parish, was called *Libro de órdenes y providencias episcopales*. The bishop, in his periodic visitation of the parishes, would examine this book (among the other books of the parish) to see if it was kept up to date. The reasons for insisting that the circular letters and decrees of the bishop be thus copied in the book were obvious, for the device had a multiple advantage. In the first place, it assured the bishop that his orders and decrees had been received by the parish priest; secondly, it gave the parish priest a copy of the document available for easy reference in the future; and finally, it was a step towards having the decrees implemented.

To the historian, there is a further advantage in such a practice. In case the central archives of the diocese should be destroyed, copies of the bishop's official letters could still be found in the records of the various parishes. Moreover, since these letters were copied into the books of the various parishes, many of them quite far apart geographically, the historian could collate the various copies thus made and arrive at a fairly

¹² The details given here are from the following: *La Independencia* of 11 Jan. 1898 (30 Dec. 1898, "Ecos de Vigan"); U. Herrero *Nuestra prisión* pp. 718 ff.; M. de la Coronación *Relación de todo lo ocurrido desde que salimos de nuestros colegios de Vigan y Tuguegarao hasta nuestra vuelta a Manila* (Manila 1900) pp. 94 ff.

accurate knowledge of the original text, in case the original no longer existed. It is thus a happy circumstance for students of history that the circular letters and decrees of the bishops ordinarily ended with the injunction: "*Cópiese en el libro de órdenes y providencias episcopales*" ("Let this be copied into the book of episcopal orders and decrees").

In the cataclysms of the last sixty years — the revolution against Spain, the Philippine-American war, the Japanese war, not to mention earthquakes, insects, rodents, fires and floods—many of the parish records have been destroyed. Enough, however, of the parish records in the ecclesiastical province of Nueva Segovia have survived for us to feel reasonably certain that we have a complete file of the circular letters and decrees issued by Gregorio Aglipay in his capacity as ecclesiastical governor.

We have examined the *Libro de órdenes y providencias episcopales* in four parishes, three of them widely apart geographically. These are (1) the cathedral parish of Vigan, seat of the diocese of Nueva Segovia; (2) the parish of San Vicente, in Ilocos Sur near Vigan; (3) the parish of Ilagan in the province of Isabela; and (4) the parish of Bugallon, formerly Salasa, in the province of Pangasinan.

These books have the value of being official documents, their contents emanating from and approved by the bishop of the diocese or by his substitute, and copied into the books by the parish priest or by his authority. From the viewpoint of the historian and the biographer, they have the added value of being first-hand documents which are (with the exception of one or two documents) hitherto unpublished. As a quarry for historical information on Aglipay these books are almost untouched. We have found almost no mention of them in the authors. We can remember only one article, and that in French, in which certain phrases or paragraphs are given as translations of parts of three of these documents.¹³

¹³ Mathias Boonen "Le schisme Aglipayen" in *Compte rendu de la septième semaine de missiologie de Louvain* (1929) pp. 104-130.

A brief description of the individual books as found in these four parishes may be helpful.

VIGAN

The beautiful town of Vigan, capital of the province of Ilocos Sur and for the past two hundred years seat of the diocese (now the archdiocese) of Nueva Segovia, has preserved its cathedral church and its church records despite the devastations of war in other parts of the town. The cathedral is adjacent to the episcopal palace where Aglipay lived and exercised his functions as ecclesiastical governor until he fled before the advance of the American forces. It was from Vigan that most of his circulars were dated and issued. Hence the *Libro de órdenes y providencias episcopales* of Vigan possesses, in our case, a capital importance.

The book itself contains 449 folios,¹⁴ preceded by a fly-leaf on which is the episcopal authorization under date of 25 June 1843. The last entry in the book is at folio 448 with the signature of the archiepiscopal secretary, Joaquín T. Lontoc, and the date: 13 November 1950. We shall refer to this book as *Ordenes Vigan*.¹⁵

SAN VICENTE

The town of San Vicente is only a few kilometers outside Vigan. It has a beautiful church and its *Libro de órdenes episcopales* (sic, without *y providencias*) is intact. This was actually the first that came to our hands, and for that reason we have used it as our chief source, citing it more frequently than the others. The book carries on its first page the authorization of the bishop, Mons. Mariano Cuartero, under date of 14 February 1882. The book, as mentioned on that page consists of "*doscientas fojas útiles*" (200 usable folios). The last entry

¹⁴ A "folio" here means one leaf, or two pages front and back. The front bears the number; the back is indicated by a small letter v. Thus 100 and 100v.

¹⁵ We are grateful to Father Nicolas L.I. Rosal of the archdiocese of Nueva Segovia who personally brought us the book; and to His Excellency Juan Sison, coadjutor archbishop c.j.s. and apostolic administrator s.p., who granted permission to use the book.

is on folio 184v with the "Archives" of Mons. Santiago Sancho, present archbishop of Nueva Segovia, dated 23 February 1957. We shall refer to this book as *Ordenes San Vicente*.¹⁶

BUGALLON

The town of Bugallon is a few kilometers south of Lingayen in the province of Pangasinan and is on the highway that connects Tarlac with the coastal towns of Pangasinan. Formerly the parish was called Salasa. It possesses a geographical advantage in our present investigation, because it is situated in the central region of Luzon nearer Manila. In the turbulent times of 1898 and 1899, an episcopal decree might never reach the distant outposts in the far north, but it would probably not fail to reach the central towns of Pangasinan. Its *Libro de órdenes y providencias episcopales* contains 293 usable folios. The first folio and the flyleaf have both disappeared so that we do not know when the book was authorized or when the parish was erected. The first circular contained in the book is dated 29 August 1868. The last is dated 5 March 1938, which terminates at folio 269. We shall refer to this book as *Ordenes Bugallon*.¹⁷

ILAGAN

Way over on the other side of the island of Luzon, separated from Vigan by the ranges of the Mountain Province, is the town of Ilagan, capital of the province of Isabela. The *Libro de órdenes y providencias episcopales* we used is in two volumes. The first bears the authorization of the bishop, Mons. Vicente Barreyro, on the first page, under date of 16 May 18[50?]. It contains 130 "foxas." The last circular entered in this volume ends at folio 125. The remaining pages have been used for recording the parish accounts. The folios of this volume are much larger than the ordinary folio. At folio 118 there is

¹⁶ We are grateful again to Father Rosal who informed us of the discovery of the circulars by Father Raymundo Gracia; and to Mons. Baltazar Lazo D.P., parish priest at the time of San Vicente, for granting us permission to use the book.

¹⁷ We are grateful for the use of the book to the Capuchin Fathers Fidel de Lekamaña and Benjamín de Ilarduya.

a title (apparently added later) in large letters: "*Gobierno Revolucionario*."

The second volume consists of 400 numbered folios and two others unnumbered but usable. It carried no legitimate authorization at the beginning; but a statement of rehabilitation by Mons. Santiago Sancho under date of February 1926, with retroactive effect, gives official authenticity to all the circulars entered in the volume, beginning with the first, namely that of Mons. Hevia Campomanes (folio 2) under date of 14 September 1899. The last entry in the volume is at folio 210, under date of 24 September 1946. The rest of the pages are blank.

We shall refer to these two volumes as *Ordenes Ilagan I* and *II* respectively.¹⁸

IV

In Appendix A below, we have catalogued in chronological order the circulars and decrees of Aglipay as ecclesiastical governor of Nueva Segovia. Included in these is a telegram which, though properly speaking not a circular, seems to partake of the nature of one. The place, date, and a brief summary of the principal contents of each is given, with the source in which each is found. This last is affirmative, not exclusive: that is, if the *Libro de órdenes* of San Vicente is cited, this does not imply that the circular in question may not also be found in those of other places. We have (except in one case where two sources are given) indicated only one source for each. We have numbered each of these documents with an arabic numeral. Henceforth we shall refer to the various circulars and decrees by merely citing their number in this catalogue.

Of the twenty-five circulars, thirteen are predominantly administrative, nine predominantly political, and three are predominantly religious-pastoral. But these three characteristics are found in varying degrees in most of these documents. The

¹⁸ For the use of these volumes we are grateful to Mons. Ricardo Jamias D.P., vicar general of Tuguegarao.

thirteen administrative circulars may again be subdivided into: (a) those that deal principally with jurisdiction and its exercise; (b) those that deal with religious cult and the sacraments; (c) those that deal with the priests of the diocese.

JURISDICTION AND ITS EXERCISE

Aglipay announces his appointment as ecclesiastical governor (Circular 2) and his assumption of office (Circular 3). He appoints Eustaquio Gallardo ecclesiastical judge and Pío Romero "*secretario de cámara y gobierno*" (Circular 6). To provide for any eventuality, in case of his own or his successor's death or absence, he appoints subdelegates who are to take over the government of the diocese. Pío Romero is first in line of succession, Eustaquio Gallardo second (Circular 18).

CULT AND SACRAMENTS

On 16 January 1899, with relations worsening between Filipinos and Americans, he decrees that the prayer *pro tempore belli* be added to the collect of the Mass every day; that a procession be held and the litanies said; that a solemn Mass be offered, followed by exposition of the Blessed Sacrament (Circular 13). In conformity with the Roman decrees, incense is not to be used at Mass except in solemn Masses (Circular 21). Some of the laity have been going about the towns carrying holy images and soliciting alms. This and other abuses are to be stopped as they smell of "friarism" (*fraylismo*)—(Circular 17).

AGLIPAY'S ATTITUDE TO HIS PRIESTS

Aglipay's attitude to his fellow priests was a strange mixture of solicitude and extraordinary harshness. On the occasion of the accidental death of Father Juan Jaramillo, he orders the usual suffrages for his soul (Circular 15). He defends the Philippine Revolutionary Government's failure to assume the burden, previously carried by the Spanish government, of supporting church and clergy.¹⁹ Indeed, in all this,

¹⁹ "...por las circunstancias anormales por que atraviesa nuestro infortunado país, demasiado comprenderán VV. que nuestro Gobierno Revolucionario aún no debe ocuparse en la dotación del Clero y de las Iglesias..." (Circular 11).

one gets the impression that his solicitude is less for the priests than for the revolutionary government, for he levies a tax upon the priests of one hundred pesos each, to be paid to the national government;²⁰ he seeks a loan of ₱15,400, to be paid off by the priests within ten months and to be given as a gift to the revolutionary government;²¹ and finally, orders all priests to hand over immediately, for the national government, all funds belonging to the church or to pious societies.²²

Apart from thus taking away from the priests all the money they had, leaving them to subsist entirely on what stipends their ministries could bring them, Aglipay treated his priests with almost insulting harshness in the circulars addressed to them. Many priests (he says in Circular 10) seem to be of the opinion that they have a right to offices for which they have no capacity whatsoever.²³ They make every effort to follow their own sweet will (*cada cual su santísima voluntad*), and many even have the nerve (*atrevimiento*) to seek office by the intercession of seculars—"a thing so degrading to the priestly dignity." Strange words from a man who owed his own position to the intervention of a secular, General Emilio Aguinaldo.

To come back to Circular 10: The priests must therefore be subjected to an examination. "All who aspire to a curacy must submit to a synodal examination to be presided by Us." "As soon as we return from Malolos, we shall summon all of you in turn to submit to an examination so that you may be given the parishes that you deserve, or otherwise in order to remove you from your present parishes."²⁴

Few bishops in the Church will address their priests in such harsh and haughty terms.

²⁰ Circular 14.

²¹ *Ibid.*

²² Circular 8.

²³ "...puestos que atendida su capacidad... no los merecen bajo ningún concepto."

²⁴ "...tan pronto como vengamos de Malolos... iremos llamando a exámenes a todos VV. para darles los curatos que les corresponden... y removerles de sus actuales curatos en caso contrario."

Aglipay shows his irritation at the manner in which the priests asked for dispensations on behalf of the contracting parties in marriage. And he refers to himself in the majestic plural. "Many of you elevate to Us your petitions for matrimonial dispensations without order or system."²⁵

But Aglipay shows even greater irritation and uses harsher language when complaining about the poor quality of preaching. "You who have forgotten your duty to preach," he says in Circular 7, "do not forget your eternal salvation. How many sins may a priest commit, even should he preach often, whose sermons are trite, dreary, without order or system... You, finally, who have the habit of preaching without preparation, without order or system" (*sin orden ni concierto* appears to have been a favorite phrase of Aglipay's) "and who utter from the chair of the Holy Spirit nothing but mistakes and empty words, etc.—like those friars of unhappy memory who, not knowing the language of the region, pushed themselves forward to preach, taking with them to the pulpit some ridiculous sermon, composed desultorily, with horrible pronunciation and atrocious grammar—you must reform your conduct. We are ashamed to have to recall these duties to your minds," he adds, forgetting the majestic plural, "but reports of these sad truths have reached my ears."

Less harsh in language, more priestly in content, but bordering on the irritable is the exhortation in Circular 9, urging priests to behave properly and to study their moral theology. I wish to speak to you (he tells the priests) as a brother. I do not intend to subject you to minute scrutiny and constant observation as those prelates used to do in the time of the Spanish domination. Our enemies (the friars) were forever watching every move we made, subjecting our actions to minute scrutiny with the sole purpose of criticizing them. What I recommend to you above all is that you must not forget our solemn promises of obedience and chastity, vows which, I repeat, ennoble in great measure our character. It is by these vows that we can command the respect and the love of the

²⁵ "Muchos de VV. eleven a Nos preces sobre dispensas matrimoniales sin orden ni concierto." (Circular 12)

faithful. The violation of the vows referred to above will subject us to innumerable troubles, compromise our social position, make us abhorrent to others, and incur for us the punishment of our heavenly Father. We must try to become obedient and chaste, not solely in work, but in truth and deed. Likewise do not forget the abominable crime of Simon Magus. Anyone who aspires to a curacy, for instance, without the necessary aptitude for such a position, and endeavors to get it by invoking the titles I have referred to, must be considered a simoniac. You can see into what conflict we shall all be plunged. . . .

V

Most of Aglipay's circulars, whatever their theme, had political bearings either explicit or implicit. For instance, Circular 13 orders prayers for the revolutionary government at war against Spain on the one hand, and with mounting tension (soon to break out into open hostility) against America on the other. Circular 19 orders the pealing of bells in all the churches in the event of victory over the Americans. Hostilities had broken out between Americans and Filipinos on 4 February 1899, and on 24 March the rumor had spread (soon to be proved false) that the Americans were about to surrender. Circulars 5 and 11, on Mass stipends and other church fees, imply an acceptance of the power of the government to legislate in church matters,²⁶ and also an acceptance of the withdrawal of government subsidy for church and clergy. Finally there is Circular 1 in which Aglipay appoints Eustaquio Gallardo vicar general of the diocese of Nueva Segovia, although Aglipay himself had received no authority to do so from any ecclesiastical source and was not even a member of the diocese of Nueva Segovia, having been incardinated in the archdiocese of Manila. This circular was issued on 4 September 1898. It was not until 15

²⁶ The Revolutionary Government imposed upon the parishes the *arancel* (scale of fees) for spiritual ministries which had been drawn up under Archbishop Santa Justa y Rufina of Manila in the late eighteenth century. The *arancel* was therefore of ecclesiastical origin, but it was a secular government that now decreed that that *arancel* be observed in the parishes.

November that Aglipay was appointed ecclesiastical governor of Nueva Segovia, and it was not until December that he was formally installed in office. His appointment therefore of a vicar general was a usurpation of authority, based on the fact that he had been made *capellán castrense* of the Philippine revolutionary forces by a secular (not an ecclesiastical) authority, General Emilio Aguinaldo. On 20 October 1898, over a month later, his rank was raised from *capellán castrense* to that of *vicario general castrense*.

While all these circulars had obvious political implications, there were some which were ex professo political. We shall now examine these.

CIRCULAR 4

The circular to which we have given the number 4 in our catalogue (Appendix A) was issued at Vigan on 18 December 1898. This was the day after his solemn assumption of office. It was an exhortation to the clergy to rally around the government of the Philippine Republic and to take a strong stand against its enemies, namely, the friars (and later the Americans).

To understand this and the other circulars, we must know their historical background. On November 22, one week after Aglipay's appointment as ecclesiastical governor of the northern diocese, Archbishop Nozaleda of Manila cited him to appear before an ecclesiastical tribunal in Manila to answer charges of having usurped ecclesiastical jurisdiction. One of the actuations to be brought in evidence in support of this charge was Aglipay's appointment of Eustaquio Gallardo on 4 September 1898 as vicar general of Nueva Segovia, although he himself had received no jurisdiction from any ecclesiastical authority.²⁷

On 23 December 1898, one month and one day after the citation mentioned above, a new decree was issued citing Ag-

²⁷ Gallardo received this appointment immediately, for the following day, 5 September 1898, he issued his circular announcing his appointment. (See Circular *a* in Appendix C below.) One senses in this document a certain embarrassment, as if Gallardo did not quite know where he stood.

lipay to appear before the ecclesiastical tribunal. Copies of this decree were affixed to the doors of the churches in the archdiocese of Manila. Seventeen days later, on 9 January 1899, a new decree of citation was issued and affixed to the church doors.²⁸

Aglipay did not heed any of these summons. He knew about them, however, for on 26 December 1898, three days after the citation was posted on the church doors, Aglipay wrote to the editor of *El Heraldo de la Revolución*, the official newspaper of the Filipino revolutionists, published in Malolos, requesting him to publish an open letter to Archbishop Nozaleda which he was enclosing, "to answer the very serious injury that he has done me by having his edicts posted on the church doors of the archdiocese." The open letter to the archbishop, which also bears the same date, contains the accusation that the archbishop's action in affixing to the church doors his edicts citing Aglipay to appear before an ecclesiastical court was "uncanonical, arbitrary and very impertinent" (*anticanónica, extemporánea, y muy atrevida*). The letter was climaxed by the statement: "Small good your ecclesiastical tribunal will do you!"²⁹

Later on, Aglipay was to plead that he did not appear before the ecclesiastical tribunal because he did not know about the citations. That, however, is again another story which we shall take up in another place. At the moment we are interested in Aglipay's circular of 18 December 1898, issued sixteen days after the first citation and four days before the second.

In the circular he calls attention to the sad and complicated situation in which the Filipino clergy found themselves. Their enemies (the friars) had reported them to Rome (he said) seeking thereby to smash their prestige. The blood freezes in one's veins (he continues) at the enormity of the

²⁸ "Sentencia dictada por el Tribunal Eclesiástico del Arzobispado de Manila... contra el Presbítero del mismo Gregorio Aglipay..." Manila 4 Mayo 1899.

²⁹ Both letters were published in *El Heraldo de la Revolución*, 15 Jan. 1899.

black and infamous calumny made against them by their ignoble enemies (*infames enemigos*). The true cause of Religion has been abandoned by the friars who call themselves its defenders. The Filipino clergy therefore must unite, "under my humble and poor protection," eschewing enmities among themselves, favoritisms, inferiorities etc. and they must co-operate with his leadership (*coadyuvéis a nuestras iniciativas*), not mistaking his real intentions, and not associating themselves in any way with their insolent and perverse enemies. Finally, they must be obedient and entirely submissive to the Philippine Revolutionary Government.

CIRCULAR 8

Circular 8 was issued from Vigan on New Year's Day 1899. It may be entitled "On Patriotism," which Aglipay defines as "that efficacious desire of every true citizen to defend the integrity and independence of his native land, free from all foreign domination." Our country (he says) has just been liberated from the Spanish yoke, and now finds itself threatened by terrible foreign powers (the United States of America). Priests must therefore keep repeating to their people a thousand and one times, in the pulpit and in private conversations, that they must adhere to the ideas of the Philippine Revolution.

For this purpose, it is not enough to offer prayers for the country. Besides prayers there must be cooperation—financial cooperation. Therefore he decrees that all the parish priests of the diocese should hand over to their respective vicars forane all the funds belonging to their respective churches and pious societies (*cofradías*). The vicars forane must without any delay turn over this money to the Philippine Revolutionary Government for the national budget (*empréstito nacional*). The money that cannot be delivered at once in a lump sum must be delivered at the first opportunity.

CIRCULAR 14

Circular 14, from Vigan, 16 February 1899, was issued only twelve days after open hostilities had broken out between Filipinos and Americans. The circular mentions the proclama-

tions issued by General Aguinaldo on 4 and 5 February and proceeds to mention the "barbarous atrocities being committed by the infamous American nation against our beloved land."³⁰ Even the most indifferent persons (he continues) are now moved to take up arms and to shed their last drop of blood before submitting to the slavery of that most insolent North American nation.³¹

The Church must therefore support the Filipino forces with pecuniary assistance. First, each priest must contribute one hundred pesos to the national coffers. Secondly, each priest must give him authority to borrow money—to be turned over to the national coffers. This amount would probably reach the sum of fifteen thousand four hundred pesos (15,400). This sum would be borrowed from "persons of trust and worth" and the loan be paid off by the priests within one year or ten months. This subscription is however to be voluntary on the part of the priests and no one is forced to give the required authorization. However, the Revolutionary Government will "recompense our great services with usury."

CIRCULAR 20

On 1 April 1899, Aglipay issued his bitterest anti-American and anti-friar circular—Circular 20. Its tenor was as follows: He was deeply grieved by the news from the battle front. The affliction of the Filipino people was due both to the insatiable ambition and greed of the American traitors, and also to the bloody intentions of the prelates and friars, members all of the four religious corporations.³² If the Americans should win, it

³⁰ "...los bárbaros atropellos que la infame nación americana está cometiendo contra nuestro amado suelo."

³¹ "Ya las personas más indiferentes hoy se sienten animados a tomar las armas y verter la última gota de su sangre antes de ser manoseados y esclavos de esa insolentísima Nación Norte-Americana."

³² The four *corporaciones* were the Augustinians, the Dominicans, the Franciscans, and the Augustinian Recollects. Reasons for singling out these four religious orders were aired in the hearings held by the Philippine Commission in 1901. See, e.g., pp. 134 ff. of the book cited in footnote 42 below.

would mean a triumph of the friars who would crush the Filipino clergy underfoot and allow none of them to live. The hope of the Filipino clergy then was to fight on the side of the Filipino authorities, military and civil. Drastic measures must be taken in case the American forces should enter the towns of the diocese.

What these drastic measures were, he explains. First, when the entry of American forces was imminent, all valuables—jewelry, ornaments, sacred vessels—must be removed “from the greedy eyes of the invaders” and put in a safe place.

Second, in case the American forces could not be staved off, the churches and rectories must be given to the flames and reduced to ashes. “Thus our enemies will see our firm decision and our implacable hatred of slavery and tyranny.”

Third, the priests must not rest until they had seen organized the companies of territorial militia composed of men ready to shed their last drop of blood, their spirit inflamed by the priests’ energetic and persuasive words. The priests must not entertain any doubt but that their cause was that of God, of Religion and of Country.

Aglipay adds a fervid exhortation: “So that all may know that it is not a passing frenzy which moves us to talk this kind of language, we shall march at the side of the government of our Republic with the wholehearted decision to contribute our life and our little handful of clay (*nuestro grano de arena*) towards the objective which we all aspire to.”³³

The circular ends by naming as his substitute to govern the diocese in his absence, his secretary, Pío Romero. Without a doubt, he was the man in whom Aglipay had the greatest trust.

³³ We are grateful to the Dominican Fathers for graciously allowing us access to their archives, and for allowing us to quote from their copy of this circular. In particular we wish to thank Father Pablo Fernández, archivist, for his kind cooperation in this and other instances.

CIRCULARS 23—25

The remaining circulars transmitted communications from the Secretary of the Interior of the Philippine Republic. One concerned cemetery fees (Circular 23). A second dealt with the equality to be accorded civil marriages and religious marriages within the territory of the Philippine Republic (Circular 24). A third concerns the property of religious corporations, which are declared to be "under the administration of the government of the Republic" (Circular 25). Circular 24 was tantamount to an abandonment of the Catholic position on the sanctity of marriage as a sacrament among christians. Circular 25 was virtually giving consent to the forcible expropriation of church property.

VI

CONCLUSION

Of Aglipay's patriotism there can be no doubt—as far, that is, as his actuations up to June 1899 were concerned. Later on, as we shall point out in another place, even his patriotism was called in question. But as far as these circular letters are concerned, there can be no question about his love for his country and his loyalty to the revolutionary forces and to the first Philippine Republic.

What must be called in question was his loyalty to the Church; and this is a serious charge, for he was not only a priest of the Catholic Church, but he was entrusted with the government of a large and important diocese in the Philippines.

We are not now interested in the manner in which he was elevated to such a position of trust and responsibility. That is an important question and will be treated in another place. Neither are we interested in the validity of his appointment as ecclesiastical governor. That, too, is important, but will be treated elsewhere. For the present we are only interested in his conduct while holding the title of ecclesiastical governor of the diocese of Nueva Segovia.

The duties of a person who holds such an office are essentially the same as the duties of the bishop whom he represents

and whose place he is taking. These duties are primarily spiritual and secondarily, as a consequence, administrative. The duties may be summed up in a biblical phrase: "Feed my lambs."

We would therefore expect the head of a diocese during the difficult days of war and revolution to think primarily of the spiritual good of his people and of his priests. Secondarily he must think of preserving intact what belongs to the churches committed to his care.

This is not what we find in Aglipay. His first and ever recurrent concern seems to have been the success of the revolutionary effort, the good of the Philippine government, and the destruction of the hated enemies—the Americans and the friars—whom he cannot mention without using such opprobrious epithets as "infamous," "treacherous," "ignoble," "bloody," etc. These epithets, not surprising in the propaganda writings of fervid partisans, seem strangely out of place in the circular letters of a priest addressed to priests.

We have already mentioned the haughty and intemperate language in which Aglipay excoriates his fellow priests. But this haughtiness towards his fellow priests becomes readily understandable when we consider what little regard Aglipay had for the good of the Church which he was supposed to protect and to govern. The man who ordered his priests to surrender all church funds to the national government, who levied a tax of one hundred pesos on each priest for the national government, who sought authorization to raise a loan of fifteen thousand four hundred pesos to be contributed to the national government and to be paid for by his priests within one year or ten months, was interested primarily in the welfare of the national government and the conduct of the war, not in the welfare of the Church. Strangest of all is his order that if the approach of the American forces cannot be staved off, all the churches and rectories of the diocese must be reduced

to ashes. Strange order from an ecclesiastical governor, whose duty is to *protect* ecclesiastical property.³⁴

It is a great blessing that the priests either did not receive this circular or having received it did not put it into effect. For the American forces did enter the towns of the north, but the churches of the Ilocos still stand—splendid monuments of religion and art.³⁵

It would be difficult to say that Aglipay's circulars were such as a Christian leader, ruled by reason and not by emotion, would issue. They breathe a spirit of hatred and animosity quite foreign to the spirit of charity which a Christian must have even towards his enemies. And they exhibit a frenzied zeal, couched in intemperate language, neither of which does credit to the writer's personality or mental poise.

If we add to these the fact that Aglipay went about in the uniform of a general and ordered his priests to go about clad in military uniform, using the usual cassock only for Mass and services,³⁶ we may readily understand that the one pre-occupation which seemed uppermost in his mind was the con-

³⁴ Aglipay's orders to destroy the churches and other church property was in violation of an ancient piece of ecclesiastical legislation (incorporated in the present Code of Canon Law, can. 1519 section 1, and can. 1523 section 1), imposing upon administrators the duty of preserving church property.

³⁵ Fernando Zóbel de Ayala has proposed the thesis that the churches in the Philippines are among the best examples of *Filipino* artistic expression (PHILIPPINE STUDIES I 125-130). The churches of the Ilocos are particularly beautiful examples of this.

³⁶ An amusing incident occurred in connection with this order of Aglipay that priests should go about in military garb. We are told that an old priest, Father Victoriano Aguila, when told he had to wear military garb, answered: "Yo no salgo á la calle á visitas; solo salgo para confesar á algún enfermo que me llame, ó á la Iglesia, para visitar el Santísimo por las tardes, y por la mañana á decir Misa: luego esa orden no va conmigo; pero si el Gobernador eclesiástico insiste en que cambie de traje, pues entonces también, como Capitán, necesito de un sable y un revólver para sentarme al confesionario."—M. de la Coronación *Relación de todo lo ocurrido desde que salimos de nuestros colegios de Vigan y Tuguegarao hasta nuestra vuelta a Manila* (Manila 1900) pp. 96-97.

duct of the war against Spain and against America. This patriotism would certainly have been laudable, if it were not at the expense and to the exclusion of his duties to God and the Church which, in assuming the office of ecclesiastical governor, he had presumably accepted.

EPILOGUE

Aglipay had been cited to appear before the ecclesiastical tribunal of Manila on 22 November 1898. He was cited a second time on 23 December 1898, and again on 9 January 1899. On 29 April 1899, the ecclesiastical tribunal pronounced sentence. It was a declaratory sentence. That is, the tribunal did not pass sentence of excommunication on Aglipay, but it declared that Aglipay had already incurred major excommunication by accepting ecclesiastical appointment from a secular power and by exercising ecclesiastical jurisdiction without possessing such jurisdiction. This sentence was authenticated and promulgated on 4 May 1899.

Meantime, Bishop Hevia Campomanes of Nueva Segovia, in confinement at Alcalá in Cagayan, was ignorant of these proceedings. He learned of the declaratory sentence of excommunication only on 14 September 1899. On that date therefore he revoked Aglipay's appointment as ecclesiastical governor and provided for the government of his diocese by a series of circulars and communications which we have catalogued below in Appendix C.

Aglipay, for his part, consolidated his group of followers among the priests of the diocese. Chief among these were Pio Romero, Eustaquio Gallardo and later also Mauricio Bello.³⁷ On the other hand Leon Martínez remained faithful to Bishop Campomanes.³⁸ The same was true to a certain extent of Antonio Padilla.³⁹ Another priest, Esteban Guzmán, found himself in difficult circumstances, which however did not seem to diminish the trust that Bishop Hevia Campomanes had reposed in him.⁴⁰

³⁷ Circulars 1 and 18 (Appendix A), a and j (Appendix C).

³⁸ Circulars h, k, i (Appendix C).

³⁹ Circular e (Appendix C).

⁴⁰ Circulars d, g, m (Appendix C).

The man who most regretted Aglipay's appointment as ecclesiastical governor was the man who had most reason to regret it: Bishop Hevia Campomanes. He had appointed Aglipay in good faith. In a pitiful letter which he addressed to Pope Leo XIII he explained how sadly he had been mistaken.⁴¹ He implied as much in his testimony before the Philippine Commission on 7 August 1900.⁴²

APPENDIX A

CATALOGUE OF AGLIPAY'S CIRCULARS AND DECREES

- 1.—Vigan, 4 Sept. 1898. (*Ordenes Ilagan* I, fol. 118.)—Appointing Eustaquio Gallardo vicar general (before Aglipay himself had been appointed ecclesiastical governor.)
- 2.—Vigan, 12 Dec. 1898. (*Ordenes Bugallon*, fol. 180v.)—Announcing his own appointment as ecclesiastical governor.
- 3.—Vigan, 17 Dec. 1898. (*Ordenes San Vicente*, fol. 28.)—Announcing his installation as ecclesiastical governor.
- 4.—Vigan, 18 Dec. 1898. (*Ordenes Vigan*, fols. 225v-226.)—Exhorting to unity under the revolutionary government against enemies. (By "enemies" were meant the Spaniards, and more particularly the friars.)
- 5.—Vigan, 28 Dec. 1898. (*Ordenes Vigan*, fol. 226v.)—On mass stipends.
- 6.—Vigan, 29 Dec. 1898. (*Ordenes Vigan*, fol. 226v.)—Appointing Eustaquio Gallardo as ecclesiastical judge and Pio Romero as *secretario de cámara y gobierno*.
- 7.—Vigan, 31 Dec. 1898. (*Ordenes Bugallon*, fol. 183v-185.)—On the duty and manner of preaching.
- 8.—Vigan, 1 Jan. 1899. (*Ordenes San Vicente*, fols. 29v-30v.)—On patriotism and on giving pecuniary assistance to the Revolution.
- 9.—Vigan, 3 Jan. 1899. (*Ordenes Bugallon*, fols. 185v-186v.)—Exhortation to priests to comport themselves with dignity and to study their moral theology.
- 10.—Vigan, 7 January 1899. (*Ordenes San Vicente*, fols. 30v-31.)—On curacies and an enforced examination for obtaining or retaining them, reprehending abuses.

⁴¹ A copy of this letter is in the Dominican archives at Santo Domingo Church, Quezon City.

⁴² *Lands Held for Ecclesiastical or Religious Uses in the Philippine Islands etc.* Message from the President of the United States, February 25, 1901. 56th Congress, Second Session, Senate Document 190 (Washington 1901) p. 130.

- 11.—Vigan, 10 January 1899. (*Ordenes San Vicente*, fol. 31.)—On dividing parroquial fees among the clergy, government subsidy failing.
- 12.—Vigan, 16 January 1899. (*Ordenes San Vicente*, fol. 31.)—On requests for obtaining dispensations for marriages.
- 13.—Vigan, 16 January 1899. (*Ordenes San Vicente*, fols. 31-31v.)—On prayers *pro tempore belli*.
- 14.—Vigan, 16 February 1899. (*Ordenes San Vicente*, fols. 31-31v.) On the outbreak of hostilities between the Philippines and the United States, with an exhortation to support the drive for funds for a national loan.
- 15.—Vigan, 21 February 1899. (*Ordenes Ilagan*, I, fols. 121-121v.)—Announcing the death of Father Juan Jaramillo and the application of suffrages for his soul.
- 16.—Vigan, 13 March 1899. (*Ordenes San Vicente*, fols. 33-33v.)—On the holy oils.
- 17.—Vigan, 14 March 1899. (*Ordenes San Vicente*, fols. 32v-33.)—On the abuse of bringing images through the towns and begging alms.
- 18.—Vigan, 23 March 1899. (*Ordenes San Vicente*, fol. 33v.)—Establishing an order of succession in the government of the see of Vigan, in case of his own or his successor's absence or death.
- 19.—Vigan, 24 March 1899. (*Ordenes San Vicente*, fol. 34.)—On ringing the bells, by agreement with the presidents.
- 20.—Vigan, 1 April 1898.—On resisting the Americans to the bitter end.—This circular is not found in any of the four *Libros de órdenes* that we have been examining. (Possibly the parish priests involved were afraid to copy such a fiercely anti-American document into the parish books, for fear of reprisal from the advancing American forces.) We have two sources for this article: First, there is a copy in the Dominican archives at Santo Domingo church in Quezon City. Second, it is cited by Father Van de Walle, former prefect apostolic of the Mountain Province, in an appendix to Mathias Boonen's "*Le schisme Aglipayen*" in *Compte rendu de la septième semaine de missiologie de Louvain* (Museum Lessianum, 1929) pp. 104-130. Father Van de Walle translates several paragraphs from the circular, and he gives as his source the parish records of Piat, Cagayan. Those records later perished.
- 21.—Vigan, 14 April 1899. (*Ordenes Vigan*, fols. 232-232v.)—On the use of incense at Mass.
- 22.—(Place not given.) 10 May 1899. (*Ordenes Ilagan* I, fol. 129v.)—Telegram ordering priests to raise funds for the Philippine government.
- 23.—(Place not given.) 12 June 1899. (*Ordenes Ilagan* I, fol. 123.)—Transmitting a government communication through Pio Romero.

- 24.—(Place not given.) 19 June 1899. (*Ordenes Ilagan* I, fol. 123.)—
Transmitting a government communication through the same.
- 25.—(Place not given.) 22 June 1899. (*Ordenes Ilagan* I, fol. 123.)—
Transmitting a government communication through the same.

APPENDIX B

AGLIPAY'S APPOINTMENT AS ECCLESIASTICAL GOVERNOR

"Nos Don Fray José Hevia Campomanes, Obispo de N. Segovia y Delegado Castrense, etc., etc.

Hallando Nos ausente de Nuestra Sede Episcopal debido a las circunstancias anormales por que atravesamos y deseando atender cumplidamente a las necesidades espirituales de los fieles, confiando en la prudencia, ciencia y virtud del Presbítero Señor Don Gregorio Aglipay y que hará bien y fielmente lo que por nos le encomendamos, venimos en nombrarle Gobernador Ecclesiástico de esta nuestra Diócesis de N. Segovia, delegando y subdelegando en dicho Presbítero todas aquellas nuestras facultades que por su naturaleza son delegables y subdelegables en semejantes casos y tambien en el caso de nuestra muerte, con facultad para nombrar otra persona idónea que le sustituya en casos de ausencia ó defunción y á la que igualmente le comunicamos las mismas facultades y mandamos sea habido y tenido por tal Gobernador Ecclesiástico y le guarden los honores y preeminencias que le corresponden.

En testimonio de lo cual damos las presentes firmadas de nuestra mano y refrendadas de nuestro infrascrito Secretario de Cámara en el pueblo de Alcalá de la provincia de Cagayan a 15 de Noviembre de 1898.

Por mandato de S. Sria. Ilma. mi Señor.

Fr. JOSE, Obispo
Fr. JOSE H. CABEZA,
Pro. Pro. (?)

Epifanio de los Santos "Don Miguel Morayta" *The Philippine Review* II, 3 (March 1917) 25 footnote 3. An English translation is given in Tomas Fonacier *Gregorio Aglipay y Labayan* (Manila 1954) p. 16.

APPENDIX C

SOME CIRCULARS ISSUED BEFORE OR AFTER AGLIPAY'S INCUMBENCY

In this catalogue we include the decrees, directives and other communications for the diocese of Nueva Segovia, emanating from persons

other than Gregorio Aglipay. In each case, the name of the person issuing the directive, the place and date, the person addressed (if to an individual), and a synopsis of the contents are given. We have assigned to each circular not a number but a letter, to avoid confusion with Aglipay's own circulars catalogued in Appendix A, to which we have assigned arabic numerals.

I. BEFORE AGLIPAY'S APPOINTMENT

a. *Eustaquio Gallardo*. — Sto. Domingo, 5 Sept. 1898 (*Ordenes Ilagan* I fol. 118) — Announcing, and an exhortation in virtue of, his appointment as vicar general. (The appointment was made by Aglipay before he was made ecclesiastical governor.) (Cf. Circular 1, supra.)

b. *Eustaquio Gallardo*. — Sto. Domingo, 17 Sept. 1898 (*Ordenes Vigan* fols. 225-225v.) — Announcing his appointment as vicar forane by Bishop Hevia Campomanes on 20 August 1898.

c. *Hevia Campomanes*. — Alcalá, 15 Nov. 1898 (*Ordenes San Vicente* fol. 28) — Announcing Aglipay's appointment as ecclesiastical governor.

II. AFTER AGLIPAY'S APPOINTMENT

d. *Esteban Guzman*.—Tuguegarao, 27 Aug. 1899 (*Ordenes Ilagan* I fols. 123-123v.)—Transmitting a letter from Pío Romero, ecclesiastical governor by Aglipay's appointment, whose letter is dated Sto. Domingo, 31 (sic) Aug. 1899.

e. *Hevia Campomanes*. — Alcalá, 14 Sept. 1899 (*Ordenes Bugallon* fols. 187-189) — To D. Antonio Padilla, vicar forane of Pangasinan-Tarlac, containing directives, faculties, etc.

f. *Hevia Campomanes*. — Alcalá, 14 Sept. 1899 (*Ordenes Ilagan* II fol. 2) — Confirming in their respective positions the priests administering the parishes in Cagayan, Isabela and Nueva Vizcaya.

g. *Hevia Campomanes*. — Alcalá, 14 Sept. 1899 (*Ordenes Ilagan* II fols. 12-13) — To D. Esteban Guzman, vicar forane of Cagayan, Isabela and Nueva Vizcaya, communicating directives, faculties etc.

h. *Hevia Campomanes*. — Alcalá 18 (?) Sept. 1899 (*Ordenes San Vicente* fols. 35-35v.) — Confirming in office the priests administering the parishes in the Ilocos provinces, in Abra, La Union, and the districts of Benguet, Amburayan, Tiagan, Lepanto and Bontoc. (Re-transmitted by Leon Martínez.)

i. *Hevia Campomanes*. — Alcalá, 14 Sept. 1899 (*Ordenes Bugallon* fols. 18v.-187). — Confirming in their office the priests administering the parishes in Pangasinan and Tarlac.

j. *Mauricio Bello*. — Narvacan, 25 Sept. 1899 (*Ordenes San Vicente* fol. 34) — Exhortation, given as acting ecclesiastical governor appointed by Aglipay.

k. *Leon Martínez*. — Lapo, 24 Oct. 1899 (*Ordenes Vigan* fols. 232v-233) — Announcing his appointment as vicar forane of both Ilocos, La Union, Abra etc.

l. *Hevia Campomanes*. — Alcalá, 18 Nov. 1899 (*Ordenes San Vicente* fol. 34v-35) — Letter to Leon Martínez, vicar forane of the Ilocos region, showing paternal attitude towards those who had gone astray. (Retransmitted by Martínez.)

m. *Hevia Campomanes*. — Alcalá, 15 Dec. 1899 (*Ordenes Ilagan* II fol. 3) — Subdelegating faculties, etc. due to his own absence from the diocese.

n. *Hevia Campomanes*. — Alcalá, 16 Dec. 1899 (*Ordenes Ilagan* I fol. 125) — Ordering an inventory to be made of objects appropriated by seculars. (Transmitted from Tuguegarao, 18 Dec. 1899, by Esteban Guzman.)

o. *Leon Martínez*. — Lapo, 24 Dec. 1899 (*Ordenes San Vicente* fols. 34v-35v) — Transmitting letters from Bishop Hevia Campomanes (supra h, f).

p. *Hevia Campomanes*. — Manila, 24 Jan. 1900 (*Ordenes Bugallon* fol. 189) — Re-asserting with emphasis that already on Sept. 1899, on learning that Aglipay had been excommunicated, he had resumed the government of his diocese, a fact which he then made public.

q. *Leon Martínez*. — Lapo, 17 Feb. 1900 (*Ordenes San Vicente* fols. 35v-37v) — He repeats the communication of faculties given by Bishop Hevia Campomanes, and announces that Bishop Hevia Campomanes, on January 23, had forbidden Aglipay and Pío Romero to celebrate Mass in the churches of the diocese. He invites Aglipay's followers to retract their error.

r. *Hevia Campomanes*. — Manila, 24 Sept. 1900 (*Ordenes San Vicente* fols. 37v-39) — Farewell letter upon departing for Spain and naming Fray Fidel Larrinaga O.S.A. ecclesiastical governor *sede plena*.

s. *Fidel Larrinaga*. — Manila, 7 October 1900 (*Ordenes Vigan* fols. 236v-238) — Announcing his acceptance of the above appointment.

t. *Fidel Larrinaga*. — Vigan, 1 April 1901 (*Ordenes Vigan* fol. 238v) — Announcing his assumption of office.

u. *Fidel Larrinaga*. — Vigan, 11 Nov. 1902 (*Ordenes Vigan* fols. 240-241) — Declaring excommunication of Pedro Brillantes and Candido Gironilla. (sic; elsewhere it is sometimes spelled Geronella). The first appointed by Aglipay "bishop" of Ilocos N; the second, eccles. gov. of Ilocos S. by the same Aglipay.