



RUFINO CARDINAL SANTOS STEERS THE ARCHDIOCESE OF MANILA TO VATICAN II (1959-1966) *

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Rufino J. Santos was labeled as a conservative who resisted change, especially during the last half of his stewardship as archbishop of the Archdiocese of Manila. In an era when the Catholic world was beset by the liturgical revival movement and other social movements of the 1960s, Santos strived to preserve his role as a Church militant while the Philippine ecclesiastical hierarchy veered towards making the Catholic Church responsive to the contemporary social ills. The present study uses the historical method framed by Arnold Toynbee's Challenge and Response theory to discuss, narrate, and analyze how the first Filipino Cardinal preserved the unity and tradition of pre-Vatican II ideals while ironically, being an active participant in the four Vatican II Council Sessions. This study contextualizes how Santos' adherence to unity and uniformity was driven by his intent to avoid confusion among the priests and the laity and how this intent steered him to spearhead the introduction of the Misa ng Bayan, the first Tagalog translation of the Holy Mass in 1966, as he defied his critics, and ultimately brought the Philippines into the threshold of change that Vatican II envisioned.

Keywords: *Church history, Archbishops of Manila, Vatican II, Challenge and response, Philippines*

Dates:

Received: May 27, 2023

Accepted: August 15, 2023

Published(Online): Sept 30, 2023

How to cite this article:

Magpantay, M., & Hila, A. (2023). Rufino Cardinal Santos Steers the Archdiocese of Manila to Vatican II (1959-1966) *, *Scientia* Vol 12 no. 2., 86-110. <https://doi.org/10.57106/scientia.v13i1.167>

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I. THE FIRST FILIPINO CARDINAL

During the rededication rites of the Manila Cathedral in December 1958, where His Eminence Gregory Peter XV Cardinal Agagianian, Pro-Prefect of the Congregation of the Propagation of the Faith and Patriarch of the Cilicia of the Armenians, served as the official Papal Legate and guest of honor of the Archdiocese of Manila, a group of Filipinos held a rally at Plaza Miranda voicing out their request for the Vatican to appoint a Filipino Cardinal. Addressing the rallyists, Senator Roseller T. Lim (served 1955-1963) emphatically said, “What’s wrong with asking for a Filipino Cardinal? We are telling Rome to appoint one. We are requesting them to do so.”¹

The clamor of the faithful of Manila for a Filipino to be bestowed with a red hat began after the death of Archbishop Gabriel M. Reyes, the first native Archbishop of Manila. Then President Elpidio Quirino lamented that Reyes could have been a cardinal had it not been for his early demise, three years into his stewardship as Archbishop of Manila.² After a native was appointed the Primate of the Philippines, the highest ecclesiastical authority in the country since the colonial times, the question of the Holy Father’s refusal to appoint a Filipino cardinal had been an inside joke among the critics of the Catholic Church, most especially by politicians.³ The Filipino Catholic faithful anticipated that one of the native bishops will be elevated into the Cardinalate upon the assumption of another native into the archbishopric of Manila in 1953. The Catholic Filipinos’ expectation and anticipation was not a surprise since the nationalist policies of the Garcia administration

(1957-1961) intensified the intent of the faithful to see Filipinos who served not only in the ecclesiastical offices but as officials in other institutions run by the Catholic Church. It was a matter of time for them to see a native serving under the Pope’s wing in the Vatican.

In 1959, the Philippines had 13 Filipino bishops and eight archbishops in 14 dioceses and seven archdioceses.⁴ The Cardinalate is the second highest ecclesiastical office that was not within the reach of a Filipino whose nation was often described as a bulwark of Christianity in Asia counting 19,185,384 Catholics⁵ and retained democratic rule after World War II amidst the spread of Communism in Asia.

The Cardinals of the Roman Catholic Church serve as the chief counselors and helpers in governing the Church.⁶ They are priests or bishops of exceptional learning, judgment, and ability and are freely appointed and nominated by the Pope in a secret consistory.⁷ Laymen refer to them as princes of the Catholic Church as one of their chief roles and duty is to elect the new Pope.⁸ Their robes bear the scarlet red color, symbolizing their duty to be ready to shed blood in the name of Christ and the Catholic Church.⁹

⁴ *Catholic Directory of the Philippines 1959*, (Manila: Catholic Trade School, 1959) 17-20.

⁵ *Catholic Directory 1959*, 634. Catholics in the Philippines statistics from the 1960 Bureau of Census and Statistics. This is 83.11% of the total population of the country at that time.

⁶ See Canon 230 in Benedict XV, *The 1917 Code of Canon Law*, Benedict XV, *The 1917 or Pio-Benedictine Code of Canon Law: in English translation with extensive scholarly apparatus*, trans. Dr. Edward N. Peters, (San Francisco: Ignatius Press, 2001), 96.

⁷ Canon 232 in Benedict XV, *The 1917 Code of Canon Law*, 97.

⁸ Canon 160 specified that the guidelines for the election of Roman Pontiffs are in the papal constitution of Pius X, *Vacante Apostolica Sede*, numbers 27-37. See Benedict XV, *The 1917 Code of Canon Law*, 75.

⁹ John Abel Nainfa, *Costume of prelates of the Catholic Church according to Roman Etiquette*, (France: John Murphy Company, 1926), 34.; The meaning of the scarlet red for Cardinals is stated when the Pope imposes the red hat on the Cardinal-designate during the latter’s elevation rites, “For the praise of Almighty God and the honor of the Apostolic See, receive the red hat, the special badge of the rank of a cardinal. By this, you are to understand that you must show yourself fearless, even to the shedding of blood, in making our Holy Faith respected, in securing peace for the Christian people, and in promoting the welfare of the Roman Church. In the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Ghost. Amen.”

*This is part of the author’s dissertation.

¹ GVO, “We’re Seeing Red—The Hat, We Mean,” *The Sentinel*, 13 December 1958: 4.

² “Mourning Period Set for Prelate,” *Manila Chronicle*, 1.

³ Aurelio B. Calderon, “Voices in the Woods,” *The Sentinel*, 12 March 1960: 2.





Contrary to the critics of the church, the Filipino public cannot demand the Holy Father to appoint one of the bishops as Cardinal. The discretion to elevate them to the Sacred College lies in the Pope's sole decision, subject to provisions of the 1917 Canon Law.¹⁰ Two world events hastened the Pope's bestowal of a red hat to the Philippines: the election of Pope John XXIII and the announcement of the opening of the Second Vatican Council, the 21st-century ecumenical council of the Catholic Church.

In 1959, Pope John XXIII was elected into office, and he celebrated a mass on the Feast of the Conversion of St. Paul on January 25, Sunday, in the Basilica of Saint Paul Outside the Walls. The Holy Father gathered the Cardinals in the Chapter House of the Monastery of San Paulo after the mass and delivered a formal speech, an allocution, where he expressed his dismay at the current spiritual decay of the 20th century amidst the proliferation of technological advancements. For John XXIII, there was an ongoing spiritual and moral decay that led to the ruin of nations. He stated that there is a need to recall the outdated doctrines to rekindle Christian fervor among Catholics. Then addressing the Cardinals as Brothers and Beloved Sons, he announced,

“...We pronounce before you, certainly trembling a little with emotion, but together with humble resolution of purpose, the name and the proposal of the double celebration: of a Diocesan Synod for the City, and of an Ecumenical Council for the universal Church.

“For you, Venerable Brothers and Our Beloved Sons, there is no need for copious illustrations regarding the historical and juridical significance of these two proposals. They will happily lead to the hoped-for and awaited updating of the Code of Canon Law, which should accompany and crown these two essays on the practical application of the provisions of ecclesiastical discipline, which the Spirit of the Lord will be

suggesting to us along the way. The forthcoming promulgation of the Code of Eastern Law gives us a foretaste of these events.”¹¹

The Italian version of this allocution reverberated throughout the world, summarized in one word, “*aggiornamento*,”¹² update. Thus, the call of John XXIII to revamp the Catholic Church teachings 89 years after its last Ecumenical Council took the world by surprise and was welcomed by ecclesiastical authorities.¹³

An ecumenical council is an assembly of all bishops and other church authorities to decide on questions of faith and dogma of the Catholic Church. It can only be convoked by the Pope.¹⁴ Cardinals, Bishops, theologians, and other church officials argue on questions raised prior to the sessions. Only the Cardinals, Archbishops, Bishops, Patriarchs, Primate, Abbots and Prelates, Abbots Primate, Abbots Superior of monastic Congregations, and supreme Moderators of clerical exempt religious are the members allowed for a deliberative vote.¹⁵ Decrees issued by Ecumenical Councils are implemented in the Catholic Church by the bishops in their dioceses upon papal promulgation.¹⁶

¹¹ The original Latin text is in Ioannis PP. XXIII, “SOLLEMNIS ALLOCUTIO AD EMOS PATRES CARDINALES IN URBE PRAESENTES HABITA, DIE XXV IANUARIII ANNO MCMLIX, IN COENOBIO MONACHORUM BENEDICTINORUM AD S. PAULI EXTRA MOENIA, POST MISSARUM SOLLEMNIA, QUIBUS BEATISSIMUS PATER IN PATRIARCHALI BASILICA OSTIENSI INTERFUERAT,” *Acta Apostolicae Sedis* 51 no. 2 (January 1959), 68-69.

¹² John XXIII's speech in Italian used the phrase, “Esse condurranno felicemente all'auspicato e atteso aggiornamento del Codice di Diritto Canonico.” The Italian translation, which was translated automatically to English by the internet browser, is provided by the Vatican's official website at https://www.vatican.va/content/john-xxiii/it/speeches/1959/documents/hf_j-xxiii_spe_19590125_annuncio.html.

¹³ John XXIII narrated that he initially expected that the reactions of the Cardinals present were approval and good wishes. On the contrary, the Cardinals were silent. They later explained that the silence meant they “could not find suitable words to express our unlimited joy and obedience. We are ready for work.” See “How idea of Convoking the Council Came about,” *Filipinas*, 26 May 1962: 1.

¹⁴ Canon 222 in Benedict XV, *The 1917 Code of Canon Law*, 94.

¹⁵ Canon 223 in Benedict XV, *The 1917 Code of Canon Law*, 95.

¹⁶ Canon 227 in Benedict XV, *The 1917 Code of Canon Law*, 96.

¹⁰ See Canons 230-241 in Benedict XV, *The 1917 Code of Canon Law*, 96-102.





Historically, there had been twenty ecumenical councils prior to John XXIII's announcement. The First Vatican Council was the last to be convoked by Pope Pius IX, which lasted from 1869 to 1870. It was an unfinished Council that was caught in the middle of the political turmoil of Italy as nationalists occupied Rome and the country underwent unification. From John XXIII's announcement, he did not intend to continue the First Vatican Council. It was clear that he wanted to make a path for the Universal Church in the modern world.

For the clamor of the Filipino people to have a Filipino Cardinal appointed by the Pope, a big surprise came at 7:30 in the evening of Thursday, 3 March 1960. The Vatican daily *L'Osservatore Romano*, via the official Vatican radio station, announced a breaking news: Pope John XIII elevated Rufino Santos and six other nationals to the College of Cardinals.

The news spread like wildfire in the city of Manila. Santos heard the news himself over the radio, but he refused to believe it until the Apostolic Nuncio notified him.¹⁷ He received the official notice from the Apostolic Nunciature before midnight.¹⁸ Immediately after the Vatican announcement, Santos expressed his gratitude and appreciation to the Holy Father, "...I accept this honor bestowed on the Philippine Nation. I am conscious of the added responsibilities of this exalted position to which the Holy Father has elevated me, and therefore, I am asking the prayers of our faithful for the fruitful and successful apostolate in this new office."¹⁹ By accepting the Pope's nomination, Rufino Santos was called Cardinal-designate until his solemn investiture.

¹⁷ Estanislao Alberto, "Santos Named 1st Filipino Cardinal," *Manila Chronicle*, 4 March 1960, 2.

¹⁸ "P.I. Acclaims Cardinal," *The Sentinel*, 12 March 1960: 1.

¹⁹ "Cardinal Issues First Statement," *The Manila Times*, 4 March 1960: 1.

The nation was jubilant. Newspapers bannered their front pages with the acclamation of the Filipino people. *The Sentinel* led their 12 March 1960 issue with "P.I. Acclaims Cardinal." *Manila Chronicle* stated that "Nation hails appointment of P.I. Cardinal."²⁰ *The Manila Times* was ecstatic, "Santos is Cardinal!"²¹ *Manila Bulletin* highlighted President Garcia's comments on the event, "Msgr. Santos Named First P.I. Cardinal; Garcia Hails Event."²² Overseas, *The New York Times* wrote a biographical sketch of Santos along with the six other Cardinal-designates.²³ In Villa San Miguel, well-wishers included close friends, members of the Knights of Columbus, Daughters of Isabella, the different Catholic Action units, and the general public.²⁴

President Carlos P. Garcia was in Baguio when the news broke. This did not hinder him from calling Cardinal-designate Santos in Villa San Miguel to express his congratulations.²⁵ In a press statement, President Garcia called the occasion as an event for "national rejoicing and thanksgiving. It is a recognition of the prominent position the Philippines is occupying in the Catholic world and a manifestation of the Holy Father's paternal love for the Filipino people."²⁶ Fellow Pampanga native Vice President Diosdado Macapagal said that the appointment of Santos into the Cardinalate is a blessing to the Filipino people to, "enhance their zeal in keeping the nation on the side of God and freedom in the ideological turmoil that assails mankind and uplift our people morally, and immensely in our task of nation-building."²⁷ The Philippine

²⁰ "Nation hails appointment of P.I. Cardinal," *Manila Chronicle*, 5 March 1960: 1.

²¹ "Santos is Cardinal," *The Manila Times*, 4 March 1960: 1.

²² "Msgr. Santos Named First P.I. Cardinal; Garcia Hails Event," *Manila Bulletin*, 4 March 1960: 1.

²³ "Sketches of Six of the Cardinal-Designates," *The New York Times*, 4 March 1960: 3.

²⁴ "Congress hails new Cardinal," *The Manila Times*, 5 March 1960: 2. *The reporter estimated the crowd at 10,000, but this is most likely a hyperbole.*

²⁵ "P.I. Acclaims Cardinal," *The Sentinel*, 1.

²⁶ "Msgr. Santos Named First P.I. Cardinal," *Manila Bulletin*, 11.

²⁷ "Garcia, Veep hail elevation," *The Manila Times*, 4 March 1960: 1.





Congress followed suit in congratulating Rufino Santos. Rep. Salvador L. Mariño filed a resolution thanking Pope John XIII for appointing the first Filipino to the College of Cardinals.²⁸ Manila Mayor Arsenio Lacson and the City Municipal Board extended their congratulations, too.²⁹ Religious congregations, Catholic schools and universities, Parish Pastoral Councils, and numerous companies sent their greetings via newspaper advertisements.³⁰

Among the six cardinal-designates were the first Japanese Cardinal, Peter Tatsuo Doi; Laurian Rugambwa of Tanganyika, the first African Cardinal; Bernard Jan Alfrink of The Netherlands; Joseph Lefebvre of France, and Luigi Traglia of Italy.³¹ Two names were not publicly released and to be announced in a later date in what the Vatican calls an appointment “*in pectore*.”³² The members of the College of Cardinals numbered to 85 in March 1960³³ and it exceeded the limit of 70 that was set by Pope Sixtus V.³⁴ Pope John XXIII chose not to follow this limit as he saw the need to expand the ecclesial authority in Asia and Africa. For the Pope, it was a fulfillment of Christ’s promise and to ensure that his vision of unity and peaceful strength would be exhibited during the Ecumenical Council sessions.³⁵ The bestowal of the red hat in areas outside Europe

is also a reflection of the Pope’s vision that the Catholic Church will grow in mission territories or areas outside Europe where the Church must evangelize. In the Philippine context, *Manila Chronicle* worded it perfectly: the ultimate reckoning that “the native clergy is the mainstay of the Church in far-off lands.”³⁶

Rufino Santos was a young church official to be appointed a Cardinal at 51 years old. Msgr. Justino Ortiz, one of the three advisers of the Cardinal-designate, said that there were five factors that made Santos the choice for the position: the reconstruction of the Manila Cathedral, the founding of the Catholic Charities, the creation of the Pius XII Catholic Center, responsible in the founding of a Filipino college in Rome, and the founding of the militant Catholic newspaper, *Filipinas*.³⁷ This statement confirmed the *Manila Chronicle* report that “younger Cardinals and members of the Holy See staff” backed Santos for “his ability as administrator and rejuvenator of Catholic Action and seminaries.”³⁸ The leadership and administrative acumen that Santos showed in a short time after his installation as Archbishop of Manila put him at an advantage as the obvious choice over older and more experienced bishops.

The solemn investiture of a bishop to the cardinalate consisted of four consistories, all of which are to occur in the Vatican.³⁹ The first part is a secret consistory where the Pope proclaims the names of the new Cardinals before the other members of the College of Cardinals. This is the stage when the creation of the new Cardinal

²⁸ “Congress hails new Cardinal,” *The Manila Times*, 1.

²⁹ “Msgr. Santos Named First P.I. Cardinal,” *Manila Bulletin*, 1.

³⁰ See *The Sentinel*, 12 March 1960: 1-17.

³¹ “Santos is Cardinal,” *Manila Times*, 10.

³² “Cardinal Santos airs message to PI,” *Manila Chronicle*, 30 March 1960: 10. The practice of delayed announcement of the names of these Cardinals is to protect them from possible persecution.; The *Acta Apostolicae Sedis (AAS)* listed additional names for the Cardinalate who were announced in the first secret consistory of March 28: Paulo Marella and Antonio Bacci of Italy. See “CONSISTORIUM PUBLICUM,” *AAS* 52, no. 1 (7 May 1960), 332-333.

³³ “The Sacred College of Cardinals,” *The Catholic World in Pictures*, May 30, 1960: 1-2, <https://jstor.org/stable/community.32151726>.

³⁴ The papal Bull *Postquam Verus* of Pope Sixtus V issued on 3 December 1586 specified that there should be six cardinal-bishops, 50 cardinal-priests, and 14 cardinal-deacons. See *The Catholic Encyclopedia*, vol. 14., s.v. “Sixtus V.”

³⁵ John XXIII’s exact statement was, “Oh, what a spectacle the world will see during the approaching consistory when these new cardinals from the various continents will don the Roman purple! Spectacle of Catholicism, union, and peaceful strength, which moves our spirit for the continuous realization of the promise made by Jesus Christ: ‘and they will come from east and west, north and south, and they will sit down in the kingdom of God.’” See “New Cardinals elevated,” *The Sentinel*, 2 April 1960: 1.

³⁶ “A Filipino Cardinal,” *Manila Chronicle*, 4 March 1960: 4.

³⁷ “P.I. Jubilant Over Cardinal,” *Manila Bulletin*, 5 March 1960: 13.

³⁸ Alberto, “Santos Named 1st Filipino Cardinal,” *Manila Chronicle*, 2.

³⁹ The preceding section is summarized from “Cardinal-Elect, Party Depart for Vatican,” *Sentinel*, 19 March 1960: 1 and 16; Justo N. Lopez, *The Creation of the First Filipino Cardinal*, (Manila: no publisher indicated, 1960) 9-29. Lopez is a member of the Honorary Chamberlain with Cape and Sword, and therefore, he is required to serve at least for a week during official events of the Pope or liturgical ceremonies. He was familiar with Vatican officials, procedures, and protocols and was an eyewitness to the three consistories where Rufino Santos was made a Cardinal. -Author





takes place. The Pope then asks the Cardinals present for their opinion on the appointment, and the latter give their consent by removing their red skull caps, the *zuchettos*, when the name is read. This gathering is not open to the public, and only the Pope and the Cardinals are present in the deliberations. Traditionally, the Cardinal-designates do not attend this meeting. For the first Filipino Cardinal, their first secret consistory happened on 28 March 1960, 9:30 AM. Rufino Santos was proclaimed as a cardinal-priest.⁴⁰ After this session, Santos earned the title Cardinal-elect.

The second stage is a semi-public consistory of the Cardinal-elect with his selected audience as he receives the *biglietto* or the official note that informs him of his election as a prince of the Church. The venue of this event for Cardinal-elect Santos was the Convent of Sta. Sabina at 10:30 AM of March 28, an hour after the secret consistory. Nearly two hundred Filipinos and foreigners gathered to witness the opening of two big envelopes delivered by the Pope's messenger, Very Rev. Msgr. Valerio D. Valeri. Together with his entourage, Valeri went directly to the throne where Santos sat and handed the papal documents to the former.

The first envelope was the official note, the *biglietto*, while the second was the Papal Bull. His Eminence Cardinal-elect Santos received both envelopes. He handed the *biglietto* to Bishop Juan B. Velasco, OP and the papal bull to Msgr. Domingo J. Librea. They read the contents aloud to the audience. Msgr. Valeri delivered a congratulatory address on behalf of the Pope and the Vatican Secretary of State. Cardinal-

elect Santos responded in an extemporaneous Thanksgiving speech choked with emotions. He stated that he was "profoundly moved at his happiest of events" and then he expressed gratitude for the honor granted to the Philippines and his "humble person." Santos also pledged the "faithfulness, obedience, and loyalty" of Filipino Catholics.⁴¹

The attendees then paid homage to the Cardinal-elect by kissing his ring and congratulating him. They included his close relatives, the Philippine ambassador to the Vatican, bank presidents, a former ambassador, and prominent Church laymen.

Two days after, on 30 March 1960,⁴² the extension of the semi-public consistory was held. It was during this occasion that Cardinal-elects were imposed with their red birettas, an ecclesiastical square cap with three horns and a small loop of strings in the middle. They also received their red *mozetta* and *zuchettos* or skullcaps on the same day.

Shouts of "Mabuhay" greeted the entrance of the Pope at the Hall of the Benediction by Filipinos who were present to witness the occasion. Among those sitting first row in this event were Vice President Diosdado Macapagal, the Cardinal's family, Ambassador Jose Maria Delgado and family, Bishop León (Miguel) Angel Olano, O.F.M. Cap. Olano, and Bishop Alejandro Olalia. The audience was carefully selected by the Cardinal-designates.

The ceremonies began as soon as the Holy Father was seated on his throne. The master of ceremonies called the new Cardinals one by one.

⁴⁰ John XXIII, "ADDRESS OF THE HOLY FATHER JOHN XXIII TO THE SACRED COLLEGE ON THE OCCASION OF THE CONSISTORY Monday, March 28, 1960," *The Holy See*, Accessed February 9, 2023, https://www.vatican.va/content/john-xxiii/es/speeches/1960/documents/hf_j-xxiii_spe_19600328_concistoro.html. The Latin version was automatically translated to English by the internet browser. The printed Latin is in Ionnis PP. XXIII, "CONSISTORIUM SECRETUM," *AAS* 52, no. 5 (7 May 1960), 321-327.

⁴¹ "Santos Vows PI Loyalty to Pope," *The Manila Times*, 29 March 1960: 8.

⁴² Maria K. Katigbak, "Red Carpet Awaits Cardinal," *Sentinel*, 9 April 1960: 1. Lopez erroneously stated the date as March 23 of the imposition of the biretta.



“Then each one, after three simple genuflections, approached the throne and, kneeling, kissed the cross of the right red Sandal and the hand of the Holy Father from whom he received the mozetta...Then His Holiness placed the biretta on the head of the new Cardinal and embracing him, congratulated him effusively.”⁴³



AT THE SEMI-PUBLIC CONSISTORY. His Holiness imposing the biretta on His Eminence. Looking on are Mons. Nasalli Rocca, Mons. Dante and Mons. Gemmiti.

Figure 1. Pope John XXIII imposes the biretta on Rufino Santos during the semi-public consistory.⁴⁴

Pope John XXIII addressed the crowd after the imposition of rites. He emphasized that the novelty of the Cardinalate See in Japan, Philippines, and Tanganyika was welcomed by the world. Catholics expressed their “most

festive and applauding echoes” through the press and radio.⁴⁵ He also requested those present to tell their people, in particular, those from Tokyo, Manila, and Rutabo, that the Pope loves them.⁴⁶ Thus ended the semi-public consistory which is the second stage of the solemn investiture in being a Cardinal.

The third stage is a public consistory at St. Peter’s Basilica when new cardinals approached the papal throne to receive the galero, a broad-rimmed red felt hat with two sets of tassels, the traditional insignia of the Cardinals. This is the only event in the solemn investiture that is open to the general public.



Figure 2. Rufino Cardinal Santos walks toward the papal throne in full regalia.⁴⁷

The following day, March 31, at 9:30 in the morning, the Holy Father came with his entourage to St. Peter’s Basilica. The crowd shouted, “Viva il Papa”, as he gave the blessing

⁴⁵ John XXIII, “ADDRESS OF THE HOLY FATHER JOHN XXIII ON THE OCCASION OF THE IMPOSITION OF THE CARDINAL BERETTA,” *The Holy See*, accessed February 9, 2023, https://www.vatican.va/content/john-xxiii/it/speeches/1960/documents/hf_j-xxiii_spe_19600330_beretta.html. The Italian text was automatically translated by the internet browser.

⁴⁶ John XXIII, “ADDRESS ON THE OCCASION OF THE IMPOSITION OF THE CARDINAL BERETTA.”

⁴⁷ “New Cardinals Approach Throne at St. Peters,” *Sentinel*, 9 April 1960: 8.



upon his entrance. Pope John XXIII sat on his throne and settled the ceremonies for the petition for canonization of a Spaniard saint. Meanwhile, the new Cardinals were in a separate chapel where they made their prescribed oath.⁴⁸

The petition was interrupted when the new Cardinals entered. Cardinal Santos wore his *cappa magna*, its full length splayed on the carpeted floor that it required a gap of a few meters, among the cardinals in solemn procession. Santos approached the papal throne, made the required “three deep reverences, kissed the cross of the right Sandal and the hand of the Holy Father”, who received the accolade. Santos was accompanied to the benches of the other Cardinals for “the exchange of embrace and kiss of peace.”⁴⁹

The petition for the Spanish saint continued. When it was done and the Holy Father was notified that the petition was in accord with the requirements of Canon Law, the imposition of the *galero*⁵⁰ began. The order of imposition was according to the date of creation, and Cardinal Santos was the sixth.⁵¹ He knelt in front of the Pope when it was his turn. Then the Pope, assisted by other Cardinals, placed on Santos’ head the red *galero* while pronouncing the sacred formula,

“To the honor of the Almighty God and the ornament of the Holy Apostolic See, receive the red hat, a particular emblem of the Cardinalial dignity, which means that you must show fearlessness in the work for the exaltation of the Holy Faith, the peace and the tranquility of the Christian people,

the conservation and increase of the Holy Roman Church, even including the shedding of blood. In the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Ghost. Amen.”⁵²

When the Pope finished the imposition to eight Cardinals, he gave his Apostolic Blessing and then left the same way he entered, through his portable throne or the *sedia*. Meanwhile, the new Cardinals began a procession to the chapel—where they were housed prior to the ceremonies—the Chapel of St. Petronila, with the Papal Choir singing the *Te Deum*. At the verse *Te Ergo*, Cardinal Santos, along with the new cardinals, “prostrated themselves on the floor with their heads covered by the hood and remained thus until the end of the Thanksgiving Hymn.”⁵³ When the Dean of the Sacred College of Cardinals recited the prayer “super Electos Cardinales,” a second exchange of embraces among the Cardinals took place. Then, they proceeded to the Tomb of the Prince of Apostles for a short prayer.



Figure 3. Front page of the 5 April 1960 Manila Times supplement

The fourth and last stage of the elevation of the new cardinals is a secret consistory where the Vatican Secretary of State assigns them a titular

⁴⁸ Lopez, *The Creation of the First Filipino Cardinal*, 21.

⁴⁹ Lopez, *The Creation of the First Filipino Cardinal*, 22.

⁵⁰ The *galero* is a red, wide-brimmed hat with tassels that symbolizes the dignity of the cardinalate. It is conferred to newly-appointed Cardinals during one of the consistories that is required prior to his elevation to the College of Cardinals. Upon the Cardinal's death, the *galero* must be placed at the foot of the catafalque and then suspended from the ceiling above the Cardinal's tomb. See Nainfa, *Costume of prelates of the Catholic Church*, 106.

⁵¹ The order of creation is stated in “CONSISTORIUM PUBLICUM,” *AAS* (7 May 1960), 332-333.

⁵² Lopez, *The Creation of the First Filipino Cardinal*, 22.

⁵³ Lopez, *The Creation of the First Filipino Cardinal*, 23.





church that they must take possession of before returning to their Metropolitan See. On the same day of the imposition of the galero, the Vatican Secretary of State Domenico Tardini (served 1958-1961) appointed Cardinal Rufino Santos as a member of the Congregation of the Clergy, Propaganda Fide, and the Fabric of Saint Peter. He was also the first Titular Cardinal-priest of the Santa Maria ai Monti.⁵⁴

Canon 231 §2 prescribed that the Pope will assign a titular church to all Cardinal-priests and Cardinal-deacons in Rome.⁵⁵ These are ancient churches that were formerly presided over by chief priests and deacons to which the newly elevated Cardinal must take possession, and therefore, must be installed. On 3 April 1960, His Eminence Rufino Cardinal Santos took part in the installation rites at the Roman church of the Our Lady of the Mount, an act of providence for the Cardinal who had been a devotee of the Blessed Virgin since his childhood days. Parishioners welcomed him and sent their good wishes.⁵⁶ Three days later, Santos was scheduled to return to Manila.

Throngs of people welcomed Cardinal Santos when he landed in Manila. The evening arrival time did not deter the crowd who wished to take a glimpse of the first Filipino to be bestowed with a red hat.⁵⁷ Policemen, security officers, army, and navy units had to form a human cordon to secure the Cardinal who was welcomed by a red carpet and an honorary 19-man gun salute, which according to President Carlos Garcia is due to him as a Filipino dignitary of the Vatican.⁵⁸ Mayor Arsenio Lacson also presented to Cardinal Santos the symbolic

keys to the city of Manila.⁵⁹ Responding to the warm welcome of the people, Cardinal Santos thanked the Filipinos, as his designation was not a coincidence, "It is you, my people, who have built a name for the country as a Catholic nation by your activities."⁶⁰ Filipino Catholics in return, attended his first public mass as a Cardinal at the Araneta Coliseum, 24 April 1960.⁶¹

The elevation of Santos to the cardinalate changed his perspective as an administrative leader of the Catholic Church in the Philippines. Compared to his actions prior to his elevation as Cardinal, in particular, during the debates for the Rizal bill, Rufino Santos advocated for Church-State unity to shepherd the Filipinos. Gone was the Santos, who regularly opposed the government, asserted the Church's authority, and compelled the Catholic Action groups to act on behalf of the Church a few years before. The complete turnaround is due to the appointment of Cardinal Santos to seats in the Roman Curia, the Vatican's administrative headquarters.⁶² He was a member of the Sacred Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith, Sacred Congregation of Religious, and the Sacred Congregation of the Basilica of St. Peter. Santos, along with other cardinals, was to advise the Pope on matters of bishop appointments in Asia and Africa, on religious congregations and their third orders of laity, and the maintenance of the physical structure of St. Peter's basilica.⁶³

The dignity of his office as a prince of the Catholic Church made Cardinal Santos cooperate with the national government. He continued to advocate for Catholicism as a weapon to "eliminate from our land the red

⁵⁴ Segreteria Di Stato, "DIARIUM ROMANAE CURIAE," *AAS* (7 May 1960), 365.

⁵⁵ Benedict XV, *The 1917 Code of Canon Law*, 96.

⁵⁶ Lopez, *The Creation of the First Filipino Cardinal*, 29.

⁵⁷ "Joyful Throng Hails Cardinal," *Manila Times*, 9 April 1960: 1. *The reported crowd estimate was 20,000, but Sentinel and Manila Times did not cite their sources. -Author*

⁵⁸ Joyful Throng Hails Cardinal," *Manila Times*, 16-A.

⁵⁹ [PHOTO], *Manila Times*, 9 April 1960: 1.

⁶⁰ "Cardinal Cites Responsibility of PI Catholics," *Manila Bulletin*, 9 April 1960: 1.

⁶¹ "Cardinal to Say Mass at Araneta Coliseum," *Sentinel*, 16 April 1960: 1.; [PHOTO], *Sentinel*, 30 April 1960: 1.

⁶² "Cardinal Santos Gets Key Vatican Posts," *Sentinel*, 23 April 1960: 1.

⁶³ "Cardinal Santos Gets Key Vatican Posts," *Sentinel*, 1.





shadow of godless ideologies which have long threatened it.”⁶⁴ In his testimonial banquet at the Manila Hotel, Santos moved for a plan where both the Church and State work together for the welfare of the nation. He slapped his critics with his argument that religious institutions who maintain businesses were not for profit but to support the “poor parishes, seminaries, and charitable works.”⁶⁵ A month later, Cardinal Santos wrote to Education Secretary Jose Romero that he authorized the church collections of one Sunday in June 1960 to be the contribution of the faithful of the Archdiocese of Manila for the ongoing construction of the Rizal Shrine in Luneta. This was the second batch of collections of the Archdiocese since the Archdiocesan Catholic Schools and Colleges turned over their donations to the Jose Rizal National Centennial Commission through the Catholic Educational Association of the Philippines.⁶⁶ As chairman of the Jose Rizal Centennial Commission, Secretary Romero thanked the Cardinal for his “noble action” and expected Filipinos to awaken to this new sense of responsibilities so as not to forget the legacy of Jose Rizal.⁶⁷

With his elevation to the College of Cardinals, Rufino Cardinal Santos learned to walk the tightrope of being a Vatican dignitary and a pastor of his flock. He did not linger long on this newfound role as the preparations of the Archdiocese beckoned him to work with his fellow bishops in the Philippines to prepare the Filipino Catholics for the Second Vatican Ecumenical Council. Pope John XXIII has set the tides of change, and the newly invested prince of the Catholic Church must now steer the Archdiocese and its laity from Vatican I to Vatican II.

⁶⁴ “Cardinal Cites Responsibility of PI Catholics,” *Manila Bulletin*, 1.

⁶⁵ “Cardinal Calls for Church-State Unity,” *Sentinel*, 30 April 1960: 3.

⁶⁶ [PHOTO] Rufino Card. Santos to Secretary Jose E. Romero re: collection of campaigns for the Rizal Shrine,” *Sentinel*, 11 June 1960: 6.

⁶⁷ [PHOTO] Secretary Jose E. Romero to Card. Santos re: collection of campaigns for the Rizal Shrine,” *Sentinel*, 11 June 1960: 7.

II. THE CHALLENGE OF SHIFTING TO VATICAN II IDEALS

Two years after John XXIII’s initial announcement of an ecumenical council for the Universal Church, Rufino Cardinal Santos actively moved to support the conciliar sessions that would be called Vatican II. In his June 1961 circular letter to the priests, nuns, heads of Catholic schools and universities, religious communities, and Catholic Action units of the Archdiocese of Manila, Santos required the recitation of the Tagalog or English official prayer for the Ecumenical Council by the priest together with the people “at each Solemn Benediction performed in any Church or Chapel.” He also instructed all priests to give a Homily regarding the pending ecumenical council at least once a month before its opening.⁶⁸ Through this circular, Cardinal Santos wanted to spiritually prepare his flock until the Holy Father opened the council. This was because the Vatican was also preparing the administrative machinery and themes to be discussed from 1959 to 1961.⁶⁹ On 2 February 1962, Pope John XXIII issued a *motu proprio* prescribing the date of the opening of the ecumenical council on the 11th of October the same year.⁷⁰ Two months later, Cardinal Santos flew to Rome to attend a series of meetings of the Central Preparatory Commission for the Second Vatican Council.⁷¹

The Catholic hierarchy in the Philippines was likewise occupied with the ecumenical council while Cardinal Santos was in Rome. The *aggiornamiento* call of Pope John XXIII resounded in the Catholic churches worldwide.

⁶⁸ Rufino Santos, “Circular Letter Re: Intensive Spiritual Preparation for the Ecumenical Council 31 May 1961” *Boletín Eclesiástico de Filipinas* 35, no. 396 (July 1961), 392-393.

⁶⁹ “Preparations for the Council” *Boletín Eclesiástico de Filipinas* 36, no. 410 (October 1962), 628-629.

⁷⁰ John XXIII, “Pope sets Opening of Ecumenical Council” *Boletín Eclesiástico de Filipinas* 36, no. 405 (April 1962), 221-222.

⁷¹ “Cardinal Off to Rome; Voting Machines Planned,” *Filipinas*, 5 May 1962: 1.





In the Philippines, it strengthened the ongoing liturgical revival movement triggered by Pope Pius XII that called for the active participation of the laity in the Catholic liturgy.⁷² Among the fruits of these papal instructions is the dialogue mass or *misang sagutan*. Bishops of the Philippines released their pastoral directives in the booklet, *We Go Up to the House of the Lord*. Active participation, according to this document, was classified into three: first, second, and third degrees of participation. There were also parts of the mass when the vernacular was used, but Latin was still the language used by the priest in the mass.⁷³ The Church hierarchy of the Philippines was enthralled that the faithful

“have their own part in the Liturgy, not a passive part like that of mere spectators of a drama, but an active part...So the intelligent participation of the faithful in the Liturgy is a need which springs from the very nature of Christian Liturgy which is an expression of the collective worship of the Christian community.”⁷⁴

The bishops’ statement is a breath of fresh air in a liturgy that alienated its own faithful. In a Vulgate Mass, the priest faced the altar while reciting the prayers. The mass attendees—men, women, and children who do not understand Latin—are left on their own devices as the priest droned his prayers. This led to the collective Filipino interpretation of how the Catholic faithful celebrated the Mass. Anscar Chupungco noted that despite the presence of translations of the liturgical prayers in the vernacular,

“The Mass was celebrated in the style of the baroque period, with choir and orchestra on special feasts and the ringing of church bells at the consecration. Holy Communion by the faithful was infrequent. The focus of the celebration was the elevation, when

the church bells were rung, the Spanish anthem was played outside the church, and firecrackers sounded to greet the Eucharistic King.”⁷⁵

In addition, Fr. Chupungco said that,

“It was a tradition that dated from the 16th century that the sermon was in the vernacular because it was for the instruction of the faithful. Until the reform of Vatican II, it had been commonly observed that men stepped out of the church during the sermon. Since the Mass was in Latin and there was no way to actively take part in it, women silently recited the rosary. Pictures of veiled women with the rosary in their hands depict the situation of this period. It was proverbial that some men entered the church only three times in their lifetime: at their own baptism, marriage, and funeral. The Roman Catholic Church in the Philippines was caricatured as the church of women and children.”⁷⁶

The Bishops of the Philippines welcomed the “return to the primitive forms of Christian piety,” the Mass would become a “living reality” where the laity “act the Mass and offer it together with the Priest.”⁷⁷

It was ironic that the local liturgical movement made progress when the first Filipino Cardinal was in Rome, preparing for the ecumenical council. Fr. Gerard Ellard, SJ, a doctor and professor of liturgy at St. Mary College in Kansas, hailed the issuance of Archbishop Rosales’ *We Go Up to the House of the Lord* as “giant steps in promoting the liturgical movement in the Far East” because it showed the “vivacity and dynamism of a young and dynamic Church.” Representatives of the parishes from the Archdiocese of Manila participated in a series of liturgical seminars to orient the laity on the nature of the *misang*

⁷² See Pius XII, “LITTERAE ENCYCLICAE,” *AAS* 37 (2 December 1947), 521-595. Pius XII, LITTERAE ENCYCLICAE, *AAS* 48, no. 1 (January 28, 1956), 5-25.

⁷³ Cesar Ymzon, “The Dialogue Mass,” *Filipinas*, 17 November 1962: 6.

⁷⁴ Julio R. Rosales, “On Liturgical Revival” *Boletin Eclesiastico de Filipinas* 35, no. 398 (September 1961), 531.

⁷⁵ Anscar J. Chupungco, “The Liturgical Reform of Vatican II: The Philippine Experience” *Asian Perspectives in the Arts and Humanities* 1, no. 2 (2011): 87.

⁷⁶ Chupungco, “The Liturgical Reform of Vatican II,” 87.

⁷⁷ Rosales, “On Liturgical Revival” *Boletin Eclesiastico de Filipinas*, 531 and 533. *Emphasis was done by Julio Rosales. -Author*





sagutan.⁷⁸ Justo N. Lopez, Honorary Papal Chamberlain with Sword and Cape, seconded this acclamation and described the document as, “very well defined and explained.” He also suggested that the ecumenical council should adopt some parts of the Mass in the vernacular, the reading of the Epistle and Gospel in the vernacular, and the mass Celebrant should face the people.⁷⁹

Prior to his departure from the Vatican, Cardinal Santos called the Second Vatican Ecumenical Council as Pope John XXIII’s act for the “total rejuvenation of mankind, united as one single family, for a healthy, holy, and perpetually joyful living.”⁸⁰ It was a vague statement of an assembly that, in the words of Archbishop Julio Rosales aimed at, “strengthening of faith, the renewal of morals, the adaptation of Church law to the changed conditions of the times, and the return of our separated brethren to unity.”⁸¹ Rosales communicated in clear and concise words Pope John XXIII’s intention in convoking the ecumenical council as explained in the papal encyclical, *Ad Petri Cathedram*.⁸² Rosales was the head of the Catholic Welfare Organization (served 1961-1965) and the shepherd of the Archdiocese of Cebu. After the Rizal bill fiasco with Senator Recto, Rufino Santos relieved himself of the leadership of the Catholic Welfare Organization and focused on the post-war reconstruction of the Manila Cathedral, the establishment of the Pope Pius XII Catholic Center, and the strengthening of the Catholic Charities. Cardinal Santos was silent on the developments of the liturgical movement in the Archdiocese of Manila though he was consistently vocal on what he had said since

his elevation that Catholicism can stamp out Communism. For the Cardinal, it was important for the faithful to pray for the Blessed Virgin’s intercession through prayers that called for the Blessed Virgin’s intercession and emulation of her virtues.

THE CHALLENGE OF PRESERVING TRADITION DURING THE VATICAN II SESSIONS

Rufino Cardinal Santos’s indirect disapproval of the liturgical revival movement, one of the progressive themes of the ecumenical council was prominent during his participation in the four sessions of Vatican II. As a Council Father, he left for Rome anew on 14 September 1962, a month before the opening of sessions. Other bishops of the Philippine Church hierarchy followed suit, while auxiliary bishops had the option to decline “if their presence in the home diocese is essential.”⁸³ When the Council opened the first session on 11 October 1962, Auxiliary Bishop of Manila Pedro Bantigue instructed all priests in the Archdiocese of Manila to ring the church bells in a simultaneous uniform number of pealing and intervals that hoped to direct the Catholic faithful to pray for Cardinal Santos and the other bishops gathered in Rome for divine inspiration.⁸⁴

Forty-nine (49) persons from the Philippines attended the four sessions of the Second Vatican Ecumenical Council. Top of the list is Rufino Cardinal Santos of Manila. Accompanying him are 10 archbishops, 37 bishops, and one lay observer, Jose Ma. Hernandez, the Editor-in-Chief of the archdiocesan paper *Filipinas*.⁸⁵ Among the Filipino Council Fathers, Santos

⁷⁸ “Local Liturgical Movement Hailed,” *Filipinas*, 19 May 1962: 1.

⁷⁹ Justo N. Lopez, “Liturgy and the Laity,” *Filipinas*, 30 June 1962: 5.

⁸⁰ “An Easter Message,” *Filipinas*, 21 April 1962: 1.

⁸¹ Julio R. Rosales, “Bishops Pastoral Letter on the Ecumenical Council” *Boletín Eclesiástico de Filipinas* 36, no. 404 (March 1962), 164.

⁸² See John XXIII, “The Encyclical Letter, *Ad Petri Cathedram*,” *The Pope Speaks* 5, no. 4 (Autumn 1959), 359-383.

⁸³ “Cardinal Leaves for Rome Sept 14,” *Filipinas*, 8 September 1962: 1.

⁸⁴ Pedro Bantigue, “Ringing of Church Bells,” *Filipinas*, 6 October 1962: 2.

⁸⁵ James H. Kroeger, “Philippine Participation in the Second Vatican Ecumenical Council,” *Philippiniana Sacra* 42, no. 124 (January-April 2007), 173.





was among those who spoke the most—11 times—on different matters: liturgy, divine office, source of the Revelation, Mary and the Church, religious liberty, on the Church, and mission. Cardinal Santos was most passionate in discussing the role of the Virgin Mary.⁸⁶ He was also elected to the Doctrinal Commission on Faith and Morals.⁸⁷

Cardinal Santos intervened on the schema of liturgy twice⁸⁸, but it was Bishop William Duschak's statement that was picked up by the press. Born in Germany and a member of the Society of the Divine Word, Duschak spent 30 of his 59 years in the Philippines as a missionary and later, as the Apostolic Vicar of Calapan, Mindoro. Speaking at a press conference after the ninth day of the discussion on the liturgy, 5 November 1962, William Duschak proposed an ecumenical mass that is "simple, grand and monumental" but composed in Rome.⁸⁹ His proposed formula must be delivered in the vernacular with the priest facing the people. Addressing the Council Fathers who wish to preserve the Latin Mass intact, Duschak did not mince words:

"If men in centuries gone by were able to choose and create Mass rites, why should not the greatest of all ecumenical Councils be able to do so? Why should it not be possible to ordain that a new Mass formula be drawn up and with all due reverence, one that is suited to, desired, and understood by modern man, who lives in a world which is daily becoming smaller and more uniform?"⁹⁰

Progressive Council Fathers recognized that a simple, brief, and easily understood liturgy would lead to the laity's active participation, and

the way to do so is to conduct the liturgy in the vernacular.⁹¹ The Council Fathers, especially the African and Asian bishops, recognized that this concern is pastoral in nature and arises from the mission territories.⁹² However, European bishops and Cardinals remained undeterred and insisted on the choice of Latin given its precise and concrete phraseology.

The schema on the liturgy was discussed in length until the Pope intervened, and the matter was put on a vote on the 17th general congregation of the Council Fathers on 12 November 1962, a month after the opening of the First Session.⁹³ The result was: 2,162 votes in favor, 46 against. The approval rate of the schema on liturgy was 97%.⁹⁴ Changes were eyed in the Mass, but its full implementation would take time until the end of all Second Vatican Council sessions. Chief among these changes involve the promotion of the dialogue mass, the "brief but substantial sermons"⁹⁵, and the use of the vernacular in worship, subject to the decision of the bishops in an ecclesial territory.⁹⁶

Cardinal Santos' participation in the remainder of the sessions was in the assertion that there should be a separate schema for the role of the Blessed Virgin during the Second Session when the document *On the Nature of the Church* was discussed.⁹⁷ Santos debated with Franziskus Cardinal König of Vienna on the need to include the schema on Our Lady as a

⁸⁶ Kroeger, "Philippine Participation in the Second Vatican Ecumenical Council", 178.

⁸⁷ Teddy Buhain, "The Philippine Hierarchy at the Council Opening," *Filipinas*, 27 October 1962: 2.

⁸⁸ "The Council is in Session," *Filipinas*, 24 November 1962: 1.

⁸⁹ "Bishop Express Views," *Filipinas*, 17 November 1962: 1.

⁹⁰ Ralph M. Wittgen, SVD, *The Rhine Flows into The Tiber A History of Vatican II* (Illinois: Tan Books and Publishers, Inc, 1978), 38.

⁹¹ Vatican Press Office, "Report from the Ecumenical Council," *Boletín Eclesiástico de Filipinas* 37, no. 413 (January 1963), 33-34.

⁹² Xavier Rynne, *Letters from the Vatican City Vatican Council II (First Session): Background and Debates* (New York: Farrar, Strauss & Company, 1963), 106-113.

⁹³ Rynne, *Letters from the Vatican City*, 138-139.

⁹⁴ René Laurentin, "VATICAN II: REPORT ON THE FIRST SESSION." *CrossCurrents* 13, no. 4 (1963): 414. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/24457226>.

⁹⁵ "First Session Ends Dec 8 Changes in Mass, Sacraments Eyed," *Filipinas*, 17 November 1962: 1.

⁹⁶ National Catholic Welfare Conference, *Council Daybook: Vatican II, Session 1 (Oct. 11 to Dec. 8, 1962) and Session 2 (Sept. 29 to Dec. 4, 1963)* (Washington: National Catholic Welfare Conference, Inc., 2008), 121-122.

⁹⁷ Xavier Rynne, *The Second Session* (New York: Farrar, Strauss & Company, 1964), 166.





chapter of the schema on the Church or write a different council document altogether. Both princes of the church delivered their theses. The speech of Cardinal Santos was described by Yves Congar, OP as “VERY long”⁹⁸ that König’s speech was more applauded, especially by the younger bishops. The question was put on a vote on 29 October 1963 where “1,114 voted in favor of including a revised Marian draft in the Dogmatic Constitution on the Church, and 1,074 voted against it.”⁹⁹

The next significant act of Rufino Cardinal Santos was when he voted in opposition to the reporting of “Chapter V on Religious Liberty” which was part of the schema on ecumenism or the restoration of Christian unity. Santos, along with four others, subtly identified themselves as a member of an “ultra-conservative coterie which had repeatedly held up or frustrated the work of a more progressive majority.”¹⁰⁰ By a vote of 18 to 5, the last chapter on the ecumenism theme was sent to the printer and was presented to the Council Fathers the following week.¹⁰¹ Henri Fesquet, a French journalist who covered the Vatican sessions noted that the “opposition is losing ground.”¹⁰²

It was clear that the Second Vatican Ecumenical Council was marked by an ideology battle of the conservatives versus progressives, and Rufino

⁹⁸ Yves Congar OP, *My Journal of the Council*, trans. Mary John Ronayne and Mary Cecily Boulding (Adelaide: ATF Theology, 2012) 393. *The capitalization is in the original text. -Author*

⁹⁹ Brian E. Daley, “Mary in the Ressourcement and at Vatican II,” in *Mary on the Eve of the Second Vatican Council*, ed. John C. Cavadini and Danielle M. Peters (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 2017), 49.

¹⁰⁰ Henri Fesquet, “At the Council’s Request, Paul VI Will Soon Specify How He Wants to Use the Bishops in Governing the Church,” *Le Monde*, 14 November 1963. The English version is available in Henri Fesquet, *The Drama of Vatican II: The Ecumenical Council, June 1962-December 1965* (New York: Random House, 1967), 223. Xavier Rynne verified this in *The Second Session*, 193. Rynne is the pseudonym of Fr. Francis Murphy, a Redemptorist priest who chronicled the Vatican bureaucracy during the Vatican II sessions in *The New Yorker* magazine from 1962-1965. The complete list of the opposing votes was Alfredo Cardinal Ottaviani, Michael Cardinal Browne, Rufino Cardinal Santos, Archbishop Pietro Parente, and Archbishop Ermenegildo Florit.

¹⁰¹ Milton Bracker, “Showdown at Hand in Council on Bishops’ Roles,” *The New York Times*, 11 November 1963: 15.

¹⁰² Fesquet, *The Drama of Vatican II*, 223.

Cardinal Santos was on the losing side. With the death of John XXIII on 3 June 1963, the College of Cardinals convened in a Conclave and elected a moderate leader who supported the vision of John XXIII. After a day and a half of elections, Giovanni Battista Cardinal Montini of Milan assumed the title Paul VI, the 263rd successor to the chair of St. Peter on 21 June 1963. The conclave that elected Pope Paul VI was the first one participated by a Filipino prince of the church.

The remainder of the Vatican II sessions from 29 September 1963 until its closing on 7 December 1965 were already led by Pope Paul VI. During this period, Cardinal Santos intervened on Article 27 of The Church in the World of Today¹⁰³ because, for him, the phrasing implied “that there are nations in which men are forced against their will to embrace the Catholic faith.”¹⁰⁴ During the Council’s fourth and final session, Cardinal Santos also spoke on religious liberty, the divine revelation and the theme on religious life.¹⁰⁵ Santos’ greatest accomplishment as Vatican II Council Father was his assignment as the cardinal-relator or the official person who reviewed the documents for Chapter VII of the schema *De Ecclesia* (On the Church).¹⁰⁶ His task was to review the written interventions by fellow Council Fathers for the paragraphs on the “people of God.” The final output is paragraph 15 of *Lumen Gentium*, one of the four constitutions of the Catholic Church produced by the Second Vatican Ecumenical Council.¹⁰⁷

¹⁰³ Also known as *Gaudium et Spes*.

¹⁰⁴ Xavier Rynne, *The Fourth Session: the debates and decrees of Vatican II* (New York: Farrar, Strauss and Giroux, 1966), 70.

¹⁰⁵ Rynne, *The Fourth Session*, 52, 70, and 133.

¹⁰⁶ Xavier Rynne, *The Third Session: the debates and decrees of Vatican II* (London: Faber and Faber, 1965), 114. Santos was assigned during the pontificate of John XXII, but the work concluded during the reign of Pope Paul VI.

¹⁰⁷ Jared Wicks SJ, *Investigating Vatican II: Its Theologians, Ecumenical Turn, and Biblical Commitment* (Washington: The Catholic University of America Press, 2018), 139-140.





The closing of the Vatican II sessions in 1965 brought dynamic changes in the Catholic Church, and Rufino Cardinal Santos had to deal with the challenge of introducing these reforms upon his return to the Philippines. In the remaining years of his stewardship, Cardinal Santos faced a progressive Catholic Hierarchy in the country as he regulated the newfound freedom that the ecumenical council introduced among his fellow bishops, the priests, and the laity.

III. THE CHALLENGE OF A CATHOLIC LITURGY IN THE VERNACULAR

The years 1964 to 1965 saw a series of events in the Philippines and in the Archdiocese of Manila that pushed for the full implementation of the liturgical reforms, particularly the use of the vernacular, then called Pilipino, in the holy mass. Active participation among the laity was highlighted in dialogue masses that were celebrated in the Philippines beginning in 1961, according to the new rubrics from the Holy See. Missals for the dialogue mass were published to guide the faithful on the proper flow of the responses.¹⁰⁸

The Constitution on the Sacred Liturgy or *Sacrosanctum Concilium* was promulgated on 4 December 1963, the closing of the First Session. The Bishops of the Philippines were quick to act on the challenge set by the Council Fathers. On their 10th annual meeting from 26 to 30 January 1964, the Catholic Welfare Organization created a new commission tasked to monitor the implementation of the liturgical reforms in

the country, the Commission on Sacred Liturgy, chaired by Bishop Lino Gonzaga of Palo, Leyte. His members included Archbishop Teopisto Alberto of Nueva Caceres, Archbishop Mariano A. Madriaga of Lingayen-Dagupan, Bishop William Dushack of Calapan, and Bishop William Brasseur, CICM of Mountain Province. Meanwhile, Rufino Cardinal Santos served as the Chairman of the episcopal commissions on the Apostolate of the Sea and of the Air and the Government of the Filipino College in Rome.¹⁰⁹

In principle, the Catholic Welfare Organization agreed on which reforms need to take place first. They created proposals that were sent to Rome for approval.¹¹⁰

As the Catholic Welfare Organization waited for the nod from the Vatican, it released the official English translations of the new decrees on the liturgy from the Sacred Congregation of Rites on 17 May 1964. The first English translation in the Eucharistic liturgy was for the administration of the holy communion when the priest will say, "The Body of Christ," and the faithful will respond, "Amen." The second change is the inclusion of the invocation, "Blessed be the Holy Spirit, the Paraclete," in the Divine Praises. This was placed eighth in the order of praises.¹¹¹ It is important to note that the decrees from the Vatican are in Latin, the official language of the Roman Catholic Church.¹¹²

Meanwhile, the laity were becoming impatient. On 26 July 1964, Martin Dinglasan of Paitan wrote to the editor of *Sentinel* to express his dismay at the slow implementation of the

¹⁰⁸ The April to December 1961 issue of the *Boletín Eclesiástico de Filipinas* had advertisements for a folleto of the "Misang Sagutan" and "Misal na Panlinggo," a mass in Latin but with parts in Tagalog. See also Ymzon, "The Dialogue Mass," 6.; Cesar Ymzon, "The Dialogue Mass (II)," *Filipinas*, 24 November 1962: 6.; and Excelso Garcia, *Misang Sagutan* (Manila: Corporacion de P.P. Dominicanos, 1958), cover page. *The copyright for this librito is 1958, but the Nihil Obstat was given in 1965.*
-Author

¹⁰⁹ "New Officials Chosen for Catholic Welfare Organization," *Sentinel*, 9 February 1964: 2.

¹¹⁰ "Changes in the Liturgy in our Time," *Sentinel*, 6 September 1964: 5.

¹¹¹ "CWO Releases Texts of New Decrees on Liturgy," *Sentinel*, 17 May 1964: 2.

¹¹² The Latin text is in Sacra Congregatio Rituum, "DECRETUM De nova formula in sacrae Communionis distributione," *AAS* 56 no. 5 (4 May 1964), 337-338.





liturgical reforms in the country, considering it had been seven months after the *Constitution on the Sacred Liturgy* was promulgated by the Pope. Dinglasan pointed out that when the liturgical revival movement reached countries like Australia, Indonesia, Belgium, Holland, Switzerland, Germany, parts of the USA, and Canada, they began steps towards celebrating the mass and administering the sacraments in the vernacular. The Philippine Hierarchy, it seemed, “hasn’t come out yet with any of the reforms desired by John XXIII (sic.) and Paul VI” because of “superconservatism.”¹¹³

The Editors of *The Sentinel* were quick to refute this claim. They argued that as early as 1961, bishops of the Philippines laid out the foundations for the liturgical reforms and enabled the laity to participate more during the celebration of the mass by introducing the dialogue mass. *Sentinel* asserted that while bishops have done their part, their directives do not cascade quickly to the parishes. As for the use of the vernacular, it was *The Sentinel* that first released the information that English and Spanish would be initially used, but the local languages would take time because of the “delicate translations of the Latin texts.”¹¹⁴

The following weeks saw a deluge of letters to the editors from readers who seconded Martin Dinglasan. Readers pointed out that while the Philippine Hierarchy took the initial steps after the publication of the booklet, *We Go Up to the House of the Lord*, the liturgical reforms stopped there. Leading the stunted reforms was the implementation of the liturgical innovation, where instead of facing the tabernacle, the priest faced the people during the mass. In particular, the Archdiocese of Manila, the seat of the Primate of the Philippines, did not implement

this change. Pending change at that time, too, was the vernacular administration of the sacraments and the “equal treatment of the poor and rich at baptisms, weddings, funerals, etc.”¹¹⁵ Another reader argued that the 1952 initiative of the Filipino bishops to reform the liturgy in the country was done prior to the Vatican II sessions and therefore did not count as a rebuttal to Dinglasan’s arguments.¹¹⁶ Meanwhile, a priest sent a letter to *The Sentinel* and defended the Philippine bishops and asserted that the delay in the vernacular translations was due to the “extreme diligence and care, rather than their lack of interest in the subject” as the country has quite a number of languages that will be considered for translation.¹¹⁷

The Editors of *The Sentinel* were silent for two weeks until one of the letter writers pointed this out. The editors’ response was carefully worded this time. They acknowledged the readers’ points of interest and then added that vernacular translations were not enough since they had “to be approved by Rome.”¹¹⁸ The editors aimed to end the exchange of arguments when they released their response and published a full-page section devoted to the changes in the liturgy, specifically what was expected and when it was expected to be implemented.¹¹⁹

¹¹⁵ “More on Liturgy, Movies, Sacristans,” *Sentinel*, 9 August 1964: 2.

¹¹⁶ “More on Liturgy, Movies, Sacristans,” 2.; During the December 1952 First Plenary Council of the Philippines, it was decided that the language of the liturgy would remain Latin. See the First Plenary Council of the Philippines, *Acta et decreta primi concilii plenarii insularum Philippinarum: Manilae a die VII ad diem XXV mensis ianuarii anno domini MDCCCCLIII celebrati*, (Manila: Typis Pontificiae Universitatis Sancti Thomae, 1956) 125.

Decree 353 reads, “Cum in universis Insulis Philippinis ritus latinus vigeat, sacerdotes nostri, in Missae celebratione, debent semper panem azymum adhibere ubicumque Sacrum litent.

Debent praeterea Missae sacrificium celebrare lingua latina ab Ecclesia probata; et, reprobata quavis contraria consuetudine, tenentur accurate et devote servare rubricas Missalis Romani et decreta easdem respicientia, atque cavere ne alias caeremonias aut preces proprio arbitrio adjungant.”

¹¹⁷ “We’re Behind in Liturgy, Counters Letter Writer,” *Sentinel*, 16 August 1964: 2.

¹¹⁸ “More on Liturgy and Editor’s Note,” *Sentinel*, 30 August 1964: 2.

¹¹⁹ Leo Vandromme, “Changes in the Liturgy in our Time,” *Sentinel*, 6 September 1964: 5 and 7.

¹¹³ Martin Dinglasan, “Letter to the Editor,” *Sentinel*, 26 July 1964: 2.

¹¹⁴ Editor, “We’re not behind in Liturgical Reform,” *Sentinel*, 26 July 1964: 2.





While the Archdiocese of Manila was among the dioceses that did not implement the initial changes as decreed by the Sacred Congregation of Rites in 1964 upon the revision of the formula and response during the communion, Visayan prelates began the translation of the liturgy in Hiligaynon. Archbishop Jose Ma. Cuenco gathered the Jaro Archdiocesan Liturgy Commission and organized a special committee that would translate the Latin liturgy, the New Testament, and the Old Testament to Hiligaynon. The Commission also aimed to draft prayers in Ilongo.¹²⁰

By November 1964, the Abbey of Our Lady of Montserrat priests in Manila, the Benedictines, who are known as the leaders of the liturgical reform movement, collaborated with Jose Maceda and organized a concert where the mass songs were translated into the vernacular. Dubbed *Misang Pilipino*, the concert featured songs where the Introit, Kyrie, Gloria, Sanctus, and the Agnus Dei were sung based on chants of the Mangyan, Kalinga, Bontoc, and Magindanaw.¹²¹ The composition bore the approval of Msgr. Jose Jovellanos, Vicar General of Manila. It may be used in community masses *ad experimentum*.¹²² Dom Benildus Ma. Maramba, OSB, explained that with the use of the national language and the simplest musical style, the Pilipino chant aimed to bring the Holy Sacrifice of the Mass to the heart and mind of every Christian Filipino.¹²³ The ultimate goal of the *Misang Pilipino* is to be adapted throughout the islands so that the native language of a locality is used in the songs when the mass is celebrated in their areas.¹²⁴

¹²⁰ "Visayan Prelates Urge Vernacular in Liturgy," *Sentinel*, 20 September 1964: 5.

¹²¹ "First Mass in Pilipino to Be Sung by Choir," *Sentinel*, 1 November 1964: 7.

¹²² The Benedictine Fathers, "The Filipino Chant," *The Spires* 6 no. 43 (1964), 58.

¹²³ Dom Benildus Ma. Maramba, "The Pilipino Chant," *The Spires* 6 no. 43 (1964), 45.

¹²⁴ Maramba, "The Pilipino Chant," 56.

Critics of the Archbishop of Manila were quick to conclude that it was Rufino Cardinal Santos' conservatism that hindered the introduction of liturgical reforms. One has to bear in mind that Cardinal Santos was a prince of the Church and a Council Father who participated in the four Vatican II sessions. His actions bear the semblance of the Vatican in implementing changes in the liturgy, the source, and summit of the Christian life. It is, therefore, imperative for Rufino Santos to wait for a decree from Rome authorizing the parts of the mass to be celebrated in the vernacular. In other words, Santos awaited the Vatican's response to the January 1964 proposals of the Catholic Welfare Organization of the Philippines regarding the implementation of the Constitution on the Sacred Liturgy in the country.

Santos did not wait long. On 26 January 1965, exactly a year after sending the proposal of the Philippine bishops to Rome, Giacomo Cardinal Lercaro, president of the Consilium for the Implementation of the Constitution of the Liturgy, released the decree confirming the use of the vernacular in selected parts of the mass. The vernacular languages allowed were Tagalog, English, Spanish, Cebuano, Ilocano, Bicolano, Kapampangan, Ilonggo, Samareño, Pangasinense, Visaya, and Hiligaynon.¹²⁵ During the mass, the vernacular was to be used, in song or reading, during the

- a. "Confiteor;
- b. Gloria, Creed, Sanctus-Benedictus, and Agnus Dei;
- c. Lessons, the Epistle, and the Gospel;
- d. acclamations, salutations and dialogue formulas;

¹²⁵ Giacomo Lercaro, "Consilium ad exsequendam Constitutionem de Sacra Liturgia Insularum Philippinarum" *Boletín Eclesiástico de Filipinas* 39, no. 436 (March 1965), 373.





- e. dialogue before the Preface, but not, for now, in the Preface itself;
- f. Lord's Prayer and its embolism;
- g. Collect prayer and post-communion;
- h. final blessing.¹²⁶

The decree also allowed the use of popular interpretation texts in English and Spanish for the holy mass but the Consilium preferred the approved text for the dioceses of the United States of America and Spain. As for the delivery of the Epistle and the Gospel in the vernacular, the Consilium decree allowed the popular interpretations of the Bible provided it was approved by the legitimate ecclesiastical authority of the Philippines.¹²⁷ Finally, the Consilium also allowed the vernacular in the administration of the sacraments provided nothing in its formula is omitted in the process of translation. The implementation of these changes should begin on the first Sunday of Lent, 7 March 1965.¹²⁸

It is relevant to understand that no ordinary layman or priest can supersede the parts of the liturgy that should be changed, nor can they decide on their own when the changes should take place. The competent authorities recognized in deciding on these matters are, in hierarchical order: The Pope, the Regional Episcopal Assembly or in the case of the Philippines—the Catholic Welfare Organization, and the Local Ordinary or the Bishop aided by the Diocesan

¹²⁶ Lercaro, "Insularum Philippinarum," 373. *This is an English translation of the Latin text from* "Liturgy Decrees Out," *The Sentinel*, 21 February 1965: 1. *The original Latin is as follows: -Auctor*

"1. In Missis sive in cantu sive lectis quae cum populo celebrantur:
 a) in Confiteor;
 b) in Gloria, Credo, Sancus-Benedictus et Agnus Dei;
 c) in Lectionibus, Epistola et Evangelio;
 d) in acclamationibus, salutationibus et formulis dialogi;
 e) in dialogo ante praefationem, non autem, pro nunc, in ipsa praefatione;
 f) in oratione dominica eiusque admonitione;
 g) in oratione collecta et post communionem;
 h) in benedictione finali.

2. In administratione sacramentorum formula essentiali minime exclusa."

¹²⁷ Lercaro, "Insularum Philippinarum," 373.

¹²⁸ "Liturgy Decrees Out," *The Sentinel*, 12.

Liturgical Commission. Decrees came from the highest authority and then cascaded into the bishop conferences of a country, who must decide which of the papal decrees must be put into effect and which must be put on hold. Finally, the bishop monitors the implementation of the liturgical reforms in his diocese and ensures that what is being done on the ground matches the vision and spirit of the Holy See.¹²⁹

It was not a surprise that the highest-ranking Catholic cleric in the Philippines immediately proceeded to act in accordance with the decree issued by the Filipino bishops of the Philippines. Rufino Cardinal Santos immediately issued a circular detailing the liturgical changes that he wished to implement in the Archdiocese of Manila on 11 February 1965. Notable in this document are Santos' specifications that there were provisions of the Instructions for the Proper Implementation of the Constitution of the Sacred Liturgy that, "in the meantime, cannot be carried out as yet, but will remain still subject to further study and action."¹³⁰ He included the use of the vernacular to this category. For Cardinal Santos, its use in the liturgy, the administration of the sacraments, and the recitation of the Divine Office are considered optional. Santos cited the "cosmopolite nature" in the cities of Manila, Quezon City, and Pasay that hindered him from implementing this change and the "fact that we have approved the unanimous resolution adopted by our Rt. Rev. Monsignori Vicars Forane requesting the non-use of the vernaculars within our Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction."¹³¹ The vernacular in the liturgy was

¹²⁹ "The New Mass," *The Sentinel*, 28 February 1965, 2.

¹³⁰ Rufino J. Santos, *Circular letter on Liturgical Renovation*, (Pasay City: Daughters of Saint Paul, 1965), 6-7.

¹³¹ Santos, *On Liturgical Renovation*, 7. *In 1965, there were three Right Reverends who were members of the Metropolitan Chapter of Canons: Jose N. Jovellanos, Vicente Fernandez, and Narciso Gatpayad. Another Right Reverend who served as the Cardinal's private secretary was Benjamin Mariño. The Chancellor was also a Right Reverend, Jose C. Abriol. Jesus Tison and Guillermo Mendoza were also Right Reverends who served as members of the Consilium Vigilantiae. It seemed that the Cardinal sought the advice of these seven senior priests on the matter of implementing the Instructions*





subjected to further study and adaptability as far as the Archdiocese of Manila is concerned despite the 26 January 1965 decree from the Vatican allowing ecclesiastical territories in the Philippines to implement this.

Rizal was part of the Archdiocese of Manila in 1965, but it was not covered by the ban on the use of the vernacular in the liturgy. Due to the provincial nature of its faithful, they are under the second category set by Cardinal Santos regarding the implementation of Instructions for the Proper Implementation of the Constitution of the Sacred Liturgy: “Matters which may be implemented only through special concession, and ad cassum.”¹³² Churches within the Archdiocese of Manila but not within the cities of Manila, Quezon, and Pasay may opt to use the vernacular, provided they obtained special permission from the Arzobispado and the latter only granted one after careful study. Santos also required that the proposed vernacular mass of a parish priest must follow the template, *Misa ng Bayan*, compiled by Rev. Fr. Sixto Ramirez.

In the same circular letter, Cardinal Santos deferred the change in the appearance of the altar. He allowed the main altars to remain attached to the walls but required churches built from 1965 onwards to have a free-standing altar that faced the people. In this way, Santos delayed the implementation of the celebration of the mass with the priest facing the people since compliance to all conditions set by Chapter IV no. 95 of the Instructions for the Proper Implementation of the Constitution of the Sacred Liturgy had not been met.¹³³

for the Proper Implementation of the Constitution of the Sacred Liturgy. See the Catholic Directory of the Philippines 1965, (Manila: Catholic Trade School, 1965), 137-141. -Author

¹³² Santos, *On Liturgical Renovation*, 7.

¹³³ Chapter IV no. 95 reads, “The most holy Eucharist shall be reserved in a solid and inviolable tabernacle placed in the middle of the main altar or of a minor but truly outstanding, altar, or, according to lawful customs and in particular cases to be approved by the local Ordinary, also in some other noble and properly adorned part of the church.

“It is lawful to celebrate Mass facing the people even if there is a tabernacle, small but suitable, on the altar.”

The delay was a double-edged sword. Cardinal Santos aimed to maintain the Latin language in the liturgy while preparing the vernacular translations. While there were existent Tagalog translations of the Latin rite, the Censor of the Archdiocese needed to examine these before granting the “nihil obstat” and “imprimatur,” the declarations that the document was printed free from doctrinal and moral error. Santos was careful in allowing the sudden change in the language of the liturgy as it would open the gates for priests to do liturgical experiments and deviate from the rubrics of the mass. When Cardinal Santos specifically instructed not to change the existing altars to a free-standing one, he exhibited his ecclesial authority to subtly depart from the Consilium’s instructions while struggling to maintain the status quo. Rufino Santos perceived himself to be the competent authority to carry out this delay to protect the sanctity of the liturgy from progressives, and in his perspective, he was correct in doing so, as he is the archbishop of Manila.

Advocates of liturgical reform supported the move by the Filipino bishops. The campus newspaper of San Beda College, *The Bedan*, published an article appealing to the public to welcome the changes and for the laity’s understanding of what the vernacular liturgy demands of the Catholic faithful.¹³⁴ The appeal came from the Abbey church that was designated by Cardinal Santos as the center of the Philippine liturgical movement.¹³⁵ After the publication of the *Pilipino Mass*, The Philippine Hierarchy commissioned the Liturgical Committee of the Abbey of Our Lady of Montserrat to “prepare a series of sermons for the use of parish priests and those in the mission lands” as the *Misang Pilipino*

¹³⁴ “How to Stop Worrying and Love the Liturgical Change,” *The Bedan*, 18 February 1965: 1. The article was reprinted in *The Sentinel*, 14 March 1965: 2.

¹³⁵ “Abbey church implements recent liturgical changes,” *The Bedan*, 20 April 1965: 4.





was approved by the clergy of the Philippines to be used in churches after 7 March 1965.¹³⁶ The Abbey Liturgical Committee was composed of Fr. Benito Afuang, OSB; Fr. Basilio Colasito, OSB; Fr. Isidro Otazu, OSB; Fr. Hildebrand Muñoz, OSB; Fr. Simon; Fr. Javier G. Ripa, OSB; Dom David, OSB; and Dom Anscar Chupungco, OSB.

The Bedan also covered events where the Benedictine monks of the Abbey of Our Lady of Montserrat in Mendiola initiated liturgical reforms such as the renovation of the altar¹³⁷ and the conduct of the daily concelebrated mass that began in August 1965. Prior to this initiative, priests in the Archdiocese of Manila concelebrate the Chrism Mass on Holy Thursdays.¹³⁸

The laity supported the liturgical reforms but it was not their desire nor their opinion that mattered in implementing it. The competent authority remained in the hands of the bishops and the Archdiocese of Manila. It was the decision of Cardinal Santos to wait and see what would be the next move of the Catholic Welfare Organization. In the eyes of the impatient laity, Santos was delaying the inevitable. However, the Cardinal chose not to act in haste and when any liturgical experiment was to be done, Santos ensured to consult other senior priests. This was most evident when he allowed the singing of the “Misang Pilipino” in the Abbey of Our Lady of Montserrat and the Arzobispado’s grant of requests for selected liturgical reforms among the parishes of the Archdiocese of Manila.

The Archbishop of Manila maintained this stance when the Catholic Welfare Organization, the official governing body of the Catholic Hierarchy in the Philippines, sent to Rome the

proposal for implementing the detailed parts of the liturgy, which should be in the vernacular and which liturgies should be in the vernacular right after Cardinal Lercaro approved the use of the vernacular in January 1965. Again, it took a while for the president of the Consilium to respond, but Giacomo Cardinal Lercaro sent his approval on 25 September 1965. Archbishop Julio Rosales, the outgoing president of the Catholic Welfare Organization in 1966, publicized Lercaro’s approval under the title, “Decree of the Philippine Hierarchy on the Use of Vernacular in the Liturgy.”¹³⁹ Figure 4 summarizes the parts of the liturgy that were approved to be in the vernacular in the two Consilium decrees released in 1965.

CONSILIUUM-APPROVED PARTS OF THE MASS IN VERNACULAR	26 JAN 1965 DECREE	25 SEPT 1965 DECREE
Confiteor;	X	X
Misereatur and Indulgentiam		X
Kyrie		X
Gloria, Creed, Sanctus-Benedictus, and Agnus Dei;	X	X
Antiphons at the Introit, Offertory, and Communion		X
Chants between the lessons		X
Lessons, the Epistle, and the Gospel	X	X
Prayers of the Faithful		X
Acclamations, greetings, and dialogue formulas	X	X
Formula at the Communion of the Faithful		X
Dialogue before the Preface, but not, for now, in the Preface itself;	X	
Preface and preceding dialogue		X
Lord’s Prayer and its embolism;	X	X
Collect prayer and after communion;	X	X
Oratio super oblata and Post-communion		X
Last blessing	X	X
Ite Missa est		X

¹³⁶ “San Beda Abbey girds for March 7 Lit. changes,” *The Bedan*, 18 February 1965: 1.

¹³⁷ “Abbey church implements recent liturgical changes,” 4.

¹³⁸ “Abbey initiates concelebration,” *The Bedan*, 13 September 1965: 8.

¹³⁹ Julio R. Rosales, “Decree of The Philippine Hierarchy on the Use of Vernacular in the Liturgy” *Boletín Eclesiástico de Filipinas* 40, no. 447 (March 1966), 190-194.





CONSILIIUM-APPROVED PARTS OF THE MASS IN VERNACULAR	26 JAN 1965 DECREE	25 SEPT 1965 DECREE
Good Friday and Holy Saturday liturgies		X
Administration of the Sacraments and Sacramentals except Holy Orders		X
Funeral Liturgy		X

Figure 4. Comparative Matrix of the Consilium-Approved Vernacular Parts of the Holy Mass

Archbishop Rosales echoed that the vernaculars to be used are Cebuano, Ilocano, Pangasinense, Hiligaynon, Kapampangan, Bicolano, and Samareño. English and Spanish may still be used, but the liturgies and approved breviaries by the North American and Spanish Hierarchy must be used. Lastly, Rosales instructed the regional bishops to submit to the Catholic Welfare Organization their new vernacular versions, presumably vernacular liturgies that are not in the approved languages, for approval of the Holy See. In the meantime, these bishops may avail the use of the existent approved vernacular missals to celebrate the holy mass.¹⁴⁰

Cardinal Santos is also a member of the Catholic Welfare Organization of the Philippines, and it did not escape his mind what direction his colleagues in the church wished to take. He issued a circular letter to urge the use of the vernacular in reading the Gospel in the Archdiocese of Manila in October 1965, a month after the issuance of the decree from the Philippine hierarchy on the detailed parts of the liturgy that should be in the vernacular. He reminded the faithful and the clergy to be calm and wait for specific directives as he already approved 30 requests on liturgical reforms in the Archdiocese since he issued the 11 February 1965 circular on liturgical restoration. Rufino Santos also

¹⁴⁰ Rosales, "Decree of The Philippine Hierarchy on the Use of Vernacular," 191-192.

prescribed one Tagalog translation to be used for the Epistle and the Gospel in the Archdiocese so that "only one translation into each vernacular should prevail in Our Archdiocese."¹⁴¹ This move is a reassurance on the Cardinal's part that he did not ignore the "stir and confusion" among the priests and the laity regarding the changes in the liturgy.¹⁴² What Santos aimed was unity and uniformity while gradually implementing the liturgical changes. Cardinal Santos explained in a forum that the Second Vatican Council's vision of reforms encompassed the Christian worship's return to ancient practices, however, local circumstances, conditions, and customs must be taken into account before the introduction of changes.¹⁴³

The Catholic Welfare Organization recognized Cardinal Santos' prudence in the gradual implementation of the directives of the Second Vatican Council. In their annual meeting of 1966, he was appointed the Chairman of the Episcopal Central Commission for the Implementation of the Decrees and Conclusions of the II Vatican Ecumenical Council. The main task of this body is to coordinate the other post-Conciliar Commissions in carrying out the changes brought by Vatican II. The bishops who assisted Cardinal Santos are Archbishops Julio Rosales, Juan Sison, Luis del Rosario, SJ, William Brasseur, CICM, Lino Gonzaga, Gerard Mongeau, OMI, Cornelius de Wit, NHM, and Mariano Gaviola.¹⁴⁴

Santos ensured that the laity was informed of the conciliar reforms. He organized a series of conferences about the documents of Vatican II where the laity had a dialogue with their pastors.

¹⁴¹ "Cardinal Santos Urges Vernacular in Gospel," *The Sentinel*, 17 October 1965: 9.

¹⁴² Santos, *On Liturgical Renovation*, 3.

¹⁴³ "Cardinal Calls for Renewal, Speaks on 'Family Planning,'" *Filipinas*, 5 March 1966: 6.

¹⁴⁴ "New Vital Commission Established," *The Sentinel*, 13 February 1966: 12.





The first of these was scheduled on 29 April to 1 May 1966 where the Dogmatic Constitution of the Catholic Church, *Lumen Gentium* was given focus.¹⁴⁵ It was a three-day event where Catholic laity from different walks of life—government employees and officials, businessmen, labor leaders, mass media groups, professionals, teachers, students, Catholic Actionists, and the religious—had the opportunity to listen to talks on how the *Lumen Gentium* is actualized in their lives. Each session lasted for 1 ½ to 2 hours and was held simultaneously in different venues in the Archdiocese of Manila: the Catholic Center, Filoil Auditorium, Ateneo Auditorium in Padre Faura, Assumption College in Herran, and the UST Medicine Auditorium.¹⁴⁶ Within six months, these dialogues expanded to the parishes.¹⁴⁷ However, the sessions in the parishes remained focused on *Lumen Gentium* as per the outline given by the Archdiocese of Manila.¹⁴⁸

Before the end of 1966, the laity of Manila welcomed Cardinal Santos' crowning achievement in encouraging the faithful to actively participate in a vernacular mass. The Archdiocese of Manila released copies of the missal booklets that published the Latin and official Tagalog translation of the liturgy, *Misa ng Bayan*, on 11 December 1966.¹⁴⁹ It was a product of Cardinal Santos' efforts to submit to the Vatican the Tagalog translation of the Holy Mass in behalf of the bishops of the Ecclesiastical Province of Manila. Giacomo Cardinal Lecaro approved it on 30 September 1966. The publication of the booklet was a step forward to the observance of Vatican II liturgical reforms on the vernacular liturgy, and the Archbishop of Manila wanted the priests

of the archdiocese not to go beyond what was intended. Cardinal Santos cautioned the priests of the Archdiocese against liturgical innovations that “bear no stamp of approval from the Holy See or the Local Ordinary.”¹⁵⁰ If the priests resort to the introduction of such changes, the result would be a glaring “lack of uniformity if not confusion.”¹⁵¹

CONCLUSION

In a sea of changes that confronted the 1960s, Rufino Cardinal Santos steered the Archdiocese of Manila to be in communion with the Universal Church while controlling the changes he intended to implement within his ecclesiastical jurisdiction. Santos recognized that succumbing to public pressure regarding liturgical and canonical matters is useless as any change must come from the top. That is, while bishop conferences may propose changes, they must be guided by the final documented approval from the Vatican.

As the laity and his fellow bishops pushed for immediate changes, Santos recognized that dabbling in the liturgy must be regulated. He repeatedly called for the laity to heed the bishops' permission prior to changing mass rubrics, including the challenge of creating a vernacular Catholic liturgy in the Philippines. However, when faced with a directive from the Vatican to implement liturgical changes, Santos complied. This is why he led the development of the official Tagalog translation of the mass to be used in the Archdiocese of Manila despite its imperfections in today's standard translation.

One must recognize Santos' prudence that while he sought to respond to the signs of the times,

¹⁴⁵ Rufino J. Santos, “Invitation” *Filipinas*, 23 April 1966: 1.

¹⁴⁶ “Programs for Dialogues' Group Meetings,” *Filipinas*, 23 April 1966: 5.

¹⁴⁷ “Dialogues' Urged to be held in Parishes,” *Filipinas*, 7 May 1966: 1.

¹⁴⁸ “Parishes to Conduct 'Dialogues,’” *Filipinas*, 23 July 1966: 1 and 6.

¹⁴⁹ “Ordinary of Mass in Tagalog, OK'd,” *Filipinas*, 17 December 1966: 1.

¹⁵⁰ “Cardinal Cautions Clergy, Laity Vs. Liturgy Novelties,” *Filipinas*, 7 January 1967: 1.

¹⁵¹ “Cardinal Cautions Clergy,” 1.





he was conscious of how his actions would leave a legacy as the first Filipino Cardinal of the Catholic Church in the Philippines. Rufino Santos maintained this outlook in the remaining years of his stewardship of the Archdiocese of Manila until Pope Paul VI subtly pushed him to fully embrace the Vatican II ideals in 1970.

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