

Letters of Marcelo H. del Pilar



**National Historical Commission
of the Philippines**

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OF
MARCELO H. DEL PILAR

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A COLLECTION OF LETTERS
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MARCELO H. DEL PILAR

Volume 1



NATIONAL HISTORICAL COMMISSION OF THE PHILIPPINES

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PROLOGUE

This book which is No. 20 in the series of national documents that the National Library has been publishing since 1930, was begun in the year 1939; but when the correction process was at its height, the Second World War reached the Philippines on December 8, 1941. Work had to be suspended, and during the Battle for Manila in February 1945, all the existing materials which were in the Government Press, as well as in the Library, were destroyed, including the originals of the letters, which had taken so much effort to gather from various sources.

In 1954, Dr. Jorge Bocobo, whose love and enthusiasm for our cultural and historical heritage prompted his frequent visits to the Library, surprised us one day when he informed us that he had in his possession a series of numbered galley proofs of Del Pilar's collection of letters, which had been reserved for his personal use in 1941. Dr. Bocobo was then the Secretary of Public Instruction.

The letters of Marcelo H. del Pilar in these galley proofs constitute the major part of those that are included in this volume. The rest of the volumes consist of six letters taken from the pamphlet *Buhay at mga Sinulat ni Plaridel*, published by Jose P. Santos; one from the biography of M.H. del Pilar written by Epifanio de los Santos and published in the *Revista Filipina*, Volume III, No. 10; another from *El Katipunan* of Jose M. del Castillo; and another 39 letters from the *Epistolario Rizalino*.

The second part of this collection that contains the letters to Chanay or Tsanay, as he called his wife Marciana, was already in the press. These letters reveal the patriot's intimate family life.

The National Library intends to publish all the writings of the Great Bulakeño, together with the articles and editorials published in the famous newspaper *La Solidaridad*, which Del Pilar edited in Barcelona first, and later on in Madrid with Graciano Lopez Jaena and Mariano Ponce in the years 1889 to 1895. It is a pity that we do not have all the copies of *La Solidaridad*!

The letters that appear in this book provide material of vital importance to the history of the Philippines. On one hand, they contribute to our knowledge of the exact political situation in the country during the last decade of the 19th century, since there is no doubt that what Del Pilar and his friends state in these letters are a clear and honest expression of the feelings and thoughts of the Filipinos in their struggle to obtain reforms.

On the other hand, these letters also provide us with an abundance of information on the authentic and exact roles that M. H. del Pilar and his colleagues, here and in Spain, played in attaining our desire to improve the nation. Lastly, these letters serve to broaden the ranks of those who had labored in the political field, persons we never knew about nor appreciated, by providing us with their names.

The Publications Section of the National Library is headed by Professor Jose P. Apostol, who is in charge of the research, selection and painstaking arrangement of the material. Nevertheless, it must be put on record that the editorial preparation of this volume was carried out mainly under the supervision of Professor Jaime C. de Veyra, who, although no longer connected with the government, still continues lending his valuable services to the National Library, particularly in relation to the publication of historical materials. Assisting him in this important task was Mr. Manuel Bernabe, who for a certain period was professor of Spanish at the University of the Philippines, newspaperman and national poet in Spanish. Mr. Bernabe was in charge of translating into Spanish the letter written by Del Pilar in Tagalog.

I hope that our youth, who should know our political history thoroughly, would read this book.

Director, Office of Public Libraries

MARCELO H. DEL PILAR
(Biographical Notes)

Marcelo H. del Pilar was born in the barrio of Cupang, Bulacan, on August 30, 1850. His parents were Don Julian H. del Pilar and Doña Blasa Gatmaytan (this family name belonged to the old Tagalog nobility). "Hilario" was the original surname of the family, but this was changed to the more distinctive "Del Pilar" due to the subsequent achievements of its progeny.

The young Marcelo received his early education from his uncle Alejo, who employed him as his clerk. He first learned Latin at the Flores school; later at the famous Colegio de San José, and finally received his law degree from the University of Sto. Tomas in 1880.

He married his cousin, Señorita. Marciana (who he referred to as *Chanay* in his private collection of letters), with whom he had four children, although Sofia and Anita are the ones most frequently referred to in his letters.

His vocation as a political propagandist originated with his association with the youth (J. Ner, S. Laurel, C. Gatmaytan and L. Manuel). He mastered Tagalog (of whose purity the Bulakeños are proud of), and proved his mastery of this language in his ability to use Tagalog in his political-religious satires, popularizing the *dupluhan* and *dalit*, particularly *Dasalan at tuksohan*.

In publications, he used the pen-name *Dolores Manapat*, *Piping Dilat*, etc., and specially *Plaridel*, a successful anagram of his name, which was adopted by his fans not only as the title of a publication, but even as the name of a town.

He initiated the campaign of the *Diariong tagalog* in 1882, the first attempt at a bilingual newspaper; and prepared to follow the destiny of his brother, the priest Toribio (who was exiled to the Marianas Islands), he found it expedient to exile himself to Spain. He arrived in Barcelona at a time when the Filipino residents there had organized themselves into the La Solidaridad Society that had begun publishing the 'fighting' newspaper of the same name,

which Del Pilar joined. He later transferred to Madrid, taking over the management of the newspaper from Lopez Jaena; this was the highest point of his life as a propagandist, and he maintained the newspaper's success and fame (1889-1896), despite the controversies and shortage of funds which hounded it, until the day he died in Barcelona on July 4, 1896. He passed away surrounded by a few of his countrymen, in a hospital ward for the impoverished. His remains were brought back to the Philippines in 1920 and laid to rest in a mausoleum for illustrious Filipinos.

Del Pilar was not only a part of a political trinity, with Rizal and Lopez Jaena, in the memorable era of our propaganda movement (being the instigator of the sensational Manifestacion of March 1, 1888, and the initiator of the idea of the *Katipunan*), but was, according to General Blanco, an enemy of Spanish sovereignty, more dangerous even than Rizal, because of his insight and cunning.

“...Tireless propagandist in the political struggle, formidable in his attacks, expert in his defenses, accurate in the strokes of his pen, unyielding in his arguments, whose knowledge and formidable intelligence commanded the respect even of his enemies, whom he had defeated more than once in contests of the mind.”

JAIME C. DE VEYRA

TRANSLATOR'S NOTE

This book contains a total of 128 letters written to and from the illustrious Marcelo Hilario del Pilar, starting from the year 1882 until 1894. The appendices include several letters and reports concerning the investigation conducted by the Spanish authorities on the activities that took place principally in Malolos, Bulacan during this turbulent period of our history.

It has been an arduous and painstaking task translating the letters from the archaic and flowery style of Spanish which was then in use, into English, in a style that is accepted by Filipinos speaking and writing English today. An attempt was made to capture as accurately as possible the thoughts, sentiments and opinions expressed by the various letter writers. It is hoped that the attempt is successful.

The text that is in brackets are the translator's words.

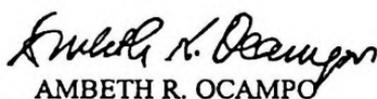
Maria Luisa Garcia
July, 2004

FOREWORD

Marcelo H. Del Pilar was, together with Mariano Ponce and Jose Rizal, part of the triumvirate that led the so-called Propaganda Movement in Spain. As editor of *La Solidaridad* he exposed the ills of Spanish colonial rule in the Philippines, up to its last issue in 1896. Short of funds and, perhaps, sensing the futility of their fight for reforms, Del Pilar decided to stop publication of *La Solidaridad* and return home to the Philippines and join the brewing revolution. But, sadly, he died in Barcelona, before seeing the land of his birth again.

Through his letters, we are able to piece together both his heroism and private life. While there are existing books about him, it is always illuminating to read the primary source- his correspondence translated from the original Spanish and Tagalog into English.

The National Historical Institute is pleased to make Del Pilar's correspondence available again to help place the hero in his proper place in the history of our nation, and his eminence in the fight for Filipino independence and enlightenment be appreciated.



AMBETH R. OCAMPO

Chairman

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- 123 From Rizal: Disgusted by Lete's attack.- "What beast has bitten you for you to attack me here, when I have not meddled at all in politics and only work to prepare a place of refuge and freedom for the Filipinos, devoting the rest of my time to writing." "This was my objective in creating the shadowy figure of Simoun, to show that those of the Sol are not filibusterers."- An article about Borneo.- Awaits satisfactory explanations. Hongkong, May 23, 1892. 232
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COLLECTION OF LETTERS
OF
MARCELO H. DEL PILAR*

I. DEL PILAR AS DEFENSE COUNSELOR
BEFORE THE ROYAL AUDIENCIA
1882 TO 1887

1. From Antonio Vivencio del Rosario

The Real Audiencia appoints D. Marcelo H. del Pilar as
Defense Counselor for the year 1882

D. Bernardo Fernandez, having completed today his 12-month term as Defense Counselor for the current year, the Illustrious President of the *Real Audiencia****, in a decree dated today, has appointed you to replace D. Fernandez, starting today until August 31.

By order of the Illustrious President, I am pleased to inform you accordingly, for your information and guidance.

May God grant you more years. Manila, March 11, 1882.

Antonio Vicencio del Rosario

To Mr. Marcelo Hilario del Pilar

* At the top left margin of each of these official communications, there is a seal which reads "Real Audiencia de Manila" and immediately below is the word "Secretaria." (Ed.)

**High Court of review and appeal.

2. From Antonio Vivencio del Rosario

Appointment as Defense Counselor from September 1, 1882, until March 11, 1883

The Illustrious President of this *Real Audiencia*, in a decree dated 16 of the present month, has extended your appointment as Defense Counselor from September 1, 1882 to March 11, 1883.

By order of the Illustrious President, I hereby transmit this to you, for your knowledge and guidance.

May God grant you more years. Manila, August 18, 1882.

Antonio Vivencio del Rosario

To D. Marcelo H. del Pilar

3. From Antonio Vivencio del Rosario

Del Pilar is relieved of his position as Defense Counselor of the *Real Audiencia* on March 12, 1883

His Excellency, the President of this *Real Audiencia*, in a decree dated today, hereby informs you that your term of office as Defense Counselor for the present year is at an end, having completed the designated period.

Transmitted to you for your information and guidance.

May God grant you more years. Manila, March 12, 1883.

Antonio Vivencio del Rosario

To D. Marcelo H. del Pilar

DEL PILAR IN MANILA

4. From Joaquin Escudero

In 1885, Del Pilar is relieved of his position as Defense Counselor of the *Real Audiencia*.

His Excellency and Illustrious President of this *Real Audiencia*, in a decree dated today, advises you that your term as Defense Counselor for the present year has ended, having completed the period assigned to you.

Transmitted to you for your information and guidance.

May God grant you more years. Manila, March 12, 1885.

Joaquin Escudero y Tascón

To D. Marcelo H. del Pilar, Lawyer

5. From Florentino Torres

Del Pilar replaces the lawyer Villareal as Defense Counsel in 1886.

Having completed today the term assigned to D. Bonifacio Villareal as Defense Counselor for the present year, the Illustrious President has decided to appoint you to replace Attorney Villareal, effective today January 5, 1886 until August 31.

I am pleased to inform you accordingly, for your knowledge and guidance.

May God keep you for more years. Manila, January 5, 1886.

Florentino Torres

To Señor D. Marcelo H. del Pilar, Lawyer

6. From Andres Avelino del Rosario

Del Pilar is authorized by the *Real Audiencia* to practice law in Manila

His Excellency and Illustrious President of the *Real Audiencia*, acceding to your request, hereby authorizes you, by virtue of a decree issued yesterday, to practice your profession in this City of which you are a resident.

In compliance with said order, I hereby transmit this to you for your information and satisfaction.

May God keep you for more years. Manila, May 5, 1887

Andres Avelino del Rosario

To Señor D. Marcelo H. del Pilar, Lawyer

II. DEL PILAR IN BARCELONA, SPAIN, TO ESCAPE
FROM PERSECUTION
1888 TO 1889

7. From Ventus

Marciana, wife of Del Pilar, doing well. - Ventus informed of the furtive departure of Plaridel for Barcelona.- News concerning the country received through *Compadre* * Oscar

S. Isidro, Dec. 8, 1888

Dear Compadre,

On my return from Manila the day before yesterday, December 6, I had the pleasure of greeting my *comadre*** Marciana, whom I found doing well, in the company of her whole family.

Yesterday, when I met Zenon, he gave me your letter to read. This letter confirmed what I had already learned from my *comadre*, that you were leaving for that place on the 28th of the last month.

Regarding news, your *compadre* M. Oscar will tell you everything he knows, and we have already asked him to do so.

May God grant that you reach the end of your journey safely, and that you be happy and successful in everything, for our mutual benefit.

Yours affectionately,

VENTUS

* Name given reciprocally to the father or god father of a child.

** Name given reciprocally to the mother or godmother of a child.

8. From Zenón Carluen

Dismissal of Fr. Barbero. Life and abuses of Fr. Leonardo Sanchez in S. Isidro.- That the Gobernadorcillo and municipal officials should kiss his hand. His attempt to embrace the daughter of a dying man in Barrio Alua.- Upon seeing three young sisters bathing, he joins them and forces them to rub his body with their hands. He invites young girls to the convent to give them books.- Unfortunate province.

S. Isidro, December 15, 1888

Señor Don Marcelo H. del Pilar

My dear friend:

I received your letter from Hongkong dated the 27th of last month, and I informed your compadre about its contents; I am sending your letter through him, and not through Enchong, because you do not trust him concerning our affairs.

The first news that I wish to relay to you is that Fr. Bernabé Barbero, from the parish of this capital, has been dismissed because of his scandalous life. Fr. Leonardo Sanchez, another friar who is worse than him and who I cannot describe/classify, has been appointed to replace Fr. Barbero. Upon assuming his position, he obliged the municipal officials, including the Gobernadorcillo, to kiss his hand; which they have not complied with to this day. He uses the confessional as an instrument for his amorous schemes. I will mention some specific and notorious cases: one day in October, he was summoned to hear the confession of a sick man in the barrio of Alua. After the confession, he called the 19-year old daughter of the sick man to enter a small room as he had something to tell her. The young maiden, innocent of his sinful intentions, entered the room and once inside, the friar started to caress her. The girl, finally realizing his libidinous designs, ran out of the room screaming. Another incident: A few days later, he was again called to the barrio of Cababa to hear a confession. On his way, he espied three young sisters bathing in a river. He undressed and plunged into the water and ordered the girls to 'artfully' rub his entire body with

their hands. He forgot all about the poor sick man who had called for him, and the poor man died without receiving spiritual assistance. At present, he is hovering around the house of a young lass in the barrio of Pulo. He also requires the young girls to go to the convent, promising to give them books and scapulars. The governor of the province, D. Aurelio Ferrer is said to be in connivance with him, since he kisses the friar's hand when they meet, and they confide in each other. They both issued an order through the Gobernadorcillo Don Crispulo Sideco requiring all residents of the province to pay due respect to superiors, removing their hats every time they meet the Governor or any other high official. This province, already impoverished by their exclusion from the tobacco monopoly, is becoming poorer day by day, the victim of corrupt leaders, and stupid and lascivious friars. Oh, you Filipinos who are in Spain, how fortunate you are to be far away from this theater of immorality!

This is all for now; farewell then, until next time; as in the future, regards from your province mates who love you and desire your happiness, and the country's as well.

Your servant who kisses you hand,

ZENON CARLUEN

9. Copy of the letter from Tenteng*

(Sent to Plaridel to update him on all interesting political developments that occurred in Malolos.)

Don Juan Dimagiba, acting *gobernadorcillo* of Malolos. The rod and the staff with tassels, of the municipal officials. What about the remedial measures promised by the Governor?- Reinforcement of the *guardia civil*** to prevent disturbances in the town. Bickering about local politics. The Governor in Malolos. Visit of the Captain General. *Te Deum* (Mass of Thanksgiving). Inspection of towns, schools and markets. Fines and reprimands.- Petition of the women of Malolos.

* Possibly Vicente Gatmaitan (?) - ed.

** Literally, Civil Guards: a military organization in the provinces consisting of Spanish officers and native soldiers. The municipal police was called *cuadrilleros* while the city police, *guardia civil veterana*.

On the first day of the current month, the Captain of Malolos was Don Juan Dimagiba, because the acting captain was on leave. The acting Captain, together with Don Luis H. del Pilar, went to the Governor's office on the 3rd to report on the possibility of a noisy occurrence and to find out what measures should be taken to meet any contingency. The Governor replied that they should treat this as a joke, since nothing was certain. "Nevertheless", he added, "I have given orders to the Guardia Civil to increase the number of soldiers on the day of the feast, and at the same time I have warned them to increase their vigilance and to exert more effort to preserve the peace of the town."

On the 6th, T. Tanchangco ordered P. Castro to invite the Governor to his house, but he received an unpleasant reply. The Governor said: "On my part, I will attend the fiesta, but I warn you that although you are on leave that day, you will be responsible for any trouble that may occur, from the smallest to the biggest incident." P. Castro, in reply to these words, told the Governor that he had no confidence in his subordinates or in his town officials, because they would not obey his orders. The Governor then replied that it would be best if he would repeat these words upon his arrival in the town.

When he arrived in Malolos, the first person he spoke to was a friend, one of those who had protruding lips. He told this friend that he had been called by the Governor to hand him the staff [emblem of authority] and the general decree.

While he was telling him this, his friend became sad and said that bad luck seemed to have befallen him. He then went home to dress up, and then proceeded to the Tribunal carrying the staff which was now ornamented with tassels, tightly squeezing the shoulder of each person he met and grumbling about the tassels he carried.

On the 7th, the Governor proceeded to Malolos where he was welcomed by some judges and town officials. When Castro was seen in the presence of the Governor, three of the town officials noticed that the tassels of his staff were becoming undone. Because of this, the ignorant people of the town did not believe that the tassels were given to him by the Governor. On all

occasions that he had to present himself to the Governor, he removed the tassels from the staff, which was noticed by many despite his attempt to hide this act.

On the evening of the same day, a procession in honor of the Blessed Sacrament took place. In attendance were the Governor, the Colonel of the Guardia Civil, Capali, Berris and other town officials and subalterns. All of them fell on their knees upon reaching the altar of San Vicente. The Governor looked around and saw C. Pepe whom he greeted. Berris noticed this, and asked who this person was. Learning that the person was Pepe, he pointedly ignored him and began to engage in a whispered conversation with a friar.

On the 11th, news was received that the Governor had arrived in Bulacan at two thirty in the afternoon, proceeding to the church where the *Te Deum** was sung. He later went to the convent where he rested for a while before visiting the schools.**

At eight in the evening, news was received that he was going to Malolos.

The Justice of the peace and the acting Captain were very busy looking for people to help them decorate the convent.

Capitan Castro, alias *Borlas* (this was the nickname given to him by the townsfolk) was advised by the municipal secretary to issue an order to the town officials, but Castro replied that it was not necessary because he would assign a person to notify everybody. At around eleven in the evening, there was still no order issued, so four individuals, namely Sandico, Gatdula, Reyes and de Leon, realizing the dire consequences that would result because no order had been issued, agreed to spread the announcement themselves. They therefore went around the town, and everyone promised to be on hand to welcome the Governor.

At dawn of the 12th, we made arrangements that flags should be displayed in all the streets, even though capitan Castro

* The Latin Hymn of Thanksgiving to God

** C. Pedro was at the cockpit when this news arrived. (Tenting wrote this line as note. -Ed)

had not ordered this. When this was completed, three houses stood out because of the flags displayed. These were the houses of Gadtula, Umó and Reyes. The flags were large, indicating that the houses belonged to Spaniards, so that each time the General passed in front of these houses, he saluted. Talk among the ignorant residents of the town was that the General saluted these houses because they belonged to masons.

At around five thirty, we all went to meet the General at the boundary of Malolos and Bulacan, but I proceeded to the provincial hall to ascertain that the General was indeed arriving. I returned to San Nicolas where I awaited his arrival.

It was about 9:10 when the General passed, with the Governor at his left. Our group included myself, the parish priest of Bulacan, the doctor and other companions.

Reaching Malolos around 10, the General proceeded on foot to the church, where the *Te Deum* was sung. Afterwards, he went to the convent where he delivered some sort of a speech for Captain Castro, in the name of the town officials, declaring that it was his duty to look after the welfare of the people, the advancement of progress, especially in the areas of education, commerce and agriculture, and finally "that we should all help each other and cooperate in order to achieve the desires of Spain and of our Lord Jesus Christ." He also announced that within two hours, he would receive in audience all those who wished to speak to him of their needs or complaints. Immediately after, he grasped his cane and hat, and proceeded to the school for boys. He asked the boys some multiplication questions, and when none of them was able to answer, he got angry with the teacher and looked questioningly at the local inspector. The General then went to the school for girls. Since some of the girls were students of Sandico, he did not seem to notice anything wrong. Immediately after, he passed on to the tribunal, looked around the room, and left. Before getting into his carriage, he noticed a pile of garbage in front of the houses of the Chinese, and he remarked to the Governor that Captain Castro was apparently negligent in his duties, and he immediately imposed a fine of \$25.00. He passed by the tribunal of Barasoain, and first visited the prison cells. Noting the foul odor, he again imposed a fine of \$50 on the Captain. He then went directly to the church, visited the school and proceeded to Santa

Isabel. From there, he returned to Malolos and ate in the convent. When Sandico learned that the General would be receiving complaints, he immediately went home and wrote a letter, designating several women to present it to the Governor.

After taking his lunch and resting for a while, as he was preparing to leave, a group of twenty-one women, some of whom were elderly, arrived bringing the letter or petition. Iding, the sister-in-law of Reyes, gave the letter to the General who seemed indifferent at first, but later felt obliged to read it since the women followed him insisting on a reply. The General said that they would soon have his answer.

Frs. Patricio Martin, Felipe and the other friars who were present saw the women hand the letter to the Governor; they were alarmed and confusedly rushed toward the women questioning them about its contents. "What are you asking for?" asked some of the friars. "Nothing, nothing," they replied. However, since the friars were so insistent, the women responded with unpleasant words and gestures. This prompted the General to warn the friars that the townsfolk did not respect them.

The General then went on to Paombong and also visited the towns of Quinqua, Baliuag up to San Rafael. In San Rafael, the friars wanted to show the town that they were intimate friends of the General by lavishing affectionate and loving attention on the General's son, who was with the group, in the presence of the public.

One of the friars, Fr. José Martin, who appeared to be experiencing superficial joy, kissed the General's son. This kiss appeared to offend hurt him, and in anger he slapped the friar strongly in the face. The General heard the resounding slap he simply smiled. The boy was already grown up, like my son Luis.

This is all.

Malolos

December 28, 1888

10. From Rizal

Always punctual. An article by *Piping Dilat*, "moderate but strong." "I wrote the *Noli me tángere* to awaken the sentiments of my countrymen."

37 Chalcot Crescent
Primrose Hill, N.W.
[London, January 1889]

Señor Don Marcelo H. del Pilar.

My dear friend:

I regret that you did not arrive on time for our first meeting on December 31; you would have enjoyed it very much, at least that is what I think. But for you, it is not a matter of theatrics, not the scenes, not the places, nor the times: what concerns you are matters that are current.

I have read the *templado pero fuerte* [moderate but strong] article by *Piping Dilat*;^{*} it is a wonderful article and I would have been very proud if I were its author. Except that *Piping Dilát*^{**} may be dumb, but he is not blind. Although Maning has used this pseudonym, it seems to me that the style indicates that the writer is the translator of *Laong Laan* and the author of many beautiful articles and booklets, although I may be mistaken.

I am glad that you are a member of *La Solidaridad* *** You will be a big help to this organization until it is well established.

When you write to our friends from there, tell them to be a little patient; my manuscripts are completed, and I only lack money for publication. I have had to conduct preliminary studies to keep abreast on all the events that have transpired in the Philippines, and this has delayed me somewhat.

It would be a good idea for you to spend the winter studying French or English, in case you still do not know one of

* *Pipi* - Tagalog word for deaf and dumb; *Dilat* - open eyed

** Pseudonym of del Pilar and one of his pen names

*** Sol - abbreviation for La Solidaridad association

these two languages; this will reveal to you the country's treasures; since knowledge and learning may be attained only through language. Thus, you will be able to read the complete works of Voltaire, whose beautiful, simple and correct style conform to your way of thinking. I do not advise you to learn German, because this would rob you of many precious months, aside from the fact that not being in Germany, it will be difficult to learn this language, but if you want to, why not?

It is my ardent desire that, without creating enmity or disunity among us, there would come forth six or seven Filipinos who would outshine me completely so that no one would even remember me. Since I shall not stop working for our country, if these Filipinos were to outshine me completely, it would be because they had worked harder than me, and had rendered more service to the country; this is now my present hope. I wrote the *Noli me tângere* to awaken the sentiments of my countrymen; I would be happy if among those I awaken, I will find more illustrious champions. I am not including you, because you are one of those who have already been awakened.

I am always at your service as a friend, countryman, and consoler; I bid you goodbye for now.

Yours,

RIZAL

11. From Justo Trinidad

Pending debt.- He wonders about his silence. They are no longer on board the *Sabalien*, beside the *cacas**, so they should keep silence. Archbishop Moril dies, because of "our escape".

Paris, January 8, 1889

Señor Don M. H. del Pilar

My dear Sir and friend,

I wrote a letter to you on the 2nd of this month, and I

* The political reformers of Malolos used to call the friars cacas, Spanish word for a pile of manure.

expected an answer from you after three or four days, and since I have not received any from you until now, I cannot remit to you what I owe you. I request you now to please reply soon with your address, so that I will know that you really reside in that same place and room.

I am quite worried about your silence, even though it has only been a matter of days since we parted. What more if our separation lasted for a year or perhaps more? Nevertheless, on my part, I could not remain silent and continue as if we were on board the *Sabalien* beside the *Cacas* and others. You kept me apart from them so there would be no conflict.

I learned through the newspapers that Archbishop Moril passed away, due to our sudden escape to this desolate city, which is a very sad place for me.

I have not received any news from Manila, not even a letter from my family, and this causes me more and more unimaginable sadness.

Finally, I ask you once again to send me your reply, since it is my wish to settle my debt to you, thus complying with the saying that "cuentas claras conservan la amistad"*

I end this letter, since I have nothing more to tell you.

Your affectionate friend,

JUSTO TRINIDAD

P.S. This is my address:

Dn. Justo Trinidad
Rue du Faubourg Peissonniere 78
Paris, Hotel de Castille

* Literally, "Clear accounts preserves friendship."

12. From Justo Trinidad

Lamentable incident in Porbose: "Vicissitudes of the uninitiated" Good for the movement led by Quiroga! Our countrymen there are patriots. Plaridel in action. It is hoped that his work will alleviate the ills that plague our country.- The high cost of living in Paris. The correspondents of Mr. Abarca lament the sad situation in Manila.

Paris, January 16, 1889

Señor Don Marcelo H. del Pilar

My dear friend:

I received your letter dated the 7th on the 11th of this month, showing that it took 5 days for your letter to reach me, a delay that I find strange. Hence, to make sure, I am sending this letter by registered mail, and because you might forget to answer me because of your many activities.

Enclosed is a letter of credit for 68:15 which is equivalent to \$13.63, the total balance I owe you, according to our computation in Marseilles; this represents the last amount I received from you before we parted. You may cash this draft at the bank indicated on the draft, and please inform me when you have done so. In the meantime, a million thanks for your kindness. I am at your service anytime.

I learned of the incident that occurred in Porbose, and I am sorry to hear about it. As you well know, during our trip, I tried to dissuade him from such a plan, as a father or brother would. However, everything will pass, and as you say, there are unforeseen incidents that will happen to the inexperienced.

I celebrate the rally organized with Quiroga* as the leader! This rally has made me realize that our countrymen there are really true patriots, and not false ones.

* Benigno Quiroga y Lopez Ballesteros was appointed Director of Civil Administration by Emilio Terrero y Perinet, Governor General of the Philippines in 1885. He was very much loved by the Filipinos because of his liberal ideas. The name Quiroga is also one of the names in Rizal's *Fill*, typifying the bribe-offering Chinese who corrupt officials of the government.

Your becoming a member of the Hispano-Filipina society, together with your assiduous visits to the magnificent library there, assure me once again that you are steadfast in your patriotic principles; and in the near future, we can expect that your efforts will root out the evils that thrive in our unfortunate country. God willing, in one giant step, all will be resolved! Your good ideas will be like a healing balm for so many unfortunate people, me being one of them, and we shall be able to breathe the air of freedom.

The weather here is very unhealthy; the cost of living is very high, and he who wishes to live in this capital city will have to spend \$35 monthly for lodging and food, not including the cost of other necessities such as light, laundry and other things. One can save by living in other parts of Paris, but I cannot move out because my mission is concentrated here.

I have not yet received any letters from Manila, and on my arrival here, I learned of the death of Payo, as I informed you in my last letter, which I suppose you have already received. The correspondents of Mr. Abarca, who are Spaniards, are sorry about the situation in the capital of the archipelago, and because of this bad news, I am anxious to receive letters from my family.

Although I have not yet read the last paragraph of your letter, I am informing you that in your name, I have greeted Mr. Abarca, whom you know very well, as well as Mr. Ventura, who visited me a few days after his arrival in Paris. I have given this friend everything we acquired in Hongkong, so that he now has a collection of those objects. I told him that in case I receive any valuable object from you, I will put it at his disposal; Mr. Ventura was very grateful, and I look forward to receiving it.

I do not forget the conditions in our country, where a woman no matter how ugly and unknown, loves her favorite and remains faithful while she is in love; women here profess their love for their suitors, but once they have acquired their lovers' money, they ignore them completely.

Lastly, I hope you will not forget my situation and some requests I made in my previous letter. May you enjoy good health; and may your plans be successful.

Your affectionate friend,

JUSTO TRINIDAD

P.S. My rheumatism is getting worse.

13. To Rizal

The deplorable fertility of Isabelo de los Reyes' mind.

Barcelona, January 1889

My dear friend,

Without any letter from you to answer, I am sending you my picture as a remembrance.

Please give me any information and data you may have acquired there regarding the rebellion of Diego Silang in Vigan during the time of the wars with the British, which I can cite in the booklet I am writing to decry the influence of the friars on the reaction of Anda and Salazar. I have no other data on the matter except for the history by P. Zuñiga; and now I find that the good Isabelo de los Reyes is publishing articles in the *Diario de Manila* extolling the friars' role in that rebellion, while I am planning to make charges to the contrary against the friars.

According to Zuñiga, after the triumph of the rebellion, Silang gave the position of governor to *Jesús Nazareno*, an act which to me expresses the fanatical nature of the rebellion. Our Isabelo asserts that it was given to a certain *Jesús Nazareno*, a statement which is the complete opposite of my contention.

It would be good if you could read the *Diario de Manila* of December 15, 1888, and if you come across something remarkable, refute it. Isabelo de los Reyes will cut short my work with the deplorable fertility of his imagination.

I embrace you.

Your affectionate friend,

MARCELO

14. From Rizal to the Members of La Solidaridad in Barcelona

How new societies can prosper.

London, January 28, 1889

To the members of La Solidaridad in Barcelona:

My dear compatriots,

I am grateful for the great honor you have just accorded me by naming me honorary President of that association which you have just formed, and to which I wish a prosperous future. I now have the great pleasure of greeting the members of the Executive Board, whom I believe were well chosen, and I am certain that in their hands, the objectives of *La Solidaridad* will be achieved.

Though I have no doubt that my advice is not needed, since each member of the *Solidaridad* is as valuable as I am, and more so if you consider that they are in the right spot. Nevertheless, to fill up this blank piece of paper, I will allow myself to write down some common observations, all of which you undoubtedly know, but do not bother with since they are not written on paper.

In young societies, the spirit of tolerance should prevail in dealing with small matters that do not affect essential issues. During discussions, a conciliatory attitude ought to be adopted, instead of a contentious manner. No one should be resentful in defeat; when an opinion is rejected, instead of despairing and withdrawing, its author should wait for another occasion to justifiably defend his opinion. The individual should give way for the welfare of the society. In discussions, in order to avoid hurting the Filipino who has a very sensitive and fragile self-esteem and is

unconsciously individualistic, and to avert discontent, it is advisable to end all propositions, proposals, projects, etc. with the phrase: "this is our thinking, if the members do not have any objections"; or any other similar phrase you believe more appropriate. I have heard many discussions arising from issues of self-esteem; despite the fact that the decisions of the majority, which are reached after sufficient discussion, are conclusive and sacred.

A great deal of honesty, and much goodwill. No one should expect awards and honors for his efforts; he who does his duty in expectation of rewards is usually disappointed, because no one usually believes he has been sufficiently compensated. Therefore, so that there may not be discontented members, or those who feel unfairly compensated, it would be good if each one would do his duty solely because it is his duty, and to expect to be treated unjustly, because in anomalous countries, injustice is the reward for those who fulfill their duties.

Thrift, thrift, thrift.

Sobriety and equal justice for all.

These are my admonitions, if the members of Solidaridad have no objection.

J. RIZAL
Honorary President of La Solidaridad*

15. From Justo Trinidad

Humorous articles by Campomanes and *Piping Dilat*. Blanco is nominated for the position of Captain General.- We hope he will be a good ruler like Quiroga or Centeno.

Paris, February 3, 1889.

Señor Don Marcelo H. del Pilar

My dear friend:

I received the bundle of newspapers and I have received

* The La Solidaridad Association was inaugurated on the evening of December 31, 1888.

pleasing information from the Hispano-Filipina Association about the articles of H. Campomanes and *Piping Dilat*, which because of their incisiveness and maliciousness, exert the same influence on me as does the devil, the world and the flesh, and as appetizers, I have been rereading them. By now, these newspapers are in the hands of our countrymen who reside in this city. I shall later send them to our country so that our friends and co-religionists may read them.

On this same day, I was informed of the news contained in *El Imparcial* from Valencia which says: our present governor general will resign from his position and General Blanco is nominated to take his place; God willing, this change will be favorable for us by giving us a leader who is a stickler for justice like our former Treasurer, or pro-Filipino like the unforgettable Quiroga and Centeno.

I have written you in reply to your last letter, which you probably have received. I would be grateful if you could always send me important newspapers, stating the expenses incurred and advances you have made, and later sending me the bill.

Right now, I am very busy trying to finish my work in this capital as soon as possible, since I am planning to transfer soon to other places where I have additional objectives to pursue and above all, to find a solution for a very private matter.

I have nothing more to tell you, and I end this letter with my best regards to you and our countrymen there. Always at your service,

Your affectionate friend,

JUSTO TRINIDAD

P.S. I am still suffering from rheumatism.

16. From Rizal

"I want to be where you are."- The Ilocano de los Reyes is too much, particularly on the question of Diego Silang.- Testimony of historians.- Italian manuscripts about the Philippines.

37 Chalcot Crescent
Primrose Hill, N.W.
London, February 4, 1889.

My dear friend Plaridel:

Thank you very much for your photograph (I certainly did not recognize you at first sight since you had posed with all the airs of a European – God grant that it goes no further than that). I am sorry I cannot send you my picture since I do not have any right now. I promised not to have my picture taken before my next book is published, as there are already too many of my photographs circulating there. But you can be sure that as soon as I am photographed, you will receive a copy.

I am delighted with the publication of the newspaper *La Solidaridad*; you can count on my full support; I want to be where you all are; and above all for your espousing the ideas which I believe are the most just. It is said that in Madrid, Señor Dominador Gomez made an *eloquent declaration that at the present time, it is not possible to carry out any political reforms in the Philippines!!* I do not know if this is true, but please verify if this is so and see if there is a way to correct this absurdity. For the time being, I reject this statement and I believe that the newspaper misinterpreted the words of Dominador Gomez.

Blumentritt wrote to me praising your article, "Administrative Laxities." Regidor also finds it magnificent. The articles in *La Publicidad* are also very good, except that when you cite the names of Filipinos, you forget to include many others who are worth mentioning such as Pelaez, Burgos, Garcia, Jugo, etc.

Now let us go to the issue of Diego Silang. I am elated for having such a learned, intelligent and active countryman like Isabelo de los Reyes. Nevertheless, I lament his being too *Ilocano*, a trait which as you suspect may one day create divisiveness among us, and become a point of contention which will work against us. Although he has accomplished some very noteworthy works, others, on the contrary, seem to have been written by

Spaniards, being so superficial, frivolous and of little substance; one of these is where he speaks of *Catapusan*.*

The only historian I have been able to consult here on the matter of Silang is Mas,** aside from Zuñiga,*** neither Concepcion**** nor Aduarte***** mention him and the rest simply copy from one another. You may take this fact as being contrary to their influence, as in the case of Apolinario, Cavite, etc.

I shall quote some paragraphs from the work of Mas, who learned of the matter from manuscripts of the Augustinians:

“Silang, flush with pride at his action, sent agents to the north to incite the common people to revolt... and they hounded/went after the officials and some Augustinian friars who accused them of being at fault for the fact that the extra tax had not arrived... In a few days, he found himself in control of the entire province and appointed Jesús Nazareno as its Captain, and gave himself the title of head corporal for the defense of the faith... He asked the friars to pay a tribute/tax of 100 pesos each... many of Silang’s followers left him, after the Augustinian friars refused to grant them absolution, especially in the towns of the North; however, this resulted in some religious being taken prisoners and taken to Bigaa...”

Despite the determined efforts of the Augustinians – and of all the friars - to depict themselves as experts on Philippine affairs, and to take away from the headlines all problems of the Philippines, on the issue of Silang, they always appear in the 4th or 5th page. I agree with you, and you can defend this fact very well, that the uprising of Silang was fanatical in character. Even if Silang himself was not truly a fanatic because he seemed to be a great politician, he was actually a rascal without a sense of honor nor civic responsibility, which is why he failed. You are correct in your supposition and in your belief that Jesus Nazareno was given the leadership, and not to a certain Jesus Nazareno,

* Tagalog word for end, destruction, death

** Sinibaldo de Mas – a diplomatic attache who wrote “*Informe Sobre el Estado de las Islas*” in 1842 and 1843.

*** Fray Joaquin de Zuñiga – wrote “*Historia de las Islas Filipinas*” in 1879.

**** Fray Juan de la Concepcion of the Recollect Order, wrote “*Historia General de Filipinas*” in 14 volumes, 1803.

***** Fray Diego Aduarte of the Dominican Order, wrote “*Historia de la Provincia del Santo Rosario*”, 1640.

as Isabelo says. 1st. In the Philippines, the name Jesus is never given as a baptismal name, and it is not known if the surname Nazareno has ever existed; moreover, it is too much of a coincidence to find a person called Jesus Nazareno who would follow the dictum of *bóbilis, bóbilis**. 2nd. Silang was an ambitious man, and would not relinquish his leadership to another man, but yes, he could have 'given' nominal command to God, but at the same time remaining in actual command: this is consistent with his prayers, masses, etc., etc. 3rd. No further mention is made of Jesus Nazareno, and it is not known if had accomplished anything or if he was hang or impaled by Azza, which leads us to believe that this Jesus Nazareno was the Christ, and not a certain person named Jesus Nazareno, as Isabelo implies. You can be sure of this, and when you write to Isabelo, please call his attention to this matter.

Without Captain Buecbuec and if Silang had not been assassinated by Vicos, this uprising would not have been suppressed not even with the use of all *correas* [the leather straps worn by friars and nuns] that exist in the convents, nor even if the skin of all the friars were made into *correas* and their filthy habits were turned into scapulars. The importance given by the friars to their role in all uprisings should be considered with a grain of salt; they are statements made for their own benefit.

I believe the pseudonyms *Dimas Alan* or *Dimasalang* were well chosen, since both are significant. I transfer ownership of this small book to *La Solidaridad*, and in return I would like to receive 20 or 30 copies.

Please see to it that someone there should learn Italian, because I have with me Italian manuscripts that deal with the first coming of the Spaniards to the Philippines; they were written by a companion of Magellan, and since I do not have time to translate these being busy with so many things to do, it would be good if a countryman would translate these to Tagalog or Spanish so that I will know what the situation was in our country in 1520. Italian is an easy language; it can be learned in one month using the Method of Ahn. I am now learning Dutch.

* A thing of no value -Ed.

I will be sending articles to *La Solidaridad*. Wishing you every success, I bid you farewell for now.

Yours,

RIZAL

Send me a copy of the *Diario de Manila* of 16 December so that I can refute it.

17. To Rizal

The role of *La Solidaridad* in the conflict. Democratic, even in the organization of its personnel. Plaridel, Jaena and Naning, 'swordsmen' of the newspaper. About the rebellion of Diego Silang.- Echoes from overseas, by Jaena.- A letter extolling the women of Malolos, by Rizal. Assistance for our champions in Malolos and Manila. The verses "*Buhay Santaclara*". "The Travels" of *Laong Laan* for the next issue

Barcelona, February 17, 1889.

Dear friend Laong Laan,*

At last, our little newspaper has been born, democratic in its principles, but much more democratic in the composition of its personnel. It is admirable to see how the director Graciano edits, proofreads, supervises the layout, distributes the copies, and even mails the bundles of newspapers. The administrator Naning gathers data, edits, corrects proofs, writes the names and addresses of the subscribers on the newspaper wrappers, finalizes correspondence, and also distributes copies. I am the only loafer, although I continue to be involved with the newspaper since its inception and birth, which is the reason for the delay in my correspondence with you.

I am grateful for the data you have given me on Diego Silang's rebellion, and I will keep this in mind. At present, I am unable to find the copy of the *Diario de Manila* at the Ateneo, which I mentioned to you previously: perhaps your Museum has already received it. Our copy is quite Spanish.

* Pseudonym of Rizal

Take note of the information from Manila included in the article "Ecos de Ultramar" written by Graciano in *La Solidaridad*. The attitude of the women of Malolos reveals that the campaign of our leaders there remains constant. These ladies belong to the privileged class of the town; they are respected for their good reputations, and as the daughters of *maginoos*.* If you could send them a letter written in Tagalog, it would be a big help for our champions there and in Manila. Due to the propaganda spread by these ladies by word of mouth and through example, the idea that it is disgraceful for a man or a woman to be loyal or obedient to the friars is gaining popularity in the provinces, and this is producing great effects. Have you read the verses "Buhay Santaclara"? Your sister thinks these were written by a woman of Malolos, because this was what she was led to believe; and the women of Malolos believe your sister wrote these verses.

I left that place at a time when even the fanatics were preaching hatred for the friars. The last mail brought news of a phenomenon that will produce results in the future. It said that one day, eight friars were on a streetcar from Malabon, and one of our young shouted "Away with the friars!", and this cry was taken up by numerous *peninsulares*** who were there. thus one can understand the dire warning contained in the attached article.

I urge you to please write a laudatory letter to the women of Malolos.

"Los Viajes" did not make it to the first issue. There were too many original articles and the naughty typesetters used bold letters in printing the news items, even if they were told to use size 6 font, which did not leave space for us to open the literary section, to which "Los Viajes" belongs.

Farewell, I remain your affectionate friend,

PLARIDEL

* Person of noble birth, socially prominent, honorable and well bred.

** Spanish born in Spain who came to the Philippines.

18. From Justo Trinidad

Subscribers of *La Solidaridad* in Paris. In Manila, the workers for the Cause are enthusiastic. Notorious military officer probable second-ranking official in the Islands.- Outside Paris to observe the process of distillation[?]

Paris, February 18, 1889

Señor Don Marcelo Hilario del Pilar

My dear Sir:

This is to acknowledge receipt of the newspapers sent to us by your editorial office, which were addressed to me, and to Messrs. Abarca, Ramirez and Fernandez. For the time being, you may consider Mr. Abarca and myself subscribers, and in the next mail, I will send you a list of additional subscribers.

In the last mail from Manila, I did not receive any news, except that my companions remain enthusiastic as always, and continue to espouse the same ideals.

I have learned, from one of the newspapers received, of the appointment of a Spanish official as second-ranking officer in our country. I would be greatly saddened if this appointment were confirmed, since I know this official quite well. He had been employed in Manila in 1869, which was a tragic year for our unfortunate countrymen.

Tomorrow, I will leave for various places outside of Paris, a distance from this capital of 6 to 7 hours travel by train, and these are: Puteaux, Donai, Flines, Lille, Alfort, Charenton, Toulouse and Reims, to verify my observations on the process of distillation from those points, and I will probably be back in Paris after 15 or 20 days. During my absence, Mr. Abarca will be in charge of the newspapers. When you send me a letter, use the same address and the owner of the hotel will take care of forwarding to me anything he receives that is addressed to me.

This is all for now, my regards to all our countrymen.

Your affectionate friend,
JUSTO TRINIDAD Go.^s y M.

19. To José M. Basa

Pro-country struggles of the Filipinos in Hongkong. Public opinion in the country awakens.- Faith and constancy will conquer everything. The cry of "Out with the friars!" in a streetcar in Malabon is echoed by the peninsulares.

Translation of the article from the Hongkong Telegraph, and "*Watch Out Countrymen!*" received. Sensational triumph in the regattas.- "Who knows if our future lies in the oars!"

Barcelona, February 19, 1889

Señor Don José M. Basa

My distinguished friend,

I congratulate you for the interesting work you have accomplished for our unfortunate country, and I have no doubt that these will influence the opinion of the people, whom you judge as being guilty of too much humility. We have been rendered lethargic by the mystic opium administered to us for over three centuries, but we are confident that faith and perseverance will eventually triumph. I received news from Manila that one day, eight friars were on a streetcar from Malabon, when one of our young men shouted "Out with the friars!" and this cry was taken up by numerous *peninsulares* who were there. We are at the threshold of 1889 as this event takes place, as well as the peaceful demonstration of the women of Malolos: let us see how we shall be as we enter 1890. Faith, have much faith, this is what we should recommend to our compatriots.

By this mail, you will receive 100 copies of our little newspaper. Of course, you are our correspondent in that colony. If you have copies left over, please send them to the Philippines. We have sent 400 copies there, but I do not know if they will be allowed to enter the country.

We received the Hongkong Telegraph, the translation of an article in this newspaper and the "*Alerta Paisanos!*"* We are grateful to you for these; and on my part, I return the affectionate greeting you sent through our friend Ponce.

We have been informed of the sensational triumph in the regattas of our young people there. Congratulations! Who can tell if our future lies in the oars! We shall try to send you in the same mail some copies of the pamphlet *Soberania Monacal*** by Plaridel, and *La Vision de Fr. Rodriguez**** by Dimas Alang****. Please ask our friend to translate this pseudonym into Latin, and it will reveal the real author. Both books are being bound, and the printers have promised to give us copies before the mail goes out tomorrow.

Please convey my respects to Mrs. Anday; (c.p.b.) my loving regards to Emilio and his brothers, as well as to Laurel, Panis and Arlegui, and ask them to excuse me for not writing them individually as I am very busy with the newspapers and other pieces of writing. I hope this does not lessen their affection for me, as I care for them with all my heart.

Receive an embrace from your affectionate friend.

MARCELO H. DEL PILAR

20. To Deodato Arellano

Sad, because he does not see the light of the motherland. Beneath this cerulean sky, the sun does not warm, the flowers do not exude their perfume. There, under the splendor of the blue sky, the tropical sun glows ardently and the fragrant flowers bloom. Our country begins to develop an awareness of its real situation. Justice is on our side. And if the government does not, God will. *La Soberania Monacal* is about to end.- I do not know whether to enter Madrid as a student, or as a representative of our noble aspirations. Rizal has already replied to the friars in his pamphlet, *La Vision de Fr. Rodriguez*.

Barcelona, February 19, 1889

* "Be on the Alert, Countrymen"

** Monastic Sovereignty

*** The Vision of Father Rodriguez

**** Pseudonym of Rizal -Ed

Señor Don. Deodato Arellano

Dear Brother,

Physically, I am in good health, as you can see from the attached photo, but I cannot say the same for my spiritual state while I am far from you and the light of our motherland does not shine on me. They say that this is the land of delights, but I believe this is true only superficially. Everything here is rickety and wretched. The sun does not give forth heat, the sky is without stars, the moon without splendor, the fields are barren, the flowers without fragrance, and even the rain falls in microscopic drops; everything is in sharp contrast and makes us remember the magnificent manifestations of the richness of nature that nurtured us. There, the remembrance of an azure sky studded with stars, the resplendence of the moon at its fullness, the fiery rays of the tropical sun, the lushness of its fields, the fragrance of its flowers, and above all, the sweetness, the sincerity and warmth of our oriental customs awaken beautiful and deep-felt memories in my soul, bringing tears to my eyes, especially when I think that such happiness granted by God is darkened by the impiety by those who purport to be ministers of God.

I am a bit consoled by the news that the country is beginning to enter into the age of reason, and is becoming aware of its real situation. One must be convinced that we cannot expect anything from the powers-that-be; the Spanish proverb "*el que no llora no mama*"* is indeed true. Let us cry, let us protest, for justice and reason are on our side, and if the government does not respond, then God will make grant that peace will come to his poor creatures.

We begin this legal and peaceful campaign by publishing a bi-monthly newspaper. We shall send you 400 copies of the first issue in this mail.

When I first arrived here, the *Soberania* was not yet completed, as its appendix was still being composed: I have therefore had to put pressure on the printers, otherwise the job

* A Spanish proverb which means "he who does not cry, is not given milk to suck."

would not have been accomplished. They are now in the process of binding the work, and have promised to deliver 500 copies tomorrow before the mail goes out, in which case I shall send you some copies, and will send other copies to Basa, so that he can send these to you, if necessary.

Due to my present lack of funds, and my not having received any advice from you on the matter, I am hesitant to transfer to Madrid. I don't know whether to enter Madrid as a student, or as a representative of our noble aspirations. However, my name is already known in Madrid, and if I go there under that name, I might discredit the seriousness of our intentions, but the damage may be less. Concerning the bills of exchange sent to London, secure one that is good for 90 days: here it costs 25 pesetas 55 cents pounds sterling.

The articles of P. Rodriguez, those already written and those yet to be written, have been answered by *Dimas Alang* in a pamphlet entitled *La Vision de Fr. Rodriguez*. I shall try to send this to you in this mail; we have also been promised delivery of this work soon, for binding.

Goodbye. An embrace from your affectionate brother.

MARCELO

21. To M. Oscar

Remind our countrymen of our duties. Don't be lazy!

Barcelona, February 19, 1889

Señor Don M. Oscar
San Isidro

Compadre:

I received your pleasant letter, the date of which I do not remember at the moment, since I do not have it at hand.

I am doing well: send me news. Write to Sotero to keep me informed also; talk to Enchong; remind everyone of our duties, and not to be lazy.

At the feet of my comadre,

M. CALERO

22. To A. Corrales

Your interesting news was published in the first issue of *La Solidaridad*.

Dear friend Corrales:

I received your letter and as you can see, the important news which you sent us and which arrived on time is included in the first issue of the newspaper *La Solidaridad*.

I am very busy right now, and I cannot write further.

An affectionate embrace to you and our dear friends there.

M. CALERO

23. From Rizal

Suggestions for *La Solidaridad*. A long letter to the women of Malolos.

37 Chalcot Crescent
Primrose Hill, N.W.,
London, February 22, 1889

My dear friend Plaridel:

I have received the copies of the newspapers and I congratulate your editors as well as your initiators. I have succeeded in convincing Regidor to give \$5 every month, and to contribute articles, so I think you should increase the number of

pages, since I find the newspaper too small. Furthermore, I believe you should accept advertisements, in order to make a little money, and to start, you should advertise the trade or business of our friends there (even if *gratis et amore*). But you must increase the number of pages. Do not hurry with the publication of my "Viajes", for it is not on current issues: publish it when there are no other articles. I shall soon send you interesting articles on the history of the Philippines, and above all, documents. Before the molds are destroyed, see to it that these are published as a pamphlet or as a book, so that at the end of the year, you will have a book that you can sell or give away as presents to your subscribers. This way, you will not have to spend for the cost of another composition. I promise to send you articles of great interest.

Enclosed is my long letter to the women of Malolos. Read it, and correct it, since there is no one here with whom I can speak Tagalog, I am beginning to forget it a little. I believe I owe them more than a simple letter, and so there it goes. Take care that it does not fall into the hands of the friars and get lost; it is my first draft, and I have no copy.

Give my love to all our friends, especially to the directors of the newspaper, to Canon, to Galicano and to all the members of *La Solidaridad*.

I think it would be good to always send a copy of the newspaper to Blumentritt.

I am sure you are doing this.

Please excuse this short letter, but my epistle to the women of Malolos has tired my hand.

Yours,

LAONG LAAN

24. From P. Doré

Search of homes.- The doors of the church of Malolos are shut during the sermon.- *Sálo-sálo** in the convent. Stratagem utilized by P. Doré to learn what the intentions of Ba Basing** are. Intrigues which clearly reveal the friars' hands. The friar of Tagudin, a lecherous man, assaulted with a knife. The parish priest of Agno is hacked to death with a bolo. Organize a demonstration against the expulsion of Filipinos from their provinces. A resident from Cabuyao banished to Jolo. Padre Gil as parish priest of Tondo. The pamphlet *Hanggang Kailan pa!**** - How to send our publications to Manila. P. Font collects signatures. The cross and candle bearers of Tondo to lead the Corpus procession. An anonymous letter to the *Gobernadorcillo* of Tondo. Regarding an insurrection instigated by the friars?

February 28, 1889

(Confidential)

My dear friend,

In the afternoon of the 20th of this month, two apartments adjacent to that of Dato,**** if you are on the way to Tondo, were searched. They were supposedly searching for some booklets; they were shown the booklet by the Most Illustrious Fr. Josefina Rodriguini, bishop *in patribus infedelium****** in Guadalupini, which they said was not the one they were looking for. They questioned the young girls who were then playing *sisiklot*, *sintak* and *songka*. They said they may have entered the wrong house, because the report they received was about a secret meeting in the Yayang apartment, and this was confirmed by the fact that a stranger was seen walking around and in front of the said apartment.

Please inform those concerned that the colony laments the tragic death of P. Pablo Ramón, ex-rector of Ateneo, vicar of Surigao, a humble priest and a wise and profound thinker.

* A get-together party

** Atty. Ambrosio Rianzares Bautista

*** Literally, "Until when shall it last"

**** Deodato Arellano

***** Latin phrase meaning "On the part or place of the infidels or non-Christian."

The clergy went on a spiritual exercise, at the invitation of Dean, the Capitular Vicar. It seems that the friars thought it was wrong that spiritual exercises were being held in the Jesuit house.

The present parish priest of Malolos now is Fr. Agustin Fernandez, formerly assigned to Paombong, who closes the doors of the Church during sermons, so that everyone must listen to the word of God which he proclaims from the pulpit. However, one day, Felipe and his group made noise during the sermon and forcibly opened the door. The friar admonished the group of 24 persons and told them to go to confession frequently. Let us see what will happen.

Felipe was locked up in the convent.

Font is leaving with this letter. There was a big gathering to bid him farewell, tears were shed, and two of his captains even vied with each other to offer breakfast: both captains wanted the old man to take breakfast at his tribunal. To cut short this competition and to please both captains, *Satsat* [derogatory term for the parish priest] ordered that all the food be brought to the convent where everyone took breakfast together. The big carriage of *Ba Basióng* was used to transfer to the large convent. This carriage was offered to Font, because long before his departure, our old man had met with him and they had reconciled. He told me this. Thinking that I could not fathom his devious plans, he invited me one day, and I led him to believe that I had turned my back on my former companions, something that he wanted to take place long ago, so that he tried to destroy my reputation, but fortunately I was able to maintain a clean life and thus prove that his insinuations about me were wrong. To gain his trust, and to acquire information about their plans, I decided to play along with the comedy. I began by stating that everyone was imprudent and did not want to follow his directions; that our companions are quick to prepare, but slow in action; that the friars, although they have faults, are serious when conversing and are capable of doing much good; I told him that some of them offered me a bright future, etc. etc. When I had convinced Ba Basióng, he told me that since he did not expect anything from his companions, he tried to become close to Font because Font is not in favor of the clergy becoming curates, since they become bad curates, while the friars,

since they have already learned from experience, will know how to get along well with us; we can benefit from them, and they will no longer commit abuses. He is also convinced that no one can rule the Philippines at this time, except the friars, and that if the day comes when there are no more friars, or if they lose their influence, there will be anarchy in the country, etc. etc. According to him, this is what he told Font, and because of this, *Satsat* sided with him. *Satsat* will visit Pablito there, and will give him the things he needs, and now, everywhere he goes, he praises the friars, especially the Dominicans and the Augustinians. This paid off for him: the land in Biñan that was confiscated from his sister was returned, and the family had land once again.

And, as if this was not enough, he made fun of ten inmates in Bilibid, driving them to desperation. Even before your departure, people were already talking about the writ of suspension; the special judge was declared incompetent last November, this month passed, then December, and January, and the promised writ was still not completed, in spite of his daily follow-up. Various excuses were given – that they were deliberating over it, that the judge was in Cavite, or in Batangas or Bulacan, etc. until finally nothing was accomplished. Thanks to Teo, he got Villareal to sign it. Last Saturday, after discouraging the witnesses, P. Alvarez presented his retraction, as you can see in the attached letter No. 1 of Perico. Be careful, even if only the two of us are already identified.

Ba Basiang is going around with Pablito's letter, soliciting contributions, and at the same time maligning me, and he does not tell us what his purpose is. I do not know what he is going to do with the money.

In the town of Tagudin (Ilocos Sur), the parish priest was hacked with a bolo; but he did not die. I am sending you a clipping about this. The popular version is: that this priest was very fond of women, and would go out on nightly 'excursions'; no woman was safe from his attentions, whether she was a virgin, single, widowed or married. Finally, he met a married woman, who started screaming when he was already inside the house and had revealed his intentions. The husband, who was watching outside, run inside and started kicking and hitting *panotsa* [Tagalog term

for circular-shaped chunk of brown sugar, probably an allusion to the friars' cassock] but he managed to escape by jumping out the window. The husband grabbed a bolo, run after him and caught up with him in the street, chasing after him into a room in the convent where he hacked him mercilessly. The husband, after inflicting 18 slashes with the bolo on the friar and thinking that he was dead, left. However, the friar who was pretending to be dead, was still alive, but in serious condition. To this date, we do not have any news whether the husband was captured, but probably he was not.

The parish priest of Agno, Zambales, a Recollect, was also hacked to death. He was less fortunate than the parish priest of Tagudin. The story is that the priest was visiting the Justice of the Peace when a man with a bolo attacked him, killing him with the second slash. I fear that the time will come when incidents like these will be occurring everyday, and it is only now that they are starting to take place.

It would be a good idea to start a movement in Madrid so that orders to banish individuals from their province will not be enforced here, and instead of being deported, individuals will be detained only in the province where they reside. What a sad situation for us.

Only a week ago, the principal of Cabuyaw (Laguna) Don Severo Manacsac, was taken to Jolo. He is an educated man, and is believed to be a relative of Rizal, the reason for the parish priest's antagonism toward him. During the last election, when Agustin Alaore was captain of the said town, Severo Manacsac was elected No. 1, and Sotero Batallones, got second place. However, due to the wrong information passed on by the board of town officials, at the instigation of Agustin Alaore, a crony of the parish priest, Manacsac was declared in second place. When he learned about this, Manacsac filed a complaint in court against Alaore, and as a result, Alaore was imprisoned. Upon his release from prison, Alaore with the assistance of Batallones, who was then occupying the position of Captain, sought revenge against Manacsac by securing a governmental order, per instructions of the parish priest. This was forwarded to Manila, and after several days, Manacsac was arrested at his residence on orders of the central government; he arrived here together with Hidalgo. I do not know how it

happened, but when he was already on his way to Jolo, Comandante Valera, an adjutant of the general, was able to get hold of Manacsac and taken back to Bilibid. When the general left for the South, Manacsac was with him as a deportee.

Father Mariano Gil arrived in Manila on the 26th of this month, and assumed his position on March 3. Upon his arrival, he ordered the Captain to assign some *cuadrilleros* [local police] to unload his luggage from the boat. The priest later told the residents that the Captain replied that his *cuadrilleros* were not supposed to be baggage carriers but were at the service of the tribunal. Tondo is ours!

It is obvious that the friar is sad, because he cannot find a reason to stimulate an insurrection.

In this same mail, I am sending you 12 copies of the seventh article of Father Rodriguez. "*Hanggang Kailan Pa!*" and *Ojo* are for you and for the others who are helping us. Also enclosed is the narration on the Cavite incident. This may be of use to you.

To make it easy for you to send our things here, place them in portable boxes made of old wood and ship them to Ui-Bin and Company in Singapore. Advise this company by mail to please forward these to the house of Se-Ga or Tia-na in Jolo, and we shall pick these up from there. The markings should be the same as I indicated in my previous letter, or P.F./T. I have already told them to take good care of this shipment.

It is rumored that Font has been gathering signatures to petition that the cross and candlestick bearers of Tondo lead the *Corpus Christi* procession in Manila. He also wanted the residents of Malate to do the same. What I am afraid of is that the captains may misinterpret this collection of signatures.

Font promised to follow up this matter in Madrid; hence, Cuaderno and his followers are soliciting contributions, which now amount to \$400. All the fathers who have children in Spain contributed, *Ba Basióng* being one of the first to do so.

Papeng was assigned to Imus. The present administration adapts the policy of attraction in Malolos. Pedro Tiongson died of heart failure at the beginning of this month. Paz, the sister of Ilia Tiongson passed away in the morning of the 27th in Uli-Uli, where she was recuperating from her ailment; it is assumed that she also succumbed to a heart attack. Gatmaytan is the acting parish priest of San Antonio, Nueva Ecija. In this manner, the gospel is being propagated.

The departure of Sr. Polanco was a great loss for the newspaper *La Opinion*. Pozo, the present director of this newspaper, was inspired by Guillén, the incumbent subintendent. Mercet was disgusted by this and resigned from the publication in the middle of this month; and this evening, Calderón, Carvajal and Vargas also resigned. Only Pozo and Wenceslao E. Retana remained to manage the newspaper *Desengaños*. Imagine what a group this is! If Mr. Polanco does not return soon, this newspaper will cease to exist, in the same way that the *Revista Popular* did.- Poblete, the Poblete, calls on you and your former companions in the magazine, *Manapatero*, (from the name Manapat), since it is dependent on Hazañas. This creature Poblete is mean and despicable.

I am also sending you a clipping on the expedition of Valé* to the Visayas. Study this well and show it later to Messrs. Quiroga and Gomez, and then to the others so that they may be kept informed, and let us see if they will undertake the corresponding remedy.

With regard to the newspaper, I do not take even a moment's rest.

An embrace to all those in both colonies, and most especially for you.

P. DORE

P.S. – On the evening of the 16th, the Captain of the native residents of Tondo received an anonymous letter; this was shown

* The workers of the old Guard used the nickname of Valé to refer to Captain Valeriano Weyler, of ill-starred fame.

to Font who took supper there last night, although he had said farewell a week ago. At present, the post office warden is in jail for being implicated in the Cavite incident. The Communications Officer is also in jail. Work on the papers for the judicial proceedings goes on through the night. We do not know how this will end, nor do we know the contents of the anonymous letter, although we believe it may have come from the friar and concerns a supposed insurrection, and is meant to work against us. We are keeping watch on the situation, and preparing our people so that in the event mass arrests are carried out, they will be ready.

VALE

Publish the enclosed list of regulations in a bilingual pamphlet: if it is [the following sentences are missing.(Ed.)]

25. From Ambrosio Rianzares Bautista

He recommends unity and brotherhood. Bautista says the case of the Gobernadorcillo was remanded to the court where it was originally filed. His substitute refrains from acting on, and does not heed accusations. Reason why Serrano will not leave the country. The death of the Archbishop is a great loss. The Vicar who now governs is controlled by the friars. It is impossible that the government will acquiesce to our aspirations.

Manila, March 3, 1889

Señor Don Marcelo H. del Pilar
Barcelona

My esteemed friend:

I am glad to know that you arrived there safe and sound, and that you are now among them, hence I cannot do less than rely on your common-sense to continuously exhort them to form a solid and fraternal union, which unfortunately are not characteristic traits of our race. You will do the same in Madrid among Filipinos there who seem to be more disunited.

I no longer have time to write to Mr. Q., but since I presume that you will not fail to write him, please tell him for me that the case of the gobernadorcillos was returned by the Audiencia to the Judge of the Court of First Instance so that they could continue with the case there, since it could not find sufficient grounds to implicate C. Nevertheless, Pedrito presented his retraction to that Tribunal, since he was opposed to the case, which he believed was not necessary, and seeing how the case was proceeding. Thus, I fulfill my promise to keep you abreast on developments, for the satisfaction of Mr. C. When he left, the writ of prohibition had already been issued in favor of the Audiencia.

You can also tell him that after his departure, the gentleman he left here restrained himself greatly, not heeding the rude and coarse denunciation directed against him, and to harm some of us. For this reason, Serrano has put off his plan to go there. The day after your departure, it is said that he tried to prevent you from leaving by filing a case against you and others. Luckily, this case which was initiated in Bulacan was aborted.

The Archbishop's death is a great loss for us, because the Capitular Vicar who succeeded him is more subservient to the friars, so that they were able to persuade him to transfer our Padre Ape to the most miserable town in Cavite, a concession which they were not able to obtain from the late Archbishop who in his last days was opposed to all plots of revenge.

Do not be deceived! In view of the circular issued by the Ministry of Ultramar, entitled *The man of the barricades*, you can conclude that our endeavors are useless, and we cannot expect the government to accede to our aspirations, not unless the republican party of Zorilla will rise to power.

I will not make this letter long, as I can write to you again on another occasion. When you have time, please look after Pablito and Jaena.

Your affectionate comrade,

AMBROSIO R. BAUTISTA

26. To Deodato Arellano

Letters lost. During the voyage, he was busy working on his pamphlet and on the article *Sagot sa Hibik*. * Jaena's discourse at the Ateneo in Barcelona was applauded. Like the heart-rending scream of the Filipino people. The Spaniards are eager to listen to reports of abuses and iniquities.

Barcelona, March 7, 1889

Ka Dato:

In my possession is your tenth letter dated January 16. No one has replied to my letters which I mailed in Aden and the Suez Canal. The mail courier that came was the *Isla de Panay*. We encountered this ship, which was on its way there, while we were inside the canal the day after we had left the mail ship at the entrance to the narrow passageway of the Suez Canal; in which case, the letters could have been sent before the *Isla de Panay* sailed, or they could have, or should have, been picked up by said ship. During the trip, all the letters I mailed from Singapore were addressed to Chanay,** because I had very little time to write, I was travelling on a third-class ticket, and I was quite occupied with the pamphlet and the article *Sagot sa Hibik*, and I am sending you the uncorrected proof. They just handed it to me now, as I am writing this letter.

In the second issue of *La Solidaridad*, you will find the speech of our Graciano which he delivered at the Ateneo in Barcelona, which is the foremost center of scientific excellence in the principality. In attendance were the elite of the intellectual community, and despite the presence of many conservatives, the anti-friar sentiments of the orator were received with much applause. Graciano, with his gestures while in the rostrum, personified the heart-rending and desperate cry of the Filipinos.

* Literally, Response to the Sobblings

** Wife of del Pilar (Ed)

After the speech, the Spaniards warmly embraced the orator; and you should have seen the conference hall! Every Filipino was surrounded by a group of prominent Spaniards, eager to hear directly from their lips of the events that were taking place there. In each group, they heard the respective opinions of the individual Filipino at the center of the group, which were at the same time identical: that of the peaceful, quiet but sharp Naning,*** the combative and exaggerated Damaso, the fiery demagogue Galicano,**** and myself. Everyone agreed that Graciano's speech covered only a tenth of what should have been said, but respect for the audience prevented him from including particular details.

Farewell, your brother embraces you.

MARCELO

P.S. While reading this letter by candlelight, one of the sides of the page was burned, but I suppose you can supply the missing words. Adieu.

27. To Pedro Icasiano

Divine Providence will determine the destiny of the country. It was impossible for the monastic power to suppress the manifestation of the popular will. Death of the Archbishop who was opposed to it. Do not be discouraged in this undertaking, nor take pride in the good results of the campaign. We are merely instruments in God's design for peace, who will not permit that the misfortunes of millions of his created beings will be endless. Our task is to struggle against the reactionaries.

March 7, 1889 *Dati rin******

Señor Don P. Ikazama
[Pedro Icasiano]

Dear Friend:

I have with me your letter dated the 2nd of last month and

*** Mariano Ponce

**** Galicano Apacible

***** Tagalog word meaning "in the same address"

have taken note of all the information you relay to me. It is important to acknowledge the hand of Divine Providence in all the things that are taking place there; one must be an atheist, an out and out atheist, not to recognize this fact. An attempt is being made to discredit and thwart the manifestation of the popular will, and such a simple thing will demolish the castle built by the powerful. Payo dies, and there were no words that could counteract the demonstrations that took place in the month of March. I am not speaking out of emotion, as you know, I was opposed to any attacks against P. Payo. It is our duty not be discouraged in this undertaking, or to take pride in the good results of our campaign. We should continue conducting ourselves in the manner we have been observing, and we should not forget that we are merely instruments of the God of peace in his inscrutable design, who will not permit that the misfortunes of millions of his creatures will go on endlessly. Let us praise heaven and have faith, a strong and resolute faith in the future: we shall see that not even the power of our enemies, nor the discouragement of some of our friends will weaken our determination to promote the ideals we are fighting for. In this struggle, we shall not use bullets of lead; in this struggle, our ideals our bullets, and these are precisely what the enemy lacks. Bigotry and calumny cannot weaken us.

With the publication of *La Solidaridad*, we have been branded 'posibilistas'* by the posibilistas, and 'Zorillistas' by the zorrillistas**; and the autonomists*** think of us as 'autonomistas'.

I do not wish to defend nor define our situation, and we continue to maintain this stand. Basilio, and all of you out there, what is your advice – to which sector should we affiliate ourselves when the time comes.

At present, our task is to continue our struggle against those who oppose progress; the more they do battle with us, the better; but I observe that there are certain level-headed persons in their

* Persons who have the power to attain an end

** Followers of Zorilla's Republican Party

*** Advocators of self-government

midst who are traditionalists and refuse to attack us on issues concerning the country.

My correspondence with Fernando,* a friend of Viola, has risen to such a level that I feel my choice of words is inadequate; more than once, I have had to think of Basilio. I have to think carefully of every word, because in spite of our cordiality, he tends to misinterpret some words which causes him to misunderstand what I really mean, but I will not give up.

Finally, let us see where we shall end. In any event, I do not wish to end up in a situation that we cannot control.

I embrace you.

L. O. CRAME
[Another pseudonym of Del Pilar]

Ask Cankong and Sandico to visit Trining on my behalf: I will advise her of this now.

28. To Natividad Collantes

Praise God that Trining remembers this emigrant!

Barcelona, March 7, 1889

Señora Doña Natividad Collantes

My dear Madam Collantes:

Naning has passed on to me your explanations, but in truth, your apologies were not necessary, since you were already excused beforehand.

However, I accept them, to exalt heaven and exclaim: Praise God that Trining remembers this emigrant!

* Fernando Ma. Guerrero, poet of the Revolution and member of the editorial staff of *La Independencia*, organ of the Revolution.

They will visit you on my behalf, and in the meantime, I remain your humble servant at your command.

MARCELO H. DEL PILAR

29. To Rizal

He is grateful for the praise. "Rizal does not yet have the right to die."- His name symbolizes our sacred aspirations. *Plaridel* and his followers support him. And, "all the darts hurled against his name are received in the hearts of those who love him." The case of the *gobnadorcillos* who were imprisoned.

Barcelona, March 10, 1889

Friend Laong Laan:

The praises of Rizal for the *La Soberania Monacal* have almost made me proud, since it does not deserve that much praise. Applause from the author of *Noli Me Tangere*, *Consejo de los Dioses*, *Vision* etc., etc. constitutes an inestimable triumph for a petty author who has been trained in a country of petty *gobnadorcillos*, petty directors, lawyers, fiscals, and other diminutive eminencies; but the truth is that desire is deceptive, and you are a clear example. Hoping to redeem myself, I believe myself redeemed. I accept your praises as they inspire me. Thank you for your kind words.

Rizal does not yet have the right to die. His name represents the purest and most immaculate banner of our sacred aspirations; and *Plaridel* and his followers are merely volunteers who serve under that standard.

Because of this, you must have observed that all the accusations that are hurled against him are received in the hearts of those who love him. You have seen actual proof of this fact.

Quiroga is not empowered by the *gobnadorcillos*, nor has the case even reached the stage when it can be acted upon by the Court [in Madrid?]. The indictment is still being prepared, and

please ask Mr. Regidor how many years does the indictment process take in the Spanish system when the accused is innocent, and there exists a dogged determination to harass them.

I am told that you plan to go to Paris: there you will meet one* of the gobernadorcillos who signed the petition. In Marseilles, I gave him a letter of recommendation addressed to you, and he will probably present this to you. If you take up residence in the room they found for you at the Hotel de Castilla, it will be easy for him to greet you.

Your affectionate friend embraces you.

M. H. DEL PILAR

30. To Fernando Blumentritt

Condolence on the death of Prince Rudolph of Austria. Thank you for the historical data you sent for *La Solidaridad*. Correctness of Blumentritt's assessment of our affairs. A soul capable of understanding us, who knows what our virtues and sorrows are. Our goal: to identify our interests with those of the Peninsula. The monastic interest is the only obstacle. Blumentritt's prophecy on the success of our cause.

Barcelona, March 10, 1889

Señor Don Fernando Blumentritt

My distinguished friend:

I received your letter dated February 21, and upon learning from your letter about the enlightened disposition that characterized the life of Prince Rudolph, I begin to realize and deplore the immense void created by his tragic death, and I join the good people of Austria, lovers of liberty and progress, in their time of bereavement. I envy all those countries where the people are free to sincerely mourn the loss of their princes.

* Justo Trinidad

The data that you sent me has enabled us to expand our bi-monthly newspaper. A million thanks to you for your invaluable assistance.

I am also grateful for your honest appraisal of the said situation in the Philippines: you cannot imagine the depth of the gratitude that all Filipinos feel for someone who is capable of understanding us, and takes upon himself its virtues, and the miseries that afflict our existence.

Our aspirations may be reduced to only a few: to identify our interests with those of the Peninsula, to think and feel with them, to respect what they respect, to reject what they reject; in short, to base our duties and our rights with the duties and responsibilities of those in the Metropolis.

The only obstacle in our path is the monastic interest, because their well-being is based on the constant conflict between the two races; Spain continues to ignore the problem, thus subjecting the loyal Filipinos to rigorous trials and suffering.

May God grant that your prophecy regarding the triumph of our cause be fulfilled, which is the goal of Spain in Oceania!

I have not seen any news in the Spanish newspapers regarding the negotiations between Germany and Morroco, and thanks to your information, perhaps *La Solidaridad* will be the first newspaper to report on this matter. With regard to this, the plan of Germany....

Note: The page following this clause is blank; perhaps the right page was misplaced while these letters were in the keeping of Señor Ponce. In any event, we shall not attempt to explain the loss of the text on said page. (Curator of Manuscripts.)

31. To Josefa Gatmaitan

That the Bulakeñas assist in the regeneration of the country. A woman is the best guide to lead a man on the road to virtue. – European newspapers laud their civic spirit. – The encouraging letter from the Hero. – The talented women of

Bulacan are inferior to the women of Malolos in respect to their civic spirit. – The virtue most pleasing to the Creator is that man perfect his intelligence to serve as his guiding light in the path of life. – Knowledge of the Spanish language is an advantage in your education.

Barcelona, March 13, 1889.

Señorita Doña Josefa Garmaitan.

My dearest niece:

The misfortunes of life that Providence has deigned to bestow on me, in its mysterious design, have forced me to depart from that beautiful land where I have left pieces of my heart. I was not able to take leave of the persons I cherish, because I lacked the time; and I shall make up for this failure, by relaying my humble words through you, to the young women of Bulacan, being certain that you are undoubtedly the ones destined to regenerate our country: because of your influential role within the family, as daughter or sister, wife or mother, the woman is not only the provider of healing comfort to the rigors of life; greater still is the role she plays in an imperceptible manner, leading man on the road to a virtuous life or along the path of perversity and cowardice.

I have visited many countries, and I have seen eloquent proof that where the woman is virtuous, vice is hardly existent and popular customs are predominantly dignified; but where the woman is frivolous, man wallows in immorality, the current trend being obliviousness or total disregard of sacred values.

What takes place in the sphere of morality also takes place in the sphere of intelligence. The education of the woman stimulates and elevates the education of the man; so that in certain foreign cities it is customary to hold periodic competitions for the youth of both sexes from different schools and colleges, to show to the young men and young women that in a tough contest involving intelligence, awards are given to those who have received more or better education.

On their part, the young women of Malolos have taken a step forward toward the attainment of education; and they shall

achieve this end despite any obstacles that may arise to frustrate their aspirations. Newspapers and letters we receive from France, England, Austria and other places, express their congratulations to these young people on their conduct, recognizing in their behavior that the awareness of their dignity is beginning to awaken among the beautiful and sacred half of the people of Malolos. This good news was so welcome that even the learned and honorable author of *Noli me tângere*, sent them a long letter of congratulations from London. It would be a good idea for you to obtain a copy of this letter, which would be the best legacy you could leave for future generations.

Hence, during my long and melancholy nights, when I lie awake thinking of my distant home, and of the young women who are the ornaments of my country, I cannot help but ponder on this sad question: why should a town like Bulacan, the birth place of a Pascuala and a Socorro Caiñgal, an Agustina and Magdalena Pagya, a Eugenia Fernando, the Enriquezes and many others whose brilliant talent I have had occasion to observe and silently admire; why should it be inferior to the town of Malolos? Congratulations, may you surpass them in material wealth; congratulations, may you surpass them in the elegance of your clothing and bagatelles (which I doubt); but in your thirst for knowledge and in your intellectual struggles, I see no reason why, in comparison to the town of Malolos - the town of the Basilia Tiongson - Bulacan should be reduced to a town of the sisters Yscá, Veronica and others.

No - do not allow this to happen, dear young ladies. Be sure that I do not deceive you. Those who wish to keep the fair sex in a state of deplorable ignorance and stupidity may perhaps tell you otherwise. I do not deceive you, I do not seduce you; I have no personal interest in this matter, I do not ask you nor shall I ask you for offerings of candles, masses or anything.

There will be no lack of persons who, in front of you, will disparage my religious sentiments in order to discredit my words; but all of you know me, and if you do not, you have my daughter there, who is still at an age in which she is not able to conceal her true beliefs. Question her, examine closely her religious beliefs and you will be able to form an opinion on the religious sentiments

of her father. You will be able to give the lie to those who slander me, secure in the knowledge that you will do justice to those who truly and sincerely love you.

I have observed that a social phenomenon is taking place in our country, and this phenomenon has filled me with sad thoughts. In our society, for centuries, countless women take communion every Sunday, and yet, when a wet nurse is needed, people from Manila and other parts come to Bulacan.

This affects our honor, virgins of Bulacan, and it is important to face the problem and find a way to remedy the situation. You must work at this, because sad to say, the magnates of this town, the men in charge of the popular conscience, are not concerned or worried about your reputation. You cannot deny their deplorable indifference.

Perhaps I do not have much time left in this world. I do not know if the problems of my hectic existence will permit me to return and see you, to contemplate once more on your charms and virtues. This is why, before old age descends upon me, before I rest in the silence of the tomb, I have to fulfill my duty by calling your attention to this matter which adversely affects the honor of Bulacan, which is our town, the town of our mothers, of our sisters, of all of us.

This sad fact of life should convince you that virtue is not a matter of reciting prayers, of striking one's breast and other outward manifestations. What is most pleasing to the Creator is the improvement of one's intelligence, which He, in His infinite love, has bestowed on His creations to serve as a guiding light on the path of life.

It is your duty to develop your intelligence by means of education. You should also pass on to your companions the knowledge you possess and which they need. Do not forget young ladies, an intelligence that is not developed through education is like a lighthouse without a light; instead of guiding the seafarer, it may cause his ship to crash against the rocks.

Knowledge of Spanish is an advantage when reading, and will strengthen your education. You must be eager to work at it, and be really interested in learning, so that the study of the Spanish language will become widespread among all the women, both the single and the married ladies.

Fortunately, you are presented with a good opportunity. According to news, Socorro has been appointed to manage the school in that town. Considering the kindness of this illustrious teacher and her love for the town of her birth, I believe she will not refuse you if you request her to open a school for adults.

The study of the Spanish language is not a luxury, from which the poor and the married ladies should be excluded. It is not a useless thing to be used for telling jokes or one of those peculiar witticisms so frequently on the lips of Bulakeños. Everyday, you see the difficulties that confront the people in a country that ignores Spanish, and setting aside other tedious considerations, ask many of our worthy and respected elderly people how many tears they have shed, how many desperate sighs have been wrenched from the depths of their being, because of their ignorance of the Spanish idiom. I am sure they will respond by cursing the fact that they did not learn such a precious language in the past. I can therefore tell you now that if they had had a mother who knew Spanish, she would have been able to teach it to them, and these poor people would not have cursed their remembrances.

The young women of today, whether single or married, will be mothers tomorrow; and they should possess knowledge not only for themselves, but also to prevent their future progeny from cursing the past. To achieve this end, they must be willing to sacrifice a few hours of *panguingui* [a game of cards commonly played by women to pass the time] or other pastimes.

This is why, from a distant region across the seas, I exhort you with all my soul, to please have a little love for that town, which in the midst of its unhappiness, knew how to provide us with everything, protected our cradle, delighted in our childhood, and when we reached the age of reason and bitterness, it conserved the old relics of our sacred memories. Cherish it, dear young ladies, contribute to its fortune, and do not gaze upon it with a

smile of indifference! Learn, receive instruction, develop the desire to study, and you shall have fulfilled your mission on earth.

This is why I earnestly recommend that a true spirit of unity and harmony reign in your midst; set aside and forget about any quarrels that threaten to darken the sky of your charms. Each of you should be willing to sacrifice her self-esteem for the common good. You can be sure that your unity and sisterhood will result in a grand and great future.

Inspire each other to uplift with your precious hands the honor and prestige of Bulacan. Influence your parents, your brothers, all those who profess to truly care for you; influence them, I repeat, so that they will support this objective and undertake measures toward the development of education. Convince them that an educated person is worth more than all the temples in the world that have ever been built, or are still to be built, because an educated mind is the sanctuary where the goodness and magnificence of its Creator may be seen.

Farewell, Josefa! Greet the young women of Bulacan for me, and give my warm regards to your father and sisters, as well as to Tadiong, his wife, and to my namesake. Love from your uncle who expects letters from you in every mail, but written in Spanish.

M.H. DEL PILAR

P.S. Please do me the favor of reading this letter to Ponsoy, and tell him that I expect his cooperation, as well as that of his friends, so that the thoughts recorded here may bear fruit. Goodbye.

32. To Justo Trinidad

The hand of Divine Providence guides the course of events in the Philippines. A large pro-Payo demonstration was being prepared to discredit last year's anti-monastic rally, which was popular in nature, but Payo dies and the plot was frustrated. Recollect jeered for his diatribe against the natives.

Barcelona, March 13, 1889

Señor Don Justo Trinidad
Dear friend:

I received your letter with the enclosed copy of the printed form.

Study the events that are taking place in the Philippines and you will clearly see the hand of Divine Providence at work. The most powerful elements were preparing to stage a huge demonstration in support of P. Payo on the occasion of his golden anniversary, in order to discredit last year's rally and attribute its instigation on four rascals, thus negating its voluntary and popular nature. And you can see what happened; Payo dies before the day of his golden anniversary, and so the demonstration will no longer take place.

They say that a Recollect was jeered when he insulted the natives of the country during his sermon. You can read about this and other incidents in the *La Solidaridad*.

Please greet Rizal for me when he arrives.

An embrace from your affectionate friend.

MARCELO H. DEL PILAR

33. To Pedro Ycasiano

Movement for the country's independence from Spain in propaganda letters, by *Mamá, Plaridel* and *Sikatuna*. Inaccuracies concerning Silang's rebellion. Discord prevented by lack of oxygen. Castelar at the summit of his aspirations. Morayta could excel. Our race is spared from becoming thoroughly steeped in the customs of the colonizers. Healthy reforms for the Philippines. Plaridel is invited to speak. He presents our aspirations very clearly.

March 13, 1889,
Datirin [same address]
Señor Don P. Ikazama:

My dear friend:

As the first copy [original] of the newspaper, which is to be released on the 15th, is now complete, I am taking advantage of a few moments of rest to write this letter. Since there is no mail going out today for that region, I will add more to this letter on the last day, and at the last moment.

Upon my request, *Mamá* [nickname given to Rizal by Del Pilar] is writing a very long epistle to the Basiliás and Company, and I believe that this will help you. On my part, I sent a letter to my [female] townmates care of Pepang; I am sending it to *Otad* [Ka Dato, brother in law of Del Pilar]. It would be good for the fellows to learn about it so that there will be uniformity in the procedure. Perhaps *Sikatuna* will also write to his town. It is necessary to build up Graciano's prestige in the province, so I shall see to it that he writes in his dialect.

Isabelo de los Reyes is upsetting us completely with his *ilocanisms*: He writes about Silang's episode with certain inaccuracies which are favorable to the friars, without taking into account that his words may have a fatal effect on his compatriots; *anak ti diablo!* [Ilocano expression meaning "son of the devil"] These inaccuracies which are favorable to *satsat* reveal his eagerness to do away with the fanatical character of Diego Silang's rebellion. History says that Silang, upon his victory, handed over the command to Jesus Nazareno, without making clear if he was referring to the image which bears that name, or to an individual with the same name. Reyes says he gave the command to a "certain Jesus Nazareno," a phrase that indicates that this was a human being revered by Silang.

The study that I am conducting little by little on the militant parties in Spain is not yet complete. It is only in Madrid that I can complete it. Here are my observations.

Sagasta* is a spendthrift. He is a strong opponent. When in authority, all his talent is pinpointed at uniting opposing wills, but he is unable to make any serious political move because he lacks administrative abilities, and also because of his divergent commitments. He agrees to every proposal, whether it concerns a minor matter or an important law; if he enters into a discussion, he finds a way to prolong the argument. Sagasta's talent is ghastly, and as this fact is being noted by his fellow politicians, there is a move to create another party within the Sagastino party, but this schism has not been declared definitely, probably because of lack of logistics.

Castelar** will not be able to go across into the monarchy because there does not exist a position within the monarchy which is equivalent to the post he formerly occupied as head of a republican state, but since it is sovereign in character, it can do away with credentials, whether in relation to Sagasta or Canovas.*** Castelar does not agree to change. There are also discontents within his party. Castelar has definitely reached the summit of his aspirations, and his political campaign cannot be in favor of progress, if you will take into consideration that the politics of these people is personal in nature and inclination. Morayta,**** his next in command, has reasons to disagree with the chief, but he says he is undecided because they have been close since they were children. My personal conjecture is that he also lacks necessary qualities to sustain the independence of his own personality. I have received invitations to join this party, but I have refrained for the time being, because I believe that with its closed agenda, it is useless. Let us see if the secret and suspicious aspirations of Morayta will encourage us to have second thoughts. *[The following paragraph is completely illegible – note of the Curator of Manuscripts.]*

* Sagasta, Praxedes Mateo - Spanish statesman, leader of the liberal in Cortes (1875-83) Prime minister in 1895 but resigned because of trouble in Cuba, Headed the government again during the critical period, Hispano-American War

** Castelar y Ripoll, Emilia-Spanish statesman, orator and writer, Deputy of the Center (1869). Advocate of Republican form of government and separation of Church and State.

*** Canovas del Castillo – Spanish statesman and writer (1895-97), prepared law for the abolition of slavery; set up plan of granting autonomy to Cuba.

**** Morayta – History professor of Rizal at the Universidad de Madrid, a liberal and friend of the Filipino reformists in Spain.

In the discord brought about by the alliance, it seems Moret* joined the circle belonging to *Matanda*: I lack data and cannot give more details regarding this matter. I shall not lose track of this, in the meantime.

I do not have anything to say regarding the other parties. Their ideals are directly opposite to ours, and I will not bother to study them. Do you know that I am grateful to *satsat* [the friar-curate] for having insulated us from the *cacas* [friars] up to this time? If we are not grateful because he only follows his egotism, we should at least acknowledge the hand of Divine Providence who is perhaps reserving a grand destiny for our race. Because of this isolation, their customs were not able to replace ours; however, the tendency to imitate is prevalent among some of us. We should praise, yes, praise God for all eternity for having saved our race from being overwhelmed by the colonizers' customs. Thus our virtues were preserved, our love for order, our hospitality, our remarkably charitable spirit, which you do not notice there since it is so common and ordinary, but here, we miss what is natural there, since we in the midst of all these selfish and frivolous souls who have no ideals, and who are only concerned with the moment, and with what is most convenient for them personally. Believe me, dear fellow, I came with very high expectations, but every day I become more convinced of the incompatibility of this race with sentiments of dignity. It is sad to admit this, but there is nothing that we can learn from this wicked people who treat their ancestors (Arabs and Jews) with so much cruelty.

Our Don Ambrosio has said several times that our race is made up only of Quijotes and Sanchos,** but I can now say that not even Don Ambrosio can imagine the painful accuracy of his statement, the only difference being that the Quijotes of today are more pragmatic than Quijote de la Mancha.

* Segismundo Moret, Minister of Ultramar, 1870

** Figuratively speaking, they are men who, by all means, like to be the judge or defender of things that do not belong to them; they are men who are excessively punctilious.

The Zorrillista* party is starting to fortify itself with the deceptiveness that inspires the amalgamation of Sagasta and the chanciness of Castelar. The government is afraid of it, as proven by its boastful actions which give the impression that they are not concerned if Zorilla leaves his residence to watch over the person living in exile in Paris. They prefer Zorilla rather than the Carlistas** or the anarchists. This is what the gallant men of the law call indifference. But there is one contradiction; aside from the real or deceptive defections of the Martos and other eminent ex-Zorrillistas, the triumph of the Republican coalition is gradually becoming apparent, and knavish ambition is placed before everything else. The question of leadership is producing painful dissension. Although it does not appear to take on the character of a schism, it is nevertheless weakening the party's organization. This leads me to remember the sad smile of the Americans, and to murmur with them: "this is Spanish" - Graciano belongs to this party. I have attended two meetings and in the speeches that were delivered, announcements were made regarding favorable reforms for the Philippines. They invited me to speak but I asked to be excused since I feel it is not yet the right time for me to do so. I made them understand that I represent aspirations that are perfectly defined, and this is the reason why, without the consent of my followers, I believe I should not speak in an official capacity, only to express my personal feelings. In any case, Graciano is already in their party, and for now, in my judgment, that is sufficient. Nevertheless, I await your opinion.

This is all for now, until the next mail which leaves on the *Mensajarias* [ships that carry mail] on the 21st of this month.

March 20, 1889

[This is the second part of the letter to P. Ikazama.]

Project to establish a university in the Philippines, and a school for engineers to give impetus to colonization. The government is threatened with a crisis.- Weyler is forced to resign. *Plaridel* wants to know the results of his legal action.

The mail is leaving tomorrow, and I take up my pen once again to write you the last-minute news.

* Zorilla, Manuel Ruiz, President of Cortes in 1870, Prime Minister in 1871-1873
** Partisans of Don Carlos Maria Isidro de Borbon, claimant to the throne.

The idea of establishing a university and a school for engineers there in order to give impetus to colonization efforts is gaining ground. But this will be difficult to achieve based on mere promises, despite the great desire of Becerra, the Government is already facing a crisis which is becoming more terrifying every day.

They obliged Weyler to resign, but it appears that he is not willing to do so. The Minister of Foreign Affairs was said to be disgusted with his conduct lately. Perhaps they will dismiss Weyler from office, or if his supporters manage to save him, they will at least continue to harass him.

It is important that Candó give us news, the same with Tasio: they should write to the correspondent of Borneo.

For my own guidance, I wish to be informed of the details and results of my legal action: above all, I would like to know what was the final decision.

Tell Pedro Serrano to be careful of becoming too intimate with the Jesuits, because they are more adept than others at sacrificing friends.

Your friend embraces you.

CARMELO

34. From P. Doré

More copies of *La Solidaridad* for the propaganda movement. José Alejandrino departs for Spain. That newspapers be sent to Uy-Bin of Singapore. With a request to send them to the Chinese Tiana of Jolo. "We wish to support our "*Mirabeau*". Will Plaridel devote himself to politics, or will he adopt a conciliatory attitude and return with the title of doctor to aspire for a position? The priest Mariano Gil is upset because the teacher and students of Tondo did not kiss his hand.

March 14, 1889

Dear friend Patos:

I received your seventh letter last February 7, together with the prayer book and the *pasión* you sent.

It is good that you send us here many copies of *La Solidaridad* for the preliminary work of our newspaper, so that when we begin to publish in Madrid, we shall already have subscribers. We shall not stop working so that we can launch this project soon, and now I am not working on anything else so that there will be no delay.

José Alejandrino is leaving for that direction on the next voyage of the mail ship *Reina Mercedes*. He is one of us, so I hope you will give him a warm welcome. I am sending you many things through him.

As I have said in my last letters, it will be easier for copies of the newspaper coming from there to gain entry here if these are sent first to Singapore, to the establishment of Uy-Bin & Co. with instructions that these then be remitted to Se-Ga or Tiana in Jolo and should be marked P.F./T. We shall have the shipment picked up from there. If possible, please inform me in a separate letter when the package containing the newspapers will be dispatched from there so that we can advise our messenger. It is necessary that all the copies be sent at the same time. Because of the great number of subscribers, the few copies you sent are not sufficient. As a matter of fact, the last shipment you sent of three copies for each chief, were too few. Although it is true that this does not do us much good right now, the day will come when we will benefit greatly. The newspapers can be packed in a box of the same size of as the carton of Ginebra, or smaller. Do not use a larger box, as it will be too obvious.

For the present time, you can rest assured that you will receive a monthly pension of thirty pesos, this could be increased when circumstances permit: we also wish to support our *Mirabeau*.

B. in his letter was asking you what you intend to do during your stay here: he wants to know whether you plan to devote

yourself completely to politics, in which case we advise you to join the party of Martos, because in our opinion it is the most sensible and the best managed; or perhaps you may decide to adopt a conciliatory attitude during the administration of this general, and return here with the title of doctor, or some other credentials which will qualify you for a position in the ministerial office of the Civil Administration. In this case, you should not expose yourself too much. Whatever you decide, you can count on everyone's cooperation, but especially if you opt to dedicate yourself totally to politics, because there are persons who have made a serious commitment to support you. (sic)

Until my next letter. I embrace you warmly, your friend who cares for you,

P. DORE

P.S. I told Naning that three copies of number 325 of the Sunday issue of the newspaper are lacking.

Paing is leaving today for Imus.

Senday and her husband came here to reside permanently, because they can no longer live in Malolos. The young girls there were always taunting them, to get even for the mischief Senday used to cause them in the past, as you are aware of.

Last Sunday, the 10th of this month, the girls were seated on the steps of the stairs in Margarita's school in Tondo, together with the assistant of Margarita, Doña Guadalupe Reyes Otaiza, where they were waiting to greet the priest Fr. Mariano Gil after mass, in accordance with the rule. As Father Gil climbed up the stairs, the girls greeted him good morning, but they said it in a dry manner. The priest later reproached them in Tagalog for not kissing his hand. Guadalupe retorted that the girls were not accustomed to this kind of humiliation. This infuriated the priest, and he asked her who she was. She replied that she was the assistant; so, countered the *satsat*, they should learn to get used to kissing the hand. He then asked whether the girls knew their catechism in Tagalog. "No," she said, "because they have never studied it, but yes, they know the *Atsete* in Spanish." Then the priest said: "the *Atsete* in

Spanish? And what kind of Spanish are they going to learn? Nothing," he added, "I shall inform the general about this, that you are not teaching what you should be teaching." "Go ahead and do it," she said, "do you think you are talking to those from Bigaa?" Later on, she was expelled from the school, but since Margarita could not find anyone to replace Guadalupe, she asked Guadalupe to return. I do not know if she accepted the request.

"I forget what I said the other day," added the priest, "but I shall see to it that you are removed from the school," to which she replied: "and do you think I need the job? In my house, I have food to eat, and I only teach as a hobby." More news in the next mail.

P. DORE

35. To Deodato Arellano

Plaridel has exhausted his resources. He orders that his properties in Bulacan be sold, and asks for \$300 to cover his expenses for his return. "I would rather share in your misfortunes than enjoy an unproductive liberty here, far from you."

Barcelona, March 20, 1889

Ka Dato:

Since my last letter on the 7th of this month, I have not received any mail from there, and I am taking advantage of the mail that is leaving tomorrow.

I received the check sent by L. Aktaw, at the request of Naning. I gave it to him so that he could cash and manage it. I suppose it was meant to pay for the work that is being done here.

In one of my letters, I told you that I was planning to deposit part of the money I had for future expenses; but I see that this is not possible now. It is almost used up, and if no other remittance comes, I shall soon find myself in utter misery, since I have no other resources here.

When they have sold my properties in Bulacan, I would like to have a deposit here of \$300 to cover expenses for my trip back home. As soon I have everything organized here, I wish to return to our country, since I would rather share in your misfortunes there than enjoy a fruitless liberty here far from you.

Your brother embraces you all.

MARCELO

36. To José M. Basa

Fifty copies of *La Soberania Monacal* to be brought into the Philippines. News from Hongkong, Borneo, needed for the newspaper.

Barcelona, March 20, 1889

Señor Don José M. Basa
[*Hongkong*]

My distinguished friend:

Allow me to send you herewith 50 copies of my humble work, and I hope you can find a way to introduce these in our country with the help of L. Aktaw. You have the authority to dispose of these copies in the best manner possible so that they can be widely circulated.

I would also like to request you to send us news about the colony, Borneo, and other neighboring countries.

My regards to your family. Your friend who remains always at your command.

MARCELO H. DEL PILAR

37. From La Solidaridad

La Solidaridad, a Filipino association, congratulates *Plaridel* for his work *La Soberania Monacal en Filipinas*. In it, the noble aspirations of *La Solidaridad* are highlighted.

La Solidaridad, a mutual association of Filipinos, in a meeting of the general council during its session held on the 8th of this month, among other resolutions, adopted the following:

That in accordance with the Association's rules and the ideals it espouses, it hereby congratulates you for your most important work entitled *La Soberania Monacal en Filipinas* which you have just published. We note with pleasure that this work expresses the noble aspirations of *La Solidaridad* and the rationale behind its efforts for the advancement of progress and prosperity in our mother country, the Philippines.

Your name and the title of your work will be inscribed in the Book of Gold of the Association, as proof of our admiration and affection for you.

I have the honor of informing you accordingly, for your knowledge and gratification.

May God grant you many more years.

Barcelona, March 22, 1889.

V.ºB.º

The President

G. Apacible

The Secretary

Damaso Ponce

SEÑOR DON MARCELO H. DEL PILAR

38. To Fernando Blumentritt

Blumentritt's praise for his work is an inspiration. Fr. Martinez Vigil does not wish to occupy the Metropolitan Episcopal Seat in Manila. Was he seen dancing with joy at the death sentence meted out to Frs. Burgos, Gomes and Zamora?-

Until now, the Filipino public does not believe that the victims were guilty.

Plaridel applauds the creation of the Filipinista International Circle.

MARCELO H. DEL PILAR

Lawyer

Barcelona, March 25, 1889.

Señor Don Fernando Blumentritt

Austria

My beloved friend:

I am in possession of your letter dated March 7 extending your congratulations and kind praise for my humble work. I am grateful for such kindness, and I accept your appreciation as an inspiration for my unskilled pen.

I will consider myself greatly rewarded if the data contained in this small work will be useful to persons like you, and to other prominent writers who are generously dedicated to the study of the Philippine Islands.

A newspaper in Madrid reports that the bishop of Oviedo, Fray Martinez Vigil, has given up his candidacy for the Metropolitan Episcopal Seat in Manila, which I find very strange inasmuch as it is not religion which will benefit from this renouncement, considering the present situation in the Philippines. To this day, the memory of P. Martinez Vigil dancing with joy upon learning of the death sentence meted out to the three secular priests, is still fresh in the minds of the Filipinos who believed that the sentence was contrary to the provisions of the Council of Trent regarding the assignment of curates. Seventeen years have passed and public conscience still cannot accept the fact that the victims were guilty. The appointment of P. Martinez, if it had been confirmed, would have resurrected painful memories that until now do not fail to evoke secret sighs from those disgraced people.

Our mutual friend Rizal has informed us about the formation of an international circle of Filipinistas. I enthusiastically applaud this idea, and above all, the successful election of its president and advisers, and to all of them I extend my respectful greetings and my humble but unconditional support.

This is all for now. Once again, your affectionate friend kisses your hand.

M. H. DEL PILAR

39. To Pedro Icasiano

That the Pope's power be weakened. If the friars frighten us, let us also frighten them. What language should be adopted in the Philippines, Spanish or Tagalog?

Are the friars going to help us? The parish priest of Paombong, a mystical fanatic and a brute, will replace the parish priest of Malolos. They will chop off his head in Malolos. P. Font is leaving for Madrid. Does he plan a policy of attraction, or will he be spying on the Filipino reformists?

Barcelona, March 25, 1889.

My dearest friend:

It is very clear to me that it is necessary to weaken the power of the Pope. Just between us, there is no stanchion that can support what everyone is trying to bring down. However, since the persons who have just awakened to the cause are easily frightened, it would be advantageous for us if they would be scared of the friars, and not of us. In this manner, we will be able to gradually influence public sentiment in our favor.

Aside from this, as I see it, the seed sown by the Pope among our people has not yet taken root. It was not planted in their minds, but only in the imagination of the ignorant people; therefore, as quickly as their false beliefs are discredited, so too will the faith of the Tagalogs be discredited.

It was P. Doré who gave us the news regarding the Recollect father and the sergeant, and his letter bears the official letterhead of the Katipunan there. Hence, what is stated cannot be

a lie, because when the letter bears such a seal, the news must be undeniably true, and they themselves would take the responsibility of advising us if there is reason to doubt what we believe is true.

If it is possible, I would like to be counted as one of the Philippinistas. I have already received news about this, although I have not mentioned it in my letters, not that I have wanted to keep it a secret from you. There are others here who would like to join the group, if they can be informed of the organization's regulations.

With regard to the language which should be adopted in the Philippines, I have already consulted with Naning, Graciano and Galicano to ascertain their opinion on this matter, since this dilemma of whether to adopt Spanish or Tagalog has many defenders on each side, and both factions have their reasons.

The friars are going out of their way to assist us: enclosed are Booklets VI and VII of the *Cuestion de Sumo Interés* of Fr. Rodriguez. He is at present the Superior of the Convent, and also its Prior. Fr. Felipe Garcia, the parish priest of Malolos and the most popular among them, has been removed from Malolos and appointed conventual definitior and it seems he may be replaced as parish priest by another curate, a certain Fr. Agustin, the parish priest of Paombong, a mystical-fanatic and tactless friar. It is expected that the people of Malolos will drive him crazy. It seems that the friars believe that the crisis involving Fr. Felipe was only accidental, but they are wrong, because everything was set up against him beforehand, since he was the most intelligent man in our province. If there was another cause for this crisis, and Fr. Felipe was appointed a simple Consultant,... all of this would have been a strategy contrived by his followers, but he... became involved in a comedy and he lost control of his temper, nothing... could condemn him.

Fr. Font is arriving soon; and in my opinion, will try to politicize the Filipinos here, like you, Luna and others who are trusted by our compatriots who live here in Madrid. It may be wise to be in Madrid in order to encourage those who are there. It was a bad sign I saw last night: Pablo Rianzares received a letter from his father stating that he would send the money of Pablo to

the said priest, and that he promised to take care of defraying the expenses of any Filipino living in Spain who lacks money. Having lived in the Philippines for a long time, the priest had learned to love the Filipinos very much. I doubt whether Don Ambrosio will believe this, but in the letter, he added this phrase "he seems to be such", because Fr. Font is a friar only in his priestly habit. These words lead us to understand that Fr. Font had learned to move the hearts of our old folk, who now are already less inflexible. Fr. Font is a consummate actor, and for this reason, it is necessary to look after our compatriots in Madrid.

In Don Ambrosio's letter, he says that he will call on all of those who have families in Spain, offering to bring with him all the things they would like to send to their relatives. If P. Doré and his followers did not find out about this, the conflagration would have spread. In one way or another, we must extinguish it here, you and Luna will take care of sloshing water on the roofs of Madrid.

Always at your command.

PLARIDEL

40. To Ferdinand Blumentritt

About European colonization, by Blumentritt. An inspiring soul, with faith in human justice. More assistance from the professor. Viola, busy with his clientele. *Quiquiap* can no longer boast on the matter of colonization. Among these people, "common sense is the least common sense."

Barcelona, April 1, 1889

Señor Don Ferdinand Blumentritt
Lietmeritz.

My most beloved friend:

In the issue of *La Solidaridad* corresponding to the last two weeks of this month, your brilliant article in the form of a letter appeared. The prodigious erudition that shines resplendently in this work reveals the author's conscientiousness and patient study of the highly complex and complicated question of European

colonization, and because of this, I congratulate you and the Filipinos, who have found a noble soul in the midst of our isolation, and whose work inspires us and strengthens our wavering faith in human justice. Your work lends honor to the columns of *La Solidaridad* and as I acknowledge it, allow me to express the colony's desire that this will not be the last article you will favor us with.

I have just now received your postcard dated March 28, inquiring if we have received your article. My reply will reach you before this letter does. Since yesterday, we have been sending you some copies of *La Solidaridad* in which your article appeared. Once again, please accept my gratitude. In the card, you state that you had not received my letters. I last wrote you on March 25, and it is possible that you received this after you had sent the postcard. If not, please let me know. I would also like to be informed whether my other letter dated March 10 reached you.

Our good friend Viola has not written us either. He must be very busy, as he is the only doctor in his town, and having proven his skill in the practice of medicine, it is likely that his numerous patients are the cause of his silence. Neither my family nor our dear friend Serrano tell me anything about him, but if something new would happen to him, they will surely inform me.

Going back to your article, I believe that *Quioquiap** has lost his desire to boast on matters of colonization. I find the writers of the *Quioquiapesca* family quite 'admirable'. They disown their own colony and take pride in recognizing another, and in their eagerness to spread their ideas, they lack time to gather them. This prompts them to write simply for the sake of writing, thus proving the veracity of the Spanish adage that "common sense is the most uncommon sense". Therefore, the talkative *Quioquiap* is not your worthy competitor, but it would be good if from time to time, the people could be made aware that in this world, there are charitable spirits that, at least, warn them of their shameful inebriation.

Your affectionate friend and servant who kisses your hand.

MARCELO H. DEL PILAR

* Pseudonym of Pablo Feced, author of various articles against Filipinos.

41. From Justo Trinidad

As the author of *La Soberania Monacal*, "you have become more serious." Rizal in Paris, encouraged by good intentions, proposes new projects for the Filipino colony. Subscribers.

Paris, April 1, 1889.

Señor Don Marcelo H. del Pilar

My dear friend:

I received your last letter dated March 13 on the 19th of the same month, together with the newspapers and the package containing *La Soberania Monacal*; from all of which I have gathered much information, and especially from the *Soberania*, of which you are the author. I am sorry to tell you that this work shows that you have become a more serious writer, in the manner of Rizal. What is sadder still is that you will not be able to accompany me when I return to our country.

In your reply to this letter, please let me know the selling price of the *Soberania Monacal*, as I wish to receive several copies more in the next mail.

I did not receive any letter from my family in the last mail, and I do not have any news regarding our country, other than what you told me in your letter and what I read about in the newspaper from there.

As you probably know, our countryman Rizal is here, encouraged by the good prospects, and bringing new projects which he intends to present to the leaders of the Filipino colony.

Enclosed is a bill for you, in French francs 7.50

Distribution and subscriptions:

Justo and Gutierrez, 1 trimester

..... From Feb. 15 to April 15, 1889 1.25

Benjamin Trinidad, 1 trimester	
From Feb. 15 to April 15, 1889	1.25
Mr. Ramon Abarca, 1 trimester	
From Feb. 15 to April 15, 1889	1.25
Mr. Ventura, 1 trimester	
From Feb. 15 to April 15, 1889	1.25
Mr. Luna, 1 trimester	
From Feb. 15 to April 15, 1889	1.25
P. Pardo, 1 trimester	
From Feb. 15 to April 15, 1889	<u>1.25</u>
	<u>7.50</u>

We shall see each other there very soon, and since I have nothing more to tell you, your affectionate friend embraces you.

JUSTO TRINIDAD

42. From Rizal to the members of La Solidaridad

(Collective letter sent to all the Filipino residents in Madrid)*

Imprisonment and abuses, necessary evils in a corrupt society; how can the Filipinos prove they deserve liberty. *Calainos* has more faith than all the friars put together. Liberty cannot be attained *bóbilis, bóbilis*. "The victims of abuse should seek redress from the courts if they can, and if they cannot, they should turn to God..." The threats of the friars do not frighten us, nor are we deceived by their nonsense. The booklets of Fr. Rodriguez. Only instructive or educational matters should be written about. The International Association of Philipinistes. An article by Rizal entitled "The Death of Magallanes". The Filipinos should not accept anything from the friars.

18 Rue de Rochechouart,
Hotel de la Pensée,
Paris, April 2, 1889.

To the Members of La Solidaridad

My dear friends:

Last night, I received your telegram, the contents of which caused me much worry, and I was not able to sleep; not that at bottom I was displeased, but because I was saddened by the

* The content of this letter indicate that Rizal also sent this letter to the Solidarios in Barcelona, through M. H. del Pilar

thought of the pain and sorrow of the injured families, and the resulting debility suffered by many of those who were persecuted.

I said that at bottom I was not disgusted, because all of these persecutions and intrigues serve to open the eyes of those who are asleep, and they diminish the prestige of those who, under sheep's clothing, now show their claws and venom. All these imprisonment, abuses, etc. are necessary evils in a corrupt society. I say this because I cannot accept the fact that such evils necessarily exist in a good society, in the same way that medicines and surgical procedures are not necessary for a person in good health. If the Filipinos in this cruel and unequal struggle show nobility and fortitude in spite of everything and everyone, then it will be because they deserve to be free, and then we can say: *dumating na ang tadhana*. [our good fortune has come.] If not, if they are cowards and weaklings, then let the tree mature first, because if it is cut down before it is fully grown, it will soon be eaten up by weevils and will be of no use.

Perhaps you will find it strange that the *Calambano** who has scoffed at many beliefs and superstitions, should be a firm believer in Divine Providence. It is because *Calainos* has more faith in God than all the friars put together and believes that God watches over his creatures and helps those who possess courage and goodwill. This is the fruit of my study of history. Liberty is like a woman who bestows her favors only to the brave. Enslaved peoples have to suffer much to win her, and those who abuse her, lose her. Freedom is not gained *babilis* (without pain or merit) nor is it given *gratis et amoré*.

I cannot, nor do I want, to take any steps to help the prisoners in Manila, unless it is through legal and judicial means. What happened to my brother-in-law and me has taught me another lesson: a complaint from me is equivalent to an accusation. The best thing to do is to resort to legal means, and the victims of abuse should seek redress from the courts if they can, and if they cannot, they should turn to God... Nevertheless, I shall write to Regidor, but all is useless. The struggle is on, and he who

* Allegorical term used by Rizal himself, acknowledging that he is from the town of Calamba

** One who makes light

falters will fall. Let us show the world and our enemies that we are not frightened by the friars' threats, nor are we taken in by their nonsense. In any case, furnish me with all the exact details, because the *Gaceta de Colonia* is asking me for an article on our country. I want truthful details.

Talking about the two booklets of Fr. Jose Rodriguez, Nos. VI and VII,* frankly speaking and just between us, they made me laugh, and now I almost understand Hidalgo's question. This painter, our countryman, asked me confidentially if we did not write the books of Fr. Rodriguez. "Why?" I asked him, surprised. "Come on," he said, "tell me the truth, I will not tell anybody else."

In response to my serious and categorical affirmation that the books were indeed written by Fr. Rodriguez, he assured me that they who were in Paris believed that they were written by one of us in order to ridicule the friars, because as they said: "an enemy of the friars could not have found a better way to discredit them, than by attributing the writing of the books to one of them." Blumentritt calls them *basines*** . I think that in the future, we should no longer attack or react to similar books, and we should only write about instructive and educational topics, in a simple and pleasant style, *recommending the reading of the works of Fr. Rodriguez so that the public will come to know of his great talent*. The Filipino who still stupidly believes this friar will be practically useless, and we do not need useless people.

Undoubtedly, all those who want to join the International Association of Philippinistes may do so, provided they work on learning the history, languages, habits, customs, politics, etc. of the Philippines. Anyone who has published a book about the Philippines will be an honorary member, in case he is admitted as an associate.

Please give me the latest news on cases of imprisonment for publication in the *Gaceta de Colonia*.***

* Booklet Vi is entitled *¿hay o no hay infierno?* (Is there or is there no Hell?); Vii'c *Omni le parece a V. de esse libelos.* (what do you think of those libels?). Their author was an Augustinian friar who attacked Rizal and his novel *Noli Me Tangere*.

** Hollow circular vessels with sloping sides for holding liquids. In colloquial speech, the term refers to urinals.

*** A German periodical

Let me know the price of the *Soberanías* and the *Vision de Fr. Rodriguez*.

I suppose you have sent many copies of "*Soberanías*" to the Philippines. Also send "*Visiones*".

Yours without anything more for now.

RIZAL

I shall send you my article entitled "The Death of Magellan" for the newspaper on the 10th of this month.

With reference to the case of Fr. Font, the idea that prevails here is, that if this friar will try to deceive the Filipinos, they should be smarter, and they should be the ones to deceive him. If he gives money, accept this, but do not commit yourself to him. In any case, I do not believe we should go down to their level, nor accept anything from the friars. But everyone tells me that the money they handle comes from our own pockets, either through trickery or violence. You decide, and whatever your decision is shall be relayed to all the Filipinos. Tear up this letter. [This last sentence is written in Tagalog.]

43. To Deodato Arellano

Imprisonments again because of the friars' intrigues? What would these be, and who will be the victims? Telegrams from *La Solidaridad* to Spanish personages in order to obtain a measure of justice from the government for the Filipinos. A book and toys for his daughter, Sofia. Rizal says there are rooms available in Paris for those who wish to see the Exposition.

Barcelona, April 3, 1889.

Ka Dato:

I received the bill of exchange of \$100, together with your letter No. 13 dated March 1. I also received another letter by indirect mail, but I cannot remember the date and number of the

letter, since I have mislaid it. Your assistance came at the right time, since I was in danger of running out of funds, after paying for my apprenticeship in Europe. I am economizing regularly.

I am worried about your situation there, having received a telegram from Hongkong informing us that several residents are in prison because of the friars' intrigues. Why did this happen, and who were the victims? My God!

The newspaper *La Solidaridad*, and the La Solidaridad Association immediately sent a telegram to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, demanding justice. In addition, they wrote to delegates Labra and Quiroga, invoking their declarations of affection for our country, and to the president of the Hispano-Filipino Association in Madrid so that in their respective spheres, they would take steps to remedy the situation. In the same manner, we telegraphed Rizal who is in Paris asking him to inform London, so that the Filipino colonies in both cities would put its relationships into play in order to entreat the government to render justice. It will take time before we know the results.

Through Goyo, I am sending a geography book written by Paluzie, and two small boxes of toys for my daughter Sofia.

Regarding the book *Sacramento*, Naning shall send some copies to Pedro by registered mail. You can ask for a copy from Pedro when they arrive. The last edition of *Paris en América* is already out of print.

I am as usual, but it is still my ardent desire to return home.

Rizal writes from Paris informing us that they have reserved available rooms so that the Filipinos who wish to visit the Exposition will not have to pay a higher price for them, since the rental rates are usually raised during the time of the Exposition. If I had sufficient funds, I would go to Paris, and at the same time I will see if I might learn French. I do not think it will take me too much time to learn it.

Your brother embraces you.

MARCELO

44. To Pedro Icasiano

Del Pilar, worried about the situation in the country. Various compatriots are in jail. Telegram to the Ministry of Ultramar demanding the release of Filipino prisoners. If they do not take action, the matter will be exposed in the press. Disastrous conjectures. Spain, in relation to France and Germany. The Minister shirks from taking any responsibility regarding reforms in the country. But he will accept any reasons behind the events that took place. Information for *Mamá* regarding old man Rianzares' ideas on the friars.

April 4, 1889.

Señor Don P. Ikazama

Dear friend:

We are worried about the situation there, having received a telegram from Hongkong on the 1st of this month, which read: "Several jailed, friars' intrigues. Asking for release." The following telegram was immediately sent to the Minister of Foreign Affairs:

"Publication *La Solidaridad*, Solidaridad Association, and Filipino-Barcelona colony received following telegram Hongkong: 'Several Filipinos Manila imprisoned due friars' intrigues. Asking for release. — Implore Minister ask Philippine government explain this extraordinary event.'

At the same time, an explanatory letter was sent to the Minister, another to Labra, so that he might repeat this information in Congress, another to Quiroga for him to influence the Minister; and another to Morayta who as president of the Hispano-Filipino Association could assemble his members and mobilize them to act. In particular, Naning telegraphed Pepe in Paris asking him to relay the information to London. Even so, there is time to wait for the results. We shall resort to the press if the situation remains

dormant. Besides, it seems that the Minister is trying to annoy Valé, and if this is true, it may weaken Valé's power.

A widespread conflagration may occur in Spain, in the opinion of those who keep a close watch over the march of events in Spain. Therefore, the government will not have time to attend with interest to our aspirations, and thus it is necessary that we continue to find other means to attain our objectives.

Germany is another country that is causing problems for Spain, and is another obstacle that makes it impossible for Spain to look after our interests. Germany attempted to gain Spain's sympathy in its campaign to isolate France, a move that was supported by the late Alfonso XIII. However, at this point in time, Spain needs to remain in good terms with France because of its possessions in Africa, and Germany by obliging her to separate itself from France, is creating difficulties for her. For this purpose, Germany is conniving with the Morrocans – and it seems that they have agreed to turn over a port between Melilla and Agelia – with a threat to revolt and support the African colonies. Spain is caught between two giants, and it cannot attend to its own people's wellbeing, much less to ours. Under these circumstances, no Minister of Ultramar will be willing to take on the responsibility of undertaking radical innovations in our country, although I believe he is aware of the reasons behind the recent events.

I am deeply sorry I was not able to write to Teo. This is because I did not want to hide the truth, and I would have hurt him if I wrote about his son. Tell him anyway, that he is in good health and is living in Barceloneta.

Regarding his uncle, the poor man is already old and doddering. This fact was confirmed by information you passed on to me and from your letter to your son that was sent through the shipping line. I immediately wrote to *Mamá* telling him that I was afraid you might be unprepared, and that it was necessary to prevent the fire from spreading to Madrid, urging him and Luna to hurry and drench the wretched Madrileños, and he replied affirmatively, saying that they were prepared to fight with F.

The money collected there was probably sent to Graciano, \$25 less the postal expenses. His son who was childish when he left, is even more childish now. One day, Graciano was breathless with rage when told of the childishness of his son, and all he could say was: "He is just a little child ... a very naughty little boy."

Your friend embraces you.

AKO

P.S. One of our principal aspirations is the abolition of governmental deportation; but while gross injustice still prevails in this country, we must announce that this is not a major issue for us, so that the friars will be misled and not realize its real importance. Don't worry, we are here.

VALE

45. To Rizal

Rizal's appraisal of recent abuses, in order to strengthen our campaign for reforms. Our cry for freedom in Madrid does not increase our chances of obtaining freedom for the incarcerated. Sooner or later, it will contribute to the outcome of our propaganda campaign for freedom. If all the colonies would cry out against any abuses or to demand reforms, they will succeed in forcing the government to lessen abuses and thus repudiate the legend of Filipino indifference. And it will inspire those who languish in prison.

Barcelona, April 8, 1889.

Dear friend:

I find reasonable your evaluation of the rich opportunity offered by the abuses committed in Hongkong, about which we were informed, and the impropriety of resorting to extra judicial measures to obtain the release of the prisoners.

However, since they realize that we who are here are in no position to obtain the release of the imprisoned, their telegram asking us to work for this is part of a plan not necessarily to obtain

the release, but to contribute to the eventual success of our propaganda campaign.

Perhaps, on this occasion, they intend to show the government that they have a large number of compatriots in Paris, London and Spain, who are keeping a close eye on every outrage committed in the Philippines, and who can stir up public opinion in Europe. They must have thought that such a position, if taken up by all the colonies that would then join in the outcry, would succeed in forcing the government to be less abusive. At least it will erase the perception of the Filipino as being uncivilized and indifferent, which is the basis for the perpetuation of the status quo. At the same time, this will inspire those who live under such oppressive circumstances, if they are convinced that they are not completely alone.

After considering all of these, we do not think we will abstain from taking a step. In the name of the newspaper, *La Solidaridad*, the La Solidaridad Association, and of the Filipino colony in Barcelona, the following dispatches were sent out: A telegram to the Minister of Foreign Affairs requesting him to verify the veracity of the dispatch received from Hongkong, which we transcribed for him; a letter to him describing our aspirations in detail; another letter to Mr. Labra asking him to raise the question in the Congress; another letter to Quiroga requesting him to influence the Ministry to listen to the Filipinos' cry for help; another to Morayta asking him to convene the Hispano-Filipino Association for them to work within their own sphere; and another letter to Llorente for him to rouse the Filipino colony. Labra replied lamenting the lack of data; Morayta expressed his thoughts on this issue in the columns of the publication *La Publicidad*.

By working thus, we believed we were supporting and developing their plan, but this attitude is not significant in a colony of such minor importance as far as public opinion in Europe and Oceania is concerned. This position will not gain strength if it remains isolated. For this reason, we would like to suggest that all the colonies make some attempt to do something for those unfortunate persons, unless this idea is considered *de b6bilis b6bilis*, in which case it should be dropped at once.

Last night, we telegraphed Hongkong inquiring if the imprisonment was a result of a judicial order and we asked for details. We shall inform you of their reply.

We deplore the injustice done to Luna.* Damaso Ponce, our young warrior who signs his name as Amado Pecson, indignant about what the *castilas* [the Spaniards] are doing to Luna, said: "infamous even before birth!" This morning, a petition was presented to the provincial delegation, in the name of the La Solidaridad Association, and of some peninsulares [Spaniards born in Spain], requesting that the "Spoliarium" be sent to the Exposition in Paris. This will be featured in the press.

Your affectionate friend,

PLARIDEL

P.S. Read the letter of P. Doré and return it afterwards.

46. From N. Butrón

His brother Matias is in the dungeon. The situation in Manila is critical. No one is safe and secure, even in his own home. Subversive newspapers confiscated due to an indictment. Under the pretext of continuing correspondence with N. Butrón. Several city residents imprisoned. That the Filipinos in Madrid urge the Minister of Ultramar to implement radical measures against these vexatious acts.

The Hongkong Telegraph is prohibited from entering Manila. The British newspapers propose the 'beatification' of Manila newspapers. Smuggled weapons found in Santamesa. The friars scheme to prove the existence of a possible insurrection.

Hongkong, April 10, 1889.

Señor Don Marcelo Hilario del Pilar
Barcelona

My dear friend:

I am happy to know that you are in good health.

* This refers to the opposition of Spanish artists to giving space to Luna's painting at the Paris Exposition.

Enclosed are two letters for Messrs. Quiroga and Centeno, which I trust will reach them.

By this time, you must have learned from my letter, which I sent by the previous mail to our friend Ponce, about the abuses committed against several residents of Manila, among them my brother Matias. This is terrible. The current situation in Manila is very critical. No one lives in peace, and is secure even in his own home. What is most dangerous is that they utilize the most iniquitous measures to find reasons with which to justify such cruel measures. According to news I have received, a servant came to my brother's house bringing a package for him. Since he was sick in bed, he asked the servant to place the package on the table in his study. After ten minutes, the acting judge Señor Martínez Nubla came, and on the pretext of conducting an inspection, searched every corner. He entered the room, and seeing the package, rushed toward it like a dog toward its food. He opened it, and feigned amazement at what he already knew were the contents, which were newspapers, as they had previously arranged. He then began writing the indictment, citing the package as the body of evidence, and then left. After five minutes, a 'veteran' appeared to conduct another search, as a result of which Matias was taken to prison and placed in solitary confinement, despite all the pleas, protestations, supplications and tears of the desolate family. Is this possible, my friend? Can anyone live like this? The same thing, more or less, was done to the others, using as a pretext their continuing correspondence with me.

It is vital, my friend Pilar, that all of you should be aware of these scandalous and vexatious acts, and that you inform our good friends in Madrid of these events, so that they may, in unison, speak to the Minister of Ultramar about these events that have astounded the residents of Manila, so that he may implement radical measures to put an end to such abuses which are caused by nefarious calumnies hatched up in the darkness of the convents.

The grudge these people bear against [the Filipinos] has reached such proportions that they have managed to ban the entry of the *Hongkong Telegraph*, which, contains the following lines in its issue of April 5:

“The most sacred government of the Philippines no longer wants to have anything to do with the *Hongkong Telegraph*, and has confiscated copies which are sent by mail to its subscribers. Hurrah!”

In another page, it says: “The ship *Zafiro*, according to the *Diario de Manila*, has been renamed *Nuestra Señora de Loreto*, and from now on will be utilized in plying the sea of Luzon. This is in accordance with the preference of the ignorant mountain people of our neighboring archipelago, that even ships be named after saints and the women of the Roman Catholic Church. Their next move might be to rename the newspapers circulating in Manila, calling them, for example: *El Diario* will be renamed *La Palabra diaria de Dios* [The Daily Word of God]; the *Comercio* will be changed to *La Comunión de los Santos* [The Communion of Saints]; the *Opinión* to *La Ciencia de los Apóstoles* [The science of the apostles], and the *Gaceta del gobierno* to *El Libro de órdenes monacales* [The book of monastic orders]. Public opinion in the Philippines is in a state of shock, because the existence of newspapers there is an anomaly.

This is the sad situation in the unfortunate city of Manila. *La Solidaridad* should attend to this problem, and together with everyone’s complaints, these wrongs may be corrected.

Read my letters to Messrs. Quiroga and Centeno because they will give you a more detailed account of all that has transpired.

I have just learned that one of the means employed by the enemies in committing such brutal acts as the summary imprisonment, which I have talked about previously, was the supposed discovery of 50 boxes of gunpowder, each box containing about 11.5 kilos of gunpowder, and 14 cartridges for Remington pistols and revolvers. These were stored in two houses of nipa in the barrio of Santamesa, in the care of a farmer who did

not even know who had brought the cache, although he says it was a Spaniard who was accompanied by a lieutenant of the Guardia Civil stationed in Santa Cruz. It now turns out that this contraband belongs to the Catalanes Millat and Marti, who may be instruments of the friars in their efforts to prove the existence of a possible insurrection. Another one who is said to be a pawn of the friars is the acting Superintendent. Write to Ponce about this.

Please inform Ponce that I received his telegram *Detalles*, and I have sent my reply on the 3rd and those I have not mentioned are the ones which I have not yet received.

Kindly see to it that the Ministry telegraphs an order for the immediate release of the luckless individuals who are in prison.

I believe it is the right time for the entire Filipino colony to protest before the Minister against the appointment of the Dominican Nozaleda as archbishop. This protest may force the government to rethink its decision and revoke its hasty appointment of Nozaleda.

Under separate cover, I am sending you some copies of the *Telegraph*, so that after you have read them, you can send them to Rizal.

Stay well, and greetings to the entire colony. You know I am always your affectionate and good friend.

N. BUTRON

At all costs, please try to save my brother Matías, and my compadre and correspondent N. Abello, a peninsular, in whose house they found a package of our propaganda material.

47. From Romana Santos

Many wish to subscribe to the *La Solidaridad*, but only a few copies reach Manila. Surrounded by many evils; the heat is insupportable; fears of late-night inspections of houses; cholera epidemic; investigation of documents written by the condemned visionary; chickenpox, and the discovery of contraband ammunition in various districts. Mischief of the *panochitas**? Evil attracts more followers than goodness?

Manila, April 11, 1889.

Señor Don Hilario M. Calero
Barcelona

My dear sir:

My *comadre* Chanay has requested me to send the enclosed letter to Tseloy in Italy, and since I do not have his address, may I ask you to please be kind enough to send it, as a favor to the lady.

There are many who want to subscribe to the newspaper, but only a few copies arrived and I have had a hard time securing a copy to send to my *comadre*.

I was not able to secure the postal bill at this time; I shall send it in the next mail.

Here, we are surrounded by many evils: the tropical heat is unbearable, and one cannot go to bed until two in the morning when the temperature goes down a bit. Homes are subjected to inspection raids every night, during the late hours. Everyone in the locality is on guard against cholera, but the cases that exist are less serious than the case of the special judge who was part of the inquiry on documents, resulting from the foolishness of the condemned visionary; chickenpox epidemic is worsening; nevertheless, this does not cause as much fear in the hearts of the people as the discovery of a large cache of arms and ammunition in various districts, such as Sampaloc, San Juan del Monte and Malate. It is whispered that there are other hidden caches in Tondo, Binondo, Malabon and Caloocan planted by the *panochitas** who, dressed as peasants, were seen carrying and

* Term used to report henchman of the friars.

depositing the arms in the houses of the ruffians and other private individuals. However, the latter group were alarmed, and some of the local authorities of the first localities mentioned found out about it, although none of them took the matter seriously, considering it nothing more than rubbish, like the wretched little books that are being circulated here by certain groups.

It is an accepted fact here that the principle of evil attracts more followers than the principle of goodness, because they know how to attract devils in the guise of angels.

Nothing more to add, tell Carmelo to write me always.

Your affectionate friend who kisses your hand.

ROMANA SANTOS

P.S. My previous letter does not bear the number 17.

VALE

On this same day, I received your letter No. 13 dated last March 7 in which you acknowledge receipt of my letter No. 10 dated January 16. We received the letters sent from Aden and the Suez Canal which you were asking about, and I think my previous letters sent in February should have reached you before the date of this letter which I am replying to. The direct mail ship sailed from here on the 2nd of February.

48. To Benigno Quiroga

Telegrams concerning ill-fated events in the Philippines.- Inaccurate information from General Pando regarding supposed insurrection in the Philippines.- Sequel to the articles published regarding abuses and imprisonment caused by the friars' intrigues.

Barcelona, April 12, 1889.

His Excellency, Don Benigno Quiroga

Dear Sir:

Enclosed I am sending you copies of the two telegrams sent to me from Manila on the 21st and 24th of last February. These were coursed through the Minister, from Hongkong. They also sent me three copies of the newspapers circulating in Manila, which I am sending to you. These newspapers make reference to some articles, published in the *La Solidaridad*, which I am also sending you.

Note that the preceding articles fit in with the news that General Pando says he received by telegram regarding an attempted insurrection in Manila. The strange thing is that this news on the insurrection came after the telegram from Hongkong regarding the abuses and imprisonments caused by the friars' intrigues, had been published in *El Globo*, *El Día* and *La Publicidad*.

To sum up, we are confident that you will take interest in the fate of this country that you profess to sincerely care for.

Respectful regards to your distinguished family, and please rest assured of my unconditional loyalty.

MARCELO H. DEL PILAR

P.S. By tomorrow's mail, I am sending you ten copies of my humble work for you to dispose of as you see fit.

SAME

49. From B. Quiroga to M.H. del Pilar, Graciano López Jaena and other members of La Solidaridad.

Quiroga's pro-Filipino efforts: The Minister became concerned and sent a telegram asking for more information regarding the events. That Delegate Musó appeal to Congress on this matter. General Pandó will speak on the dangers to Spanish integrity in the Philippines. Quirogá will defend the Filipinos.

April 12, 1889.

My dear Sirs:

Upon receipt of your letter, I invited Mr. Becerra to read it, and he immediately sent off a telegram to find out what was happening. Since there has been no reply, I requested Mr. Musó yesterday to take up the matter in Congress, and in particular to speak of the numerous cases of deportation that are taking place there.

As can be expected, my campaign is encountering its natural enemies, but by this time there should be some action taken in Congress. General Pando, inspired by Don Serafin Cano and his friends, announced yesterday that he wanted to speak on the dangers that threaten our integrity in the Philippines. He will not find a lack of responses from the government itself.

You know that I consider you loyal sons of noble Spain, and my brothers. Consequently, I will not stop protecting you and working for your cause here in the mother country, to the best of my ability and utilizing all my power and means. You may think that I have already done a lot along this line since I came. While my voice can still be heard, you can be sure that it will not be easy for the evil ones to cover up their knavery with the beautiful flag of Spain.

May these lines serve as a testimony that your friend shall never forget you.

Your affectionate friend who kisses your hand.

B. QUIROGA

50. To Deodato Arellano

No relative of Plaridel has been imprisoned. There are indications that Quiroga might return to the Philippines to resume his political activities. A question for Weyler. Delegate Musó will appeal to Congress regarding the events that took place. General Pando spoke on the insurrection. Sagasta belied it.

Barcelona, April 17, 1889.

Ka Dato:

Since I have not received any letter from you to which I have to reply, there being no mail coming from there, I am confirming my last letter to you, No. 15 dated April 3.

Let us thank God that none of our relatives or friends are among those who were recently imprisoned. According to the reply to our telegram to Hongkong, there were two individuals, who I am not familiar with, who were imprisoned for supposedly possessing printed matter contrary to the interests of the very reverend friars.

Further to the news I already relayed to you in my last letter, Morayta and Quiroga went to see Becerra. A long and animated conference ensued between the three during which they discussed the Philippines. There were indications that Quiroga might return to the Philippines to take up the struggle with renewed vigor. Becerra offered to ask Weyler about this, and to inform Quiroga and Morayta of his answer, but since Becerra remained silent for a long time, Quiroga prompted Delegate Musó to ask a direct question on this particular matter.

The newspapers *El Día*, *El Globo* and *La Publicidad* contained news of this event, based on telegrams they had received from Manila and London.

Quiroga wrote us stating that his campaign had encountered its natural enemy. General Pando, on the instigation of Serafin Cano, an ally of the friars, will speak against the loyalty of the Filipinos. Quiroga announced that General Pando will receive an answer on behalf of the same government.

In fact, General Pando said later on, that the lives of the Spaniards there were in danger and that the country was in a state of insurrection and two friars had already been assassinated. Sagasta himself answered him saying that there is no basis for General Pando's apprehensions. The newspapers later on reported that the Minister of Foreign Affairs announced that he had read a telegram from Weyler stating that complete tranquility prevails in the entire archipelago. General Pando said that before the date of

the telegram, the country was not at peace, and that Weyler was probably ignoring the facts, or hiding the truth. Sagasta interrupted him, stating that Weyler's valor and love of country cannot be questioned.

This is the latest news.

This letter is for everyone to read; I might not be able to write to Pedro. Your brother,

MARCELO H. DEL PILAR

P.S. Morayta came last night.

SAME

51. From Rizal to Graciano Lopez Jaena and companions

Praise our true friends briefly, without calling them friends; praise excessively our countrymen who side with the friars, calling them 'friends' and describing them as anti-friars.

Paris, before the 18th of April, 1889.

Friends:

Enclosed you will find the article;* I have requested for Escosura's work from London, but they have not replied. This is not available here in Paris. I have searched for it in the Library and in the homes of friends, but they do not have it. Thus, I cannot quote paragraphs from it; I shall ask for a copy from Madrid. It is a pity, but what can we do, the newspaper cannot wait and the article may arrive late. The pertinent paragraphs will be included in the next issue.

I received the letters of P. Doré, but I will keep them for one day since I want to write my article for the *Gaceta de Colonia*. In *La Solidaridad*, always try to mention and delicately praise our true friends, without calling them friends; and for our stupid

* "A La Defensa" (To La Defensa), was the title of this Rizal article answering the attacks of the pro-friar periodical. It was unsigned. Published in *La Solidaridad* in its issue for 3 April 1889.

countrymen who side with the friars, praise them to the skies, calling them friends and depicting them as filibusterers or at least as anti-friar, always, and when they have brains and deserve it. This is my opinion.

Yours,

JOSE RIZAL

Please correct my article, since I wrote this in a hurry; and if you want to delete or remove any part of it, please do so.

52. From Rizal to Mariano Ponce and his companions in *La Solidaridad*

Style of *La Solidaridad*: impartial, sober, and clear. "Without 1872, there would not have been a *Plaridel*, nor a Jaena, nor Sancianco; without 1872, Rizal would now be a Jesuit." Do not be discouraged because some have fallen. The test of fire and cauterization. What is lacking are men who will be examples to the public because of their fervor, as the Christian martyrs were. No one knows how to behave at the moment of death; it is truly repugnant to be put to death by hanging, while young, and with many ideas still in one's mind. "The day you see me in the clutches of the friars, try to find another one to take my place and to avenge me."

18 Rue de Rochechouart
Paris, April 18, 1889.

My dearest friend:

I received your letter today, together with the copy of *La Solidaridad*. This issue is really good, and the newspaper is continuing to improve. To Graciano:

I am glad that my article against *La Defensa* did not appear: in the next issue, you can include this in a corrected version, adding or removing whatever portions you feel necessary, together with the data from Escosura that I sent to *Plaridel*. The style of the

newspaper is very much to our liking: impartial, sober, clear, and to the point. We congratulate everyone.

I sent (Maning) a manuscript* to be printed there. I wish to correct the proofs. Mailing costs, remittance, etc. are for my account; send me the bill so that I can send you the money in case my funds there are lacking.

With regard to the imprisonments, it is only now through the newspaper *Solidaridad* that I have learned of the reasons behind these. We shall now act on this matter, for the possession of books that are anti-friar is not a crime. Aside from this, these are dreadful events, and although they may be considered personal misfortunes, they must be cited for the common good. Without 1872, there would not be a *Plaridel* now, nor a Jaena, nor a Sancianco, nor would there exist brave and generous Filipino colonies in Europe. Without 1872, Rizal would now be a Jesuit and instead of writing *Noli me tângere*, he would have written the opposite. While still a child, I became aware of the injustice and cruelties that were taking place, and I vowed to dedicate myself one day to the defense of so many victims. With this in mind, I pursued my studies; this determination is reflected in all my work and writings. Someday, God will give me the opportunity to fulfill my vow. Good! Let them commit abuses, may there be imprisonments, banishments, executions; good; may destiny be fulfilled! When the day comes that they will lay their hands on us, the day when they will make martyrs of our innocent families because of our faults, goodbye! to the government of the friars, and perhaps goodbye to the Spanish government! The cruelty and egoism of Louis XIV and XV brought about the Revolution; the cruelty of the Inquisition killed monasticism. Our books and writings prove that the friars are not what they pretend to be. They are not ministers of Christ, or protectors of the people, nor do they support the government. This is what we write and affirm, and the friars prove this by their deeds. What more do we want? Do they not show cruelty? Do they not incite the government against the people? Do they not sow terror? Where is their goodness, their protectiveness and their strength?

* Blumentritt's review of *Noli Me Tangere* and introduction by Rizal. An English version appears in the appendix to Volume II, *Rizal - Blumentritt Correspondence*, Centennial Edition, 1961

Now, do not be afraid or bothered because some have fallen. In every struggle, there are victims; the greatest battles are the bloodiest. What is imprisonment? What is death? A sickness sometimes keeps us in bed, and takes away our life. The thing is, that this sickness and death should not be useless for those who survive. Some say that that these imprisonments and deaths terrify and intimidate the others. If the people are really courageous, when the terror passes, they should return to the struggle with more fervor and avenge the fallen, in the same way that cauterization heals a wound. Although the part that was cauterized seems dead, the next day new and healthy cells replace the scab. If the people are not brave, if they are cowardly, then the country is like a diseased and infected organism that is close to decomposition, in which case fire is precisely what is needed. Fire awakens vitality, activates the cells, stimulates the flow of fluids, etc. and death occurs only when there is absolutely no vital spark left. But why should we dedicate ourselves to labor for a people without a soul, without feelings? Let us suppose that we could free them now from the tyranny of the friars, well and good: but tomorrow, they will succumb to the tyranny of the government employees.

These imprisonments and vexations will serve to harden the soft skin of our people. Some will fall and turn away, it does not matter; perhaps other will stand firm. What is lacking now are people who, from their prisons and places of exile, will show courage and fortitude in order to be examples for the people and to inspire them, as the ancient Christian martyrs did, like the skeptics. Without the harshness of the Russian government, there would not have been souls forged in the temple of skepticism. I believe we are lacking in this respect. Had Burgos faced his death with the same fortitude as did Gomez, the Filipinos would have been different from what they are now. However, no one can say how he will behave at that last supreme instant, and perhaps I myself who preach and boast a lot, will show more fear and lassitude than Burgos at that critical moment. Life is so pleasant, and it is indeed abominable to be put to death by hanging, while one is still young and filled with ideas....

If you agree with these ideas, pass them on to our countrymen there so that they may show more fortitude, more self-denial, less fear of death and torture, and gain the respect of our

enemies. If they should be banished, fine; then they can pass on their ideas to the others in the island where they are banished; they can spread propaganda. Should they be hanged, they should assume that they are dying from an illness, which is *frailitis* or *frailofobia*: we shall avenge them and mark our enemies with their blood. The friars will not eat them while they are in prison; they have their own houses and the best food. While in prison, they should meditate, as Regidor did, and think of ways to carry out revenge. The first words I spoke to my family when I arrived in the Philippines* when they told me of their fear, were that they should not take a single step for my sake if I were to be imprisoned, nor should they interfere, or spend anything for me: they should see to the education of my nephews so that they will be able to avenge me.

I say the same thing to my countrymen. On the day you see me in the clutches of the friars, don't waste time complaining, making petitions, or uttering lamentations; it is useless. Try to find another one who will take my place, who will avenge me and make them pay dearly for my misfortune. If I were to see my son in the jaws of a shark (if I had a son), I would not try to pull him out, because it would be useless and would only result in pulling him apart. I would kill the shark, if I could, and if it were not possible, I would ensnare it. Well then, supposing the friars were either sharks or only mudfish. If they were the former, they should be killed, and if they were the latter, they should not be feared. I myself believe they are mudfish, and so I am not afraid of falling into their hands. They would have to be a great many, very many, to be able to finish me off, and even then some of them would have to pay for it.

Take comfort therefore, and encourage our countrymen there, that they may realize that imprisonment is not death, and even if it were so, what is death? Don't they believe in God? I suppose that in the other life, there will not be as many friars to deal with as there are in the Philippines, and if there were some friars, they would be reformed friars. And besides, at this time, the Indio is not killed in this manner.

* Rizal refers to his return to the Philippines in 1887 when his *Noli Me Tangere*, was rousing friar indignation. His family and friends prevailed upon him to leave the Philippines, which he did in February 1888.

I reiterate my congratulations to *La Solidaridad*.

Improve my article, and the quotations from Escosura against the friars. *Plaridel* can do me this favor. Please note that Escosura was silent about many things that he could have written about.

Regards to everyone. How goes the *La Solidaridad* and how are the members of the La Solidaridad Association?

Yours,

RIZAL

53. To José M. Basa

We will work here according to your instructions. Measures taken as a result of Basa's telegram. That the Minister of Ultramar should ask the government in Manila for the reasons behind the recent incarcerations. According to Labra, without sufficient data, it will not be possible to appeal the case in Congress.

Barcelona, April 19, 1889.

Señor Don José M. Basa

My dear sir and friend:

I am in possession of your letter dated March 16 in which you relay to me your sensible thoughts with regard to the manner we should conduct ourselves in the service of our unfortunate country. We shall work in accordance with your suggestions.

With reference to the recent incarcerations, of which we were informed by telegram, here are the steps we have taken:

Immediately, and without a moment's delay, a meeting was convened between the Administrative Board of the La Solidaridad Association, the staff of the *La Solidaridad* newspaper and other groups. It was unanimously and promptly agreed to send off the following dispatches: a telegram to the Minister of Ultramar informing him of these events; a letter to the same giving him a

detailed account of the situation in the country and of our aspirations, and requesting him to find out from the central government of the Philippines what the reasons were behind these incarcerations, and to prevent further abuses; a letter to Mr. Labra entreating him to bring up the matter in Congress so that a congressional inquiry could be initiated; another letter to Quiroga for him to wield his influence on the Minister; another to Morayta so that, as president of the Hispano-Filipino Association, he could take some steps to seek justice for the victims of this outrage.

In accordance with a resolution of the council of the La Solidaridad Association, all the Filipinos in the city were summoned to a meeting and informed regarding the attached circular. Among those who did not attend, and who did not bother to give any excuse for not attending, were Roces and Eguarás: a student with the family name of Santa Maria even resigned from the Association.

Labra replied, and said that without data, he could not bring up the question in Congress, but that when he had more details, he would study the matter and find a solution.

J. Llorente, to whom we had also written, sent us a letter from Dominador Gómez, who stated that Morayta had gone to see the Minister twice, and not having found him, left a strongly worded note. On his third attempt, he went to look for him in Congress, where he met Quiroga who was on his way to the Minister's house. The three of them were finally able to confer on the matter, and sent off a telegram to Manila.

Quiroga also wrote us promising to work on our behalf, nevertheless, there seems to be a surge of activity, even if there is a lot of confusion. In fact, the press in Madrid and Barcelona devote a lot of space to this topic. General Pando maintains his stand in Congress that the lives of the Spaniards in Manila are in peril; the entire Ministry denies this: his appeal was announced.

This is all for now; there should always be time for our country.

54. From the Hispano-Filipino Association of Madrid, the La Solidaridad Association, the Filipino Association of Cataluña, and various peninsulares, to the Minister of Ultramar

Progress in the Philippines is already on the same level as that of the other provinces of Spain. Implementation of modern laws in the judicial and economic sectors have been effective. The time has come when the fundamental rights enjoyed by the Spaniards should be enjoyed by the Filipinos as well: representation in the Cortes, abolition of censorship, and prohibition of banishment of residents without judicial sentence.

His Excellency, the Minister of Ultramar

Your Excellency:

The Hispano-Filipino Association of Madrid, La Solidaridad, the mutual Association of Filipinos in Cataluña, the *La Solidaridad* newspaper in Barcelona, and various peninsulares whose signatures appear below, with due respect and in accordance with the rights guaranteed under Article 13 of the Constitution, have the honor of presenting to you, through the President of the Hispano-Filipino Association, the following petition.

For the past years, civilization has been advancing in the Philippines to such an extent that it is now on the same level as that of the other provinces of Spain.

Modern laws of great importance, appropriate in a cultured society, have been implemented recently in the judicial and economic sectors. Despite the dire predictions with which reactionaries received these laws, they were implemented without incident, thus proving that the Philippines had attained the same cultural level as the other countries that had also accepted the laws without protest.

Therefore, the hour has come to apply to that Spanish colony the same fundamental rights enjoyed by all Spaniards in the Peninsula and other colonies overseas, which are:

1. Representation in the Cortes;
2. Abolition of previous censures;
3. Clear and decisive prohibition of the current practice of banishing residents purely on the basis of administrative orders, and without any executory sentence from the judicial power.

On this basis, the proponents appeal to the sense of righteousness of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs to make the necessary arrangements for the immediate application in the Philippines of the laws that will guarantee said rights. This will surely bestow a special grace, which will later on become a glorious page in the history of the Foreign Affairs Ministry of Spain.

Barcelona, April 25, 1889.

His Excellency.
[Signatures follow]

55. To Emilio Terrero, Ex-Governor General of the Philippines.

Thank you for the kind reception of his book. And for the phrases which acknowledging our loyalty to Spain. This was proven by the blood shed by Filipinos in battle in defense of the metropolis and in the discipline of the military.

His Excellency Don Emilio Terrero.

Dear Sir and distinguished General:

It is a signal reward for me to learn, from the letter you kindly wrote me on the fourth of this month, of your gracious recognition of my humble book.

On behalf of my country and for myself in particular, may I extend my heartfelt gratitude for the act of justice you have

extended to the Filipinos, by recognizing, as you expressly acknowledge, our loyalty and allegiance to the mother country.

If the evidence of the blood shed in different battles by the indigenous race in defense of the Spanish flag is not proof enough, a word of authority from you, who had personally experienced the disciplined allegiance of the army but also what was demonstrated by the people during the time of your governance of the country, in the towns that faced the dangers of conflict with the Carolines and the harshness of banishment while defending the Spanish flag in the battlefields of Jolo, will, aside from the testimony of history, be more than enough to dissipate the nebulousness which has enveloped the reputation of the people of the Philippines.

For each of our endeavors towards progress, for each of our desires to identify our interests with those of the Metropolis, an uncompromising spirit creates an atmosphere that hinders our endeavors and desires, which can be gleaned from the words of filibusterers and anti-Spanish elements, as though the interests of Spain were incompatible with the well being of the Philippines.

Your Excellency can therefore understand that you are in the best position to acknowledge and appreciate our loyalty impartially. Your words will become the dew that will revitalize our faith in the innate justice of man.

Thank you, a million thanks to you, my General. Your pleasant memories of that unfortunate country coincide with the blessings of a grateful people, and I, who have recently come from there, can assure you that your most respected name will be engraved in the hearts of the Filipinos.

I reiterate my testimony for your most distinguished consideration, and await your orders. Your servant who kisses your hand,

MARCELO H. DEL PILAR

Barcelona, May 1, 1889.
S/c Plaza del Buen Suceso 3-1.

56. To Doroteo Cortés

Our help for Lallave in his important undertaking. This is contrary to the interests of the country's monopolizers. He is ready to render reciprocal service. Rianzares errs in his pessimistic judgement of the circular of the Ministry of Ultramar regarding Philippine politics.

Barcelona, May 1, 1889.

Señor Don Doroteo Cortés
Manila

Mr. dear friend and comrade:

Mr. Manrique Lallave and his companions will be going there to attend to a case, which they will explain to you later. They expect to encounter opposition from certain monopolizers of the country, and they are requesting you and our friends to provide them with protection, with the assurance that these gentlemen and their followers, with whom we are in perfect accord, are ready to render reciprocal service.

The name of Mr. Lallave is not unknown in that country; he is a distinguished writer, whose works have been avidly read by Laktaw and our other friends.

Our companion Rianzares is wrong in judging the circular of the Ministry of Ultramar on Philippine politics so pessimistically. The circular is very well written, and you must study it very closely, not only its wording, but also the spirit in which it was written, its scope and the process of development it recommends.

I repeat my petitions for the benefit of those whom I have recommended, and I shall appreciate it if you pass these on to all our friends.

I shall write to Pedro in the next mail. My regards to everyone, especially to your family. You can count on your friend who cares for you, and sends you a warm embrace.

MARCELO H. DEL PILAR

57. To Deodato Arellano

Plaridel's book is well received. Praises from Morayta.- Banquet at the "Continental". Protest against the calumnies of the filibusterism. Merging of the sentiments of those in the Metropolis and in the colonies. Morayta observes that the Philippines faces a great future. "The country has already given the world great artists, orators and profound thinkers." The press welcomes the voice of the patriots. Several parties offer to work for the reforms needed by the country.
The cup of bitterness.

May 2, 1889.

Ka Dato:

Tears of gratitude welled from my eyes upon receiving your fine mementos. Thanks, a million thanks! Please do me the favor of relaying my gratitude to everyone; I cannot find the words to express my thanks.

As I told you in my letter of the 17th of April, Morayta came, and I was introduced to him. He said that he already knew my name, but he understood that I was going to Madrid. I gave him a copy of *La Soberanía Monacal* and the next day, he told me that he had read it, and that it seemed to him to be a good publication, thus paying me a cold and methodical tribute. Two days later, he spoke to me again about the work, but this time he was more enthusiastic, saying that he had reread it with more care and found it more interesting than he originally thought. He said that in Spain, even among the intellectuals, there is a great lack of knowledge regarding the administration in the Philippines, and that the work provides a great deal of information that is lacking in the study of Philippine affairs. He praised the smooth style in which it was written, and praise from a learned person like Morayta more than makes up for my hardships and pain.

Last April 25, we hosted a banquet in his honor at the "Continental" restaurant, and I describe here the seating arrangement: in the center of the presidential table was Morayta. To his left, in the following order were: the director of *La Llumana*, the editor-in-chief of *La Publicidad* and *Jomapa* (a)

José Ma. Panganiban; to the right of Morayta, also successively: Pilar, Naning, Agustin Blanco. At the opposite, in the center, Galicano Apacible, president of the La Solidaridad Association, to his right, Dámaso Ponce and Santiago Icasiano; to his left, Graciano López Jaena and Pablo Rianzares.

During the conversation and between toasts, which did not result in any unpropitious behavior as in other banquets celebrated here before my arrival, during these salutatory drinking rituals, the predominant subject of the toasts were actually quiet protests against the calumnies of filibusterism that are continuously repeated against the Filipinos, proving that we Filipinos have a greater interest than the peninsulares do in bolstering Spanish strength in the Philippines; that our aspiration is merely to consolidate the sentiments and interests of the Metropolis and the colony, and deploring the fact that the obstructionism continues to triumph against this objective.

Galicano, Dámaso, *Jomapa*, Pilar and Graciano raised their glasses to these. The peninsulares who represented the press enthusiastically acknowledged the Filipinos' manifestations of loyalty.

Morayta resumed the drinking of toasts, without rising from his seat, saying that he would not stand to deliver a speech, but only to give a short talk. He spoke very well, in a fatherly tone and manner. Using the right phrases, he applauded the noble and worthy stance of the Filipino people. He said that he had been studying the country, and he observes that there are signs that the country is facing a great future. In the short period since the advent of progress in the country, it has already given the world great artists, orators and profound thinkers. He acknowledged the incompatibility of the friars with the advancement of the Philippines, and this progress is imperative. Therefore, the friar may be considered as anachronistic. He stated that he does not advocate violent measures to expel the friars from the Philippines, although events are unfurling rapidly and with more force each day; and so, our duty is to persistently denounce them to the government and for the benefit of public opinion. In this manner, on the day of tomorrow, if what transpired in Spain in 1835 occurs

in the Philippines, the public will not be misled in judging what the real cause of the conflict was.

Mr. Becerra agreed to support the Minister of Foreign Affairs in the implementation of liberal reforms, and on this basis, he signed the article published in the *La Solidaridad*, which is attached herewith.

While I was writing this letter, the ship *Reina Mercedes* arrived, carrying letters from you, Chanay and the boys. Among these, and the clippings from *La Voz de España*, I found a blank envelope, which was sealed. When I opened it, I found a letter from Chanay addressed to you with a bank note from the Banco Español-Filipino: I am returning the letter and the bank note for \$10 to you.

I am becoming more and more concerned regarding the hardships my family is undergoing due to my absence: Anita is sick, I do not know in what condition she is! Oh, how painful it is, my dear brother! From that letter, I can see the difficulties my staying here is causing you, and lastly, I note that I am becoming a burden for the people of Malolos, and they are right. Why should they suffer for me?

For this reason, I beg you to arrange for a loan for me, out of what few properties I have. Send me the money that you are able to borrow, so that I can return. I am ready to face whatever fate awaits me there. The only deplorable thing is that I would be leaving my work here in mid-stream, just when I feel we have begun to achieve some results.

I cannot go on. I do not know if I could still write to Pedro while I am in this sorrowful state of mind. I hope he can forgive me if I don't write to him at this time.

MARCELO H. DEL PILAR

P.S. I finished writing this letter while in a very depressed and sad mood. It is now one a.m. and I return to take up my pen, in order to set your mind at ease regarding my present financial condition. I estimate that I have sufficient funds to see me through this

month, and through June and July. On my part, I will try to economize as much as possible, but in order to maintain my good relations with others, a certain degree of generosity is necessary, and since it is necessary to reduce my relationships, you can imagine how limited my circle of friends will be. Even so, we do what we can, and we are already beginning to influence public opinion. When we speak of the Philippines before numerous audiences, our voice is listened to and received with wholehearted enthusiasm not only by the press, but also by scientific circles, by politicians and non-politicians. We have attracted numerous adherents. Because of these, I foresee some positive results. But if my continued stay causes you much inconvenience and more so to the Maloleños, I have no other recourse but to yield to the force of circumstances. Therefore, since it is not possible to earn a living, I shall go back there to do so, and when I have made enough money, then I will return to resume my work for the country, if I am still alive and in good health.

Enclosed is copy of the program for the banquet we hosted for Morayta so you can see our participation in this.

The letter to the Ministry has merited their consent. They have read it and they have noted the many signatures it bears; but those signatures are not Doroteo Jose's.

Even if we have not achieved our aim, at least we can be certain of good publicity to the effect that the aspirations of the Filipinos are not anti-Spanish, thus dispelling previously held ideas to the contrary. The present government will not be able to address this problem at this time, and for this reason, different political parties have offered to include this issue in their official agendas.

Therefore, we cannot make any decision, because we do not want to make an obvious error that will confirm our inadequacy when the time comes to make monetary sacrifices.

I have not yet received the letter you sent through Alejandrino, who arrived today. Please inform Pedro that I am not able to write him. Goodbye, I shall try to sleep for a while, since my head is already feeling like a drum.

MARCELO

58. To Pedro Icasiano

Ba Basióng, disillusioned by Bercerra's circular. Support for the religious groups and respect for other's beliefs. "I do the best I can, and may I be what God wants me to be." Manrique Lallave's important mission. Tolerance, a great step against monastic power. Banishment should be prohibited.

Barcelona, May 3, 1889.

Señor Don P. Ikazama

Dear Friend:

Alejandrino arrived yesterday, safe and sound. Your letters are in his suitcase, and since the suitcase is not yet in his possession, I have not received them yet. But your other letter that you sent through Basilio is already with me. Regarding the budget for a newspaper, I will study this in Madrid. Concerning your question about my intention to reside here, I thought you were aware of this before I departed from those shores. If we were to begin now, you will realize how difficult it is for me to enter into compromises. I do not think of any other thing right now. I simply do what I can, and may I be what God wants me to be.

The bill of lading for the *singkapan* might be a certified copy of the one issued to *Otað*. We sent the other copy to the consignee in Singapore but I do not know if it has reached him. He has not given us any indication that he has received it. There are many companies located in that city. It is not like our town, where just by being a business establishment, it is already known.

*Ba** Basióng wrote telling me of his desperation concerning Bercerra's circular about Philippine politics, in which he recommends support for religious elements, and that other beliefs be respected.

* Uncle, synonymous to Mang.

In my opinion, the article is cleverly worded and far from being favorable to theocratic power, it is the most serious threat that can be made against it, within the limits of legality. The question is we must know how to implement it. Becerra cannot go into the details.

In the shadow of the circular can be found the person, present in body and soul, of Manrique Lallave, a Protestant preacher. The government cannot persecute him, because he is protected by the terms of the circular. If he wants to attract converts, he must present a petition to the government containing 300,000 signatures, asking for greater tolerance and even freedom of worship. It will be almost impossible that the latter request will be approved, but its concession granting religious tolerance is already a great step against monastic power. Concerning the expulsion of the friars, we cannot expect the government to act on this. We have to do this ourselves.

I have recommended Teo to Lallave. I believe Teo can help him in a very discreet manner, because, do not forget, the law of the Philippines prohibits any religious propaganda that is not pro-Catholic. One can work on this by avoiding any act that can be classified as actual propaganda. Finally, I leave it up to you to decide on the best manner of utilizing this route.

I am enclosing a copy of the program of the banquet we hosted recently for Morayta. The petition, which is referred to as written by me, is found in the *La Solidaridad* issue of April 30. The last part of the article concerns the issue of banishment. Let us see if this portion of the petition, being the most insignificant item in it, will merit their approval. At any rate, since our aspirations are stated in a very simple manner, I believe that all attempts at filibusterism will be discredited.

Tell Ramos to also protect Lallave.

You must be patient during the duration of the *limbags*, as our operator is slow, but he is cheap, and he works well.

I think I have no more time to reply to Basilio. Please inform him of my intentions, since he is concerned about me, for which I extend my heartfelt gratitude.

Farewell, I embrace you affectionately.

CARMELO

P.S. Never, never place my pseudonym on the envelope of registered letters, because it is not possible to identify the person the letter is addressed to, in case it is necessary.

SAME

59. To Rizal

Letters and clippings from *La Voz de España*. "Neither the assimilation of the political and administrative sectors, nor the adoption of a common language, can forge a union between Spain and the Philippines." Only religion can form this bond. Jaena's article: "How the nation is offended."

Barcelona, May 6, 1889.

Dear friend:

I have the pleasure of sending you a letter, care of Don Mariano Alejandrino, a resident of Arayat, Pampanga, to whom you may directly acknowledge having received it, or you may do so through Serrano.

I am also sending you the enclosed letters, so that you may be informed of the news that we receive, which may be of use to you. Also enclosed are clippings from *La Voz de España*, the friars' periodical in Manila, in case you may wish to reply to some of its articles.

I have here a clipping of an article for Graciano, entitled "How the nation is offended" in which it is stated that neither the political-administrative assimilation, nor the adoption of a common language can form a bond between Spain and the Philippines. This can only be accomplished by religion; and any attack directed against the religious elements is an attack on the country.

Graciano will refute these absurd allegations in another article that he will entitle "How the nation is deceived".

With reference to the proceedings regarding the attempted rebellion, you could write an article about this from the point of view of a Filipino newspaper.

Please accept my felicitations on the safe return of your brother-in-law Maneng.

I would appreciate your returning my letters, after you have taken note of them.

Once again, your affectionate friend.

M. H. DEL PILAR

60. To S. Jugo Vidal

Congratulations for *La Vanguardia Filipina*. - At the forefront of the struggle for the wellbeing of the country. - Subscribers. - Its columns are devoted to the ideals.

Barcelona, May 7, 1889.

Señor Don S. Jugo Vidal
Madrid

Distinguished and valued countryman:

I begin by apologizing for the delay in my reply, due to the many tasks I have been occupied with these days.

I congratulate you and your companions on the staff for the very well written *La Vanguardia Filipina*. It truly deserves the position it has attained, from its very first issue, at the forefront of those who struggle for the welfare of our unfortunate country! The road is filled with obstacles, but faith and perseverance will overcome all difficulties.

Listed below are the subscribers to *La Vanguardia*:

Mr. Fernando Canon - S, Gervacio - Alfonso XII 79.
D. Santiago Icasiano - Aviño 12-13.
Mr. José Ma. Pañganiban-Plaza de Enseñanza 1-30.
Mr. Galicano Apacible - Id.
Mr. Dámaso Ponce - Avenue of the Canaletas 2-30.
Mr. Mariano Ponce - Avenue Canaletas, 2-30.
Mr. Marcelo H. del Pilar - Id.

I appreciate your offer for me to write some columns for the newspaper; I will try to make use of this opportunity to further promote the ideals that this newspaper espouses, which are the same as the ones we uphold. Since it is not possible to send you my work at this time, I am instead sending you two copies of *La Soberanía Monacal* which you might find useful.

On my behalf, please congratulate the editorial board and the staff of the newspaper, even if I do not know them personally. In the meantime, your affectionate friend is at your service.

MARCELO H. DEL PILAR

P.S. I am taking note of the Filipinos who reside in this city, who you can contact as possible subscribers.

SAME

61. From S. Jugo Vidal

Issues of the newspaper *La Vanguardia* for the subscribers of Plaridel.- The cooperation of this publication is solicited.

May 11, 1889.

Señor Don Marcelo H. del Pilar

My dear and distinguished countryman:

In today's mail, I am sending you 25 copies of *La Vanguardia*. I hope to receive your suggestions on how to avoid any negligence or oversight on the part of this administration.

I would also appreciate receiving any article from you that we can feature in the columns of our weekly publication.

My greetings to everyone in the colony. You can count on your affectionate friend who kisses your hand.

S. JUGO VIDAL

62. To Fernando Blumentritt

For the sake of the country and his loved ones.- Abnormality of the friars and their policy of terror.- Basa imprisoned because of contraband found in his house.- Nocturnal searches.- Ostentatious display of power by Judge Martinez Nubla.- Centeno, the Filipinista, congratulates *La Solidaridad* for having won Blumentritt's collaboration.

Barcelona, May 14, 1889.

Señor Don Fernando Blumentritt
Austria

My dearest friend:

As the father of a family, I live in a continuous state of melancholy when I think of my country, where I have left behind, despondent at my departure, the poor mother of my two daughters, the youngest not even two years of age. Do not find my silence strange therefore; I am the first to acknowledge this inappropriate behavior, and which I hope you can understand. Fortunately, your postcard has lifted my spirits, and I find solace in taking up my pen to converse with a friend who, being in love with his Loleng, knows how to understand my situation.

The news I have received from the Philippines confirms the abnormality of the friars. The only thing they are consistent at is their application of their policy of terror, which far from diminishing, continues to worsen.

To cite an example: while Don Matías Basa was at home being sick with a fever, someone came to bring him a package which he said came from his brother Don José Basa in Hongkong.

Without rising from his sick bed, and without touching or opening the package, he told the bearer to leave the package on top of his table, which he did.

Barely five minutes later, panting and out of breath, the district judge Don Elias Martinez Nubla, appeared in the sick man's house and proceeded directly to the table where the package was. He grabs it, opens it, and finds that it contained printed matter which was anti-friar, and on this basis, he decided to institute legal proceedings for the crime of. . . (prepare yourself, friend!) attempted rebellion.

The house of Matías Basa was then filled by armed troops, who conducted a thorough inspection, and brought Basa to prison where he was held incommunicado, together with a certain Abella (a Spanish peninsular) and the pilot of the ship *Nanchang*.

The printed material that was seized was the same as those that were clandestinely circulated in the Manila, and I enclose some copies.

At dawn on the 29th of March, in separate and distinct places and at precisely between 3 and 4 in the morning, simultaneous raids were conducted by armed troops on various and numerous houses of clergymen, lawyers, businessmen, professors, proprietors, etc. etc.

Don Elías Martinez Nubla is a peninsular. He was my classmate and served as 2nd sergeant in the cavalry. He married a mestiza, has a degree in law, and since then was called Martinez de Nubla. He now has a son who is a scholar in the College of Santo Tomas, which is under the administration of the Dominican fathers. This information on his background will make clear to you the reasons behind all his actions, including his militaristic tendency to make an ostentatious display of armed power.

This case, no matter how one would want to delve into its smallest details, can only be classified as one of those clandestine crimes; but no one has wanted to name it as such, because such a crime cannot justify the detention and imprisonment of the accused. Considered as attempted rebellion, the offense seems serious and legally merits preventive imprisonment, and, of course, by prolonging the case, the imprisonment is likewise prolonged. However, since it does not merit a condemnatory sentence, it is enough for the authorities to drag their feet and neglect the case, so that the accused can count on spending days, and even years, inside a dungeon. And we have no legal means to redress this injustice.

A new weekly newspaper called *La Vanguardia Filipina* has appeared in Madrid. I am its correspondent.

Mr. Centeno has honored us with a visit and he congratulated us for your works. He tells us that *La Solidaridad* is read in the Ministry of Ultramar.

Nothing more for now. Please extend my greetings to your wife (whose feet I kiss) and to Loleng who is a friend of my two daughters, Sofia and Anita.

Your affectionate friend who kisses your hand,

MARCELO H. DEL PILAR

63. To Basilio Teodoro

Prudence is admirable.- "My personal peace - I search for it, putting miles of ocean between me and my family."- Morayta's advice for the success of a newspaper.- A weekly newspaper is sufficient.- *La Solidaridad Monacal* is interesting. Another pamphlet of filibusterism, its influence on Filipinos, and the friars' Hispanism.- Alejandro teaches his province-mates about patriotism.- The limit of human degradation: the lewd pirouettes of a Spanish dancer.

Barcelona, May 15, 1889.

Señor Don Basilio Teodoro
My dear friend:

Your undated letter is in my possession, in which you ask me to explain the reasons that have brought me here, and reserving your opinion on this until I have given you my explanation. As you know, there is nothing more pleasing to me than a self-contained man, and I congratulate you for your prudence. Regarding my intentions, I hope you can excuse me for not explaining them. In your response during my leave-taking, it seemed to me that you were already aware of my reasons, which were to find my personal peace, as I am doing now, placing the vastness of the ocean between my family and me.

I will comply with your advice not to be too blunt; but I request you to please pardon me for not professing my faith anew, not only because I do not feel I have the strength to compromise, but also because I do not want anyone to interpret my words as a summons to gratitude or generosity.

We have asked Madrid for an estimate of the monthly expenses of a daily newspaper, and I will send this to you as soon as I receive it. With respect to this, I consulted Don Miguel Morayta, who is very knowledgeable on this matter being co-proprietor of *La Publicidad*. I am not sure if he also co-proprietor of the *Globo*. Aside from this, he has spent a large fortune on similar enterprises, and he has shared his thoughts with me on this matter: a daily newspaper requires a large capital amounting to millions of reales: for a newspaper to be independent, it will take years of pecuniary sacrifice because of the high cost of publication and other corresponding expenses: if in the Philippines, a large fortune exists for such expensive ventures, the owners of such fortunes do not have the willingness to endure much sacrifice: for this reason, it will not be possible for a newspaper to last. Its failure will undermine our seriousness, and consequently, our aspirations. Since this is the case, we should not think of a daily newspaper. A yearly, weekly or at the most a bi-weekly publication will be sufficient.

I enclose herewith a brief description of the banquet we hosted for Morayta, as well as a clipping on the petition we presented to the Ministry of Ultramar, which was regarded as trivial at first but is now considered an important issue. I shall emphasize the importance of the petition utilizing not only the

press, but also other means within my reach. I am sorry I was not able to write to you about my plan.

The pamphlet is in good hands. I sent Quiroga ten copies. I gave Centeno, who came to visit us, five copies. The day after I gave Morayta a copy, he praised me coldly on the style in which it was written, but two days later, he sought me out and told me he had reread the article. He said he had acquired a lot of new information which was previously unknown to him, as well as to many scholarly men in Spain. I also sent copies to the Ministers, the president of the Congress, Labra and other public officials. To save on stamps, I sent some of them through the kindness of some friends.

I am completing another pamphlet on Philippine filibusterism, the Hispanism of the friar, his concurrence on Philippine civilization, his moral influence on Filipinos, and other reflections on these issues. I will have it printed soon.

Centeno informs us that the *La Solidaridad* is read and heeded in the Ministry, and for this reason, he strongly recommends a large measure of circumspection in our writings, because this is what captures the attention of the most levelheaded in the world of politics.

José Alejandrino arrived safe and sound, and later proceeded to Madrid. He is a promising young man, serious and clever, endowed with an observant nature and discerning spirit thus attracting many sympathizers in the few days that he was here. He taught his reactionary province-mates here many strict lessons on patriotism, which drew the color from their faces, because it was a young and modern man who was giving them such levelheaded and courteous observations. One evening, he came with me to watch a theatrical presentation, in which a dancer was performing indecent pirouettes that were roundly applauded by everyone present. Alejandrino however, averted his eyes from the scene and indignantly told me: "Well, this is the limit of human degradation! This is the sex that our mothers referred to; and these people have the nerve to applaud such humiliation? And look sir, at the one who is seated in front of us, he is the father of a family, together

with his wife and daughter who is wearing a short dress, witnessing such indecency!"

I pondered amusedly on this young man's indignation, and I recognized the value of a solid education. I congratulate his parents.

Nothing more for now. Receive an embrace from your affectionate friend who wishes you much good fortune.

MARCELO

P.S. If it will not inconvenience you, please be kind enough to collect some fees due to me in Pampangá, and send the amount collected to my family. I am worried about them, and wonder what fate has befallen them, which keeps me in a state of constant melancholy.

SAME

64. To José M. Basa

Calamities are an essential part of the process toward the attainment of social progress for the country. Exile, and other painful phenomena "are the necessary storms to clear our sultry atmosphere." Instruments in the inscrutable design of Providence. It is not possible to secure the release of the prisoners through legal means.

Barcelona, May 16, 1889.

Señor Don J. M. Basa
Hongkong

Dear Friend:

In my possession is your letter dated April 10, and the sad news it contains about the imprisonment of your brother and his compadre confirms the information we received from Manila. It has caused us great pain to learn that instead of the happiness we desire for our country, it is mired in terrible misfortune.

However, one must agree that these calamities are an essential part of the great social process in which conflicting interests are ventilated: the interest of the progressives and the interest of the conservatives; those on the side of freedom, and those on the side of tyranny.

The misfortunes that not only your brother, but also myself and others, are experiencing; the pain of exile, even if voluntary, is no less necessary and weighs heavily on you, on Regidor, on Rizal, causing more pain than preventive imprisonment within our own country. All of these evils are phenomena that produce painful memories, but I already have experienced what for me is a tempest that is required to clear our oppressive atmosphere. Let us then thank Providence and prove that we are indeed worthy instruments in its inscrutable design.

In my letter of April 19, I informed you of the steps we have taken regarding the new incarcerations. From our telegram, you will note that we were inquiring if the imprisonment was legal, and this question has not been answered. The response was limited to the matter of 'details', and for this reason, we continue to take steps in darkness.

Now that we know that the incarceration was legal since it was classified a serious crime, such as attempted rebellion, I must tell you frankly that without demolishing this classification, the release can only be granted on the basis of a suspension of judicial proceedings or by an absolute judgement.

Therefore, it is not possible to secure the release of the prisoners from here in Spain; the judicial process does not allow a superior court to interfere in the proceedings of a lower court. This can only be done if the case is elevated to a higher court, by virtue of the recourses established by law.

Through the use of influence?.... I do not know if we can counteract the friars' influence.

However, we will do what we are depended upon to do. We shall spread propaganda on the legal inaccuracy of the term "attempted rebellion"; we shall show how this inaccuracy follows

the plan to prolong the incarceration and we shall stir things up so that the Supreme Court can order that the process be hastened, which is the only thing the Supreme Court can do.

We have already filed our petition for representation in the Cortes. Please take note of the article we wrote, with the agreement of Morayta and the others, which appears in issue No. 6 of *La Solidaridad*. It would be good if this position is supported. Please bring this to the attention of the Hongkong Telegraph also, in case they may want to comment on this, which we shall publish here later on.

Ponce has given me the good news that you might be coming here; you will be most welcome. I dearly wish to embrace you!

Please extend my respectful greetings to Don Andoy, and my regards to Emilio Laurel, Beteng, Panis, Almeyda and my other friends, especially to Don Balbino and his family.

Your affectionate friend and your servant who kisses your hand..

MARCELO H. DEL PILAR

65. To Pedro Icasiano

Letters from Manila sent to *Mamá* in Paris.- The regulation sent by Don Andres.- Will it be possible to promote adherence in Manila to a petition to the Minister? According to Centeno, *La Solidaridad* is attracting the government's attention. The removal of the friars' authority to inspect schools is being considered. Will the teacher Cañellas be condemned to hell simply because he is not a Romanist? Do not make fun of Capitan Pedro. It is not worth passing on to posterity.

Barcelona, May 16, 1889.

Señor Don P. Ikazama

My dear friend:

I have received your letter from Alejandro as well as the things you sent. I also received your previous letters sent through the shipping line. I have passed these on to *Mamá* in Paris with a request that they be returned to me. I published all the useful information in the *La Solidaridad*.

It was my suggestion that Don Andres [the hero, Andres Bonifacio] send the regulation to you. I did not tell you about this so that you would work on this because of our silence, as you are doing now. I advise you, however, to take courage. I have not lost sight of the case; we shall attend to this at a slower pace, because I have my plans.

Our tactful letter to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs is included in issue No. 6 of *La Solidaridad*. Please decide if you think it is possible to form a group of adherents there.

Centeno came personally to visit us in this house: he congratulated us for *La Solidaridad's* campaign. He assured us that this is attracting the attention of the Ministry of Ultramar and, as a result, he and Quiroga were summoned several times by Becerra for a conference. He indicated that he was considering the possibility of removing the authority of friars to conduct inspections of the local schools, and instead, inspections would be done by district, since this was a requirement for the attainment of the title of superior teacher.

Naning will be sending you copies of the pamphlet of Cañellas. See if you like it, and we will order some. This author is now married, and resides in Mataró, where I visited him, and where he runs a non-sectarian school. He is a virtuous man, and a model husband, except that he is a Protestant.

Noting his dedication to his teaching profession, his austere and orderly lifestyle, and his faith in Jesus Christ, I have asked myself many times if it was possible that this man would be condemned to hell only because he was not a Roman Catholic? According to him, Jesus Christ was not one. I am not a theologian, I am a layman, but if I were God, I would not consider

condemning this man, even if the friars would protest against my omnipotence.

What do you want to do with the copy of the pamphlet? Do you want to have it reprinted? If so, you will need the permission of the author. Since he will be there soon, you can talk to him in person.

I am not in favor of lampooning Captain Pedro [Don Pedro Roxas], he is not worthy of even this honor, and not even for his evil deeds should he pass on to posterity. Although he is not a good person, neither is he bad enough to merit our attention. Above all, we should not shut the doors to our amicable relations with his relatives and kinsmen, who are without a doubt more worthy than him, but who cannot avoid being subjected to the same ridicule as their relative, thus creating a wall between them and us. Let Captain Pedro go on as he is; we do not intend to reform him. He is well along in years, and only has a few years left in this world. Finally, and at the end, he will not be such a great influence on our people, and the example of his life is not so terrible.

Sandico, who is an accomplished writer, should take advantage of the opportunity the newspaper offers. The day may come when he will have to take my place here. This post should not be left vacant. He should write on pedagogical matters.

Please note the enclosed, and send it to its destination.

I dispatched the letter to *Mamá* but she has not yet replied.

We find it strange that you have received only 272 copies of *La Solidaridad*. We sent 200 copies to Modesto and another 200 to Goyo; who could be the rogue who kept the 128 copies? Please find out, and if it is one of them, penalize him by requiring him to triple the number of his subscribers.

Martos does not have an organized party. What is valuable about Martos, and it is very valuable, is his personal character. He is an athlete with words, and is respected for this.

66. To Rizal

The lively imagination of Trinidad.- "We should protect ourselves from the enemies' intrigues and from the naiveté of friends."- Was it racial prejudice that caused the withdrawal of the offer to edit the works of Rizal?- Petition presented to the Ministry of Ultramar is published in *La Solidaridad*.

Barcelona, May 18, 1889.

Friend Laong Laan:

I do not know what news Trinidad* brings, but I do know that he is a person with a somewhat lively imagination. He is one of those who breaks his fingers covering his ears even before the gun is loaded.

One day while you were in Lipa, I cannot remember what town or what fiesta was being celebrated, Trinidad was also there. He saw you looking out the window of a house, and as he passed by, he contented himself by greeting you with a wave of the hand, although he wished to embrace you. He went on walking to I do not know what place to bathe, and always tried to be accompanied by a corporal or a European sergeant of the Guardia Civil on all his walks, and you know why? So that he would have a witness to testify that he had not met with you. Ask him if this is true; it is useless to tell him where the news came from, because he does not know me, even if I have known him since I was a child. But this incident is one proof of his fertile imagination.

For all that, you know that I am your disposal, and allow me to make an observation.

In the unfolding of the spectacle of that scene, neither you nor I are strangers to the work of a fly, and for the same reason, we should not trust the exhortations that come from unknown sources.

* This may be a reference to T.H. Pardo de Tavera

I think we should protect ourselves from the intrigues of our enemies and the naiveté of our friends. Having said this, therefore, and with the data you already possess, the circumstances now exist and the time is right for us to abandon the pen; trust me.

I deplore the break between you and the person who offered to edit your work. God grant that the reason for his incomprehensible behavior is not what I fear and suspect, though it seems obvious – his racial prejudice. It makes my blood boil when I recall what Graciano told me about the persistent efforts of that man to replace the painting of our great Luna that was to be exhibited in a certain exposition with one by a mestizo that barely merited acceptance, simply to sustain the myth of racial superiority. I do not to think about this, but. . . let us forgive such stupidity.

On page 58 of issue No. 6 of *La Solidaridad*, you must have seen the petition we presented to the Ministry of Ultramar. I know that three of the points raised in our petition will not be immediately addressed. With reference to point No. 3, I hope that we can at least exert some effort to secure a Royal Order expressly prohibiting the humiliating practice we indicated, and that the prohibition be published in the *Gaceta de Manila*, especially since the practice does not enjoy any support from existing laws in Spain and overseas. If you can enlist the support of the Royal family, now is the time to do so, because Becerra belongs to it, and this form of harassment affects their prestige and good name, and it is their members and friends who will suffer because of this. We shall have achieved a lot if we can secure their support because not even the friars suspect the importance of this weapon; it is the only one they have. By obtaining this prohibition, all deportation by administrative order will fall under the jurisdiction of the penal code. Once this weapon is gone, we can then kick.

NOTE: This letter has no ending and therefore no signature, but judging by its context and the writing style, it seems to be a handwritten copy of a letter of Marcelo H. del Pilar.- (Curator of Manuscripts, National Library)

67. From Rizal

Breaks off completely from Regidor. Estimate of expenses for Filipinos who plan to go to Paris.

Paris, May 20, 1889.
10 Rue de Louvois.

My dear Plaridel:

Even if I am the younger one between the two of us, permit me, nevertheless, in view of our friendship and shared sentiments, to suggest that we treat each other as brothers destined perhaps to share the same fate.

I sent you a handwritten reply to *La Voz de España**. Please see if this can be published; delete what you think should be deleted, whatever portion you think may jeopardize us. I have full confidence in your good judgement and loyalty.

I have broken off completely from Regidor, because he has not gotten around to publishing my manuscript and because of this, we have been placed in a compromising situation. I shall now publish it myself.

We have read the *La Solidaridad* and found it very much to our liking. It is a pity that instead of the article "Los Viajes" [an essay of the value of travel, by Rizal]; the continuation of the article on education in the Philippines was not published. Who is its author?*** Please extend to him my sincere felicitations and my admiration.

When do you wish to come here? Listed below are the expenses you will incur:

* This may refer to Rizal's article '*Como se engaña la Patria* (How the Motherland is deceived) which appeared without any signature in the *La Solidaridad* issue of May 15, 1889. *La Voz de España* was a daily newspaper of the friars published in Manila.

** The article on education was unsigned. The author was Jose Maria Pañganiban whose pen name was "Jomapa". See letter No. 125 of M. H. del Pilar.

			<u>Tip</u>
Lunch	Francs	2.00	20 c.
Dinner	“	2.50	25 c.
Entrance fee to the Exposition	“	0.75	
Lodging	“	3.00	
			<hr/>
			8.25 45 c.
			<hr/>
	Total Francs	8.70	
			<hr/> <hr/>

I commit myself to providing breakfast for five friends for a week: chocolaté or tea and biscuits; even if this is actually not necessary.

These expenses can still be reduced if you come on the 1st of June and live in the same house I am staying in, and two persons in a room. But you must come in a group. The question is how the newspaper will be published.

Tell our friend Pañganiban that I am pleased at his determination to study German. I congratulate him. Enclosed is a brief note.

I am very busy translating another work of Blumentritt.

Yours affectionately,

RIZAL

68. To Rizal

“La Verdad para todos” (“The Truth for all”) and the article “Filibusteros” (“Filibusterers?”) by Blumentritt. *La Vanguardia* is afraid to feature news on events taking place in Manila. Circulo Hispano-Filipino in Madrid. Articles of *Jomapa* regarding the University. Don Pedro Roxas. Plaridel asks Rizal if he can do anything to convince Roxas to support those working for the interests of the Philippines. The propaganda movement until the end of the year.

Barcelona, May 24, 1889.

My dear friend Pepe:

I am referring to your remark regarding our brotherhood, which I find highly pleasing.

I am overjoyed at seeing how brilliant the next issue of *La Solidaridad* will be: the articles "The Truth for Everyone" and Blumentritt's "Filibusterers?" will be the most serious and most forceful of the articles featured in the bi-monthly.

I notice that *La Vanguardia Filipina** is afraid of dealing with Philippine issues: it has already published two letters from Manila which must have come from its staff. Its issues dated March 30 and April 1st did not contain any news on the events of March 29, although this news was announced in *El Globo*, *La Patria* and *La Solidaridad*. Since *La Vanguardia Filipina* has the same position, it is more than enough to have *El Diario de Manila*.

There is talk of a plan to establish a Circulo Hispano-Filipino in Madrid. Do you know something about this? Could this not be some sort of a martingale Font [ploy]? I do not know anything about it, but it would be good to find out. Given the existence of the Hispano-Filipina Association which is headed by an enthusiastic president, if not for the Philippines, then at least for its allied interests, I do not see the need for another association which will only represent personal interests and enlarge the divisiveness in the colony in Madrid. If this club is not genuinely Filipino, if it is a martingale Font, it will only increase the difficulties of running our campaign efficiently.

The articles about the University of Manila were written by Pañganiban, whose pen name is *Jomapa*, a former employee of Sto. Tomas; no one is better qualified than he is to deal with the subject.

Pañganiban now lives with Galicano. He continues to be in delicate health, and does not like the cooking of our landlady. Nevertheless, Ponce, Graciano and I continue to live here, because our correspondents in the Philippines already know this house, and

* A weekly journal published in Madrid by Jugo Vidal. See letters No. 60 and 61. (Ed.)

besides, we are planning to transfer to Madrid sometime this year. We are thinking of renting a modest apartment and live all together, sharing expenses. What do you think?

Please do me the favor of asking Pardo for scientific articles for *La Solidaridad*.

It seems that the wealthy P. Roxas* will be arriving there from our country. I understand that this gentleman has good feelings toward our country, and desires the betterment of our country; but he is very cautious about his intentions because he does not know whom he can trust there. On the other hand, our people are afraid of taking him into their confidence for fear of offending his delicate sensibilities. I am passing on these suggestions to you, in case you try to enlist his support for those who work for the Philippines. On my part, I would like that the work of propaganda be completed this year, or in the next year at the latest, and if we cannot count on those elements, we shall not be able to proceed to the second part of our campaign. It is not necessary to remind you to proceed with caution in your dealings with him, although I may be wrong in my assessment of his sentiments, since my opinion is based only on the background of his family. Finally, take care, *Choy!* [nickname given to Rizal by *Del Pilar*].

An affectionate embrace from your friend.

L. O. CRAME

69. To Fernando Blumentritt

Blumentritt defends the civic mindedness of the Filipinos. *La Nación* attacks, but behind the protection of a skirt. If it is not feasible to secure representation in the Cortes and the abolition of censorship, at least banishment should be prohibited. If the prohibition is not published in the *Gaceta*, this will not improve the fate of the country. Centeno, Civil Governor of Manila.

Barcelona, May 24, 1889.

* Pedro Roxas, wealthy capitalist and brother of Francisco Roxas who was executed during the Philippine Revolution.

Señor Don F. Blumentritt
Leitmeritz

Dear friend:

I have just this moment received your letter dated the 19th of this month, as well as your brilliant article entitled "Filibusteros".

Tears of gratitude welled from my eyes upon reading the lines written by your brave and generous pen in defending, with your words of authority, the reputed civic spirit of the Filipinos. Receive from me the gratitude of a people who have been sorely vilified by the high-minded egoists of the monastic authority.

In the issue of *La Nación* which I sent yesterday to our friend Ponce, you will note the other type of weapons that will be used against our country. We are not bothered by the absurd insults flung at us to sully our name by the new friend of the friar; but, in truth, an adversary who in order to attack us places himself behind the skirt of a woman, is revolting. This person has published chinófobos [?] in *El Diario de Barcelona*, a conservative and Carlist newspaper of this city; and I do not understand why his anti-Filipino articles have been printed in one of Romero Robledo's publications.

At this time, political differences exist between Sagasta and Martos, and it is not possible to foresee the outcome.

In issue number 6 of *La Solidaridad*, on page 58, you must have seen our petition to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. I hope that this petition, which we believe is justified considering our situation, will elicit support in those regions. If it is not feasible at this time to secure approval for our aspirations regarding representation in the Cortes and the abolition of censorship, which we are soliciting in numbers 1 and 2 of our petition, the country will however be grateful if the Government will accede to our petition to ban administrative deportations. You can see that we are not asking for much, nevertheless, we are not hopeful that we can achieve what we seek. I have reason to believe that Becerra has agreed to such a prohibition, but if this is not published in the

official gazette of Madrid and in Manila, the situation afflicting the country will not be resolved.

Mr. Centeno is an engineer who has resided in the archipelago for seventeen years. He undertook general inspection and clearing of the mountain and subsequently became the acting Civil Governor of the City of Manila, until he left due to the crisis brought about by the demonstration of the *gobnadorcillos* against the friars. I do not know if he is pro-Filipino, some people recognize him as such, but since I did not have the opportunity of dealing with him in Manila, I have no other basis for judging him, except for his behavior on the issue of Binondo, and later in his obituary, which you will see is included in the appendix of *La Soberanía*.

Our friends Lopez, Pañganiban and Ponce extend their gratitude and regards to you.

I await your orders, and remain your affectionate friend who kisses your hand.

MARCELO H. DEL PILAR

70. From Pedro Serrano Laktaw

Serrano, criticized. He is requested to render an accounting. Reforms for the country. Meetings of filibusterers in a drugstore in Pagsanjan? Excommunication for those who read Manapat's books. Imprisonment of Basa, Abello, and the helmsman. Candles in a church in Pampanga are stolen. A tragic baptism in Bacolor. Heated argument between the parish priest of Malolos and Ylia Tiongson. A baptism turned violent by the *campesusi*. An incident during a burial. The Rector of the university orders the closure of Sandico's school. He escapes to Barcelona. Complaint of those from Carmona against the parish priest, source of scandal for maidens and married women. Paula Paular's tragic odyssey. The people of Hagonoy complain against their parish priest. Altercation between a sacristan and Maria Rojas because she came to church with her hair loose.

May 24, 1889.

Dear friend:

In the afternoon of May 13, Don Pedro Roxas, together with his wife, five children and two servants, left for Barcelona, passing through Hongkong.

Along with some original copies, I am enclosing herewith other items for your study. We are entering into a period of great excitement, in spite of all the undermining occult activities that some of our individuals are engaged in, who by means of their presumed leadership and management of the funds, are discrediting me, which is the reason why Malolos broke away, or at least distanced itself from me. These people ignore the fact that their cutting me down gives life to our endeavors, and the opposite would wipe them out. May God forgive them and open their eyes! - Right after you left, they came up with the idea of requiring a detailed accounting, not being satisfied with the bills of exchange which I presented to them, and since we did not have any notes or lists, it was not possible to prepare a report. Moreover, this is not the usual procedure followed in our party, in order to avoid awkward situations, and most of all, because those who are affiliated with the party should trust each other. In short, since they were insistent on this, I separated myself from them, taking care not to interfere with them at all, not until they had changed their stand. I believed this was the right step to take, pending receipt of instructions from you on this matter. I shall respect what you suggest, and in case you do not approve of my behavior and you advise me to turn over my responsibilities to N. or F., I will do so without any inconvenience or bother on my part. But if you tell me to continue, I wish you would counsel me, or provide me with a pattern of conduct that I could follow. At the same time, I request you to order your people to give me a lot of freedom to carry out my work, and that they take your advice, so that those who have unholy intentions will not be able to hinder our progress in the least bit. This will also prevent recklessness and the lamentable waste of efforts, money and time. Without these conditions or requirements, I believe we shall remain on the road for a long time, if we do not collapse first. Because of this, I must tell you frankly that I cannot be responsible for anything, but if they leave me as I was before, doing freely what I can with whatever I have in my hands, I could of course achieve major

results, and with our combined forces and efforts, I know we can successfully achieve our objectives. It is understandable that there is unpleasantness between Dato and myself, which was initiated by Nano who obliged him to run all the way to Malolos. How childish! Do I stand to lose something because of this? On the contrary, in this way, there are giving me time to rest, because from the moment in which they stop dealing with me, and succeed in separating the others from my side, from that moment, I repeat, they will be freeing me from obligations, from expenses, efforts, etc., without their having to unite those elements which are now already united, and if they now accomplish anything, it is because of the commitment they made to me, which they can not back out of. But from the time I part ways with them, or they cut me off from them, which is the same thing, they should be careful not to incur any obligation. I think Ba Basióng and Sario have done a lot towards this end. For instance, while everyone was advising me not to carry around notes of any kind, these two, especially Sario, were asking me for a detailed account of my expenses: later on, it was Papeng who asked me for the same thing, and lastly, your people. Since then, I did not want to have anything to do with them, until I hear from you and receive your advice, which I await with impatience. I do not tell you about it, because it is length and boring and because it is about how intrigues, some of which I cannot even really.... that I may have committed or about some friendships may become strained. I think this would be an easy thing to remedy, and the instigators would be justly punished. I have already lost trust in some persons, and they are now walking about in a taciturn and humiliated manner.

In their previous letter, I was informed 200 copies of *La Solidaridad* were being sent to me. However, I did not receive these in the express mail that arrived here on the 8th of this month. Just in case these were lost in the mail, in the future, send the packages to me at Messrs. A. Germann and Co., Plaza Calderon de la Barca, 19, Binondo; on the inner wrapping, write the name *Bindoy*, or better still just the letter B. The package number that I was supposed to receive, and which I did not receive, was number 4.

As you know, you have only assured me of 200 subscriptions; aside from these, I need 1,500 copies from number

1, which I hope you will mail to me, but the newspapers should be stamped, to allay the misgivings of some persons. There is extraordinary acceptance of the newspaper. Oh, if we could only distribute these freely! What astounding figures this would give us!

It is not necessary to print the pamphlet of Marique Alonso Lallave. It is already here, and a new edition is being printed at his expense, but I do not know in what printing house.

The provinces of Manila, Bulacan, Pampanga, Nueva Ecija, Laguna, Batangas and Iloilo have already expressed their gratitude to Minister Becerra in the columns of the newspapers, for the decrees granting reforms for the country, by means of the steps he had taken, according to the following telegram, which was published in the newspapers here on the 14th of this month, which says: "Madrid, 1.º, 4.30 p.m. = The new budget for the Philippines contains the following reforms:= A new secondary school will be created in Manila, and a school of arts and trade in the Visayan Islands.= An official board of inspection for primary schools, consisting of 100 teachers from the Peninsula, will be established.= The Faculty of Medicine of the University will be separated.= Starting next October, property registrars will be assigned to the islands.= Moham."

Pagsanjan and Biñan (Laguna) are now accessible by rail. In Pagsanjan, our people would meet in the *Botica* [drugstore] in the evenings, and among other matters, the issue of the friars was frequently discussed. The wealthy proprietor of this pharmacy was the governor of the province, who, being against the holding of these meetings of filibusterers in the pharmacy, singled out certain persons who he believed were the leaders. The governor ordered them to appear before him, and questioned them directly, asking them if they were meeting in the pharmacy and what matters were discussed during these meetings. They replied that since they would pass by the pharmacy every evening, they would stop for a while and talk about the parochial fees, which in spite of the final prescription period set by the diocesan priests, had not been announced in any public or secret place. They continue to impose an exorbitant fee on the people, who have no choice but to comply. The Governor was satisfied with this explanation and allowed

them to continue their meetings, leaving them in peace. He also sent a message to the Parish Priest telling him not to worry, because there were no filibusterers.

The parish priest of Arayat, like the priests in many other towns, preaches the sermons on Sundays during one or more masses. One day, from the pulpit, he spoke on the burning of Christian propaganda booklets, ending his sermon by saying in a thundering voice that all those who read the Christian booklets of Manapat and company would be excommunicated. An old man, who had listened to the sermon, upon reaching his house, found his daughters reading the *Dasalan*. He immediately grabbed the booklet from their hands, and ordered them to bring benches to the *punsug kawayan*. Once there, they sat down and the old man called on one of his daughters to continue reading, adding that the excommunication order of the friar would not reach them there. "How limited is the reach of the much-vaunted excommunication order, when it cannot even reach this place," said the old man. I ask you please not to mention my name at all, nor write to anyone here to spread propaganda about the booklets and then give me money. Well, a young boy whose name I do not know, with all the good faith in the world, spoke publicly on the subject, without any fear. According to him, he was complying with a request from one of you, and indiscreetly mentioned my name. As you can imagine, this is still a very dangerous undertaking here, besides we don't need it because the movement is going well. The organization is still a bit disorganized due to the pressure of time. In another six months, it will be running smoothly.

Do not give too much credence to the news from Basa, which is often exaggerated, and on the day you least expect it, you may find yourself compromised. Do you remember what happened to *Basiong Macunat*? Well, the same thing-or even worse may happen, as if there have not been numerous persons imprisoned in various jails. There was only one incident, as you know, when Basa, Abella and the helmsman were imprisoned, as I mentioned in my letter. They remain in jail up to now, without any prospect of being released, which means to say, of gaining their freedom. This is true, because the case continues to sleep in the hands of the unjust. They do not want the case to come to a conclusion, because the results would be favorable to us. If this

were not true, we would have seen the termination of the case by now.

I was told of a funny incident that occurred in San Luis, Pampanga. During a burial, prayers were said while candles were on the casket. The father of the deceased purchased these candles. The sacristans wanted to get the candles before the funeral rites ended, which the father opposed. Later on, when the ceremonies were over, the old man made sure he would leave ahead of the sacristans, bringing the candles with him to the house. The priest charged the poor old man of stealing the candles. He was imprisoned, and now the case is in the hands of the judge of the court of first instance of Bacolor, and I am told, is about to be resolved, which will put the parish priest in a bad light. As soon as I receive a copy of the report on this incident, I will send it to you, together with the results of the case.

In Bacolor, Pampanga, a child was about to be baptized. Either intentionally or due to his clumsiness, at the moment when the water was poured, the priest held the child by the crown of his head, and as he tried to straighten the head, the child's neck was badly twisted, so that when he was brought home, the child died. The child was examined by the *vacunadorcillo* [physician?]; he said that the child's neck or spine was twisted. What a sad occasion! The father was a poor man, and he simply kept quiet, and quietly buried the dead child. Patience, and let us just wait for another incident!

Just after the Lenten season, Father Agustin invited Ylia (Tiongson) to the convent, through his servants, and since she refused, Castro made a last attempt to convince her, but he left the house with his tail between his legs. The lady told him that she could not believe a *gobernadorcillo* would stoop so low by carrying out the honorable mission of inviting females for the parish priest. After a few days, the same friar personally appeared in the house of the Tiongson sisters, while the sisters were all together in the house, with the exception of Nena who was then staying in the house of tío Anton. When Nena found out that the friar was in their house, she took a *matavia* [small lance], and went to the house. She presented herself to the priest with the *matavia* in its scabbard, and pretended to be cutting her nails with it. Nena

and Ylia, from 8 in the morning until noon time, at which time the friar left, engaged the priest in animated conversation, with the friar defending Catholic precepts, and the sisters defending Christian virtues. During this long discussion, it is said that more often than not, the friar was not able to answer more than "*siya nga*" [*is that so/that's right?*]. For your satisfaction, I am transcribing some parts which I recall of the interesting dialogue between the friar and the two ladies:

Parish priest: I do not see you in church often.

Ylia or her sister: Father, that is not necessary. What we and our friends strive to do is to pray and do good, in a modest manner, and if possible, that the right hand should not know what the left hand is doing, as Christ taught us.

Priest: That is true, but you do not go to confession.

Sisters: We used to go to confession very often in the past, sir, and many people can tell you that we hardly left the church. That is the reason why we lost our properties, so that we are now deeply in debt and our properties are mortgaged. Since we stopped going to confession and going to church so frequently, we have begun to settle our debts and very few of our properties remain unredeemed. We are once again living peacefully. Besides, the Catholic Church itself only requires its children to confess only once a year.

Priest: And why, according to what I have been told, did you eat meat on Holy Thursday.

Sisters: It is possible that the ones who told you this were the rumormongers. But we were also informed that while the apostles ate fish, you were stuffing yourself with meat.

Priest: That is not true. They say that you are angry with the priest and that is why you refuse to go to the convent.

Sisters: It is true, sir, that we are not used to going in and out of convents. Just between us, the woman who is frequently in the convent, whether she is single, married, or a widow, is a woman who may lose her honor, or has already lost it. Women like these usually end up separating themselves from those who value their honor, because those who associate with them are usually tainted with dishonor too.

Priest: Why then are the women of Paombong still my seamstresses?

Sisters: Father, that is because the women of Paombong are different from the women of Malolos.

Priest: True.

Do you still remember the young man named Gregorio Trajano, who lived here? He is now in Malolos on vacation. One of the servants who grew up in the house of uncle Quintin de Calanate, was going to have his child baptized in the parish of Malolos. He asked Goyo to be the godfather. They went to the church, and once there to register the child, the *mayor* [chief sacristan] of the church asked him to present his *campesusi* [certificate of confession]. He replied that he did not have this. Once again, the *mayor* asked him if he had gone to confession, where and when. Goyo, exasperated at such requirements, retorted that he had not gone there to undergo an investigation on his private life, but to have a child baptized, and for this purpose, no Christian, nor even the moros or idolaters would have the authority to impose such requirements as the *mayor* did; that when the apostles were baptized, it is not known whether their godfathers were required to have a *campesusi*, saying finally that when Jesus Christ was baptized, his godfather had not gone to confession even once. Then he left, bringing the child with him. After a week and a half, the priest sent a message to the father of the child, for him to bring the child to be baptized, and for him to select someone else for godfather, as long as he was not the obstinate Goyo. The father of the child replied that he could not do this, that he could not replace his chosen compadre. (Could it be because of the behavior manifested by Goyo?)

A sister of the referred-to Goyo died: and Julian Reyes, son of the late Juan, was sent by Uncle Quintin to the parish church with the sum of \$4.50 to pay the fees for the lowest class of burial. Julian proceeds to the church; in the sacristy, he asks for the price of that type of burial service, and the *mayor* replied that the price was \$4.50. The young man, who seemed intent on stirring up an argument, pleaded:

Julian: Friend, would it not be possible for us to pay \$4.00?

Mayor: Why, is this a business that permits haggling?

Julian: Whatever it is, I will comply with what is required

Mayor: No, no! (in an arrogant tone of voice).

Julian: Do not get angry, friend, this money is not the money of the deceased: it is only a contribution from the relatives, since the deceased is an orphan, and this is the only money we have. Please accept it.

Far from being appeased, the *mayor* became more adamant and inflexible (which was what the young man wished to achieve. The young continued:

Julian: If that is the case, I will go home now, in case someone will take pity and will contribute fifty centavos more.

He arrives in the house, and tells Uncle Quintin that the *mayor* is asking for \$5.50. Tío Quintin lost his temper and decided that the deceased be buried in the cemetery of San Juan. They brought the remains to the parish church to be blessed; but before this, Julian again went into the sacristy, since he was summoned by the *mayor* who told him to just pay what he could afford. Julian insisted on paying only 4 reales, pretending that he had already returned some of the amount contributed to the donors. This made the *mayor* more furious. When the time came to bless the remains, he approached Uncle Quintin, who did not pay attention to him.

The wife of Fabian Tiongson died; he requested for a burial service worth \$40. We do not know who informed the *mayores* that Fabian was a bad creditor. At exactly 12 noon of that day, while Fabian was having lunch, the sacristan, in an impertinent manner, came to collect and refused to wait even one moment. This provoked Fabian, who cursed him... he later buried his wife paying only for the lowest class of burial worth \$4.50.

On the 10th of this month, the Rev. Father Rector of the University, Fr. Gregorio Echevarria sent the following communication to the Director General of the Civil Administration:

“Through declarations made to me in absolute and complete confidence, I have come to know that the professor of Latin of the town of Malolos, Don Teodoro Sandico, is remiss in his duties, propagating fallacious doctrines among the residents of said town, and attending meetings

during which Spain and our Christian faith were maligned, as well as matters inimical to the system of education. For these reasons, the Rector is bringing this matter to the attention of His Excellency so that in accordance with Article 12, Chapter 2 of the Regulations on Schools of Latin, he may order the closure of said school and strip the teacher of his title, as a result of which, as the article cited stipulates, the parents of the students will have complete confidence in the schools which the government recognizes and authorizes.”

This communication was received and logged in the registry book at eleven of the same morning. I was able to secure a copy, and without going home, I went to look for the father of Sandico. I urged him to proceed immediately to Malolos and inform Sandico of what was happening, and not to worry as we were proceeding to Manila, and from there would inform the parents, as well as the other individuals whose homes he frequented, not to be discouraged by the news. Sandico's father arrived in the evening. Very early in the morning of the next day, we learned that the developments regarding the matter tended to favor the Rector, who wanted to close the school and revoke Sandico's authorization, without previously filing a case. A little while later, I called for Perico, who had carried out my request to inform Director Delgado that a serious incident was taking place in Malolos, (showing the copy of the communication of the Rector), and that the situation being what it is, as it undoubtedly is, the Administration would not be content with simply ordering the closure of the school and revoking his title, but would take steps to issue decrees that would destroy said teacher. In effect, this is what is contained in a marginal decree that has just been released, with a copy to the Rector. A telegram was sent to the Provincial Governor informing him of the closure of the school at 11:00 a.m. Detailed instructions would be sent by mail.

We did this so that Sandico would have some means to defend himself and triumph over his enemies, the same way Vergel did, who not only succeeded in regaining his position, but was also paid his salary for the period during which he was under suspension. His record now contains a notable entry and it is this

file that interested parties refer to in order to learn about a person. This was the intention of the Rector, because without a previous record, Sandico could be stripped of his title and the school closed. I do not know who advised Sandico, but instead of waiting there for the blow, he fled Malolos early in the morning of the 11th, and went to Manila to hide. The Governor arrived in Malolos to inform Sandico of the Administration's order, and not finding him, he entrusted this task to our enemy Castro. On the 13th of the month, in the morning, Castro proceeded to the school together with Lieutenant or Ensign Peñuelas of the Guardia Civil, and in order to add solemnity to the act, they were accompanied by other officials. Since they did not find him, the Governor informed the Director General who in turn ordered the Civil Government to search for Sandico in Nagtahan, but they did not find him there either, which I believe is the reason for the issuance of the search order. I completely deplore Sandico's conduct. What could have happened to him if he had presented himself? On the contrary, this would have been an additional triumph for him, since his record would then include the fact of his good faith. At the same, his behavior would give his enemies added courage, our people in Malolos would become afraid, and even the injustice of the friars might be deemed as just and reasonable. They have now sent \$100 for him to Hongkong, and another \$100 to that place. Will he leave using another name? Worse. They will not even issue him a passport under his own name. I am saying this, because he is hiding even from me, since I told him that he should present himself to the governor of our province, or to the Director General. Teo also disapproves of this behavior, and other elders agree with him. What patriots we are! In times of peace, good; when a little danger appears, we disband and we who call ourselves leaders are the first to flee. Let us all then abandon our country and see what fate befalls her, and. . . us! What joy these *gallinas* [chickens]* are giving *satsat!*** Please decide to relieve me of this position, and turn it over to someone else, so that I may freely attend to my tasks, and depart from this country when I feel like doing so. I shall go to Jolo, it is better to live among our moro countrymen there.

*Refers to compatriots who are afraid and avoid any danger.

**Allusion to the parish priest of Malolos.

Enclosed, for your knowledge and satisfaction, is a letter from a friar attacking Isabelo, which was found in a street, by accident; as well as an informative article and the "Basta" of the newspaper referred to in the article. Isabelo does not know that this letter exists. I intentionally kept it secret from him, because he would ask me for the letter, if he knew. If you think it is a good idea, send it to Quiroga.

The people of Carmona, Cavite, who have long been oppressed by their parish priest, wanted to send an anonymous letter to the Father Provincial, but I convinced them otherwise, making them realize that such an act would only place them in a dangerous situation. I advised them to call on the Governor General, instead of going to the Father Provincial or sending him anonymous letters, but they do not have the courage to do such a simple thing. In their presence, I got the letter from them, a copy of which follows:

"Fr. Mamerto Lisasoain, Father Provincial of the Recollects:

The undersigned, Mariano Paular and Damián Hermitaño, natives of Carmona, province of Cavite, respectfully present ourselves before Your Reverence, and declare:

That since there is no other person we can turn to who can put an end to the scandal that our parish priest is creating in this town with his lewdness, we seek your protection and justice, considering always that Your Reverence possesses the power to remedy our misfortunes, and also for your information, we are listing herewith our main complaints:

I, the first of the undersigned, have a daughter named Paula Paular, with who said priest had amorous relations, as a result of which a child was conceived. This priest employed all possible means to get rid of her, finally transferring her to the town of Santa Cruz de Malabon, where she died in childbirth, without giving me, her father, a chance to see her one last time. This is the most terrible sorrow that a father can experience for his daughter. Aside from the disgrace, he deprived me of my rights over her, he

stole her from my protection, and made public her shame in Santa Cruz de Malabon. It is not possible for me to express this on paper, so let us go on to another scandal committed by the same priest. To satisfy his carnal desires, he is not content with turning single women (numbering three, including my daughter) into subjects of scandal, but also sullies the honor of married women, like the wife of the primary school teacher of the same town of Carmona. What kind of an example is he setting for his parishioners, seeing a certain woman named Dorotea Arciaga of Muntinglupa spending three or four days in the convent. Your Reverence, please judge if we are not correct in asking for your protection, and in acknowledging that as the Superior of that order, placing our trust in you as the only one who can address our grievances. And because that Your Reverence is concerned with our spiritual well being, the only way to achieve this would be to relieve our present parish priest and replace him with a more virtuous minister who could carry out the true mission of a parish priest in our town.

Lastly, although we find ourselves the offended parties in this case, we are revealing this matter to Your Reverence with the utmost caution, so as to avoid the vengeance which may be inflicted upon us.

May Your Reverence have many more years of life, for the spiritual and moral benefit of the Christian fold.

MARIANO PAULAR

DAMIAN HERMITANO
(Without rubrics)

In response to the exposé of the people of Hagonoy to the Father Provincial of the Augustinians, he gave the following two replies: (The letterhead bears the Augustinian coat of arms, encircled by the words "*Provincia del Santissimo Nombre de Jesus de PP. Agustinos Calzados.*")

To the residents of Hagonoy, Regino Tomacruz, Mariano Macalinaw and Juan Salazar:

Manila, March 1889

In response to the letter we received from some residents of the town of Hagonoy, province of Bulacan, denouncing certain abuses of their parish priest Fr. José Martín, a religious of our order, and imploring us to correct such abuses, we must make known to you the great weight and sorrow we have felt upon reading the contents of your letter. We must also inform you that we are the first to be most concerned that the religious of our order observe a Christian and edifying conduct so that they may not become a source of scandal for their parishioners who have been entrusted to their care.

For this reason, instead of refusing to give credit to your denunciations, because we find it hard to believe that a shepherd of souls and a minister of the altar could commit such incredible abuses, we have conducted the necessary investigations to learn the truth. Although we have not discovered anything, nevertheless, we have tried to apply the necessary remedial measures, so that if there is any truth to the accusations, which we find hard to believe, they may not be repeated; this we entrust to the Lord. We must also advise those who have made the denunciations to be more aware of the importance and sensitivity of the honor and name of a priest, who is in charge of the spiritual welfare of a town; and the danger of getting carried away by passion and the lack of Christian charity thus breaking the bounds of what is right and true, when matters of such a delicate nature are concerned. We are willing to correct the faults of our subordinates, as long as these have been proven to be true and real. However, we cannot proceed on the basis of denunciations if these are not supported by proof; or, if there is any uncertainty that these denunciations were made as a result of some resentment, or because of some less Christian reason, and not to correct faults and prevent scandals.

May this serve as a warning to the denunciators, but we wish to assure them that we are the first, and the most concerned, to correct the faults and abuses of our subordinates if proven true.

This, we believe, is the most appropriate answer we can give to the accusers, whom we sincerely value and love, in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ.

FR. TOMAS GRESA”

Following is the letter addressed to the town officials of Hagonoy. (The letterhead bears the words “*Provincia del Santissimo Nombre de Jesús de PP. Agustinos calzados de Filipinas*”)

“After reading the report elevated to us by some former Captains and Cabezas de Barangay of the town of Hagonoy, in the province of Bulacan, denouncing various abuses and reprehensible actions of their parish priest Fr. José Martín, religious of our order, we would like to express the deep sorrow and sadness we have experienced upon reading the denunciations listed in the said report.

We would also like to inform you, that in compliance with the obligation imposed on us by our position, and even if we find it difficult to believe that a shepherd of souls and a minister of the altar could commit such incredible abuses, we have instituted the necessary proceedings that the case requires. Although we have not been able to establish the veracity of the denunciations, we have tried to apply the appropriate remedy, placing our complete trust in the Lord, in the hope that the accused priest will not continue such censurable and reprehensible abuses.

We cannot accede to all the wishes of the proponents, because this would require us to avail of legal means, after evaluating the results of proceedings to verify the denunciations; in which case, the proponents themselves may also have to bear some criminal responsibility. Therefore, to avoid further harm to the interested parties, we have proceeded as we have indicated, which we believe is the most prudent and charitable manner of addressing the problem, and in accordance with the dictates of our sacred and sublime religion.

May God grant you more years. San Pablo de Manila, March 17, 1889.

You can see how well they play with words! "Deep sadness and sorrow we have experienced," etc. and later "complying with the obligation imposed on me by my position, I have instituted proceedings that the case requires"; continuing further "although we have not been able to establish the veracity of the denunciations, we have tried to apply the appropriate remedy." Have you ever seen such nonsense? And do you know what punishment was imposed? That the parish priest should take a ride around the town in his carriage every afternoon, and laugh at everyone through his beard, and lastly, Padre Santiago was sent to Looc de Batangas. This is sent to you for your study. When you have decided to present this matter to His Excellency, I will send you the testimonies and authorizations.

Finally, Sandico left for Hongkong on the 17th of this month, under an assumed name. May he be happy!

As you can read in the newspapers from Manila, there is an Asiatic cholera morbus epidemic reigning here. Cadavers are brought to the church, even without coffins, for the final rites.

We should not publish our pamphlets immediately one after the other at this time and during the rest of the year, or even next year, 1890. I think we have sufficient publications with *La Visión*, *Sagót nang España* and *Arancel*. We should not start distributing these, until the other editions are in. The paper wrappers are crumpled, and to avoid this, we should use oilcloth, black or white, which the Bastino establishment in that city uses, and that you have used to wrap the books you mailed to me. I hope you are interested in converting the bi-monthly, as soon as possible, into a weekly or bi-weekly publication, as there is more interest here in newspapers than in pamphlets; establish this in Madrid, the point where all issues are forged and twisted. We should strive to achieve the free circulation of the publication here, which is the key to obtaining major results for the propaganda movement, relying on the assurance that the number of subscriptions will triple. Do not forget to assign someone to wrap the copies for the

ministers and deliver them to the palace. All of this is subject to the availability of the funds you have there. If the funds are not available, send me the budget for the monthly expenses that a weekly or bi-weekly publication in Madrid will entail; another list of who and the number of people we have to maintain on the staff there, so that we can assess the situation and work on the figures, and if feasible, send you what is needed to achieve the indicated objective. In addition, it would be helpful if you kept a book of accounts, sending me a detailed copy showing the general and particular expenses incurred, by semester or annually (I dare not keep this kind of a record here because of the danger that during one of the frequent inspections conducted here, these lists may be classified as subversive documents). Time is not a factor in this case, but we must maintain the confidence of our benefactors and thus ensure that the publication will last forever. For this reason, I need as many copies as there are sections. If not for these circumstances, I would not have made so many demands on you, since I do not really need much; but I do wish and desire, and I believe you share my desire, that our companions and supporters do not become discouraged, but that every day, every moment, they would become more motivated on seeing our noble intentions and clean behavior. As you can see, this situation was initiated by your people and has spread to great proportions, leaving us no alternative but to submit to it. It is true that I was opposed to it at the beginning, because their regulations are not the same as ours, and it is not possible to apply them here without endangering our lives; but now that it has become necessary, we must do it or risk the withdrawal of the majority or of all, leaving us isolated and impotent. For this reason, I would be grateful if you and the others who are there, would decide to relieve me of my position, and leave me in the street, offering me a job working in the last line only and exclusively. Let us see how and in what manner these evolutionists and pretenders will fare as treasurers and administrators. However, I wish to warn you that if you do not decide to relieve me of my post, I shall continue, yes, but I will 'excommunicate' them, forgiving neither relatives nor friends, because before everything else, we must consider the common good. I am speaking dispassionately, since the case took place only a week after your departure and while you were still in Hongkong; but I did not want to make any decision then for fear that I might become too emotional, but now that I am enjoying a period of

relative calm and because enough time has passed, I will make a decision.

A son of Captain [Gobernadorcillo] Quintin de Calanate was buried on the 15th; he died of a heart attack.

María Rojas, daughter of Bernabé, went to church one day, just after she had bathed. Of course, she was wearing her hair loose. The head sacristan of the church, after seeing her hair unbound, [which was considered an irreligious act] approached her and obliged her to tie her hair in a bun. María ignored him. Once again, he repeated his request, saying that this was the order of the priest. The lady turned to face the persistent sacristan and told him to inform the priest that she will not tie up her hair while all the wooden statues of the virgins also have their hair loose. And so, if he wants her to do what the priest orders, he should first see to it that the statues of the virgins do the same, and even so, she would not do it while her hair was wet.

The same priest offered Maria the vacant position of teacher in Malolos, asking her if she wanted to assume the position. Maria replied that she was not interested, because she did not have the degree required for the post, adding that even if she was qualified, she would still refuse the position, because she was not in the habit of going in and out of the convent, which was an indispensable part of a teacher's job.

As you know, for weeks or months now the disease 'suspicion' has been existing here, which is another name for 'it'. Nevertheless, this has not prevented the celebration of the yearly pilgrimage in Obando, during which time people from all parts, and of different moods and varying degrees of uncleanness gather together in a thick crowd. They pass the day dancing under the heat of the sun, and at night, they sleep in the open air, on mats spread on the grass, etc.

The mail ship from France arrived in the evening of the 21st. I had hoped to receive issue No. 4, which you told me about in your letter that arrived on the vessel Mindanao. I did not receive anything, not even a letter. This worries me a lot, and makes me nervous, especially since my calculations showed that I should

have received No. 4 and 5 of our semi-monthly. If these had come by registered mail, I would not have said anything. If the shipment went astray, I hope you can make up for this lack as soon as you can, and send me other shipments, even if the missing issues have to be printed anew. In this way, we will be able to have the issues we lack, or what we might lose. This publication is responsible for generating the public's enthusiasm, so if we are able to maintain a regular supply, our efforts will be more than compensated. On the contrary, if the public does not receive the newspaper, either because of the irregularity of the delivery service or because the authorities do not permit its circulation, they will easily lose interest and become indifferent. Therefore, please take the necessary steps to allow the free entry and circulation of the newspaper here.

You are aware of the kind of enemies we have. Some enemies are masters of the situation, who do what the authorities dictate when they feel like doing it, and right now, with regard to the last decree issued by the Ministry of Ultramar concerning useful reforms for the Philippines, they are exerting tremendous efforts to oppose its implementation. In view of this, I believe we should make use of every available legal means for our protection, and entreat the authorities concerned to allow its unimpeded circulation here. The newspaper should be sealed and stamped when it reaches us, and later, when we find a person who will be willing to take on the post of correspondent, that the newspaper enter untouched, without any markings. Let us see who will prevail. If you can find a dependable correspondent there, good. We will work behind him and pursue our grand undertaking. In case this correspondent, whoever he is, will not do his work at all, then it will fall on us to do the work.

There is a rumor circulating here regarding the marriage of Ponce to Miss Teresa Torres. His family is disgusted and greatly alarmed, so much so that it seems it will be necessary to go to Baliwag to calm down his poor mother. Please let me know if there is any truth to this rumor. I embrace everyone.

R. O. SERNA

71. From Ambrosio Rianzares Bautista

The last seed of Selo in Malolos rooted out by Sandico's flight? Is the Vicar a gambler? The accusatory telegram may give rise to a lawsuit against the cleric for injury. It is impossible for the gobernadorcillos to avoid becoming involved in the lawsuit. Total export ban may be imposed so as not to burden agriculture.

Imposition of a direct tax on export. How is Pablito behaving himself?

Binondo, May 24, 1889.

Sr. Don Marcelo H. del Pilar
Barcelona

Esteemed Selo:

I need not tell you of the events that are taking place here, because I presume that Serrano has already told you everything.

They have tried to root out even the last seed you left behind here in Malolos. They filed a case against Sandico, based on the Father Rector's denunciation, for spreading anti-government ideas, and it is not strange that he has done what you did, take to his heels, and he will surprise you there with his arrival.

Two mail deliveries have arrived, and we still have not received the issues subsequent to the third issue of the newspaper. We believe these may have been given an ecclesiastical burial in the local Post Office, which we had hoped to read about in the first number of the paper.

We have been informed that after the newspapers have been stamped in the Post Office there, these can be packaged and placed in a sealed pouch, without having to affix postage stamps. If this can be done, this may be the surest way to ensure that the newspapers reach us.

Our Capitular Vicar here is completely unworthy of his title. You already know who His Excellency the Gambler is. He does not pay his gambling debts, when he loses, becoming a blind instrument of his follies. He sent a congratulatory telegram to the Queen on the occasion of the King's feast day in his own name and on behalf of the Religious orders.

Pablito told me that you sent an anonymous telegram to the Minister of Ultramar, undoubtedly the same one you received from Hongkong informing you of the numerous incarcerations carried out in this capital as a result of the friars' intrigues. The distressing news contained in the telegram must have caused you to overreact and act rashly, because this telegram may give rise to a case and even an official suit for injury against certain determined sectors of the State, including the Clerics. Based on the two pronouncements of the Supreme Tribunal, it will be impossible for the Gobernadorcillos to secure an acquittal in the suit that has been brought against them, and they continue to remain in prison. Therefore, I am advising you in advance, not to get carried away by your excitement and passion, because as you well know, they are only waiting for an opportunity to mete out punishment on whoever deserves it.

Since I have brought up the name of Pablito, I should have told you about the robbery he fell victim to, which was perpetuated by a lieutenant, a countryman of ours, who not content with having divested him of the bank notes that he kept in his chest, set fire to the clothes in the chest to destroy traces of the crime. He later confessed to the crime, and was required to sign a document, in which he promised to pay back \$85 at the rate of \$5 a month, which is the same as saying the amount would never be paid. I advised Pablito that if he fails to pay the first installment, to sue him immediately because this rogue may have other creditors, and it would be better if he were the first to hold him liable so that the amount agreed upon could be discounted monthly, in his favor. I hope you can help him prepare his complaint, although I suppose he will already be in Madrid by the time this letter reaches you.

Along this line, you will receive from the bearer Canila the amount of 64 pesos which I sent, for you to remit to Madrid. At the same time, I am also sending you a package through the same bearer.

Pablito was charming, and for my guidance, I trust you can tell me truthfully and without beating around the bush, how he is conducting himself there so I can advise him accordingly.

A large number of reforms are being implemented here, some of which appear to be exaggerated to me and impossible to implement fully, such as the total ban on exportation, based on the belief that exports may indirectly pose a burden on agriculture. On the other hand, it will create another source of income for the government.

I am in favor of indirect taxation, because one pays this without feeling it. It appears to me that the suppression of those rights should be applied only on those products that hardly produce income for the farmers and have strong competitors abroad, since we cannot grant subsidies to the exporters.

I cannot continue this letter for now, but will do so on another occasion.

AMBROSIO RIANZARES BAUTISTA

You may inform the people there that one of the sanitary measures implemented by the General in connection with the suspected disease, which has finally been identified as cholera morbus, is the prohibition on keeping or caring for pigs within the town. In the meantime, the flow of cadavers into the churches continues.

72. From Rafael M. de Labra

Selo's pamphlet *Soberanía Monacal* received. It is very interesting.

MADRID
Serrano, 31 corner Lista

Mail Schedule:
12 in the morning to 2 in the afternoon.

Previous notice required for special conferences or consultations.

RAFAEL M. DE LABRA
B. L. M.

To Mr. Marcelo H. del Pilar,

I am pleased to acknowledge receipt of the pamphlet which contains many interesting ideas, and which you have very kindly sent me.

May 25, 1889.

73. From Doroteo Jose

Royal Decree establishing a school of Arts and Trades. Congratulatory letter sent from jail to Minister Becerra by the incarcerated gobernadorcillos, through Selo. Malate residents congratulate López Jaena for his speech.

May 25, 1889.

Señor Don Marcelo H. del Pilar

My dear Sir:

The last mail brought the Royal Decree for the establishment of a school of arts and trades in these Islands. This was read here with great excitement and enthusiasm, in acknowledgement of the great and noble proposal of the honorable Minister of Ultramar, Señor Becerra. We would be remiss in our duties as citizens and children of Spain if we would fail to congratulate Señor Becerra.

For this reason, in the name of my companions, I am addressing this to you enclosing the letter which we are sending to Señor Becerra from our prison cells, so that through you, the Filipino colony's representative in the Cortes, our letter may reach Señor Becerra.

The lack of time and the strict vigilance of the prison guards prevent us from satisfactorily expounding further; for this reason, I hope you will be able to ask Mr. Becerra to forgive me if my letter is lacking in phrases of courtesy and respect which he so richly deserves.

At the same time, I also request you to please extend the congratulations of the residents of Malate to Mr. López Jaena for his most interesting speech.

I am pleased to take this opportunity to reiterate my sincerest appreciation and respect. Your humble servant who kisses your hand,

DOROTEO JOSE

74. To Pedro Icasiano

Congratulations to Serrano for the publication of his Tagalog dictionary. *Pláridel*, *Dimas* and *Basi* proceed to Singapore. \$100 made out to the order of Naning was spent for the purchase of the *sag-tang-luce-ára*. To *Mamá* who influences Pedro Roxas in favor of the cause. Laurel, D. Pepe Basa, his assistant Arlegui and P. Torres in a drama that results in a complicated situation?- Rizal calls *Dati* for a conference in Paris.

May 30, 1889.

Mr. P. Ikazama

Dear friend:

I received your letter dated April 26 yesterday, with the bill of exchange for \$125.

I am happy to congratulate Serrano for the twin births of his sons, the one he begot with Berta, and the other created with his pen. May they both be welcome to this world of suffering caused by the stomach and by the friars.

The fact that the dispatch of the mail and the release of *La Solidaridad* occur simultaneously bewilders me, and I do not know how I can develop this letter properly. *Pláridel*, *Dimas* and *Basi* went to Singapore, according to instructions, but I am not sure they will be able to find the house you designated, since the signs given were not too specific. To prevent a mishap, I sent *Otad* [Ka Dato, brother in law of Del Pilar] a copy of the paper, so that just in case, they may be able to solve the problem.

Regarding the \$100 you sent me care of Naning. I turned this over to him for him to manage, and this was the amount we used for the purchase of *sag-tang-luce-ará*. Aside from this, we

shall also buy what Anong requested, and later on, also the other orders.

I wrote to *Mamá* about Roxas in the manner you indicated, although as a matter of fact, my letter was mailed exactly a day before yours arrived.

There must be some inaccuracies in the version of the complaint against Laurel. I attribute this to another circumstance which I accidentally discovered and which I brought to the attention of Don Pepe, who looked like he had taken a drink. There is a young Filipino here, a bit cross-eyed, who is educated, speaks and writes English and Spanish very well (at least, this is what he told me) and was a former assistant of Pepe, but boss and assistant had parted ways, because the young man had behaved insolently and overstepped his bounds as an assistant, something which no one has been able to explain. After some time, poor, helpless, and with a family to support, he formed a cooperative union, in which each member would contribute a certain amount every month and then a raffle for prizes would be held among the members. But after having collected the contributions, he declared bankruptcy. This may have been amusing for the bankrupt person, but you can imagine how this affected the victims. So Don Pepe hired the young man again as his assistant at a salary of \$20 a month, which is what Don Pepe told me. This was the situation when I arrived there. A few days after my arrival, in the course of a conversation, (which I had every day with Silvestre Arlegui, a Filipino tobacco storeowner), while telling me about his friendship with P. Torres, he involuntarily made mention that P. Torres was paying this same young man the sum of ten *duros* [50 pesetas] a month for writing a few of his letters, since Laurel's departure. I told Pepe about this, but nothing had changed by the time I left.

There was no need for Laurel to pretend to break off from Torres for the sole purpose of courting Luisa, because even while he was still staying with Torres, he was welcome in Luisa's house. Besides, she is not the type who could inspire passion in a man. On the other hand, Laurel is practically cohabiting with a married woman whose husband is away, and he has one or two children with this woman, if I remember correctly. Laurel did not keep this

a secret from that family, something which for me should thwart any amorous intentions.

What I do know and can attest to is that Laurel's intervention has greatly brought down the cost of dispatches from there; since the (*caugat*). He is a young man, small, spirited, capable of all kinds of indiscretions, and totally undeserving of being judged as a devious person. I may be wrong, but I am passing on this information to you for your better evaluation of the events that are taking place.

I truly deplore what you are undergoing and the inconveniences resulting from your renunciation, and for this reason, I would be happy if someone else could replace me here, so that we can work together there.

Pepe is calling me for a conference in Paris, and your remittance was just what the doctor ordered.

I embrace you,

M. DATI

75. To Deodato Arellano

"My perpetual sadness has prepared me for pain." I will attend *Mamá's* conference in Paris. Quarrel in the bosom of Spanish integration. With Martos, Canovas and Sagasta's followers as protagonists.

May 30, 1889.

Ka Dato:

I received your letters number 18, 19 and 20 yesterday, as well as the bills of exchange from you and Sandico. I am grateful for your kindness and accept your explanations. Forgive me if my bitterness sometimes offends you.

My perpetual sadness has prepared me for pain, and my thoughts tend to assume a pessimistic tinge, which I think has often

predisposed you to be too generous to me, to your detriment. This is my response to your concerned query regarding my sufferings.

Thanks to your remittance, I will be able to attend the conference with *Mamá* in Paris. I will be there for around five to six days, since I cannot be away from here for much time.

There is a terrible quarrel going on here in the bosom of fusionism. Martos and other leaders of some factions were all set to fight. He delivered an inflammatory speech in Congress which was roundly applauded by Cánovas and his followers, but condemned by the sagostinos with gross invectives, and a riot ensued. Castelar, torn between admiration and contrition, extended his hands to the ex-Republican Martos, exclaimed: "Martos was applauded by the conservatives?"

Note: The last part of this letter is missing.

76. To Teófilo Codisan.

Del Pilar's instructions reveal one of Becerra's plans. A law on mortgage will be implemented in the Philippines. Civil Code will be introduced in the country. Teófilo is advised to write. Will the new parish priest change tactics?- "Is timidity better than fear?"

Barcelona, May 30, 1889.

Señor Don Teófilo Codisan.

Dear Friend:

I was happy to receive the bill of exchange you sent me. A million thanks.

Please keep us informed of all that is happening there: indicating what is true and what is doubtful.

Congratulations on your electoral triumph and all the best!

I wish that you would establish an understanding with Serra, so that the poor man will not work alone.

Pay him a visit and ask him about my instructions with regard to Lallave who is now there in person. Listen well to what I told him, because there you will learn of the development of one of Becerra's plans. I did not write to you because I was under the impression that you were kept informed through my letters for P. Doré.

Would you and Congcong be kind enough to visit Trining in Baliuag, on my behalf. I have already informed her of your visit. Visit her and lay the groundwork

The mortgage law will soon be introduced there. Let us see if this will reduce the number of litigations, etc. etc. that greatly hindered the development of agriculture.

Let us also observe if the Civil Code will be implemented there. It has its minor defects, but it would be very good if it could be compiled in a small volume. Above all, it contains modern precepts and principles.

Try to practice writing articles in a simple, clear and well-constructed style. Do not follow the example of Castelar. I have observed that you tend to favor him, but his style is not suitable for your temperament. Take advantage of the opportunity that a newspaper presents, as it does now, and strive to acquire a style in keeping with what Blumentritt advises, *suaviter in modo, fortiter in re*. * It will be necessary for you to replace me here.

Tio Anton's Aciong is now in a position to travel. Let him travel, because travel is a necessity, and an absolute necessity during these times. Many ideas can be rectified or strengthened as a result of travel.

Will the new parish priest change tactics? What trickery! What does our Comandante Tacio say? Is it not better to be timid than to be afraid? What can you say about Peñuelas? To prevent trouble between the two of you, it would be good if you would court his wife. This is the attitude of those who always want to

* Latin phrase meaning: "gentle in manner, resolute in execution".

take advantage, like the friars do. He should tell the woman that he envies her husband, because he is very fortunate for having married a beautiful jewel. Goodbye.

PIPING DILAT

77. From Goyo

The various elements of the *La Propaganda* unite.- Suspiciousness and self-esteem sacrificed for the common good. Persecution ordered by the Padre Rector? The suggestion of Maestra Buson is the reason behind it. The friar is not far behind this trouble.- *Plaridel's* family is well. The sanitary regulations cannot be complied with due to all the dirt.

June 1, 1889.

Señor Don M. Calero.

Distinguished friend:

It seems that the gloomy atmosphere that, in the space of seven months, has enveloped our followers with its lethal emanations has cleared up after strong jolts shook the earth in Manila and its adjacent areas. The day after the earthquake (the 26th of May), we met in the house of P. Doré, and presided over by Apé at our request, we arrived at an arrangement of sorts, covering with a thick veil the previous disturbances, which I had already told you about in my last letter dated May 24.

Apé who was aware of what was happening, having been informed by Ka Ynté, immediately came to see us, particularly Dato, who told him everything to the last detail. When his turn came, he prayed that those who had been offended by P. Doré's conduct, who is somewhat despotic, should sacrifice their ideals for the common good.

You cannot imagine with what joy we received the proposal for reconciliation. We did not desire any other thing, and this we carried out without delay. Apé did not introduce any major innovation, but this greatly improved the social administration with the appointment of a supervisor, and this was I. My sole responsibility was to oversee the procurement and disbursement of funds.

Everyone, even the most discontented individuals, was in favor of the plan, and I can now foresee favorable results for our cause. Thus we are all right and since then I have retracted what I previously said on this matter when all our efforts were thwarted

by the imposing attitude of our devilish chief. He now treats us in a very different manner, even going to the extent of assuring us that we are friends once again.

While I was writing this, I received Buison's letter to Dato in which he informed him that Teófilo, our common friend, had embarked on a ship bound for that place. We have not heard from him directly, but Buison assures us that we will receive a letter from him one of these days.

There are different opinions regarding the unexpected departure of Teofilo: some are hoping for his return, while his relatives feel otherwise. Apé and P. Doré are among those who favor his return, but none of them wishes to assume the responsibility. We were about to write him asking him to come back, but it was too late, since we assumed that he had taken advantage of the first occasion to quickly escape.

Nanô did everything he could to gather his documents and send them to him, but this was all in vain. According to the clerk who helped our friend in this task, they are working in the department in accordance with the proceedings which were formed *ad hoc*; and according to him, this is already the second denunciation. In the first one, they seem to have turned a blind eye, but in this second case, they took hold of the documents on the order of the Padre Rector. However, Teófilo's uncle, Mr. Villar... does not lose hope, being certain that everything will work out according to the desires of the interested party. May God grant it!

What is happening to Teófilo and with the proposed teacher, who is the Buson of my dear friend D. Amado Pecson, is causing M's followers great worry. They are desperate and are groaning. They miss you now, more than ever.

On the 15th, the eve of Teófilo's departure, the proposed teacher proceeded to assume his position, accompanied by his family, composed of six individuals, but up to the present time, he has not succeeded in doing so due to the obstacles created by the friar curate. His father pleaded for him in the educational centre, but there have been no results yet. It is a pity if he does not obtain the post.

Teófilo must have told you of Buson's qualifications and how much he values him.

The excessive heat felt in this locality (it reaches 39° in the shade), has prevented me from the pleasure of greeting your esteemed family. However, I have learned from some persons who have come from there, like Turé who is getting married (may it come to pass), that your wife and daughters are well, especially your two daughters who are getting chubbier.

Despite the terrible climate, we continue as usual, thank God, except for some cases of cholera. The attractive Miliang at this time is mourning the loss of her father due to this disease.

With regard to the subject of cholera, do you know what is practiced here. The port is declared unsanitary. Decomposing cadavers of the cholera victims are brought to the church and the families pay the same fees, as if nothing was wrong. Is this not a ludicrous situation in a country that has seen the resplendent light of social culture and modern civilization?

Warm regards from me, my family and our friends, and please embrace everyone there for me, particularly Naning.

GOYO

78. From Emilio Terrero*

General Terrero is grateful for the present of the pamphlet *Soberanía Monacal*.

Madrid, June 4, 1889.
s/c Felipe.4°- 2 pral.

Señor Don Marcelo H. del Pilar.

My distinguished friend:

* Emilio Terrero y Perinet became Governor on April 4, 1885 and led personally the expedition against Moros, in 1885. He served as governor from April 4, 1885 to 1888.

I received your letter dated last May 6, together with the interesting pamphlet entitled *Soberanía Monacal*, and considering the loyalty and devotion of the Filipino people to the Mother Country, I am very grateful for your kind respect and attention towards me.

I have very pleasant memories of that beautiful country and the nobility of its people, whose happiness I fervently hope for, and with my sincerest sentiments of deep regard, I remain your affectionate friend.

EMILIO TERRERO

79. To Deodato Arellano

General Terrero remembers the country with fondness. He is in the best position to judge us. Eloquent response of *Plaridel* Speeches of Pañganiban, Del Pilar and López Jaena before a social group in Barcelona. The President promised to help us in our campaign for reforms. "I wish there would be no dissension among you." If Machiavellism were flourishing, we would be in trouble Del Pilar was ready to return.

Barcelona, June 11, 1889.

My dear brother:

Yesterday, I had the pleasure of receiving your letter No. 21 dated May 4 with the clipping from *La Opinión* regarding the cholera epidemic there, and even if the mail is not scheduled to leave until the 14th of this month, I am writing this letter ahead of time because we will be very busy on those days. In my letter dated May 30, I informed you that I had received your letters No. 18, 19 and 20, with the bills of exchange.

I will ask for the \$300 necessary for the expenses for my return when I am ready to go back. Right now, I must not abandon our struggle that is becoming more interesting every day. It is too long a story to tell, and it is better told to you in person, rather than written down in a letter. .

In the letter sent to me by General Terrero from Madrid, he tells me that he has very fond memories of our country, and of the nobility of its people, whose happiness he sincerely wishes for. He adds that he recognizes the loyalty and devotion of the Filipino people to the Mother Country. I thanked him for this just acknowledgement in my personal capacity, and on behalf of the country, and I added:

“If the blood shed by the indigenous race in the different battles in defense of the Spanish flag is not enough proof of the loyalty of the Filipinos, the authoritative statements of Your Excellency, who has personally experienced not only the disciplined obedience of the army, but also what was demonstrated during your term of command in the towns that were faced with danger arising from the Carlist conflicts, as well as the forced assignment of our people to Jolo to defend the Spanish flag; your words of authority, aside from the testimony of history, are more than enough to erase any doubts regarding the civic spirit of the children of Spain in the Philippines.

For each of our aspirations for progress, for each desire to identify our interests with those of the Metropolis, the spirit of intransigence creates an atmosphere of obstructionism, which can be succinctly defined as filibusterism and anti-hispanism, as if the interests of Spain were inconsistent with the welfare of the Filipino people.

Your Excellency, you are the person most qualified to give an impartial opinion, and can therefore understand that by recognizing our loyalty, your words became the dew that restores our faith in human justice.

Thank you, a million thanks, my General. The pleasant memories that you keep of that unfortunate country truly concur with the blessings of a grateful people. And I, who have just arrived from there, can assure you that your respected name will remain engraved in the hearts of the Filipinos.

Reiterating etc. etc. etc....”

One night, Naning, Graciano, Pañganiban, Agustin Blanco and I, attended a social gathering, and we Filipinos were often referred to in the President's speech. Pañganiban, Graciano, and I had so say a few words, one after the other. Pañganiban spoke of the need for Filipinos to seek education in Europe, which was denied them in the Philippines. I talked on the superiority of Spanish colonization from the point of view of its humanitarianism. Other European powers only seek to exploit their colonies, while Spain, from its Laws of the Indies up to its most modern laws, upholds the principle of assimilation. The only dissonant note between the principles and its application lies in the incompatibility of the means chosen for its implementation with the progress of the nation. I pointed out the oppressive acts committed there by the iniquitous friars, stating that these abuses should not be tolerated by Spain. I gave the lie to the calumnies of filibusterism and anti-Hispanism which are unjustifiably attributed to us, stating further that if this were not true, we would not be in Spain pleading for our rights by legal means. We would be in England or in Germany, promoting and taking advantage of international laws. Our presence here in Spain is living proof and the most eloquent denial of the calumnies of filibusterism, and the true patriots of Spain should not discount this circumstance, for the benefit of the nation. Graciano made some comments regarding politics in general in Spain, concluding with some sad prognostications, if the Spaniards will not shake off their indifference regarding the ideals of democracy.

The president, in his speech, deplored the iniquities of the friars in the Philippines. He uttered some eloquent phrases blaming everything on the government, and said that Spain should be grateful for the nobility of the Filipinos, who, in the midst of their troubles, have not in the least way reproached its mother country, and despite everything, still consider Spain to be fair and just. He ended his speech by offering to be by our side in our campaign to obtain our rights from the government.

I have looked for the books in the bookstores, and since they do not have them on stock, they have ordered the books from Madrid. If they arrive before the mail leaves, I will send them to you under separate cover.

I will also send you your requested copy of the *Solidaridad*, although I doubt that I will be able to send you the number of copies you asked for.

It is my desire that there will be no disagreements among you. Yndó has shown signs of his sincerity, and I do not think you should deny him your help. I know that he is disliked, but it is important not to lose sight of the fact that there, as here, our adversaries are skillfully implementing their plan to divide us. In Madrid, it seems that this plan is working, and if it also works there, you can imagine my desperation.

As you probably know, I cannot expound further on this matter, since these disagreements affect me personally, and I do not want it said that my words are dictated by my egoism and personal interest. If you are not able to solve your differences, it will be better if someone will take my place here, and I shall go back there to work.

It is already the month of May, and you have not told me anything about the results of the municipal elections. I know the results in Malolos, but I have not been informed who were elected to the major positions.

Your affectionate brother embraces you.

MARCELO

80. To Rh. Hezquerin

Monetary aid. Report about disagreements among our constituents. Inspection of the commissary is necessary: try to eradicate it.

Barcelona, June 11, 1889.

Señor Don Rh. Hezquerin

Dear compadre:

According to Pedrin's letter which I received in the last mail, you advanced the sum of \$50 to complete the \$100, which is

the total of the first remittance you sent in the letter of credit care to Naning.

A million thanks to you. I turned over the sum to Naning for the expenses of the materials you need there.

From what Pedrin and my brother-in-law told me, and from Basilio's explanation, I gather that there exist some disagreements among our people and I would like you to find a way to resolve these.

It is necessary that you conduct an inspection of the commissary, because there might be some anomalies.

Try to find out about my letter of this date that I addressed to my brother-in-law, in which I transcribed my response to a letter from General Terrero.

Goodbye. The newspaper and other letters prevent me from prolonging this letter.

My respects to my comadre, a kiss to Pinay, and regards to everyone.

MARCELO

81. To Domingo Cecilio

The contributions collected have been deposited in the factory's vault. Some of the products in Singapore are available for your use. Business opportunities exist, but only for investors with large capital. Let us not be discouraged. Have faith in God and work hard to succeed.

Barcelona, June 11, 1889.

Señor Don Domingo Cecilio
Nueva Ecija

Distinguished sir and friend:

According to the information I received in the last mail, you advanced part of the sum of 500 pesetas (100 duros) that was sent to me by our correspondent in Manila.

I am grateful for your kindness. I turned over the sum to the cashier of the factory to pay for the cost of the materials.

Part of the products will be in Singapore, according to instructions of the correspondent, for proper distribution.

I am taking advantage of the occasion to inform you that business opportunities exist in this country, but it will be necessary to face stiff competition from others who have much larger capital than we do. It is only through a special favor from divine Providence that our incipient business will not collapse.

That is why I have an unwavering faith in God that we shall be able to overcome all difficulties.

Why do my compadre and Cenon not write me. Please give them my regards.

Greet our friends in the province for me, and your affectionate friend is always t your service.

L. O. CRAME

82. To Máximo Viola

Financial assistance. Pepita, upset because she does not receive any letters from her adored tormentor (Viola). She is pacified by Plaridel's false explanations.

The marriage is floundering. Manolita has no faith in men.

Barcelona, June 11, 1889.

Señor Don Maximo Viola.

Dear friend:

Thank you for your cooperation in remitting the \$100 which was sent by your compadre the first time. Naning will take care of disbursing this amount.

I visited Pepita twice. The first time was right after my arrival, and she was then very upset at not having received any letter from you. I told her that after braving the hardships of the trip during the rainy season, you had passed by Manila solely to ask me in person to visit her on his behalf, since he did not want to send this message through the mail. After spending the whole night and part of the morning traveling, and then seeing me to request that I visit you, he went back to San Miguel after five minutes, since he could not stay away from his patients for long. This explanation moved Pepita and her mother. They are wondering why you do not return, and I told them that this was indeed your dream, but that you did not want to do so until you had amassed a fortune to ensure the happiness of your future wife. Manolita seems to be pessimistic about this, and she deploras the loneliness of her sister. She said if she were in Pepita's place, she would not count on Maximo's return, since she does not believe in the faithfulness of men, and especially of the Filipinos.

On my second visit, I told her I had received a letter from you and that you were wondering why you had not received any reply from Pepita to your numerous letters. Naturally, she feigned amazement, saying that she was the one who had not received any response from you, and Naning and I placed all the blame on the mail system. Write to her sometime.

Farewell. I still have many things to write. Receive my embrace.

L. O. CRAME

83. To his co-religionaries in Manila

Valverde was Machiavellian, causing divisiveness among the ministries with his economic policies. Martos, insulted by his own supporters, and praised by the conservatives. Sagasta put an end to the quarrel, and to the legislature. The same thing could happen to our demands in Congress.

Datirin, June 12, 1889.

As I vaguely indicated in my letter of May 13, the political schism in the Sagasta party has finally come to an end.

Before beginning the discussion on universal suffrage, Cánovas presented an economic proposal wherein the various groups would be divided, but when it came to a vote, the plan fell through.

Martos abandoned the presidency, to the disgust of the majority. When another session began, an uproar broke out in Congress, during which Martos was insulted by the ministerial deputies and applauded by the conservatives.

Sagasta was able to obtain a Royal Decree suspending the sessions, and negotiations began, but these were unsuccessful since Martos refused to resign and he was expecting a vote of censure against him. On the other hand, Sagasta was not in favor of the vote of censorship, fearing that it might be a mistake, but he did not present another solution except for ending the legislature or dissolving the Cortes. They opted for the first alternative, thus Martos ended the presidency without resigning nor a vote of censure. The sly Zorillistas said that Martos, president of the Congress, was dismissed by virtue of a Royal Order.

Various elements of the conspiracy abandoned Martos, among them Moret.

Enclosed are clippings on this issue, so that you may be better informed.

This issue will be of great importance in the not too distant future. What I am afraid of is that because of these intrigues, our pending cases in the Ministry may be buried in oblivion.

I embrace you.

L. O. CRAME

84. From Ambrosio Rianzares Bautista

Don Ambó's cunning attack against the University, in the guise of praising the teaching friars. Incompetence in the administration of the university. Del Pilar's sacrifice reputedly futile, according to Ambó: "very few or none of our indifferent countrymen appreciate your work, as well as poor Jaena's."

Binondo, June 18, 1889.

Señor Don Marcelo H. del Pilar.

Esteemed Celo:

Due to lack of time and other reasons, I was not able to properly edit my letter, so please make the necessary corrections, deleting or amending phrases which could prove upsetting.

I purposely included some laudatory phrases for the friar professors, so that they may not notice that this is an attack against the university, or that my objective was to prove that the university should not remain in their hands.

You have sacrificed so much! But our indifferent countrymen hardly appreciate your work, or poor Jaena's. In trying to help him, you do not know what I have to go through.

Sometimes I get so desperate that I just feel like giving up.

I shall write you at greater length next time. You know that you have a friend here who always remembers you and your sufferings.

AMBROSIO R. BAUTISTA

85. From Rizal

It would be good to live in a republic where the laws apply equally to all.

Paris, June 18, 1889.

Dear Plaridel:

I am sending you herewith the manuscript of our friend Blumentritt. I have corrected it, but if you find that it still needs to be corrected, please do so. I would like it to be published on the 30th of this month.

I have been very busy; Llorente was here, and I have been accompanying him everywhere, thus I had no time to write you.

I received the *La Solidaridad*. I am beginning to like it more and more each time, and I congratulate its managers. It is a pity that some big typographical errors slipped by in the printing, such as *Orillas del Pais* for *Orillas del Pasig*, etc.

I had my photograph taken, and in a weeks time, you will receive a deluge of my photos.

P. Rojas will not be passing through here, but is going directly to Spain.

Through Torres, I will be sending you some money which are the proceeds from subscriptions and the sale of your books. Send me or send P. de Tavera a copy of your *Soberania Monacal*.

Copies of issue No. 8 of *La Solidaridad* are missing. Among the four that you sent me, one was badly printed. I distributed them.

How is the publication of my Blumentritt* coming along?

In the next mail, when I send you my photos, I shall write you more extensively.

Paterno is inaugurating the Circulo Hispano-Filipino in Madrid. Llorente has plans. It appears to me to be a good idea to live in a republic, as you do. We had the same idea. We had no other law but strict justice and equality. Pardo promises to send scientific articles, but he is still occupied with the setting up at the Exposition.

* Refers to Rizal's article in *La Solidaridad* "Defense a Blumentritt."

I told Naning to hasten the publication of "*Defensa del Noli.*"

Yours,

RIZAL

86. From José M. Basa

Regarding the freedom of Messrs. Basa and Abello.- Isaac Fernando Ríos left for Spain with Nozaleda and other friars.- Don Pepe Basa will make the Hongkong Telegraph support our petition for representation in the Spanish Cortes. Sandico, carrier of a petition for Filipino representatives, bearing signatures from Manila and Hongkong.

Hongkong, June 20, 1889.

Señor Don Marcelo Hilario del Pilar
Barcelona

My dear friend and countryman:

I acknowledge receipt of your letter dated May 16 which I received day before yesterday, and I begin by telling you that I am deeply grateful to the whole colony for the steps they have taken for the prompt release of my brother and my compadre Abello.

Yesterday, I received a letter from Manila, copy of which is enclosed, in which they inform me of the prompt release of those gentlemen, and in which they also mention the vile accuser, Isaac Fernando Ríos, who is leaving for Spain on the same mail ship together with Nozaleda, Hevia Campomanes and another friar, and also a brother of Laurel.

The petition for Philippine representation in the Cortes has greatly encouraged many Filipinos, and I shall see to it that the Hongkong Telegraph will publish some commentaries regarding this petition.

My projected trip for that place has been cancelled much to my regret. With my brother and my compadre Abello in prison,

none of my correspondents in Manila have communicated with me up to this date, and as a result, my businesses are completely paralyzed. Let us see if I can push through with my trip later.

Please tell our friend Mr. Ponce that I had the pleasure of receiving his letter dated last May 17, and that I will be happy to answer this in the next mail.

D. Teodoro Sandico, who I suppose is already there with you, brought a letter with many signatures from Manila and from some of the few who make up the Filipino colony in Hongkong. With these signatures, it will be possible to present another petition to the Minister supporting what you had already submitted asking for "Representatives for the Philippines".

Until my next letter, my countryman, carry on with the work you have begun and never lose hope, because although we shall suffer as we are suffering now, there is no doubt that sooner or later we shall triumph and when we do, woe to those who are making us suffer! Woe to the friars and their ruffians!

Regards from everyone here, and from your friend and countryman forever.

J.M. BASA

On the 6th of this month, a Dominican friar was assassinated in Tunquin. He was found sleeping in the house of a Chinese beside a Chinese woman.

Please tell our friend Ponce to send me 20 copies of the pamphlet *Los frailes* with the bill for the cost. They will be useful in Manila.

87. From Pedro Serrano Laktaw

Adherence to the reformists in Madrid. Subscriptions for *La Solidaridad*. Lallave is dead, reviled by *La Oceania*. Viado is released, complains about the confiscated *Nolis*. Raising money for your expenses in Madrid, and for the weekly paper. Cutting remarks from *La Voz y Opinion* against Isabelo regarding

representation in the Cortes. The parliamentary system presents dangers?
Refuting Ordas. Regarding the native curates. The friar with sinister motives
simulates an insurrection?

June 21, 1889.

Dear friend:

I acknowledge receipt of your letter number 13.

Regarding your political petition to the Ministry of Ultramar, we have already suggested various sectors to prepare a pledge of adherence to the same, and to gather signatories. Regarding the *La Solidaridad* that you sent to Modesto, there were only two bundles, one contained 100 copies and the other bundle contained 72 copies and some booklets. The shipment to Goyo arrived, and since he was not here, I was the one who received it. The delivery consisted of two bundles also, containing 100 copies of *La Solidaridad*, with booklets inserted among them. It seems to me that the misplacement, if indeed there was any, must have taken place in another *sacred* place, in the same manner that occurred to the 4th and 5th, which we have not received to this date. For this reason, I believe it would be advisable to wrap the bundles you send us in oilcloth that is thin and impermeable, and can be obtained from the Bastinos establishment. Wrap and tie up the bundles securely, in the same way that Bastinos does with the books they have sent me on several occasions, which I received, in good condition. Do not include my name in the address written on the wrapper since it may only attract attention.

I received the enclosed bill of exchange for \$130.25, which was short by \$24.75; therefore we had to give \$155 for this to reach you. This would be of little importance if I could at least receive the 1,500 subscriptions that I requested, because I think that although there would be some damage, it would be easy to remedy this, perhaps by converting our beloved newspaper to a weekly paper. As a matter of fact, I have received many complaints and because I did not have enough copies, I could not please anyone.

You will find interesting news from the enclosed clippings. Lallave died after two weeks of fever, which oscillated between

39° and 41°; and now that he is dead, his enemies insult him from the columns of *La Oceanía Española*.

In the last thirty days, we have enjoyed a period of relative calm, but I am afraid that after this, something untoward will happen, but as long as our people are not frightened, it is all right!

Basa and Abello were released in the afternoon of the 17th, and they are now back attending to their businesses.

Father Jose has not published any new book after his 8th work.

Viado was absolved, and he is asking that they return his copies of *Patay**, etc.; I think he will get them back.

The enclosed money order for \$130 is for the following: \$75 for the newspaper, which with the \$25 sent previously, totals \$100 corresponding to the 200 subscriptions for the first and second trimesters. The balance of \$55 is for Doña Felipe and her son Carmelo. Please tell the administrator that I received the complete 200 copies of numbers 2 and 3, but did not receive any copy of number 4 and 5, and 100 copies each of numbers 6 and 7. Please do me the favor of sending me the missing copies so that the subscribers will not lose interest; also please send me the 1,500 subscriptions that I have repeatedly asked for. I have already sent the letter for Ylio. I am continuously taking steps to raise enough money for your political activities in Madrid and for the weekly paper. Regarding your transfer to Madrid with the newspaper, try to retain its significant name that has the same effect on our countrymen as an electric battery. At the same time, it is a peacemaker and symbolizes our ideas, inviting kinship wherever it appears, except in the monastic communities.

Among the clippings, you will find an article by Isabelo de los Reyes. This was published in *La España Oriental* in which he asks for representation in the Cortes. *La Opinión* and *Voz de España*, which were silent when the articles of Gómez de la Serna on the same issue were published, are now hurling harsh invectives

*Refers to Rizal's *Noli Me Tángere*.

at Isabelo, instead of engaging him in a serious discussion. Undoubtedly, they believe that this son of our country is not capable of making them pay for such tastelessness and lack of education. From the columns of both newspapers, Isabelo is derided for dealing in matters he is ignorant of. However, they have not even attempted to prove this. Besides, this idea of seeking representation in the Cortes is not an invention of Reyes, nor of Gómez de la Serna. This is a long-wished for and common objective of the country, and have they ever seen any Filipino who opposed this? On the contrary. Our own brothers in the peninsula like Brigadier La Corte, Señor La Guardia, Sr. Morayta, the conservative representative Sr. Rodriguez Sampedro, Sr. Labra, are with us in asking for representation in the Cortes. Msgr. Payo himself, the deceased archbishop, sought a seat in the senate. And since we too are Spaniards, why should they not give us the same right they have granted to our other brothers? Does *La Opinión* consider progress to be the denial of rights? And *La Voz de España*, does it not believe that the echoes of the voice of this generous nation should always be words of affection for its children? Why then does this newspaper, which is named the 'voice' of that noble mother country, fight a duel with one hand, and eat daintily with the other hand? Is it because they want Isabelo to prostitute his conscience? Let them fight him, argue with him, but they should follow the right procedures, and not abuse a harmless man like Isabelo. They should not declare with utmost certainty that there is not one person who can represent the country in the Cortes. By doing this, they deny the truth and insult the entire country as well as the prominent personages from the peninsula who have lived here and are more than adequately qualified to represent the country, like former civil governors and governors general, directors of the civil administration, superintendents, etc. Between our two countries, do we not have a Govantes, Azcárraga, Arellano, Roxas, Regidor, etc. etc.? Don Federico Ordas, who dreams of a colonial council, answered the *España Oriental*, who defended Isabelo instead of defending Ordas. Mr. Ordas, began his article by stating that "adopting a parliamentary system of government at this time presents great dangers which will be difficult to overcome", and ended by acknowledging that parliamentarism should be the crowning glory of intellectual and material progress of the archipelago, adding that "when this difficult task (shall we say of 'incubation' [initial

development]) is completed, and there is proof of the attainment of new and greater wealth, culture and higher living standards, then it will become necessary to have representation in the Parliament". He later writes: "a representative form of government is infinitely better than an autocratic government". At present, representatives are admitted to the Cortes.

The Antilles have representatives in the Cortes, and they deserve this right, according to Ordas; but not the Philippines, because it is still lagging behind materially and culturally, and because of its distance.

Mr. Gómez de la Serna has already responded to this objection, saying that the youngest children, especially if they are far away from their mother's lap, have more reason to have a guardian who will protect their rights. In effect, because of the lack of a guardian, they are subjected to continuous abuse. Mr. Ordas later asks: "where can we find representatives who will not need money for his daily expenses, who will be willing to accept the enormous sacrifice of leaving his home and various interests for a number of years." We asked ourselves...where will Ordas find delegates to the proposed Chamber without offering such an incentive? If Mr. Ordas can find such delegates, so can we. Mr. Ordas thinks that we are wrong in believing that reason and truth take precedence over numbers, and agreeing with the Chamber. As a result of this, for example, the deputy for the Philippines may propose a measure imposing compulsory labor, which is "to work at the sound of the bell", and is the most despotic measure that could be desired, completely in contrast to the much-vaunted indolence of the Filipino. The delegates from the other provinces would stand up and protest, motivated by their humanitarian concerns, and the proposal would be defeated. What an example! In this case, is it not good that the deputy for the Philippines is defeated?... He not only deserves to be defeated, but will merit the eternal condemnation of the country he represents. To whom, if not only to the Ordases, does the thought occur of limiting the sacred freedom of man, forcing him to work at the sound of a drum, or of a bell?

Mr. Ordas believes he knows the country and its people more than Isabelo does. He does not understand how the author of

"*Los Egoistas*" could have sarcastically made an example of the towns of La Laguna which are administered by native curates. Hence, if Mr. Ordas is truly, as he claims to be, a loyal believer in the equality of races, he should bear in mind the following: 1. That, except in rare cases, a parish priest does not have any influence on the progress, or lack of progress, of the town which he administers spiritually. 2. That the native curates should not be required to take competitive examinations in order to be appointed to their positions, as mandated by the Council of Trent. 3. That the parishes to which they are appointed are, to begin with, of an inferior class. That the indio is not hard-working? How does he expect a person to work hard when he does not need to do so, since the little work he does earns him enough for his needs? Offer him incentives, create in him a desire for things he does not need, and you will see how he will work harder than anyone else, as we see now in some natives who are living in Europe. I do not understand how anyone can be more interested in the welfare of others than in his own welfare. We think that this proposal offers protection with a sting, and will result in slavery. Mr. Ordas is exemplary and his example is providential; he fights assimilation, and cites the Penal Code. Therefore, we support the implementation here of Spanish legislation, with an additional law containing the necessary modifications. Finally, please read Mr. Ordas' article entitled "To the Philippine press". We believe that Mr. Ordas' project will only serve to sanction inconveniences and the friars' ambitions, which it deals with exclusively, and will result in an illusion of immunity. Señor Weyler was disgusted by the attacks against Isabelo, which he said were attacks on the country, and cut short the discussion.

The Archbishop and Bishop-elect Father Don Nozaleda and Father Don Hevia left for Hongkong two weeks ago. There they will join our famous Don Isaac Fernando Rios, and the three of them will proceed to the Peninsula. What will this puppet Isaac do there? Be prepared and try to be always on the alert, it is not farfetched that they will pay persons to destroy you. Be careful, and God will do the rest for all of us!

There is talk that the friars have imported many cases of gunpowder and other types of ammunition for their sinister plot to simulate an insurrection, and then blame our people. We have not

yet verified if this is true, but it is necessary that our people remain vigilant so that the deception will not have the desired effect.

The owner and director of *La España Oriental* is Don Juan Atayde, a Filipino, a retired captain, and a poet, who at the present time is inspired by our Isabelò, so that the the spirit of the newspaper now is the spirit of our Ilocano countryman, which is the spirit of our country, because he in turn is inspired by me, and thus I will soon have him by the nostrils. I say that it is of the country... because... as you know, that here I am the.... Don Juan Atayde, it is said, was the Secretary of the Circulo Filipino in Madrid. The staff of *La España Oriental* is composed now only of Filipinos, and its objective is to counteract the influence of *La Revista Católica de Filipinas*, that continues to entertain our countrymen miserably.

We will be publishing another bilingual newspaper soon.

Your friend embraces you and wishes you happiness.

R. O. SERNA

P.S.

Your family is doing fine, as when you were here.

Yesterday, Capitana Esperanza Gatmaytan was buried, a victim of a cancer in the back. After this had been somewhat cured, she developed heart complications, which caused her death.

I would appreciate it very much if you could send me the other B.M.L.s that you have there, even if you have to spend for the postage. These will be a great help and will bring us good results.

88. From Rizal

Arrangements concerning P. Roxas. "I would not want comedians and merchants to participate in this undertaking we are engaged in." Do not expect heroism from the purse. Do away with pseudonyms: those who wish to join the crusade should have renounced their lives and fortunes beforehand. Rizal and Plaridel were persecuted because they were alone: when the day comes that

there will be many more like them, they will be able to live peacefully. God will not support those who strive for their own interests. Force will be resorted to only when all means have been exhausted.

Paris, June 22, 1889.
10 Rue de Louvois.

My dear Plaridel:

First of all, I would like to request you not to forget to call attention to issue number 10 of *La Solidaridad*: there are two errors in my article and which are difficult for the reader to correct. One was a printing error and the other an error of my pen, and these were *Orillas del Pais=Orillas del Pásig; Expedición de Villalobos=Expedición de Loaysa*. [Banks of the City, instead of Banks of the Pasig; Expedition of Villalobos, instead of Expedition of Loaysa.]

I will probably be enclosing my photos in this letter.

I have already written you that I received news that P. Rojas will be going directly to Spain, passing by Barcelona and from there will proceed to Paris where he will remain for around 10 years. If he comes here, you can be sure that I will do everything possible to come to an understanding with him. If he is a man who truly loves his country and wants to do something for her, you can be sure that I will be able to obtain much from him. But if in reality he does not wish to do anything but is merely pretending, since I know him well, I will not take a single step, because in this work we are undertaking, I would not like comedians and merchants to participate, but only men of virtue and spirit. Fortunately however, it seems that this gentleman is the most worthy among the wealthy Filipinos. He has sponsored the education and careers of several persons, etc. In my opinion, we should not bind him to any commitment or demand any acts of heroism from him. One must not expect from the purse the qualities of a blade of steel, or even of the leather or wooden scabbard. Let each one contribute according to his powers and aptitude.

Is the *La Solidaridad* received in Manila? Luna will be starting a series of articles, which will bear his signature. Do away

with pseudonyms: it is necessary that we establish a new policy, a policy of courage and genuine solidarity. The newspaper is gaining in importance: imagine if signatures like those of Blumentritt, M. del Pilar, Jaena, Luna, etc. would appear in it. Our countrymen, seeing our courage, seeing not the courage of one, but of many, seeing that Rizal was no exception, but part of the general rule, they too will take courage and will not be afraid. There is nothing more effective than example. Our enemies will be astounded to encounter young people so unafraid and prepared to serve the country, a youth who are undaunted by the vengeful acts currently committed. What I said will come to pass, that the more they maltreat and humiliate us, the greater will be the number of Filipino liberals who will emerge. Besides, he who wants to join this crusade should have renounced beforehand his life and fortunes. In the future then, they will see that the more dangerous an article is, the greater is the courage of its author. An indifferent or literary article which may or may not bear a pseudonym is of no importance; but a serious political article should bear the name of its author. Thus they will realize that our generation is different; it is not the generation of the past, the generation of the author of *Diputado por Filipinas**. At any rate, they will seek revenge, but at least our death or our misfortune will be a brilliant example for the others. Be convinced, moreover, that if life in the Philippines is dangerous for the author of the *Noli* or *La Soberania Monacal*, it is because these are isolated works. But when the day comes that the *Plaridels* and the Rizals abound, the day when Ponce, Pañganiban, Graciano, Apacible Icasiano, Llorente, etc. and others publish more works, then we can return to our country and live peacefully there, as we do here. When only one pillar supports a weight, this may give way and break; but if there are many pillars, the risk is minimized. Be convinced of this fact; believe that for each good example that a Filipino gives, thousands are won over, and the number increases in geometric proportion. Believe that God, or destiny, is on our side, because our cause is a just and reasonable one, and because we are fighting not for our own selves, but for our beloved country and our countrymen. The men who preceded us struggled for their own interests, and that is why God did not support them; Novales for his promotion, Cuesta for revenge, Burgos for the curacies. We instead are fighting for more justice,

* The Author is Antonio Ma. Regidor.

for liberty, and for the sacred rights of man. We are not asking anything for ourselves, and we are ready to sacrifice everything for the common good, what should we be afraid of? We are not revolutionaries, and we are not out for blood, we bear no hatred. We shall only use force when we have exhausted all measures, when we are driven to the wall and have to fight or die, in which case God gives each one the right to defend himself as best he can. Then we will be fighting within our rights, like the North Americans fighting for a just cause, and we shall triumph. What do we have to fear? You can see that the foreigners already applaud us, and hold us in high esteem. Our cause attracts defenders. May the Filipino youth wake up and prove to the foreigners that we are much better than we have been portrayed, that we have courage and conviction. As they are beginning to attack us, it is necessary not to be frightened, but to redouble our courage and spirit; and each time they attack us, the others will see that our numbers increase, and new names will appear among us, more champions, more fighters. The example will proliferate and our enemies will be afraid. As we are united in a common cause, we shall help each other.

The two articles of *La Nación* are so stupid and so... that I am too disgusted to answer them. Besides, this matter is dealt with extensively in the book I will be publishing, as soon as I receive funds. In any case, write to me if you want me to answer them.

What will happen to the periodical when you go to Madrid?

Regards to all.

Yours,

RIZAL

89. To Deodato Arellano

Monetary assistance for the workers. Propaganda on reforms is well received by the Spaniards. Becerra should not leave the Ministry because of Martos. May peace and brotherhood be with you. No more resentment. Letter from *Mamá* lost in the mail?

June 27, 1889.

Ka Dato:

I have no letter from you that needs to be answered, since the mail has not yet arrived, so I am confirming my previous letter of the 11th in which I acknowledge receipt, for the second time, of the two bills of exchange for \$86 + \$66 sent by you and Loleng respectively, and in which I told you about my reply to General Terrero and other details.

Here we are as usual, in good health and our work continues to find support from the good Spaniards. May God grant that the difficulties raised by Mr. Martos will not affect Becerra's stay in the Ministry: he is from the family of Pepe Ramos.

I wish that upon my return there, I will find you as cordial and warm as you were when I left all of you, and that you visit each other more often, like we used to do when I was there. Be more patient with one another, and slow, very slow in harboring resentments, which more often than not are the result of misinterpretation of words spoken, or deeds committed.

I cannot prolong this letter, since the newspaper, which will be released on the 30th, has to be in order by tomorrow. The day after tomorrow is a holiday, and nobody here wants to work.

Naning forgot to pack the number of issues of the newspapers you were asking for; therefore, ask Pedro for the issues you need.

I am sending you the *La Soberania* in this mail. Regarding the book your brother requested, the bookseller has ordered it but has not yet informed us of its status.

Through the messengerial service, I sent you *Sagot** in three separate packages marked as samples. Let me know if you have received them. We shall not send the shipment until we are sure it is safe to send it through Singapore.

* *Sagot ng España sa Hikbi ng Filipinas*, written by Plaridel.

Your affectionate brother embraces you.

HILARIO

P.S. I do not know in which letter to you I enclosed the certificates, whether in the one to *Mamá* or in another which I addressed to Pepang. It must have been in the one dated March 20, letter number 14. And since you did not mention anything about these letters in your reply, I am afraid that they may have been intercepted in the mail, taking advantage of the fact that I did not mention these in my letter. I mentioned this in my letter to Pedro and he tells me that he has not read the letters, which confirms my fears. Tell me about this for my guidance.

VALE

90. To Pedro Icasiano

Be cordial in your relationships, more inclined towards understanding one another, than to harboring resentments. Lead them, it is your turn to bear the cross. The covers for the *Sagtang* will be sent to the Uy-Bin business house in Singapore. A bit of Spanish diplomacy. Differences among the Ministries. Sagasta's talents. The budget of the Philippines. Suppression of the Council of Ultramar and the closure of the Mint in Manila? Petition for the prohibition of administrative deportation in the Islands.

June 27, 1889.

Dear Ikazama:

I have no letter from you that needs to be answered, since the mail has not yet arrived, nor have I received any letter from you through the shipping line (I have only received through this means the letter from Ka Dato dated May 4), I am confirming what I wrote you in my letter dated the 12th of this month, in which I informed you of the various news items published on March 13. Details of the news are in the newspaper clippings I sent you, and in the other clippings I sent to Ka Dato in order to meet the combined postage requirements.

In my letters to you, I do not mention the same things I write about to Ka Dato, because it is my idea that you communicate with each other, like we used to do when I was there.

Please do me the favor of giving Ka Dato 25 copies of the newspaper issues you have been receiving for my family.

It is my desire that nothing, or no one, will change the warmth and cordiality of your relations with one another, and that you will be more inclined to be patient with each other than to harbor resentments, which in most cases is a result of misunderstandings. I do not intend to incriminate anyone, but I am addressing myself to you because it is now your turn to carry the cross.

The *Sagtang* covers are ready, but we will not send them until we are certain that the house of Uy-Bin in Singapore will send them regularly. Inform us promptly regarding the result of the first dispatch.

I would like to correct the news that I sent you previously, which due to the lack of time, I sent hurriedly. I will detail the abuses in the Congress which brought about the complete separation of Martos and the fusionists from the elements of the conspiracy, so that you can better understand the development of the new policy.

You already know that Martos, by majority vote, took over the presidency of the Congress of representatives in the four legislatures that compose Sagasta's government, which carries in its agenda the policy of universal suffrage.

You also know that the fusionist sector, whose leader is Sagasta, is made up of diverse democratic factions. They may conform to the political ideals of democracy, but not to its economic objectives. Some of them are protectionists, and others believe in free trade.

Since last February, a protectionist bill was presented bearing the signatures of Villaverde and other conservatives. This bill proposed an increase in the subsidies for wheat, rice and flour,

so that in this manner, it will be difficult for imported wheat, rice and flour to compete with the local produce, thus protecting local agriculture. Supporting this bill were Gamazo (fusionist) and other protectionists of the same party; opposing this were Navarro Rodrigo and even Sagasta himself.

The procedure for passing a bill first requires that a decision be made on whether the bill will be taken into consideration or not. If so, it passes on to a committee that will prepare a report on it for presentation to the Parliament where the bill, and any amendments to it, will be discussed and voted on.

The moment came to vote, whether to take Villaverde's proposal into consideration or not. Sagasta opposed it, saying that there would be time to take it up later and that the discussions on the issue of universal suffrage, which was already on the agenda for the day, should not be delayed; which would certainly happen if Villaverde's proposal were taken up.

Martos had to vote with Gamazo, and this was a clear disagreement between the president of the Congress and the majority who had voted for him. Sagasta pleaded with him that if he could not vote with the majority, to avoid a scandal, he should take sick and not attend the voting session. But Martos attended the session, and at the moment when voting was to take place, he walked out of the Congress, an act which drew applause from the conservatives and protests from the majority.

The majority group thought of presenting a vote of censure against Mr. Martos. The conservatives proposed instead that the petition should not be granted. But neither proposal was presented, so Sagasta adopted a conciliatory position.

On the following day, the session was opened, with one of the vice presidents presiding, and the discussions on universal suffrage started. A conservative began the debate, and while he was speaking Mr. Martos arrived and occupied the presidency. The orator while speaking signaled an expressive greeting to Mr. Martos, which was accompanied by applause from the conservatives and spirited protests from the majority. The conservatives let loose a barrage of insults and even raised their

canes threateningly at Martos, who rang the bell repeatedly to restore order, but since he could not control the tumultuous protestors, he fled the scene surreptitiously, accompanied by several friends to protect him.

An agreement was reached to suspend the session. Negotiations ensued between the Sagastas and the Martistas, supported by the conservatives and the reformists. The possible solutions were: to give restitution to the president of the congress, which may give rise to a minor crisis, so that Martos would continue presiding over the Congress; or that he would resign voluntarily, or through a vote of censure.

Sagasta could not sacrifice any minister for the sake of Martos, because it would only add to the disunity within his party, and sought another way to satisfy Martos. Martos did not want to resign, and Sagasta could not make up his mind on the vote of censure.

Therefore, another solution was sought. The fourth session of the legislature was adjourned, and the fifth session was immediately convened, which put an end to the presidency of Martos. A new president was elected. Thus the newspaper *El País* (Zorrillista) stated that since this was the case, the Royal Decree came to signify the suspension of the President's legislative power. This statement resulted in repercussions in the press.

Each party prepared for the struggle to bring down Sagasta's candidate. Cánovas and the conspirators insisted on reelecting Martos, counting on the disenchantment of the majority of the ministers and the support of the other minorities. But they were disappointed. The day of the election came, and Sagasta's candidate came through with 327 votes, which was not the case in past legislatures, when, without the majority breaking up into factions, Maros emerged victorious with only a hundred plus votes. This was because some minority Republicans voted with the ministers.

In the enclosed clipping, you will see Sagasta's cleverness when he takes the offensive. The speech he delivered before the

elections was the first cannonade he launched after he had exhausted all possible means to achieve reconciliation.

Cánovas and Romero Robledo are exhausting all possible means to gain power at any cost, and they are trying a thousand combinations, but they were all smashed by that speech.

This information, and the enclosed clipping, will give you an idea of the current political situation. The Cortes has started, and the discussions during the sessions held so far concerned the accountability for the past bills passed.

The budget for the Philippines will be discussed for the first time in Congress, and they are planning to abolish the Council of Ultramar which, after all, is nothing more than a useless agency. The friars are furious regarding this plan, and they say that the best thing that Becerra can do is to retire and assume his private life: and if they could, they would deport him to Jolo.

The mint there will also be abolished; an institute for secondary education will be established in Iloilo, and the budgets include new items even for the curates. Today, a new petition for the prohibition of administrative deportation in these Islands will be elevated to the Ministry of Ultramar and to Sagasta. The petitioners are not us, but other social entities. I will send you a copy as soon as I get one. I was asked for the draft for a certain newspaper, as it cannot be inserted in our newspaper. Ramos can understand this better.

Mamá is not completely in favor of those petitions. He says these will not give tranquility to anyone there, but only to the same powers in the country, and so he does not take cognizance of these measures. Not many Filipinos know about this either, not even Angel Cortés, and we dine together frequently.

Do me the favor of reading this letter to my brother-in-law, to Teo, Goyo and others, I am writing this for everyone.

I embrace you.

FELIPENO

91. From Justo Trinidad

Payment for subscription: 250 francs.

There is a seal on the paper which says:
Grand Hotel de Castille
El Du Luxembourg
(Coat of Arms)
B. Parera, Marseille

July 1, 1889.

Señor Don Marcelo H. del Pilar

My dear sir and friend:

I wrote you three letters while I was in Paris, but I have not received any reply from you. I hope you are fine, and I am taking advantage of the departure of our countrymen for your place to send you the sum of 250 francs, payment of my subscription and Abarca's, corresponding to the past trimester of April to June.

Nothing more to tell you.

Your affectionate friend,

JUSTO TRINIDAD GOMES y M.

92. To Fernando Blumentritt

Lack of official information. Budget of the Philippines is discussed in Congress. Fixed income for parish priests. Teodoro Sandico's odyssey. Meeting held regarding freedom for the towns. Del Pilar spoke on the sad state of the country. Spanish orators in favor of liberal reforms.

Barcelona, July 8, 1889.

Señor Don Fernando Blumentritt

Dear friend:

We have on file your letter-article regarding deficiencies in the reports of the Governors and Secretary Generals of the Philippines. Filipinos and non-Filipinos who understand the situation in our country enthusiastically praise this article, as they did the previous ones.

The Minister of Ultramar, Mr. Becerra, has, for the first time, presented the budget of the Philippines to the Congress of representatives for deliberation. It has already passed the scrutiny of the screening committee. I find the accompanying provision to this law excellent, which you can read about in the daily record of proceedings of the Congress of June 17. If you do not have this, I will send you a copy of this bill. It stipulates that the parish priest should have a suitable fixed stipend, instead of receiving a 12.50% share of personal identity taxes collected, which we had been opposing.

This budget includes new provisions for public instruction.

La Patria, a Madrid newspaper, which I believe is financed by the friars in the Philippines, is fighting Becerra's reforms, and for this reason, the newspaper always features the phrase: the danger of national unity. *La Solidaridad* will respond to this in its next issue.

Do you remember a certain Teodoro Sandico, a high school professor who had offered to teach Spanish without any remuneration from the government, asking only that he be allowed to open night schools. *La Publicidad* featured an article signed by Plaridel on this subject, and this was reproduced in part in issue number 1 of *La Solidaridad*. So then: not only was Sandico unable to obtain the authorization he was seeking, but his school for secondary education was shut down. They are also filing a case against him, alleging that he was teaching a religion different from the Catholic religion and that he was taking part in meetings during which Spain was maligned. This young man is now with us, having fled from the archipelago. He has come to pursue his career and to obtain his degree in Philosophy and Letters.

Yesterday, a meeting was held in this city to discuss the matter of freedom and emancipation for the towns. I did not intend

to speak there, and repeatedly refused their president's request for me speak. However, he announced to the public that I had agreed to say a few words, and torn between embarrassing the president and making the effort, I resigned myself to making an outrageous speech before the large crowd. I spoke as best I could - I do not know how I did it - about the necessity of implementing the policy of universal suffrage in Spain, and later I painted a sad portrait of the social situation in the Philippines. The public was very kind to me, and the other speakers who came after me shared their kind thoughts about the Philippines. Other orators spoke against religion, and this put me in a bad mood, because if they had spoken ahead of me, I would not have believed it wise to speak, and I would have had a basis for making public my opposition to the agreement on the presidency.

New disturbances have rocked the Congress of representatives, and you probably have received the details. I do not know who is responsible for these, but I find the situation deplorable. To gain or retain power by creating uproars is a....

(The rest of the page is missing.- Ed.)

93. From Rizal

Power of attorney in favor of Govantes.

37 Chalcot Crescent
Primrose Hill, N.W.
(July, between 1 and 12, 1889).

My dear Selo:

I am sending you herewith a power of attorney and a letter to be delivered to Govantes. Read the power of attorney, and give him your opinion.

I have given the power of attorney to Govantes since he is the registered lawyer there. You have your hands full with *La Solidaridad* and your examinations, and moreover, you are not registered in the Supreme Court.

In short, I leave this matter to your clear judgement and knowledge of the laws: I am a layman.

Regards to all our friends.

I am very busy doing some work at the Library.

Yours,

RIZAL.

94. From Rizal

Calambañons send contribution of 200 pesetas to *La Solidaridad*. Issues of the newspaper for the Philippines. Regards to Sandico. The article "Representative for the Philippines" by Regidor. Burial of Rizal's brother-in-law in hallowed ground is not permitted.

45 Rue de Maubeuge
Paris, July 12, 1889.

Señor Dor. Marcelo H. del Pilar

My dear friend:

I received your letter as well as the copies of "Defensa de Blumentritt". It is very well printed, and I thank you all very much. I was in London, so I did not receive your letter on time.

Enclosed are two hundred pesetas which my town mates in Calamba are contributing to *La Solidaridad*. They sent me more than this amount for me to dispose of as I see fit: I am keeping the rest for a good purpose. Keep these 200 pesetas for the newspaper *La Solidaridad*. Don't forget to send issues to Calamba, addressed to Mateo Elejorde, the town apothecary. They have great affection for the courageous *La Solidaridad*. Also please send copies regularly to Pedro Ramos in London, 21 Billiter Street, together with the copies for Regidor. Ramos has just paid me today 1.25 for the trimester. He says he did not receive issue number 8. Abarca lacks issue numbers 8 and 1, and I lack issue number 10, or the conclusion of my letter to Desbarrantes, as you said. I would

be pleased if you would always send me many copies, since I send them all to the Philippines. That is where these newspapers should be read. Be very careful in sending these to the Philippines, since according to news I have received the Governor General orders the burning of all the copies that arrive. Wrap them well and hide them. They also like our books and articles. Starting with the next issue, I will be sending articles for every issue. This is what you should do so that you will not spend too much for sending copies to Paris. Send them in two packages, one for Luna and the Pardos, and the other one for me, Ventura, Abarca, Trinidad, etc. etc. Tell me if *La Solidaridad* needs money.

I will also send Blumentritt's *Memoria* which I will have printed at my expense. I will correct the proofs. Tell me how much 1,000 copies will cost.

Greet Don Teodoro Sandico for me. I believe he is an old acquaintance of mine from Pandacan or Ateneo Municipal. If I remember correctly, he is a slim man, with an oval face, and nimble in his movements. If he is not the same man, tell him to consider me a countryman and friend, and an admirer of all that he has done in Malolos. His plan to study Philosophy and Letters is very laudable, and young men like him can come to Madrid where they will be safe from the ill winds that blow there, except that they have to return to the Philippines eventually.

I have not yet spoken to Rojas, since I have just arrived from London, and I am tired and slightly indisposed.

Please have the *Desbarrantes* printed immediately so that we can send the booklets to Manila. I will share in the expenses. Do the same with *Por Teléfono*.

What is Graciano doing that he is not helping?

The article "Diputado por Filipinas" written by Regidor is a good one. But I told him that it is not right to foment regionalism or provincialism. If we have some good customs or praiseworthy traits, these should be attributed to all the provinces, to the entire country.

I am enclosing herewith the letter of Blumentritt. Send him your answer, and also reply to me. I hope you have sent many copies of *Defensa* to Blumentritt. Also send many copies to Manila through the sailors who go there, through the mail, and by other means. Let us not forget that it is there where we should sow what we wish to harvest.

I have revealed to the people of my province your real name, and your plans. I hope that your example and the strokes of your pen will awaken many people. In the situation you are in now, you can no longer back out.

A brother-in-law of mine* died of cholera, and because of his relationship to me, he was not buried in the churchyard. I do not resent this, since you know my attitude on this matter, as well as my family's. It is the evil intent behind this that I want to look into and pursue.

This is all for now. Please greet all our friends and countrymen on my behalf.

How is Pañganiban?

Your friend,

RIZAL

I am pleased with your information that Rogers will help; I think it is your example that attracted him. There is nothing like a good example. Canon should also cooperate.

Let me know if you have received the money.

VALE

* Mariano Herbosa

95. To Mariano Ponce

News of his arrival. He and Graciano (López Jaena) have met with Amba Ving

September 11 or 12, 1889.

Naning:

We arrived here safe and sound, although we were a bit delayed at Cette.

Please buy a lottery ticket for Ariston and send him a list of the current winning lottery numbers. His postal address is the same as that of Pepe R.

Graciano and I have already met with Amba Ving. He said that he is well informed on everything that is taking place in our country, through Tonio who tells him everything. He travels to and from London, and we have already met with each other.

MARCELO

III. DEL PILAR IN MADRID, SPAIN PERIOD FROM 1889 TO 1896

96. A. Mariano Ponce

He is already in Madrid. Asks for the little in lithography of *La Sol.*- Describes the house they will occupy. He urges them to meet with him; Lopez Jaena will return to Barcelona

October 20, 1889

Naning:

Come and bring the title of the newspaper, because I have already contracted a printing press.

Our house is in Monteleon Street and main, left. There are two rooms, one for the Editor and another for the Administration; aside from the living room and the dining room and their respective bedrooms, a portion can be converted into an archive.

Come immediately, it is much cheaper living here than there. They say that Graciano will return there tomorrow.

MARCELO

97. From Rizal

Arrangements in Madrid by a "brother"

Paris, November 4, 1889

Rd. L.M.

My friend Selo:

The bearer of this letter is a secret brother of ours in the Rd. L.M. with No. 2 ranking. No one should know that he is a brother, aside from the two of us.

He is going to Madrid with one objective; he is the victim of an offense committed against him in Manila. In order not to be humiliated again in the future, he desires to obtain a high post in the Cathedral Church as a sinecure. I offered him our help because of the promise he made that he would help us in secret. I think that you and Llorente—thanks to the posts you hold in our association—are in a position to help him. He carries money, but it would be better, if it were possible, for him not to spend too much. What can be saved can be given to the *Sol*. I believe that you can gain the favor of Morayta and Becerra; and the others who evidence deafness can be made to hear the clink of gold.

It is imperative that no mention be made in the presence of others that we are brothers. If you speak of this to Llorente, do not tell him who this is about, for I have promised that only you and I

will know about this; not that I fear anything from Llorente, for I have complete trust in him. I leave the secret, the mission and the necessary arrangements to your judgement and consideration.

Why does the I.B. of Rd. L.M. not write to me?

I have received the *Sol*; it is the best. Everything in it is good. The article of *Taga-ilog* is excellent.

This is all.

G. INDIO BRAVO
Rd. L.M.

98. From Rizal

An article about Blumentritt – *La Solidaridad* of Madrid is good, but poorly printed.

Paris, 45 Rue de Maubeuge
November 22, 1889

Dear friend:

I am sending the article about Blumentritt. If you wish, you can put my signature as *Laong-Laan* or *Dimas-Alang*, but not Rizal. A letter from Luna goes with this, and also the notes that should go out.

The *Sol* of Madrid is good, although it is poorly printed and the correction is irregular; you need help, since you cannot take charge of everything. I sent the correction to Naning a long time ago, but he says that it was lost.

No. III will appear in the next issue; I suspect that it will be the beginning of II. What I want is for it to go on developing, but not for the abandonment of arms or as a show of weakness.

Greet in my behalf all the Indios Bravos, Bautista, Aguilera and the others. How is Llorente?

LAONG LAAN

99. From Rizal

Material for *La Solidaridad*. Two letters of Blumentritt. Who is Ramiro Franco? If he is Spanish, his praises of *QuiQuiap* is sincere; if he is a Filipino, they are pointedly ironic. *QuiQuiap*'s style is as empty as his head, but it has a lot of nerve and daring. A suggestion for the end of the year: that the *Solidaridad* publish an issue that will carry the works, articles and thoughts of the Filipinos that are purely literary and instructive. Does Llorente have an offer from the management of *La Solidaridad*?

Rue Maubeuge 45
Paris, December 5, 1889

My dear friend:

The continuation of "*Filipinas Dentro de Cien Años*" [The Philippines Within One Hundred Years], some poems and the letters of Blumentritt are on their way to the press. I submit them for the decision of the directors of the *Sol* and only ask that they be careful in correcting the proofs. If it is possible, I would like these to be printed in loose pages so that "*Filipinas Dentro de Cien Años*" may go around Manila and the provinces. If this is possible, the poem can be published (if it is worth it) to fill any empty spaces, in case there is a lack of articles.

I am of the opinion that of the two letters of Blumentritt, only the one addressed to Colonel Verdugo should be published in the newspaper, making mention only of the other one, although Blumentritt informed me that he would like both to be published. The letter for the General can be published in a separate paper, to please our good friend; the lines in red pencil should be substituted by a row of dots. Perhaps later Blumentritt will thank me for this.

Now let us go to No. 20 of the *Sol*:

The printing is very good, and it is much better edited, although the phrase *decirle a esos* [tell those] was omitted at the end of "Cosas de Manila"; a small matter. Nevertheless, I congratulate the publishers. The article of Blumentritt is one of the

best that our friend has written; I have already congratulated him. The one of Murgas is also very good; regarding Murgas, I am sending you the letter that I received from Pangasinan; it is necessary to establish correspondence with Dagupan or Lingayen.

As for the Luna-Mir matter, the comment was that the *Sol* had reproduced the records of the proceedings; but the reader was left hanging. It is an act of forgetfulness.

In the "*Arte y Letras*" [Arts and Letters] I see the name of a Mr. Ramiro Franco*, whom I would very much like to know. He is a very elegant writer and very witty. The gentleman must be a person of merit for despite his admiration for the writings of *Quiopquiap* (Pablo Feced) he has not believed the pompous and empty phrases of this man, his puffed-up style that elicits astonishment at first glance but which, when one analyzes his writing, one finds it ridiculous and indicative of ignorance and prattling. I have to believe, when I see the beautiful, natural and fine style of Mr. Franco, that his praise of *Quiopquiap* is mere courtesy, in order to be able to whip him later on. Perhaps I am mistaken; if Mr. Franco is Spanish, I can understand his admiration and I will believe it to be sincere since it is ordinary among Spanish writers to allow themselves to be seduced by rhetorical artifice; if he is a Filipino (Rosario? Aguirre?) I can almost affirm that at the bottom of his praises there is refined irony and a naughtiness that will later be made manifest. Whoever he may be, I am pleased and I congratulate myself for the esteemed cooperation of Mr. Franco; tell me who he is, if it is possible, and if he is a friend and a countryman, congratulate him. It is a great pity that I do not have here the *Esbozos y Pinceladas de Quiopquiap* [Outlines and Brush-strokes of Quiopquiap] so that I can relay to him the phantasmagoric and blistering phrases of this man. I recall now only two: "to have one's head hanging over an abyss," "the sub-soil where pathogenesis germinates" (pathogenesis cannot germinate in any sub-soil nor mezzanine; pathogenesis or the genesis of disease cannot take place except in a live body). Reading and analyzing carefully his style, it is obvious that it is as empty as his head. It is to be conceded that he has nerve, daring (daring above all) and much ease with the pen. I

* Dominador Gomez, according to T.M. Kalaw.- (Ed.)

reiterate my congratulations to Mr. Franco. If he is a Castilian, don't tell him anything from me or from anyone else, and just let him know that I liked his style very much; one has to recognize the truth. In this case, beware of him lest he make our newspaper a *Quiopquiap* paper. We will be ridiculed and despised by all, for they will say that after all the trash about the Indios that *Quiopquiap* has amassed, we still praise him. Therefore be careful. Be consistent. Blumentritt has attacked him with good reason even if he is not a Filipino. Don't let them say that we were afraid of this *Quio*. and that we beg for his favor.

I wrote to I.B. (Indio Bravo) but he has not yet replied. I need to know why the I.B. do not want to reply to my letters.

An idea has occurred to me. Filipinos there have the custom of eating together on December 31 (instead of eating in a restaurant, one can eat better at home, more at ease). Well, now, what do you say if the *Sol* were to publish a number or a separate supplement that would carry the works, writings, thoughts, etc. of all Filipinos, on condition that they will not be political nor controversial, but purely literary and instructive? Could issues be printed to give and to sell in the Philippines, giving proof of the unity of Filipinos?

Try to find out the opinion of everyone there.

Llorente told me that he had been offered the editorship of the *Sol*: and I answered that he should accept it, after consulting you. What about this?

Regards to all.

Yours,

RIZAL.

100. To Rizal

An article of Rizal submitted to Minister Capdepon. — P. Doré in disgrace. A piece of bad news. Is there some sentimental reason behind Rizal's trip to Brussels?

My favorite friend:

I received from Ariston the 40 pesetas that you sent in the name of Pardo and others. My brother-in-law has asked me to contribute 70 pesetas to the *Circulo Internacional Philipinistas de Paris* [International Circle of Philipinists of Paris]. To whom do I send these? Tell me also to whom to send the money that is here for buying the gift for Blumentritt.

I have already told you that Govantes has returned to me the power of attorney of Maneng. Who do you want to place in charge of this matter? Your letter that was submitted to Minister Capdepon produced a decree that requests for a report from our *gobierno general*; this report does not exist, for it seems that the *gobierno general* has not prepared it.

According to the last letters I received from Manila, the administration there has been taken out of the hands of P. Dore; he has been replaced by the father of Angel. His name is M. Montilla. His secretary, to whom letters must be addressed, is Mr. Candido Conrado- Sagunto mezzanine 8, right. – Tondo.

If you wish to send a lot of books, send them to our friend Pepe Basa and tell him to send them to Montilla in accordance with his instructions.

I have been trying for several months to avoid the fall of P. Dore, but have failed to do so. I think that those who are against his administration have been blinded or have been predisposed against him by the enemy. When Sandiko arrived here, he was also against him, so I hear. I did not pay attention; what I cannot understand is how this came to pass.

While I was writing this letter, I received secret information that has made me uneasy. It seems that your first or second letter of credit for \$500 has arrived here and it appears that two young men from the colony are negotiating it; if this is true, they will be sent to prison. I have right now written to Aguilera so that he may immediately collect the letter of credit, and I do not know what

will happen; I cannot go down, as I am sick with a cough and a cold. You should ask for this letter immediately.

I received your article. Good, good. Blumentritt will also reply.

Ariston showed me your letter, according to which you plan to stay here in Brussels. Because of this and because of your trip to Paris, I remembered what you told me in Paris about having a reason for leaving London. Don't have another reason, I told myself, for having abandoned Paris!

This is all and receive a hug from your friend

M.H. PILAR.

(Note: Reproduced from the Copy Book, years 1889-90, page 329 of the Ponce Collection - Curator of Manuscripts)

101. To Rizal

Blumentritt, furious with Barrantes. A series of articles. The friars want to make peace with the young Filipinos. Program of action for unity. What would be the attitude of Rizal and del Pilar.

Madrid, Atocha, 43 main, left
February 12, 1890

My dearest friend:

I have been several times at the point of sending you the attached translation but I kept forgetting it.

The translation was done in secret, so take care if it is to be used so that there be no suspicion about the translator.

Our Austrian friend is again furious; he says that he will reply to *Desbarrantes* with a series of articles with these titles: 1. Bismarcktudescos; 2. Malayismo; 3. Friars and Jesuits; 4. The

Confessions of Barrantes; 5. Idea regarding the separation of colonies.

I have good news about our country; they say that the tonsured ones (priests) are uneasy because of the imposition of fixed salaries.

Ah! I was forgetting. When Antonio Regidor was here, we met, but since neither of us could stay long, he just told me with a wink that we had a lot of things to talk about. He said, go to the house of my brother or else I will go to yours. He left without our ever being able to meet again. When I went to see Govantes because of your letter, he told me that there is a person high in politics who told him that it seems that the friars want to be friends with the young Filipinos and that we should pay attention to this.

We parted without anything resulting from our conversation, but that same afternoon I met with Ricardo Regidor in the Swiss Café and he told me the same thing, adding that his brother Antonio was urging us to accept, since it is difficult to go against those in power. Ricardo added that he had been expressly sent by Font and Nozaleda to make peace with us in their name. Here is the proposed program:

They affirm that they will head the movement to establish a Colonial Chamber in the Philippines which will advise the government with respect to any legislation that it wishes to pass; the Filipinos would participate in the budget estimate, and this is an addition of mine which he said the priests will accept; and removal of the General's power to exile people without a sentence from the tribunals of justice. They will establish a party to which we will belong.

They will also establish a daily newspaper and we will write for it.

All that they ask from us, he told me, is that we do not fight then.

My reply was that this was a splendid intention, and that it has to be realized. We need to be at peace with them because of the

power they wield. Not being content with this reply, he wanted me to give a definite answer. This is what I said: that they publish a program in accordance with our conversation, to be signed not just by anyone but by the friars and that they invite the Filipinos through these promises. I added that they could expect all or many Filipinos to seek shelter under their banner.

And you and Rizal, what attitude would you adopt? I do not answer for him, I replied; I think that if the program pushes through, we could not go against it without being the losers.

Receive a hug from

MARCELO

(Note. Reproduced from the Copy Book, years 1889-90; page 329 of the Ponce Collection.- Curator of Manuscripts)

102.To Mariano Ponce

The tariff (ecclesiastic) in Spanish and Tagalog, is sent for reprinting. Holds a telephone conversation with Benigno Quiroga –

Madrid, February 20, 1890

Naning:

You will receive the tariff in Tagalog and Spanish; have it printed in two columns. Change the Tagalog orthography if you wish. Ask that the printing base be placed.

If the bishop there could give indulgences, it would be much better.

They say that the chief of our country and the king here are angry with each other; this is what Don Benigno tells me. Since we both have telephones, we can easily communicate with each other.

MARCELO

103. To Rizal

Biographical data of Filipinos who are in Europe. *La Solidaridad* is read in the Philippines. – Was Weyler suspended? Animosity between Becerra and Weyler

Madrid, Atocha, 43 main left
February 28, 1890

My dearest friend:

It is Antonio who is looking for the biographical data of our countrymen who are studying here in Europe; he says that he will not use them for the newspaper.

If it is possible, send yours, and whether he uses it or not, your name no longer belongs to you; do not protest any more.

Our paper finally entered our country. The copies that were seized from the mail were sold at 25 centavos and up to half a peso each.

This indicates how desirous our countrymen are to read the *Sol*. It is true that others profit from the money, but we profit from their avarice.

If we were to kill the *Sol* today, many ideals would be abandoned, nevertheless I would be with the majority. If it is necessary to kill it, I could not stop it.

It seems that they are going to remove Weyler. It appears that General Burgos, stepfather of *Padpyvh** will succeed him.

The antagonism between Becerra and Weyler goes deep. Weyler disobeys every order of Becerra and Becerra denies every petition of Weyler.

(Note: This letter has no final paragraph, hence no signature, but its contents and writing style are Del Pilar's. Reproduced from the Copy book, years 1889-1890, page 359 of the Ponce Collection.- Curator of Manuscripts)

* Pseudonym of Colonel Pio A. de Pazos, according to Professor Jaime C. de Vera .- (Ed.)

104. From Rizal

"I would be grateful if you would always print your name, since I want to start disappearing myself, little by little." Once we have been granted representation, Rizal will go home to dedicate himself to his ministry. Intelligence is the only redemption. Who is Hector Hartfield?- Us or them

38 Rue Phil., Champagne
Brussels, April 4, 1890

Dear Companion:

I am immediately returning to you the proofs that you sent me. I changed everything that you had marked in red. From now on, I leave it to your judgment to alter what might be too offensive, without changing my ideas and the smoothness of style. I give you complete liberty to make minor changes.

It would please me if you would always print your name, as I want to start disappearing little by little; what I want is for you, and no other, to succeed me. And that is the reason why I want you to always sign so I can go into retirement. If we can obtain representation, I will retire and dedicate myself to my ministry. I could not accept any appointment for this position although two of my maternal forefathers were representatives (Mr. Jose Florentino and Mr. Lorenzo Alberto). I have already distanced myself from such things. My desire is for you to prepare yourself if we obtain that. If we do, then my ambition is fulfilled. What is happening, why do neither Gomez nor Naning write?

I am diligently studying the events that are taking place in our country. I think that nothing can redeem us save intelligence, *materialeter vel idealiter sumptum*. I still persist in this belief. The representation will pass on to Filipinos for a long time. If our countrymen feel differently, we should refuse the deputation, but as we are, with the indifference of our countrymen, representation

is good. It is better to be tied by the feet than by the elbows. What shall we do!

Who is Hector Hatfield?

I condole with you on the fire in your house. Charge them for the nipa, bamboo slats, flooring and nails. Think well of how to make them to pay, even with one of their convents. We are like ants; we should not yet trust in peace; it is them or us!

For the next issue I will write an article entitled Justice, about the one killed in Iloilo.

That is all, give my greetings to everyone.

Your friend,

RIZAL

105. To Mariano Ponce

He has just arrived in Seville. The legacy of the Arabs.- Rizal proposes *Un Matandá* [An Old Man], as the pseudonym of V. Carag.

April 8, 1890

I have just arrived from Seville: go there to see the marvelous legacy left by the Arabs. I will comply with your request and that of Tomas regarding V. Carag, but I think it would be much better if Carag would write some articles under his own name, V. Carag.

As for the matter of the pseudonym, the idea is mine, because I desire that our children or descendants may know the works of each one. Pepe asked me to place the name *Un Matandá* [An Old Man]. This is so much more convenient, so that our descendants will not recognize him.

Send me an accounting from there, since I have sent what pertains to me. Goyo's letter and mine crossed each other on the way. I am still dazed by fatigue from my trip.

MARCELO

106. From Rizal

"I do not send articles so that our other countrymen will write and make themselves known. Ramiro Franco is one of the few who dared to openly declare his ideas about the *Noli*. A novel with the same goals as Franco's. The Filipino does not come to Europe to play, for there is already too much gambling in the Philippines

Brussels, May 28, 1890
38 Rue Philippe de Champagne

My dear friend,

I have deliberately refrained from sending you any article for our *Sol*: so that the readers may have a rest and our other countrymen who should be recognized by others may write. We have many hidden pearls or rough diamonds that need only to come out into the light for the recognition of everyone; it is for this reason that I wish to remain in the shadows so that new identities may emerge.

Give my sincerest thanks to Mr. Ramiro Franco (Dominador Gomez) for the kind words he dedicates to me in his *Pongante Titulo*. He is one of our few compatriots who like you and Ponce, have dared come out openly to express their ideas on *Noli Me Tangere*: I look forward egerly to reading the continuation of your novel.

If I may be allowed to make a friendly observation, which I beg you not to take amiss, I would tell you that the "aristocratic-sportsmanlike" tone is too obvious in your writings, as when you describe the details of a car or a hotel, or when you describe scenes and reproduce the dialogues of your personages. I do not wish to say that this is a defect, no; in fact it is even a virtue if the writer were a non-Filipino. But, in our present condition, when we are writing to illustrate some things and to raise the spirits of the miserable masses of our country, to speak of gold and reflections in mirrors, to talk of "*groom*" and of some luxurious car, in the context of our social and political state, is to speak of paintings, of

sculptures, of spectacles and panoramas to the blind. Without a doubt the continuation will be deserving of the beginning, as the novel begins with much good intention and promises to be a critical study of the life of Filipinos in Europe. It is desirable to have these articles reproduced later in the form of books for their sale in the Philippines.

Our countrymen in Paris complain that they do not receive the *Sol*; whenever I receive issues I send them there. Send the newspaper to Mme. Boustead, 3 Rue de Bassins.

When Calvo Munoz* presents his law project, send me the issues of the newspapers that write about the sessions of Congress.

Luna, in Paris, as well as Ventura, complain about the gambling of Filipinos in Madrid. They say that news from the Philippines is that parents are very discontented; it seems that it was Mr. Felipe Roxas who told them about this gambling. I fear that we are serving the game of the friars. Is there nothing there that can remind them that the Filipino does not come to Europe to gamble and amuse himself but to work for his freedom and for the dignity of his race? It is not necessary to leave the Philippines in order to gamble, since there is already too much gambling there. If we, who are called on to do something, if we, in whom our poor country places its humble hopes, spend our time in these activities, when the years of our youth should be spent on something more noble and grand, as youth is noble and generous, I greatly fear that we are not fighting for a useless illusion and that instead of being worthy of liberty, we may only deserve slavery.

I appeal to the patriotism of all Filipinos to give proof to the Spanish nation that we rise above our misfortunes, and that we have not become brutish nor have our noble sentiments been numbed by the corruption of habit.

Yours,

RIZAL.

* Francisco Calvo Muñoz, a Spaniard who filled a high post in the department of finance in the Philippines and on returning to Spain was elected deputy in the Cortes. Liberal-minded he introduced a bill providing for Philippine representation in the Cortes.

107. To Rizal

Rizal's collaboration with the *Sol* is much appreciated. Because of Rizal, they abstain from gambling. Villalvo Hervas will speak to the Republicans and Conservatives so that they will agree to the project of *La Solidaridad* project. They await Rizal's reply regarding the exile of his brother-in-law.

Madrid, June 8, 1890

My dear friend:

I received your letter of May 28 and your affirmation that you had purposely refrained from sending any article and that you would stop helping the *Sol* gave me much to think about. If I have failed you in anything – something that I would not do intentionally- do me the favor of telling me so that I may know that I have to repent. In the meantime, believe me that in the midst of the repeated misfortunes that embitter my life, I will not compromise on this neglect.

Attached is the letter of Dominador for me. The youth have listened to the advice that you gave to our countrymen who dedicated themselves to gambling here; it seems that there have been good results.

Tell those in Paris to write here if they lack newspapers; we never fail to send them there; without your letter, I would have believed that they had received them.

Calvo Munoz has not yet returned since he left for Alhama, so the project has not been presented yet.

The soul of the project is what the *Solidaridad* contained, if the number of representatives was only 16 and the contribution quota was \$30.

Villalva Hervas (Republican representative) promises that he will speak not only to his party but also to the Conservatives so that they will agree to the project. They trust that Silvela Kunanán will take care of Gamazo.

Juan Luna has arrived here. When are you coming? We are waiting for you. I asked Kunanán regarding the case of Maneng and he answered that he has written you and is waiting for your reply.

M. H. DEL PILAR.

108. From Rizal

Rizal does not isolate himself; he only wishes to rest so that other writers may gain prominence. Sad premonitions and ill-fated dreams. The end of a trail, a multitude of people dressed in white, with white lights. He wishes to finish the 2nd volume of *Noli* at all costs and is ready for any eventuality.

Brussels, June 11 1890

Señor Don Marcelo H. del Pilar
Madrid, Spain

My favorite friend:

I have just received your letter which I am immediately answering for the sake of your feelings.

You have gone too far by assuming that I will separate myself from the *Sol*, owing to displeasure; it seems as if you don't know me yet. I am not sensitive and even if I feel displeasure, I would tell the truth and not stop helping or fighting.

What I want is for others to emerge and for ears to become accustomed to hearing new names. I am assailed by sad thoughts, although I do not give them too much importance. In my childhood, it was my strong belief that I would not reach the age of 30 and I do not know why I thought that way. It has been two months now that I have been dreaming almost every night of nothing else but dead friends and relatives. Once I even dreamed that I was going down a trail that led to the bottom of the earth where I met a multitude of people dressed in white, with pale faces, quiet, and surrounded by white lights. There I saw two brothers of mine, one now dead and the other still alive. Although I do not believe in these things, for in truth my body is strong and I

do not suffer from any ailment, I am readying myself for death. I am making arrangements for what I will leave behind and am preparing myself for any eventuality; *Laong Laan* is my real name. That is why I wish to finish the second volume of *Noli* at any cost and if it is possible, I do not wish to leave what I have begun without anyone to continue it. That is why I desire that new ones be recognized and shine. Do not think that I am saddened or that I surrender myself to melancholy; every two days I do gymnastics and practice fencing and shooting, but who can foresee the misfortunes that might come?

Once in a while, though, I will still send you articles of some sort.

I wish we captivity; our mother is hostage and it is necessary for us to rescue her before we surrender ourselves to merrymaking.

Without anything further,

RIZAL

109. To Mariano Ponce

Apologizes for having forgotten to mail a letter. Serrano seems to have been somewhat impolite

Señor Don M. Ponce
Rambla Canaletas 2-3
Barcelona

(Madrid, July 1890)

Naning:

Before leaving my house I wrote you a letter to drop in the mailbox on my way to the printing press. I was buying the stamp when I discovered that the letter was not in my pocket and had been left at home. Greet the new arrivals for me. Serrano has arrived, as you suspected. He wrote to Miki from Marseilles, and did not even send regards.

M. PLARIDEL.

110. From Rizal

The case against some friars before the Supreme Tribunal.

Brussels, July 18, 1890

Señor Don Marcelo H. del Pilar
43 Calle de Atocha, Madrid

My dear friend:

I received a letter regarding our case against the friars who are accused before the Supreme Tribunal; I will send you the power of attorney; if you think my presence is necessary, I will go there; but if not, I will return to our country.

I will leave here before the end of the month.

My brother says that since what has brought you to Europe is our fight against the *satsat* (priests) we should defeat them, because if they are vanquished they become very much weakened. It (the case) should be presented before the Supreme Tribunal before the end of the month.

Answer me when you receive this letter.

RIZAL

111. From Rizal

Continuation of "*Indolencia de los Filipinos* [Indolence of the Filipinos]. More information regarding the lawsuit

38 Rue Phil. De Champagne,
Brussels, July 20, 1890

Señor Don Marcelo H. del Pilar
43 Atocha, Madrid, Spain

My dear friend:

You will receive together with this the continuation of *Indolencia de los Filipinos* [The Indolence of the Filipinos] and the power of attorney brought by our friend Serrano relative to the petition for repeal presented to the Supreme Tribunal.

I include the letter from my brother;* read it well and I will arrive there within this month. Do not show my brother's letter to anyone. Let me know if I should hasten my trip. They say that the time limit is 60 days, starting on June 2nd. Present it immediately and I will replace you afterwards.

I include also the correction of *Indolencia*; can we print it like Barrantes'? The only thing I ask you is that you take charge of the correction; it seems that the compositor is a bit weak. I will help you when I get there.

Don't tell anyone that I will arrive there; I do not want anyone to meet me. I hope I meet Naning there; it would not be strange if Serrano were to come with me.

Read carefully my brother's letter.

Will I have a place to stay there?

Without anything further

RIZAL

Your article about politics is good.

112. To Mariano Ponce

Acknowledges receipt of the article of *Panganib* (Peril). Announces that Rizal will be seeing them. Insists on his wish to meet Naning there.

July 29-90

* Rizal's brother Paciano

Naning:

I have not left yet; I received what Ripell brought as well as the letter of Pitong, and also the article of *Panganib* which is in danger. The article is really for *Sol*. I did not think of publishing it in another newspaper.

Rizal will arrive here next month: he wishes you to be here when he comes. I laugh at his wish and mine; it is equivalent only to your promise.

Regards to all and receive an embrace from

SELONG.

113. To Mariano Ponce

Explains the delay in his remittance. Fall in London trading. Inquires if Naning will meet with him. He is impatient

Sept. 25/90

Naning:

I will send you what you are asking for; I am just ordering it, because the bill of exchange received is from London, and the movement of the stock exchange there is slow; there is no business, because trading is low. Perhaps in a couple of days something will go up, then I will send it to you immediately, and if not, it's all the same.

Will you perhaps be coming?

I wish for it as one looks forward to a happy event. I hope it will be like that!

MARCELO

114. From Luis Alabaña to Rizal and M. H. del Pilar

Don Felipe Buencamino, defense attorney of those sued by the Hacienda de Kalamba. Displays his talent in his defense of the poor landholders. Don Doroteo Cortes and those from Santa Cruz and Pagsanjan help them. The dispossessed in Calamba do not fear any adverse judicial action. They will fight for their rights to the end. They take heart when they receive the letter of Rizal with his encouraging words and those of Blumentritt.

Calamba, Laguna
January 11, 1891

Señores Don Jose Rizal and Don Marcelo H. del Pilar
Madrid, Spain

Dear Sirs:

We have the pleasure of informing you that in the case of the Hacienda of Calamba, the defense attorney is Mr. Felipe Buencamino, and while it is true that we are aware of his critical attacks against us, but because he has promised firmly and confessed the whole truth in his case saying that he pities himself, because since then, none of his peers talks to him, and now he is truly sorry and hopes for our friendship. We see clearly now, that having taken charge of the 12 accused, he is working incredibly hard and even spends sleepless nights writing the defense of those 12 persons(impossible to reconstruct) the names, and when we went to see him, the procurator Don Mariano Buenaventura was one of those who took pity on us. Besides we do not notice anything wicked about those two. Don Doroteo Cortes also helps us much, as do those from Santa Cruz and Pagsanjan.

The people here have no fear with respect to this case, and are willing to fight to the end.

Aside from all these, we are in good spirits. Your letter fills us with vigor, specially when we see the name of Don Fernando Blumentritt, which makes our happiness almost (impossible to reconstruct).

Finally, please convey greetings from all of us from Calamba to Don Fernando Blumentritt and to all the Filipinos

there, to show them our great jubilation and our regards and gratitude, with the assurance that at any moment you will know the results and the decision in the case of the Hacienda de Calamba.

LUIS HABAÑA

115. From Nicasio Eigasani to Rizal and M.H. del Pilar

Copy of the document presented to the Supreme Tribunal. Tedious report on the eviction of the land-holders. Cruelty and abuses. Scenes of desolation. The firing of the cannon as the only remedy. They spread the news that Blumentritt has sided with the friars. And that Rizal, having been vanquished, was refused the remedy of a complaint before the Supreme Tribunal. Pro-friar persons are appointed to discourage the people and to oblige them to pay. Thirteen others sued. The same sword hangs over those of Santa Cruz. Rizal's father driven out of his home. For questioning the payment of urban contribution.

Calamba, Laguna, January 14, 1891

Señores Don Jose Rizal and Don Marcelo H. del Pilar

Dear Sirs:

We have received the copy of the document and thank you for your immeasurable assistance in this suit. And I pass on to you what the Dominicans, as well as the justice of the peace, are doing here.

On August 14, the eviction was ordered and we were ejected from our houses. They made an accounting of the sugarcane, machines and other utensils, not allowing for the milling of the sugarcane. The result was that more than half of the sugarcane was lost. More than a thousand heaps have been harvested and not even 500 were counted. The lay brother and the justice of the peace did not allow me to mill. The capital that I invested for the purchase of carabaos as well as the money that I lent to the landholders and for other incidental expenses, I took as credit. In the case, for example, of my irrigation system that is now functioning, no one has been able to prevent the judge nor the Hacienda official from the sowing of palay. When the time came for my tenants to harvest, the lay brothers ordered the Guardia Civil to arrest them, accusing them of having stolen the palay. A

complaint, which even included my three servants, was filed before the judge of first instance, stating that they had stolen four sacks of palay. The entire harvest was taken by the Hacienda, denying any participation by the tenants who are now complaining. Also, when the month of October came, they planted palay in the mountains and expected to harvest this. The lay brothers, accompanied by the Guardia Civil took all the palay as payment for taxes. For each sack they had to pay seven as tax, and many were not able to pay this. The poor laborers complained, asking for a decrease in taxes, since nothing was left over for them. The lay brothers answered that they could not give the smallest reduction and "that the Guardia Civil would take care of tying you up." The result of all this is that the poor laborers, subject to the whims of the lay brothers, were rendered impotent without any recourse except to shed tears.

Our interim priest, Father Domingo, usually meets with the tenants to advise them: "You should pay your obligations to the Hacienda, because there is nothing you can do about the Dominicans, who are the real owners, and Don Fernando Blumentritt has sought shelter under the banner of the friars and all that your Don Jose might do is useless, because he has not complained before the Supreme Tribunal." Every Sunday, his sermon is this: "You should pay your taxes or obligations to the hacienda and the town is becoming poorer because you do not obey the orders of the priests and you do not even have masses said nor light candles." Another of his threats to us is that all of us will die in exile, the same as the five who were exiled in Mindoro, and that we will never be able to return to Calamba.

The appointed justice of the peace is Don Vicente Roque, a professor from Tanawan, whose appointment was not proposed by the town. The Dominicans appointed him so that they could present to him their demands for the eviction of tenants. He passes sentence on all those who are sued by the Dominicans, even if the tenants present just cause, and he does not read their appeals, alleging that his decisions are irrevocable and cannot be nullified by any superior that they approach. The reason for this is that he receives gifts of money and arable land for 20 sacks of seed and a piece of land stolen from the poor. This justice of the peace has promised the tenants that any complaint presented to him will be

decided against them, because one should never go against the friars, as this would lead to terrible poverty. In view of this decision, our brothers and countrymen lament the appointment of Don Lucas Quintin, a favorite of the Dominicans, as captain, who has promised to make the tenants pay their taxes to the Hacienda through the power of the courts. It is true, he had the tenants gathered and sent them to the Hacienda to pay their taxes, threatening that if he were asked information regarding these lands, he would certify that they belong to the Dominicans. Among the improvements added to the Hacienda was a piece of property near the San Cristobal River, the expenses for this should have been for the Dominicans. It was ordered that the *polistas* [persons required to render forced labor] do the irrigation work, and this order was executed through the courts. People were made to work for one month and more than 100 persons obeyed the order as this came from the courts. Besides, this captain admonished those who were sued, reproaching them for opposing the Dominicans who wanted them to pay their taxes to the Hacienda, threatening all the tenants with exile, jeering at them and making fun of them, because even if they gained nothing, they continued to protest. The Dominicans later transferred to another court: they brought before the judge of first instance of Santa Cruz suits for the ejection of 13 tenants, whose names are: Don Luis Havanía, Doña Petrona Quintero, Dña. Fernanda Casanlas, Petronila Alviar, Dña. Isabel Habacon, Don Pascual Alcaras, Ponciano Alviar, Vicente Ruvio, Victor Albiar, Narciso Abacon, Dionisio Elasegui, Santos Alcaras. All of these are against the Dominicans on the question of their properties, which are the subject of the eviction. The next group is composed of more than 30 persons, who will also be sued in Santa Cruz. The Dominicans affirmed that once the suit was decided on, all of us would be dispossessed of our lands and reduced to extreme poverty, alleging that if five hundred persons were to leave, there would still be 3,500 left; and the truth is, there are already 400 unemployed persons among the companions of the tenants who are going to be evicted.

In the case, for example, of the house of your father which is now in the hands of the courts, when the order of the Administrator arrived here for a declaration of urban contribution, the captain insisted that your father make the declaration, as there was no trustee. For this reason, there are already three orders, but

in spite of this, your father has not made any declaration leaving everything to the justice who evicted them.

I end this letter, and we continue toughening our spirits in the fight against the friars until the end, whatever this may be. Greetings from all of us to those who are with us in this cause, and we are at your command.

NICASIO EIGASANI

116. To Deodato Arellano

Recounts in detail his memorable conflict with Rizal. Incidents resulting from champagne. Collection of a one-peseta contribution per person. Rizal's comment regarding a toast. Voting results in loud arguments and explanations. He says that in the Filipino colony there should be no divisiveness and that there is none. On his departure for foreign shores, the leadership of Rizal passes on to Plaridel.

Madrid, March 31, 1891

Ka Dato:

I received your letters last February 8 and 20 as well as those from Chanay, Ponciano and those addressed to Teofilo and Don Fernando. I also received from the house of Bayo a letter for Rizal, which was sent immediately to its destination, as were the others.

I owe you an explanation on what you call a conflict between Rizal and myself; the briefness of my previous statements seems to have brought about this judgment. There was no such conflict between us nor among the members of the colony, although in the election for leader there were pro-Rizal and pro-Pilar groups. Doctor Rosario must be there already and he can give you a more detailed account. And even now I call it childishness.

It is a traditional habit in the colony to enjoy at a fraternal banquet on the night of December 31. In the morning of that day, the suggestion was raised regarding the drinking of champagne,

since the young men had been preparing their respective speeches. A thousand means were discussed to obtain champagne for the night; and at lunchtime, many jokes were passed around, but I kept quiet and was thinking of paying for the champagne; I wanted to surprise them. After the meal, I went to the house of Bayo to get the money for the champagne. From the house of Bayo, at around three in the afternoon, I went to the house of Doña Justa Jugo (a Filipina), where we were invited for tea, since it was the birthday of a son of hers. While I was there, Rizal arrived and he called me aside and told me: "Before coming here I passed by your house and heard a proposal that you spend for tonight's coffee." "Accepted", I replied. Imagine why I would not accept that offer when I was willing to spend a lot more.

Nighttime comes, the young people, always gay, sign a paper which they do not allow me to read; and at the hour when we sat down at the table, the proposal signed by 25 table companions (I believe we were 31) was presented, having been prepared with much grace by Lete, asking that I pay for the coffee, Cunanan for the cigars, and Rizal and Dominador Gomez (who had not arrived yet) for the champagne.

I expressed my acceptance and so did Cunanan. But Rizal had the good or bad grace to protest and argue. I attempted to drown that protest, proposing that besides those mentioned, Modesto Reyes and Mariano Abella pay for the champagne. They also accepted. It may have been that Rizal did not hear me since we were far from each other, I at the presidential center of the table, he at the extreme left and the proponents at the extreme right; so that no one paid any attention to my proposal and Rizal began to collect, starting from the left of the table, a contribution of one peseta from each person for the champagne. In the midst of the hubbub, someone approached me and whispered, saying: "Mister Director, the proposal has been retracted, but we thank you for the coffee. We expected no less from your graciousness."

I understood the bitterness that provoked Rizal's protest. Not being aware of my proposal, he remained happy and witty, and I worried that there would be some conflict. The collection of one peseta went on, going from the extreme left toward the center; from here to the extreme right; no one wanted to give anything.

Very ingenious, but very strong arguments against Rizal began at the extreme right; I took advantage of the fact that Rizal was not aware of the extent of the arguments and I got up and approached the extreme right to tell them secretly not to spoil this brotherly reunion. All of them listened to me and the meal continued without any more quarrels.

The moment for the toast came. Dr. Rosario initiated the toasts and so magnificent was the moment when he lamented the lack of interest of some in their studies so that he received great applause; but at the end of the applause, the voice of Rizal was heard to say "We should feel it instead of clapping." This caused some discontented looks.

When the banquet was finished, Naning and I accompanied Doña Marina and Micaela, who had gone to watch the banquet and were going home alone at midnight: then we went home to Atocha street and met the group that had been arguing. It was five in the morning and since I had an appointment at eight, I immediately went to bed but I knew that there was talk about Rizal, saying that he liked to impose his will and I don't know what else.

At eight in the morning I went to my appointment and later, at about twelve, I ate lunch and went back to sleep. But at five in the afternoon, I was awakened and told that the colony was going to meet in my rooms for the purpose of naming a leader whom they could respect; and in fact the members of the colony started arriving. Half asleep and half awake. I was surprised at this sudden determination on their part and told myself that I did not see the need for such an arrangement. I continued lying in bed thinking, and it occurred to me that this might be a trick against Rizal to make him realize that his leadership was not indisputable like many believed. That thought made me rise from bed ready to go against the idea that was being presented as a means of uniting the colony (which was already united). I searched for reasons but they all told me that it was the best way to unite us, and I did not dare to voice my suspicions, since these were apparently unfounded.

At this moment Rizal arrives surrounded by the persons who had begun the idea with the support of Rizal himself, and

without giving me time to do much, the session began. The idea was presented by Lete, who supported his proposal and he announced that he was counting on Rizal's support. Some spoke up asking for clarification, and I replied in rebuttal. "Every institution, every organization," said I, "has reason to exist only when it answers a need. What need does this new organization answer? For legitimate political ends we have the Spanish-Philippine Association; for purposes of propaganda we have another group at our disposal which gives great support."

They all contradicted me and I was beaten as the only one opposed to the idea. Naning thought like me, but did not consider it wise to insist and thus kept quiet.

A commission was formed to prepare the statutes, and Llorente, Rizal and I were elected. The commission met immediately after and Rizal was appointed chairman.

Once the project of Statutes had been prepared, I was ready to approve it without reading it. For me it was enough since Rizal had drafted it and I told Llorente this, but he insisted that I nevertheless read it. I leafed through it and was taken aback by an article that said that the head of the colony would decide the policies of the colony and that the *Solidaridad* would become subordinate to it.

I called the attention of Rizal to this saying that the *Solidaridad* depends on another entity. He replied: "Be quiet since, at the end, you will be elected head, since I and my companions at home will vote for you and that does not matter." I gave him other explanations and I was able to modify the article, altering it as follows: that the leader shall direct its policies and in this sense the *Solidaridad* shall be its official organ.

A general council was formed to discuss the ruling and on coming to the article cited, a question was presented regarding the wisdom of an "official organ," and whether this meant its subordination. It was my turn to reply and I said that it meant that the leader of the colony has the means to publish his agreements and thoughts and that without being his subordinate, the paper was willing to insert his authentic decisions. Rizal, without speaking to

me directly, said "And if the *Solidaridad* publishes something that is not convenient for the interests of the colony, would there be solidarity in the colony because of what the *La Solidaridad* says?"

I pretended not to hear this question and said: "Gentlemen, the *Solidaridad* is willing to lend all kinds of service to the colony and even to those who are not part of the colony, as long as it is for the good of the Philippines; what I cannot do is to abdicate its independence; and I cannot do this because it belongs to another very respectable entity, whose instructions are incompatible with subordination to any other group that has not been previously designated. You may vote unanimously for the subordination of the paper; and if the paper does not become subordinate, your votes will lose their validity."

This explanation was received with approval and Rizal announced that he would request from that Center the authorization that was needed to establish the paper in the colony.

The discussion about the rule ended, we proceeded to the election of the leader and the obligatory majority was not reached. The candidates were Rizal and myself. The voting was repeated thrice and the results were the same, and Rizal and I parted with great cordiality, so much so, that he told me that since the voting would be repeated the next day, it would be convenient to name a third person in order to avoid the formation of factions, to which I agreed.

In the afternoon of the following day the elections were repeated; I wished to go out and did not attend, leaving to Naning my right to vote and to sign agreements. Upon my return to my house I was greeted with the following news: that during the first election, there was no majority; that Naning met in secret with Rizal proposing a third candidate of the coalition who would be recommended by the two contending parties; that Rizal, without accepting or refusing the proposal, replied that he would be going abroad to work alone, and that where there are two Filipinos, it is not possible to have unity. The second election took place without any results either; so that in view of this, Rizal counted the votes in his favor and in the presence of everyone said: "Good, I see that I have 19 friends in the colony; goodbye, gentlemen, I am going to

pack my bag, till then," picked up his hat and left. Naning who had instructions from me to avoid the success of my candidacy, talked with those who he knew voted for me and asked them, for the sake of harmony, to vote for Rizal. Voting took place and Rizal won.

A Counselor was elected from the two who, according to rules, should exist and Lete was chosen. In the election for the other Counselor there was no majority between Naning and Apacible and voting was suspended, to be repeated the following day. The Rizalists agreed to support the candidacy of Naning, but Naning worked so that the Pilarists would not vote for him and it was agreed to vote for Doctor Rosario. The following day it was my turn to preside at the elections, and again no results were obtained; Rosario did not obtain a majority. There is more: Rizal himself said that he would not accept the leadership if the candidacy of Rosario succeeded. The Rizalists spoke to me to return to the candidacy of Naning, and I replied that they had seen me make all kinds of concessions for the sake of reconciliation, but at this point, they should also look for other conciliatory means. At this point, Rosario approached me and said: "Director, let us carry to the extreme our willingness to comply; we have already given in as to the leadership; let us also give in now so that we can prove that we are not elements of discord." I suspended the session in order to confer and by common agreement a third person of the coalition was proposed: Don Modesto Reyes. Elections took place and he won.

The day of the oath-taking came and I presided. Having read the Act, I asked Rizal the following question: if he was accepting the position and was willing to swear an oath, and he asked to be heard. He made a long recriminatory speech, he goaded Lete, and added that Mr. Del Pilar should have immediately withdrawn his candidacy for the reason that he himself had judged his triumph ill-timed (it is true that I said that); that in Manila the news of his defeat would be poorly received, since he is recognized there as the leader, and it would be very bad if he were not also the leader in Madrid; that the leadership in Manila is in the letter that the Center sent him comparing him with Ruiz Zorrilla and besides, his leadership was undisputed there, since all opinions in that area right now have come about through

him. (It took me great effort to maintain my composure, after the presidency.)

The speech over, Lete asked to be heard and before agreeing to this, I warned him that the occasion was not meant to start controversies but to turn over the position, and Lete calmed me down by saying that he had no intention of arguing about anything but only to say a few words to clear himself of the charges directed against him.

Finally, I accepted the oaths of Rizal and the Counselors, and swore them in. Dominador Gomez and Tomas Aréjola made speeches alluding to the event, mentioning the conciliatory behavior with which the supporters distinguished themselves.

I found myself obliged to speak and said, more or less: there should not be any divisiveness in the Philippine Colony and there is none; some share the sentiments that encourage us, others are for the ideals that we pursue: the abolition of everything that stands in the way of our liberty in the Philippines, and at the same time and for the same reason, of that of the Spanish flag also. Divisiveness will bring us nowhere and since our efforts to obtain peace are recognized, I ask for nothing more but that all of us forget the bitterness felt because of the past arguments.

Thus I ended this act. A few weeks later, Rizal went on his planned trip abroad and I was elected to the position he vacated. I considered resigning, but thinking that they would misinterpret my resignation, I accepted.

That is the true story of the case: I appeal for the testimony of those who have recently returned there. Now I leave it to your judgment. I am of the opinion that we should avoid at all costs any unfavorable judgment of Rizal: I wish to keep unsullied the great name that he enjoys. You will remember that when he was insisting on returning there, I asked you to see to it that nothing should occur to belittle him; I precisely did that since I could foresee the event that I have just witnessed. My reputation was not established in the libraries, and the libraries do not take into account the circumstances surrounding the reality that prompts us to work.

MARCELO

117. To Rizal

The order for Graciano will be implemented. Also the order concerning the award for Luna. The voice of Manila is *Reconciliation!* But is there really resentment between Rizal and Del Pilar? – Grateful for the eulogy. – That Rizal's pen may once again grace the pages of the *Sol*. Thus, "we shall nullify the friars' intrigues in the Philippines."

Madrid, August 7, 1891

Señor Don Jose Rizal
Ghent [Belgium]

My dear friend:

I have your kind letter of the 4th of the current month and through it I have learned who was the first person that you had proposed for Manila. I am ready to comply with the order you mention as soon as I receive it: the one I have received refers to Graciano, who is returning. Perhaps the one referring to Luna will arrive with the next mail, in which case I ask you to calm down since our *Taga-Ilog* will not expect too much.

What they tell me from Manila is that we should reconcile; and since I understand that no resentment exists between us, I do not know how to begin. Many are the times that I have taken up my pen to write to you about this, but I have always desisted, since I feel heavy-hearted and discouraged by the idea of any disagreement with my best friend. If you feel any resentment, I beg you to set it aside; if you think I am at fault and this fault is pardonable, forgive me.

I thank you for your congratulations to the *Sol*; and I pass it on to the authors of the beautiful articles and the spicy items. Our newspaper would have been much more worthy of congratulations if you had not left it an orphan of your labors. We truly want you to reestablish ties with it; not only would the *Sol* be strengthened but we would also be rid of the friar-like intrigues in the

Philippines, which causes total discord among us and for which reason Don Miguel Morayta has abandoned us,

Regards to Alejandrino and do with me as you wish,

MARCELO H. DEL PILAR

118. From Rizal

Resentments and dissent? It is like talking of what does not exist. Rizal stopped writing for the *Solidaridad* because of his book, so that new authors may come forth and that there be unity in their work. This increases Selo's prestige. "I am like an army, who at the opportune moment, comes forth to fall upon the enemy's flanks." "I fight for the nation, the Philippines." Alejandrino and Evangelista work and study; on Sundays... we get together and eat Filipino style."

9, Rue du Hainaut, Ghent
August 12, 1891.

Señor Don Marcelo H. del Pilar
Madrid

My dear friend:

I was greatly surprised by your letter which spoke to me of resentment, disagreements and reconciliation, etc; I believe it is useless to talk of what does not exist, and if it did, it should have evaporated long ago. I think like you do, that there being nothing, we should not waste time talking about it.

If I ceased writing for the *Sol*, it has been for various reasons. First, I need time to work on my book; second, I wanted other Filipinos to work; third, I believe that in the party it is very important to have unity in the work being accomplished; and since you are there and I also have my own ideas, it would be better to leave you alone to direct the policies as you understand them and for me not to meddle in them. This has its advantages; it leaves us both free and adds to your prestige, which is very necessary, since we need men of prestige in our country. This does not mean that I will not work nor observe the course of your work; I am like an

army that at the moment when I am needed you will see me fall upon the flanks of the enemy that confronts you. I only ask God that He might give me the means to do it. Besides, frankly speaking, I do not like to waste my time fighting particular institutions like the one of P. Font, *Quiopquiap* and others. I fight for the nation, the Philippines.

If Ponce still has copies of *Noli*, I beg him to send one to Mr. Vigil together with the attached letter; and if that gentleman asks for another copy, ask him to give him another without asking for payment. If he has none, please tell my cousin Rianzares who should have some copies yet.

We are all well here; Alejandrino and Evangelista work and study. Sunday afternoons we get together and eat Filipino style and spend the evening chatting and discussing Filipino problems, mathematics and political principles. Up till this moment, it has not occurred to us to buy playing cards or to play chess.

Without further ado, regards from here to all our friends, and you do as you wish with your friend,

RIZAL

119. From Rizal

El Filibusterismo tends to parallel the *Solidaridad*. Rizal is indifferent to any criticism of his work. Advice from Manila to send Luna the prize of \$50, sent by Rizal to Del Pilar. "I am retiring completely from politics," says Rizal. I will continue writing my books from Manila or Hongkong, and I will never lose sight of your march to achieve your peak."

9, Rue du Hainaut,
Gand, Sept. 22. 1891

Mr. Marcelo H. del Pilar
Madrid

My dear friend:

We are sending you now some samples of my work *El Filibusterismo*; I dedicate one copy to you. If you want more, you have only to write to me. I do not need to give you explanations, as you yourself will understand from the ending of the work, whose direction is parallel to that of the *Sol*.

It is useless for me to tell you that I do not wish the *Sol* to praise it or to be concerned with it. It may be judged the worst, or it may not be judged at all. It is up to you. Once a work is published it belongs to the public. I almost wish that my work were attacked in the *Sol*; so that it may seem opposed to filibusterism and may obtain the ends desired.

I received a notice from Manila dated July 10, which repeats the advise to send Luna 50 pesos. If you have received it, I beg you to send it to me since I have already informed Manila that I received \$200 from you; as the *Sol* indicates that the prize is not mine, it would be good to have things in their proper place.

I leave next month, on the 14th, I think; if you have any messages, prepare them. The *Sol* may or may not announce my departure, but it is better not to announce it since no one is interested, it is useless.

I retire completely from politics, as I have told you, and I think I am correct in this. I need peace and tranquility and since you are doing well, and nothing is amiss, why should I meddle? I will write my works from Manila or Hong Kong and I will never lose sight of your progress to achieve your peak.

Without anything else, receive a strong embrace from your friend who loves you and wishes you success in all your undertakings.

Affectionately yours,

RIZAL

120. From Rizal

He will respect any criticism of his work *El Filibusterismo*. He wrote for *La Solidaridad* believing it was a Filipino publication. He stopped writing for it because according to Selo, it is privately owned. - "I do not know who I serve, nor how I serve him." His love and sacrifices are rewarded by recriminations. The scratches inflicted by a friend are more painful... "Perhaps iron which is composed of compressed molecules is weaker than air which is made up of free and mobile molecules."

4 bis Rue Chateaudun
Paris, October 7, 1891

Señor Don Marcelo H. del Pilar
My dear friend:

I received your letter together with the 230.50 francs that you sent me, remainder of the 1000 pesetas that should have been sent me and I thank you for everything. Together with these I have the 300 pesos that I received from the P; (Propaganda) since the month of January.

I am grateful for the benevolence with which you treat my work, and now expect that you will have passed judgment on it. Whatever it may be, I will respect it, since he who publishes should suffer with patience all the criticisms that may be made. I likewise thank the overwhelming praise that *La Solidaridad* bestows on me by referring to me as the "distinguished Filipino writer" and "author of various works about the Archipelago, which have merited general applause." It is good that it be known that Jose Rizal writes also about the Archipelago, in case it is not known that in the Philippines, the people speak Spanish.

You talk to me about writing again for *La Solidaridad*; I thank you for your invitation, but I will confess to you frankly that I have the least desire to do so and you must have guessed the reason. I have written for more than a year in the bi-monthly believing that it was a Filipino organ, and with this in mind, I never even wished to know how it existed nor why; I thought it was a national enterprise and suffered in resigned silence about its mysteries. Now you tell me that the *Sol* (*Solidaridad*) is privately owned and you must understand that I cannot work, under these

conditions, for a privately owned enterprise. I do not know whom I serve or how I serve him, nor how he accepts my services. This is the reason and you must have guessed this, without any doubt. Besides, in the *Sol*, not only ideas but also whole articles have been published which were contrary to my opinions and convictions, and I cannot bring in a duality of opinions in that bi-monthly. I prefer to lock myself up in my solitude and exile than to upset the harmony and peace of its editors. I will do whatever is expected of me - except write - so that the bi-monthly may continue to survive. You may probably find me very touchy, and I confess I am, but when one has shown only good will, love and sacrifice for his friends, and is instead rewarded with recriminations and attacks, believe me - he should alter his conduct and modify his way of doing things. The scratches inflicted by a friend hurt more than wounds inflicted by an enemy. I know how I must conduct myself and realize that I must leave the handling of politics to the Filipinos in Madrid, for they understand and know it well. What can I do about my impatience and my despotic pretensions? I understand the desire of every Filipino to do as he wishes and I give up my dream to gather my countrymen into a tightly unified group. Perhaps the steel formed by compressed molecules is inferior to the flow of air composed of free and movable molecules; I have been mistaken and I hand in my resignation.

You go ahead there and since you are at the top, make use of your power to put into practice your ideas so that nothing is left to chance. As a matter of principle, I would like to introduce the policy of handling political matters delicately. I will hand in my resignation at the first sign of discontentment.

You will receive the work on Morga, which I dedicate to you.

Since I believe this will be the last time that I write to you, I inform you that I leave on the 18th, and I bid you farewell sending you an embrace in remembrance of our past friendship.

Yours,

RIZAL

P.S. I sent Naning some open letters addressed to Manila, for him to give to you. Have you received them? He has not deigned to answer me.

121. From Rizal

Regarding the question of political rivalry. Was *La Solidaridad* a private enterprise? Rizal believed it was a national publication. Grave dissension divides the colony, under the skies of Madrid. Takes no offense that his best friend wished to overthrow him. Rizal, disappointed, decides to disappear and return to the mother country and to leave the field open to those who wish to triumph.

4 bis, Rue de Chateaudun,
Paris, October 13, 1891

Señor Don Marcelo H. del Pilar
Madrid

My dear friend:

I have just received your letter, I have read it and will reply to you to put things in their proper perspective before I leave Europe. Between the two of us, we can explain ourselves clearly, since fortunately our relationship goes back a long way, and our disagreements are recent, perhaps the fruit of that atmosphere of Madrid. Let us explain ourselves, then.

You are the one who said that the publication *Sol (Solidaridad)* was a private enterprise which dealt with no one but yourself; you said this when I wanted to give to the Resp. (Responsible) the authority to stop one or another publication. I then told you that I believed it was a national enterprise. Witnesses to this are the Filipinos then present (during the discussion on the rule). Whether it is a national or private enterprise, when you feared that my active meddling and my right to its politics cast a shadow over you, *if this is not proof of the little trust you have in my political direction*, then I do not know what to make of it. I prefer to give this explanation rather than seek another reason, which may be offensive to both of us. You say: *it*

is not this, it is not this I reply to you; that it *is this*, since it will not be good to find another reason, at least in my way of thinking.

I am not offended that, prodded by others, you wished to overthrow me; it is natural for everyone to seek glory, and we were precisely in a country where each man tries to create some dissidence in order to declare oneself leader of a party or group. I was previously hurt by the method you used to overthrow me, but now, calmer, I smile and consider that the opposition you showed me has done me good, for if they had elected me unanimously, I would have remained and in what plights would I have found myself later! My powers having been clipped by a systematic opposition, with so many obligations and duties incompatible with the few rights left me, with advisers who were hostile at heart, what would have become of me? I would have suffered conflicts and would have been completely discredited. Now I thank Providence that has looked after my welfare and I am grateful to those who continued to vote against me until the last moment so as not to give me the unanimity I desired. You are right to say that time makes many things clear; now I see clearly, and what I considered an evil, I now consider good. No small conflict would I have had with the bewildered Filipinos, the debts, the gaming and the pawning! With my harsh and impatient nature I would have quarreled with all rather than allow a rule to be broken!

What a pity that the work we were doing together has been shattered to pieces. I understand that at the bottom of your heart you hold me in high esteem and I will always cherish you, perhaps even more than you believe, because in my heart, all regrets, all affection, hatred or rancor, are lasting, but not eternal! I have this defect, I forgive, but it is difficult for me to forget, and as I do not forget that you were my best defender and champion, so do I remember that you were the first one they used in their desire to bring me down. What a pity it is that we could not have continued side by side, and knowing that I represented, up to a certain point, the leadership in politics, you wished to bring me down in order to raise yourself and become the first leader! But this is natural in the human condition.

My policy, if this term is applicable to the manner I live my life, is to fade into the background and leave you at the head of

Philippine politics. For me to go back to writing in the *Solidaridad*, it would be necessary for the representatives of the Filipino people to *order* me to do so and to subjugate my politics to yours. There is no other way. Of my own free will, no. I cannot, I must not commit suicide, but I await my execution. The *Solidaridad* has treated me like a stranger during the last months; thus I cannot go to it without demeaning myself. I await an *order* from Manila. I thank you for what you say about my work and I appreciate your judgment in considering my *Filibusterismo* inferior to the *Noli*. To tell you frankly, without irony nor words of double meaning, I am of the same opinion. For me, the *Fili* as a novel is inferior to the *Noli*, and thus I accept the opinion of those who tell me that the *Fili* is superior to *Noli* with a grain of salt. Blumentritt, all those from Paris and Barcelona, because they are being kind to me, say that it is superior; and I just attribute their opinion to their kindness; you are the first one to tell me the truth and to agree with my manner of thinking. This flatters me as it proves that I still know how to judge myself. Now, as to unity, ideas, depth, etc., this is another matter. I understand that you find it strongly worded, I have written it thus so that the objectives of the *Sol* may be emphasized and appear less radical. I thought that I would not have to give you these explanations, but this gives you the key. That is why I thought it would be advisable for you to attack it. Because of this, I say that I work along the same lines as the *Solidaridad*. Reflect on this more.

It is not to abandon you, nor to leave you alone; on the contrary, I think you are better accompanied than ever. A clay idol is dissolved by a glass of champagne; if is indeed made of clay, what does it matter if it disappears? Time will tell who is right. I want to say that I will never oppose the success of anyone even though it may cause my fall; I leave the field open to all who wish to triumph, and I retire.

May this niggardliness, that is like the bickering of slaves among themselves on the merits of their chains, never completely erases the memories of the past years when we had not yet met beneath the skies of Madrid! I will continue cherishing our friendship and holding you in high esteem, more friendly rather than indifferent to the *Sol*; and be assured that I will never engage

in any plot or conspiracy to overthrow you nor to put an end to your newspaper. To retire is not to declare war on you.

I will write to Naning from Marseilles.

An embrace, and may there be peace between old friends.

Yours,

RIZAL

122. From Rizal to the Director and Editors of "La Solidaridad" and to the Spanish-Philippine Association

He thanks the *La Solidaridad* for supporting the Calambeños. Rizal wrote about the events in the English newspapers. No reaction from the Spanish press. Linares promises reparation for the offences. Some are pardoned. Difficulty of sending *La Solidaridad* to Manila. If companions are lacking in the struggle, there are avengers. Go to Manila to take a close look at the bull....

2, Rednaxele Terrace
Hongkong, March 17, 1892

To the Director and Editors of *La Solidaridad* and the Spanish-Philippine Association.

My dear friends:

I have read in the papers about your campaign in relation to the events in Calamba and am profoundly grateful as all Calambeños must be, for such patriotic behavior. Although I do not believe that you have any other objective than to prove that solidarity exists, if not in actuality, that at least it is latent in all Filipinos when one sector is in peril. I would like, nevertheless, to thank you in my name and that of my family; as I have worked for a time in your columns and with you, I believe myself deserving of your assistance when I try to defend something.

I have also written about the matter here, in English, in some newspapers, to put it on record and only to let the matter be known. Without wishing to give any advice either to the paper or

to the Association, I believe that little can be expected from public opinion in Spain; there they are up to their necks in water and they cannot bother much about the Philippines. In a letter that Linares Rivas wrote to me on January 17, he acknowledges the evil done and promises repeatedly to give restitution. Some people have already been pardoned. As a conservative, Linares Rivas wishes to protect the prestige of the authorities by trying to fix things gradually.

Here we are finding it extremely difficult to send the *Sol* to Manila; we have not been able to dispatch anything through the post here, at the most one or two only. I have wanted to organize the manner of sending, but those from Manila refuse to give money and those who are in charge of this matter do not want to do it for free. I think that you should try to find a way to have it enter Manila through some other means. The committee in Manila has not yet written to me. The effort remains inutile.

Our sincere thanks to the Director, to Morayta, to Lete, Cajigas (Tomas) and to all who have worked on the Calamba issue. Filipinos will realize that if they do not have enough companions to assist in the fight, they have avengers. This is already something.

I have wanted to go to Manila several times to take a close look at the bull, but in the face of repeated opposition I have had to desist for now. The committee goes into a real panic each time I say that I am leaving. I have always believed that so much fear drives one into a corner.

I would be grateful to M. Tomas Cajigas if he would send me the "*Mas*" if he no longer needs it.

Regarding Jugo and Lete, the awardees, I will write to Manila. I reiterate my congratulations to the first and extend them to the second, because I believe that he justly deserves them. I will do what is necessary to make sure that they receive the awards; the problem is that I no longer have the prestige I once had. I will do what I can.

All of us here at your disposal.

RIZAL

123. From Rizal

Disgusted by Lete's attack. "What beast has bitten you for you to attack me when I have not meddled at all in politics and only work to prepare a place of freedom and refuge for Filipinos, devoting the rest of my time to writing ."... That was my objective in creating the shadowy figure of Simoun, to show that those of the *Sol* are not filibusterers. An article about Borneo. Expects satisfactory explanations.

Hongkong 2, Rednaxele
Terrace, May 23, 1892

Señor Don Marcelo H. del Pilar
Spain

My friend Pilar:

I have just written a letter to Naning but will not feel satisfied without writing also to you. I read the article of Lete against me;* I've thought so much about your purpose in wishing to attack me and the truth is that I am lost in conjectures. There are times when I believe that you insist on following the profoundest, most inexplicable policy, and there are times when I believe that you are sincerely trying and are doing it on your own. I rack my brains, as they say "*je donne ma lague aux chiens*" [I refuse to guess], and I do not know what to think. If you are laboring for some kind of subtle politics, why so much fury, why not write to me directly? And if you are doing it on your own, why are you doing it? Did I not tell you before leaving Europe that I would never engage in any undertaking against you? What beast has bitten you for you to attack me when I do not meddle at all in politics and only work to prepare for the Filipino a place of freedom and refuge, dedicating the rest of my time to writing? Did I not tell you that I was leaving politics to you so that you could gain much prestige? Did you need to attack me for that? I cannot explain myself. Thus, I tell myself: if you work for political

* Lete's article is entitled "Iluso" (Visionary). Rizal believed himself alluded, but he did not object to it because of the personal feelings, rather of the effect it might have, that there was a schism among the Filipino reformists, which naturally would weaken their campaign and hurt the cause.

reasons, I laud you and wish you to continue, for I believe that you are on the right path. But now the friars hate me; thus, by alienating yourselves from me, you can benefit much by assimilation. That was my purpose in placing the shadowy figure of Simoun; to show that those of the *Sol* are not filibusterers. I would like to believe that you had understood my idea, only in executing it, you insisted in performing your role with such naturalness that you even fooled me. But then, why not mention my name so that once and for all the Spaniards who are not yet aware of these matters and do not understand the allusions will have no doubt that you are attacking me? Why do you do it with such stealth? Will the Filipinos say that in the attack there is hatred, real hatred, but that the author does not have the nerve to do it face to face? If the attack has a political purpose, I confess that it is foolhardy and imprudent and that the *Sol* may have bet its last money on it. I wish to God that my friends in the Philippines might understand this attack and that these disagreements are not aggravated. If I were sure that what you are doing now, you do for political purposes, I would write to Manila to tell them not to take these actions wrongly. But I fear that I might be mistaken, so as I have said, I am in doubt and I continue doubting.

Blumentritt writes to me saying that you fear for the demise of the *Sol*, and that also makes me think that you might have written the article in a moment of ill humor. I still do not know what the consequences of the article might be, but since it has been a long time that I have not involved myself in politics, I do not know how things are in Manila, and cannot foretell anything. Responsibility will fall on those who have premeditated it without forewarning me. If I had the assurance that it is a political trick, I would write to Manila now and tell them not to take it wrongly, that this is only a personal matter and has nothing to do with politics. Despite all this, I will write to my friends and let them know that I have written to you and ask them not to decide anything until you have replied to me.

This does not mean that I am asking you for any explanation regarding the article; I am not trying to tell you either that I despise it, on the contrary, it has attracted my attention and I respect the valor of Lete in attacking me with such ferociousness and bravery, and more than anything else, with such assurance. I

like decisive men. You will give me an explanation if you wish to; I merely warn you that the step you have taken is very tricky and far-reaching. I wash my hands. I had an article for the *Sol* about Borneo and its colonization, but now I desist from sending it. The Governor of Borneo is giving us 100,000 acres, a port, a government, etc., free for everyone for a period of 999 years.

I am anxious to receive satisfactory explanations, since I believe that we are entering a crisis now. To my mind it seems that you are making me join politics anew and that I shall have to write letters to Manila and to other points in order to avert a schism. Every moment I become surer that Lete wrote the article in too much of a hurry and you allowed yourself to be carried away. Friend or enemy, the article could cause me harm, worse yet it may hurt the interests of the Philippines. Who knows, nevertheless, if after all it may be for the best? It rouses me, and after a long period of silence I again embark on a new campaign. And now I assure you again; I enter into the fray but do not arm myself against you nor any Filipino; I will reactivate the propaganda and strengthen the *Liga* [League] anew.

You may read this letter to Lete and tell him that, in the worst event, I shall consider his article as having been written as an unburdening of his ill humor.

Yours,

RIZAL

I note that in the article, Edilberto de Loperel gives away his plans for a revolution, and it seems that now he wants a mantle of assimilation in order to better prepare the revolution. This causes me to believe that he did not have it all there when he wrote the article; what is there to say? What's the use of selling when there are no buyers?

124. From Rizal

"To attack me in the *Sol* is almost as if in its last days, it is denying its principles." They believe that we are more effective abroad, this is like saying that a sick person will recover faster if he is far from the physician and medicines.

Señor Don Marcelo H. del Pilar
Madrid

My dear friend:

I see from your letter of the 10th of May that you do not take responsibility for the article of Lete attacking me. Perhaps I am mistaken, and this would gladden me much, for the attack against me in the *Sol* would have opened a great breach for the enemy; it would be almost as if in its last days, the *Sol* denied all its principles. Many Spanish newspapers do it, contradicting and attacking themselves, and we should not do it. But you, better than I, should know what you are doing. I only wish to note that it is somewhat childish to make known *urbi et orbi* [to the city and to the world] that to embark on revolutions we need arms, ships and money; it is a discovery which, if it is not very ancient, is at least practiced in many not very civilized areas of the globe. We can excuse our friend Lete for uttering a similar novelty, although he must have imagined me a lot more stupid and candid than I am.

I am happy about what you tell me, that it is in the Philippines that you are *more* useful; I do not deny the importance of the services you perform there and that you are *at the moment the only one* who can do so, but since the *Sol* is received in Manila with much difficulty, your efforts are greatly paralyzed. That we are or will be more useful abroad than in our country is a belief that many of our countrymen adhere to; when they can convince me that a patient will be cured faster if he is far from the physician or medicines, then I will believe. Cavour used to say that one does not serve the motherland from outside but within her. I have met with rude opposition regarding my return.

I am also willing to compromise with one and all and I have manifested this to the Committee which replied to me asking me for explanations; as I replied to them with enough sharpness, the Committee stopped writing to me. Perhaps this is also because of the divergence of our views, and I understood that we should adopt other policies and other principles.

I have written to Manila asking that they do not make any decisions until you write to me about the article of Lete; I have not yet replied.

I wish to see you in Manila or here so that we can come to an understanding and we can once again be what we always were. I think that once out of this atmosphere, and seeing each other, we will understand each other.

My parents thank you for your regards, as does as my brother.

The colony salutes you.

Yours,

RIZAL.

125. To Rizal

Pained by Rizal's exile. "I will soon join you to spread the seeds." Pi y Margal and the colony in Europe deplore the same. According to Del Pilar, it is not Rizal whom Lete attacks. It was a suggestive call to reflection and to duty.
Machiavelli divides us

Madrid, July 20, 1892

Señor Don Jose Rizal
Manila

My dear Pepe:

I am terribly pained by the news of this insult to you; I would rather be the victim than suffer this anxiety that renders me sleepless. But I will soon follow you and we shall see if we can scatter the seeds and widen the field where they send us. The colony in Europe condole with you, including Pi y Margal and family. I have had long conferences with the former regarding the matter. He is very anxious to do something, but because of the lack of knowledge on the reasons for this abuse, he is prevented from taking definite action. Don Miguel is out of Madrid for the

summer, but I wrote to him asking for advice. We are expecting at any moment the Undersecretary of the Minister of Ultramar, who is also away but will return soon.

I received your two letters, in which you state that you believe you have been attacked in the *Soli* by the article of Lete dated April 15. You are mistaken. How could I have allowed you to be attacked by him when your prestige matters to me? What if, despite all that has happened between us (better said by you), I have not given up the dream of resuming our old ties, when I consider that small matters of procedure are not sufficient to destroy our principles, our aims or feelings? What if my behavior at work depends on the unity, fraternity, mutual tolerance and support of those who believe in one identical ideal? What good will it have served me to swallow in silence the attacks, injuries and bitterness that I have suffered from many for the sake of conformity? I repeat, you are mistaken. I am sure that when Lete wrote that article, he was not referring to you, much less intending to molest you. He described a type of person whose ways were diametrically opposed to yours. You do not refute the methods or manner that contribute and influence your actions, you yourself have repeatedly told me "we are left with no other means to prove ourselves;" how can you imagine yourself represented in a person who denies and destroys all means of preparation? If I had believed you were thus, I would have offended you and you know that no one and nothing can make me offend you.

Whether my words have any meaning or not, I wish to orient you on this matter. But before that, I wish to assure you that Lete's article was inspired by the news coming from Manila at that time regarding the effective and successful campaign directed toward the destruction of every organism of our propaganda; to destroy the *Soli*, to destroy the Committee, to destroy every means of preparing subsequent solutions, in order to think no more of this. Although there is bad faith in the occult agitator here, those who follow him undoubtedly do so in good faith, believing that they are serving their country. That is why Lete decided to make a call to reflection and the medicament he used was not opium but a caustic agent. But believe me: he was not referring to you, who had nothing to do with that campaign.

Let us now proceed to familiarize ourselves. You will remember that when we were in the Paseo de Recoletos, you on your way to the house of Cunanan and I toward that of Don Miguel, I told you: "the day will come when we will find ourselves on bad terms without knowing why;" you laughed and so did I. You could not conceive that you, having resolved not to offend me and I not to offend you, would ever quarrel; but it occurred to me then that this was a vague premonition of things to come, to which reason had contributed nothing.

It came to pass that we later found ourselves on bad terms. After you had left, I also found myself on bad terms with one or another in the colony; and it became necessary for me to swallow in silence whatever bitterness I received in order to preserve peace among all. It is because neither you nor I suspected the vengeful intentions that motivated him, who with Mephistophelian ways had decided to avenge the grievances caused by the Committee.

I have no proof to validate what I tell you; that the hand that separated us in Madrid is the same one that continues causing disunity in our country; but I recognize the hand of the manufacturer and whether my words are worth anything or not, I tell them to you if they will help to orient you as to events that are taking place. You like me, like those who are with me and those who with are you, are victims of a lowly campaign. I do not know if vengeance is its only purpose or if friar politics has something to do with it.

If they had accepted my resignation long ago and you had relieved me here, we could have destroyed his Mephistophelean campaign. For if I had been there to support you, his Machiavellism would have been stopped.

Anyway, we will have the opportunity to talk to each other; I am happy because of the kindness of your last letter; you know that no other idea encourages me more than that of unity and fraternity with the coreligionists. We reserve our energies for the enemies of our tranquility.

An embrace from your steadfast friend,

MARCELO

126. To Juan A. Zulueta

His quarrels with Rizal. A publication dedicated to the Cause is needed.

Madrid. June 1st, 1893

Señor Don Juan A. Teuluz*
Manila, Philippines

My dear friend:

(After having told him of the quarrels that he had with Rizal and lamenting the great harm that Pedro Serrano had caused to the interests of Masonry, embezzling some sums collected for the Propaganda, he continues:) Peninsular Masonry is for us a means of propaganda. If the Masons there (there: those of the Philippines) attempt to use Masonry as an instrument to further our ideals, they are mistaken. A special organization (the Katipunan?) dedicated specifically to the Filipino cause is necessary; whether its members be Masons or not, it is important not to depend on Masonry. It seems that this is what the Liga is trying to accomplish. Nothing more for now, regards.

MARCELO

127. To José Reyes Tolentino and the Members of "*La Modestia*"

Presents the matter of trust regarding the representation of the Propaganda, with very accurate reflections.

LA SOLIDARIDAD
Editorial Office and Administration
Plaza de Bilbao, 5, 3rd, Right

* Anagram for Zulueta.- (Ed.)

Madrid, November 3, 1894

Señor Don. Jose Reyes Tolentino and Companions
La Modestia, Manila

My beloved friends:

I have your letter of last August 8, received on October 9, with a copy from the esteemed Salazar and the 2nd Letter of Exchange No. 13.829 to n/o, which I had acknowledged having received through the mail with the promise to reply in greater detail.

Complying with that promise, I begin by reiterating my thanks for the moral and material support that is being given to this campaign that I head.

Never have I so acutely felt my lack of the necessary qualifications for this case as now, when events show the importance of this grandiose and most noble enterprise. The triumphs that we are gaining in the matter of public opinion and also in the official area, the modification in our ways there, have given way not only to a tendency, which is not only platonic, but real and actual, toward active and militant collectivism. The correction of many prejudices that exist here, against us and the friars' intervention, although not complete, is at least gradual and progressive. This adjustment as well as other results, which I will not expound on, but which have been appearing since we started showing signs of life in the political world and displaying clear symptoms of aspirations for a better regime, has encouraged all of us Filipinos to continue forward on the path we have taken. This condition seems to tell us that the finger of God is guiding us in the battle for our redemption; and seems like a reward for our resolute and ardent faith.

But, unfortunately, to judge by what you have deigned to tell me in your letter of July 23, at the same time that this campaign advances, instead of increasing our forces, the dispersion of the few constituted forces is made patent. The withdrawal of some, the indifference of others, as the letter observes, are creating an immense vacuum around our cause.

You mention justifications for this indifference in your letter, among them the suspicion provoked by the behavior of Panday. But without intending to enter into any kind of argument on your wise observation, please allow me to say that where you find justification, I only find motives for pain. Because suspicion, justified or unjustified, is always painful to observe when it includes people who do not deserve it; and as an end result, it is our cause that is the victim of these suspicions and also lead to the consequent withdrawal of support from those who harbor suspicions; it strengthens those who oppress us.

When, despite the immense power of our enemies, we all see the impotence of their efforts; when their best weapons - imprisonment and condemnation - are useless and unable to weaken the tenacious forward thrust of our campaign, does it not seem painful to you, would it not bring forth tears of blood to realize that we now owe our defeat to those who should have averted it?

Oh, would that I had the strength represented by those esteemed elements who have preferred to deliver themselves to indifference, which I nevertheless respect, for then I would be sure that the blows upon my neck will not make me bow my head!

But since we must take things as they come, I understand that the main thing is to have faith, much faith, in the cause of our redemption. Faith removes the barriers created by mountains and oceans that separate the towns and nations of the universe. Why can it not also erase the barriers that have resulted from differences in criteria or in judgment of some of our countrymen who are part of us because of a common motherland and the rigors of common misfortune?

If they, upon being separated from us, were to join the privileged class of our country; if they could at least evade the stigma and contempt under which our country lives, poorly served by its own and tyrannized by strangers, should we renounce the hope of being able to rectify the reasons for suspicion and indifference.

However, no matter what you think, in a matter that is common to all, that in the case an evil mortally wounds the liberty and honor of our country, it is right that neither they nor us should expect the cure for that wound from foreign elements, like, for example, the one of Chinaman Palanca.

Why expect our redemption from the Chinaman Palanca, when we have an excess of shame and dignity to do it ourselves, as long as we have the will? This is how we think; they probably think the same way, because to attribute to them another idea would be to offend them. They will return to give us their valuable assistance, because being just and punctilious men, they cannot stifle their consciences for the sake of their motherland's respectability and dignity.

Meanwhile, what matters is for us to double our efforts to conceal the gap in our ranks; we are few now; even if we have to behave like ferocious Romans, let us keep secret the absence of those who abandoned us, since the void that they have left not only weakens us, but causes us and everyone shame. They will come back and we must wait for them.

But let us march on while we wait and let us not vacillate in our march, although the road may be difficult and thorny. What do these small impediments matter in our struggle to alleviate the immense misfortune of our country.

You encourage me to facilitate an organizational plan to reconstruct our diminished group, a favor which I thank you for - your kind wish to make my inadequacy disappear.

However, I understand that there is an excess of good organization. What we had under Montilla was good; and the work accomplished during the presidency of Felipe Leal was excellent; and no less excellent is the one that was recently communicated to me through the letter which I answer under the direction of the actual presidency.

What is lacking there, to my mind, and if I am mistaken, I beg your forgiveness, and God knows how much I wish to be wrong in what I will say to you: what is lacking, I repeat, are not

directive plans, but the question of management practices, that is to say, rules on collective living, of discipline in relation to the powers that our votes embody, mutual benevolence in relation to coreligionists, without mental reservations that may harm the mutual affection that should exist among all.

There is a Spanish proverb that says: "Think evil and you will have guessed right;" this rule about the lack of trust is good if it is to be applied to one's enemies or to those with whom we have no bonds of affection; but among friends, coreligionists and brothers, it is not applicable, since it renders impossible the existence of mutual affection and respect; and where these things do not exist, there is no possible organization; the dispersion of power is inevitable.

Have I made a mistake?

Forgive my mistake if this is the case. I do no more than make my beliefs known, ready to rectify them if I am in the wrong.

But, whether this belief is right or wrong, it is not useless to fix one's attention on the need that I have allowed myself to indicate. If it does not serve to remedy an existing evil, it will serve to prevent it in our campaign. Developing societies are usually affected by this defect I indicate; we have a painful example in the valiant children of Cuba who, for not having foreseen it, wasted their money and blood unwisely.

Because of suspicion and disunity, mutual defamation and intransigence, so much heroism squandered by the Cubans has been ineffective; they knew how to fight and die, but they did not know how to win. Victory would have been easy for them to achieve had they not gone to battle divided and even antagonistic toward each other.

Let us learn from the experience of others! May each one learn to conquer himself for the sake of harmony; because he who does not know how to conquer himself will not be able to conquer his enemies. Let us learn, my God; because, whether we like it or not, in this humble and modest campaign, we are gambling for that

which is of the utmost importance for all of us; the good fortune of our country!

No? May God grant that it not be so!

Condemn immorality; it is good and just to do so, there is no doubt about this. But I understand that immorality should never be presumed; simple suspicions, simple conjectures, murmurings and maledictions should not be taken to constitute the basis of immorality. It is necessary to be sure, and aside from this, to be able to prove it or to at least seek clarification, so that one can be at peace with the justness of one's decision.

Besides, it seems to me that he who condemns immorality should not alienate himself from the group by withdrawing from it; his withdrawal does not result in the condemnation of the author of the immorality; it is a condemnation of the whole group - which is, in truth - the very victim of the immorality. Is this just? Is this equitable? Is it worthy of a man of science and valor to condemn the victim and to absolve the offender?

Based on these considerations, I have formulated and sent there a plan, not concerning organization, but regarding documentation, that will show clearly the ethical values of our administration and avoid unjustified murmurings. It seems, however, that the new reorganization no longer needs to seek that recourse in order to guarantee its invulnerability, and for this I am glad.

I have bothered you enough, and I will end by reiterating my gratitude for your kindness and offering prayers that you may achieve success, not only for the good of humanity in general, but in particular for our motherland, through the spirit of fraternity which permeates our social atmosphere.

Meanwhile, receive all the proof of my affectionate consideration that I send to you with a brotherly embrace.

MARCELO H. DEL PILAR

(Note: Reproduced from the Philippine Review, Volume III, no. 10, pp. 801-803.)

128. To A. Salazar and Members of "La Modestia"

Insists on what was delicately outlined in his letter to José Reyes Tolentino,
Madrid, November 3, 1894

Madrid, December 5, 1894

Messrs. D. A. Salazar and other Members of the Circulo La Modestia

My beloved friends:

Through our dear friend Mabini, I received a bill of exchange for \$57'95 which you had the kindness to send to me as assistance for the expenses of the propaganda project that I intend to establish.

I thank you for your kindness and for the proof of confidence you have shown me through this deed. I have to be even more grateful for your doing this with such spontaneous generosity. I did not dare to ask, not only because I did not wish to ask for more proof of the trust which you give me but because such is my respect for the initiative of our compatriots that I do not dare ask for help to be able to spend more than they do. For this reason, my gratitude is doubled upon seeing that with one single request of mine, without pressing or insisting, I have merited from your respectable entity your invaluable loyalty and cooperation.

When I contemplate these acts of patriotism, I truly lament that we do not have a representative here who is better qualified than myself. I do not speak with false modesty, no; I am not made for that sort of thing, for though I can contribute much willingness to the work we are doing, I lack intellectual and educational qualities, and this is the reason why, from the very beginning, I have not ceased to ask for help from the great minds of our country. I mention this so that when the deficiencies of this campaign are made obvious, due to my deficiency, you will not need to make much of an effort to be indulgent.

Without anything else for now.

Reiterating my thanks, I am your friend

MARCELO H. DEL PILAR

(Note: Reproduced from the Book *El Katipunan or El Filibusterismo en Filipinas* by José M. Castillo, Madrid, 1897, pp. 42-44.)

APPENDIX A

The Situation of Malolos

By Jaime C. de Veyra

Typical, is the assessment of the work on Plaridel on the psychology of that particular town: probably nothing can describe this better, not only because of its geographic location but because of its moral significance. Located in the heart of the Tagalog region, it is its linguistic and social center - in contrast with Taal, on the side of Batangueño - it has the distinction of being the birthplace of Balagtas, the prince of Tagalog orators. This is how the Spanish administration regarded the town of Malolos, and thus it replaced Bulacan as the capital of the province, since the leading figures of the province were from there, continuing the traditional and ancient empire of the Tiongsongs, del Rosarios, Teodoros and others; the offspring of the Del Pilars, Crisostomos and Gatmaytans appear in the leadership of Malolos. The synthesis of this concept is the picture that shows Archbishop Nozaleda on whom General Blanco lavishes his esteem and whose judgements and decisions are accepted and adopted as his own by Minister Castellanos of Ultramar, proposing these as examples to be followed not only in that town but throughout the Philippines, so that what was considered as the situation in Malolos became the situation in the entire country. And this took place not only under the Spaniards, but also when the then triumphant Revolution made Malolos the center of the Philippines, selecting it as the seat of its ephemeral Congress - today a brilliant page in our history but also as the central arena of our battles against a second domination; such is the "legacy" that the deeds recorded on paper attribute to the historical town of Malolos.

This is the reason why we formed a separate chapter for the official documents of this work; the three documents of the year 1888 serve as the framework and complementary illustration for those from 1895 and 1896.

GOBIERNO CIVIL
DE LA
PROVINCIA DE BULACAN

Guardia Civil (Civil Guard) ___1st Regiment 1st ...Rank ...
Section 5... No. 369... Confidential... In reply to your
communication of the 10th of this month in which you order me to
inform you regarding any information I might have about Mr.
Marcelo H. del Pilar, I have the honor to inform Your Excellency
of the following:

The person referred to has frequently visited the town of
Malolos during the time when his brother-in-law, Mr. Vicente
Gatmaytan was the Gobernadorcillo and also during the previous
months when Mr. Manuel Crisostomo, also a brother-in-law of
Don Marcelo, was holding the same position, who in my belief
intervened in matters of the Tribunal and has exerted his pernicious
influence over his relatives, as well as over other persons of the
town among whom he enjoys great prestige.

It is the opinion of the undersigned that Don Marcelo H. del
Pilar is anti-Spanish although I have no actual proof of this fact;
but I am morally convinced regarding my statement.

As to the part that this lawyer has had in the meetings that
they say take place in Malolos, I have to tell Your Excellency that
if said reunions are of a political nature, I do not doubt that Don
Marcelo has been the principal agitator and propagandist against
the religious communities, not only because of his character but
also because of the principles he represents.

This is all that I can manifest to Your Excellency in the
performance of my duties... God grant you many more years,
Hagonoy, October 12, 1888... The Lieutenant Major... Carlos
Peñuelas... To the Acting Civil Governor of this province.*

**Revista Filipina* (Phil. Review) October, 1918, Vol. III, No. 10, P.783

PARROQUIA

DE

MALOLOS

BULACAN

[Parish of Malolos, Bulacan]

Confidential

In reply to your letter of the 10th instant, classified as confidential, in which Your Excellency requests me to report what I know regarding the details you mention, before doing so, I would like to refer to the events that took place during the months of June and July of 1895, when Señor Don Vicente Pardo y Bonanza was the Alcalde Mayor [Provincial Governor] and Don Manuel Allacar was the Administrator of the Hacienda Publica [Treasury] of the province. The cabezas [heads of village units] of this town, despite repeated orders of said authorities regarding the presentation of the census lists, refused to comply, so that the Alcalde Mayor and the said Administrator had to come to this town, and meeting with the Cabezas, gave them the choice of going to jail and being subjected to a suit or obeying the orders. Although the cabezas appeared stubborn at first, they ultimately obeyed. Those who advised and directed these Cabezas to disobey the orders of the authorities during that occasion were mostly the same persons who in the past years promoted the agitation that exists here; now I will go on to reply to your questions.

1. I am aware that suspicious meetings have taken place in this town, sometimes during the late hours of the night, and the object of these, I believe, were to second what was being prepared and done in Manila against the religious institutions, and I believe these meetings were instigated according to instructions or lessons received from Manila, where some of those present at the meetings of this town had been. These meetings began with frequency during the month of December last year and they have continued taking place, sometimes in the Tribunal and other times in private houses.

2. Among those who assiduously attended these meetings have been a lawyer who is a resident of Bulacan called Don Marcelo H. del Pilar, a person who has long been a suspect; Don Vicente Garmaytan, presently the Gobernadorcillo, his brother in law and follower who has not left his side during all the period of agitation; Don Manuel Crisostomo, also a brother in law of both, who were his mentors, and who was removed from his position by the Central Government in May of this year for having been suspected of filibustering; Don José A. Bautista, former Capitan, a native of Manila and resident of this town, whom I have been suspecting for a long time, and who I was told by the Governor Don Manuel G. Florio, was an even more active filibusterer than the Gobernadorcillo, to whom a license for 1st class arms has been issued this year; Don Graciano Reyes, present Cabeza who holds the title of teacher in Primary Instruction, but who does not practice his profession, inseparable companion of the former persons mentioned and in whose house some of the meetings were held; Don Teodoro Sandico, Latin teacher in this town for a little over a year, a native of Pandacan, about whom I lack information but who I know has been spreading in this town the doctrines of the book of Rizal, who together with the former or with some other person was attempting to translate it in Tagalog. Don Ponciano Tiongson, former Cabeza of Manila, who has been here frequently since last year, and who has registered himself here in June, leaving his wife in Manila; this person has been sued for the bankruptcy of the enterprise Regidor Jurado y Compañia, and an order for his arrest was issued in June of 1885, and to date I have not been introduced to him. Don Jose Reyes, past Cabeza, whom I have suspected for a long time; Don Anastacio Crisostomo, who holds a title of teacher of Primary Instruction but does not practice, present Cabeza, brother of the

Gobernadorcillo of this town who was removed in May, also inseparable from the former. Don Anastacio de Leon, former Cabeza and presently a Commander of the Cuadrilleros of this town and inseparable from the others; Don Isaac Buendia, present Lieutenant Major of this town, but suspended for having been implicated in a criminal case which is being heard in the Court of this Province; and the local priest Don Rafael Canlapan, Assistant of this town, in whose house the others mentioned above have held meetings. I believe these aforementioned persons to be the principal and most assiduous members who attended these suspicious meetings, whom I believe to have been directed by some parties in Manila who wish to foment evil ideas and wish to achieve the realization of their projects. I am not aware if the other towns of this province have followed this practice, although I know that some meetings have taken place in the town of Sta. Maria but am not sure of the reason for these.

3. In April of this year, a manuscript in Spanish entitled *Dudas* [Doubts] was circulated in this town; I was able to obtain a copy of this paper and sent it to my Regular Prelate for it to be presented to whatever authority he deemed appropriate. I was told that this paper was circulated among the persons I previously mentioned and it contained a censure of the Government and discredited some institutions; I found another paper in this town where the nuns of Sta. Clara and other religious are terribly maligned; a pamphlet entitled *Viva Espana, Viva el Rey, Viva el Ejercito, Fuera los Frayles* [Long Live Spain, Long Live the King, Long Live the Army, Out with the Friars], which contains various writings asking for the expulsion of the Archbishop and the religious; I am also aware that a little book printed in Tagalog entitled *Caiigat Cayo* which is about nothing else but the defense of a certain Dr. Rizal, author of the book

entitled *Noli me Tángere*. I also heard that other papers of a similar nature are being circulated, but have not been able to obtain copies of them.

4. I understand that the Provincial Authority or Chief gives no importance to these papers, for after having called his attention to the days and times chosen in this town for the publication of the notices regarding interments, the unusual pomp of these internments, and the existing state of agitation that was noticed, he replied that this was usual in Manila and that a certain Captain José A. Bautista, formerly mentioned, was the one who influenced all this. After having told me this, he went to the house of the said Captain José A. Bautista as his guest, and was accompanied by the Captain of the Civil Guard who had spent the day in the house of the mother of his friend Don Potenciano Tiongson, also above mentioned. This took place on December 8 of last year; from then on I did not see the Governor until March 31, when I greeted him in the house of Don Graciano Reyes, also formerly mentioned, in whose house the Gobernadorcillo and other residents honored the Director of Civil Administration with a dinner. I also spent the evening in this same house, in the company of the Parish Priest of Sta. Isabel, to greet the said personage, and at whose dinner table were seated, besides the Director and his family, the Governor of this Province, the Captain of the Civil Guard Don Julio Galindo, Don Marcelo H. del Pilar and Don José A. Bautista. This convinced me that the Governor did not give any importance to the events that occurred in this town, for which reason I was surprised when, on May 12, he told me that he was aware of the profuse circulation of these filibustering proclamations in print and in manuscript and that there were clandestine meetings in this town and that the principal agents of these movements were the actual Gobernadorcillo Don Manuel

Crisostomo and Captain José A. Bautista, and that he was going to remove the Gobernadorcillo and replace him with some other person who could inspire confidence, after the events had taken place. These revelations left me wondering, but two days later I learned while I was in Manila, that in the evening of the 11th he had advised the Gobierno General more or less what he had told me on the 12th and the Gobierno General ordered that the then Gobernadorcillo Manuel Crisostomo be removed from office. I have no information regarding what other measures the Governor may have taken to counteract this agitation that has been noticed, nor if he has punished anyone, or if he has punished the Gobernadorcillo, before or after he was removed from office. The deposed Gobernadorcillo and his brother in law, the present Gobernadorcillo, Don Vicente Gatmaytan, also a brother in law of the lawyer Marcelo H. del Pilar have been inseparable during all the months that this turmoil existed and they were continually in the Tribunal of this town.

This is all I can tell you in reply to your confidential message.

God grant you more years. Parish House of Malolos, October 14, 1888.

FR. FELIPE GARCIA

Commissioner Extraordinary of the General Government in Bulacan*

Dear Sir:

The preceding reports refer to the meetings attended by suspicious members of the community – save one - which have been taking place in Malolos, as well as to the existing state of turmoil and to the anti-Spanish and anti-religious statements made in the

* *Revista Filipina* (Phil. Review), October, 1918, Vol. III, No. 10, pp. 783-785.

said town; information which the Commission has gathered in compliance with Your Excellency's order, so that an investigation begun by the then Chief of the Province of Bulacan Señor Don Manuel Gómez Florio may be conducted regarding those events and elements.

The details, most of which are already known by Your Excellency can be found, although they may not be all together, in the records of the Central Government, and recommend brevity to the undersigned; thus, an attempt will be made not to go beyond the limits of what is exact, stating in the first place, that instructions not to pursue the case came from Your Excellency, and will not impede or influence, either in greater or lesser exactitude the judgment that might be made as a result of the declarations made.

The first proof of the town of Malolos' lack of respect for the authorities and the parish priest occurred in 1885, when the town stubbornly refused to comply with the parochial registration which was the basis for the collection of personal taxes by the Tribunal. Subsequently the identities and ideas of the person whose influence can be considered as the principal reason for the perturbing influences on the residents became obvious. At that time, he directed the movements of opposition on the repeated orders of the provincial authority, gaining greater influence over the residents of Malolos from day to day, thanks to the prestige of his position and the residents' average intelligence, controlling the will and sentiments of said town, educating it to conform to his way of thinking as much as possible.

I do not need to say that the person I refer to is the lawyer Don Marcelo H. del Pilar, as Your Excellency already knows, as well as his history because of the file that the civil government presented to you and the summary which is included herewith.

Since the date mentioned, the said town – if not the town itself, some of its most important members-adopted an attitude-which, if not hostile, was of cold anticipation and alienation with respect to the parish priest. The situation worsened, and the town almost openly became his enemy, starting with the question of burials, this coinciding with the act of protection and distinction

given by the Civil Governor to these persons. These occurrences can be proven by citing public events which the parish priest refers to: last December 8, the day of a religious feast of the town, after the Governor had explained to him that the noticeable excitement was being caused by influences from Manila and thru the ex-Gobernadorcillo José A. Bautista. The regulations regarding sanitation and hygiene were published with much fanfare, and the Governor himself was a witness to the passing of the committee from the house of Bautista in the company of the Captain of the Civil Guard.

This protection did not cease nor suffer any interruption, as shown by the kindness displayed toward the Gobernadorcillo and Cabezas of Malolos, particularly to the former, who from September 3, 1887 to date indicated in the registries of the Government, was not fined a single time, while many others were fined from once and up to four times (See File 16). The latter were not subjected to any judicial constraints, although there were more uncollected debts in this town than in any other; an injustice that lasted until the said Chief left the province. This protection was made even more evident when it was suggested (last March) that a first class license to carry firearms be issued to José A. Bautista; it was admitted that a Chief of the *Centro Superior* accepted an invitation to a banquet. Seated at his table were Don Marcelo H. del Pilar and other illustrious personages, the Governor, the Captain and a second lieutenant of the Civil Guard, and the Gobernadorcillo—who was removed from office two months later—and was the one who issued the invitation. Another coincidence which caught our attention was the oath taking of the new Gobernadorcillo (whose antecedents were also of dubious character). The aforementioned Pilar was present; this is a bit of news that the undersigned heard from a person who holds a respectable public position.

Having established these facts in a manner that does not permit any doubt whatsoever, we now proceed to the meetings.

It is presumed that these meetings began in 1886, according to information furnished by a Forestry Assistant to the Governor. But since these were never taken into account by the parish priest nor the undersigned, it was believed that these were unimportant

meetings, with no social or political significance, and that the objective was simply to play monte [a card game], which the residents of Malolos seem to be very fond of – without ceasing to attribute anti-Spanish motives to them since M. H. del Pilar has espoused these sentiments and must have tried to instill these in others; undoubtedly, to my manner of thinking, the meetings at that time were held for the purpose of exchanging news with their companions on politics, on Manila, and to find the means to continue their persistent battle against the religious orders.

And thus, this indicates that they experienced the ebb and flow of the political situation which exists in this Capital to such an extent as in that town, which leads me to believe that the fibre of filibusterism is in these elements [members of the elite] – presumably natives or mestizos [persons of mixed blood], directors and instigators, but it has not yet reached the masses, the contingent that follows the former; however, this filibusterism is concealed under the guise of anti-religion in order to make it less terrible and more attractive to the masses.

Filibusterism in Malolos is in its embryonic stage, and is not yet well defined; if the town is watched over by a just, upright but vigorous provincial authority if the parish priest recovers the prestige and liberty of which he was deprived, and the two evil influences are kept away, the political one being del Pilar and the religious one the Coadjutor Rafael Canlapan, in whom because they belong to that group, all the respect and influence previously accorded to the parish priest has redounded – what is now only a dream will fade without leaving any perceptible traces, and with time and a policy of prudence and providence, all these insane ideas will come to an end.

Let us now proceed to examine the conduct of the provincial authority, without going into the details concerning the election of the Gobernadorcillo, although there are remarkable deficiencies in the official reports such as omitting information in the first case on the ideas that were later manifested, and also omitting the fact that the parish priest had been invited, even if he had been invited verbally, without the necessary written invitation; and yet when he was asked for a report the first time, he responded by asking him “whether they knew Spanish or not” (see folio 14)

with a manifest infraction of Art. 8 of the superior circular of November 6, 1885, it is not right to probe once again into an act which received Your Excellency's sanction. Let us begin by mentioning the strange impression given by a provincial chief who has frequent contact with the most important people of the town of Malolos who should later learn from the parish priest about the statements and filibustering turmoil that took place last May 11, which he had brought to the attention of the Central Government; it is also surprising that the Second Lieutenant of Hagonoy, who is the Second Lieutenant of Malolos and who considers the ten or twelve persons who meet to be anti-Spanish, knowing that they meet clandestinely but assumes that they meet only to gamble, indicates that he did not inform the chief of the province of this.

In the confidential exchange of telegrams between the Secretary of the Central Government, through Superior authority, and the Governor Señor Gomez Florio last May 12 (folio 15, v.to)-which elements of Malolos were referred to as the ones who were spreading the filibustering statements together with the ousted Gobernadorcillo; and to which persons of greater or less influence in the province was he referring to when he said that they made frequent visits to Manila and might be related to such deeds? Could there be others aside from Don Marcelo del Pilar and some of his friends and relatives, and those of the recently deposed Gobernadorcillo? There has not been turmoil in any other town of Bulacan, nor does a nucleus, such as the one being dealt with here, exist anywhere else but in Malolos!

How can it be explained that he gave it so much importance at that time, and then two months later he informs Your Excellency in the second report regarding the election of the Gobernadorcillo, without referring to the recent events at all, and being considered anti-Spanish - he speaks of the triad - it did not suit him to leave out almost all the natives.

But let us continue:

Last May 18, when the Central Government dismissed the Gobernadorcillo of Malolos, Don Manuel Crisostomo, the chief of the province was told to observe the conduct of this person who was suspected of plotting to disturb public order. What measures

did the Governor adopt to comply with this important order? The reply to this is found in the letters of the officials of the Civil Guard of the province, which state that they were not informed either verbally or in writing, before or after the events that took place in May, regarding the order to watch the town of Malolos or anyone in it.

Going back to the above cited report, the Governor of Bulacan told Your Excellency that he had no knowledge then (last July) of any meetings which the parish priest said were taking place in Malolos, and that if the authorities had been informed of this in time, nothing would have been easier than to take them by surprise and thus serve the cause of Spain....

Aside from the fact one cannot understand how the Governor could have possibly been ignorant of something that everyone else was aware of, it should be noted that the parish priest states in his report (folio 39, v.to) that on the 12th of May, that Authority, when he spoke to him about the proclamations made, (it was certain that it was a parish priest who had told him about what was sent to that Central Government) told him that clandestine meetings of a filibustering nature were being held in Malolos. The undersigned does not have a preference for any of the two statements; Your Excellency will know which to consider more truthful or exact.

But whether the Governor did or did not know of this in May, why did he not - after the sort of protest made by the parish priest - do the "good service," by taking by surprise the meetings that according to the Second Lieutenant of Hagonoy, took place later? If he had put into practice the means which are used in extraordinary cases, or even in the most elemental and ordinary ones, why did the Guardia Civil who thought that these were gambling meetings, not surprise them or avert them?

If the people of Malolos knew that they were being watched, is it believable that they would continue meeting as they did?

No, Your Excellency, it is neither logical nor possible, and it is patently evident that they were not observed, nor was any

attempt made to watch the town or any of the residents of Malolos, nor did the Governor single out Don Marcelo del Pilar nor any others as being present up to the last moment. This is clearly indicated by the work and actions of Del Pilar at the start of the Commission, for which reason this file was opened, the contents of which are noticeably the same as the reports of the Clerics, both regular and secular, without distinction of Orders.

We do not intend to solve the mystery that envelopes the strange acts of a Governor who was unaware of what was happening in Malolos, and who suddenly learning of the existence of these statements, points a finger at the Gobernadorcillo as the agitator and filibusterer, and then goes back to being ignorant. It would also be anomalous to offer as sacrifice one single victim who is the local authority, and not to at least cancel the first class license for arms issued to José A. Bautista, whom the parish priest of Malolos, who claims he was told of this by the head of the province, points to as the principal agitator in the May events as he had been in December of the previous year.

Your Excellency, I do not think there is anything more to say on this matter.

My loyal opinion, and the decision I have come to, according to my conscience and my scarce intellectual means, has been explained. As for the matter of the then Civil Governor of Bulacan, only Your Excellency can be the judge of this, making use if your Excellency wishes, of the information that the undersigned has had the honor to present.

Manila, October 30, 1888

MANUEL DIAZ GOMEZ.

His Excellency, Governor General of
the Philippine Islands*

* *Revista Filipina* (Phil. Review), October, 1918, Vol. III, No. 10, p. 785.

ARZOBISPADO
DE
MANILA

Dear Sir:

I have the honor to remit to Your Excellency the attached communication from the parish priest of Malolos, Province of Bulacan, in which he informs us, with the most justified lamentations, of the lack of discipline and the scandalous insubordination that exists in his parish because of the hostile attitude of the municipality of Malolos and some of the municipal officials against him and what he represents.

This behavior of the representatives of the town of Malolos before the parish priest is brazenly audacious and scandalous, and is accompanied by such grave moral disorder, and because of its antecedents and the actual circumstances significantly indicate sinister purposes. Therefore I believe it is imperative, that not only the Vice-Royal Patron take charge of said parish, but that the Gobierno General adopt whatever efficient measures are necessary to repress the audacity of these troublemakers, and to cut the roots of the scandal which the town of Malolos has been causing, with rare perseverance. Your Excellency will undoubtedly be convinced of the necessity of adopting strong measures against this town, if you will kindly take note of the following points:

1. The actual parish priest of Malolos is the third one to find it impossible to continue at the head of the parochial administration since the start of the struggle. I should mention the fact that the previous friars were models as parish priests, that nothing could affect their honor as priests or the correctness of their parochial administration, and the malcontents could never throw anything in their faces. They proceeded in everything with tact and prudence and practiced all possible means to attract and disarm these ungovernable ones, despite which, exhausted by the fruitless battle, they had to leave.

The present priest is irreproachable as were his predecessors, and he has practiced gentleness and acquiescence, but despite this, he finds himself in the same situation as the former. In the face of these deeds, we have to ask: Are these people of Malolos, in their tenacious fight against the priest, looking for a simple substitution? It is unbelievable to admit that such innocent intentions exist, and regardless of how kindly one wishes to judge their purposes, it forces one to think that what these discontented persons intend is to make the stay of any Spanish priest in this town impossible. If Your Excellency comes to the same conclusion, it is doubtless that in the face of this, you will issue a decree with the ire of the offended. Everything may be consented to here, except racial persecution.

2. However, neither can religious persecution be tolerated here, in a country where the liberty of cults does not exist, not even legal tolerance, and in which the State spends great sums for the conversion of the infidels. It cannot be permitted, because it is absurd, that the State watch with indifference as religion is attacked, persecuted and slighted in Bulacan, when the desire is so great that religion be established and spread in the center of Luzon, Mindanao and in all the other islands of this archipelago. And within the sphere of the written law, and in the juridical state which rules Philippine society, there is no place for the kind of liberty which these troublemakers flaunt, dedicated since times past to de-Christianize the simple people through unorthodox pamphlets and printed matter in which the mysteries of religion are indecently attacked and the religious are maligned. The way in which this propaganda is spread, using anonymity and utilizing secret and confidential means to circulate this faulty doctrine, clearly reveals that in the conscience of these propagandists lies the conviction that their work is the kind that has to be done in the dark to elude legal sanctions. And in our present juridical state, based on the *Codigo*

indiano [Indian Code] and in subsequent complimentary provisions, which in no way are annulled by the new Codes, anti-Catholic propaganda and attacks against ministers of the faith are not permitted. Whatever weaknesses or deficiencies may be found in the Penal Code or in the inadequacy of those charged with its application, it is certain that the governmental authority may use more effective means, aside from those sanctioned by the Penal Code, in order to correct any lack of discipline, whether religious or social.

3. It is common knowledge that there exists in Malolos a Masonic lodge which is presumed to be the origin of the disturbances that have caused the turmoil in this town. This being the case, the elimination of this center of disturbance would undoubtedly bring about the restoration of the peace and calm that has long been absent from this place. It is also certain that, if Your Excellency issues the order to remove this cause of the turmoil, it will disappear with the same speed as Your Excellency wishes that the order be executed. It is not incumbent upon me to delve into the sentiments and political transcendence that a secret association comprised of indigenous elements may give rise to in a colony: but I have to make manifest my bewilderment at the fact that the governors of the provinces are frequently alarmed by the establishment of such innocent religious associations who obviously practice definitely religious acts, but are unconcerned by the establishment of Masonic associations in their respective provinces, who by their secretive nature, by the clandestine meetings they hold, by the surreptitiousness of their resolutions, should at least arouse the suspicion that the objectives they are pursuing are far from holy. Since we understand the prudent policy that motivated the Supreme Government to take cautionary measures when dealing with religious organizations, because sometimes in the shadow of a holy objective there

may be sinister motives, we cannot understand why certain indifferences exist toward associations that are definitely not holy, who in the dispatch of their secret fabrications, are credited with deeds that are recorded in contemporary history, that their main objective is to go against all religious discipline and policy, stirring up the spirit of disorder everywhere.

Pardon me, Your Excellency, if I have degressed from my purpose by failing to put on record that Masonic associations are illegal and concerned with nothing more but its relationship with the established religion. This is the Catholic Church, the state religion, a public institution, protected by law, and it is not legal to conspire against it in the Philippines. Therefore, in view of what is taking place in Malolos and the denunciation of the parish priest, we find an unrelenting system of conspiracy against the Church which leads us to believe it is necessary to appeal to Your Excellency to demand measures that will sever the roots of the scandal, measures which must be urgently implemented now, because I fear and am almost certain, that the evil will not be contained within Malolos, and in accordance with the principle of contagion, it will spread to other towns.

God grant Your Excellency many more years. Manila,
March 13, 1895.

(Sgd.) FR. BERNARDINO

Archbishop
To His Excellency the
Governor General and
Vice Real Patron of these Islands.*

* *Revista Filipina* (Phil. Review) November, 1918, vol. III, No. 11, p. 874.

NOTEBOOK OF CONFIDENTIAL INFORMATION ON
MALOLOS
PROVIDED BY LT. SENESPLEDA

Don Manuel Crisostomo, approximately 40 years old, Comisionado prop.o, former Gobernadorcillo and present Municipal Captain.

Has little affection for our institutions and is particularly anti-monastic; has a cousin or nephew called Graciano Crisostomo who is a cleric, and who being a Coadjutant in Iban (Batangas), was sued for leaving the seminary where he had spent 2 years.

He has discharged his duties in his present position since January 1 of the present year.

Since he took charge, he has made his anti-friar ideas evident, putting them into practice together with his companions in the Municipal Hall Don Ceferino Aldaba, Lt. Major of the municipality; Don Anastasio de Leon, municipal official in charge of livestock; Don Vicente Gatmaytan, Delegate; Don José Bautista, Delegate, and Don Juan del Pilar, stenographer of the tribunal. I use the words 'put into practice' because they make use of some unfortunate person in their machinations that they later on sacrifice or abandon when things go wrong. I have had occasion to observe them exhorting those who bring their children to be baptized to pay only half a real [silver coin equivalent to one-eighth of a peso] or subjecting those who pay the proper fees to insults and threats. This indicates that their main idea is to undermine the prestige of religious organizations to the point that the common man thinks that he is being robbed.

I have no proof to present as to their being anti-Spanish or not, but I am convinced they are, and that they are anti-friar.

The Gobierno General and Civil Government of this province should both have prior reports regarding the person who is the subject of this paper.

Don Ceferino Aldaba approximately 28 or 30 years old and presently Lt. Major.

Don Valentin Aldaba, about 28 years old, married, presently a Delegate.

Don Juan Aldaba, about 40 years old, married, presently police lieutenant.

These three are included because they have the same dossier. The first two are brothers and the third is their first cousin.

Please refer to the dossier of D. Manuel Crisostomo, having only to add that Valentin presented a paper against the parish priest of this town to the Archbishop, a paper that is out of place and contains nonsensical claims, as a result of which a decision was arrived at which was in favor of the priest. Since then, instead of reforming, he has created more and greater problems. (See dossier of D. Manuel Crisostomo)

Don Vicente Gatmaytan, about 40 years old, married, delegate of this municipality and former Captain.

He is an in-law of Captain D. Manuel Crisostomo, is in constant communication with him and is one of his principal advisers, and rare is the night that he does not attend the Tribunal conferences.

He is a native, compadre [term given to a man who is the father or godfather or a child in baptism, in relation to another man] and in-law of Luis del Pilar, procurator and resident of the capital of Bulacan, propagandist of La Solidaridad and its ideas; he has a first cousin called Marcelo del Pilar, who is in the editorial staff of La Solidaridad and who gives him instructions for its propaganda and it is Luis, who through Manuel Crisostomo, is causing confusion in this town, which is to say, they are making great use of him.

D. Vicente is shy and reserved; but he reveals his anti-friar sentiments in all his conversations, and I also believe him to be one of the filibusterers. There should also be past information about him.

D. Anastacio de Leon, approximately 42 years old, married, presently Lieutenant in charge of Livestock.

A man with little education, with a bad disposition and great influence in the municipality, a fact which I find strange but which I attribute to his having ties with people who are respected; is most active in anti-monastic matters. (See dossier of Manuel Crisostomo).

Is by nature cunning and cynical.

He was head sacristan and choir boy of this church some years ago and was dismissed because of his behavior and since then he has been one of the satellites of Marcelo and Luis del Pilar in their plans against the friars. I also think he is anti-Spanish like the rest.

There should be previous information about him.

Juan del Pilar: about 42 years of age, married, scribe and third-rate lawyer, is connected with the Tribunal as Secretary.

Brother of Marcelo, co-worker in *La Solidaridad* and cousin of Luis del Pilar, propagandist of that paper. (See the foregoing records for more information about him.)

In the last months of the term of the previous municipal administration, he was dismissed from the Tribunal by verbal order of the Provincial Government, which was able to produce complete proof of his anti-friar and anti-religious conduct.

In his dealings, he is cunning and shows that he is not only anti-friar but also anti-Spanish. There should be previous information about him.

Don José Bautista, approximately 58 years of age, married, property owner, presently a Delegate and one of the advisers regarding the ideas that Luis del Pilar promotes; has a brother

called Graciano, coadjutor in the parish of Binondo, who contributes greatly in the propagation of his anti-friar and anti-Spanish ideas. When he was young, his father owned a business in Zamboanga, engaging in trade with a coasting vessel and was caught carrying a cargo of arms meant for the moros in Mindanao. That was the cause of his ruin. He has an easy life now because he married a wealthy woman in this town, since he and his family are from Binondo; is a close friend of Ambrosio Rianzares and of Poblete, who have often stayed in this town, living in his house and that of his nephew Felix Bautista, a physician and also married here.

He has a hypocritical and groveling character in relation to all authority and among his countrymen takes pleasure in announcing publicly the calamities, blunders or misfortunes they can cause us, commenting on them with irony and making fun of them. For any information that may be lacking in his history, see the dossier of D. Manuel Crisostomo.

There should be earlier reports from the past years about this person.

At present he is gravely sick with tuberculosis, which he contracted some months ago.

Don Felix Bautista, about 20 years old, married, a physician.

He appears to be timid, but is a hypocrite like his uncle, the person referred to in the previous report, is in constant communication with Ambrosio Rianzares, Poblete and the like, in Manila.

He is like the former in his ideas, but is more apprehensive; close friend of Luis del Pilar and all those who are mentioned in this report, but as for his anti-monastic ideas, he shared little on this, that is to say, he does not put them into practice, but that does not mean that he will not be delighted if others do so

Don Luis del Pilar, 24 or 26 years old, married, Procurator in Bulacan, where he resides.

When Marcelo del Pilar was in the Philippines, having residences in both Bulacan and Malolos, he and Luis were the unwritten law in these places. It must be about seven years since Marcelo left for the Peninsula and since then he runs these towns at his pleasure through D. Vicente Gatmaytan, D. Manuel Crisostomo, D. Anastacio de Leon and D. Ponciano Tiongson. Luis rarely goes to the town, he always stays in the house of Vicente or Manuel, who reside on the road that leads to Bulacan, near Atlag bridge. I believe that he is the person responsible for the situation in this town all these years, because of instructions received from his cousin, Marcelo del Pilar, who is a member of La Solidaridad.

He is quite intelligent and shrewd, he is charming to the authorities and to the Spaniards who he thinks he can make use of; he is affable and affectionate in his dealings with them, but then we know it is all "a comedy" because of his exaggeration. Proof of his astuteness is the fact that when the general search for filibusterers was conducted, he was not one of those who were exiled.

In this propaganda movement I refer to, not everything he does is "love for the cause," there is a great deal of personal convenience involved, since he exploits his relatives marvelously well.

There should be earlier records about him.

Don Ponciano Tiongson, about 28 years old, married, owns property and is at present a Justice of the Peace.

He is as hypocritical as D. José Bautista, but has less natural talent; he is an admirer of Luis del Pilar and his ideas. Is somehow related to the Municipal Captain, Don Manuel Crisostomo, is filled with similar ideas and has the same manner of making them public, but is much more false.

D. Lino Reyes, about 24 years old, married, owns property, ex-cabeza de barangay.

D. José Reyes, 46 years old, married, was formerly the Municipal Captain.

D. Graciano Reyes, about 42 years of age, married, ex-cabeza.

These three have the same ideas as the former persons listed, but in truth, I must say that they have not behaved like the others.

D. Antonio Tiongson, 62 years old, widower, owns property and is a commissioner.

D. Silvino Torralba, half-Spanish, about 45 years old, widower and owns property.

They live in absolute retirement and avoid conflicts with their town mates, and if they have the same ideas, they do not take active part in discrediting religious organizations; nevertheless, the latter is utterly hypocritical and should not be trusted.

There should also be previous data about them.

In summary, there does not exist anything in this town now save for a marked and unjustified antagonism toward the parish priest of this town, and what hurts most is that this has been carried out and has been brought to the attention of the Municipal head and is tolerated, as previously mentioned.

With respect to their ideas, whether they are filibusterers or Masons, I cannot be more specific; but I am completely and morally convinced that they are, but as neither here nor in any other town that is part of my area of responsibility (Barasoain, Sta. Ysabel, Paombong, Hagonoy and Calumpit), since I took command (August 9, 1893), there has not been a Masonic lodge or have there been any filibustering papers circulated: I cannot say

they are anti-friar as there is a lack of confidential data in this section and thus I have to limit myself to what I have observed.

This notebook contains 14 pages written on sheets of writing paper and by my own hand.

Malolos, May 22, 1895.
1st Lieutenant Commander

(Sgd.) JOSE DE SENESPLEDA*

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* *

GOVERNMENT GENERAL OF THE PHILIPPINES

DECREE

Making use of the power vested in me and in accordance with the same reasons of a political and administrative nature that have required the use of other measures with respect to the town of Malolos in the Province of Bulacan, I order that the persons listed below transfer residence, remaining for now in the towns indicated by me, subject to the vigilance of the proper authorities.

Manila, May 25, 1898

For communication.

(Sgd.) BLANCO.

Don Manuel Crisostomo,
to reside in the town of Joló.

Don Ceferino Aldaba,
to reside in Puerto Princesa.

* *Revista Filipina* (Phil. Review), November, 1918, vol. III, No. 11, p. 876, n.p.

Don Juan Aldaba,
in the town of Joló.

Don Saturnino Buendia,
in Puerto Princesa.

Don Anastacio de Leon,
in Davao (Mindanao).

Don Justo Teodoro,
in the Island of Siassi (Jolo).

Don Valentin Aldaba,
in Cotabato (Mindanao).

Don Vicente Gatmaytan,
in Iligan (Mindanao).

And Don Luis H. del Pilar,
who resides in the Capital of Bulacan, will reside in
Sarangani (Mindanao).

Manila, May 25, 1898.

(Sgd.) BLANCO.

GOBIERNO GENERAL
DE
FILIPINAS

Your Excellency:

One of the localities of this Archipelago that has been most influenced by anti-religious ideas that have unluckily, and perhaps in an unthinking way, been introduced in this city by the sons of the Metropolis who reside here for official reasons, or as expatriates and who are now promoted as important state officers, is undoubtedly the town of Malolos, one of the wealthiest and most populous towns in the province of Bulacan.

The township became disgusted with the parish priest because he did not want to authorize the list for the collection of personal taxes as there were thousands of tribute payers, minus those who were subject by law to this tax. This began a period of alienation and resistance, initiated by the municipal officials, against the priest, a movement which found fertile ground among some employees who had little affection for the religious communities and which caused much harm in the years 1887 and 88. This problem continued to develop to become the serious evil that it is today.

If there could have been alternatives to the war against the parish priest, these were more or less exaggerated depending on the power and disposition of the successive provincial chiefs. Additionally, the priests who were selected by the corporation as being the most qualified to attract the fractious parties and pacify the situation through prudent means and Christian gentleness, saw their good intentions thwarted making it impossible for them to continue administering the parish.

The present parish priest, convinced that it was useless and even counterproductive to continue the system of kindness, persuasion and counsel, sought the help of the Gobierno General as the Vice-Royal Patronate, explaining the history of the matter and seeking a remedy to a situation that had worsened because of the growing number of rebels, the leaders of whom were influential persons, and from which group were selected those who would hold influential positions; and because Masonry was introduced, having come from the Peninsula, where it seems it has a directorate. It is known that the *insulares* [Philippine-born Spaniards] are working hard to increase the number of their proselytes here and to establish this society in our colonies.

Coinciding with the request of the parish priest, the Most Reverend Metropolitan Prelate addressed himself to this Gobierno General demanding that steps be taken to correct the disobedience and the hostility of the municipality toward the Church and its ministers and to cut this evil at its roots. Citing the illegality of "religious persecution" in a country where there is no freedom of religion and not even legal tolerance, and blaming all the moral disturbances in the town to the existence of a Masonic lodge.

To give further weight to the ideas of this prelate, I consider it advantageous if this Gobierno General would, if it deems it appropriate, adopt rigorous measures, listen to the opinion of the chief of that province who until this moment has not promulgated any important ideas on the matter which would reveal his opinion on such an abnormal situation. At that time, having been head of the province of Bulacan for the last two years, he came forward to corroborate the essential points regarding these deeds, saying that the residents of Malolos in general, and particularly the members of the Municipal Tribunal and its delegates, were anti-religious and later anti-Catholic, and that they attempted to annoy the parish priest and later to shame him before the town, not because of any personal reason but for being a friar, affirming, without any fear of being mistaken, that the majority of the principals were Masons but that there does not exist any Masonic lodge in the town. After acknowledging the "most lamentable and highly prejudicial situation of said town" and the reprehensible behavior of its residents, he considered it urgently necessary to put an end to such evils, but declared that he could not think of any measures that should be resorted to.

Because of this declaration and the fact that neither the Tribunal nor the residents consider their actions illegal in any way—and here it will be necessary to mention that these elements that are unfriendly toward the parish priests (friars) usually take great care to comply with their obligations to the state and to appear very devoted to Spain and the lay authorities, as is happening in Malolos. I realized that the Civil Governor, who was cautious and wary, did not realize the gravity of the situation in the town. It did not occur to him to inform me of the events that were taking place and he was not fit to assist me in carrying out my decision to put an end to such a serious matter. I was ready to reveal this to him when I learned that in a few days he would be vacating his position. In view of these circumstances, and in order to obtain the most complete information as to the extent of this existing evil and to determine who were responsible for the disorder, I was prepared to proceed with speed and energy, but also with prudence, to avoid the imposition of an exaggerated punishment on those who were not guilty or less guilty, or the exoneration of those more guilty. I sent a special representative to discuss the matter with the authorities, parish priests and officers of the Guardia Civil and to

listen to the members of the municipal tribunal and some residents, in order to have a complete understanding of the matter.

The result of this exercise, which was carried out with zeal, intelligence and extraordinary tact by the second chief of the Secretariat of this Gobierno General did not alter the data gathered earlier, nor lessen the gravity of the deeds committed. The members of the Municipal Tribunal and some others, by unanimous opinion, were anti-Catholic and supposedly affiliated with Masonry in an active but secret propaganda campaign. They themselves acknowledged that the parish priest was a model friar who had exhausted every means of persuasion and gentleness. The residents themselves declared that he had not provoked their hostility, and that he had demonstrated a strong desire to live in peace with his parishioners. Finally, they nevertheless proposed that the parish priest should not have any influence over the town nor interfere with the community and that the town was capable of governing itself without ecclesiastical supervision, that they wished to avoid the influence of religious orders in the Philippines and - this was manifested by the Municipal Captain - that they had not agreed to the Te Deum celebrated in thanksgiving for the victory of Marahuit because, not having anything to do with the Church, they did not want to appear as if they were abandoning their ideals and objectives to remain aloof to the parish priest.

If this initial information regarding the situation of the town did not create a sad impression, the audacious and irreverent declarations issued pained me greatly, Your Excellency, by the ingratitude and wickedness that they reveal, which, if they could be made compatible with love of the motherland and of the name of Spain, it would still not be possible to rely on the sincerity, purity and efficacy of those sentiments, and to expect and even fear that the situation will deteriorate step by step, as an inevitable consequence of the espousal of such ideas and the practice of such an immoral and anti-political system, and will finally culminate in anti-hispanism, filibusterism or separatism.

Such a situation clearly requires the imposition of severe corrective measures on the persons responsible for causing and continuing the disorder, and who have been identified. Among them are, in the first place, the individuals who constitute the

Municipal Tribunal. I instantly decreed their removal from office, by virtue of the authority vested in me by the Royal Decree of May 19, 1893, under the terms and by the declarations which Your Excellency can read in the authorized copy which I have the honor to send to you. I replaced them with other individuals from the locality whom I deemed more suitable.

As an indispensable complement to this measure, of little or no effect on the present case, of not banishing from the town those who were directly involved in the movement but only as the propagandists of such disquieting ideas, I obliged the dismissed officials, by virtue of the administrative powers conferred on me, to move their residence to areas chosen by me in the island of Mindanao; a decision I had to make in order to cut at its roots the evil that could spread to other towns. Fortunately, there are few towns in which the bad seed had been sown in the past years.

I also ordered, as an effective and healthy complement to the preceding measures, increased vigilance in order to obstruct the circulation of *La Solidaridad* whose clandestine entry into the country has come to my attention; I also removed some subalterns in many points of the archipelago who are connected with Masonry.

It is sad, Your Excellency, that the punishment, definitely just and well-deserved, which befell those hapless persons who because so much importance was attributed to them, could not be considered subordinate agents of other *insulares* and *peninsulares* who, residing in the Metropolis, propagate by secret or even illicit means, without risk of danger and protected by law, the pernicious ideas that originate in towns like those in this territory and of the same simple and backward type, disorder like that which now exists in our town. Upon sad reflection, one may note the resulting contrast, remembering that there existed and still exist State officials of different categories, and even up to recently, more than one of those who are in authority are affiliated with Masonry and have undoubtedly contributed, by taking advantage of their official position, to the increase in the number of members of that sect which can cause much harm in the Philippines.

I do not try to excuse or to extenuate the gravity of the offense of those I have recently punished; but yes, I must in conscience recognize that they have contributed in a powerful way to establishing the means to destroy the influence and prestige of religious orders and Catholicism. It would be a good idea to remember what the wise laws of the Indies recommend: not to elect public servants who are active in specific societies, especially if it is the wrong time to accept imperfections.

By fighting the propaganda movement and the bad examples there, and destroying at this end whatever evils exist or come into existence, as the Gobierno General has done and which I am prepared to do, the number of proselytes will be diminished, evil will decrease until it can harm no one but those few deluded persons who secretly persevere in harboring these ideas. By means of enchantment, with the inducement that they now offer to these people through mysterious councils, strange symbols and the collection by the most secret means and definitely with more deception, caution will disappear. Thus this association will become more dangerous in the future and could develop into a school for conspirators against the motherland.

With regard to remedial measures applied vigorously and in time, these could be expected to produce good results, as can be proven by what has just occurred.

As soon as these measures were adopted – as if by magic – even if these had not been made public by any official means, the measures taken with regard to Malolos produced good results in that unfortunate town and a similar reaction in other towns that seemed predisposed to be contaminated, if they were not yet contaminated. At the moment the Gobierno General considers it advisable to defer sending Your Excellency further news on this incident until such time when more complete information can be remitted.

In confirmation of my prediction, the town of Malolos, away from the pressures created by those troublemakers, is recovering its calm and enjoying moral peace, reverting to the pious life from which the people were alienating themselves. This proves that the masses, who are easily misled by bad examples, are

good and obedient to the just mandates of the authorities, and that the Government remains efficient, in spite of some laws which contradict and sometimes obstruct it to the point of forcing it to seriously consider the necessity of strengthening the rights which a few years ago were suppressed by the authority of the first representative of the Superior Majesty of the Nation in this separate territory.

I do not think there is anything more to add at this moment to what I have already related, Your Excellency, as the Government of His Majesty and Your Excellency know well with what pleasure and firm desire I support your most noble purposes for this territory, complying with duty and giving thanks for the trust that is bestowed on me.

May God grant you many more years, Manila, August 7, 1895.

(Sgd.) RAMON BLANCO

His Excellency, The Minister of Ultramar*

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MINISTERIO
DE
ULTRAMAR

Confidential

Your Excellency:

The measures adopted by Your Excellency to correct the disturbances which have existed for some time in the towns of Malolos and Taal, of which Your Excellency has informed me through official letters, inspired by such lofty and correct purposes, which result in justice and efficiency in an evident manner, corresponding fully with the power you possess; and by complying

* *Revista Filipina* (Phil. Review), November, 1918, Vol. III, No. 11, p 887.

with the suggestions that this Ministry will propose to the Gobierno General, which will not require superior sanction that we may consider beforehand as having been granted, it falls on this Ministry to make sure that they merit your complete approval, indeed not only by means of encouragement so that the Gobierno General will persevere in carrying out the action initiated, which although Your Excellency does not require it, it is necessary in order to confirm once more their satisfaction with your just decisions and well-thought out opinions.

The measures carried out in the two localities mentioned as a result of the investigation demonstrate to Your Excellency the grave harm caused by these secret societies, and reveal an evil of extraordinary seriousness which pose a danger, more or less remote, but certain. These secret societies, principally Masonry, have wielded great influence, in a disgracefully efficient way, resulting in the conflicts and setbacks in our colonies. This knowledge, which we have acquired at great cost, compels us to carry to the limit the measures of revision with rigor as well as prudent discretion. These societies, for being secret, illicit and harmful to the State, cause major harm in an area like the Philippines and whether they appear as "Masonic" or are exclusively anti-religious, they more or less exhibit separatist tendencies, it is feared that their efforts are directed against the motherland and the religion of the State. These can degenerate into centers of conspiracy against the sovereignty of the State and will be a cause of disturbance and a hindrance to the establishment of order, culture and good administration here where it is possible to take root. On the other hand, given the time and circumstances surrounding the case of Masonry as it exists now, this sect has had the opportunity to develop itself among the *insulares* [Philippine-born Spaniards]. As indicated by Your Excellency and publicly acknowledged in the Capital of that Archipelago and in the capitals and important provincial towns, there exist lodges, more or less numerous, and because of this, it is certain that, with total or incomplete solidarity in relation to their objectives, they maintain currents of understanding with the analogous centers in this Court and in Barcelona, and will establish, if they have not already done so, centers in those islands for those who because of fear of repression or to avoid corrective measures, are fleeing to Hongkong or Japan. It is therefore urgently necessary to pursue

with diligence and perseverance the laudable campaign undertaken by Your Excellency to tear out the roots of this evil or reduce to impotency those who persist in such a troublesome enterprise. To achieve this, the work should be carried out quickly and permanently by this Ministry and by the superior and provincial authorities for it to succeed in that territory. A plan is required that will provide unity and linkage to the proceedings, avoid discontinuity, permit perfect and easy recognition at all moments on related matters, and will assure attainment of the essential objective that is being pursued; and for the achievement and the stability of the measures which have been partially implemented and whose effects and examples could be transient. In view of the foregoing and taking into account what Your Excellency has expounded in the official letters of reference and what is contained in the Laws of the Indies, specifically in reference to those provisions cited in the Royal Order of August 2, 1888, His Majesty, the King and in his name the Queen Regent of the Reign orders: First: that the Gobierno General order anew the provincial and district heads to inquire, in a confidential manner as the case requires, as to the existence of secret societies in the localities under their jurisdiction, whatever their objectives are or are presumed to be, number and background of its members, relations or ties with other groups in the Capital of that Archipelago or in other points of the archipelago, and any other data which may be useful, and to submit a detailed account to Your Excellency. Second: that with the reports and precedents which may result from the information acquired and prior to the examination and clarifications which the case may require, the name of any person who is suspected to be a member of any society should be inscribed in a registry book that is to be kept by the Gobierno General, and to determine whether, in his judgment, these persons have separatist ideas, noting the increase or decrease in the number of members, the name of the society to which they are suspected of belonging to, including the data which the district and provincial heads should regularly submit, and recommending measures which should be adopted by the Gobierno General, being careful to record the residences of such persons. Third: to watch those persons listed in the Registry in a surreptitious manner, especially those who propagate the ideas and direct the work of those associations, and those who come from the peninsula, Hong Kong or Japan, and if there is reason for suspicion, to check if they are

carrying in their luggage proclamations, pamphlets, or any kind of printed matter which may be of a disturbing nature or contrary to the aims of the State. Fourth: In order to keep abreast of and be aware of the work done by Filipinos in Hong Kong or Japan, the Gobierno General should keep in touch with our Representatives or Consular Agents there, providing them with the necessary news and data to obtain the needed information. Fifth: To invite the Prelates and parish priests, in the form and manner which Your Excellency deems proper, to assist in this work in the interest of the country and for the orderly and religious life of the towns which the government hopes to achieve, and to prevent any emergencies which may occur, however remotely possible. Sixth: If it is not detrimental to the Tribunal in its efficient handling of the cases which may result against the individuals who form the nucleus of the secret societies, to place these persons in care of the Tribunal or, if this is not possible and the Gobierno General believes it is necessary to apply more rigorous measures which are within his administrative powers and when the Government prefers it, to deport or exile them to the Marianas, Balabac or Mindanao. There it will be easy to keep an eye on them, it will be difficult for them to escape, and they will be rendered harmless and may be reformed, while in the other case, they will swell the ranks of those already established in the Peninsula or in nearby foreign colonies, forming in these territories centers of danger, if not now by their actions, then through propaganda against the prestige and good name of Spain. Seventh: That leaving to Your Excellency's complete discretion the extent to which repressive measures should be applied, to indicate to the Gobierno General the necessity of applying the appropriate measures quickly and strictly in the capital of that archipelago where it is believed the largest contingent of "Masons" exists or where the leaders or principal officials of that evil sect reside, as well as the most intelligent and shrewdest conspirators who are principally responsible for the evil which we are trying to eradicate. Eighth: If there is a public official who takes active part in the propaganda activities or in the work of secret societies, to inform the Ministry of this; and Ninth: that the Gobierno General inform this Ministry of the results of the inquiry that is being conducted and the measures adopted as a consequence, to impress upon the provincial and district heads of the confidential nature of this matter and to take care as much as possible that in the implementation of this sovereign arrangement,

in no case to utilize officials who are not *peninsulares* [Spaniards born in Spain], in accordance with Your Excellency's recommendations, and to order them to adopt precautionary measures regarding the custody and remittance of official documents referring to this particular matter to avoid publicity which may nullify to a large extent the effectiveness of the arrangements.

I inform Your Excellency by Royal Order for the objectives expressed.

God grant Your Excellency many years. Madrid, July 2, 1896.

(Sgd.) TOMAS CASTELLANOS

TO THE GOVERNOR GENERAL
OF THE PHILIPPINE ISLAND*

We reproduce below, as a commentary of Epifanio de los Santos, on what Dr. Pardo de Tavera wrote regarding the issue:

"Dr. Pardo de Tavera, commenting on the "*Memoria*" of Gen. Blanco, says the following:

"Gen. Blanco informed the Minister of Ultramar in his confidential report No. 1888 dated August 7, 1895, about what had occurred. The priest had complained bitterly about the freemasons who, he said, existed in Malolos and Gen. Blanco stated: 'Coinciding with the accusations of the parish priest and confirming what the undersigned has investigated, this Gobierno General wrote to the Most Reverend Metropolitan Prelate asking that measures be implemented to correct this insubordination, this shameless hostility displayed by the municipality and other residents of Malolos against the Church and its Ministers, to cut the roots of this pernicious evil which this situation disclosed, indicating the illegality of what he assessed as "religious persecution" in a country where freedom of cults does not exist,

* *Revista Filipina* (Phil. Review), November, 1918, Vol. III, No. 11, p.881.

not even in the laws of tolerance, and attributes to the Masonic lodge the moral disorder of said town." General Blanco was, what was here called a liberal and a free thinker; nevertheless forgetting his theories and becoming subjugated to the ideas of the Archbishop, he adds these words addressed to the Minister: "Imbued with the ideas of the Prelate, I consider that this government listen to the opinion of the chief of the province. At that time the Civil Governor of Bulacan, who had been in this position for over two years, came forward and corroborated in essence the deeds that had been denounced and assessed these deeds as irreligious and later as anti-Catholic and the residents of Malolos in general, principally the Municipal Tribunal and its delegates who – referring to the Tribunal and the delegates – attempted to annoy the parish priest and make him lose face before the town, not because of his personal circumstances but "for being a parish priest and a friar" and affirmed without any fear of being mistaken, that the majority of the residents were Masons, but denied the existence of a Masonic lodge in this town.

The Inquisition had ended long ago but the principles it had defended remained, as can be seen, in the hands of a General who, like a modern Duke of Alba, put his sword to the throats of those who refused to become Catholic and showed themselves anti-religious. The zealous General-Inquisitor sent a special delegate to Malolos to investigate the situation there. The information obtained by the General was forwarded to the Ministry as follows: "The individuals comprising the Municipal Tribunal and some others were anti-Catholic and supposed to be affiliated with Masonry, and are active, although in an underhanded way, in the diminished propaganda movement. They themselves recognize that the Parish priest was a model priest, and that he had exhausted all the means of persuasion and gentleness to attract them; these same residents declared that their hostility was not provoked in any way by the Parish priest, that he had displayed the greatest desire to live in peace and harmony with them and they themselves were proposing that the parish priest should not have any influence in the town nor interfere in the municipality and that the town was capable of governing itself without any help from the ecclesiastical authority; that their aspiration was to avoid the influence of religious orders in the Philippines and that they had not attended the Te Deum to celebrate the victory of Marahuit because, having

nothing to do with the Church, they did not want to give the impression that they were giving up their ideals and intentions of remaining alienated from the Church.

Neither the members of the municipality nor the Municipal Captain could have made a more ingenuous nor more loyal declaration; nevertheless the spirit of the Inquisition, dormant in Blanco, makes itself manifest with regard to the frankness of the freemasons and leads him to write the following lines: "The audacious and irreverent declarations caused me much pain because of the ingratitude and perversity that they reveal, which, if these could be made compatible with love of the motherland and the Spanish name, would still give us reason to doubt the sincerity and the purity of these sentiments..." and continues speaking in the language of the friars of the 13th century, one of the Generals who was famous in the Philippines as a liberal and almost a freemason!

To punish the individuals of the municipality, he not only issued a decree for their removal from office, but wishing to keep such dangerous individuals away from Malolos, he banished them to the island of Mindanao. Prodded by a missionary zeal he does not hesitate to tell the Minister: 'I do not excuse, nor even attempt to minimize the gravity of the offenses of those I have just punished; but I have in conscience to acknowledge and declare that the bad examples I refer to and which at present continue to contribute in a powerful way to the opening of a path for these ideas that are meant to, if not exclusively, destroy or diminish the influence and prestige of the religious orders and even of the Church; it would be good to try to keep in mind what the wise laws of the Indies recommend: not to elect to public office persons who are active in specific societies....

Monastic power was crumbling in the Philippines; the friars were floundering, and to save them, the military authority was imposing their convictions through terrorist means; banishment is resorted to in order to contain anti-monastic propaganda; they complain against the application of the old laws of the Indies and recommend a return to the era of reactionism, of the most stupid intransigence and most odious intolerance, proposing that no Filipino could hold public office unless he was subservient to the friars.

But these remedies did not help; neither Blanco nor anyone could contain the ideas that were spreading in the country; the power of the friars was sinking, and by clinging to it, so was Spanish sovereignty.

The priest, Fr. Moises Santos, was finally able to sleep peacefully after Gen. Blanco expelled the renegades who had sown the bad seed and sent them to that distant island. But one day, when he was walking to the railway station to take a train for Manila, as he was approaching the station and before crossing a small bridge, three natives approached him. Thinking that they meant to kiss his hand, he extended it gravely. One of the men grabbed him violently and with his right hand stabbed him in the chest.

In an instant, all three were gone and the priest lay there in the middle of the road, agonizing and without assistance, bleeding to death. He was the last friar in Malolos. These last days of Spanish dominion preceded the declaration of war against the United States and led to the destruction of Montojo's squadron in Cavite."

To what has been said by Dr. Pardo de Tavera, we should add that General Blanco quickly regretted what he had done. Taking advantage of the publication of the biography of Rizal by Retana, he wrote in a letter dated January 14, 1906, the following:

"...I end this long letter by congratulating you for publishing a book which, if not timely, can serve as a lesson to those who do not know or do not wish to be convinced that it is not through punishment nor violence that towns of the 20th century are ruled. With the opening of the Suez Canal, ideas of progress and liberty came to the Philippines, which we had tried to contain in vain, instead of trying to channel and direct them; and the stew-pot burst, of course, because of the physical law that is impossible to counteract.

But the worst thing about the matter of the "*Memoria*" of Blanco was that the Minister, Señor Castellanos not only approved of his actions, but even ordered that the same measures be carried out in all the provinces of the Archipelago, an official decision that

really made the figurative stew-pot of General Blanco burst, naturally because of a physical law that is impossible to counteract.

There is no doubt whatsoever that the friars in the Spanish Government, considering their point of view, and its social, religious and legal composition, had reason to proceed as they did; but it is also certain that the Filipinos, because of natural law and the laws of progress, had to manifest their rights. Those who governed and those who were governed had reached a point in their struggle for their rights where the use of force was the only means left to achieve their objective. And, as an English critic aptly says in translating the thoughts of Joubert, in these cases, the might of the law while it upholds what is right, *la force en attendant le droit*. This force has become incarnate in the Katipunan.»*

* *Revista Filipina* (Phil. Review) November, 1918, Vol. III, No. 11, pp. 881-885.

APPENDIX B

PLARIDEL, SEPARATIST

By JAIME C. DE VEYRA

The review of the writings of *Plaridel* for the printing of his works provides me with the opportunity to remark on his historical position, which does not lack in importance even today. As far as I know, this point has not been adequately studied or clarified; even if not for this motive, there is no dearth of fundamental reasons to publish his writings.

It was the ex-Governor Blanco who said that *Plaridel* "was the most terrible among the Filipino politicians: the most intelligent, the true symbol of the separatists, far superior to Rizal," as Epifanio de los Santos says in his pamphlet which he dedicated to the study of Del Pilar's personality. "Far superior to Rizal"; this expression is too strong for Filipino ears, and this was affirmed by a Spanish Governor when he defended his policy of "non-severity" before the Spanish Senate and later asserting, when he declared to Retana in the latter's great biography of Rizal, that had he continued in command, "he would not have ordered his execution."

These "recollections" bring to mind a passage from his letter of May 24, 1889, a few months after he had arrived in Spain and about four months since the establishment of the *La Solidaridad* in Barcelona, which was being directed by Del Pilar. It must be kept in mind that at that time there were no indications whatsoever of the political-social disagreements between him and Rizal, disagreements which did not arise until two or three years later.

The letter referred to [see Letter No. 68] was written by *L.O. Crame*, one of Del Pilar's pseudonyms, and in the manuscript (No. 65 of the collection) which reads thus: "from L.O. Crame to Pepe (Rizal, in parenthesis); the context leaves no room for doubt that Crame (Del Pilar) addresses himself to Rizal (Pepe); at that time, there was no one among the Filipinos who were active, or who had enough influence to dare have connections with *Plaridel*

except José (Pepe) Rizal. Panganiban (also José) was one of those with *La Solidaridad* and so there was no need for Crame to write to him, being in Barcelona, while Rizal was then preparing the annotations on Morga (1889).

And what was Crame-Del Pilar telling him in this brief letter? Here are his words:

“.... I, on my part, wish that the propaganda work be finished this year (1889), or next year, at the latest, and if we are not in our element, we cannot move on to the second part of our campaign. I must remind you of the need to be cautious. I may be wrong in my opinion regarding your feelings; I only judge by similar antecedents.” The brief letter ends with this familiar exclamation: “*En fin, vos cuidado, Choy!*” {Chabacano phrase meaning “It’s up to you, Choy!”}

A paragraph of the letter attempts to gauge the mood of Don Pedro Roxas, recently arrived in Paris, whose reserved attitude in the past was unknown to those who were active in the propaganda movement headed by Lopez Jaena, Rizal and Del Pilar; we repeat, there is no doubt that the letter was addressed to Pepé Rizal in London.

Now then, publicity work was calculated “to end during the year (1889) or at the latest the following year. Del Pilar’s letters to his wife Chanay or Tsanay (Marciana) mentions repeatedly his impatience to return to the Philippines; in one of them (June 12, 1889) he says that he was only waiting for the month of November to receive his doctorate in law and return immediately to his country.

The letter offers other extremes “... and if we are not in our element, we will not be able to proceed to the second part of our campaign.” What “elements,” and above all, what “second part” of the campaign? Let us consider the action, the violence which the expression seems to allude to.

In the pamphlets of Rizal – “About the indolence of of the Filipinos”, and particularly, “The Philippines Within a Hundred Years,” – there are phrases which indicate desperation, in which case the allegations, in word or in writing, will turn out to be in

vain, inaccurate, and even useless. Are these the elements which Del Pilar laments are lacking? What then would the "second part" be? Was this a call for violence? Undoubtedly, there was mutual understanding between Del Pilar and Rizal: neither one of them – especially when writing in private – would dare to use such expressions without a reason.

When it comes to this, a thought occurs to me regarding the "incognito" [unknown quantity] of Rizal: was he a separatist or simply a 'progressive', in favor of the Hispanization of the Philippines and its conversion into one of the Spanish provinces? This was repeatedly mentioned by him and Del Pilar, based on the principal argument for representation in the Spanish Cortes. Rizal, while in Dapitan, a political exile, confides in Commander Carnicero, supporting the much-vaunted issue of representation. Representation, and nothing else. For his devotees, this seemed penurious, but to Carnicero, it was most reasonable. It was on this basis that Retana, in his monumental biography of Rizal, concluded that Rizal was not a separatist. Unamuno, imbued with the same ideas and sentiments of Rizal, arrived at the same conclusion.

Not long ago, I raised the issue of this dilemma in my article "Rizal in front of an Enigma". Agreeing with me, Teodoro M. Kalaw – one of our greatest thinkers – sharing his reflections on Rizal as a revolutionary, a point that Ongpin raised in a paper, saying nothing more than Retana and Unamuno had previously stated. His analysis was purely philosophical, meaning he was revolutionary in his ideas, as Unamuno considered him to be, among the idealistic revolutionaries, incapable of action.

This thought brings me to the essay of Palma on the purpose of *El Filibusterismo*: in his opinion this work of Rizal was not merely revolutionary in thesis or leaning, but an invitation, an inducement to arm the Revolution, which is contrary to the opinion or conclusion of Retana that Rizal's work was not separatist. Palma, without apparently refuting him, goes on directly to affirm that Rizal, when he wrote his second novel, "had altered his plans completely," tired as he was, like Del Pilar, by the "legal" campaign – oral and written – and was appealing for force, for arms, for an active Revolution. Palma, I repeat, reverts to the

impression that the work originally made on him the first time he read it, and recalls a work of his (around 1889), for which he was awarded a prize in a public competition, and after rereading the *Filibusterismo* over the years, his original impression remained. And not only this, but considering the misfortunes that befell Rizal, and aggravated by financial problems, he even considered destroying his own manuscript. I continue to insist that Palma, after listening to the confidences of his intimate friends, like Apacible and Alejandrino, who assured him that indeed Rizal was not, beneath the innuendos of *El Filibusterismo*, the pro-Spanish conservative of *Noli Me Tángere*, but in reality and indeed, a true revolutionary in favor of armed action. This is opposed to the 'integrist' opinions of Retana and Unamuno, and the idealists of a subsequent revolution.

And what about Del Pilar? Before our eyes, the words of General Blanco in his article 'The True *Verbo* of the Separatists' shine clearly. I think I have read all of Del Pilar's writings, or almost all of them, but in the archives of my memory, I cannot find any phrases that concretely support the affirmation of General Blanco. He was an anti-friar, par excellence; he was their mortal enemy, their constant and everlasting vanquisher, who did not fail to denounce their smallest deeds; was he also a separatist?

Epifanio de los Santos wrote a brilliant paper: MARCELO H. DEL PILAR. Santos was the man who, in his investigation and writings, left no stone unturned, and no loose ends. In this work, there is a chapter entitled "Is Del Pilar the Founder or the Inspiration of the Katipunan?" Santos looks into everything: he does not find any data that confirms *Plaridel's* participation in the Katipunan. The Katipunan was Andrés Bonifacio, Emilio Jacinto its embodiment, and in the words of Santos, "it may be said that if Del Pilar was not the founder of the Katipunan, he was at least its inspiration." This is all.

Nevertheless, it has been a common belief of those outside the circle of the erudite and especially of those contemporary Spanish writers during the period of the Katipunan, that *Plaridel* was its creator, its soul, the moving spirit that gave it life. Santos wrote that Andres Bonifacio, besides following all his suggestions to the letter, devoutly kept copies of all of Del Pilar's letters to Ka

Dato (Deodato Arellano, brother in law, and practically a brother of Del Pilar). All the laws of the Katipunan only took final shape after Del Pilar gave his approval, and above all, with his personal announcement to his family that he was coming home, convinced that "peaceful negotiations on legal ground had failed, and his duty was to fight as a soldier for the motherland."

GLOSSARY

Alcalde Mayor – Provincial governor.

Barangay - Village administrative unit composed of between 30 and 50 families organized into a political unit.

Cabeza de barangay - Headman of a village administrative unit with administrative and minor magisterial authority; local official charged by the Spaniards with collecting the tribute or taxes of his barangay.

Comadre – Name given reciprocally by the mother and godmother of a child.

Compadre – Name given reciprocally by the father and godfather of a child.

Cortes – Spanish parliament.

Council of the Indies – Royal Council of the Indies, formed to advise the King on matters pertaining to Spain's overseas empire.

Cuadrillero – Local police.

Gobernadorcillo – Municipal administrator and magistrate in Filipino towns. Like the Alcalde Mayor on the provincial level, he had both executive and judicial functions. The Cabezas de barangay were subject to him. Also later called Capitan Municipal.

Guardia Civil – Regional police force.

Indio – Person indigenous to the Philippines.

Insular – Spaniard born in the islands.

Ministro/Ministerio de Ultramar – The Minister/Ministry in the 19th century Spanish government in charge of the Philippines, Cuba, Puerto Rico and other Spanish colonies.

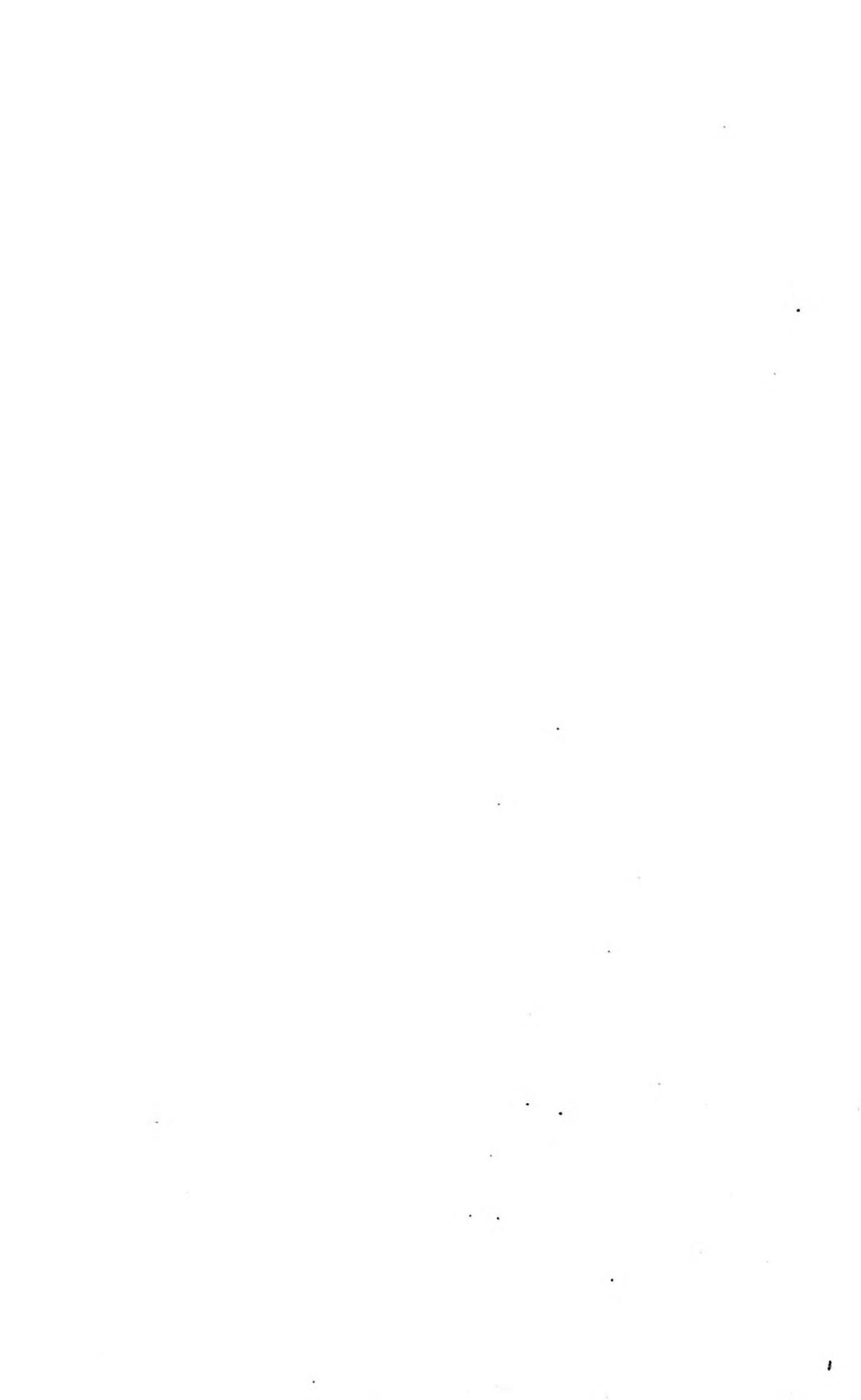
Panguigui – Game of chance, played with cards, much favored by women and Chinese.

Peninsular – Spaniard born in Spain.

Quioquiap – pseudonym of Pablo Feced, author of various articles against the Filipinos.

Real Audiencia – High court of review and appeal.

Real Hacienda – Treasury Department; otherwise referred to as the Intendencia General de Hacienda.



Marcelo H. del Pilar was, together with Mariano Ponce and Jose Rizal, part of the triumvirate that led the so-called Propaganda Movement in Spain. As editor of *La Solidaridad*, he exposed the ills of the Spanish colonial rule in the Philippines.

This collection of his letters written between 1882 and 1895 sheds light on his heroism and his private life. Originally published in Spanish in 1955, the great collection is now translated into English for a new generation of readers interested in the life of a great Filipino patriot.