



Jose Rizal

LETTERS WITH
FAMILY MEMBERS

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FOREWORD

The José Rizal National Centennial Commission has been charged by law with the preparation for a fitting and dignified celebration of the First Centenary of the birth of the National Hero of the Philippines, José Rizal. The objectives set for the Commission to meet include, among others, the publication of all the works of the Hero in the original languages in which they were written as well as their translations into English and the principal languages of the Philippines.

Appearing in several volumes, the greater part of the Centennial Edition consists of Centennial issues for the general diffusion of Rizal's ideas. The whole set covers the whole field of the Hero's writings, namely, reminiscences and travels, all his extant letters known to the Commission; poems and prose works. The novels *Noli me Tangere* and *El Filibusterismo*, his edition of Morga's *Sucesos de las Islas Filipinas*, political and historical writings, facsimiles of some of his other works and selected excerpts from his philosophical thoughts. Besides the above we have additional volumes containing the excerpts of the writings about our hero by his contemporaries and others. — Filipinos and foreigners as well as poems dedicated to him; a bibliography of his writings and published works of others about him; a Rizaliana album containing pictures, sketches, maps and other items associated with the life of the Hero.

This is the entire range of the Centennial Edition which the National Heroes Commission takes pleasure to present to the reading public — to know from his own works who José Rizal really was, and to evaluate and appreciate his contributions to the welfare of his country and of mankind. There is no better way of paying homage to the memory of Rizal, aside from the cultural buildings to be constructed in his honor, than to collect all his works and those about him by others, and prepare them for easy understanding of the people for whose cause he chose to die.

ALEJANDRO R. ROCES
(Secretary of Education)
Chairman
National Heroes Commission

The first of these is the *Journal of the Proceedings of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland*, 1844-5. It is a volume of 100 pages, and contains a full and complete account of the proceedings of the General Assembly, from the opening of the session to the closing of the same. It is a most valuable work, and one which every member of the Church should possess.

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ALFRED R. BROWN

Author of

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1. Rizal, Calamba, 26 March 1876

Calamba, 26 March 1876

MY DEAR GRANDMA ILLANG,¹

After an exceedingly tiresome trip we arrived at Calamba at eleven o'clock at night. So that you may have an idea of how distressful was my trip I tell you we were detained at Napindan until six o'clock in the evening.²

Receive from José two bags of cacao which are equivalent to twenty-five gantas, that is, one cavan.³ If the photographers bring you the proof, as you know how to distinguish the good from the bad, you may decide and if you are not sure, you may send it to me. My sister Saturnina requests you to give her a lottery list for the month of December '76.

Nothing more, regards to you and my dear aunts and command your obliging and affectionate grandson who cherishes you,

RIZAL

¹ Mrs. Eliasilia Bauzon de Leyba, an elderly relative residing at Manila.

² In Rizal's time one went from Manila to Calamba and vice versa on small steamers via the Pasig River. Napindan is the name of the mouth of the Pasig River opening on the lake, that is, Laguna de Bay.

³ *Ganta* and *cavan* are dry measures, still in use. A *cavan* is equivalent to 75 liters, one *cavan* is 25 gantas.

2. Rizal, Manila, 2 July 1876

Manila, 2 July 1876

MY DEAR SISTERS AND BROTHER,

I received the beaded slippers which were your birthday gift to me and I'm very glad because they were made by you and because my first name and surname are on them.

I'm now studying philosophy, physics and chemistry, natural history, drawing, and gymnastics¹ I thought that I had to do water-color painting, that is, with colors, but I was mistaken. Nevertheless, I'm drawing a beautiful picture — "Bugler on Horseback" — and I intend to paint in oil when I study at Santo Tomás.

I'm well, but Pantaleón,² for the information of his family has been sick for eighteen days now.

You'll receive my grades in my next letter. Tell our father and our mother that I ask them for their blessings and my little sisters³ to study diligently.

Regards to all the family, to my other two sisters,⁴ to my dear brother-in-law Ranito,⁵ and to the little Emilio.⁶

I hope my brother will give me news about the feast.

Your little brother,

JOSÉ RIZAL

¹ Rizal was then a boarding student at the Ateneo Municipal de Manila in the fifth year of the secondary course.

² Pantaleón Quintero who later married his younger sister Soledad.

³ His little sisters then Josefa, Trinidad, and Soledad.

⁴ His married sisters Narcisa (Mrs. Antonino López) and Lucía (Mrs. Mariano Herbosa).

⁵ Diminutive for Mariano Herbosa.

⁶ Emilio, the eldest son of Mr. and Mrs. Antonino López.

3. Manuel T. Hidalgo, Tanawan, Batangas,
10 February 1877

Rizal's graduation

* * *

Tanawan, Batangas
10 February 1877

MR. JOSÉ RIZAL MERCADO

MY DEAR JOSÉ,

With the object of greeting you and at the same time of asking you for the date of your graduation I permit myself to address you these lines, requesting you to tell me if you wish to make some preparation for the occasion so that I may be able to contribute something to it to show you my affection.

In the meantime, know that I profess you a great affection, and command your servant in whatever he can be useful to you. A thousand regards.

Affectionately yours,

MANUEL TIMOTEO HIDALGO¹

¹ Husband of Rizal's sister Saturnina, affectionately called Manéng.

4. Rizal, Calamba, 13 April 1877.

Calamba, 13 April 1877

MY DEAR GRANDMA ILLANG,

Receive from the bearer eight and a half (8 1/2) gantas of cacao¹ worth 14 pesos and 7 reales.² My mother has not picked more than this until now and she has ordered some from the mountain, that is, from those living in the mountain, so that she can send you some more. We received the day bed of Old Teang, but it was already ruined.

They say that the picture has a defect or defects and I don't know if we are going to order any. If that photographer insists, I believe it would be better to take only a dozen.

Command your most affectionate grandson who cherishes you sincerely.

RIZAL

¹ *Theobroma cacao*, Linn. from which chocolate is made.

² Eight reales made a peso. A real was an old Spanish silver coin.

5. Saturnina Rizal, Calamba, 10 October 1879

Regards to Leonor Rivera

* * *

Calamba, Laguna
10 October 1879

DEAR BROTHER,

Don't forget the drum and the butterfly that are sold at the Escolta.

Tell Titay to send me quickly my anchor-ring that I ordered them to make me and see also if our accounts tally.

With nothing more, my regards to Aunt Betang, Uncle Antonio, Leonor and tell Aunt Betang to remove at once from the basket the mandarin oranges so that they will not be spoiled.

SATURNINA

P. S.

Compliments to the comedians and circus players and to Apacible and Alberto.

6. Rizal, [Manila,] 27 July 1880

[Manila,] 27 July 1880

MY DEAR BROTHER,

I received your letter and I'm informed of its contents.

Anastacio¹ is safe in the college for he has not cracked up. Moreover, the Father Rector does not allow any one to go out.

My pillow is now almost useless. Let us see if you can send me two new ones, and I say two so that if any of you comes, he may have his own. I would like them also to have their corresponding cases and I would like some sheets.

I gave two pesos to the Rubios, and I should like you to send me my monthly allowance for August as Nanay and I had agreed. I shall have the greatest pleasure if you do me this great favor.

Nothing more, love to all, and command your brother.

JOSÉ RIZAL.

¹ Anastacio Banatin, son of *Capitán* Juan Banatin, *gobernadorcillo* of Calamba from 1867 to 1868.

7. Rizal, [Manila]

[Manila]

MRS. TEODORA ALONSO

MY VERY DEAR MOTHER,

Yesterday at 3:10 I arrived at Manila safely and in the finest weather.

I found my brother-in-law Antonino and Dandoy at the house of his sister and they asked me about you there.

My classes are beginning. I expect to ask for a few days of vacation to spend them with you there, the only place where I'm happy.

Nothing more, affectionate regards to my good brothers and friends as well as to my loving sisters and may you and my father bless me.

Your son who loves you dearly,

RIZAL.

Uncle Antonio¹ sends you regards.

¹ Antonio Rivera. See note 1, letter 9.

8. Paciano Rizal, Calamba, 30 July 1880

A reptile for the Jesuit Fathers

* * *

Calamba, 30 July 1880

DEAR BROTHER,

A message from the Observatory has been received at this station predicting a flood. Find out from the Jesuit Fathers about the truth of this and in case it is true, you ought to come home at once because by then you will not be able to get out of there. Moreover this is the wish of our elders.

On Monday I shall send you all the things that you ask in your letter by special delivery of Capitán Juan who will bring a very unique reptile that he is presenting to the museum of the Jesuit Fathers.

Though Dámaso was opposed to the payment that ought to be made to your Uncle Ramón, as I told you in my previous letter, now he has a more conciliatory attitude, perhaps in order to avoid lawsuits.

Your brother,

PACIANO

9. *Taimis* (Leonor Rivera), Manila, 2 January 1881

Manila, 2 January 1881

ESTEEMED FRIEND,

I received your letter dated 30 of last month and I am informed of its contents.

If I have not answered your letters, it was not because I'm bored corresponding with you. In fact, twice I wrote replies, but on the day I did so, nobody came to visit me at the college,¹ so I destroyed them, and besides I was already embarrassed.

I am doubtful if the letter is yours, because the signature is different. Perhaps you have put another name, fearing that I might despise it and if I despise it, it will not be your name that will be despised but somebody else's. If that is what you think, you are mistaken for you do not know how glad I am when I receive one of your dear letters; but you did well in putting another name in case, as you say, it may fall into the hands of strangers.

Command your servant who kisses your hand.²

TAIMIS

* ¹ Leonor Rivera (1867-1893) was then a boarding-student at the Colegio de la Inmaculada Concepción, popularly called Colegio de la Concordia, established in *La Concordia*, at Sta. Ana, Manila, former country-place of the donor and founder of the colegio, the philanthropist Mrs. Margarita Roxas de Ayala. Here also Rizal's sisters studied.

Though she addressed Rizal as "Esteemed Friend", the two were blood relations. Her father, Antonio Rivera, was the "Uncle Antonio" in Rizal's letters. Her letters to Rizal were signed *Taimis*, her name in cipher. She became Rizal's fiancée.

² Literal translation of the formal closing of a letter in Spanish.

10. *Taimis* (Leonor Rivera), Manila, 28 December 1881

Manila, 28 December 1881

ESTEEMED JOSÉ

I would be glad if on the receipt of this you are in good health and happy.

I was very much surprised that you had a letter for Papa and none for me; but at first when they told me about it I did not believe it, because he did not expect that a person like you would do such a thing. But later I was convinced that you are like a newly opened rose, very flushed and fragrant at the beginning, but afterwards it begins to wither. Before, however, when I did not write you, you wrote me, but now no more. It seems that you have imitated my example when I went to Antipolo¹ and you have done wrong because I was not at my own house, and besides you know very well that you cannot hide any thing from those girls. I could very well write to Papa, but in order that you might not say anything, I did not, though Mama had ordered me to do so. You cannot have these pretexts because you are at your home and nobody meddles with you. Truly I tell you that I'm very resentful for what you have done and for another thing that I'll tell you later when you come.

Excuse the writing and all the mistakes you find in it. Command at your pleasure your true servant who kisses your hand,

TAIMIS

¹A town, now in Rizal Province, famous for its miraculous Virgin of Peace and Good Voyage and as a summer resort.

11. Rizal, [Manila, 1881]

Manila, 1881

MR. PACIANO MERCADO
(Calamba)

MY DEAR BROTHER,

The survey¹ which I have to make is as unreliable and informal as so many are said and thought to be. At any rate I'll go there to spend two days.

I have my license signed by the Office of Forest Inspection.

Your brother,

J. RIZAL

¹ Rizal studied surveying at the Ateneo Municipal de Manila and received a surveyor's diploma in 1881. Apparently his brother had asked him to survey a piece of land belonging to the family.

12. Rizal, Madrid, 17 January 1882

Rizal would prefer that his brother-in-law-Ubaldo devoted himself to farming.

✻ ✻ ✻

Madrid, 17 January 1882

MR. SILVESTRE UBALDO¹

MY DEAR BROTHER-IN-LAW,

I received your letter of 23 December and I'm informed of its content. I thank you for your perseverance in writing me, but I wish you to know that I've already answered your two letters, which I appreciate very much. I guess you have not yet received my reply on account of the great distance separating us.

I regret exceedingly your inability to return to our town so that all of you can be together, which is one of my wishes. That is the disadvantage of being in the king's service.

I'm gladdened by your news that Sra. Ipia went home to Calamba, about Christmas bearing my best wishes of the season.

I'm not going to tell you any more about the various things that have happened to me because I have already related them in my letters home. In case you go home, you may ask for them.

I'll see if I can do something for you at the ministry, but my acquaintances are still few. If you didn't expect much from the post you hold, I believe it would be much better if you would devote yourself to farming. However, it is a pity to give up a thing that ought to bring you honor.

It's good that I've nothing more to wish with regard to my present situation as well as my health; that is also what I wish you and your wife. Give my regards to your brothers, Sra. Ipia, who turned out to be stout as I believed. Tell her to stop wriggling.

This is all.

J. RIZAL

¹ Husband of his sister Olimpia (Sra. Ipia). He was then an employee in the government general office of communications (Inspección General de Comunicaciones), being stationed in Bulacan. He asks Rizal to work for his transfer to Calamba.

13. Paciano Rizal, Manila, 26 May 1882

Effect of Rizal's departure — Grief of his parents — Comments of the friars — *The Diariong Tagalog* — The real purpose of Rizal's departure for Europe.

* * *

Manila, 26 May 1882

DEAR BROTHER,

Yesterday I received at the townhall of Calamba through Maneng your letter dated at Singapore. As I was going to Manila, after reading it, I sent it to our house. I cannot tell you in this letter then the impression it produced there. As for me, I'm glad that you have had a happy voyage until the first port of call and above all that your fellow passengers did not continue treating you with indifference. I'm only sorry not to have set right that *Alcalde*, for you could stay in Italy on your own means.

When the telegram informing us of your departure was received in Calamba, as it was natural, our parents were grieved, especially the old man who became taciturn, always staying in bed, and weeping at night, and the consolation offered by the family, the curate, and strangers was of no avail. He made me go to Manila to find out with what means you were able to undertake the voyage. On my return I assured them that your expenses were defrayed by some friends of yours in Manila, hoping that this would calm them. Notwithstanding, he remained always sad. Seeing this and fearing that his taciturnity might degenerate into a malady, I told him everything, but to him alone, begging him to keep the secret and he promised to do so. Only since then have I seen him a little gay and return to his usual ways. This is what occurred in the family.

With regard to the friends, acquaintances, and strangers in the town and environs, your trip was the topic of conver-

sation for many days. They conjectured and guessed, but nobody hit the bull's eye.

Yesterday I was with the friars. Some approved your departure, others did not. As we have adopted this measure (because in my opinion it is the best), we should stick to it.

Day before yesterday the brother of B. Teodoro arrived at the house in order to go around Laguna and Batangas in search for subscribers to the *Diariang Tagalog*, carrying many copies of the prospectus of that periodical. I helped him in everything I can and I believe, and also according to his own report, our town will not be behind any in the province, so that you have a better idea of what it is in reality.

Tacio has been suffering from typhoid fever for two weeks now and the physician attending him, Lucino, entertains no hope of saving him. Twice the lad sent his servant to our house to call you, for he was sure you have already returned from your trip.

As I said, I went down to Manila after your departure where your letters were delivered to me. I have forwarded them to their respective destinations. I will not take home yet your things here in Manila, but I'll do so later, as Uncle Antonio and I have agreed. With regard to your other orders, I see no inconvenience in following them.

I have delivered to Uncle Antonio a sum which he will send you in draft. Read this letter which is enclosed.

They have assured me that you have accepted a letter of credit from certain persons from here. You have not said anything on this matter in any of your letters.

It is said here that you will finish the medical course at Barcelona and not at Madrid. To me the principal purpose of your departure is not to finish this course but to study other things of *greater usefulness*, or that to which you are more inclined. So I think that you ought to study at Madrid, center of all the provinces, because, though it is true that there is more life, more work, and better education at Barcelona, you have not gone there either to take part in that kind of life or much less to work. And as regards good instruction, in case it is not found in Madrid, the diligence of the student will make up for it. It is, therefore, convenient for you to be there beside our fellow countrymen who can guide you while you are not yet familiar with things. I don't know if this suits you. As for me, I would be very glad if it did. At any rate, don't fail to answer this point, because I'm very much in favor of it.

On the 22nd of this month I finished the work on the sugar with a harvest of less than one-half of last year's but I hope to sell it at a double price, so that we shall lose nothing.

Yesterday I left the whole family in good health at Calamba, getting ready for our town fiesta. I'm at Uncle Antonio's house where I am writing this letter. Your dear brother is also in good health.

Paciano

P.S.

Yesterday, when I left our town, the engineers were tracing the railroad to the south, and it is said that wherever it will pass, they will not respect either houses or plants. I don't know if the warehouse and the plants in Real¹ will be among them. Nothing is said about compensation.

¹ The name of a barrio of Calamba where sugar-cane plantations were found.

14. Rizal, Suez Canal, 7 June [1882]

Travel impressions — Aden — The Desert — Suez — The Canal
His good health — Expecting letters from home.

* * *

Suez Canal, 7 June [1882]

MY DEAR PARENTS,

The last letter I wrote you was at Aden before disembarking. This will inform you about the rest.

I went down at Aden, which, as I have told you perhaps, is a town of little importance by itself, but it is important to the steamers that take on coal there. The town is composed of numerous hillocks and rocks, all bare and arid, without even a plant, on which stand some lonely and gloomy houses, white indeed, but with a funeral aspect. The ground, like its sun, is hot and hard; the wind, loaded with burning sand, disturbs now and then the quietness of its well-made but deserted streets. At intervals and as if forcing itself to enliven those places, can be seen camels walking majestically and rhythmically, tall and big, forming a contrast to the humble asses, some of which are very short, like a hog, of abrupt and somewhat hasty pace. Everywhere is death, neither a root nor a leaf. Only man, perhaps in order to give a proof of his power, lives there, plants cannot; but, alas, it's only to give a spectacle of his poverty and degradation, compelled as he is to contend with the granite for his existence. But English power is worthy of its name and it opens there two beautiful tunnels, one of which is as long as the distance from Capitana Danday's house until that of my brother-in-law Mariano, and the other is one half less. These bore through live rock and when one is in the middle of the first, one finds himself in complete darkness. If by any chance one sees a space of ground as large as a dish in which a little grass grows, it is a phenomenon that attracts every-

This and letters 15, 51, 52, 53, 55, 95, 96, 124, 125, 126, and 222 are also found in *Reminiscences and Travels of José Rizal*, vol. I, Rizal Centennial Edition, Manila, 1961.

body's attention. Within the town proper can be seen some limp and rickety trees of which the tallest is not more than three *varas*. Besides the tunnels there are other things that call the attention of the travelers and they are the cisterns or reservoirs. These are some large cavities, whitened with stucco, formed by the mountain and a wall which, with the rock, form a receptacle. Imagine some five dams with the wall that, instead of being of stone like that we have there, is of very hard granite, there being a granite mountain here, but all whitened, with stone railings and very well made stairs of granite also. Beside this, instead of abaca plants as we have there, there are tiny plants whose leaves can be counted and some signs that prohibit the picking of a *flower or leaves*. Instead of water and its beautiful and boisterous falls, there's nothing but complete aridity, not even a drop of water, and the hottest sun. At one place there is a well of about one hundred *varas* deep whose bottom cannot be seen and from where five Negroes get water, which takes two minutes to come up to the surface.

In the shops are found skins of lion, tiger, panther, and leopard, ostrich eggs and feathers, and some children whose *occupation is to fan the travelers*.

From Aden, town of great divers and swimmers who pick up small coins thrown into the water, we headed for Suez through the Red Sea. On the first day it was so terribly hot that many fainted, even a waiter of the ship. In the following days it was fairly cool and the sailing was good. We saw Mount Siani, Egypt, etc. We also met many ships. On the 2nd June we arrived at Suez.

A little steamer came alongside and placed us under quarantine for 24 hours. We were embarrassed. It was because of the Dutch on board who came from Java. On 3 June the Turkish physician came up to inspect the ship and the sick and to fumigate and disinfect us.

The physician informed us of the revolt in Egypt led by Arabi Bey, Minister of² who imprisoned the Khedive in his palace. It seems that there is a coup d'état. Like the entire army he is a partisan of the minister. I conversed with him in French and I learned that he was educated in Paris

² He was Arabi Pasha, an army officer, who led a revolt against the foreigners in Egypt with the slogan "Egypt for the Egyptians". The anti-foreign agitation began with riots in Alexandria in June 1882 in which fifty Christians were killed. The disorder spread and the British intervened with armed force. They bombarded Alexandria on 11 July 1882 and then landed troops which clashed with those of Arabi. On 13 September Arabi was finally defeated at Tel-el-Kebir. He was captured and sent to Ceylon.

15. Rizal, Barcelona, 23 June 1882

Travel impressions — Port Said — Napoli — Marseille Sightseeing —
Barcelona — Visits factories of porcelain, glass, ceramics — Sees
many things which are applicable in the Philippines.

* * *

Barcelona, 23 June 1882

MY DEAR PARENTS AND BROTHERS,

I have the pleasure to write you today, the eve of the town feast there (Calamba), a memorable day for me, although it is not the day of the departure of the mail boat. My last letter, dated in the Canal, must have informed you of the incidents of my trip; it remains for me then to relate what happened after that. We arrived at this important city, Port Said, that partakes much of Africa and Europe; commercial, gay, and quite beautiful, but, on the other hand, dirty and corrupt. There is a cafe-musical where an orchestra, an excellent one, according to those who know, plays the national songs of the different European countries, like the *Marçailleise*, *God Save the Queen*, and others. Its population is most heterogenous: European, Turks, Greeks, Egyptians, and Negroes. Variety of fruits: the date about all; elegant stores with signs in French, Italian, Greek, and others, and dirty and dark booths adorn its animated streets. We were here for about three hours. It must be noted that we didn't find even . . . (illegible)

At the beginning, the sailing was good, we passed opposite Greece, the Island of Candia; on the 10th, with good weather, we sighted the coast of Italy; the first town we saw was . . . (illegible) with a very beautiful beach which at the time a train was crossing. Thence the sailing was very pleasant on account of the beauty of the Italian coasts, thickly populated and well cultivated, presenting a picturesque aspect, full of life and poetry. That resembled a Belen¹ on account of its

¹ *Belen* is the Tagalog, and Spanish name for Bethlehem. The Tagalogs also called *Crèche Belén* the reproduction of Christ's birthplace that Christian Filipinos put up in their homes at Christmas time.

many houses and little trees. On the same afternoon of the 10th we passed through the Strait of Messina with a sea so smooth that we didn't notice a single wave. We saw the volcanoes Stromboli and Etna and other islands. Sicily and Naples, even if we have not yet passed them, appeared before our eyes bathed in the beautiful rays of the afternoon sun. The following day, at dawn, Napoli (Naples) appeared to us, a gigantic city which lays asleep beside Vesuvius, a volcano that seems to be guarding this wonderful city. Its extent from Pasilipo Mountain until the other extreme, all populated, would be the same as from the town of Calamba until beyond Los Baños. Elegant edifices, like that of the Royal Palace, the Castle of Santelmo or St. Telmo, numerous hotels, the Tower of Massaniello, and the lugubrious State prison. We were not allowed more than one hour to go ashore which I spent visiting Napoli at the risk of being left behind. Those who of us who went ashore were four, and accompanied by a cicerone we went around the city. It was the first European city I passed through. From pleasure to pleasure, from surprise to surprise, in an elegant coach, guided by a cicerone who spoke French, I went through those streets, carefully paved with large, black, flat paving stones, and crossed by street cars. Statues, fountains, monuments, arches erected here and there, very tall houses, stores and show-windows glittering for the lavish use of gilt and crystal, attract the attention of the traveler, above all if he comes from the colonies. A throng that speak a melodious language come and go continually, elegant ladies and gentlemen walk through the streets. At the street corners are announcements or notices to the Freemasonry of the whole world concerning the death of Garibaldi.² I went to the telegraph station with various orders and afterwards in twenty minutes we went around the city, the Posilipo, various churches vyingly full of statues, squares with antique marble statues or copies of them, like those of Apollo, Faunus, Orestes, equestrian statues, the Fountain of the Four Seasons, represented by four superb lions, a museum of antiquities from Herculaneum and Pompeii.

How sorry I am not to be able to stop to see it, study it, examine it more closely and a little more carefully. Almost one moment more and the boat would leave me behind. But all this magnificent panorama cost me much, because coachman and cicerone cheated me, charging me four times more

² Giuseppe Garibaldi (1807-1882), Italian patriot, who labored for the unification of his native country.

the only one who stepped out on the balcony. The stores have their glass doors closed so that the cold may not get in, and at first I didn't enter them believing that it was prohibited to do so. Almost all the articles displayed to the public have their prices beside them; and it must be noted that everything is cheap.

But many people moved about; there were vendors of fruits, newspapers, and flowers; there were booths where oysters, mussels, and shrimps were sold. The sidewalks of Rue Cannebière are as wide as an ordinary street and I was much struck that one enters a place with very elegant signs in gilt and crystal, the like of which cannot be found in Manila, and finds himself in a passable café.

I saw the gallery of paintings where there were excellent pictures and statues, the zoological garden with its lions, bears, panthers, elephants, and a carabao. I was not able to see many animals because that was a very big place and I got tired. There was a department for monkeys from all parts of the world. There were some that resembled human beings, extending their hands to you as if asking about your health. The museum of natural history didn't escape my curiosity.

I saw also the Panorama which is a circular building. You go inside and you see dead soldiers beside a cannon, and they seem to be sculpture, and you come to a place where you see on all sides a real siege with cavalry, with soldiers surrendering their arms, skirmishes, etc. Everything there is an illusion. You think such a horse is moving, that the dead man is kicking, that the smoke of the fire is rising, that the howitzer is striking the snow of the distant mountain, far horizons, the snow, the chief who is shouting, so that we got into a discussion as to whether all of these were paintings or sculpture. Being there without looking through a cosmorama, you feel as if you are on the battlefield itself. The whole place is a continuous field and the rogues even offer you binoculars in order to see better.

I left Marseille by express train on the afternoon of the 5th, because all the trains that go from Marseille to Barcelona are express. The ticket is very cheap — 12 pesos and 3 pesetas, first class. You travel at full speed of from five to six leagues⁴ per hour. By boat the trip costs almost as much and it's more uncomfortable. We were going at such speed that when we met trains running in the opposite direction, it was physically impossible to look at them because your head would turn around.

⁴ A measure of distance varying for different times and countries from 3.9 to 7.4 kilometers.

That was infernal, it seemed like lightning, a monster, a shooting star. We went through tunnels, or rather mountains, one of which was very long that at the speed we were going I believed we made it in more than five minutes. At one stop I was much frightened: A stop of 30 minutes was announced. I went down for some necessity and after five minutes, I saw the train pulling out, taking along my luggage with my money in it. I ran after it; I didn't overtake it. Fortunately, a gendarme informed me that it would return soon and that it would only change tracks. After that I didn't go down again. The towns and countrysides that we pass by are precious: Every inch of land is well cultivated and used for vineyards, olive trees, and planted to wheat and barley. France is thickly populated, for along the way there were houses almost without interruption until the Spanish boundary. We passed by the following towns and cities: Pas-de, Gamur, Regisal, Saint Chamas, Miramas, Tarascon, Le Cailar, Aimargues, Porllan, Montpellier, Cette, Narbonne, Perpignan, Cerbère. We spent the night in France; at dawn we arrived at the Spanish frontier town, Port Bou. There we had to change trains. Before that we were searched at the customhouse by the Spanish carabineers. Missing were the courtesy and polish of the French, but on the other hand we had a delicious breakfast in a beautiful and pleasant room. Here can be seen posters in Spanish and French. It seems that one is in Manila for one sees Spanish Castilian phrases and one hears Spanish spoken. From here in another train we came to Barcelona passing also through two or five tunnels, one of which was quite long. Much work has been put into it and according to the commander of the navy, this Spanish line that goes to France is the best. Although the country is perfectly cultivated, it is less populated than France. At the frontier we saw a frontier-lad. He was wearing a costume half French and half Spanish, a clergyman's cap, Catalan fiber sandals. That symbolism was funny, graphic, and significant. The towns we passed were Port Bou, Illansà, Vilajuiga, Perelada, Figueras, Vilamalla, Tonya, San Miguel, San Jordi, Flassá, Bordils, Celrá, Gerona, Fornells, Riudellots, Caldas, Sils, Tordera, Blanes, Malgrat, Galella, Arenys, Caldetas, Mataró, Premiá, Masnou, Mongat, Badalona. It was about 12:00 when we arrived at Barcelona. My first impression of Barcelona was very unpleasant. After having seen Napoli and Marseille, I found this city poor and vulgar. Its streets were dirty, its houses of poor architecture, in short I saw everything in an unfavorable light with the exception of the women who seemed to me more

beautiful than the women of Marseille. I was very much disappointed specially when we arrived at the hotel where the service and accommodation were so poor that my companion Mr. Buil, chief of the telegraph office, said: "To come from Hotel Noailles and then drop on this!" I was very sad above all when I looked for the persons to whom I was recommended and I couldn't find them. I was not able to see a single countryman, and on account of the large expenses I had had in my trip and the many cheatings I suffered, only 12 pesos remained to me. At last I found the Jesuit fathers who received me well and showed me an inexpensive and Christian house where I got board and room for 21 pesos a month. When I reached the hotel, my companion, having received a telegram, had left hurriedly, carrying my coat in which I kept my passport, my gloves, and I don't know what else, and in exchange he left me many of his things. I learned that he had been informed of something serious when I saw the telegram on the table. Then I too left the hotel hurriedly, and in less than an hour my little money was further reduced by the dishonest hotel keeper, the coachman, and the porter who over-charged me. I moved to the house indicated to me by the Jesuit fathers and when the people there learned how much I had spent and paid the rogues, they exclaimed: "You have been terribly cheated. In fact they had taken advantage of your being a tyro!" Only seven pesos remained to me. As I looked at the house to which I had moved—modest, humid, dark, and poorly ventilated — located on San Severo Street, a dirty and old alley: as I looked at the brick floor of my room, the straw chairs, the hard and not so tidy bed, not a mirror, an old and broken wash-basin placed on a stand made of four pieces of iron, I, accustomed to luxury and comfort, at least for the last forty days, became intensely dispirited and sad and more than ever with deep sorrow I remembered our house which is a thousand times more decent than that. Then a thousand sad thoughts invaded my mind upon finding myself in that world hitherto unknown to me, without friends, without relatives, especially when the landlord came (for until then I had met only the landlady, a good and gentle woman) who was rough, coarse, ugly in appearance, when I saw priests come out from all the rooms and heard everywhere the harsh Catalan language. Supper consisted of nothing more than a dish of vegetables and another of fish. I called the attention of the priests, the only guests of that house, and I observed that underneath that rough exterior a good disposition was hidden. Little by little those clouds were dissipated and

they treated me with more consideration, especially a priest who had come from Cuba. Ah! I forgot to say that, having learned at the Jesuit College that Cuesta was boarding in the same house, I hurriedly went there to see my countryman, but I couldn't talk with him because he had left for Manresa. I stayed then at that house to await him and also for reasons of economy. The following day, provided with a map of the city, I began walking through the streets of that labyrinth to look for my countrymen. Some were still sleeping. I went to the hospital to wait for them there and after waiting a long time, I was shown the house of a countryman. I found Cabangis⁵ and since then I have had better days. Successively I found the others who received me very well, who found for me more decent and cheaper houses. I met Cuesta⁶ who returned from Manresa. In short, since then until the present I like Barcelona and I'm getting to like it more and more. At present I occupy a room on the third floor of a building on Sitjes Street, number 3, together with Cabangis and other good students who are refined and courteous. I'm well served by a landlady, whose name is Doña Silvestra, who always says to me: "Don Pepe, do you want something? Have you already an appetite?" and so on. I have somewhat written at length about certain things in order to portray to you the impressions and situation of a tyro. Now I know Barcelona a little and it seems to me large and pretty and I remember Marseille and Napoli (Naples) as a glittering and vanished dream. I'm beginning to discover in this city gems and riches; pretty and elegant houses of varied architecture, Arabic and Greco-Roman. I'm getting used to it and I regard it with pleasure. The Jesuit fathers lent me money in case I should lack some and something happen to me. I have gone through their College and I'm making a study of various things to apply them there when I return. I've visited a porcelain factory which I liked very much and I intend to visit another of glass, clay, etc. Here are found many things which are applicable there.

When some of you want to write me, which I hope you'll do every mail boat, address me thus:

MR. JOSÉ RIZAL
No. 3, Floor 3, Sitjes Street
Barcelona.

⁵ Tomás Cabangis of a wealthy family of Tondo, Manila, who was studying medicine at Barcelona.

⁶ Máximo Cuesta of Pangasinan; student of law at Barcelona.

If you could send me by registered mail through the next mail boat my birth certificate and a statement that I have my parents and family there, I would be much obliged.

I don't know if you have received my letters; I've written you at Singapore, Point Galle, Aden, Suez, and this time at Barcelona. I expect by next mail letters addressed to Father Ramón Vilalta.⁷

Every moment I'm thinking of what you would be doing at this time; I'm behind you eight hours, so that generally you are sleeping when I'm awake. I trust that you are all in good health like me who is putting on weight.

I'm sending the most affectionate regards to all of you and to all our relatives, and when you write me, tell me even about nephews and friends. Give my regards to the parish priest and to Capitán Juan⁸ as well as to the others.

And bless your son who wishes only your happiness.

JOSÉ RIZAL
Barcelona, 29 June

Today, probably the feast on the beach (Kalamba),⁹ I close my letters with regret for not having received even one letter from you by the two mails which arrived from here.

I believe that it would be better if there is a commercial firm here which would give me money at the beginning of every month. This can be done by means of a money order of a firm there. The family of Cabangis of Tondo which my brother knows . . .

⁷ A Jesuit priest at Barcelona to whom Rizal was recommended.

⁸ The *gobernadorcillo* or captain of Calamba from 1867-68 whose house stood in front of Rizal's family homestead.

⁹ The patron saint of the Calamba barrio on the lake shore is St. Peter and St. Paul, 29th of June.

16. Silvestre Ubaldo, Bulacan, 26 June 1882

Rizal's parents are sad on account of his departure—Ubaldo wants to be transferred from Bulacan to Calamba.

* * *

Bulacan, 26 June 1882

MR. JOSÉ RIZAL

ESTEEMED JOSÉ,

I thank you for your recommendation in my favor; I thank you for remembering us; and we are glad that you arrived safely in that country . . .

I tell you that Father becomes exceedingly sad every time he remembers you, so that I always say to him that you are coming back soon and not to worry about you for you are going to meet soon. What he does often is to go to Olimpia's store and there amuse himself.

Mother does not want anybody else but herself to send you money, so that whatever amount you may need, you should write to her.

I'm here now in Bulacan, assigned as agent, since the 23 of this month, the day before the eve of the fiesta of Calamba. If you can do me a favor there by having me transferred to Calamba, recommend me to the Inspector General of Communications, the Most Illustrious Andrés de Capua. I'm sure Don Paciano will also write you about me. They will certainly not listen to Mr. Buil at Manila, so you please work it out there at the Ministry, if possible. The whole family do not want us to be away from Calamba.

Until here, many regards and command your brother-in-law who is ready at any time.

SILVESTRE UBALDO

17. Paciano Rizal, Calamba, 24 July 1882

More on Calamba's town fiesta — Family news — Rizal's allowance.

* * *

Calamba, 24 July 1882

DEAR BROTHER,

I was not able to write you in the preceding mail about what occurred during the fiesta, because I was sure that Uncle Antonio would inform you about it; and then an indisposition that I had precisely on the day of the fiesta prevented me from finding out the date of the departure of the mail. Now that I know it, I'll tell you something about it.

Days before the fiesta, almost all the Manila newspapers talked about it and they talked so much that *El Comercio* offended the sensitiveness of the lieutenant of the civil guard of this town by an announcement that in substance said that there would be plenty of cockfighting and other things. The good lieutenant has no reason to take this to heart because, if they make him blush on one hand, on the other they made it up to him liberally. In the meantime, the days were spent in the preparation of platforms, bamboo arches, and other things, and the day before the eve many people from other towns arrived, so that everybody predicted that the fiesta would be grand. I consider *El Comercio* right because it referred to this. On the eve of the fiesta there was a heavy rain which undoubtedly dissuaded many real visitors from nearby towns from coming. Hence, as for me nothing notable occurred on the first day, except at night in the yard of the theater where it was a little lively despite the cloudy sky, for there were gathered there almost all my friends and acquaintances of the gay group, of the Curia, that is, the secular and regular clergy and the civil guard who were seated on the side of the curtain, perhaps in order that their respectable seriousness might not be confounded with the people in the yard or to see better the actresses that came out to the plat-

form, inasmuch as they left at 4:00 after the performance was over. The second day was a repetition of the first, the only difference being the heavy downpour during the evening procession which soaked the Virgin and all the saints. Afterwards the fireworks and a larger number of people at the theater, leaving no space empty within the yard; here was the fiesta.

At home we had less visitors than in any year; the same is true in other houses. By telling you that we had only Uncle Antonio, Ferrer, and Gella you can judge how we spent the fiesta. Notwithstanding, I ought not to omit the dinner on the second day which was gay and lasted two hours during which many things were talked about, among them being the difference between our hours and those in that place where you are. The rest of the conversation was at the expense of Doña Basilia. About myself I can tell you that since the eve, I had a headache and coughing and because of the affair of that night, I caught fever the following morning. I had a sudorific, which agreed with me, but in place of the fever, red spots appeared on my body which they say are measles. I had them for three days. In spite of everything, I enjoyed a little, watching the others. Then I lost my appetite for a long time, but now I am well again as before.

Silvestre was assigned to Bulacan. He left sad on the day before the eve of the fiesta. It is really difficult to leave seeing festive preparations, to separate from his new family, and to bury himself in a town which is not of his liking. He said to me that he would write you about this; I don't know if you have already received it. I have written to Basilio about the same matter, because his brother, while here, offered his services in such cases. Until now I have not received his reply but instead one from Uncle Antonio in which he tells me that, despite his sickness, Teodoro works in agreement with him.

Apropos diseases: There is cholera in Manila and they say that they are hiding it very carefully, so that abroad they will not declare this port dirty and consequently create another obstacle to the export trade. In our town we had three cases in the course of one month and all of them fatal.

Lucía gave birth to a robust boy whom they named after you. There was a gathering on the day of the baptism. Tacio has completely recovered from his illness. This is the second letter I send you, probably I shall not be able to write

you in every mail; I shall lack material for it on account of the monotonous life in this provincial town; one day is like all the rest in the year, neither more nor less; but if something happens I shall not fail to write you.

As to your letters, the last we have received is dated at Suez, received here on the 20th. How letters are delayed!

Uncle Antonio is in charge of your allowance from whom you will receive ₧35 monthly. The preceding remittances were fifty pesos each.

If you will receive anything different, don't be surprised because there is no other way. The most valuable things that are in trust here cannot become our own property, as that is the order of the day.

I know that we ought not to meddle in other people's affairs, but as I want to fill the remaining blank space, I shall fail in my duty if I do not tell you about a certain young woman here who, on the day of your departure, was wooed by an old man, but now with the death of Mena, she is courted in due form by another ravenous old man who leaves her not a moment of rest and will end by subduing her, as it happens to all those women who defend themselves poorly.

Farewell. When shall we receive your letters dated at the capital?

Your brother,

PACIANO

Today the 25th at 6:15 in the morning a moderate earthquake; at 6:30 another one.

18. Antonino López, Calamba, 24 August 1882

Family news — His brother-in-law Antonino López
generously offers to send Rizal money.

* * *

Calamba, 24 August 1882

MR. JOSÉ RIZAL MERCADO

DEAR JOSÉ,

We received your letter which you left with Uncle Antonio when you left Manila. We understood all that you said in it, as well as your best wishes for our welfare. Likewise, we received your many regards to us and the children through your last letters that arrived here. For all this we thank without end first God and secondly you. We are also hoping that the Virgin Mother and Her Son may extend to you her valuable blessing and grant all that your heart desires that will redound to the benefit of yourself and all of us.

Though it is too late, I wish to tell you of the sadness of the whole family when they received the news of your departure for Europe. All of them became numbed on account of the suddenness of the news. They could not understand what had happened. They pitied you, believing that you have left without the things needed by one who travels. But later the Almighty dispelled all their fears and gave them some relief when they learned you did not lack the necessary things.

The first thing that I'm going to tell you is that Father and Mother and all those in the house, Sra. Neneng and her husband, and Lucía, including all the children, are all in good health thank God, as we all here wish God would bestow on you.

Lucía gave birth to a baby boy in June to whom they gave the name José. His godfather is Sr. Paciano. Sra. Neneng will undoubtedly deliver this month. After St. Peter

¹ Antonino López, husband of Rizal's sister Narcisa.

and St. Paul's Day, Ipia went to Bulacan where Ulbaldo is assigned as officer-in-charge of the telegraph station. On the 11th of this month Mother and Maria visited them and at the same time attended at their invitation the town fiesta, which was celebrated on the 15th of this month.

Here at Calamba, as well as in every *barrio*,² there is a procession every night praying God to spare the town of the plague. All foodstuffs that may cause illness, like those with bad smell, such as small dried fish, pickled fish, and the like, are forbidden; therefore the town of Calamba is very clean.

We have no other thing to send you but endless best regards and a tight embrace. Your nephews kiss your hand and you command your brother-in-law who awaits your orders eagerly.

A. LÓPEZ

P. S.

In case you need there something, like money, for which you are ashamed to ask your parents, let us know, as we are ready to send it to you. Don't hesitate to ask us, because we offer you with all our heart whatever is within our means in view of our good relations.

THE SAME

²In the Philippines a political division of a municipality is called *barrio*.

19. Narcisa Rizal, [August 1882?]

More family news — Rizal's letters are eagerly
awaited — Lack of town news.

* * *

(No date. August 1882?)

MY DEAR BROTHER,

Our sadness at first has given way to endless joy in our heart. Every time we receive your letters we thank the Almighty that nothing untoward has happened to you, despite the great distance that separates us. Don't resent our failure to write you in the last mail. Even though we don't write you, we don't forget you a single moment, especially in our prayers to the Lord and the Virgin. The children also are always talking about you during their play. I often hear the three E., A., and Antonio,¹ discussing you. And when they hear your name mentioned in our conversations, they at once ask if you are coming home and where you are. Icing is good, because she can say that you are at Barcelona; E. says Colombo; and Antonia, Paña;² and so the three often have an argument; they cannot agree about you. María, Pangoy, and Trining say that they will not write you for the present because they have nothing more to tell you, as we have exhausted all the news. As you already know, here we lack news, so that our letters to you are devoid of news except family ones. However, the plague, that is said to be in Manila, has not yet reached our town, thank God. No one has yet died among our friends. T. Luis has a difficult ailment; he has gone to Manila for treatment but he has not improved. Icing has not become stout since you left; Chabeng is like a melon.

Our relatives, friends, and above all we your brothers who can never forget you send you our best regards. Father

¹ Emilio, Angélica (Icing), and Antonio (Tonio) are the names of the children of his sister Narcisa, married to Antonino López.

² That is España (Spain).

and Mother bless you at all times. Don't expect them to write you because their eyes are already weak. Don't fail to include them in your prayers and ask the Lord to grant them a long life and strength so that on your return you may receive the tight embrace and blessing of our dearest parents.

Your sister who esteems you tenderly.

NARCISA RIZAL

Translated from the Tagalog by Encarnación Alzona 14 July 1958.

20. Paciano Rizal, Calamba, 25 August 1882

Rizal's allowance -- Ravages of cholera -- Closing
of schools at Manila.

* * *

Calamba, 25 August 1882

DEAR BROTHER,

As the curate and Antonino are writing you, I will take advantage of this opportunity to tell you something. Your last letter received here is dated at Barcelona; I don't know if any letter is missing; it would therefore be desirable that henceforth you number them all. In that letter, among other things, you say that I contact some foreign firm or commercial house from which you can get your allowance regularly. This is good and I'll do it, though not now, because I cannot go down to Manila on account of my work and other things; but, as soon as I can go there, I'll try without fail to arrange with one. You who are there will know better what it costs to live there decently, so that I hope you will write me the amount of allowance that I ought to send you.

I have many things to tell you but I shall reserve them for the next mail. The only thing I can tell you now is that Calamba, or better Biga, is a veritable Tower of Babel. All the students and non-students, college girls and not college girls are there and for three days and are under observation if they carry the plague on their bodies. Everybody is going home on account of the closing of educational establishment for both sexes. Every province is virtually isolated from the others. The cholera inspires such fear that the court, the civil guard, and the telegraph are very busy.

We are in good health.

Your brother,

PACIANO

Translated from the Spanish by Encarnación Alzona 14 July 1958.

21. Paciano Rizal, Calamba, 15 September 1882

More ravages of the cholera — Earthquakes —
Work in Pansol — Family news.

* * *

Calamba, 15 September 1882

MR. JOSÉ RIZAL

Your letter dated 31 July at Barcelona is the latest one that we received here on 12 September; it takes the mail from there to here from 40 to 45 days then. How many things can happen during that time!

In my last letter I mentioned something about the prevailing cholera here; this time I'll tell you about it at length. When it was officially declared in Manila, land and sea communications were somewhat interrupted. Ships coming from filthy ports were forbidden to stop here. The steamers that come from Manila go directly to Sta. Cruz (Laguna) to be fumigated and are quarantined for twelve hours. Towns are not allowed to communicate with each other or enjoy any consideration, except with the permission of the government. This is with respect to the relations between the towns. As to the social life in our town, many people go to church in the morning to attend daily prayers as prescribed by the Archbishop's pastoral letter. There is a continuous movement of men carrying bottles to get medicine. The priests are always riding in vehicles to bring spiritual aid to where they are called. In the afternoon there are bonfires in many places to serve as disinfectant and the people again go to church to recite the novena to St. Roch. At night processions, sometimes three, cross one another in the streets until late hours. At their conclusion the participants eat at the house of the leader, who prepares food and fireworks as much as his resources permit. What I admire in these things is the contrast between the sentiments of old and young. The old grieve when they ought to rejoice because the plague makes them see their end closer.

The young rejoice when they ought to grieve because they are in danger of not being able to fulfill the object for which they have come to this world.

Now that the plague is at its peak, an average of 15 persons die daily. From night to morning healthy and robust men become corpses or at least, so completely unrecognizable and emaciated, hovering between life and death. Those who succumb to any other disease deserve to be envied, because, at least, they are attended and taken care of at their homes, they are taken to church and are buried in the cemetery but the victims of this scourge cannot comfort themselves that they are treated thus. Their relatives, even the close ones, flee away; they are not taken care of and if sometimes they are attended to, they become a heavy burden to their companions in the house who fear contagion. They are wrapped up and buried with the Chinese. It is a sad thing to die under these circumstances and of this disease; one is exposed to be devoured by dogs. I doubt very much if the grave has depth of two spans, and there is a throng of dogs around. If we were of the Brahmin caste, this kind of transmigration would be the most natural thing for us, but as we are Catholics, as such we wish our ashes to be respected.

Notwithstanding, it is now time to begin the works in Pansol. I'm going to postpone it in order not to be separated from the family under these circumstances, though it is true that they are all enjoying perfect health and above all the old folks. Nevertheless, they do not fail to redouble their carefulness. This punishment seems to be taking roots in this town, it has been here one month. You will miss many persons upon your return.

We have at home Sra. Neneng and Sisa with her family. They left their houses to avoid contagion from cholera patients.

Yesterday our elder sister¹ gave birth to a boy, red like a tomato. They are thinking of naming him Porfirio. To me this does not sound well, because it is difficult to pronounce. In my opinion the names does not honor the individual but the individual the name. Brutus is the ugliest name ever and nevertheless, for the deeds of the fellow that bore it, it is pronounced with respect and admiration. I have not said anything to them on this.

¹ Saturnina (Sra. Neneng) married to Manuel Hidalgo. See following letter number 22.

With the plague come the earthquakes—a double penalty for one who lives in a house like ours and at the same time who has life to lose.

The question of Quintero ended like yours, or perhaps better, because it was settled the following morning to the satisfaction of the stronger party, administering, according to what they said, some cudgellings to the offender inside his house. It is useless to expect in these cases a complete reparation in accordance with the principles of justice while we are in this world.

Tacio² has recovered from his terrible sickness. Lucino, his physician, has thereby gained a good reputation and six hundred pesos.

As I cannot go down to Manila now. The bank draft, like that of Cabangis, that I promised you, cannot be sent to you till about November or December.

If in this letter I have painted things with a pale and color, I should not be accused of being a pessimist, because I see things only under that point of view. I don't know if this is a sickness, but the truth is that it is not a vice, and indeed it has a large portion of truth in it.

PACIANO

When we received the telegram that asked for one hundred pesos without any letter of yours and without explanations, we were frightened, believing that something might have happened to you.

See if something good can be done for Silvestre there.

As this letter did not overtake the last mail, for the ships did not stop here then, it leaves today, 27th of September. Last night we received your letter with another addressed to Ubaldo. Now, cholera cases are very rare; they are found in the barrios.

All the family are in good health, thank God.

² Anastacio Bonatin, son of Capitán Juan, *gobernadorcillo* of Calamba. 1867-1868

22. Manuel T. Hidalgo, Calamba, 24 September 1882

Family news — Birth of Alfredo — Simple baptismal ceremony — Death of family friends.

* * *

Calamba, Laguna
24 September 1882

MR. JOSÉ RIZAL

DEAR BROTHER-IN-LAW,

I begin this letter with news of a notable event in the family. Your sister gave birth to a baby boy at 11:45 this morning at the house of our parents, after having gone through the pains of childbirth for a period of 24 hours. He was baptized today at 10:00 o'clock in the morning with the name Alfredo Porfirio, the sponsors being the couple Mr. Narciso Paterno and Mrs. Emilia Venegas of Sta. Cruz, Manila, represented by Paciano and Narcisa. There was no pomp in the baptismal ceremony, except some strokes of the bells (not chimed, which as you know, are what our bells can give), some music that Antonino's new orchestra played during the ceremony and in conducting the baby home, some large and small firecrackers that made little noise. The only attendants were Pangoy, Trining, your nephews Antoñito, Emilio, and Ilang, but you cannot imagine the noisy clamor they made, the promoter being the grand Emilio. At the house of our parents there was only a simple lunch of bread soup for the orchestra and the family and thus it was concluded.

Because of the length of Paciano's news I'll say something, but not much, about the cholera that wrought havoc here. Your nurse-maid Ina, Munda, her husband and another daughter died within an interval of only a few days, as well as various families on our street. For that reason, your sister as well as the entire family of Antonino endeavored to move in a hurry to our parents' house. At our house, our house boys

Flaviano and Evaristo were attacked by cholera, but thanks to local specific (*sambong, pepita, garlic, etc.*) they were saved. Alfonso, Narcisa's servant, died. In average of 16 die daily. Today, thanks to God, it is decreasing in the town. The calamity is in fact in the barrios, but it is not causing more deaths here than in the town, relatively speaking. Ah! I have forgotten to tell you that more well-known persons and in a certain way dear ones, like Judge Saturnino, Aligui, daughter Gregoria, and Cuya Ticio, have died. Narcisa with Antonino and family stopped today at the convent because the curate is very ill.¹

Millions of regards and tender kisses to you and you know you are greatly loved by your most humble brother-in-law. Your sister sends you tender regards.

MANUEL DE HIDALGO

¹ Father Leoncio López.

23. Saturnina Rizal, Calamba, 26 September 1882

Sra. Neneng wants to send Rizal a diamond ring—He wants his family to write him in Tagalog.

* * *

Calamba, Laguna
26 September 1882

DEAREST BROTHER,

I have read that you want to hear the Tagalog language, or our language, in order that you may not forget your origin and we your brothers. Papa always says, whenever we talk about you, that perhaps you will stay there so long that you may not see each other before he leaves this world. I was going to write you long ago, but I thought that my letter might reach Barcelona ahead of you. Moreover, every time I pick up your letters, I cannot hold my tears, especially the first one you wrote on your departure in which you said that you passed by here Monday morning when you were going down to Manila and as I was sleeping you did not see me any more. And then Mama says that you are carrying little money, so that I'm always thinking of how you are getting along. For this reason, I want to send you a diamond ring and write me to whom I should send it, so that it may reach you there. We are well, thank God; I have no ailment of any kind; what I don't know is whether I shall get over the difficulties ahead.

With regard to the town fiesta, what I can tell you is that Sra. Julia with the whole family and others from Sta. Cruz stayed here a long time — two weeks. Aunt Betang did not come because she had guests she could not leave behind. I'll write you longer later because the bearer is in a hurry.

Your sister who loves you dearly.

SATURNINA RIZAL

24. Manuel T. Hidalgo, [Calamba, 26 September 1882]

Will keep Rizal informed of notable happenings at home.

* * *

[Calamba, Laguna
26 September 1882]

MY DEAR BROTHER-IN-LAW AND DISTINGUISHED FRIEND,

To save you pain I'll not describe to you what we, our parents, your brothers, and brothers-in-law felt on account of your sudden departure. I'll only tell you that, in view of certain counsels, they became resigned. You had a magnificent idea in not bidding us farewell for thus you saved us from the immense anguish of leave-taking, which must be very painful.

In the belief that Uncle Antonio and Paciano have already given you an account of the happenings here in these towns and because you know that news are scarce here, I give you none. In the future I'll keep you informed of every notable happening. Think of coming home after some time, which I hope will be soon.

Millions of affectionate regards.

MANUEL T. HIDALGO

25. Silvestre Ubaldo, Bulacan, 5 October 1882

Ravages of the cholera in Bulacan — Its origin — Death
of his sister María.

* * *

Bulacan, 5 October 1882

MR. JOSÉ RIZAL

MY DEAR BROTHER-IN-LAW,

I received your letter dated 17 August on the first of this month and I am informed of its content.

I should be grateful if I'm recommended to Mr. Costa, but I'm sure that with God's mercy I shall be returned to Calamba, because my uncle is working for me. My transfer seems to be certain. I'll write you about the result.

Since 4th July Olimpia has been here in Bulacan.

We are grateful to God that you are well there and you do not get sick. This is our desire and what we ask the Lord.

I inform you that my sister Maria died at Manila last September. Her sickness was cholera. She was already well, but on the eleventh day she had a relapse and she died. This is the prevailing sickness in Manila that is causing much hardship since 20 August. It began in San Nicolás, spread to Tondo, and in those towns¹ from 30 to 40 died daily, four or five dying in one house alone. Those who brought this disease were two crewmen of the steamer Eolus from Zamboanga where there was an epidemic. When the crewmen went ashore at San Nicolás they spit in a small house. The next day all the occupants of that house, as well as the crewmen, died. In accordance with the decision of sanitary boards that house was ordered burned. From that time, the epidemic spread to whole Manila, but there not as many people died as in San Nicolás and Tondo. Then it reached Bulacan. At this capital there

¹ San Nicolás and Tondo, here called towns, are really districts of Manila.

are deaths daily, as many as 25. Even Muñiz, the prosecuting attorney here, caught it at three o'clock in the morning and by noon he was dead. Baliuag, Quingua, and Malolos are the hardest hit here. In each of these towns about 30 die daily. This epidemic spread almost all over the Philippines so that the General ordered many flannel blankets, as well as medicine, in Hongkong and sent them to the provinces for the sick. Almost every day the General goes around the public markets in Manila and orders spoiled fruits, meat, or fish to be thrown away. Every town has a hospital where the sick are gathered. The university, San Lázaro, the house of Dr. Marti in Meisic were turned into hospitals. Here in the provinces the chapels are the hospitals. Because of this sickness the drugstores' supply of *manzanilla* flower was exhausted and there is a shortage of cognac in the groceries and its price became doubled and none can be obtained. All the colleges were ordered closed and all students including the seminarists were sent home; but the students of medicine in the third year were assigned to the hospitals with pay and if you were here, you would also be compelled to serve. All the dead, even Spaniards whoever they may be, are not taken any more to church but they are immediately taken to the mountain without fees. The officers of justice go around the town, ordering the cleaning and taking away the dead immediately. They have their own cart and stretcher, the cart for the dead, and the stretcher for the sick. However, if the family refuses to give up the body they let it alone, but they order the dead, even the rick, to be brought down and they are not put in coffins. Now it is subsiding; here in Bulacan, since the 4th, there have been no cases.

We are well thank God; so are all of them at Calamba. according to their letter to us. We here drink manzanilla and tea as our drinking water, and smudge and clean the house constantly. Enclosed is Olimpia's letter with news.

Command your brother-in-law,

S. UBALDO

26. Olimpia Rizal, Bulacan, 5 October 1882

Family news—More on the ravages of cholera—She tells
Rizal to try to come home soon.

* * *

Bulacan, 5 October 1882

MR. JOSE RIZAL

MY DEAR BROTHER,

We received your letter and we are informed of its content.

I'm here because Silvestre is the officer-in-charge here. Since I came here on the 4th of July until now I have not been home.

Nanay (Mama) and Maria, accompanied by Pomuceno, visited me and attended the town fiesta on 15 August, the Assumption, who is the patron saint of this town. They stayed here at the station¹ for four days.

I wish to tell you that Sra. Neneng delivered on the 15 September after a labor of 24 hours. The baby was baptized on the 24th, the sponsors being Mr. Narciso Paterno and Mrs. Emilia Venegas of Sta. Cruz, represented by Sr. Paciano and Sra. Sisa. Lucía also gave birth in the month of July; I don't know if they have written you about it. José is the name and the godfather is Sr. Paciano. The name of Sra. Neneng's son is Alfredo Porfirio.

With regard to the epidemic that is spreading here in the province of Bulacan and Laguna, sixteen persons more or less die daily. Iná, her daughter, her husband, and another daughter are all dead; so also are the servant of Sra. Sisa, Punzo, and our relative Sra. Victoria of Meisic. On account of God's mercy we brothers and our parents have not caught this disease and this is what I always ask the Virgin day and night that, if pos-

¹ The telegraph station of which her husband was the officer-in-charge.

sible, not to take any one of us until we meet again. Therefore, try hard to come home soon and you know that our parents are already old.

This is all. Regards to you and if you ask about us, we are well and do not get sick like before, thank the Lord. I inform you that Millong, Iclang, and Chabeng also are all robust, and Trining is now a young lady.

Your sisters,

Olimpia Rizal

27. Rizal, Madrid, 10 October [1882]

Enrolled in medicine and law—In good health but poor in money—
Attends meeting of *Círculo hispano-filipino*—Would like to know
five or six languages—Enjoins her younger sisters to study.

* * *

Madrid, 10 October [1882]

MY DEAR PARENTS AND BROTHERS,

Although I haven't received letters from you to answer nor do I have many news to tell you, nevertheless I write you to give you news about myself and to have the pleasure of communicating with you even through writing, since I can't do it now in a better and more direct way.

On Monday, the second, our classes began in all seriousness. More than one hundred attend each class. Among my professors of medicine is the Marquis of Busto in the obstetrical clinic, a highly cultured person, but unfortunately is suffering from gout, an ailment peculiar to the aristocratic class. He goes to class from time to time and when he does, he is accompanied by liveried attendants.

I'm in very good health though very poor in money. Through my letter before this (28 September) you must have been informed of the expenses I incurred and of the money they sent me for three months. I paid for the three months indicated and I still owe the Jèsuit fathers 25 pesos. Excepting this particular circumstance, I'm well and I'm growing stout. I believe that the cold agrees with me and especially the house in which I live where, though I'm not very well fed as there at home, I have enough to eat and above all utmost cleanliness in food, my room, and all my belongings. This is the principal thing to keep away bed bugs and fleas which abound here in other boarding houses. The cold weather lasts a few days and afterwards passes away. About two or three days ago I had to walk almost running with my hands in my pockets, but now I'm well, enjoying a very pleasant weather.

I was at the *Círculo hispano-filipino*¹ last saturday. There several matters all pertaining to our country were taken up.

We continue meeting every Sunday at the house of Mr. Ortega (Pablo) vice president of the Council of the Philippines. I believe I told you about him in my previous letter.

Sangcianco, author of *Progreso de Filipinas* (Philippine Progress) is going there and plans to return soon. If you wish to send me something through him, you can do so; such as jewelry, sweets, jellies, *bagoong*,² pickled mangoes, tamarind; all these, it is understood, must be well packed in a single box so that they will not be too bothersome; and give him freight-money, for it would be odd to make him spend his own money besides making him carry things of no concern to him.

Tell me when you write what things you are sending or will send me. It is not necessary however that you send me all the things I mention above. I believe that the tamarind and guava or mango jelly would be the best, although it is not the mango season. Pickled mangoes do not keep and they get spoiled quickly. In short you know better than I what you want or can send me. If it is possible, a good finger ring, inasmuch as there are many there, that will be of great usefulness to me under all circumstances.

I'm very sorry not to be able to devote myself at present to my favorite studies, such as language, painting, sculpture, and literature, for medicine and law take up all my time. In the following years I shall be able to study two or three languages more for I should like to know five or six languages before going home.

Vicente González³ was here this morning and was reminding me of our pastimes there including the card-game that we played when we took a bath at the Real, the songs of Sulá⁴ the harp, etc. etc. He was asking me when we would return to those places. Vicente has grown a beard but he is ever the same. He told me to give you all his regards just as he does to his family for me.

I hope to receive letters and help from you by the next mail which is still too far away that I have to wait for fifteen days more. Don't send me money or anything through any

¹ An association of Filipino students and Spaniards interested in Philippine affairs, founded shortly before Rizal's arrival in Spain. It published a magazine with the support of Mr. Juan Atayde, a Spaniard born at Manila and a military officer.

² *Bagoong* a Philippine sauce made of small fish or shrimp with plenty of salt.

³ A Spanish mestizo, dubbed "Marquis of Pagong" (pagong is Tagalog for turtle) and friend of Rizal at Manila.

⁴ A sister of his brother-in-law Mariano Herbosa who played the harp and sang. Her full name is Ursula.

body except Sangciano, Paterno, Anacleto, Locsin, or others like them, to avoid what happened to a Bisayan whose family sent him through an employee ₱300 and the ₱300 pesos haven't shown up until the present, nor do I believe they will ever show up. Be very careful in this matter, for here not to pay one's debts is held to be better than to pay them. Just imagine that.

I have not yet met either Nena or Aring. I would be pleased to see them and meet them to recall things. It is always pleasant to see one who has been in his hometown.

In the previous mail I wrote to Maneng, Sra. Neneng, my brother, and to you. Tell me about Silvestre, whether he has already returned or not to the town. It is better if you send me the drafts through the French mail boat, inasmuch as the Spanish boats are delayed a long time and here everything must be paid in advance. It would also be better to arrange with a firm like that of Tuason, for example, so that every first of the month, its correspondent at Madrid may give me a certain amount. In that way I don't have to depend upon the arrival or departure of the ships. Only when you want to give me a gift, as for example for Christmas, you may send me a bank draft.

May God grant that you didn't suffer anything during the months that that terrible guest, cholera, was there.

I beg my very beloved parents to always bless their son who never forgets the sacrifices that they do for him nor the benefits that he owes them. I trust within a short time to have the pleasure of embracing them and never separate from them again, live with them, help them in everything, and contribute towards the common welfare. I embrace also my sisters, entreating Pangoy and Trining to study and write, especially the last one, for here I see very pitiful examples. One afternoon I saw a girl of about 15 or 16 years, pale, sick, sad, ragged, lying down in the hollow of a wall on a dark street, begging for alms. She was so weak, so thin, so sick, that she couldn't speak, and she only extended an emaciated hand. She must have been very beautiful judging by her big and languid eyes. It was cold and she was shivering. As I had no money with me I couldn't give her anything.

Regards to all our relatives, friends, and acquaintances, kisses to the nephews and nieces

J. RIZAL

28. Paciano Rizal, Calamba, 12 November 1882

Rizal's allowance is insufficient—Paciano promises to increase it after the sale of their sugar crop.

* * *

Calamba, Laguna
12 November 1882

DEAR BROTHER,

I received your letter in which you tell me that the allowance you get is not enough for you. From the beginning I realized that with that sum you would be in rather straitened circumstances. I made it so only because our sugar had not been sold yet. Now that there are buyers you will receive what you wish.

Until May or June don't expect from me long letters as I would like to write. I don't stay at home except on Sundays to attend to the people. I spend the other days in the mountain. You must not fail to write though, whenever you have an opportunity to do so.

I have not yet gone down to Manila to get the bank draft that you told me about; it will not be long now before I go there.

Here all of us are in good health; cholera cases are very rare.

Olimpia is still in Bulacan.

Your brother,

PACIANO

29. Josefa and Maria Rizal, Calamba,
13 November 1882

Rizal's parents are losing their sight—Slippers and beaded sandals for Rizal—Family news.

* * *

Calamba, 139 November 1882

DEAR BROTHER,

We are writing you only now because we have no news to tell you and whatever we want to say is already in Sr. Paciano's letter. Concerning the typhoon that passed through here, it did not cause any damage, except that the water rose and all the people on the shore came to town, the matter in front of Pío's house being so deep it reached until the neck.

The *casco*¹ was able to enter our river and many young women went canoeing and fishing. We have also read your orders in your letter. You will receive them from Paterno, rest assured. We hope that you will become fair and stout and will look like a Spaniard. We are already eating at the table you ordered made.

JOSEFA RIZAL

I wish to tell you that the eyes of Nanay and Tatay are already very dim and they certainly cannot write to you or read your letters. What Tatay is always doing is to wrap up your letters and take them to Sra. Neneng and have them read there. Iná, Munda, and Juan succumbed to cholera. You will receive from Paterno the slippers, beaded sandals, and other things ordered by you. Lucio moved to Biñang with his store. Tatay is asking you if you have not seen there a comet like the one we used to see during the cholera epidemic at four o'clock in the morning. Andeng is back with us. Illo, Turninong, Bas-

¹A *casco* is a rather large river craft, partly covered, that take passengers and freight. These river crafts plied between Manila and towns along the navigable rivers and lake shores.

tian, and Lucas were jailed for burying a dead child they picked up in the river. Millong is sending regards to his Uncle José. Delfina, Iang, and Toñong are always asking when you will come home.

Command your sister who loves you,

MARÍA MERCADO

Loleng, Sulo, Victoria and Marcosa are sending you many, many regards.

30. Mariano Herbosa, Calamba, 13 November 1882

The Calamba River—Death of *Diariong Tagalog*

* * *

Calamba, 13 November 1882

MR. JOSÉ RIZAL

ESTEEMED BROTHER-IN-LAW,

This is my second letter to you. The first news that I'll tell you is that you have a handsome nephew and if possible, find him a place there, so that even if he does not overtake you there, at least he may follow in your footsteps. That is why we call him José also. Now he is stout, strong, and not sick for he is going to travel to a faraway place.

We had two not very strong typhoons on 20 October and 5 November, but the water rose. Our houses were not damaged. Sra. Neneng's house's lost a portion of its roof, so also did Antonino's house. Our river became very lively, its water rising so high as never before in the memory of old folks, and people rode in bancas from the *talisay*¹ tree to the sea. The houses on the seashore were destroyed by the water. Water entered the sugar warehouses and a lot of sugar belonging to the people of Tanawan was lost.

Very many people bathed and fished in the river. One day Turnino, son of Cablesang Bastian, Lucas, son of Cablesang Mosés Ustar... and your friend Basilio Salgado found floating in the river the body of a newly born baby boy whose umbilical cord was still uncut. What they did was to bury the body near the river without notifying the authorities. When the government learned about it, they were jailed and sent to the provincial capital. The body was exhumed and they are looking for the mother of the baby.

The cholera is now gone, though there are still some isolated cases. Perhaps, according to some, the typhoons drove

¹ A shade tree, *Terminalia catappa*, L.

it away. In our town more than five hundred died, including those who were not natives of this place. I don't know exactly the number of those who died.

This and the typhoons are given as the cause for the death of *Diariang Tagalog*² which I deeply regret. In its farewell, it said it had to fold up for lack of personnel.

I'm not going to write you about what I have heard concerning the typhoon and cholera in Manila, because you must have already been told about them, and moreover I have not been in Manila since I went there soon after your departure. It seemed that I was the only one who had the luck to see you before you left and it was because Lucía was going to have a fine baby boy. If I could only talk to God, I would ask Him not to take him away from us yet, because the work is not yet finished.

Since the cholera disappeared, Paciano and I have been staying in the mountain and we sleep there, coming down on Saturdays only and on Monday we go up again because Paciano is having a sugar mill installed. This is another reason why I could not write you. When I inquired about the mail it had already left. Great indeed is my desire to write you by every mail. In fact your letters hardly stay here, for even the curate wants to read them. While I'm writing this, Uncle Aben's letter from Biñan came and he says that the water there rose too and the church was flooded and in front of their gate the water was knee-deep.

This is all for the present. I repeat that here you have a brother-in-law who loves you and may God grant that we meet again.

At your command,

MARIANO HERBOSA

² The bilingual — Tagalog and Spanish — newspaper founded by Marcelo H. del Pilar.

31. Lucía Rizal, [Calamba, 13 November 1882]

Regrets not having talked with her brother before his
departure — Wants her son to be like Rizal.

* * *

Calamba, 13 November 1882

MR. JOSÉ RIZAL

DEAR JOSÉ,

On the day you left this town, I heard you said that you would be late. When I got up, I saw only the back of the vehicle. So when Uncle Antonio's letter came, saying that you embarked on the steamship *Salvadora*, I deeply regretted that we were not able to talk together, specially since you would be away for a long time. At that time also, I was in the hands of our Lord; I was big with baby José. Thank God, I went through that danger safely. I amuse myself with José's ear, which is like yours. I tell you that it is really like yours, but I pray that the likeness does not stop there, but that he may have your disposition, your goodness, and diligence in good works. I help me pray God that we may meet again and that we may not get sick. Your sister who loves you,

LUCÍA MERCADO

Don't show to any one this letter, because I was very sleepy when I wrote it.

32. Rizal, Madrid, 27 November 1882

Barghosi, a human locomotive—Behavior of the Madrid public.

* * *

Madrid, 27 November 1882

MR. MANUEL T. HIDALGO

MY DEAR BROTHER-IN-LAW:

I received your letter on the 19th instant. I rejoice at the happy news it brought, regretting that I cannot in any way share the common joy.

As to news about myself, I have few to give you, having already told them in my letter to our parents. Political news may be found in the *Diariang Tagalog* to which I sent a review.

However, I'll tell you about an incident which has attracted much attention, because it is a characteristic and graphic portrayal of a people. There was here an Italian runner named Barghosi who is called a human locomotive. He went to Zaragoza and they say he was beaten by an Aragonese called Bielsa. Again they held a contest in Madrid and Barghosi won. The public, furious because their fellow-countryman has been defeated, turned against the Italian, throwing stones, bottles, shoes, bread etc., etc. at him. What would the Italian say?

Please present my condolence to the families who have lost relatives or friends; that is to say, to the families who understand and expect this formality.

Tender embraces for all and a little kiss for Alfredo and try to give him good care so that he would grow healthy and strong.

Your brother,

RIZAL

33. Saturnina Rizal, Calamba, 14 December 1882

Family news—Birth and baptism of a new nephew, Alfredo—Calamba inundated—Damage to crops—A new strange disease.

* * *

Calamba, 14 December 1882

BELOVED BROTHER,

We received your dearest letter dated 29 September. I'm grateful to you for your good wishes and I'm sure that your prayers helped me in having a safe delivery. My labor began at eight o'clock at night lasting until 11:45 in the morning. I delivered on the 15th and the baptism took place on the 25th, so that the name you like was not given to him, your letter having arrived late. The name of the boy is Alfredo Porfirio; the godfather is Narciso Paterno, the baby looks. . . (portion of letter destroyed by termite.) and has a well-shaped body, he is stout, round-faced, sharp nose, small chin and eyes, flat head, bald on the left side. When we go to Manila, we shall have his picture and mine taken and will send them to you. I'm stouter now than before, but I have a slight ailment, like now I feel a pain in my right arm.

Ipia was here in November, but she went back, for it seems that Ubaldo did not get the post here. Ipia had a miscarriage last May after coming from the fiesta in Biñang and again on the 20 in Bulacan. Sisa and her family moved to the ground floor when the drugstore is. Lucio is now in Biñang and Posoro is now occupying his house here. Since 20 October until now this town has been flooded. Many houses were damaged by the water. One can ride on a banca in the street until the front of Capitán Quico's warehouse, though last month the water reached only until the first *talisay* tree.

You are asking who the godfather of José is; it is Paciano. The baby is now sick with fever and his feet and hands are cold; he is being treated with water by Coya Aben. I'm not

sending you anything, except the solitaire diamond ring and beaded step-ins. Excuse their somber design and color, because the Biñang makers cannot attend to the work. As to the epidemic, there are still a few who are attacked, like Compadre Isidoro, our neighbor Loleng, Geño, Ugoc, Faustino, Father of Titoy, Dimo, husband of Margarita, Acia. Timoteo and Juancho are now seriously ill. Pedro, your godson, was also gravely ill, but he is better now.

It was said during the rice harvest that there would be famine, because many ricelands were flooded and the harvest was carried away by the water. Our ricelands, thank God, did not suffer, but there were others that were a total loss. Fortunately, rice from Saigon and other places arrived, so that the price did not go up too much. Plenty of sugar belonging to those in the mountain was lost on the seashore. Among them was Capitán Paulino who lost 3,000 more or less. Maneng lost about ₱100 worth of his sugar.

There is a new disease prevailing here now. It starts with the swelling of the feet and the legs until the knee, then difficulty in breathing ensues, and two hours later the patient is dead. Toneng, mother of Pangoy, died of this disease; Comadre Geña Paño is gravely ill of this disease also. Your *compadre* Capitán Andrés was the one who bought Toneng's house, so that they are now on our street. We now live on the ground floor; we moved on 5 October. My father-in-law is well now and sending you best regards.

Two children of Aunt Tomasa died. One of them was Ate Ave; I don't know who the other one was. Uncle Bindoy died. Perhaps you will not like very much these news, because they are sad, but I want you to know everything.

Now I'm going to tell you about the young women. Ursula and Victoria are studying the songs for the Mass on Christmas eve. Their teacher is Antonino. Father Domingo calls them Boema and Trafol. Loleng is industrious now. She does not wear a kerchief around her neck when she goes to church, except on Sundays. Loleng is different now.

Antonio wants to be put in the box to be sent to you even if he nailed in. He says he wants to go there to you. Fruits for preserves are very scarce here. That is why we can only send you jelly. Later, we will send you some more, if you still want it. I have ordered handkerchiefs woven in Lipa and I still send them to you through the next one who will go there. You will let us know if the sweet meat is in good

condition on its arrival and how best to send you things. I'll give you other news in my next letter, because this is already too long.

Freding¹ is sending you regards. He is not yet three months old and he already wants to converse. Your sister who loves you truly,

SATURNINA RIZAL

¹ Pet name for Alfredo, her son.

34. Manuel T. Hidalgo, [Calamba, 14 December 1882]

Inquiring about the codes — civil, criminal,
administrative, and commercial.

* * *

[Calamba, 14 December 1882]

MY DEAR BROTHER-IN-LAW:

Your sister has taken charge of giving you all the news that I can tell you. - Consequently I'm excused.

Please write me when the reforms of the civil, criminal, administrative, and commercial codes and their corresponding laws or procedures will be finished.

You know already that I am very fond of you and for that reason you may command me and those attached to me without any limit. Millions of regards. How I wish to see you to be able to embrace you!

Your brother-in-law

MANUEL T. HIDALGO

35. Paciano Rizal, Calamba, 29 December 1882

"Dry cholera"—Poor milling—Feast of St. Francis—Rizal's horse—A prophetic dream?—Something of politics.

* * *

Calamba, 29 December 1882

DEAR BROTHER,

Yesterday we received a letter of yours dated 31 August. In it you complain that you have not received any letter from our parents. They do not write you, not because they do not want to, but because at their age they no longer can, and I who am here, believe that their silence is worth much more than the best written letter. Instead of our parents, I suppose that our sisters, being less busy, will write you regularly. As for me, I have more than enough work and I lack topics, as it is happening to me now. I don't know what to write that might have some interest, but as you like even the most insignificant things concerning our town, I'm going to tell you something about it in the best way I can.

Cholera cases have greatly decreased, but it appears in another guise. Here it is called dry cholera. It is not manifested by evacuations and vomits; its symptoms are extreme fatigue and cramps and the patient succumbs after a few hours. They say that it is very difficult to combat this disease, and it is true, for all the cases were fatal. Fortunately there were very few cases. We have relatives in Biñan and San Pedro Makati who succumbed to it. Very few families are not in mourning these days, whether for near or distant relatives. Inside the church the dominant color is black just as it was white before. When I hear Mass on Sundays, I feel I'm attending the commemoration of the dead in November, there being no other difference except the absence of the catalogue and the candles, the hush and the lugubrious aspect being the same.

The immediate effect of this scourge is the shortage of workmen for the rice harvest. Very few go to the fields. The

majority stay at home either for fear of the disease or for having to take care of the sick. In the meantime, days pass and the *palay*¹ is spoiled. Of what use is a good crop if part of it will remain on the ground? May the sugar cane not meet the same fate as the *palay*, because then we would exclaim: "It's an ill wind that blows nobody good."

The heavy rains that fell this year have greatly damaged the sugar cane plantations so that our crop is below average. Every week, the rivers that flow into the lake overflow, augmented by water from other sources, and they have no other outlet except the Pasig. The Pasig River rises rapidly overflowing its banks and their inhabitants are compelled to move out. At no other time has the beach been so large as now, reaching until the *talisay* tree on the road to the sand-bar.

The third orders of St. Francis of both sexes celebrated the feast of St. Francis on the 4th of this month with a procession in the patio after which the woman-warden gave breakfast and lunch at her house attended by many members, some chiefs, and Fr. Domingo. The women did not want to eat in the dining room, preferring to eat in the kitchen. As there were no preparations there, everyone took his plate and managed as best he could. In fact everything was in confusion there. After the breakfast, the most God-fearing gathered around one who was reading the life and miracles of their father St. Francis. The less God-fearing formed another group, among whom rather profane jokes were in order. After the reading was over and conversation lagged, I took the oracle of Napoleon, the fortune-book and pictures of the gods of Greece and Rome. The most credulous and serious women consulted about their future while the incredulous, many of them the old women who have nothing to ask, contented themselves with chewing *buyo*.² The young women enjoyed looking at the pictures. The luncheon was more orderly, because they prepared a table outside for those who did not want to eat inside the house. After this, the pious sisters of the Third Order left and thus ended the fiesta. We helped a little in this fiesta to satisfy our mother.

This unfinished letter, written in September and forgotten among my clothes, now that I find it, I send it to you with later news.

Since the cholera has subsided, I went out to the mountain to attend to the preparations for the milling which are almost finished on this date. In going back and forth, I don't

¹ *Palay* is unhusked rice.

² *Buyo* consists of a tiny piece of betel nut, lime, and a piece of betel pepper mixed together and chewed.

ride your horse because I fear that it may become thin, having to spend there whole weeks and without a stable. On the other hand, the animal has become very brave and ferocious, so that I leave it at home. With regard to the horse: Dandoy dared to try him one Sunday afternoon at the time when the best race horse of Lipa was here. When the two horses were already at top speed, your horse made a frolicsome bound with the hind legs as it used to do, so that Dandoy, in spite of being a good jockey, jumped from the saddle and fell clear into the middle of the plaza. This reminds me that his horse, the chestnut one, threw me down. We are even now.

This Christmas was just like that of previous years, the only difference being that the sopranos this year were Victoria, Ursula, and Pangoy who were very good in the practice but very poor in the inauguration. Ursula is Calamba's Raguer.³

This year there were more water and less animation due to the fact that sugar is still unsold and there is good reason for it.

Yes, Gregorio is leaving before any one else. You will probably receive the box from him that contains I know not what things, the ring, the step-ins of Sra. Neneng, Olimpia's handkerchiefs, and ₱50 of Antonino for your allowance, which he delivered to Uncle Antonio in person.

They brought me the first numbers of C.S. I would not be surprised if you receive it where you are, for here people are scandalized by the most insignificant thing and they see a pile where there are only shadows. For this reason, it is not advisable for me to have it here. However, if you insist that I be a subscriber, so be it, but the copies must remain there. Who is that Pagong?⁴

As it is very possible that you may forget Tagalog, your native tongue, I'll conclude this letter in that language.

Do you remember what you told me one dawn, after the night Mass, that you dreamed that our family will go through a great trouble, but you could not tell whether it would enrich or impoverish us, being only a dream? I still remember this and now it is becoming fresh again in my memory, because of what I dreamed, not once but twice, similar to yours, the only difference being that mine is rather clear as to the improve-

³ Alluding to the actress *La Raguer* who came to the Philippines in 1880 and took into her theatrical company Filipinos like Práxedes Fernandez, Patrocinio Tagaroma, José Carvajal, Nemesio Ratia, and others, who became celebrated actors.

⁴ See note 3, letter number 27, ante.

ment. Nevertheless, as I'm not much of a believer in dreams that occur in the darkness of sleep, I cannot believe in it, though all of this can happen. May God keep all of us, especially S. and P.

These two roads we are going through should not be the guide of one who wishes to return to his place of origin, because he cannot expect any improvement. Any road leads to Rome, but if he does not think of going back, he can choose the best. In my opinion the best is the welfare of the majority.

PACIANO

Tell me if you there are all razors in comparison to many of us who are dull tools, because if that is so, there is no remedy for us.

36. Rizal, Madrid, 30 December 1882

Living expenses at Madrid higher than at Barcelona—Importance of knowing European languages—Invites young men with means to study abroad.

* * *

Madrid, 30 December 1882

MR. PACIANO RIZAL

MY DEAR BROTHER,

I received your letter of 12 November and I'm informed of its content.

From Uncle Antonio I received 50 pesos which I believe didn't come from home and nevertheless they came at the right time for I was waiting for my December allowance. Hitherto, I thought that the last 100 pesos I received were for my winter clothing and matriculation fee.

I'm very glad that you have understood that the amount you used to send me, while more than enough for Barcelona, is not so here where expenses are double. Living economically forty pesos are enough, if clothing expenses were excluded. With this amount one can go to the theater once a week but not more often. Perhaps he may have a surplus of one or two pesos a month if he has not had extraordinary expenses. One of the things that further deplete my money is laundry, chocolate, and coffee, because living as I do in one house, where I'm admirably comfortable, and lunching at another, I have to take breakfast elsewhere, for they don't give it where I lunch. With 50 pesos on is well off and still can save for bad times.

I consider it a great blessing of Providence that we have not been ruined by so many calamities, such as have occurred over there.

I hope you'll make a profit and harvest the sugar with your usual tact and good luck, because, in that way, can be

fulfilled one of my wishes, which is to see you here for a year or two, and Marianito, Maneng, and the others successively. You must travel.

I intend to go to Paris or Rome in June. I don't know yet whether I should improve further my French, which I already know fairly well, or see Rome and her monuments and learn Italian. It would be very desirable that before you come I should know how to speak French, English, and German so that we would not be fooled in our travels. For not knowing any of these languages one spends much and travels poorly.

I don't know if you have received a letter from Sir Albert Croates, dealer in steam engines, concerning an arrangement that would turn out cheaper for you.

Be informed of the contents of my other letters.

Tell your friends — those who have means — that I invite their sons to come to these countries. I should like the coming generation — the generation that will govern and lead Calamba by the beginning of the 20th century — to be enlightened, brilliant, intelligent, and progressive.

Your brother, -

J. RIZAL

37. Rizal, Madrid, 30 December 1882

Enjoins his sister María to save his letters to his parents and brothers — And look up their former servants and help them —
Hopes to treat the eyes of his mother upon his return — Rizal saw the comet seen by his father.

* * *

Madrid, 30 December 1882

MISS MARÍA RIZAL

MY DEAR SISTER,

I received your short but meaty letter, full of pleasant and funny news. I don't expect Father and Mother to write me any more, especially Mother whose eye-sight is poor. I'm thinking of treating her eyes when I get home. I'm only sorry that I've not kept a letter of Father that I can read now and then. I should like you to keep all my letters in Spanish beginning, *Mis queridos padres y hermanos*, because in them I relate all that have happened to me. When I get home, I shall collect them and clarify them.

Find out the situation of . . . (illegible) and the requests of the pitiful ones who took care of us. With your kind heart I'm hoping they will not be abandoned.

Tell Father I saw the comet with the long tail one night when Sanciango, Paterno, and I were returning from the house of Don Pablo. The tail was long and it was visible from one to six o'clock in the morning.

It is good that Andeng is staying with us; after all she is an old acquaintance. It seems to me that Tibusi was there when I left. Sidra . . .

I thought you were already very tired of angling and boating in the river, fishing day and night. If I were there, then we would still go fishing. Has our river become deeper than it was formerly? When I get home, I'll indulge in bathing to satiety. You wouldn't believe it that since the middle of August I haven't taken a bath and I haven't perspired either.

That is so here. It is very cold and a bath is expensive. One pays thirty-five cent for one.

Give my many, many regards to Milo, if he is no longer cross-eyed. Also to Iang, Delfina, and Toño. I'm neither in *Culambo*¹ nor *Paña*¹ nor Barcelona; I'm at Madrid. My companion in the house is Vicente Gonzalez; we are only two. Every day he loses a tooth and he always has a toothache. Our house is like this: (sketch) We have four big mirrors. Give my regards to Sra. Ipia, and Baldo. Also to Loleng, Sulá, Marcosa, and Victoria. Tell them not to forget me.

Your brother,

RIZAL

¹ Corruption of Colombo and España.

38. Rizal, [Madrid, 30 December 1882]

Asks his sisters to write him often — Will wear Fili-
pino costume at the carnival — Regrets not having
brought with him his *nito salacot*.

* * *

[Madrid, 30 December 1882]

MISS JOSEFA RIZAL

DEAR PANGOY,

Yesterday I received your letter together with that of Sra. María. So that you may not stay that I don't answer you, I'm now going to write you, although it seems I shall lack time. I have already finished fourteen letters and yours is the shortest, because I have run out of things to say. I'm waiting to receive some guava jelly, which I guess is made by Father or Sra. Neneng, because some one here has asked me for it. Don't put me to shame. At the forthcoming carnival I'll wear my gauze shirt. If my *salacot* made of horn were here, I think it will attract attention. What a pity I didn't order it!

Trining doesn't write me. I don't mind Choleng, because she is not at home; maybe they wouldn't let her write or she is not ordered to write. At any rate, all of you or you alone write me often, so that you'll get used to it. Put together all your letters in one envelope and weigh them; if they are less than 15 grams, then they will not require more than one stamp. I say this because it seems that you are afraid the letter would become heavy. I said the same thing to Sra. Sisa.

I suppose that you are very noisy when the little ones go there. You can't understand one another across the *ipil*¹ dining table. I should like to see you through a cosmorama. Don't expect me to become white and look like a Spaniard.

Is Sra. Ipia there already? Do her eyes still become small when she laughs? Regards to Trining.

Your brother,
J. RIZAL

¹ *Ipil* (*Instia*) is a Philippine hardwood.
Translated from the Tagalog by Encarnación Alzona 23 July 1958.

39. Rizal, Madrid, 11 January 1883

New Year celebration—Madrid in the rain—Fall of the Ministry—
Masquerade ball at the Alhambra—Feast of San Antonio Abad
—Canon, a guitar celebrity—Asks for picture of his
parents—Tells brother to save the clay bust
of their father made by him (Rizal).

* * *

Madrid, 11 January 1883

MY BELOVED PARENTS AND DEAR BROTHERS,

Since my last letter of 30 December of last year to this date I have seen some things that I should tell you about to give you little an idea of this capital city and its people.

On the first day of the year everybody pays calls, sends cards, greetings, gifts, etc. etc. The 6th, day of the Three Kings, is celebrated by going around the streets, shouting, making noises, looking for the Three Kings, they say, insulting passers-by. Thanks that the good Count of Aguilera, governor of Madrid, has forbidden it, and so there have been not many disgraceful scandals.

With the fall of the ministry and the resignation of León y Castillo,¹ which was much felt, the board of directors of the *Círculo hispano-filipino* went to him to bid him goodbye and express to him our regret. A few days later we were again at the ministry of colonies to congratulate the new minister, Mr. Nuñez de Arce. Thus, "The king is dead! Long live the king! The woes of life.

I received Silvestre's letter and I'm very sorry that I can't do anything for him now. I'm still very new here and I don't have yet sufficient knowledge of how to begin. Moreover, here money and position are necessary. The king himself who has recommended to Martínez Campos, the minister of war, a military man for a post in the Philippines seems to be waiting for his turn. Patience and hope. On the 8th classes were opened

¹ The Minister of Colonies Leon y Castillo was succeeded by the noted literary man Gaspar Nuñez de Arce.

and we returned to our classes to resume our interrupted scholastic tasks. It began to rain, which was a pleasure, but it was a fine rain, *ticatic* as we say over there, lasting one week. The streets were filled with dirty and thick mud, the ground was slippery and between the holes in the old and worn-out pavement were pools of water and little marshes like the *lubluban ng mga carabao* (where carabaos wallow). Afterwards a cold that penetrates through the marrow of the bones ensues, which is the limit. How ugly was Madrid! The sidewalks and the streets are full of umbrellas whose merciful points left many one-eyed. When least expected a wind would blow turning the unfortunate umbrella inside out, placing the owner of such a flexible gadget in a ridiculous and serious embarrassment. At least over there, (Philippines), when it rains, it rains heavily enough to wash the streets, and the houses have eaves under which one can take shelter, but here the rain is very fine like *matang Europa*. Then the newspapers speak of storm; but my God, what storm?

On Monday, the 15th, we had a little celebration at the home of Mr. Pablo Ortega² whose saint's day it was. Those of us who foregathered there like a family were in the majority Filipinos: Calero, Ripoll, Figueroa, Lete, Paterno, Villanueva, Gonzalez, and I. Only four were not Filipinos.

Last night there was a masquerade ball at the Alhambra and I went together with other compatriots. There we saw (and they attracted the attention of everybody in the theater) three young women wearing very elegant Filipino dresses, one with *tapis*³ and the others without it. Although I suppose they didn't know how to wear it as well as the true daughters of Malate, Ermita, Sta. Cruz, and Binondo, for only two of them were Filipino women, nevertheless, they seemed to us divine and elegant. They walked about dragging along their skirts of bright red and white, yellow and white, violet and white, topped with *jusi* blouses, *piña* neckpieces, that everybody stared at them. Undoubtedly, many didn't know what kind of costume that was, whether Russian or Canadian.

Today is the feast of San Antonio Abad, and donkeys, mules, horses, and other animals, bipeds and quadrupeds are brought before the saint's image to be blessed. They are lavishly decorated. I don't know of what use to the little donkeys are blessings and indulgences since, as they say, they have no soul,

² Mr. Pablo Ortega y Rey, a Spaniard, member of the Council of the Philippines.

³ *Tapis* is a kind of over-shirt, generally black, either silk or cotton, that Tagalog women used to wear. The women of the south or the Bisayas were said to be *suelta*, that is, they didn't wear *tapis*.

nor can they offend or defend God. In short, they say that he is the patron saint of animals. One fine day even the stones will have a saint to whom to commend themselves. Civilize yourselves over there and look for a patron saint for the carabaos who will free them from . . . (illegible) and taxes. We are going to imitate these enlightened customs. That the men and above all the women here should commend themselves to the devil is all right; that is why they are men and kings of creation; the animals commend themselves to God, that is why they are animals.⁴

Today, being the saint's day of Antonio Paterno, he gave us a little dinner.

We are going to have a guitar celebrity, Canon,⁵ within a few years he may become perhaps the best in Madrid.

I received another fifty pesos from Uncle Antonio for the month of January. I don't know if you know it.

May father and mother have their picture taken and send me their pictures so that at least I shall have before me their images that they may not be erased from my memory. Keep the clay bust that I made so that when I return I may see how much my beloved father's face has changed.

May they bless me and believe me that I don't forget them. An embrace to all my brothers-in-law and brothers, kisses to my numerous little nephews, greetings to all my friends, acquaintances, and others.

José

⁴ A bit of *Rizalian satire*.

⁵ A native of Biñan, Laguna, friend of Rizal. It was he who introduced the *Noli me Tángere* in Spain. He married a Spanish woman at Barcelona. When he returned to the Philippines, he joined the Revolution of 1896. He was also a notable chess player.

40. Silvestre Ubaldo and Olimpia Rizal, Bulacan

Baliwag silk handkerchiefs for Rizal— The friars hate Rizal for his article published in *Diariong Tagalog*.

* * *

Bulacan, 19 January 1883

MR. JOSÉ RIZAL

ESTEEMED BROTHER-IN-LAW,

You have not answered two letters of mine. I don't know if you have received them or not because your address then was Saucó Street, according to your letter when you were in Barcelona. Now they tell me at home that you have not received my letter, for since then, I have not received any letter of yours.

This is my third letter. Until now we are still in Bulacan. Receive the ten Baliwag silk handkerchiefs which are our present to you on your forthcoming birthday. Only I don't know whom Brother-in-law Paciano asked to take them to you. They wrote me that they have already sent them to you.

I wish to tell you that I got sick of cholera on the 31 December. With God's mercy I recovered from it soon.

I have heard that the friars are indignant at you for an article you published in *Diariong Tagalog*, so that you be careful there. It is advisable that you be careful, for it seems that you are in their black list.

Tell us also about your life there.

Find out at Saucó Street if my two letters are there, because that is the address that I put on them.

Your brother-in-law who loves you,

S. UBALDO

P. S.

If possible, do something for us there, so that I shall be returned to Calamba.

Dear Brother,

I wish to let you know I'm here in Bulacan; I'm stout and it seems that the place agrees with me.

We wrote you last October, but you have not answered whether you have received it or not. In it I told you who among our relatives had died, like Gregoria, the daughter of Coya Ticio and Pedro, the son of the Ate Culasa.

OLIMPIA RIZAL.

41. Rizal, Madrid, 29 January 1883

Fine weather — Death of the *Círculo* — Balloon tragedy — Declines
a Christmas present — Studying Italian — To perfect his
French at Paris, English at London, German in Germany
— Ignorance about the Philippines in Spain.

* * *

Madrid, 29 January 1883

MY DEAR PARENTS AND BROTHERS,

I have already written four very long letters and although I'm quite tired, I have the greatest pleasure and satisfaction of writing you and I feel that my pen is lighter and my ideas are freshened and quickened.

We are going through a most delightful season: A cloudless and blue sky, almost like the Philippine sky, a bright moon, less cold, a weather so pleasant that I have gone out without an overcoat, a *cuerpo*, as they say here. I'm in good health, they say I'm stout, I've only a slight cold. I don't know if I'm growing, but my face must have changed a little.

Felix, who arrived last night from Redondila (Galicia) where he painted a great deal, says that he will paint my picture and if true, I'll send it to you. He is the same in figure, in stoutness, in everything.

Our *Círculo* has died! I proposed its dissolution although I was its most tenacious supporter.

Last night, or better yesterday, while the aerostatic ballon bearing Captain Mayet and a businessman or contractor was descending, its basket got caught in a chimney and Captain Mayet, in trying to save his companion, fell on the street below from the fifth floor, dying within a few hours. This Captain Mayet was a Frenchman who had already gone up numerous times for the entertainment of those who could not go to the theater. He was very winsome to the people of Madrid and a good man. He was recently married to an Italian woman. His death was keenly felt, for it was the result

of his generous act. His companion escaped unhurt; he was one of the many who had gone up with the captain to enjoy the view of the earth from above.

I have found out that Tonino and Sra. Sisa are sending me ₱50 as Christmas present. I'm very grateful to them; but see how they can be returned, because such a token of affection may compel tacitly my other brothers-in-law to do the same and I don't want such a thing ever to happen.

I hope that you enjoyed Christmas, the New Year, and the Day of the Three Kings with all your grandchildren whose number I should like to see tripled upon my return so that I can put up a school for them alone.

I'm now studying Italian and I bet that I shall speak it in two months. It is very easy. That being so, I reckon that you would permit me to go to Paris to perfect my knowledge of French. Afterwards I shall go to Rome, and I expect also to live for sometime in London for English and in Germany for German. I wish to be back home after three or four years.

Here in Spain they have very false notions about the Philippines and there are many people who are so ignorant of that country that it is not strange that they should take us for Chinese, Americans, or mulattoes, and many, even of the young students, do not know whether the Philippines belongs to the English or to the Spaniards. One day asked one of our countrymen if the Philippines was very far from Manila, and the like. One told me that he had been in my country

TRINIDAD RIZAL

42. Rizal, Madrid, 29 January 1883

Water treatment for infant's not always advisable — Grateful for gifts
— Asks for the names of acquaintances and friends who have
died of the plague and beriberi — Italian is sweet
— Reasons for declining a Christmas gift.

* * *

Madrid, 29 January 1883

MRS. SATURNINA RIZAL.

MY BELOVED SISTER:

I received your letter of 14 December and I thank you for it and the enclosure.

I'm waiting for the picture of Freding (this nickname sounds German or English) and I'm hoping I would see him still a baby.

I fear greatly that this letter would not find alive José the son of Marianito, because you said that his feet and hand were already cold. I presume that water should not always be used in the treatment of infants and those who know say so also; for really, if we apply a strong medicine to a young life, which is like a light that has just begun to flare, it will so weaken the patient that what is intended as remedy might only lead to the grave. We also use water often but only in cases where the patients are older, in treatment of women's diseases and others, and the treatment is not too prolonged. The death that results from water-cure is not far from death caused by cold which is not obvious and painful but slow, like a candle burning.

May God save him and the water heal and not drown him. May my fear be merely a dream.

I thank you for the gift of a ring, handkerchiefs, and sandals. Don't expect any return just now.

Please send me a list of friends and acquaintances who have died of the pest and beriberi.

I read in your letter that you are residing in the south because the house has been bought by *Compadre Andres*. Which house in the south?

Remind Ursula and Victoria of the saying, of what use is forage if the horse is already dead. Even if they sang in church last Christmas, I regret that they thought of doing it when I was no longer there. I should like to thank them but not for this. Sweeter to my memory was the past when she could be urged to sing and play the harp. The name given by Father Ingó (Boema, Traford) is something I did not expect from such a priest. It is either too much or too little.

Also I praised Loleng's new industry; it is different from her former industry. Only I cannot understand why when I was there and we used to play *revesino* (card game) she did not think of making *bibingka* (rice cake). I have received conflicting news, but one stands out, unchanging. I thought that her most becoming dress is blue and gold stripes. Please tell her this.

I'm studying Italian and I can speak now a little. It is so very sweet that one is obliged to sing the words. When I go home, I'm going to teach it to Ilang so that her tongue would become a little soft. If you only know it, we can correspond in it, instead of Tagalog, which is very difficult to write. Besides I'm a slow writer in Tagalog; I'm forgetting it; and my Tagalog is being spoiled by the pathetic way my companions speak it. I forget my *Florante*¹ in Barcelona. There is no one around with whom I can speak it properly. I read your letter again and again. I'm tired of the Spanish language.

I'm very, very grateful to Tonino and Sra. Sisa for the money they sent me. However, if I'm to be believed as I wish to be believed now, I beg you not to send me any more money. The source of this money is good but the effect is saddening. My other brothers who cannot send me money will be sorry because of their inability to do so. And if they would also send me, following the example of the others, I cannot accept it, except with regret, knowing that it has meant a great sacrifice for them. I don't know if they can understand what I'm trying to say or if I say it correctly; please try to explain it. Another thing is that for me even a little suffices. Why should they retrench to give me mo-

¹ *Florante at Laura*, a story in Tagalog verse by the celebrated Tagalog poet Francisco Baltazar (1788-1862), or Balagtas, who, according to Rizal, "was as good a poet as a thinker." (*Noli me tangere*, Berlin, 1887, p. 149).

ney? If I need money, I'm going to ask for it. Between us brothers, it is unnecessary to express our desires; we understand one another.

Ordinarily, not all good desires and generosity produce sweet fruits. Your affection is enough for me. Take good care of yourselves so that we may meet again, like olden days when we used to go out fishing, to take a bath in Pansol² and Prinsa, go on a stroll, drink *tuba*,³ or visit Mainit. I don't know why all these things come back to my mind. I'm also very, very careful as I don't wish to cause our father and mother any anxiety. Yesterday when I was returning from the barber shop I was accosted by a man who tried to rob me. All I did was wave him away, pushing him. In former days, I cannot say what I would have done, especially as I was carrying a cane.

Kiss for me the hands of father and mother and embrace our brothers for me. A kiss for Millong (if he is no longer cross-eyed), Ilang, Toño, Delfina, Chabeng, José and Freding. Handsome lad or European eyes?

Regards to our relatives and to all the young ladies I know, especially to Loleng, Sula, and others, to Dandoy, the Curate, Father Ingó, Ate Colasa, Coya Sinforoso.

This is all and your brother embraces you.

RIZAL

² Near Calamba where there is a spring noted for its medicinal waters, and a popular picnicking place.

³ A beverage made from the sap of palms, like the coconut palm, generally.

43. Rizal, Madrid, 29 January 1883

European politics -- Nunez de Arce, minister of colonies
-- General Jovellas to the Philippines -- Proposed legal reforms -- Pleasant weather.

* * *

Madrid, 29 January 1883

MR. MANUEL T. HIDALGO

MY DEAR BROTHER-IN-LAW:

I have read your letter together with that of my sister and I'm very much pleased that you have written also even if your wife has already written me. The mine of my verbosity and news has been exhausted by the letters I have written to our parents and to my good sister Neneng. However, I believe I have something to your taste.

The French ministry is going through a crisis which indicates either death or convalescence. I fear very much that the lamentable events of '93 might recur. Because of the excitement and tendency to exaggerate things such as outcome would not be surprising.

Neither does the present (Spanish) ministry offer large guarantees of stability. Nuñez de Arce, the minister of colonies has great plans. Let us hope that they would not be mere smoke and passing wind.

The general who is going there is Jovellar. He is good, they say, but he has a secretary . . .

According to a lawyer, the proposed legal reforms will never be carried out: First, because they are reforms; second, because we are in Spain; and third, because the mind of everyone is occupied with politics. Such reforms will be carried out with time -- the great hope of the patient and lazy; and judging by the current trends, it seems that they will reform the reforms.

The weather here is very pleasant, like that of Christmas there. Two days ago I went out without an over coat.

Greetings to my friends in Batangas, kisses to Freding; good, regulated, and reasonable hygiene for him.

Your affectionate brother-in-law,

JOSÉ RIZAL

Translated from the Spanish by Encarnación Alzona 22 July 1958.
The original of this letter belongs to the López Rizal collection.

44. Paciano Rizal, [Calamba, Laguna, 1883?]

Improvement of the land at Pansol — Do not displease the priests
— Fine arts instead of law, says the curate.

* * *

[Calamba, Laguna, 1883?]

As the rains are keeping me at home and do not permit me to begin the work on the sugar cane, I'll take advantage of these days of the year to write you and will not do so again during the work in the sugar-cane fields.

The object of the present letter is to speak to you a little about our family interests and a little about yours in particular. I'll begin with the first.

The land in Pansol is improving and much can be expected from it in the future, provided I enjoy good health. The land is good and extensive.

This land, which did not cost us any thing and was ceded by the Corporation to us in preference to anybody else, deserves to be appreciated a little. We ought to be a little grateful to the Corporation which, without owing us anything, desires the welfare of our family. Undoubtedly you will tell me that I overlook the work involved and the rent paid. I agree with you, but you will also agree with me that these priests have no obligation to give us exclusively the Pansol land, ignoring others who were eagerly soliciting it. It does seem that they are trying to grant our family all the favor within their power to give. Knowing this, it behooves us to refrain from displeasing them in the least with our behavior, in view of the needlessness of our services. If sometime you get to talk to Father Martínez, assure him that there are the sentiments that animate us.

With regard to your personal interests I believe that it does not suit you to study law but fine arts. In this matter I follow the opinion of our parish priest and truly a lawyer

here performs the duties of landlord, teacher, farmer, and contractor, that is, all the professions except that of the lawyer. On the other hand, lawyers charge honorariums for defending cases whether they are right or wrong, which your conscience will not admit. Persons who practice medicine and the fine arts are rare, but they advance here and live peacefully, the only thing that we ought to desire in this world. This is a mere advice, as I do not intend to exercise any compulsion on you. But I would be sorry if you do not hold the same opinion as I do. The joy of our parents may perhaps depend on this.

Your brother,

PACIANO MERCADO

Translated from the Spanish by Encarnación Alzona 22 July 1958.

45. Rizal, Madrid, 13 February 1883

Sinking of the *Lipa* — Eagerness for home news — Horseback — riding at Barcelona — Remembering the Calamba singers — A sample of his Tagalog — Scandals at the Madrid Court — Inquiring about the reaction to a Filipino who married a Spanish woman — Dinner at the house of the Paterno brothers.

* * *

Madrid, 13 February 1883

MR. PACIANO MERCADO

MY DEAR BROTHER,

Two days ago I received your letter of 29 December, one day after that of Uncle Antonio which left that place on the same day of the disaster of the *Lipa*. We were exceedingly terrified by the news and we were making a thousand conjectures; but your letter has calmed me somewhat because, written as it was on 29 December, it doesn't mention any trip to or going down to Manila of any member of our family, besides the fact that being the 2nd January many families would be at home. I had been there, perhaps having to accompany Tasio to Manila as his guardian and then to return immediately in order to enjoy a few days at home would have cost me very dearly. When I think of this, I remember so many events in my life that I'm inclined to believe that a divinity watches over me. However, the case of Tasio should not worry me, for Capitán Juan has the habit of remaining at Manila for a few days to do some shopping, specially now that this house is perhaps about to be finished.

Your letter pleased me very much on account of the many news you give me in it — news that make my voluntary exile not altogether complete, because so long as we share, however imperfectly, the manner of life of a people, so long as their news reach our ears, so long as we perceive their joys even from distant countries, we ought not to consider ourselves

exiles and dead to the country. This is then the reason why I'm so eager to know the happenings in that country, the only way that I have of transporting myself to that land through the imagination, so that as much as possible the old pleasant impressions may not be erased.

Tell Mother that as a true *celadora*,¹ she should see to it that the *Hermanas* do not seek the Franciscans when they want to seek God. All the friars, Jesuits, and clergyman here wear the same black habit or cassock, for if they wore any other attire, which is forbidden, they would be stoned. Good for the feast of St. Francis. Had I been there perhaps I would have enjoyed too. With respect to the gods of Greece and Rome, I don't know if you have continued the subscription that I left in the middle; what a pity it would be not to finish it.

What you tell me about the horse and what happened to Dandoy don't surprise me at all, for the one they have in the king's stable is reputed to be the most lively and unruly. Why should horses have more temper than...? At Barcelona I learned to ride the horses of this country and on the third day I already rode bareback and jumped barriers. For a long time I haven't ridden horseback because it is costly and therefore I'm afraid I may no longer know how to ride horseback.

My sincerest congratulations to the Christmas singers and above all to "La Bague"² of whom I keep pleasant memories of the harp, song, and moon that used to enter through the window. Here the moon is so heavily shaded and shy; there is such a lack of vegetation and poetry that I turn to the sky looking for it and I don't find it. I'm already getting so bored of Madrid that if I succeed to graduate this year, I'll go to Paris or Rome perhaps never to return to Spain, although here I know already families who appreciate me in their own way.

I've already sent you the first bulletin of the C. H. F.³ as well as the second, for I was a member; but as I wrote you in my previous letter, it is already dead and you will no longer receive any issue. "Pagong" or rather the "Marquis of Pagong" is Vicente Gonzalez with whom I'm living now — that one

¹ *Celadora* was a member of a lay sisterhood that attended to church needs, and the teaching of the Christian Doctrine. The elders in the sisterhood are called *Hermana* who acted as the leaders. Rizal's mother was a *celadora*.

² See note 3, letter 35, *ante*.

³ The *Circulo hispano-tilipino*, See note 1, letter 27, *ante*.

who was there with me and Aguado, the one who put on your gauze shirt (*Aroma*).

I'm thinking of the day, when you'll come to tour Europe before I go home. It will be very useful to you to know French. At present I already write it with sufficient correctness. When I've mastered it, I shall begin English or German; I'm beginning to master Italian little by little. Fortunately I still speak Tagalog well and according to my companions, on many occasions I'm unintelligible to them. And so that you may see here goes a paragraph:

Bagay sa sinabi mo sa aquin sa mga panaginip, sa ating pinagusapan niyaon una isang simbangan at di co nalilimutan at siya na lamang nagaayos ng aquin mga hacbang. Marami sa mga naninirá dine ay quinuculang lagui ng dugo at quincapós ng hininga, nguni't di co matantó cung baquit ualang capanatilihan ang canilang mga nasa. Ang cabataan caya o sapagcat di sila nasugugatan sa canilang laman; may ilan ilan ding camucha ni F. R., ni B. V. na mga may tinagong init na mahahalata rin, anhin moi ang usoc ng bundoc na may tinagong apoy. Mayroong ditong dulós na dulós, pangal na pangal, na siya lamang catatauan ng ibá at hia ng casamahan. Baquit caya pinabayaang maglacbay bayan? Ang capangalan ay sumusuco dahilan sa arao arao yaong carapatan bagang itilas ay ipinupulot at nagpapaquita ng capanganan. Uui ng culang: ang mga magagandang ugali ng ating mga bayan ay nalilimutan at ang napupulot ay ang mga basahan ng taga rito.⁴

Send me a list of those who died on the *Lipa*. I wish that when I return it would be as if I had left only yesterday; I don't want to be a stranger in my country.

I don't know if the news of Madrid that I can give you would be of interest to you — you who are neither curious nor do you know anybody in this place; but in exchange for yours I'll relate to you the scandals at the Court, scandals

⁴ With regard to the dreams that we talked about before at a pre-Christmas Mass, I've not forgotten them and in fact they have always regulated my conduct. Many of those who are here are always lacking in spirit and vigor, but I don't understand why they have no fixed purpose. Is it because of their youth or because they have not been deeply hurt yet? However, there are some who are like F. R. and B. V. who have hidden warmth that is also noticeable, like the smoke rising from a mountain with hidden fire. There are some here who are so exceedingly dull that they are the laughing stock and shame of their companions. Why are they allowed to go abroad? Their dullness reaches the limit, because they don't improve every day as they should, thus manifesting their dullness. They will go home devoid of the beautiful customs of our towns, which they have forgotten, and bearing the rage of the people here that they have picked up.

which the Manila press, canonized in life, will certainly not print.

The Duke of La Torre, or rather General Serrano, head of the party called Izquierda Dinástica (Dynastic Left), who engaged in polemics with the ministry of Sagasta, a rather popular man and formerly considered the most influential man in the army, suffered a lightning stroke: A pamphlet. This pamphlet, published at Paris by Carreras, denounces before the whole world the crimes of the domestic life of the said duke with proofs and testimonies. The duke, according to the pamphlet, married off his hermaphrodite son to Miss De Santa Lucía with a million-peso dowry through forgery and fraud. The lad confessed to the wife on the first night that he was incapable of being a husband, until finally the lass asked the dukes for a divorce. It seems that the duchess answered her not to be stupid for she could look for a lover. The duke promised her that the marriage would be annulled within three years. . . . In short there is now a European lawsuit at Paris, because in Spain the duke would win. Carreras published the pamphlet; many newspapers agreed. The duke is very much discredited; nobody wants to attend his balls, and of a fallen tree, all make fire-wood. It is said that at the Congress they called him indecent, and Carreras is planning to publish another pamphlet on the death of Prim⁵ in which he will bring to light important things. Cautiously it is said that a person, very powerful at present, a political enemy of the duke, was the instigator of the pamphlet. It bottom wretchedness and corruption. Here all dance, and they are conical, to the tune of gold and jobs.

With respect to their majesties, I don't notice much enthusiasm for them among the people. On the various occasions they have appeared in public not even a "Viva!" was heard. Everybody aspires to be minister, and haranguers and schemers abound so much so that one can't take a step without encountering them.

Women abound even more and it is indeed shocking that in many places they intercept men and they are not the ugly ones either.

With respect to morality there are also some who are models of virtue and innocence and others who have nothing womanly about them except their dress or at most their sex.

⁵ General Juan Prim y Prats (1814-1870) led the insurrection that broke out in 1865. It was suppressed and Prim sought refuge in exile. Later he returned, deposed Queen Isabella, then restored the monarchy. He was murdered on 27 December 1870.

Rightly it has been said that the women of the south of Europe have fire in their veins. However, here prostitution is a little more concealed than at Barcelona, though no less unrestrained.

I don't know how the marriage plan of a young woman over there with a matured man that you told me about turned out. Has it failed maybe? It is strange that I don't know the one referred to, there being very few young women in the town.

I close this letter recommending to you many of my friends who will probably go there to pay you a visit. I don't know if Santiago Carrillo has called on you as he promised me when he was here. When you write me, tell me about him and the reception accorded one who got married in Spain.

With nothing more, regards to all your friends and to mine, to our relatives and to other persons with whom I wish old sympathies to remain always.

Your brother who loves you,

JOSÉ RIZAL

On throve Tuesday we had a luncheon and dinner at the house of the Paternos, each one contributing one peso. With our fingers we ate rice, stewed chicken, *adobo*,⁶ *fritada*,⁷ and roast suckling pig. We were Felix Resurrección, Emilio and Esteban Villanueva, the two Paternos, the two Llorentes, Figueroa, Vicente Gonzalez, Raymundo Perio, Manuel de Iriarte (the initiator), Eduardo Lete, Juan Fernández, Federico Calero, and I. Ariarte got drunk. All of us ate very well, but as the rice expanded, we were attacked by *buli-buli* the whole day. After each dish, we walked about, and when any one came to inquire for the owners of the house, he was told they were not at home in order not to disturb the feast. Consumed were fourteen pounds of rice, five chickens, four pounds of beef, and of the suckling pig, that cost us a peso and a half, not a bone was left. There was an indescribable confusion. Valentin Ventura was also with us, so that we were sixteen Filipinos

⁶ *Adobo* is a favorite dish of the Filipinos. It consists of either pork, beef, or chicken, or all of them mixed together, cooked in vinegar, with salt, garlic, and pepper.

⁷ *Fritada* is fried meat or fish.

We missed the *sinigang*.⁸ The cook was Esteban Villanueva. During the meal we spoke Tagalog. This reminded me of Pansol when we ate there and Marianito cooked wonderful dishes.

⁸ *Sinigang* is stewed fish, pork, chicken, or beef with *végétalés*, *saisoné* with salt, some sour tamarind or any other sour fruit or leaves that abound in the Philippines. It is much relish by Filipinos.

46. Josefa Rizal, Calamba, 14 March 1883

Bulacan handkerchiefs — Beaded step-ins — Guava jelly.

* * *

Calamba, 14 March 1883

MR. JOSÉ RIZAL

DEAR BROTHER,

We received your letter and we are informed of its content. The reason why we have not answered it earlier is that we are always distracted and when we remember it, the mail boat has left. I'm going to tell you that Loleng and that one named C... in blue dress with gold embroidery, it seems, will finally get married secretly after the town fiesta. The Bulacan handkerchiefs that you received there were sent to you by our brother-in-law Ubaldo and Sra. Ipia, the beaded step-ins by Sra. Neneng, and the jelly was made by Hilario as well as the preserved fish eggs. Our condition here is good, no one gets sick, and the children are often fighting over you, saying "Uncle José is mine", all four shouting. Well, it is very delightful when they are all hilarious, but it cannot be compared with the past when you were here.

Many regards to you and command your sister.

JOSEFA RIZAL

47. Trinidad Rizal, [Calamba, 14 March 1883]

She has stopped going to school — Congratulates Rizal on his ability to speak Italian after two months' study.

* * *

[Calamba, 14 March 1883]

MR. JOSÉ RIZAL

DEAR BROTHER,

We received your letter dated 29 January on the 10th of this month of March and we understood all its contents. Many thanks for the news and your good wishes. We are glad to know that you were able to speak Italian after two months' study. May God grant that you succeed for your honor and advancement. And don't expect anything from my schooling, because since the outbreak of cholera, Mother made me stop and I don't go to school any more.

TRINIDAD RIZAL

48. Mariano Herbosa, Calamba, 14 May 1883

Rizal's favorite chestnut horse — Swiftest among the horses at Calamba.

* * *

MR. JOSÉ RIZAL
MADRID

DEAR JOSÉ,

Though I have not answered your letter for a long time, I hope you will pardon me. I suppose that you understand the amount of work here now. Another reason is that I have no news to tell you except that our life is quiet and satisfactory.

Though José got sick last February, he is now very stout. Father and Mother are well, thank God.

The last news I can give you is that I'm now taking care of your chestnut horse and he is at the head of all the horses here at Calamba. He is so swift that until now no other horse can beat him.

We received your letter and we are informed of its content. I have been planning to write you long ago but what happens is that the mails leave and we have not yet written.

Many regards and I reiterate that I'm your willing servant.

Your affectionate and sincere servant who kisses your hand.

MARIANO HERBOSA

49. Lucía Rizal, [Calamba, 14 May 1883]

She asks Rizal for a prescription for the itch — News
about town acquaintances and relatives.

* * *

[Calamba, 14 May 1883]

DEAR JOSÉ,

We received your letter and we read your news and your good advice. At the same time I'm grateful to you for your efforts for our well-being. I inform you that Aunt Geña, Lieutenant Bunaque, and Leoncia Albares died. Here many are dying of the itch and almost all of us are attacked by this disease so that send us a good prescription. Marcosa is sending you regards and all of them are thankful to you because you don't forget them. Marcosa became seriously ill. Antonio and Delfin often quarrel over you, each one claiming you.

Many regards of this sister of yours who does not forget you.

LUCÍA MERCADO

P. S.

I did not write you about the seriousness of José's sickness. When he became very grave, Coya Aben would not treat him any more. I'm not going to tell you any more what came into my mind. I said to myself that if he did not want to go to Spain, he was going to heaven. Perhaps, because he was really going there, he suddenly improved.

Perhaps I shall not suffer what Father did when you left because right now I'm trying to accustom myself little by little, especially since José is every day looking more and more like a man and it seems that he will not let anymore take advantage of him.

THE SAME

50. Paciano Rizal, Calamba, 26 May 1883

Sugar crop—Rizal asks permission to go to Paris—A portrait of Rizal at Leonor's house painted by Resurrección Hidalgo—Death of Father Leoncio López, Calamba's parish priest—Town fiesta of Biñan—Incident with the civil guard—Feast of Corpus Christi—No receipt for payment of land rent—The Philippines is the most heavily taxed country in the world.

* * *

Calamba, 26 May 1883

DEAR BROTHER,

Yesterday I finished milling 1,350 loaves of mediocre sugar, the result of the first trial of Pansol, and now I'm writing you immediately, thinking of your just impatience in not receiving any news from here during three or four months that the milling lasted.

It seems that the last letter from here was the one you received from Zamora. At the time it was written, it was said that the secret was not greatly respected so that after it was written, it was sent to Manila to be placed in the mailbox; but there they thought that there was great interest in making it get there when it was all the contrary, as you can easily understand by the signature.

In return for that we have received all your letters, or what is the same thing one by mail. In the majority of them you tell us of your desire to go to Paris, asking permission and funds for it from our parents, who however, are silent on the matter, a silence that I interpret as refusal, based on estimates that until a certain point are reasonable this very day. As for me, I think that you can go there after you have finished your medical course, for once having taken the first step one ought not to go back for flimsy reasons. This idea of yours today was mine since the beginning and still is. I expounded it to you after making some inquiries,

but you insisted on going to Barcelona and I kept quiet thinking that you might be more lucky in your choice, but now we are undeceived, because we have not counted on the antipathy and incompatibility of character. So that, if at the receipt of this you persist in that plan, reply by return mail, telling us when you will finish the medical course so that we may furnish you with what you want and also let me know whether life in Paris for one with an allowance like yours is better or worse than in Madrid. There you can get better information than here.

I picked up in Manila your five photographs delivering each one to its owner. I left the oil portrait¹ there so that they can bring it themselves on the day of the fiesta. Concerning this picture: At first glance I did not recognize you so much so that I paid no attention to it. But as it was a new decoration at Uncle Antonio's house, I approached it out of curiosity and I saw the signature. Then I supposed it could be yours that you announced to us in your letter. Later they assured me that at a certain distance the likeness can be noted. I could not stop to admire it longer because I was in a hurry. However, it is admired for the signature and artistic expression that is still hidden from the eyes of the layman.

During the three or four months that I did not write you, many interesting things happened in our town which you will be glad to know, as you state in your last letter received yesterday. I'll begin with the death that occurred at the capital of our parish priest,² regretted by those who had known him, especially by his family. As soon as the Government of the City of Manila learned about it, it hastened to present to the family a niche in the pantheon of the Manila aristocracy, a consideration that is very rarely bestowed by that body. During the absence in Manila of the parish priest, the vicar decided to appoint as acting parish priest a coadjutor from Biñan who, parenthetically speaking, is not even a shadow of the deceased. After two days at the convent, without any ground for it, he began to criticize the people here and praise those of Biñan. He knew more about the town than the church and so he left after having committed some barbarities in the canonical books. He was succeeded by Father Domingo (whom we already know) for some weeks and now we have a trustee appointed by the archbishop, a commendable person

¹ Painted by the noted Filipino painter, friend of Rizal, Felix Resurrección Hidalgo (1855-1913).

² Father Leoncio López. See Rizal's letter number 55 *infra*.

for possessing one of the qualities of Father Leoncio, which is not to meddle in things alien to the Church. As soon as his death was known, the vicar, Father Villafranca, came to get the church funds recorded in the books, but as it happened that the safe was locked and the key was in Manila, by virtue of the key of St. Peter, he ordered the appearance before him at the house of the Hacienda of our priest where he compelled him to advance the amount kept in the safe, threatening him that he would inform the archbishop of the secrets of the deceased that would involve a member of our family. The priest, in view of this pressure, had to advance in gold what will be returned to us in silver at the end of three weeks. Intimidating an old man and threatening to unearth secrets that he may perhaps have, is truly a repugnant behavior. When this happened, I was precisely out of the house.

Just as there was a change of personnel in the church so was there at the police headquarters, with the difference that here there were not so many incidents, with the exception of the departure of the lieutenant. He told us that he would be away only a few days, but in reality his departure was definitive and he carried away three books of ours, one of which is valuable.³

On the 15 of this month was the town fiesta of Biñan. There was nothing special about it. Had it not been for two mediocre music bands and fireworks, it would have been just like a Sunday. We, Antonino, Dandoy, and I, and others who had the bad luck to attend the blessed fiesta were required by the civil guard to show our personal cedula (identification paper). We replied that we did not have the habit of carrying it, but we were ready to go wherever they wanted to take us. With this explanation, they let us free. We on our part hurriedly left, cursing the idea that led us to that town.

Corpus Christi was celebrated day before yesterday with more splendor than in previous years for the reason that the chapels were more luxurious, having been entrusted to the members of the Dominican and Franciscan associations and I don't know what other groups who spent a whole night decorating them only to knock them down the next morning after the Mass.

Ahead we have the town fiesta. They are talking about contributions, one third of which is assigned to Masses, at the regret of many, about fifteen mysteries in the style of Biñan, about new alms for the confraternity that is in great difficulty,

³ Rizal resented this. See his letter number 74 *infra*.

but not a word about public entertainment. In short, it seems that we imitate wholly Biñan, the model town in the opinion of some.

This is the time to pay land rent at the Hacienda and contrary to the general custom they accept the money without issuing any receipt to any one. Has this any relation to the important reforms of the general or it is nothing more than one of the arbitrary nets of the administrator? I'm more inclined to the latter one, though I would like it to be the first one.

Of the important news at the capital I don't want to tell you anything, because I would do better to guess them than to read them in the newspapers. And if in the future I should be curious to know things that are not church functions, arrest of gamblers or persons without identification papers, fights of the Chinese, or things of that kind, I would write you so that you may furnish me with the information. Drinking water in Manila is bad; the good one is kept in the cisterns.

The country which is most burdened with taxes, in the opinion of various persons, is the Philippines, as much for the quota that partakes more of the polltax than of the income tax as for the method of collecting them in the provinces that in some cases it costs the taxpayer double on account of traveling expenses and the time involved. If it is entrusted to the *gobernadorcillo* (municipal mayor) or the agent of stamped papers, persons of responsibility, this heavy burden will be lightened. With a little confidence and another little pity for the taxpayers, expenses and time uselessly employed will be saved.

Anastacio was expelled from school. His father asked me to accompany him to plead. I agreed, though without any hope of succeeding as it really happened. They told me that Del Rosario was very dear to the priests. I went to his house and told him that you advised me that if anything should happen to Tacio, of whom you had been guardian, that I should make use of him. He was gladdened and said that he would do everything in his power to return Tacio to school. He requested me to express in my letter to you his sincere friendship and desire to be able to serve you.

Capitán Juan married Dámaza. She is the bachelor woman whom I mentioned in my letter who was besieged by Banatin and Buenaventura.

PACIANO RIZAL

51. Rizal, Paris, 21 June 1883

From Madrid to Paris — A stroll through Paris — Laennec Hospital
— Lariboisiere Hospital — Jardin d'Acclimatation.

* * *

Paris, 21 June 1883

MY DEAR PARENTS AND BROTHERS,

As I informed you in my previous letter written at Madrid a day before my departure, I'm now at Paris — Hotel de Paris, 37 Rue de Maubeuge — since the morning of the 17th, Sunday. My trip was one of the best and fastest I have ever made for it lasted only 36 hours from Madrid through an express train. I passed through Avila, Valladolid, crossing all of Old Castile, San Sebastian, Yrun. Until this last place I travelled in Spain. The landscape of Old Castile, if such can be called those bare fields formed by monotonous lines, without trees or the play of light, accompanies the traveler until the Basque provinces where the mountains have more vegetation, more luxuriant foliage, and better cultivated, though they are sparsely populated, a characteristic of these provinces. The Basque type is tall, masculine, ordinarily the face shaven, long rather than oval; small eyes, aquiline nose, and the general aspect reflects honesty, ruggedness, and frank affability. The women are exceedingly industrious, so much so that they plow and I have seen not a few pulling carts. A stone or iron bridge separates Spain from France, like that between Santa Rosa and Cabuyao, and the first French town one sees is Hendaye where travelers generally stop for lunch. From there on one notices a great difference: A smiling landscape, numberless chalets, or country-houses, with vines and flowers beautifying the road; pines and olive groves compete for every inch of ground, which is all planted, all utilized.

Just as in Spain I had for fellow travelers an Englishman and two Frenchmen whose company I quite enjoyed, especially that of the Englishman who was traveling to learn Spanish; in France my fellow travelers were two Spaniards who

were going to London to study English. We passed through Bourdeaux, Poitiers, Tours, Blois, Orleans until Paris. I mention here only the first class cities. Many memories were awakened in my mind by the sight of these cities full of history or that fill history, above all the heroes of novels whose lives were supposed to have been spent in those places, like the *Three Musketeers*, etc., etc. The environs of Paris are very beautiful and very picturesque. There are little houses with gardens and the churches, like all those we have seen along the road, are of Gothic style, so pure, so tall are their turrets that with the landscape they form and constitute the enchantment of the traveler. From Hendaye on, the politeness and urbanity of the people are noticeable; if you address anyone, he replies amiably and takes off his hat, and when you pay or give them anything, they don't fail to thank you, just as for the slightest collision or stumbling, they ask you for pardon or excuse. In Paris it is even more so. What Grant says that the English in comparison with the French are barbarians, I can apply to myself. Having been accustomed to a certain kind of treatment for many months, now that I'm in Paris, I find myself and I consider myself almost rude. This is the great generality.

Well then, as I was saying, I arrived at Paris Sunday morning and stopped at the hotel where Filipinos use to stay and where Zamora¹ is. My room costs me seven pesos a month, without board or light, for here everything is dear.

Early in the morning I went out for a stroll, and by the long time that I walked and the little I covered, I can imagine how big is this city that they call "Babylon." Fill with magnificent houses the entire area of Calamba, Cabuyao, and Santa Rosa and you'll have Paris more or less. That is the way I figure it out because to traverse it in a coach from one extreme to the other takes more than an hour and a half. Here man is a real ant; there are streets whose ends cannot be seen and nevertheless they are straight, wide and very well laid out, shops and department stores everywhere; coaches for hire are said to reach 25,000. Passers-by animate and throng the streets, the restaurants, cafés, *bouillons*, beerhalls, parks and monuments. On every street however small it may be, there is at least one hotel and these hotels are filled up with travelers from all parts of the world who come and go, so that there are always seen

¹ Dr. Felipe Zamora, wealthy Filipino physician who was at Paris for specialization. Returning to the Philippines, he became a famous obstetrician and general practitioner. He also resided at Saigon, practicing his profession.

new faces, trunks, and suitcases everywhere, different attires, strange types, including us. Here they call us Japanese, because there is a large number of them around.

On the first day I did nothing else but walk and walk. I saw the Champs Elysées, Vendôme Column crowned with a statue of Napoleon I, the exterior of the Opera, Place de la Concorde, Obelisk of Luxor, Madeleine Church, and other edifices of lesser importance.

The Champs Elysées is an extensive park from the Place de la Concorde to the Arch of the Carousel, wide and long, filled with trees, with theaters on both sides in which plays and concerts are held at night, with cafés, exhibitions, flowers, and plants. There many persons go to sew under the trees, to read; children with their nurses, *etc etc*. The Champs Elysées at night is full of people.

The Vendôme Column² is tall and big, full of bas reliefs depicting the wars of Napoleon in Germany, crowned by his statue holding in his hand the symbol of victory and a globe. He wears the emperor's attire.

I've not yet seen the Theater of the Opera except its exterior; it is magnificent and elegant and worthy of Paris. As to the rest, *La Ilustración*³ that we have has its picture. It is crowned with magnificent groups of gilded allegorical figures.

The Peace de la Concorde is an immense and wide circle inside which stands the Obelisk of Luxor. The principal French cities are represented by matrons seated around. The City of Strasbourg, formerly belonging to France and now to Germany, is also represented there, but in mourning and with a crown of everlasting and funereal decorations.

The Church of the Madeleine is stately, beautiful, and purely of Grecian style. It is an imposing edifice and presents a very beautiful view. It is open for worship.

For the sake of economy the majority of the people in Paris eat at the restaurants or *bouillons*. The Bouillons Duval of the butcher Duval are found everywhere; they are neat and clean and one can eat in them quite well for two and a half pesetas. Those who wait on tables are women and the food is good and inexpensive. We usually go there.

² The Vendôme Column is 44 meters high covered with the bronze of 1,200 canons taken from the enemy by the Grand Army of Napoleon in 1805.

³ *La Ilustración Española y Americana*, an illustrated magazine published at Madrid, to which Rizal's family was a subscriber.

⁴ As a result of the Franco-Crussian War (1870-71) France lost Alsace and Lorraine and she didn't cease to mourn her loss until 1918 when she regained them after the First World war (1914-1918). Strasbourg is the capital city of Alsace.

The first evening we went to the theater: This is the most sumptuous public edifice I've seen until the present. It is of Indian architecture, fantastically grandiose, full of mirrors and illuminated with electric light, decorated with gigantic statues. Indian also: Elephant heads and those fanciful drawings in which gold, red, and blue are combined to form a strange mass that creates a vivid impression. Huge mirrors, conveniently placed, prolong the series of columns so that one imagines himself inside a very extensive temple in Ellora⁵ or Mahabalipur. The troupe of dancers performing there is composed of three hundred persons, and allegorical dances, like the "Excelsior" in which is shown the victory of Progress over the evil genius, exhausting all the advances of the art of scenography, employing lavishly tinsel, costumes, and electric light jointly with magic, are held there every night for the enchantment of Parisians and foreigners.

The floor of the houses here, like those over there, is made of wood and waxed unlike in Madrid which is of brick or flagstone. The least one can spend daily for board and lodging is 7 pesetas.

The following day, the 18th, we, Zamora, Cunanan,⁶ and I, visited the Laennec Hospital⁷ and we were present at the treatment of patients by Dr. Nicaise. I marvelled at the progress and facilities found in this small hospital, superior to those of San Carlos at Madrid. As they all took us for Japanese here, they told us they would introduce us to Mr. Saint Rémy who was in Japan for a long time. I took charge of clearing up the confusion.

We had a quick look at the establishment they call Bon Marché (literally cheap), one of the four or five very big department stores here, the others being La Louvre, Le Printemps, La Belle Jardinière, and others. In these establishments are sold all kinds of articles except food, though I believe I have seen a café and a restaurant. It occupies an entire block with all the floors of the buildings as large as the space between our house and the telegraph office. So that you may be able to form an idea of how big it is, it keep 150 Norman and English horses whose only work is to deliver the purchases of buyers, the horses occupying an entire large building. With respect to

⁵ A temple carved in the rock in Hyderabad, India

⁶ Mariano Cunanan, wealthy landowner of Pampanga, who was then studying agriculture at Paris. It was he who offered to finance the Colegio Moderno that Rizal planned to established at Hong Kong.

⁷ Named after the eminent French physician René Laennec (1781-1826), discoverer of auscultation

Norinan horses, mine, though small, resembles them closely for its broad haunches and thick musculature. They serve only as draft horses and they are very strong; there are some that are like elephants.

We have seen the church of Notre Dame of Paris in which for 50 cents we were shown the treasures, relics, sacred vessels, the gifts of different sovereigns, vestments of the most famous cardinals and archbishops; we went up the tower which reminded me much of Victor Hugo's *Notre Dame de Paris* upon seeing the sculptured monsters that served as decoration. There we were shown the bells called *bourdon* and the one taken from Sevastopol.⁸

We saw many buildings besides from outside, but as I'm thinking of visiting them all, I shall tell you about them later.

On the 20th we visited the Lariboisière Hospital where Pardo (Felix)⁹ is an extern and there we attended the examination of various women's diseases.

On the 21st, after attending an operation performed by Dr. Duplay, we went to the Jardin d'Acclimatation located outside of Paris in the Bois de Boulogne. There we found plants of all kinds and the rarest and most beautiful birds. Everything that the imagination can conceive in forms and colors is there: Sparrows, from the *paquing*¹⁰ to the multicolored bird representing the entire color scale all species of doves, the rarest chickens, parrots, etc., etc., ostriches, cranes, cassowaries, elephants, seals, deer, oxen, gazelle, giraffe, zebra, horses, etc. and even men of different countries are exhibited there with their customs and manners. There is also an aquarium where through the glass can be seen eels, corals, sponges, and from the red fish to the green, blue, and even black one. There is also a small place set aside for the hatching or artificial incubation of chicken eggs. The eggs are placed in boxes with a temperature of 39°. Their method of fattening them quickly is by keeping them in narrow boxes to impede their movement and feeding them through a tin tube that reaches until the stomach or crew with corn that does not pass through the mouth. In fifteen days they become so fat that nothing more can be desired.

Inside the Jardin d'Acclimatation there are also tramways that take tourists or sightseers around. There are cafés, res-

⁸ A naval base on the Crimée, sieged during the Crimean War, 1854-1855.

⁹ A Filipino physician and noted sculptor, brother of Dr. T. H. Pardo de Tavera.

¹⁰ Also called *mayang-paking* in Tagalog, or Luzon brown weaver, *Munie Cajanisi*.

taurants, concert, equitation school, gymnasium, and even water closets. Trees of all kinds shade the roads and there are flowers and roses of different shapes and color.

Until now I haven't seen more than this.

Henceforth, as I do more sightseeing, I shall write you more. Only it costs something to go sightseeing, for one has to pay for transportation, tickets, tips; and then Paris is so big and so complicated that one gets lost easily on any street.

It is very possible that this letter may go together with my letter from Madrid and consequently this will serve only as a description. On 1st July I intend to move to the Latin Quarter where the cost of living is a little cheaper.

(The rest of the letter is missing.)

52. Rizal, Paris, 5 July 1883

Tour of Paris continued — *National Panorama* — Palace of Industry
— Hotel Dieu — Museum of Orfila — Jardin des Plan-
tes — Luxembourg Palace — Hotel des Invalides.

* * *

Paris, 124 Rue de Rennes, Quartier Latin¹
5 July 1883

MY DEAR PARENTS AND BROTHERS,

In my previous letter of the 21 or 22 June I gave you some slight information about the various buildings and monuments that I have seen in this great city. As a mail boat is leaving tomorrow for that part of the world, I write you this to continue giving you some ideas, however slight, of all that I have seen since then.

It seems to me that in my previous letter I concluded with my visit to the Jardin d'Acclimatation. I shall begin this then with the Summer Circus. This is an arena or circus like any other set aside for gymnastic or equestrian performances, located almost at the end of the Champs Elysées. The artists who perform there are of the kind of Chiarini,² though inferior in quality and number to those of the Italian impresario. However, despite the fact that Paris is a capital of numberless entertainments and despite the mediocrity and slight importance of this spectacle, the theater is always full to the brim, doubtless owing to the many foreigners who invade it and the many adventures — men and women — who seem to have made a rendezvous there.

The *National Panorama*³ is like all those of its kind. If you remember those of Marseille and Madrid that I described to you previously, you can form an approximate idea of it. Only that in that of Paris can be seen what it was in the time of the

¹ The Latin Quarter, the district in which are located the Sorbonne, Institute of France, and Luxembourg, famous for its Bohemian life.

² An Italian showman who brought a troupe twice to the Philippines; once in 1882 and again in 1890 or 1891.

³ About the Panorama at Marseille, see his letter number 15 *anté*.

Franco-Prussian War. They are the Battle of Champigny and the horrors inside the city of Paris. This panorama as well as the Summer Circus and the Palace of Industry are all in the Champs Elysées of *Monte Cristo*.

The Palace of Industry is a very big building constructed in 1855 and designed for diverse exhibitions of arts and trades. Admission usually costs 2 francs or 50 centimes on Sundays and Thursdays. There I saw an exhibition of Japanese painting and many men and women, principally foreign artists who took me for one from Japan, and they approached me and asked me for information about it. I gave them and told them all that I knew and when I could I escaped through the history of Japan and her old modern constitution. I spoke a little about the Japanese artists, whose biographies I knew, like Totsugueu, Senko, Nampo, and others. They asked me about their methods and they were enchanted. But then it occurred to one of the young ladies to ask me about the meaning of those characters written below the paintings and I found myself in a tight spot, for, fearing that there might be someone among those various visitors who understood Japanese characters, they would catch me in the very act of telling a lie. Then I told them that the mikado, having set up Japan in European style, had sent us to Europe since we were very young and we have become Europeanized, which, added to the difficulty of Japanese writing, which was not as simple as the European, explained why we have not studied our native tongue. In Europe, or rather in France, all those who are of our type and are dressed like them are Japanese (Chinese in Spain), just as over there all who wear a beard are called *Castilas* (Spaniards). In this exhibition I saw also very beautiful paintings and sculptures by European artists, precious stones, antiquities, furniture belonging to different epochs, weapons, Indians, Muslim, and Hebrew books, tiles, jars, and others. I spent there about three hours, although I went around running, I admired above all a painting of a nymph asleep in moonlight among clouds and mist.

The Hotel Dieu is a big hospital of three stories, magnificently and hygienically built, with courts and gardens, on the Ile de la Cité on the Siene. It has five floors on each side. Taking us for some attachés of the embassy (without our telling it) they showed us everything including the kitchens which serve by means of small tramways. It is very clean and if I'm

⁴Rizal's family possessed the biggest private library in Calamba. Dumas' *Count of Monte Cristo* was widely read in the Philippines and Rizal read it when he was only 12 years old, a student at the *Ateneo Municipal*.

not mistaken, the hospital accomodates very comfortably 300 patients. Inside one notes complete silence and circumspection. It is truly a refuge for the sick. It has magnificent verandas where convalescents take a walk.

The Museum of Orfila⁵ is of the greatest importance to students of medicine. All can go there to study human and comparative anatomy including its innermost secrets, from the dwarf to the giant, the fish to man, from the cell to the organ. There is a table there made by an Italian and presented, I believe, to Napoleon III. This table is made of human livers, intestines, bones, flesh, lungs, and ears. The learned Italian knew how to harden them in such a way that they became as hard as marble and these different substances of the human body formed fanciful designs; however I believe that there are many persons who will not dare eat on that table. This process is unknown, the secret having been lost, it seems.

There was also the picture of a famous dwarf, a nobleman, attired in the same garb he wore when he was living; he was scarcely three handbreaths tall. But the characteristic of this dwarf is that he is neither deformed nor hunchbacked nor is his head big like others; he is, on the contrary, very well proportioned: A head like an orange, proportional tiny hands, feet, and legs, and a very pleasant and winsome face. They say he was very learned, very affable and polite, and lived 30 years or more.

I saw there among various seeds casuy (*acajou*, pronounced *acachu*), and lumbang.⁶ Free admission every day.

The Jardin des Plantes is the name of a large area very near the Seine, full of plants of different kinds, with museums of zoology, geology, and another of skeletons only. There was also an infinite number of animals. I was able only to go through the different sections for plants, to see the ducks, geese, deer, six or seven tigers, as many lions (one lioness enclosed with a puppy), bears, panthers, wild boar, hogs, dogs, oxen, ounces, jaguars, large and small snakes, vipers, tortoises, eight or nine crocodiles stretched out in the sun, fishes, etc. All of these were fed and tended in accordance with their different temperaments, like the boas and snakes with woolen blankets over them, the crocodiles with their ponds, the tortoises the same etc. The government has professors there to conduct courses in botany, zoology, geology free to the public. There are also gigantic skeletons of whales, cachalots, and other an-

⁵ Named after Mathieu Orfila (1787-1853). French physician, and chemist, who made important contributions to toxicology.

⁶ Tangantangan or *Solanum sanctum*; tuba, *Croton tiglium*; lumbang, *Aleurites molucca* Willd.

imals. I'm planning to come back some seven times to see the museums. The public is admitted free. I don't know if I have already told you and if not, I'm going to say it now, that here the people go to the free public gardens and promenades the men to stroll or study, and also some women who bring their sewing baskets, sit on the benches under the trees, and there work better than at their homes, and nobody bothers them. It is here that I see this for the first time, and thus they spend the day on the Champ Elysées, Palais Royal, Luxembourg, Jarden des Plantes, etc.

Here there are also water closets on the streets where for 15 centimes one can use them and they even provide one with soap. There is excessive cleanliness. This is very convenient in these big cities just like the free urinals profusely distributed as in Madrid also.

As to the Luxembourg Garden I have seen only a part of it. When I shall have seen it better, I'll give you some information about it. Of the Luxembourg Palace I have seen only the museum of painting and sculpture of living artists. There are magnificent paintings there I knew through the illustrations in *El Mundo Ilustrado*,⁷ superb marble statues that it would be impossible for me to enumerate. The principal ones are those by Sulambo, "St. John the Baptist", by Titian, Raphael, de Vinci, and others. The French school is represented by all the artists from Clouet to those of our time and there art can be studied step by step. Attracting attention are two paintings by Lethiere⁸ — "The Death of Cleopatra" and "Brutus Condemning his Two Sons." The father, as consul, is seated beside another who hides his face in his mantle; at Brutus' feet lies the head of his son, his body being carried away by others; the executioner is standing; the other son is ready to die; they implore and beg the father to spare the life of his son: Brutus, inflexible, somber, silent, meditating, not daring to look at his son, with his hands twitched, is pallid. It is a sublime painting. Battles of Napoleon by Gros, and Endymion asleep in the moonlight, and the grand painting of "Cain and Abel" by Prud'hon. On this floor is located also what is called Apollo Gallery, because of a painting of this god on the ceiling. One who has not seen this gallery cannot form an idea of what a palace would be like. Profusely decorated, gilt, painting, sculpture, precious stones vie for the attention of the dazed visitor. . I refrain from describing it.

⁷ An illustrated publication in Rizal's home library at Kalamba.

⁸ Guillaume Lethière (1760-1832). French painter.

There is a hall in which the jewels of kings and queens are exhibited: Scepters, crowns, rings, necklaces, *etc.* Another hall is full of pencil, pen, and sepia sketches by great painters. Other halls are full of Grecian, Roman, and Etruscan jars and amphorae taken from Pompeii and other excavations so numerous that there are enough for the whole province of Laguna.

On the third floor there are also paintings: The Museum of the Navy, the Chinese, and de Lesseps.

I believe that to study this museum well, one year, going there every day, would not suffice; in the superficial way I do it, three or four days are enough. It is open to the public except on Monday, and admission is free. There I saw the room and alcove where Henry IV died. Catherine de Medici must have walked through the same places as we do.

I saw last the Hotel des Invalides where the tomb of Napoleon I (in the church St. Louis), beneath the cupola, is. The tomb is simple, grandiose, imposing, worthy of the genius of the great man. In a circular crypt, 10 or 15 meters in diameter, is placed the sarcophagus of well polished reddish stone; without unnecessary decorations. It is of a single piece, four meters long, two meters wide; it contains his remains. It is surrounded by a laurel wreath in mosaic and twelve colossal, white marble statues representing his most famous victories. Everything there is serious and imposing, and the light that comes from the cupola augments further the effects. Foreigners and even the English stand there fixedly in veneration and respect. Behind the main altar is the entrance to the crypt made of dark marble with two colossal carytides bearing crown, scepter, sword, and the globe on cushions. They seem to be the somber guardians — two giants guarding the sepulcher of a demi-god. Above are inscribed the words in his testaments.⁹ Napoleon is surrounded by the tombs of Bertrand,¹⁰ Duroc, Turenne, Vauban, and Jerome and Joseph Bonaparte.

⁹ Above the entrance to the chapel of the Hotel des Invalides were inscribed the following words:

"Je désire que mes cendres reposent sur les bords de la Seine au milieu de ce peuple français que j'ai tant aimé." (I wish my ashes to rest on the banks of the Seine amidst the French people I have loved so much.) This was written by Napoleon at St. Helena, where he was exiled, in the codicil to his testament on 16 April 1821, twenty days before his death. His wish was fulfilled on 15 December 1840 when his bones were brought to Paris and deposited in the chapel of the Hotel des Invalides by order of King Louis Philippe of Orleans.

¹⁰ Geraud Christophe-Michel Duroc (1772-1844), French general and grand marshal under the empire.

Count Henri-Gratien Bertrand (1773-1844), faithful aide-de-camp of Napoleon I who stayed with him during the period of his exile at Elba and St.

From there one goes to Museum of Artillery, of armors, where those of the most famous kings are, the guns of the Louis's, Henry's, and even of Napoleon; the swords from the primitive ones of stone to those of the generals of the republic, empire, and restoration; Flags, trophies seized; cannons, Japanese and Chinese weapons, garbs of different warriors of Oceania, Africa, and America, armors of the Gauls, Greeks, and Romans — all on models. It seems incredible but the costumes and weapons of the savages of the small islands of Borneo are found there but those of the Philippines are not even remembered. There was also one of the Emperor of China, full of gold and diamonds, that was seized during the war.

The Hotel des Invalides is a grand edifice built by Louis XIV to provide shelter for poor soldiers. It has 5,000 rooms, but only 600 live there. Everything there radiates discipline and there are old military men or those without legs' arms etc. The spirit of Napoleon I pervades its atmosphere and the impression produced by the whole is special. It could be said that it is the mansion of remembrance, because I know not what loneliness there is wherever death, old age, and misfortune dwell. There is even a statue of a marshal of Napoleon with an amputated leg. It is the refuge of the aged, victims of other men's passions.

This is all that I have seen until now.

As you must have noted I'm now in the Latin Quarter because there were I was before expensive and here I can live for less than six pesetas a day, and moreover this house is much better.

Undoubtedly, whatever they may like to say, the French are very affable, at least on the outside, and this is noticeable not only among the upper classes but also among the poor and the middle class. As I was saying, I now live alone, because Zamora and Cunanan had gone to London. My landlady, Madame Desjardins, belongs to the middle class, as we, my Comadre Juliana over there would say. Well then, the first day we ate

(The rest of the letter is missing.)

Helena. It was he who brought Napoleon's bones to Paris in 1840.

Vicomte Henri de la Tour d'Auvergne Turenne (1611-1675), French marshal. Marquis Sebastian de Vauban (1633-1707), French military engineer and marshal of France.

Jerome Bonaparte (1784-1860), king of Westphalia and marshal of France, brother of Napoleon I. Joseph Bonaparte (1768-1844), king of Spain. (1801-1813). brother of Napoleon I.

53. Rizal, [Paris, July 1883]

Tour of Paris continued—The Bullier—Musée de Grévin—
The Louvre Museum—Its vastness and treasures.

* * *

[Paris, July 1883]

.....
boy, energetic and inspired, unlike those we have over there who are effeminate and phlegmatic; one Eve, the Sibyl of Cumae, Abel, etc. Among the paintings the most notable was a Roman orgy, in the period of decadence, in the presence of the statues of the virtuous patricians of the republican epoch and the consulate. Judging by the grave looks of the statues it seems that their shadows are irritated at the sight of the imprudent bacchanals. The death of Julius Caesar, a grand painting reproduced in Cantu's.¹ The last days of Corinth and the capture of Jerusalem give an idea of the horrors of the sack of a city. Virginia, lying dead on the beach, is a poetic and melancholy composition. Cain fleeing with his family is frightful; the birth of Venus by Bouguereau seems like morbid and elastic flesh, and other paintings that are vyingly beautiful.

The Bullier is a dance hall to which all students go and even those who are not. They go there to dance phrenetically and the hall, despite its spaciousness, is full of men and women. The French dance consists of walking to and fro and twirling. The quadrille is a dance in which the men make contortions like puppets. I don't understand it except the drunken or mad enthusiasm of the dancers. There we met some personages of various embassies, and as we were there—Zamora, Cunanan, and I—they said in a low voice that we were perhaps the envoys of Tonkin sent there to settle the question of the war. The admission fee is one peseta.

The Musée de Grévin belongs to a private person and being such one has to pay 2 francs to enter it. Exhibited there

Note: Fragment of a letter to his parents, judging by its similarity to his preceding letters to them about Paris.

¹ Cesar Cantu's History of the world. A very popular book then, was read by Rizal at the age of 12 when he was studying at the Ateneo Municipal de Manila.

are wax figures of famous personages that are so accurate and lifelike that one is completely deceived. There are wax figures of Bismarck, Garibaldi, Arabi, Czar Alexander II, Alexander III at his coronation, De Lesseps, Victor Hugo, Skobelev, Sarah Bernhardt, Gambetta, Emilie Zola, Alphonse Daudet, Gounod, and others.

I visited also the Louvre Museum and to go through it rapidly I spent three days, from 10 in the morning until 5 in the afternoon without rest. That was filled with foreigners. The Louvre — that old palace of Francis I that his royal successors went on embellishing, that resisted so many centuries, wars, and revolutions, the theater of the plots and mysteries of the Valois, Medicis, and Bourbons — is perhaps the most important edifice of Paris. It stands on the bank of the Seine; its exterior is quite severe, somber, and august, in spite of its numerous sculptures, bas reliefs, and other decorations that bear the stamp of the different conquering races. Part of it was burnt down by the Commune. It is very big and perhaps as long as from Capitana Danday's porter's lodge to that of Captain Basio or longer. Its courts are immense and can serve for horseback-riding for twenty-five equestrians galloping at full speed. When I recall as I look at it so many histories, so many events, so many crimes, as well as so many glories, that took place there, it seems to me that momentarily a historic face would appear on its balconies. But times have changed and there no longer strolls through its immense galleries neither a Francis I nor a Henry II to meet Gabriel of Montgomery, nor ailing Francis II with Mary Stuart, nor Charles X, silent and pensive, unhappy in his youth, nor the criminal Henry III nor Henry IV with his court — nothing of this sort is now seen. Instead of the ladies, soldiers, musketeers, pages, and nobles, instead of the Guises,² Bueil,³ Bayards,⁴ only curious Englishmen, Germans in dark suits are seen there and nevertheless the places are the same, the same staircases worn out by so many generations, the same alcoves and even the same paintings.

The entire ground floor is occupied by the Egyptian and Assyrian museum, Greek and Roman sculpture, the Christian, Renaissance, and modern sculpture, and the antiquities of Asia Minor. In the Egyptian museum on the ground floor

² Name of a powerful French noble family: Duke of Guise (1519-1563), Henri I de Lorraine (1550-1588), and others.

³ Jean de Bueil (1405-1480), called "The Scourge of the English," associated with the glory of Jeanne d'Arc.

⁴ Cierre du Terrail, Lord Bayard (1473-1524), French captain, whose bravery and generosity aroused the admiration even of his enemies, winning him the appellation of "Knight without fear and without reproach."

are colossal sphinxes, Isis, Osiris, and Apis; chapels constructed of a single stone, that is, monoliths, cippus, Egyptian sepulchers, also monoliths, papyrus with inscriptions, paintings, sacred vessels; and going upstairs one sees Egyptian objects pertaining to worship, civil life, sepulchers, mummies, idols, crocodiles, cats, dogs, and birds all mummified — the whole world, the whole social political, civil, and religious life, seemingly a mute corpse but in fact expressive and eloquent that tells us about the past, the past grandeur, sufferings, and crimes perhaps. The impression that these objects make on the visitor is sad. On seeing them one is carried back to those temples of Karnak, of Philae, or to the pyramids built by so many Pharaonic dynasties. But it is observed that religion is the most common stamp of Egyptian life which is not so among the Assyrians. In the Assyrian Museum are big, enormous pieces of stone with colossal bas reliefs (see Cantu) of men with body of a bull and with wings statues of the Assyrian Hercules who choked lions without effort, friezes, capitals, bas reliefs of the chase, animals, and sacrifices belonging to the palaces of Nineveh and Babylon, of the Khorsabad, built by Sennacherib, Sardanapalus, and others. There are also Phoenician sarcophagi of marble. I don't know whether because this museum is always deserted, not frequented by visitors like the others, or because it recalls very ancient times — cities enveloped in the dust of ruins and destruction — the truth is that it is desolate and recalls to mind those feasts of Balthazar, Semiramis, Nisus, Cyrus, and the Darius. I imagined the mysterious hand writing *Mane, Thecel, Phares*.⁶

The Asiatic antiquities (of Asia Minor) demonstrate the cradle of Greek art. In this museum are seen archaic statues. From the standardized, symbolic, religious rigidity art little by little developed Hellenic grace and elegance. But attracting attention are two enormous pieces, pieces of fluted column from a Greek temple (Apollo Didyma) of two and a half meters in diameter. If one would reconstruct in his imagination the building whose columns are before him and he recalls the elegant proportions of Greek art, this temple, in my opinion, must be gigantic and larger than the known ones. Friezes of combats of amazons showing that the warriors in fighting them sieze them forthwith by the hair.

The museum of antique marbles, or rather Greek and Roman sculpture, is the largest collection I have seen of first

⁶ "Counted, weighed, divided", the ominous words that appeared mysteriously on the wall of the banquet hall of King Balthazar.

class works, though it is said that it does not surpass much the great ones of Italy. There a complete course in mythology can be studied by just looking at the statues and groups; another course on Roman history with the busts of the consuls and emperors as well as with their statues. The very celebrated "Venus of Milo" is there, recognized as the best of all despite its being armless; a colossal Melpomene of four meters. The statues that I had seen only in pictures are all there and one spends three hours in going through them superficially and comes out of it with a confused imagination. Christian sculpture presents a great contrast to that of the pagan, and in spite of its infancy it gives nothing but a feeling of grace and beauty, of mysticism, something that speaks of heaven and the soul.

The sculpture of the Renaissance and of the modern period despises the pagan and scarcely deigns to cast a glance at the Christian. It is indeed beautiful, genuine, elegant, grandiose, and at times sublime. Calling attention are two slaves by Michaelangelo, a Diana by Coujon, and several by Pudget and Coustou.

The second floor is assigned to painting and Greek, Roman, and Etruscan antiquities, and jewels of the kings of France. There are the Italian school with Leonardo de Vinci, Raphael, Titian, and Correggio with their best virgins; the Dutch with their landscapes by Ruysdael, Bergheim, and others; the German with Sebald Behann, Helbein, and others; the Flemish with Rubens and Van Dyck; the Spanish with Murillo, Velasquez, and Rivera among which is the great "Concepción" by Murillo alongside the masterpieces. . . .

54. Rizal, Paris, 20 July 1883

Studying French at Paris—Cost of living—Regrets passing of
Fr. Leoncio López—The pro-friar Fr. Villafranca.

* * *

124 Rue de Rennes, Paris
20 July 1883

MY DEAR BROTHER,

I received your letter, I have read it, and I thank you for what you tell me for various reasons. I was going to give you in this letter my little descriptions of Paris but as I have no time and I have to answer first your letter, I'll do everything possible now, leaving the rest for the second mail in case I can't finish. I don't know if the success of your harvest satisfies you and you consider it worthy of your efforts and toil, but I believe that you ought not to get discouraged because of this as I seem to understand from what you call "average result". I'm hurrying to finish my studies, go home, and be useful to the family and to others. Don't think that I say this to excuse my expenses; frankly it is what I wish. As you must have seen, I've anticipated our family's permission and it was because I had no time to wait for it; but as I imagined that you would always guess the basis of my good intentions, I was sure that you first of all and our parents would approve my plan. Here I'm in Paris studying French, which is very difficult, since a month ago, and I'm planning to stay here until September. One more year in Madrid and perhaps I may realize your wish. With 50 pesos one can live in Paris, without smoking, without drinking coffee, or going to the theater, or ordering clothes. The house in which I'm staying, which is in the Latin Quarter, costs me ten pesos, light four pesos, food thirty-two and some centimes, the laundry the rest and at that I'm on the fourth floor. Paris is the most expensive capital city in Europe; I can live in this city when I already have a profession and I can devote myself to some work that will earn me a livelihood; otherwise with 50 pesos it is impossible for me to live here.

Inquire from foreigners who come from Europe these days and they will tell you the same. One can live cheaper if he eats horse-meat, cat instead of rabbit, goes to the taverns where one can eat for one peseta and 50 cents. I'm keeping up this bravado that brought me here out of self-respect, so that they may not say that I'm killing myself for 50 pesos. God knows how many months at Madrid I shall need to recover the advanced expenses I'm incurring here. I've borrowed from Zamora — when I still had money and didn't need it — 100 pesos if by any chance I would lack money here. I hope that you will pay him all at once my two monthly allowance instead of sending them to me. It's all a matter of paying me one month in advance. He was going to send home that money because he didn't need it and I told him then that he could give it to me and he could collect at home to which he agreed, for in that way he wouldn't spend one cent more.

I felt deeply the death of the parish priest¹ not precisely for being a friend but for being a good curate, which is a very rare thing, a *rara avis*. My blood boils every time I read what you say about Father Villafranca, but I'm satisfied because he supports and justifies all my prepossessions against him. Had I acted otherwise, perhaps I would have to say that I have been deceived. A bonze or a Brahman couldn't have done more. If the clergymen themselves, the virtuous ministers of God, who demand secrets and avoid scandals, who use good, big words; they who believe themselves as guileless as doves and prudent as the serpent; they who speak of respect for elders and respect for the grave; they who always talk of fasting, prayers, and the Mass, who have God on their lips while they rob the poor of their money to enrich themselves, threaten to disclose the faults committed in youth in order to insult the illustrious memory of a learned old man, who perhaps had wept over his misdeeds and had been a lesser hypocrite than those who pretend to judge him. Less couldn't be expected from a profriar and that shows me that I'm fair in my judgment. Had I been there I would have challenged him to divulge the offenses of the deceased curate and let me see if he isn't the dung beetle who spends his time in unearthing filth and dirt. Let me see who'll pick up the first stone to throw it at the late Father Leoncio and I'm sure that every one from the archbishop to Father Ambrosio² will consider himself without the right to do it. Ah, those who contribute to knowledge and virtue nothing but stupid dogmatism and vulgar hypocrisy! I

¹ Father Leoncio López. See letter 50 *ante*.

² Father Ambrosio Villafranca.

believe I can guess the mean hatreds of the wretched. Well, may the Thanksgiving Masses do much good to those curates, but I don't know if the ears in heaven will be closed when they go up there carried by their avarice and ignorance. When I see so much fanaticism mixed with such vulgar passions; when I see so much wretchedness among those

(The rest of the letter is missing.)

55. Rizal, Paris, 2 August 1883

Some monuments in: Paris — Pantheon — Jardin des Plan-
tes — Abbey of Cluny — Julian Baths — French
national holiday — Palace of Versailles.

* * *

124 Rue de Rennes, Paris
2 August 1883

MY DEAR PARENTS,

The last time I wrote you I had to cut off abruptly my letter because I lacked time to finish it to my liking. Since then nothing new has happened to me, so that I'll say in this nothing more than what I wished to write in that letter: To talk about some monuments in Paris and its environs which I have visited and to make some little observations, and I'll begin with the Pantheon.

This has had two names — that of St. Genevieve after the saint to which it was dedicated and that of Pantheon for containing the sepulchers of all the great men of France. The plan of the building was made by Soufflot and its construction was begun under Louis XV. They say it is very magnificent and it is in fact. Its interior has this form, the first I have seen. Its elegant columns, its lofty cupola, the brilliant light that penetrates through it — all give it the theatrical, monumental aspect of a very elegant edifice, but not of a Christian church such as are usually seen. I believe that this is due to the two steps that are on each side, the absence of a choir and decorations, though there are excellent frescoes. It's simply splendid. For 16 centimes one can go down to the underground vault is immense, semi-illuminated by the light that penetrates through some insufficient skylights. The guide who conducts us carries a lantern. There are the sepulchers of the philosophers Voltaire and Rousseau, fathers of modern ideas. Voltaire has a magnificent statute by Houdon. Rousseau's tomb is in front of it. A hand holding a torch emerges from his tomb. Those who say that this is not in very good taste are right

and moreover it is quite equivocal, because it could be said that he set the world on fire or he illuminated the world. There also are the tombs of Marshal Lannes, Soufflot, and others. There is a place where an echo reverberates in a way that is surprising — by beating a kind of drum one hears cannonshots, thus reproducing all the noise of a battle.

In the Jardin des Plantes there is a museum of natural history which I believe I have already mentioned. There I found the egg of the *epyornis*¹ as large as half of loaf of sugar,² that is, like a lankâ,³ though very much bigger. Could it be the roc? Beside it an ostrich egg appears like the tiny egg of a dove. There is a very large number of monkeys ranging from the one that resembles a dog, or rather the *synocephalus*, to the gorilla. I don't know yet if Darwin's theory is very acceptable; it would be advisable to study it to determine on what to rely concerning the creation of man. I saw there also bulls and other big animals. The aurochs is the biggest I saw, though it does not resembles much the bison that we know over there; and I saw a Normandy cow which is about four fingers taller than I at the withers. Our carabao and our other animals are not missing there; but it took me pains to find the carabao as it looked like a pig beside the others, so small it seemed, and nevertheless it must be one of the biggest of those over there. I shall not tell you anymore about the desiccated lions, tigers, panthers, and bears of which there is an infinity there, nor of the crocodiles, alligators of all kinds, from the one with a head like this to the one that we have over there; nor of the tortoise ranging from one which is a meter and a half long and a meter tall to the smallest of about the size of a copper coin. There is a very pretty cicala (cicada). I would not finish mentioning all those desiccated animals, fishes, whales, that occupy three floors of a big building. One German says that this museum is as good as that one at London, though not better arranged. But indeed I'm going to tell you about two large cabinets full of little birds of all colors, ranging in size from the blowfly to a half *pipit*.⁴ They are green, blue, red, gold, violet, dark, bronze, but all are brilliant. Their beaks, like needles, are shiny as if varnished. They are enough

¹ *Epyornis* is an ostrich-like bird whose eggs are a foot long and 9 inches in diameter, genus *Aepyornis*.

² A *pilon* of sugar was sugar moulded in large clay jars, weighing about 100 pounds. This was the way sugar was marketed in the Philippines during the Spanish regime.

³ Or, *langka* *Artocarpus integrifolia* L.

⁴ *Pipit* is Tagalog name for the northern willow warbler, *Acanthopneuste borealis*.

to make Emilio and Antonio⁵ dream for a week. I stood ecstatic before those marvels, those winged rubies and topaces. As to the butterflies, I have not yet seen the yellow and black specimens, but even then they occupy an immense space — all the walls of our antehall cannot hold them. There are some very small ones of the size of an *onzita*⁶ and there are very big ones, there are all blue, all flesh, all red, yellow, black; there are mixed colors; there are these that resemble the rainbow. Philippine birds that abound there are the *calos* and the *talic-tics*; there are at least eight specimens; one of them is from south Luzon, perhaps from Laguna. The geology section! That was marvelous: All kinds of metals, crystals, precious stones, soils, antediluvian and pre-Ademic fishes. There I saw red, yellow, and white emeralds, green and blue topaces, rubies of all colors, brilliants and diamonds of all colors; a copy of the Regent. It takes four hours just to go around without looking closely. One leaves that place dispirited and with the sad thought that one does not know the names and properties of so many beings and so many things. So many things unknown to me. And nevertheless I saw there a young girl, accompanied by a professor, who was studying all those minerals, their names, their classifications and she was not very far behind!

In the Jardin are roses of all colors and of all kinds of petals in excess. There I saw a Lebanon cedar. After finishing of course, if possible, I'll return to Paris to study science and agriculture. A countryman of ours, Cunanan,⁷ is studying this science here in Paris in one of the government schools. Here the agriculturist is much more learned than many bishops and lawyers over there. It is a very deep study that I was astounded to find a gardener of a town giving me the botanical classification of all plants. Everybody here talks to you about thermometers, barometers, archometers, history, physics, just as there we talk about the miracles of St. Augustin and St. Procopio of which we are better informed than the saints themselves.

I visited also the old Abbey of Cluny, an old Gothic edifice, very well preserved, former residence of the reverend monks which they kept as their lodging-house whenever they came to Paris. It is very big and very beautiful and the poor monks rested there. It is now a museum of antiquities of the middle age and the modern period. There are many curious things belonging to the pious generations, so much praised for their Christian virtues by the layman who knows history. There I

⁵ His nephews, son of Narcisa and Anotonino López.

⁶ *Onzita* was an old Spanish gold coin, the size of the present (1960) Philippine silver ten-centavo piece.

⁷ See note, letter 5. *anté*.

saw the padlocks that husbands put on certain parts of the body of their wives so that they might not err; the instruments of the Inquisition; paintings, religious has reliefs side by side obscene ones that the blessed monks had on their choirs. I believe that at that time the locksmiths must have been very stupid or the husbands were very stupid, that they would like always to place the devil beside God in order to mix the useful with the sweet as a wise precept demands.

Beside this abbey are the Julian thermal baths, or rather the Roman baths of the emperors. The building is simple but big, solid, and majestic. There are Roman statues, altars, etc. It is said that it was there that Julian the Apostate was burnt. I could hardly believe it. In this same Hotel de' Cluny there is a department where all kinds of footwear used in the world can be studied. So that you may see how complete it is, I saw there slippers with red tops, designs, and embroidery of the Chinese of Rosario Street,⁸ straw slippers costing a peseta, and other used ones. It is there and not elsewhere that we can find out which country has the smallest feet but natural ones. Our women are not left behind. Upon going down the Hotel de Cluny I saw a woman that at first I took for a Filipino mestizo: Blue skirt, white shawl, and with the same coiffure as a Filipino woman, only her sleeves were very narrow in the European style. Were it not for her Nordic physiognomy and her speaking French fairly well, I would have been deceived. I inquired who she might be and nobody knew.

The 14th July is the national holiday here, the anniversary of the taking of the Bastille. All houses, excepting those of establishments are closed; there are fantastic illuminations, fireworks; traffic is suspended; people invade the boulevards and promenades, and Paris at night seems like a float in a Holy Week procession. In the Bois de Boulogne there are a parade and review of troops: 40,000 soldiers. Numerous people go there despite the continual rain. Zamora, Paterno, Cunanan, and I paid 3 pesetas each to stand up on some poor benches; others paid more and every now and then a bench collapsed and women, young ladies, old men, and children fell rolling down the ground, and there was general laughter. Then they would again clumb up and again they fell. Besides us was a very serious Englishman standing on a large barrel full of water and as the poor Englishman feared that the cover might give in and he would have a *sulbu*⁹ bath, he stood balancing him-

⁸ It was in downtown Manila, a Chinese business district. The name of the street as well as its character remains to this day. (1960).

⁹ Tagalog word meaning "dip": that is, a "dip bath."

self on the rim of his throne that cost him 3 francs. And he himself laughed. Finally at two o'clock sharp the review began. The president of the republic as well as the ministers had arrived ten minutes before in order not to miss any part of the programme. I was surprised that all of them came in carriages drawn by two horses only. I almost looked down on them comparing them with our captains general and archbishops who have the good sense of always riding in carriages drawn by four horses, and Mr. Yriarte who once did the same. The more horses draw one's carriage the more important and smart one is. I have always believed this and no friar can convince of the contrary, not even the most eloquent preachers of Manila. I refrain from describing the spectacle of that militia, the cadets, of St. Cyr¹⁰ who, they say, are all smart and competent; those of the chief of staff, the engineers — that youth whose duty is to take revenge¹¹ and to pay a debt, whose patrimony is without blemish and without victory, attracted my attention; then the infantry, a forest of bayonets; afterwards the cavalry with their shining helmets and floating manes of the horses that give them a martial air and serious aspect; the artillery and all the cuirassiers on horseback dressed in shining armor moving rapidly. Forty thousand men, seven times the population of Calamba. Foreign governments sent there their military men to see that review.

Later we saw the Palace of Versailles, former residence of the Bourbons and the Bonapartes, now a vast historical museum. This palace is at most one hour by train from Paris. It is a beautiful and grand palace built under Louis XIV, with its garden, park, and its two Trianons, or rather two small country palaces, if such they can be called. Although I saw it hurriedly, nevertheless I was able to note the rooms of Napoleon I, his study, the hall where Marshal Bazaine was tried, the rooms of Louis XIV, XV, XVI, those of the queens, their wives — these in the Grand Trianon. In the Petit Trianon only traces of the life of Marie Antoinette are visible — the great simplicity, even in her dressing and work rooms. There is a plan, a hemisphere, there said to have been made by Louis XVI. There is also a cluster of flowers one of which is a clock. The rooms of Napoleon I are of a yellow color. They assert that Napoleon I did not use to live in those palaces. In the carriage house we saw many carriages, the most conspicuous

¹⁰ The state military academy in France, the equivalent of the American West Point Military Academy.

¹¹ Rizal alludes to the cry of the French patriots for "Revenge" after the Franco-Prussian War (1870-71) when the French provinces of Alsace and Lorraine were annexed by the new German Empire (1871-1919).

being a gold one which is the biggest and the most beautiful and was used by once when Charles X was crowned, valued, at the minimum, one million francs.

The garden and the park are most beautiful: There where formerly walked only a gilded youth and a pompous court, full of various preoccupations, passions perhaps, miseries perhaps, misfortune, perhaps, now that place is desolate and hardly . . .

(Note: The rest of the letter is missing.)

56. Rizal, Madrid, 11 September 1883

Vacillating between the law course and the philosophy and letters course
— Madrid summer disagree with him — Two Calamba youths — Filipinos at Madrid — Japanese Students — Only one Filipino is studying agriculture — Probable new minister of colonies.

* * *

7-1st Floor, center, San Miguel, Madrid
11 September 1883

MY DEAR PARENTS,

From the 31st August, the date of my last letter, to the present few events worthy of mention have occurred here. Since the sixth of this month, I've been in this house whose address is indicated above and where I pay 16 reales a day, that is, four pesetas, without light, which I myself have to buy. However, as I don't feel well here, I intend to look for another house in order to see if, for the same price, I find another with better conditions. I'm vacillating whether to take the examination in Roman Law and pursue the law course, which here lasts seven years, or to give it up and take literature and philosophy to pursue the course in Philosophy and Letters, which is not known there, of three years duration, and qualifies one for a professorship.

I've read here the terrible happenings in Java, an island near there, which have horrified us. I'm prepared to hear elaborate censure of this affair.

The prevailing temperature here is tolerable at present and the cold that is sometimes felt is quite notable.

As I'm not yet sure of keeping this room, I wish you to continue sending your letters to the house of Esteban, No. 34 4th floor, Calle del Barquillo, where Esteban Villanueva lives.

Vicente Gonzalez is going there on the first of October. It is very probable that he will be the one to carry my letters for that time.

Summer here was very bad for me and because of it I'm somewhat thin, though my health has not been impaired in

the least. I believe that winter will restore my former good health.

The family of Villa Abrille is here; his son has just called on me.

As you will perhaps reply to this letter towards the end of October or the beginning of November, I'll receive it here towards the end of December at most. I expect by then some news about Christmas.

I don't know what had become of Tacio, whether he has been definitely expelled from the college of the Jesuit Fathers or not. In the first case, I believe Capitán Juan can send him to some school abroad, for Tacio does not lack ability; he only lacks the proper environment and good guidance. I believe that his disposition will be corrected in distant lands. However, I don't favor his studying at Madrid. If by chance his father wants Tacio to study a course of his choice, it seems to me that there is no country better than England to make a useful and serious man out of his son. England has a character very much in harmony with the manner of thinking of Capitán Juan.

I don't know how Dandoy¹ is now that the principal obstacle that formerly stood on his way has unfortunately disappeared. If he plans to come to study music, he can take advantage of this opportunity to go to Italy, a country where the cost of living is very cheap, or Germany where one can also live with little, in order to cultivate and perfect his art for which he manifests so much aptitude. Luna² is now at Rome and he is a great painter; he earns his own livelihood. I don't despair then of seeing Dandoy here, warbling in Italian or coughing out German.

Filipinos abound here. There are merchants, travelers, tourists, employees, military men, students, artists, lawyers, physicians, agents, politicians, cooks, servants, coachmen, women, children, old men. I can't ascertain what the effect of this will be after the end of ten years. It's highly to be desired that we don't remain behind. In spite of the fact that not everything sown is harvested, nevertheless I believe the harvest will exceed the grain sown. We are waiting here for some countrymen who would like to engage in industry, like for

¹Leandro López, brother of Antonino López. Rizal's brother-in-law, of promising musical ability.

²The celebrated Filipino painter Juan Luna (1857-1899). Rizal wrote an article about him which appeared in the weekly *La Ilustración, Barcelona*, 28 February 1886.

example, the manufacture of paper, glass, porcelain, textile, and other products that would be of very great utility over there.

The majority of the Japanese who are at Paris study artillery and engineering, while we study law and medicine; why don't we study arts and industry? We already have one countryman who is studying agriculture but unfortunately he is the only one.³

I'm expecting a letter from you by this mail. I haven't received a letter from the family for so long a time.

Because we absolutely lack news about the doings and happenings in that country, which the newspapers here scarcely remember, we long and wait for the arrival of the mail boats, which quite often disappoint us.

It seems that the present ministry is going to fall and will be replaced by the minister of the colonies, the Count of Xiquerra, a personage of very good intentions and very good aspirations, who is known to be very slightly venal or not at all, and a man of a rather independent mind. He is moreover very energetic and endowed with good will. Above all he is modest.

With nothing more, please bless me. I embrace all my sisters and brothers-in-law, kisses to the little nephews. When shall I receive a letter from Emilio or from any one of them?

Regards to my friends and relatives, also to Capitán Juan Banatin.

J. RIZAL

³ Mariano Cunanan of Pampanga. See letter 51, *ante*.

57. Rizal, Madrid, 28 October 1883

Madrid weather — Living with Lete and the Llorentes — Gymnastic lessons — Drawing classes — Christmas Greetings — Christmas at Madrid — Eager for family news — Political trends in Europe — The Columbus banquet.

* * *

15 Baño, 1st floor, Madrid
28 October 1883

MR. FRANCISCO RIZAL MERCADO

MY DEAR PARENTS,

Though without letters from you to give me news about your health, I know, however, through another person that you are admirably well, which makes me infinitely happy. As to myself, I'm perfectly well, without any ailment or sickness, thank God. The cold season comes rather late. Last year, by the 15th or 20th of October, almost everybody in Madrid was already wrapped up in cloak or overcoat and chilblains were beginning to show on ears and fingers. Until now I still go around without an overcoat and only at night I put it on, although carelessly. However, the rains have converted Madrid into a repugnant puddle.

I now live with Lete and the two Llorentes. Between us four, we have taken the first floor of house No. 15 on Baño Street to which you can address henceforth your letters. We have rented the furniture for 12 pesos for two years and the house costs us 19 pesos a month, which together with the cost of light, maid, water etc., etc., costs each of us 8 1/2 pesos a month. Add to this the cost of lunch which is 10 *reales fuertes* daily, that is, 15 pesos a month, and we save 1 1/2 pesos, because formerly we paid 24 pesos a month in worse conditions — poor lodgings and poor food. With this I send you the plan of the house. In this way we avoid being exploited too much by the leeches; we live more comfortably and more decently at least, because we aren't crowded as in bar-

racks, tyrannized by landladies and landlords. Our house is rather elegant, above all the parlor and the study which are very prettily papered.

As I remember having told you in my previous letter I have classes from eight in the morning until eight quarter at night, excepting a half hour that I spend taking lunch, that is, from two thirty to three o'clock in the afternoon. The gymnasium agrees well with me. Persons of all ages and of both sexes, also belonging to all social classes, go there. However the gymnasium is inferior to those we have at Manila as to its equipment and location. Girls from four to five, even young ladies of 17 and 18, young men, gentlemen, and old men of sixty exercise an hour and a half. We have seen bumps, lameness, defective hands or arms corrected little by little. By going there in groups of six or seven, one pays only 2 pesos each, but as many of our countrymen leave, we have to pay 3 pesos each month.

My drawing classes — landscape, perspective, and ancient — at the Academy¹ keep me busy five hours. My professor of landscape is a Belgian, Mr. Haes, the best in his field here. I want to know this branch of the fine arts, inasmuch as the Philippines is a country of landscapes, and models for drawing or painting figures are hard to find there. After having seen the school of fine arts at Paris, this one of this crowned villa is disillusioning and were it not for its building it can almost be said that it is equipped on a level of that at Manila, only here they give neither pencil nor paper nor crayon nor colors, as in that of Don Agustín.²

As probably, on account of the quarantine and the slow movement of ships, this letter will not get there until about the 15th or 20th of December, I wish you now a happy and poetic Christmas with its pre-Christmas Masses and the *poto bombong* and *salabat*³ which ought to be the joy of the little nephews and nieces. With respect to this, I'm waiting to know the name of the new nephew⁴ that my sister Olimpia is going to give us. The uncles, aunts, and grandparents can prepare

¹ Academia de Bellas Artes de San Fernando, Madrid.

² Don Agustín Sáez, director of the school of fine arts at Manila.

³ *Poto bombong* or *puto bombóng* is steamed ground glutinous rice cooked in bamboo joints about six inches long and seasoned with a little salt and eaten with sugar and grated fresh coconut. *Salabat* is a beverage made of sugar and water flavored with ginger. It is the beverage that accompanies the *puto bombóng*. The *puto* is cooked on the sidewalks of the streets leading to the church.

⁴ He was Aristeo Ubaldo (1883-1954), who later became a noted ophthalmologist and professor at the College of Medicine, University of the Philippines.

little Christmas presents. To their bad luck I'm very faraway, though it is true that neither did I give them any present when I was there. I don't know how we shall spend Christmas here. It seems to me that, if it is like that of last year, I can save myself the trouble. Everybody, from the maid, postman, newsboy, barber, bootblack, gate-keeper, café waiter, university beadle, tailor, to the shoemaker — all ask one for a Christmas present, although they know that one is as clean as the paten. For lack of nephews and godchildren then, we have here a whole craving humanity, the majority of whom, like the night-watchers, dedicate vyingly poor verses to one, others little paintings, the theater ushers chromos, and finally others, like the clothes pressers, nothing at all. From this can be deduced that here occurs the reverse of what happens there: The Chinese shoemaker, the Chinese water-carrier, and every Chinese is the one who gives presents to his customers.

I'm glad to know that the money stolen from my sister Neneng has already been found by the civil guard. This is what they have written me from Manila; I'm not very sure of it. It is true the news didn't come from home, but after all, provided it is true, it does not matter if it is told by other persons.

If sometimes it may occur to you to write me, tell me something about the affairs of the family, for although I can't do anything for it, nevertheless I'm sufficiently interested in it to wish to know what is happening to it. I would be happy, though, that nothing bad has happened since the last letter of the month of May that I received from there until this date.

Concerning news in general of Madrid, nothing new has occurred here since the last events at Paris: The change of ministry,⁶ the majority of whose ministers are very well known at their homes; as proof of that, there is Mr. Suárez Inclán, minister of colonies, of recognized obscurity; Europe continually threatened with a frightful conflagration; the scepter of the world that is slipping from the trembling hands of decrepit France; the northern countries preparing to pick it up; Russia whose emperor has the sword of Nihilism over his head like Damocles of antiquity — this is civilized Europe.

The banquet in honor of Columbus was held here; to attend it one must pay 8 pesos, and to make a toast (it seems

⁶ The ministry of Sagasta Martinez Campos (8 Feb. 1881-13 October 1883) was succeeded by the ministry of Posada Herrera.

to me) 16 pesos. Those who shone there were the American⁶ Mr. Calcaño with his poetic eloquence, or an eloquent poem, and Mr. Romero Robledo with his fluency and very tendentious speech. A countryman of ours from the Visayas, Mr. Graciano López, delivered there a speech complaining about the administration at Manila with such sublimity and hispanism that he won many times the applause and the bravos of Americans and Spaniards. It was a pity that the banquet held under such happy auspices should end with a duel between an American and a Spaniard.

With nothing more for now, regards to all our relatives and friends, kisses to the nephews, embraces to my sisters and brothers-in-law. Bless your son who loves you truly.

RIZAL

The articles you sent me through Paterno arrived, but the jars of jelly and bagoong were broken and their contents spilled.

⁶ "American" here means Latin American.

58. Rizal, Madrid, 21 November 1883

Unfair treatment of Filipino engraver Figueroa in the filing of a professorial chair at the Academia de Bellas Artes de San Fernando
— Rumors of war between France and Germany — Announcing his graduation from the medical college in 1884 — Republican demonstration at Madrid.

* * *

15 Baño, First floor, Madrid
21 November 1883

MY DEAR PARENTS AND BROTHERS,

Although it may seem strange, living in a city may also be monotonous, even if this city is called Madrid; but the truth is that leading a regulated life and not mixing in other people's business is also monotonous and I have no news to give you. I'm well, healthy as one can be in this cold weather and the chilblains that it produces.

Our fellow countryman Figueroa¹ who competed for the professorship of engraving at the Academia de San Fernando had the bad luck of being treated with the same very natural and common injustice as they did to another, because they preferred one whose works occupied the third place. In vain were the protests presented by the... (illegible) competitors and newspapers. The position was already assigned before the competition was held. I don't know what this young man will decide to do now.

The crown prince of Germany will arrive here day after tomorrow. This event is given much importance which, it seems, may lead to a Hispanic-German alliance or German-Hispanic alliance. It is said that the war between France and Germany is inevitable. I believe that we shall witness stupendous things and events.

Next June when the academic year ends I shall graduate in medicine. If you want me to get the degree of Doctor of

¹ Melecio Figueroa, considered one of the best Filipino engravers, who studied at the Academia de Bellas Artes de San Fernando at Madrid.

Medicine, You then write me. It's a matter of one year more and hundreds of pesos for fees.

Of the things that you sent me the guava jelly and the two jars of *bagoong* arrived in very good condition; the mango jelly was rather fair; the *sotanjon*, *miqui*, *bijon*² etc. good; the rest were broken and spoiled.

We aren't badly off in our little house. It only seems that the maids steal our petroleum for their light. But this is inevitable. The cold weather is late in coming, but the chilblains abound.

You'll probably receive 'this letter towards the end of this year. I therefore wish you a happier and better New Year than that of last year. Please tell it to my brothers-in-law and other relatives. For that date I expect some letters from you, because it is five months now that I don't receive even a line from the family. I hear that letters are intercepted and you don't receive my letters. Hence, I intend to stop writing until you inform me of what is happening to them. I'm so little informed of what is happening there that I don't know if my sister Olimpia is living at home or in the town or at Taal; the same about Sra. Neneng and Sra. Sisa. It's a little bothersome to find out these things from persons who are strangers and not close to us.

With nothing more for now, I wish you are all well and in good health. Regards to my brothers, brothers-in-law, friends, and relatives.

RIZAL.

P.S.

One recent Sunday there was held here a republican demonstration. Four thousand men went to the tomb of Figueras, the first president of the Republic, to pay him homage. There they delivered speeches, letters were read, they made protests. All this in the very center of the capital city. Such occurrences describe these communities.

² These are different kinds of Chinese noodles very much relished by the Filipinos.

59. Teodora Alonso, Calamba, 27 November 1883

Rizal asks for family pictures — Maternal solicitude —
God's blessings on the Rizal family.

* * *

Calamba, 27 November 1883

MY DEAR SON,

On the 13th of this month we ate at your Aunt Betang's house and on the 14th we slept there, because we three had our group picture taken to send to you so that you will not get sad. We happen to talk about your great desire to see our pictures. Even though it is hard for my eyes, I'm writing you, so that you may receive a letter from me.

It is very necessary that I tell you that, when you are not doing anything, you recall the time when you were yet very young, before you learned to read, you were devoted to the Holy Virgin, the Merciful Lady. She watched over you until you learned almost miraculously. I acknowledge that the learning that you have attained is due to the many rosaries you recited to her. May we not forget this.

Why is it that in one of your letters, it seems that you do not favor our praying in the church? I'm going to tell you that since you left this place, in addition to my special offerings for you, I urge fervently the saints to whom I pray to preserve and protect you.

Now I'm going to mention to you one by one my new debts to our Lord. On 6 June 1882 Lucía delivered a baby boy who was named José; on 15 September 1882 Neneng gave birth to a boy who was named Alfredo; on 14 June 1883 Sisa gave birth to a girl who was given the name María Consolación; on 3 September 1883 Olimpia gave birth to a boy who was named Aristeo; on 24 November 1883 Lucía gave birth to a girl; on the 26 of this month Neneng gave birth to a girl also. Both girls are not yet baptized but they will be on Sunday. Here many die of childbirth but they went through it safely.

The terrible cholera visited this place followed by beriberi and the destructive typhoon, but we were not affected, because of God's mercy, Who seems to have sheltered and supported us. Thieves stole ₱4,000 from Neneng; she recovered it, except a small amount. Just see if it is not proper for you, my children, to help me to be grateful for all these debts, so that in the end we may be granted another one, which is that we may meet and be together again. Let us give thanks to the Lord. Your mother who wishes the welfare of your soul,

TEODORA ALONSO

P. S.

I gave your Uncle Antonio 25 pesos as my Christmas present to you.

60. Narcisa Rizal, [Calamba, 27 November 1883]

Reasons for not writing Rizal — Family news.

* * *

[Calamba, 27 November 1883]

MY DEAREST BROTHER,

Don't mind my failure to write you and don't resent it. It is not due to my lack of regard for you but to the sickness that visited us. First of all was the cholera. Because of it we moved to our parents' house where we are now all living together with our dear parents and sisters. From that time until now we are still here. Our house near Mrs. Neneng was destroyed by the typhoon that passed here. Secondly, were the sickness and death of the priest. For over two months we forgot the time that elapsed. And now Dandoy has been confined in bed for over one month suffering from fever like that of Tacio, son of Capitán Juan. Through God's mercy our own family escaped all these mishaps, as Mother says in her letter, and for this we ought to be endlessly thankful to the Creator for taking care of us. On account of his old age, Father now and then complains of body pains, but he still eats well.

Your sister who loves you and your nephews Emilio, Angélica, Antonio, Isabel, and Consuelo embrace you,

NARCISA RIZAL

61. María Rizal, Calamba, 27 November 1883]

Some news.

* * *

[Calamba, 27 November 1883.]

MY DEAREST BROTHER,

Don't resent our failure to write you; it is because we lack news. Manolo is already dead. Loleng has already been married after having been deposited here for four months. Cirilo is gravely ill. Policarpio is here with us and is very lazy to study. I'm going to write you later about other things that happened to L. Command your sister who never forgets you though you are far away.

MARÍA RIZAL

62. Josefa Rizal, [Calamba, 27 November 1883]

Always thinking of Rizal — Present of handkerchiefs from
Catigbac — Regards from friends.

* * *

[Calamba, 27 November 1883]

MY BELOVED BROTHER,

Though we have not written you for a long time, we don't forget you and we often remember you. What I can tell you is that every Sunday we and Chopeng hold a concert. Perhaps you will receive by the next mail the handkerchiefs woven in Lipa sent to you by Catigbac¹—only six yellow ones, the other six being left here at the house and twelve pink ones. With regard to the money you got from Zamora and Uncle Antonio, Father has paid them. Ursula and Victoria are sending you regards and they say that you must not forget them. As to the *kundiman*² you are asking for, there is none in good Tagalog. Command your sister who never forgets you,

JOSEFA RIZAL

¹ Mariano Catigbac or Katigbak, Rizal's friend.

² *Kundiman* is a plaintive Philippine folksong.

63. Trinidad Rizal, [Calamba, 27 November 1883]

Suffered from intermittent fever — Pilgrimage to Antipolo.

* * *

[Calamba, 27 November 1883]

DEAR BROTHER,

We received your letter of the month of July. When your letter arrived, I was sick with fever, called intermittent fever. I was in bed for almost five months, from April to August. I was very sad, fearing that we may never see each other again. When I got well, I went to Antipolo¹ to hear Mass. My companions were Sra. Neneng and brother-in-law Maneng. There I became stout.

TRINIDAD RIZAL

¹ Town where the miraculous Virgin of Peace and Good Voyage is venerated.

64. Sofía López¹, [Calamba, 27 November 1883]

Dandoy is sick — Leonor is pitiful.

* * *

[Calamba, 27 November 1883]

DEAR FRIEND,

I wish to tell you that we are here at your house and that Dandoy has been sick for a long time. If you wish to hear Dandoy hum Italian and cough German, come here and you will hear a coughing without equal, surpassing even the cough that you want him to learn. How are you? Who are your girls there? Write us if you have already many... I'm sure your girls there are very many. The most pitiful is Leonor,² your former acquaintance. Regards to you and command us.

SOFÍA LÓPEZ

¹ Her pet name is Chopeng and she is a sister of his brother-in-law Antonino López and his friend Dandoy or Leonardo López. She also sings.

² Leonor Rivera, Rizal's fiancée.

65. Olimpia Rizal,¹ [Calamba, 27 November 1883]

Her son, Aristeo.

* * *

[Calamba, 27 November 1883]

DEAR BROTHER,

Don't be resentful if I have not written you for a long time. It is only because of my numerous duties. Now I wish to tell you that you have a new nephew (Aristeo). He is very big and is waiting for you anxiously. Perhaps when you return, you will not know many people.

Farewell

OLIMPIA

¹ Married to Silvestre Ubaldo.

66. Paciano Rizal, Philippine Islands,
10 February 1884

Money for the doctorate — He wants Rizal to enlist as Filipino
physician should the Franco-Prussian War break out —
One should not be ashamed of his nationality.

* * *

Philippine Islands, 10 February 1884

I did not intend to write you since you went to Paris, but as that already is past and one cannot refrain from doing so without neglecting certain interests, I'll now resume writing, though not so frequently, as I wish, on account of my numerous duties.

Among the things that you tell us in your letters the first to which I should reply is that concerning your doctorate. What amount do you assign to that? I need to know it by return mail so that I can send you the amount on time.

In another letter you say that war between France and Prussia is imminent. If your graduation coincides with the outbreak of hostilities and as they say that surgery is best practiced in military camps, I think you ought to go there, either as the correspondent of a newspaper, that has already disappeared, or to serve in the sanitary corps, and if possible, in the General Staff, which is still better, because it is not superfluous to learn other things that are almost essential, but you must present yourself as a Filipino and not as a Japanese. There is no reason to be ashamed of one's nationality; we are proud to be *Indios*, because *Indios* feel and think like the rest of mankind. Notwithstanding this and as we are far from the theater of events, and we do not know the real dangers facing one who mixes in it or witnesses it, you, who are nearer there, can ascertain the consequences of such a step and if in fact one runs the risk of exposure to grave dangers, I'm the first

This letter without signature, is attributed to Rizal's brother Paciano. It's published in the *Epistolario Rizalino* (Manila, 1930), vol. I, 107-108.

one to oppose it, for I don't want many persons to be distressed through my advice. I believe that I have made my position sufficiently clear. If this proposition is acceptable to you, I'll furnish you with ₧200 in addition to your allowance and more if you obtain a post in the corps, as I have said above.

Some things are happening here that arouse one's curiosity, but are not necessary to know. I will not tell you about them, because I lack time and because I'm going to reveal myself more and I don't want my figure to show. One must be careful of this visionary and meticulous folk that sees things where there are none.

[PACIANO]

67. Rizal, Madrid, 28 June 1884

Rizal's graduation as physician — Received congratulations
Brilliant examination at the Universidad Central.

* * *

Madrid, 28 June 1884

MY DEAR PARENTS AND BROTHERS,

After so long a time that I haven't been able to write you a letter on account of my numerous tasks, I now write you with eagerness to give you news about me to which I suppose you'll not be at all indifferent. It is a little less than two months that I haven't written you and this time has seemed to me very long, so much so that many times I have asked myself if I was not failing in my duty by not writing you in order not to set aside my studies. Moreover, I don't believe it will ever occur to you to think that my affection has cooled. I have sufficient reasons and moreover, as I'm alone, I have no one to write for me while I study. Now that I'm more free, I reiterate that I have great satisfaction in taking up the pen. I don't know if my sentiments find an echo in other parts. At last I'm a physician. Two or three friends embraced me effusively with genuine brotherly joy. One friend wrote me also wishing me with all his heart good luck in the practice of my profession. I distributed three duros — which I borrowed from one of these friends—among the beadles of San Carlos who congratulated all students. This was all the celebration of the greatest event in my student life and to think that that was for me the most eventful month. I shall enumerate them in order:

On 5th June I took the examination in medical clinic, 2nd course *Bueno* (Good):

On the 6th clinical surgery, 2nd course *Notable* (Very Good):

On the 9th I filed my application for the degree:

On the 11th I took my examination in Greek, 1st course, *Sobresaliente* (Excellent);

On the 13th, Greek and Latin literature, *Sobresaliente* (Excellent);

On the 17th, my mail not having arrived and having to pay my graduation fees, I pawned my ring;

On the 19th (my birthday) I was notified of the graduation exercises;

On the 20th first exercises;

On the 21st the second and last exercises for graduation *Aprobado* (Passed);

On the 25 I won the first prize in Greek at the University, one of the 4 out of 200 students, and at night I delivered a speech about which I shall tell you later;

On the 26th examination in world history, 2nd course, *Sobresaliente* (Excellent); total: 3 *sobresalientes*, one prize, one *Notable*, one *Bueno*, and one *Aprobado* for the degree. I hope I shall not be accused of wasting time and I shall deserve the appreciation of some persons just as I have won the esteem of foreigners.

As I told you, since the month of February, I have joined a review course, paying 6 pesos monthly in order to be up to date on the most modern ideas in medicine, which are German, inasmuch as the theories I studied at Manila, though good indeed, were all of the French school, and here almost all the professors belong to the modern school. June came and I took an examination in the subjects of my course in order to graduate as soon as possible and rest during the summer, as I do believe I'm entitled to a little rest. At San Carlos I as well as those who knew we were very much disappointed, for, to tell the truth, I expected better grades. I had the bad luck of having on the examining board Mr. Tomás Santero, who subscribed to very old Hippocratic doctrines and he failed the poor candidate even if he obtained a grade of excellent in the examination in modern theories. Here is the reason why I obtained only *Aprobado*, which is the second grade. This is not to excuse myself; my conscience is clear for having done the best I could. On the other hand, at the Universidad Central they gave me *Sobresaliente* in history, 2nd course, which I believe I don't deserve.

The professor¹ had heard me deliver a speech at the banquet² and he was so glad that he toasted calling the Filipinos "the glory of the universities" and he urged me to take the examination the following day. I told him that I was not prepared, and I was postponing it for September, to which he replied that he would fail me if I took it in September. I took the examination and luckily it fell to my lot to speak on the legend of Charlemagne and I acquitted myself well.

They talked about giving Luna and Hidalgo a banquet for their triumph over all the Spanish painters and they would like

(The rest of the letter is missing.)

¹ He was Miguel Morayta, professor of history, liberal, and friend of the Filipinos.

² At the banquet in honor of the Filipino painters Juan Luna and Felix Resurreccion Hidalgo held on 25 June 1884, Rizal delivered a brilliant speech, though he had little time to prepare for it, being in the midst of his final examinations. He received repeated and prolonged applause. On that same day he received the first prize in Greek, a high academic distinction but he was then penniless and did not eat the whole day. Read *Reminiscences and Travels of Jose Rizal*, Rizal Centennial Edition, 1961, p. 94.

68. Rizal, Madrid, 29 August 1884

Asks his family if they want him to enroll for the
doctorate in medicine — The cost of the course
Swindling of a young Filipino at Madrid.

* * *

Madrid, 29 August 1884

MY DEAR PARENTS AND BROTHERS,

I'm undecided as to what I should do this year, for the letter, I believe from my brother, I received towards the end of April expressed the desire that I leave Madrid for Europe, that is for abroad. I answered immediately, expounding the advantages and the inconveniences that there might be and I'm waiting for his decision. Until this date I haven't received even a remote indication, but of course I should not wait for any letter from there, and nevertheless the month of matriculations begins already with September, lasting throughout that month. If I matriculate for the doctorate at Madrid, I shall have to spend ₱33, because each subject for the doctorate costs ₱11 not including the stamps, an expense which is too much for me now that I have to order new winter clothes. Furthermore, in order to be near the University, having little to do now at San Carlos, I shall have to change my residence, give up this house and take No. 12, 2nd right, Pizarro Street. I don't know, therefore, what I should do. I don't believe that letter had been lost; if it were, it would be regrettable.

A young man from Nagcarlan¹ called Pedro Tobino has been here. According to him, he came to Europe for pleasure, bringing with him 1,150 pesos. As the young man is not one of the more smart ones — he could hardly be understood in Spanish—he didn't study. He is one of those who prefers the advice of a Spaniard to that of his countrymen. He happened to live on a bad street of Madrid, where they found out that he had money. A few days later, they swindled him of every-

¹ A town in the Province of Laguna.

thing that remained to him, leaving him without a cent. Here they call *timar* robbery through astuteness, deceiving the innocent ones. The procedure they used with Tobino was the grossest and most vulgar. Perhaps there was . . . to allow himself to be deceived. He was walking behind a man who let drop a pocketbook. A lad wanted to pick it up, but he offered it to the owner. Very grateful, he told him that he was a stranger and had they taken away his pocketbook he would have been left without a cent, and in fact he showed him the pocketbook full of bank notes. And they went on talking. At this point, an Englishman approached them, who told them that if they would accompany him to the consulate, he would give each one ₱5. Tobino said that he would accompany him to the consulate, but he would not accept the five pesos — two strangers will accompany the Englishman. On the way the Spanish stranger offered to the Englishman that Tobino and he would act as his cicerones to see Madrid which "they knew perfectly". And in order that the Englishman wouldn't distrust him, he showed him his pocketbook full of bank notes, urging Tobino to do the same and the very stupid one showed his ₱750 that remained to him. The Spaniard placed Tobino's bank notes in his pocketbook and handed over to him the pocketbook for safety. The Englishman said that he would like to change 500 pesos in gold that he was carrying into bills and he showed him many rolls of coins. They asked Tobino for a handkerchief in which they put the rolls of coins and the pocketbook, which they also handed to Tobino. The Spaniard told him to go to the money changer while he would wait with the Englishman at the café and they even asked him for one peso. When Tobino was about to change, he couldn't find the pocketbook, but only the rolls of coins which upon being opened turned out to be pellets. Now Tobino hasn't a cent, roaming the streets of Madrid, dressed grotesquely, with a large silver star of false stones on his necktie and a sailor's chain. I already advised him to return to Manila immediately, but he doesn't want to, and he wants to get a job at any cost to enjoy himself.

69. Paciano Rizal, Calamba, 5 November 1884

Local comments on Rizal's speech at the Luna and Resurreccion Hidalgo banquet — Their effect on his mother — Low price of sugar —
Bad times — Rizal's family homestead almost burnt down
— Rizal asks permission to study in Germany — The
new parish priest and his sense of humor.

* * *

Calamba, 5 November 1884

DEAR BROTHER,

I suppose you must be querulous of us for not receiving letters from here and for the irregularity of the remittance of your pension. You have reason to be so, inasmuch as you don't know what is happening to us. Imagine that on account of the low price of sugar, we lost more than three thousand and we are in debt for four thousand for the new machine; since the month of June until now, we are without a peseta. Add to this our Mother's sickness, which at first I thought was nothing more than indigestion, so much so that I gave her a purgative, hoping that it would cure her; but it did not turn out that way, and she remained in bed all the time, weak, unable to eat or sleep, and after one week, I was already very much worried about her health, when I observed that now and then she was sighing. Then I supposed that it was more of a moral rather than physical ailment, and so I told Sra. Neneng to take her to her house and amuse her in *panguingue*¹ as in fact she did, and she got well. You are the cause of her sickness and I'll tell you why. About that time the talk here was the speech you delivered at the banquet in honor of the Filipino painters and commenting on it, there was one who asserted that you would not be able to come back, some that it would be desirable for you to remain there; others that you have made enemies; in short, there was not even wanting one who asserted that you

¹ *Panguingue* is a popular card game in the Philippines. It is a favorite pastime of Filipinos, especially women. Spanish playing cards are used in it.

have lost friends; but all are unanimous in saying that it was not convenient for you to return here. These gratuitous suppositions were the ones that afflicted very much our mother and made her sick. For this, like the sugar business, they blame me also, as if I could stop your going abroad from the mountain where I was then at the time, working to improve other people's lands. All this vexed me and at the same time explains the delay in the remittance of your allowance and my little inclination to write. But now the sugar has been sold, though at a very low price, our obligations have been paid, and the spirits are more gay, because there is less tenseness. I hope you will not complain any more about your allowance, though not altogether about the letters.

Don't believe that these things happen only at our house, for there are many complaining also about their financial situation and others about other things; like Capitán Juan, who walks dejected after the death of his only heir; Eusebio, son of Capitán Quico, who is losing his sight, according to the examination of the oculist Conzáles; Narcisa who has lost Isabel and Lucía, José; many who are facing bankruptcy; you, suffering privations and I, this year's crop, my best hope, cheated in its price. There is nothing it seems that we can do but throw a ring into the sea, as Polycrates did, in order to avoid greater misfortunes, with the only difference that that ancient figure had enjoyed the blessings of fortune while we are just the opposite.

At midnight in the month of September our mother woke us up saying that there was fire in the pantry. I rose up and saw in fact that the fire from the hanging settee was already licking the roof. It was not difficult for us to put it out, so much so that the neighbors did not know about it. The fire came from the Bengal light that could not be lighted on the day of St. John and was stored there, and it seems that it burnt spontaneously as the pyrotechnics here affirm, because at that time everybody was sleeping. If the house had been burnt and also the warehouse nearby, the fiesta could not be more complete.

In your letter you say that you want to take graduate work in medicine in German schools. I'm very agreeable to this, but our critical situation will not permit an increase in your allowance. If we were not going through these bad times, the initiative would come from here.

The curate here is a clergyman, but until now his status is that of a trustee. He is as good, or perhaps better, than his

predecessor, though not so learned. One day the members of the Third Order of St. Francis, on the occasion of a religious festival, asked him what dress they should wear, whether the brown habit of St. Francis or that of St. Dominic. He replied that, as he did not understand a word of what they were asking him, they could wear what they wished, except that of Eve.

Olimpia gave birth to a boy as robust and developed as her older son. Perhaps for this reason, she did not have as easy a delivery as they wanted.

We are all in good health.

Your brother,

PACIANO

P.S.

Now they tell me that the son-in-law of Sra. Basilia died during the voyage.

70. Rizal, Madrid, 16 November 1884

Dark future for Philippine sugar — Spain seeking a market for sugar in the United States — Rizal wishes to return home to save his family more sacrifices — He wants to work and help the family.

* * *

13, 2nd right, Pizarro, Madrid
16 November 1884

MY DEAR PARENTS AND BROTHERS,

Enclosed with Uncle Antonio's letter of 1st October I received the sum of 50 pesos corresponding to my allowance for September, if I'm not mistaken in my calculations. I'm matriculated in eight subjects and I try to study them as best I can. I'm in good health and I wish you would be the same.

The news that arrive here from that dear country concerning commercial as well as social life are very distressing and they prompt me to write you the following considerations. The future of Philippine sugar will go from bad to worse. A few days ago I was at the house of Mr. P. Ortiga who is at present working, according to him, to see if the minister of colonies can make the damage to our commercial fortune the least possible. You should know more or less that, as a result of the present situation or the attitude of Cuba, the Spanish Government, always mindful of the welfare of its colonies, is negotiating a treaty with the United States for the free entry of Cuban and Puerto Rican sugar into the New York market. England, informed of this, is also taking steps that the same privilege be granted to her colonies. Neither do you ignore that the only markets of Philippine sugar are New York, London, and Spain which it enters thanks to a big surcharge. If England succeed in entering into this treaty, Cuban and Puerto Rican sugar will also have to be admitted to London and therefore, Philippine sugar, after a long voyage, paying high freight and duties, will be in a very unfavorable position and in little demand in the markets of the

Peninsula, America, and England, and hence its complete and total ruin. This is what Don Pablo was saying to me. He is drafting a memorial to be presented to the learned minister of colonies to see if at least the duties that the Philippines pay could be reduced to one half and from which Cuba had been completely exempted, in order that that dear Spanish colony of the Orient may not be ruined rapidly, for instance, in less than three years. This is truly hard, but thanks to this profoundly wise measure, the integrity of our native land may be saved, which is the most precious thing for us to look after. Thanks to it Cuba will not again adopt such a menacing attitude which, though it may be rich in results, on the other hand, it is very painful for us who have different sentiments and preserve in our hearts indeleble memories of benefits received. Don Pablo, however, has little hope in the favorable result of his efforts and fears that things will not continue as they are. I, fully aware of these circumstances, wish to return as soon as possible to our town to avoid more sacrifices on the part of our modest family. If at another time I accepted its support, it was because the future was smiling on us; but now that things have changed, I believe that it is my duty to go home and try with my work and savings to contribute as much as possible to our livelihood. To my way of thinking, the training that I have is enough for me to live in a town like Calamba, certain that they'll not include me among the dullest. Without doubt my aspirations were very high and alluring, but more than aspirations they were the dreams of my youth and their realization would be madness, if not censurable egoism. Never in truth did I believe myself incapable of carrying out this or that idea or undertaking and I have relied much on the faculties with which Nature has endowed me; but this is no

71. Rizal, Madrid, 26 November 1884

Reiterates his desire to return home soon — He does not need the doctorate, inasmuch as he has no hope of getting a professorship
— Would like to study some trades and visit famous clinics in ophthalmology — Huge demonstration of liberal students — The police attacks the University — Bloodshed in the university building — Resignation of the rector — Rizal criticizes the new rector — He would not want his diploma to be signed by him.

* * *

13, 2nd right, Pizarro, Madrid
26 November 1884

MY DEAR PARENTS AND BROTHERS,

In my previous letter of the 19th I expressed to you my desire to return there as soon as possible, seeing the trend of our business and foreseeing what may happen. I now reiterate my desire then and I repeat it here in case the letter has been lost, that I wish to return to that country as soon as possible in order to take part in the work of earning a livelihood, for I have already spent much money for a long time without my being able to put in something. Thank God, I have already finished my medical studies. The doctorate is not of very much usefulness to me now, because though that is needed to become a professor, I don't believe that they will ever appoint me as such at the College of Santo Tomás. I say the same thing about the degree in philosophy and letters which is needed also for the professorship, which I doubt the Dominican fathers will give me. Besides, there are other serious incidents that occurred here which I shall relate to you presently. I believe then that with what I have studied, with my profession, with a short trip that I can make (if possible, without causing any great inconvenience, to England and Italy), I ought to be there by the month of May or July 1885. On this trip to London and Italy that I should like to make, I would like to study and

see a few things, to stay at some shops to work and learn some trade at the same time visit some famous centers of ophthalmology or eye diseases, to which study I should like to devote myself a little. Some two months will be sufficient for this and for which I don't intend to spend more than ₱200, and from Naples take the boat for the Philippines. This, if it is easily possible, and if not, leave this place, tour Italy and embark at Naples, which will mean to me the expenditure of some ₱50 of my pension, which I intend to spend only on this trip. This is what I should like to do, but if it is still excessive, I plan to depart from Marseille and take a boat of the Messageries Maritimes for the Philippines. I'm not taking a Spanish boat to avoid serious "embarrassments"¹ which perforce must occur. I am not returning through this line, if I should return safe and sound and in peace. I only enjoin you — as I owe ₱100 a countryman who esteems me, inasmuch as you haven't sent me my two months' allowance and I had to matriculate — to please send me this amount to settle my account. Once there, I shall try to work as much as I can in order to heal these tremendous "saber wounds". Without doubt my former plan was alluring and beautiful: Travel after my doctorate through Germany, England, Italy, France, learn their languages, study their progress, *etc.*, *etc.* But now, not only is it impossible to carry it out, but also it is highly prejudicial and stupid, considering the present and the future. I'll satisfy myself with this: may God provide the rest. I await then your reply.

The incidents to which I referred casually at the beginning of my letter are the following:

A professor here, Dr. Morayta,² read at the opening of the academic year in speech in which he proclaimed academic freedom. The bishops excommunicated him for this speech, and there was even a student who wanted to advocate the excommunication of the bishops. Then the liberal students held an imposing demonstration against the excommunication and as the liberals formed the immense majority, the demonstration was big. As they went through the streets there were shouts of "Long live!" and "Down!" That was enough to make the police chase the students, some of whom were wounded and others were taken prisoners. The following day the students

¹ Apparently Rizal was already aware that the Spaniards in the Philippines were watching him, knowing his patriotic sentiments. Hence, he would like to avoid unpleasant incidents.

² Dr. Miguel Morayta, professor of history at the Universidad Central, delivered the address at the opening of the academic year in which he dwelt on the academic freedom of the university professor, limited only by his prudence.

were greatly enraged and students of medicine, law, philosophy and letters and others joined together. It was then that the police committed the barbarous outrage without equal in the history of any country. They attacked the University with sabers and revolvers in their hands, 200 of them, upon order of the governor, the rector notwithstanding. Many were wounded, blood was spilled on the stairways and corridors of the University, they laid their hands on the rector, seized the secretary, insulted the professors, wounded the children, there was shooting. I was then at the University, but I was in the class. When I came out, the thing had already taken another turn... This occurred on 20 November at 12 noon. After more or less tumultuous scenes, we were allowed to go out one by one between two rows of soldiers. The University was closed and in the afternoon all the streets were already guarded by a multitude of policemen and civil guards; there were at least seven or eight on every street corner. On that day there were also several encounters at the College of Medicine, many wounded, four or five in very serious condition, one professor held as prisoner. Madrid at night was silent and deserted. There was fear of an uprising. The jails were filled with students and the infirmaries with the wounded. The whole city was indignant. The rector,³ who is very much liked by many, protested energetically and resigned; but the minister of development,⁴ as a corrective provocation, appointed in his place a neophyte (Creus), a very unpopular man, disliked by everybody... The following day when the new rector went to assume office, tempers were highly irritated, blood could still be seen. It was agreed not to return to the classes until we were given satisfaction and the rector removed. There were repeated shouts of "Down with Creus!". I was also there. Today new encounters, new fights, wounded, and clubbings, imprisonments, etc., etc. This very day, the 21st, a police lieutenant and secret service man wanted to seize Ventura and me but we slipped away. Two Filipinos were jailed.

On the third day, Saturday, the 22nd, the new rector, Creus, called the police to occupy the University from the top down to the great disgust of the professors and the great ire of the students. Today, because the police were staring at

³ The name of the rector who supported Morayta was Francisco de la Pisa Pajares.

⁴ Ministro de Fomento.

me so much, I don't know why, I had to disguise myself three times. No one went to class. More clubbings, wounds, saber blows, etc. etc. More than 80 civil guards occupied the University up and down; in the auditorium were their guns and bugles. The Prado promenade was occupied by the cavalry, cannons, and soldiers. Therefore we swore not to return today to the dishonored University whose rector asserts himself by force, threat, and treats us like people without dignity, and we have sworn not to return while we are not given complete satisfaction and the old rector is reinstated and Creus is removed, who is the shame of the physicians who are trying to expel him from the Academy for his lack of dignity and delicacy in accepting a position that another had left with much dignity! This rector, in order to escape the hissing and the insults of the students entered and left the University through a false door in the garden. All the newspapers in Madrid and the provinces, excepting those of the ministry were in favor of us and they criticized the government severely. The people also are on our side and the students in the provinces to us. A rich banker offered ten thousand pesos to the ex-rector to bail out the student prisoners; the father of a boy, 50 pesos for the expenses of the lawsuit. The city council itself and all the students are in favor of us, so much so that they take our cause as their own. I had the good luck of not having received a single cane blow nor being taken as prisoner nor detained, and although in my double roles as a student of medicine and of philosophy and letters, I had to see many friends and find out what was happening. Whether or not it was a coincidence, the fact that there were wounded old men, women, children, military men, and foreigners, while I didn't even have to run.

Here's the reason why I say that studying at Madrid disillusioned me. It can no longer be an honor to any one to come from this institution, dishonored, outraged, debased, oppressed, tyrannized. Knowledge ought to be free and the professor as well. I shall not get my medical degree so long as Creus is the rector. I don't want my most glorious diploma to be signed by a man detested by all, thrown out of the Academy of Medicine and Surgery, a man without delicacy, without dignity, though learned, very learned. Should he sign it I would tear it up. If he remains in power, perforce I shall have to give up the Doctorate of Philosophy and Letters, for it is not possible for me to remain at the University. I'll try to send you some news-

papers. Senators, deputies, the entire University faculty, journalists, businessmen who have been imprisoned and maltreated by the police are going to protest. Nobody knows how this question will end. There was one Filipino who was mauled and beaten with a saber. No Filipino was wounded, but Cubans and Spaniards...

72. Teodora Alonso, Manila, 11 December 1884

"Don't meddle in things that can give me displeasures," says the mother — "Don't fail in your duties as a true Christian; at times knowledge leads us to perdition."
— A little note from Leonor (Taimis).

* * *

Manila, 11 December 1884

MY DEAR SON,

María and I are at the house of our beloved and she is the one looking if my pen writes, on account of the weakness of my eyes.

Your Uncle Antonio read to me your two letters to him and I understood that you were resentful for not having received letters from us. Don't expect me to write you often, for you know how difficult it is for me to do it.

You don't know the sadness that I feel every time I hear about you from people with whom I talk, so that I request you again and again not to meddle in things that will distress me. Well, I leave it to you to take pity on me.

All of us were exceedingly happy about your graduation. At the same time I'm thanking our Lord for having bestowed on you an intelligence surpassing that of others.

I was going to write you then, but I could not do so on account of our numerous tasks and our care for the children, your nephews, who got sick and finally died, as your Aunt Betang wrote you.

Now, what I earnestly ask you, my son, first of all, is not to fail in your duties as a true Christian, which is sweeter to me than for you to become exceedingly learned, because learning sometimes leads us to greater dangers. Perhaps this will be my last letter to you, so that remember this very well, which is my greatest desire.

¹ She means Leonor Rivera, Rizal's fiancée.

Your mother who wishes to embrace you soon and wishes you to be a good Christian.

Teodora Alonso de Rizal

Note:

This is the copy of your mother's letter that I have copied, lest you may not understand some of the words in her letter, though neither do I have good penmanship nor is the letter well written, for I could not understand well some words whose meaning I don't know. It is enclosed herewith.

Taimis

Mr. Jose Rizal y Mercado

Letter of your dear mother Mrs. Teodora Alonzo.

73. Rizal, Madrid, 17 December 1884

The student agitation worsening — Decline of Philippine sugar trade
— Rizal is not receiving his allowance — His expenses.

* * *

13-2nd right, Pizarro, Madrid
17 December 1884

MY DEAR PARENTS AND BROTHERS,

Although the most important thing that I have to tell you, which is my return to those Islands was already mentioned in my previous two letters, nevertheless I write you this third one, fearful that on account of the singular condition of the system of communications there, my letters might have been lost and you are prevented from knowing my plans. Moreover, as the year ends with the joyful holidays of Christmas and the New Year, I wish you to celebrate them in the family with all my sisters, brothers-in-law, nephews as when I was there. Such a celebration furnishes all the joys that the most splendid and sumptuous tables of the English lords can give. It is said that this holiday is the dearest to the English heart, which I believe they call Christmas, if I'm not mistaken.

I noticed in my baptismal certificate that there is now a new parish priest — Gabino de los Reyes. I don't know if he is a friar, but if we are to judge by the surname, he must be a Filipino, because that is not used here; I don't know anyone here with such a surname. If my conjectures don't turn out wrong, so much the better. In that way there will be less cause for trouble.

The school problem is getting worse. Castelar, Moret, Sagasta, Martos, Labra, Moyano, Comas, and Silvela are going to interpellate severely the government on these happenings that have caused so much harm. Five young men belonging to very good families have been punished by being dropped from the course. For this reason their parents are going to under-

take an active campaign against this imprudent government and it is believed the government will fall. We haven't returned to our classes and the students of Rome, Parma, and Turin (Italy), Liege (Belgium), Coimbra (Portugal) and Vienna in Austria have done the same thing. I don't know how this will end. All of us who hold scholarships have lost them. I lost two in Arabic and Spanish Literature, which is unfair, inasmuch as these scholarships are acquired through competition rather than through favor. Much will be said about this also.

I told you in my two previous letters that in view of the condition and future of our modest business, I don't wish to prolong further my stay in Europe, as I wanted to, for I believe that it must be very burdensome for the family. I laid it before your consideration. I told you that I was ready to go home as soon as possible, if you wish. Circumstances have changed in such a way that we ought to change our plans also, lest we suffer unfortunate and irreparable consequences. I told you that in view of the government's blunder, the Philippine sugar trade will inevitably die within two or three years, because the clever minister of colonies has just negotiated a treaty with the United States — a death sentence for the Filipinos. We couldn't have fallen into better hands. If Sagasta or any other party except this, a party which is not so blind and ignorant, would come to power, perhaps this evil might be remedied somewhat. If we had deputies, a newspaper, or Filipino members in the Consejo de Filipinas¹ (Council of the Philippines) we would get something, or at least the imprudent steps taken by the clever minister of colonies, Mr. Tejada de Valdosera, could have been stopped.

Tell my sister Narcisa that her friend María Lecaroz is already married to Mr. Ordóñez, director of welfare, and now they live at Madrid. They say that she speaks French, English, German, and Italian. She lives in the modern way.

I'm in good health, thank God, and I wish you also to be like me or better. According to a letter I received in the month of June, my sister Olimpia was then on the family way. I suppose that at this date she must have already delivered. If I'm not mistaken, it is her first or second child. I'm so little informed of what is happening there that I hope she wouldn't be surprised or feel bad that I should not know if she

¹ Consejo de Filipinas, an advisory body presided over by the minister of colonies, with one vice president, a secretary, and twelve members, all Spaniards. Pablo Ortega y Rey, mentioned often by Rizal in his letters, was at that time its vice president.

is already a mother or not. If her habits haven't changed yet, I fear very much for the skin of that boy: How many pinchings he will get.

They have also written me — I'm not responsible for the accuracy of the news — that José, Marianito's son, and Angélica have died. That is really a pity and I sincerely regret it.

I wish you to answer me, even though briefly, so that I may adjust my plan according to what you may resolve.

I forgot to add that as you owe me three months allowance, a friend of mine has been helping me all this time, sometimes to pay my matriculation fees, sometimes to pay for the house and food, because with ₱50 one cannot make many miracles at Madrid. I would be grateful then to you should you send me that amount if I have to go home, so that I can settle my account with this good friend and he may have no cause to say absolutely anything about me. On a certain occasion I was able to render him a little service in gratitude for which he has wanted to come to my assistance in all my difficulties, always lending me money whenever I needed it. And as here in Europe one has to be dressed all day from the moment one rises to the time one goes to bed, as one must use strong and double clothes on account of the climate, we have to get clothes every year and every season. Here nothing is done for charity nor for the pleasure of serving: Everything must be paid for. There is a story here about a gentleman who, meeting a tired Galician who could neither walk nor take a step, taking pity on him, invited him to ride horseback with him. The Galician did so and after a few seconds he said to the good gentleman: "*Señuritu, cuanto vuy ganaudu?*" (Master, how much do I earn?)

I wish you to keep always well and healthy in the company of the family, all enjoying the joy and festivities of these days.

Your son and brother who embraces you,

RIZAL

74. Rizal, [1884?]

Rizal resents the lending of his books — Enjoins his family to save his books.

...your companions that the letters may not be lost and I address you as an officer because I don't know what rank you hold. If you only knew how sorry I am that a letter of mine had been lost — a reply to one of my sisters and to Chopeng.¹ I'm afraid they may say that I don't answer their annual letter that I have been receiving. However, as I haven't received again a letter from them since that date until now, I hope to receive within a few months the one corresponding to this year. The previous one was dated '83.

When you write me, tell me about yourselves, your children, my brothers-in-law, and nephews inasmuch as it seems it is not so painful for you to write. Tell me if the book taken away by a military man² has been returned already, and if not, what kind of book it was. How nice is it that while I economize in order to buy books, anyone can get away with them. I'm tempted to buy all books in German with certainty that no lieutenant of civil guard will understand them, but for your sake I don't do it for you'll get no benefit from them. If German were easy, I would do it, but I believe you would get tired studying it. Most of my books are in French, but I hope that you men and women would be able to translate them in fifteen days; this costs nothing. The books I have here are as many or more than those over there. See to it that none is lost, for... (illegible) that those gentlemen put up a library with involuntary donations.

¹ Chopeng is pet name for Sofia López, a sister of Antonino López, Rizal's brother-in-law.

² He refers to a lieutenant of the civil guard who took with him three books from the family library when he left the town, according to Paciano's letter (No. 50 ante.)

Give many regards on my behalf to the other brothers-in-law and many greetings to our brothers....

This fragment of a letter, without date, address, and signature, by its content seems to be written in 1884 and addressed to his brother-in-law Antonio López, according to the latter's son Leoncio López Rizal.

Translated from the Spanish by Encarnación Alzona 7 September 1959.

75. Paciano Rizal, Calamba, 1 January 1885

Paciano is against Rizal's return — He may establish himself at Hong Kong — Try to get some kind of employment — Paciano asks for data on beet sugar in Europe — Write to our parents things that will please them, he advises Rizal.

* * *

Calamba, Laguna
1 January 1885

DEAR BROTHER,

We received your letter dated 16 November in which you tell us, among other things, that you are planning to return for the sake of the family. As this is somewhat a delicate matter, it is necessary to think it over before deciding on it. As for me, if I am asked my opinion, it seems to me, as no one will guarantee that your return will not cause our old parents any displeasure, as it is still easier for me to send you your monthly allowance than to send you at once the cost of your passage, and in short, as I have not given up hope of better times to come, I think that you should continue your studies there and end them when our resources are exhausted. And then I'll see if our parents will be allowed to visit you at Hong Kong, and I say Hong Kong, because as you know English or it will not be difficult for you to learn it, it will be easy for you to establish yourself there. In the meantime, if you find an opportunity to get a decent employment (writing, for example) there, without hurting your studies, you ought to take advantage of it. First, it will be in harmony with our interests and then for what might happen. It is difficult to get one, more than difficult it is impossible, but one must live on dreams, otherwise real life is enough to kill one. I say this because I nourished myself with illusions, notwithstanding the turn of business, only that, instead of those beautiful and grandiose ones that I cherished before, I am now satisfied with what is purely necessary and without deceiving any one, as many of our fellow townsmen do.

If you think of writing us, tell me something about the sugar beet that is raised in Europe, gathering first reliable information in order to know what to expect. As it is the only one competing with sugar cane, if the owners there hold out for two or more years, we have no other course but to admit defeat. But if, as they say, many have already abandoned this business, because it is no longer profitable, or they are already bankrupt, then it is incumbent upon us to enforce the law. It is important therefore that your information be as accurate as possible.

With reference to the disadvantageous position in which Philippine sugar has fallen due to the new rulings of the ministry of colonies, one has no reason to complain much. First, because before this decree, Cuban sugar paid at the Spanish ports four fifths more than Philippine sugar, and it is right that we now suffer the law of compensation; then, because 15 pesetas more or less per ton (which I believe is the customs duty imposed on Philippine sugar) will neither impoverish nor enrich the farmer; and lastly, because he who rules gives the orders, *cartuchera en el cañon*.¹ Our real misfortune is that we are located at a considerable distance from the great commercial centers.

I suggest that you write our parents about things that can make them happy, even though putting a wrong construction on them, and in this way you will compensate them for your absence, so regretted by these old folks. Our duty is to sweeten in every way possible their remaining few days.

After the Three Kings, I'll begin the milling; perhaps it will last until May. During this time, I shall be out of the house, except Sundays. Hence, maybe I'll not be able to write you. We have plenty of cane and therefore a big crop, but as crops become losses, according to the present course of business, the greater the crop, the greater will be the loss.

We are all in good health.

Your brother,

PACIANO

¹ Literally, "cartridge box in the cannon." The Spanish saying is: *Quien manda, manda, y cartuchera en el cañon*; that is, "He who rules gives the orders", signifying blind obedience.

76. Silvestre Ubaldo, Albay, 25 April 1885

Ubaldo wants to be assigned to Calamba — He asks Rizal to write to Father Faura about it.

* * *

Albay, 25 April 1885

MR. JOSÉ RIZAL

ESTEEMED JOSÉ,

I inform you that on 23 March we left Calamba for Manila and on the 25th we left Manila for this capital of Albay, my new post. Olimpia and the younger boy, Cesareo, came with me and we arrived here safely. We left the older boy, Aristeo at Calamba with them.

They sent me here for meteorological work and observation of the volcano. Father Faura came here on 23 April to give me instructions and to install with Father Batllo the meteorological apparatus. All sent you regards and they left on the 25 instant for Atimonan and Tayabas for the same purpose, that is, for meteorological work. They give me as gratuity 12.50 pesos for meteorological work, 12.50 for the post office work, and my salary of 41 as second class telegrapher and fifth class official of the service.

In view of all this, if you happen to write Father Faura, request him to transfer me to Calamba, if possible. This priest has very great influence on the Inspector General of Telegraphs, the Director General of Civil Administration, Inspector General José Costa, and Director Barrantes. I believe that if Father Faura wishes it, these gentlemen cannot refuse, for they esteem him.

We wish you good health and prompt return to these Islands.

¹ Father Federico Faura, S. J., director of the Observatory, who had been Rizal's teacher at the Ateneo Municipal de Manila.

Until here. You know already you have a brother-in-law who esteems you and you can command at any time.

SILVESTRE

P.S.

We here in Albay are well. We don't know about those in Calamba, for we have not yet received a letter from them.

77. Rizal, [1885?]

Rizal suggests the abandonment of costly but useless feasts — Filipino women are less advanced than the men — He is worried about the evil consequences of fanaticism — The older generation is beginning to support the younger — Rizal's impression of the culture of Europeans.

.....
and I haven't given any reason for it: To fear for me is to draw attention to me which is prejudicial, for I think only of treating and studying diseases. I believe that they ought to show a calm confidence, concomitant of innocence and security, for there will always be time to weep. And moreover our mother ought to have more confidence in that God whom they call just and to think at the same time that not all misfortunes make one unfortunate. There are misfortunes that make one happy. For this reason also I want to go home to prove that I fear nothing from nobody; there is no reason for it; that for the present I'm not yet exiled and I believe that the Spanish government, having already learned a lesson, will not punish this time an innocent man, for victims have the habit of haunting with their memory and killing for good the strongest powers. If you don't order otherwise, as for example, that I spend some months in England to study practical mechanics (3 months), in Germany, medicine and science, with an allowance equal to what I get now, if more is not possible, I shall go home and have the pleasure of finding myself among you, never to be separated again. However advantageous a foreign country may be for me, it is not so much that it could compensate for the very great sacrifice that you make for me. The previous letters I have written you abound with these ideas and I need your reply.

You told me about the fire there at home. This fire starting from pyrotechnics has led me to a rather remote idea which is that we ought to think little by little of changing our cus-

Fragments of Rizal's reply to Paciano's letter dated 5 November 1884 (see letter 69), after his graduation as Licentiate in Medicine. He would like to study practical arts that should be useful to the Philippines.

toms, making them more practical. You, for instance, with your prestige among the people there, ought to begin to instill in their minds the idea of abandoning festivals and other things that produce no immediate utility; such as, Thanksgiving Masses and other things of the sort. The money that goes to certain coffers doesn't circulate and money that doesn't circulate brings about the impoverishment of the country. Furthermore, over there we are being exploited in every sense of the word and we ought to be tired of that now. Now that I think of the money that is spent on a feast, should that be used for the benefit of the people, would yield very much more profit.

On your word I believe in the goodness of the curate, whom I greet from here, but an idea occurs to me. If the women of Calamba, having a curate who is not at all fanatical, through their own initiative are so found of candles and images, what would become of them should a curate who is decidedly fanatical and an exploiter come and weight on their consciences like the night and squeeze them like a press? You must agree that if our sex there is not so advanced, very much less so is the opposite sex that revolves and lives in that atmosphere that is found from the confessional to the sacristy and leads to great aberrations.

At present there are here two Filipinos—Messrs. Andrés and Arcadio del Rosario. They are the type of the passing generation, but if it is passing, I believe that at least it sees the little lights that are beginning to shine. The other day Don Andrés was talking to me and he no longer maintains as at first certain axioms, he does not recognize any more the supposed facts, and at a dinner he declared himself on the side of youth and he offered a toast to it.

Here the cold is becoming intense, but I'm still without chilblains, which surprises me, for now it is colder than in previous years. Here there had been and there are still earthquakes; but although they aren't comparable with ours, on the other hand, they surpass them in their effects, for already . . . have sunk . . . monastery of the Middle Ages, and nothing more of value. That is all. This is so sure that we have here at present four lawyers, graduates of the Universidad Real y Pontificia de Manila (Real y Pontificia Universidad de Sto. Tomás de Manila) with very good grades, one of them being noted and famous for having practised a long time. Placed in the midst of modern civilization they are like the Seven Sleepers for their naiveté and backwardness, and like countryfolk in a ballroom. And if this happens to them at Madrid, which is not

very distinguished for its culture and enlightenment, how would they appear amidst the people of France, England, and Germany where everyone reads the newspapers, where the middle class possess an education that the Manila aristocracy don't have, nor anything like it. If we recall what I told you about my landlady at Paris, that Mme. Lesjardins, the chubby and plump little woman, and her husband who know fairly well general history and particularly that of their country, geography, and mathematics, and speak and write their native tongue correctly, how many of those great lords who hold high positions can say the same thing about themselves? And I'm assured the German people are even more so, and the English also. Thus, when we say here to a foreigner, introducing a friend: "The gentleman is a lawyer, he has been a judge, notary public, *etc.*, *etc.*", he is stuck and he looks at him with a bit of surprise asking how laws can palpitate and how justice can have life under such unfavorable conditions. And without going further, among my countrymen I'm considered one of the most studious and of sufficient ability, but when I compare myself with many young men I have known abroad, I confess frankly I see myself on a very much inferior level, and I deduce that in order to reach their height I need many years of study, much money, and much more ability, and those young men, notwithstanding, are younger than I. I don't mean the young men of this country among whom I know truly vulgar and it is not that they lack ability, no. They have much talent, much willingness, but the defective instruction makes them work hard though they profit less, as it happened to us over there; the kind of life they lead; cafés and billiard halls; the examples they see among the old ones and those who hold high positions; laziness and charlatanisin; the fewness of the inducements the government offers to scholars, like there too, with the sole difference that over there we would like the rulers not to meddle at all with the students but to leave them alone in peace; upon seeing that one rises to power through the tongue and intrigue, membership in this or that party—all these contribute to the frustration of so many excellent abilities, so many young men who undoubtedly would amount to something if placed in another environment. What I regret most is that many of our countrymen, already poisoned by this atmosphere, join parties against their conscience; seek glory through money and at the cost of ridicule, not through their own merit, but through banqueting and farces, not realizing that such a glory is a paper flame that produces ashes which only soil and stain afterward. For this reason, if the

nephews must come, I would not want him to go to Madrid unless they have to study law for which it is indispensable and even convenient inasmuch as here are the best law professors that can be found in Spain, and as it is a profession in which language is a principal factor, I believe Madrid is the best school for it on account of the people's character in all its phases.

At present, a classmate of mine is the physician Mr. Franco who was over there for a long time practising his profession. He had been my professor, very notable above all for failing students, and who at the beginning of my course said he would fail all of us. Let Dandoy tell it when . . .

78. Rizal, [1885]

Rizal assures his mother of his prudence — He prefers to live in obscurity — He trusts in God — He believes in the fundamental principles of the Catholic religion.

.....
might make you uneasy about me, I shall answer you that I do everything possible to please you. For more than a year now and following my father's suggestions, I have withdrawn whenever it has been possible for me to do so and I have tried not to draw the attention of anybody to my person. I have been told not to write; well, I've dropped the pen, the only instrument that I had which I was beginning to wield not very badly; and if sometimes I've picked it up, it was because powerful reasons have compelled me to do so, and even then I've concealed my name out of love for that obscurity that I need so much. If in spite of this I still have enemies, well let them be! It is so difficult to live without troubles, but misfortune does not mean dishonor and misfortune is welcome if it will banish vilification and degradation. So long as we can keep the esteem of those who know us, so long as our conscience is not hostile to us in our meditations, what does the rest matter? We have been born in the midst of a society whose political life is so anomalous that we have no other hope but to submit or to succumb: Which ever is preferable conscience will decide. Let us then trust in God and in the sincerity of our intentions. If wishing and desiring the good brings misfortune as reward, what should we do? The greatest legacy that parents can bequeath to their children is rectitude in judgment, generosity in rights, and steadfastness in adversity; the greatest honor that a son can pay to his parents is integrity and a good name, that the acts of the son may never make his parents leave with indignation or shame, and the rest God will provide. Sorrows and miseries pass away with life and individuals; the family inherits the memory and blesses or curses the departed. I should like that just as I can . . . I can repeat and say aloud that I'm the son of the most honorable

man and most pious women of my town, and may my parents never repent for having brought me into the world and if possible, may they at least feel satisfaction, if not pride, in mentioning me.

Concerning what you say about my duties as a Christian, I have the pleasure to be able to answer you that I haven't stopped a moment in believing in the fundamental principles of our religion. To the beliefs of my childhood have succeeded the convictions of youth that with time will take root in me. A belief that can not withstand examination and the test of time ought to pass on the memory and leave the heart. I must not try to live on illusions and falsehoods. What I believe in now, I believe rationally, and it is because my conscience cannot accept more than is compatible with reason. I can bow my head before an act that is mysterious to me whenever it doesn't exist in fact, but never before an absurdity nor before a probability. Religion to me is the most sacred thing, the purest, most ethereal, that eschews all human adulterations and I believe that I would fail in my duty as a rational being if I would prostitute my reason and accept the absurd. I believe God would not punish me if, in trying to approach Him, I should use reason and intelligence, his most precious gift. I believe that, in order to honor Him more, all I can do is to present myself to Him making use of the best that He has given me, in the same way that in presenting myself before my parents I should wear the best dress they have given me. If some time I shall come to possess that divine spark that is called knowledge, I would not hesitate to use it for the service of God, and if in my ratiocinations, I should make a mistake, commit an error, God will not punish me...

79. Olimpia Rizal, Albay, 12 June 1885

She asks Rizal to work for her husband's transfer
to Calamba to be near her parents.

* * *

Albay, 12 June 1885

MR. JOSÉ RIZAL

DEAR BROTHER,

Though you don't write me, I write you. I know you feel hurt, because I don't write you and don't remember you. Don't believe this because every time Silvestre writes you I join him. The reason you don't see my handwriting is that I'm very busy taking care of two very lively boys. So please excuse me for not writing you.

We are now here in Albay; we have been here three months. The servant we brought here is Sinforosa, sister of Policarpio, whom we always take along wherever we go.

Brother, if you want to do us a favor so that we shall remain permanently at Calamba, it is very easy for you to do so through Father Faura. Just write him and tell him that we shall write to him when we want to leave this place. Do something for us so that we shall be transferred to Calamba and write this to him. The head of the telegraph office cannot refuse him, because he has a high regard for him. The reason we have a great desire to return to Calamba is our father and mother who felt bad when we left. So do the best you can and write to Father Faura and perhaps you will succeed.

With many regards from your sister who wishes to see you soon,

80. Manuel T. Hidalgo, Calamba, 16 July 1885

Rizal resents not having received letters
from his brothers — Family news.

* * *

Calamba, 16 July 1885

DEAR BROTHER-IN-LAW,

You are very resentful because I or we have not written you for a long time and you have reason to complain, inasmuch as we are a closely knit family and for our inner satisfaction we ought to be fully informed by our respective situations. We have not written you in view of the fact that every time your letters to our parents and Paciano arrive, we all read them and felicitate ourselves on your good health, your progress in your studies and in that society, and in their letters to you they do not fail to tell you about us, so that you are well informed about our situation. For this reason, you will please excuse us, as everything, save some very rare exception, is forgiven within the family. I have no news to give you, as Brother Paciano tells them all in his letter, and with reference to your little nephews, your sister is in charge of telling you about them. I tell you only that here, or in Manila, according to what they say, there is a case of cholera morbus now and then, and I say according to what they say, for I don't know anything for certain and the government has not recognized it as such. With regard to this, what is that Ferran virus, a preventive against that disease? May it be true and through it at least may be lessened the effect of this terrible scourge on mankind.

If you find there Rousseau's *Emile* in Spanish, I should like a copy here it cannot be found in any bookstore.

We send you millions of love and you know how much this brother-in-law of yours loves you.

Silvestre has been in Albay for six months. We have

information that he will be returned here, but he is contented there. He earns ₱90 a month as salary and for various duties.

MANUEL TIMOTEO DE HIDALGO

P.S.

I forgot to tell you the most important. We are better here, like our dear parents and brothers.

81. Saturnina Rizal, [Calamba, 16 July 1885]

Sends Rizal ₱100 for the doctorate — Family news —
Advises Rizal to study obstetrics — Will send
him a picture of her son Alfredo.

* * *

[Calamba, 16 July 1885]

DEAR JOSE,

Don't resent your failure to receive letters from me. I always read your letters to Father and I see that you are well there. Receive ₱100 for your doctorate that your brother-in-law Maneng and I are sending you.

I have two children now, the first-born is Alfredo and the second is Adela. I'm eight months now on the family way. Study obstetrics very well. Because we are many, there will always be some who will have difficulty in childbirth.

In case you have time to study the method of painting leaves, buy me the best cutter and mould for flower leaves.

When we go to Manila, I shall have Alfredo photographed and I shall send his picture to you so that you may see the likeness of this lively boy.

I hope I shall have safe delivery and we may see each other again.

Regards and I shall write you again. The bearer of this letter is in a hurry.

Your ever loving sister,

SATURNINA RIZAL

82. Paciano Rizal, Calamba, 16 July 1885

Rizal complains of the irregularity of the remittance of his allowance

— He will go to Germany or England to study ophthalmology —

Something on the management of the Calamba Estate

— There are crisis and hunger but the splendor
of the religious processions is unabated.

* * *

Calamba, 16 July 1885

DEAR BROTHER,

Today we received at the same time your two letters dated 10 and 30 of March last. I don't understand why these letters have taken so long to arrive when ordinarily it does not take more than 45 days. If this happens to your letters, the same thing, and perhaps worse, will happen to ours, hence the recession and apparent cooling off of our relations, aside from the aversion that pen and paper inspire me, convinced as I am that they hardly change family feelings, and in proof of this let our parents speak. With this explanation we should henceforth restrain our desires, as they should be.

You are very correct in saying that you are not being sent your allowance, not due to lack of will but indeed to the economic crisis, or lack of work, if the contrary were supposed. This responsibility rests on me solely from the moment I approved it. It was a pardonable approval as it was in consonance then with the course of our business, but as this has taken a turn entirely contrary to our expectations, hence the irregularity of your allowance and the misery we are going through, remaining ever at the bottom, despite our great and good will.

Notwithstanding the benefit of assimilation of Philippine sugar to that of Cuba and Puerto Rico due to the magnanimity of the King and of Mr. T. de Valdósera, Calamba sugar loaves remain in an imperturbable calm without being disturbed apparently by this important measure. This does not mean to say that we don't appreciate the value of this improvement,

though until the present, it has not produced the desired effect. Perhaps it is no longer in their hands, but in those of the owners of sugar beet. It is enough to render to justice what it deserves and everybody is very much contented. It is said that by August this commodity will be active. Whether or not it shall be, we are going to sell our sugar in that month and then I shall send you by telegraph all that is due you and even something more. In the meantime you dispose of your jewelry.

In one of your former letters you said that you would go to Germany after your graduation to study ophthalmology, and now in your latest letter you say that you are going to England and on this matter you ask my opinion. It is perfectly the same to me whether you study in one country or another, because this specialty would be very useful to the family and because few or nobody practices this branch of medicine.

Choleng again with Mrs. Basilia.¹ They took her when I was not at home. If Mrs. Basilia dies, then we shall have Choleng definitively at home.

Nothing important has occurred in the town except the inspection of the Estate this year. Comes the month of June and contrary to custom, all the tenants had not paid their obligations, which was enough to scandalize all the friars, especially the administrator who, without stopping to investigate what could be the cause of this insolvency, whether it is lack of will, physical impossibility, bad harvest, low price, or the progressive increase in the land rent, he declares vacant all the lands of the Estate,² at the same time inviting the citizens of other towns to take over all the vacant lands as punishment for this lack of punctuality. Frightened, some paid their obligations with the proceeds of the distress sale of their sugar. Others, now encouraged because they saw that nobody or few responded to the invitation, being brave men, they put off their payments, and all giving excuse to the lay brother manager who, seeing the lack of unity, managed it in such a way that the relations between administrator and tenants return to their normal condition. All were satisfied with this solution, except four or five who were really victimized by this comedy, having been deprived of their holdings in favor of the good servants and of a fellow who received from the Father Visitor a fisticuff

¹ Mrs. Basilia Banzon de Leyba, a relative of the Rizal family.

² The Hacienda de Calamba (Calamba Estate) consisting of the town of Calamba and the surrounding agricultural lands, belonged to the Order of St. Dominic (Domingo de Guzman, 1170-1221 or Dominican Order, one of the four powerful and wealthy religious corporations in the Philippines. The other three: Franciscan, Augustinian and Recollect orders.

on his head, given amicably, for having justified the penury of the town during his visit. Affection or insult, the fact was that it was returned with a completely frigid laughter. This momentary confusion in the business of the Estate brought about by the administrator and his tenants was looked upon unfavorably by the Corporation (Dominican) itself and it caused his transfer to another place, his position being filled by the lay brother in Biñan, who, they say, does not like any one to dance attendance on him.

The monetary crisis here is not so acute as it might be believed, as there is still money to spend on processions and Masses of Grace and enough money for the purchase of a silver frontal and a pair of bells. It is true that the majority eat only twice a day, if they do not fast by force, and are always stragglers with respect to their small tax, but do not think that because of this, we are all unhappy, for though there is scarcity for some on one hand, on the other, noise and luster are more than necessary, which are enough compensation.

The new *gobernadorcillos* are now exercising their functions. Appointed were many of those who figure in the first place in the ternary, few in the second and third places, three or four without being included in the ternary were appointed like May rain,³ and I say May rain, because even those from Calamba (and not a few) who formerly avoided this position, now sigh and sweat for it. The key to this enigma is perhaps the *falla*⁴ and as reforms are about to be introduced, we hope that this will disappear.

It is said that very soon justices of the peace courts will be established at the provincial capitals and towns which are heads of districts. The citizens of those towns are to be congratulated because with these reforms they will have less dealing with desk officials, while we shall continue the same as before until the reform is extended to towns of some importance.

Thank God our parents are robust and strong. As they are now, they may live many more years. If you want to stay there for four or five years more and return later, probably you will find them still in good health as when you left them.

Your brother,

PACIANO

³ In the Philippines, rain in May is rare, being the dry season.

⁴ *Falla* under the Spanish regime was the fine paid by Filipinos for leaving work.

83. Rizal, Madrid, 30 July 1885

He would like to serve physician in Spanish towns infested
with cholera or travel in France, Switzerland,
or Holland — Awaiting parental consent.

* * *

Madrid, 30 July 1885

MY DEAR PARENTS,

I have not received any letter from you or from anybody of the family and in the complete absence of news, I venture to make you a proposition.

As, after all, there is cholera in Spain and also at Madrid, where fortunately cases don't exceed 34 daily, if I don't receive by the next mail a letter from you or instruction, I'm going to enlist to take care of cholera patients in the towns where there are no physicians, for they say that they give 12 pesos daily, though without board and lodging, and if this is true, I can earn in one month some 250 pesos sufficient to support me for five months, which is not a little saving. At any rate, if the cholera gets me at Madrid, it is better that if I have to die, I die doing some good, and it is not a little thing to earn 250 pesos, because in those infected towns everything is now dear and in case I go, my board and lodging will not cost me less than 4 pesos a month. I believe this suits me. In this way I can begin earning my livelihood and helping the family a little. I don't believe there is much danger of contagion because, of the physicians who had gone to those towns very few got sick and those who died don't go beyond four. I'm in good health, I'm young, and I'm not afraid of cholera, which matters a great deal.

I could leave Spain and go abroad. Several friends have proposed it to me, offering to pay for the round trip and my stay in France, Switzerland, or Holland, everything gratis; but

A fragment of a Rizal letter.

I haven't accepted and I have told them so — P. Paterno, Luna, and others. First, because I don't want to owe this kind of favor, being able to owe it to my parents, and secondly, because I don't want to happen to me again what occurred to me when I went to Paris without waiting for your consent — a trip that, though it yielded me very great benefits, on the other hand caused me so many troubles that I have decided not to take any step that may hurt you, unless there is a very powerful reason or urgent necessity for it.

One of my house companions, Julio Llorente, has married and now lives with his wife. The other one, Ceferino de Leon, went to Galicia

84. Rizal, [Madrid, 1885]

He is uncomplaining — Would like to earn his living to cease being
a burden to his family — Difficulty of obtaining employment in
Spain — Politics controls everything — Manual work is
considered humiliating — Though a Spanish sub-
ject, Rizal regards himself as a foreigner in
Spain — In financial straits he may be
obliged with regret to sell his
ring and books — Would
rather go home
than
later.

. . . to abuse the affection of brothers much more when they don't see each other for a long time and they are separated; one can well afford to lose one minute every six month. I'm very much afraid that you may frown at what I'm telling you and think that I'm little forbearing at my age while you, younger, already could help our family. I, too, have suffered much here, and since I have been in Europe twice I have seen the day pass without eating, for not having a *real* and I didn't complain. I suffered the cold and the rain and I couldn't take the streetcar for not having anything to pay my fare when my feet were swollen and aching. I don't forget even a single moment the sacrifices that I cause the family and how greatly I'm lessening our modest fortune, and you can understand how I wish to be able to earn my living in order to cease being a burden to the family. In Madrid, as in almost the greater part of Spain, there are certain prejudices to which one has to adjust himself however independent he may be. To earn my living here, in my conditions, without giving occasion to murmuring, I would have to resort to employment, to politics, for manual work here is usually considered humiliating and frankly I have no courage to drag myself to the office of the minister to beg with my salutations for a salary that would make you as well as myself ashamed. Here politics

Fragment of a Rizal letter to his brother Paciano.

is the soul of everything: It is injected into the trades, arts, letters, and sciences. Even the bullfighters, poets, and others who are worthless must join politics. The learned man, if he is not a politician, is not learned. Even cholera has been made a political question, even the bacillus itself, the origin of disease. If you haven't lived here, make an effort to imagine how one lives here. I, who have always considered myself a foreigner and as such I have always called myself and have not concealed my indifference from all those who have proposed to me to the political parties, cannot now solicit their patronage without incurring in contradiction. Moreover, for every position that appears in the horizon there are some fifteen or fourteen aspirants, or all these who wait at the doors and halls of the ministers, who have to walk away fleeing from them.

Whenever the time for examinations or matriculation comes, my expenses increase considerably as I have been enrolled in two courses¹ both of which cost me with their six or seven subjects from 30 to 40 pesos in normal times; but in the case of the subjects for the doctorate, as it happened this year, the payment is double. This year precisely three months passed without my getting my allowance. Fortunately, Valentin² was here who loaned me money for my sustenance. This year owing to my graduation in Philosophy and Letters and the examinations for the doctorate I have had to spend much, and as my allowance has been reduced and nothing has been sent me for this purpose, I have had to borrow from Ventura before he went to Paris with the intention of paying him back with what I can economize, if my former allowance of 50 pesos would be restored. Unfortunately it couldn't be so. When the cholera broke out, there was a rumor that physicians who would treat cholera patients would be well paid; it was said that they would be paid 10 pesos; but upon further inquiry, I learned that they paid only five pesos and still it was not known when. Many advised me not to get into those troubles and besides, there was the inconvenience of not having yet my diploma, because I had to use the money destined for it to pay Ventura and meeting other expenses, for you owed me three months allowance during the previous course as at present. I would never have wished to tell you this, but in the present circumstances I think it is best not to

¹ Post graduate course in medicine and philosophy and letters.

² Valentin Ventura, wealthy Filipino, residing at Madrid.

hide the truth from you, because you would hear about it anyway. However, never would I let our parents believe that I'm undergoing the least hardship. If no money comes by the next mail, I shall be compelled to sell my ring at a loss, as well as my books acquired during three years by force of economy and patience and whose cost amounts to 250 pesos. Scarcely would they give me 50 pesos for them, for here they take advantage of one's necessity. It is a pity that these books should be lost for there are some among them which are very valuable. They have the inconvenience of being in French, English, German, and several other languages. With these books and those that are there you will surely have the best library in the province, for I don't believe that there are there books of the kind I have bought. It is a pity if they are lost. I'll see if I find a friend who is willing to give 50 pesos on condition of reversion and in that way you may be able to get them back. If I receive enough money I myself will get them back.

I believe that it is easier now rather than later to acquire or collect some 400 pesos for my return trip, because I tell you that if things go on as now and I'm abroad, neither I nor you would fare well.³ There I could help you, if not much, a little. If I were abroad, at London, for example, where there is a countryman who they say protects . . .

³ He is referring to the economic crisis the Philippines was suffering.

85. Silvestre Ubaldo, Albay, 26 August 1885

Letters of recommendation to Barrantes and Father Faura regarding his transfer to Calamba — News about relatives in Albay.

* * *

Albay, 26 August 1885

DEAR JOSÉ,

Your letter of 28 June last with letters to Mr. Barrantes and Father Faura enclosed is in my possession. On the 15th of this month I sent them to their respective destinations, that for Mr. Barrantes being registered, so that it would not be lost; but until this date I have no information of their result. I'll write you about what their result may be. Thanks for your great interest and I wish that we shall be reunited in Calamba on the day of your arrival. We congratulate you on your success and progress in your career as well as on your good health. I'm glad that the cholera there is subsiding.

I have already given your regards to the family of Uncle Rufino and they thank you. Yes, it is true he has two good-looking daughters; Nena is the better-looking, but very soon she will marry one Pedro Villanueva of the town of Tabaco of this province of Albay, and the other is called Eugenia. Their brother Sergio is studying book-keeping at Manila, but the other one to whom you referred in your letter is deceased (may he rest in peace) and so also is your friend Glicerio Anson. You have here another relative, Uncle Honorio of Binondo, with his three daughters, also single, fairly pretty. He is the shopkeeper of Messrs. Muñoz Hermanos of the town of Legazpi. We spend pleasant hours in his house and he picks us up in his carriage. The girls are very fond of dancing. Lieutenant Juanchio was a victim of the cholera of '83. You can commend him to God, as he was your good friend. So you have no one any more to debate with?

According to a letter from Calamba, they are all well. Narcisa delivered a boy on of last July who is named Leoncio.

I'm anxious to reach Calamba to see Aris (Aristeo) and if they transfer me there, the day they again send me to another post, I'll resign; for now I realize that it is difficult and painful to be separated from one's children, as Aris is separated from us. Though he is in very good condition, nevertheless it is painful for me to have him away from my side. Loleng is married to Córdova; she has one girl, but I believe I have already written you about it long ago. For the present I cannot give you personal news for I'm most secluded and withdrawn in the Station. My thoughts are to return to Calamba.

Until the next, receive the embraces of your brother-in-law who loves you,

SILVESTRE UBALDO

86. Paciano Rizal, Calamba, 10 September 1885

They send him money — Price of sugar is fairly good.

* * *

Calamba, 10 September 1885

DEAR BROTHER,

Enclosed is a draft for ₱200. I don't send it to you by telegraph as I promised you in my preceding letter because it was our mother who went to Manila and brought the draft and then because I saw by your last letter that you still count in some resources.

As you don't tell me that you have received the sum I sent you at the beginning of April, I send you the second draft in case you have not received the first one.

We have already sold the sugar this year at ₱2 and 4 reales and ₱3 a loaf—prices which are fairly better, relatively speaking, than those of previous years and though they may not enrich the farmer neither do they ruin him.

I should like more information on sugar beet. The idea of serving cholera-stricken towns ought to be practiced only when one has no other recourse, but when one can find elsewhere one or two pesos a day, such an idea ought to be laid aside for family considerations.

In my preceding letter I forgot to tell you that we make cigars at home (one table) and under the present circumstances they are a real aid to sugar.

Your brother,

PACIANO

Brother-in-law Manuel sent you ₱100 in August.

87. Silvestre Ubaldo, Albay, 13 September 1885

Father Faura replies sharply — He is disgusted
with Rizal and Ubaldo.

* * *

Albay, 13 September 1885

ESTEEMED JOSÉ.

On 10 August I sent the letters for Mr. Barrantes and Father Faura as I told you in my preceding letter, but as I have not received any information on the purpose of those letters, I thought it was timely to send to your dear Father Faura a telegram, with prepaid reply, of the following tenor:

Rev. Fr. Faura, Manila

I beg you to tell me if Rizal's
petition will be granted,

UBALDO

The reply:

Mr. Ubaldo, Albay

I'm disgusted with you and Rizal. Everyone
should be in the place where he is ordered to be.
I have not asked nor will I ask for anything.

FAURA.

When I received this reply, I became pensive, unable to explain to myself the displeasure that Father Faura had had of us two. Or had he written two or three lines, I would have been so informed. In view of this and as he has the full confidence of Mr. Barrantes, who undoubtedly had been in accord with him, I decided to resign from my position so that

in this way you will not receive any more displeasures on my account. When they approve my separation from the service and I return to Calamba, I'll write you. From here I cannot give you news of any kind. When we return to Manila and Calamba, I'll indeed give you more detailed news.

With nothing more for the present, may you be in good health and take very great care for, according to the newspapers, cholera cases there are increasing. When are you coming?

Tight embraces of your brother-in-law who loves you,

SILVESTRE

88. Rizal, Madrid, 1 October 1885

Rizal plans to go to Germany where the cost of living is lower than in England — Valentin Ventura sends him money —

The German language would be useful —

"Our duty is to love our country..." —

* * *

Madrid, 1 October 1885

MY DEAR PARENTS,

On the 1st of this month we gave up the house we had taken in order to be able to live more economically and freely and the three of us—Ceferino, Lete, and I—have moved to this new house which costs us almost double, for they charge us for the room alone two pesetas a day. As I don't intend to stay here more than 15 days, until the arrival of the mail boat on which I plan to depart, should I have money, I've paid the six pesos they asked me. It is possible, now that it seems my allowance will not be increased, that I may not go to England where the cost of living is much higher, but to Germany where they have assured me one can live at Berlin with the same allowance as here at Madrid. If this is true, as I'm assured, I'll do that. And if I don't receive money, my fate will decide what it shall be. From Paris Valentin has sent me money, spending for money order fees and other things. It is a good friendly gesture, but I believe it ought not to be abused.

German will be of the greatest usefulness to me in the future when German commerce and preponderance shall prevail over there in the neighboring regions. It is moreover a language few Filipinos possess. I know a little, but as all that I know I have learned by myself, it turns out that though I have facility in translating written German, on the other hand, I can't understand a single word when they speak to

Fragment of a Rizal letter.

me, for my ears are not accustomed to the sound of the words.

If I receive 200 pesos, I leave immediately for Germany; if I receive 600 pesos, I finish the doctorate, and if not, happen what may happen. I already owe three and a half months board. Since 1st July, when I should receive money, I have been without any and without letters.

I don't know how the Caroline question¹ will end. It seems that Bismark will get away with his pretensions. It is necessary that we prepare for what may happen so that we shall not be more exploited than we are now. Whenever they asked me here for our opinion I replied: "I believe that all Filipinos only want either to be Spaniards or be independent." I don't know if I have interpreted correctly the wish of our countrymen, but if not, I suppose I haven't hurt them. When I was asked if we would fight in defense of the Spanish flag against the German, I answered them that we would always fight in fulfillment of our duty and in obedience to our conscience. "What then is your duty and what does your conscience dictate?" "Our duty", I replied, "is to love our country and our conscience dictates that we do everything that our duty implies."

As I haven't even a single news from there, it is difficult for me to speak of persons whom I knew formerly for fear of speaking about persons who are dead or have disappeared.

The Filipino colony have not yet returned from their summer excursions. On the 1st of this month Valdés, Calero, and Cabangis, two physicians and one future one, left for home.

If I had taken advantage of the summer to go abroad to study languages, as I did during the first year of my arrival in this by going to Paris, this summer I would have gone to Germany or Switzerland, and now I would be earning two pesos a day with gratuity in addition, for in the . . .

¹In 1885 the German Empire pursued a vigorous policy of colonial expansion. Finally in 1899 Spain sold to it the Caronile Islands including the Ladrone, except Guam, for \$4,000,000.

89. Paciano Rizal, Calamba, 27 November 1885

Why he was against Rizal's trip to Paris — Rizal sends an image of Christ and a chess set to his family — A letter of Rizal that made his mother shed tears — Sale of Rizal's chestnut horse — Low price of sugar — Paciano always an optimist.

* * *

Calamba, 27 November 1885

MR. JOSÉ RIZAL

DEAR BROTHER,

We received your two letters, one by mail and the other through the kindness of Mr. Basilio together with an image of Christ and a chess set. I accept all your censure therein, so much more justifiable as I believed myself with sufficient strength to support our family, which was nothing more than a vain presumption on my part. But you should have taken into account my laziness and aversion to writing especially with regard to disagreeable things which cannot be remedied. With respect to my opposition to your trip to Paris, it was due rather to the critical situation that we were going through then than to strictness towards you. What was one hundred pesos more or less, but when the Chuidian firm refused to grant us a loan and we had none of our own, it seemed to me there was reason to disapprove that trip, not because of its purpose but of what it would cost. On the other hand, once permission to go to Europe was granted, one step further, forward or backward, mattered very little to one who does not know those latitudes. Moreover, you would be the first to feel sorry should anything happen to our family, like what is happening to all here (with the exception of four) whose properties have been all confiscated or neglected. They hardly have enough to meet their liabilities. From all this is deduced that you there and we here still live in these times of trial when patience and more prudence are necessary, because

it is nonsensical not to eat having jewels to pawn, for I believe they were sent to you precisely for that purpose. You made our mother shed copious tears with this letter.

With this letter I send you a draft for ₱200. Probably by February I shall send you another ₱200 which will be the proceeds of the sale of your chestnut horse, and if I don't find a trusted person to bring to you the chronometer watch that I intend to give you as a gift and which is worth ₱300 with the chain, I shall sell it and send you the proceeds.

Today we received the news that the king had died. I don't know if you are still there. It is convenient for us to have your exact address so that letters, and especially drafts, would not be delayed in reaching you.

Though sugar has no price, we begin work on the sugar cane in the midst of envy and with many bandits and more landlords' collectors around. Despite everything, I still feel strong enough and I persist in my error that I can still support our family.

In this town nothing important happens, unless it be the robberies and the effrontery of that one who called on us one day. If he could be made to jump the river, now that things have altered, it would have been a worthy act.

Your brother,

PACIANO

90. Rizal, Paris, 4 December 1885

Rizal is registered at Dr. Wecker's clinic — Learning much about eye diseases — Dr. Wecker esteems Rizal and invites him to his house.

* * *

65 Arago Boulevard, Paris
4 December 1885

Friday

MY DEAR PARENTS,

In my last letter I told you about my study of eye diseases at the clinic of Dr. Wecker. I continue going there every day and I learn not a little and each time I see a new operation, a new disease. Dr. Wecker had me register at his clinic and ordered me to buy an ophthalmoscope—an apparatus that is used to look into what is going on inside the eyes — that costs me 12 pesos. The professor, who continues to esteem me, told me that I should go to his house on Sundays, giving me his card. According to those who have seen it, the house or hotel of the doctor is a palace, a marvel in gems and artistic objects of which he has the most beautiful collections. This gentleman is very rich; he has properties in various . . . estimated at many million those . . . alone. It is true that he is the first . . . the Duchess of Medinacelli called him . . . for a day he was paid 40,000 francs . . . lost. Thus it is already possible to treat ailments . . . to be a sufficiently passable surgeon . . . with the fifth part I would be satisfied.

Here it is very cold and there is much . . . which compels us to exercise to keep us warm. The king of Spain has died and we have a regent, Doña María Cristina . . . that history records.

A fragment of a Rizal letter.

I still hope to receive some money from you, practice by the side of Wecker . . . I am costing much money . . . useful some day. The instruments and . . . town is very dear almost as much . . . this last town for not knowing . . .

In Germany, according to a friend . .

91. Rizal, Paris, 1 January 1886

Christmas in Paris — A pair of Grecian vases painted by Rizal — Good behavior of French children — The mansion of Dr. Wecker — Rizal is going to Germany where there are very good professors — Already writes French as he does Spanish — He already can perform all kinds of eye operations — Winter in Paris — Eye operations by Dr. Wecker — Pardo de Tavera family at Paris — Rizal wrote the illustrated story of the monkey and the turtle in Paz Pardo de Tavera's album.

* * *

65 Boulevard Arago, Paris
1 January 1886

MY DEAR PARENTS,

Today, the 1st day of the year, the mail leaves and I take advantage of the few minutes that my work at the clinic, courtesy calls, etc. leave me free to tell you something of how I spend these days.

For the sake of the truth I'll tell you that here Christmas and the New Year are holidays for children and employees only and the children receive toys and the latter presents. However, it must be added that the New Year is the feast of the young people who receive gifts from their friends and acquaintances on this day. I presented to Miss Pardo¹ a pair of Grecian vases painted by me—one representing the Filipinos at their pastime (cockfighting) and the other portraying Filipinos at work (milk vendors, prisoners, etc.) I spent Christmas at the house of this family at the invitation of the brother and where I will spend this evening also. As I already told you, there we always talk about the Philippines. Doña Juliana is a genuine Filipino through and through, *nor sus cuatro costados*, as it is commonly said.

¹ Miss Paz Pardo de Tavera, later Mrs. Juan Luna, resided at Paris with her family. Doña Juliana Gorricho was her mother; Felix and Trinidad Pardo de Tavera, both physicians, were her brothers. Felix became also a renowned sculptor and Trinidad a man of letters and statesman.

Beginning with the 24 December all the sidewalks of the boulevards are filled with baragues, or little stalls, of toys, fruits, etc., like the Quiapo fair. (*Baraque* is pronounced "barac", whence *barraca*.) A multitude of people stroll there—children, young and old people. The government organizes entertainments for children only. Actors, actresses, and artists play gratis for the entertainment of the children who know how to reciprocate well this solicitude by behaving very considerably. I don't get tired admiring the education of French children. It seems like a story when they are compared with the children there of whether Spaniards or Filipinos. On the street, on the omnibus, in the carriages, on the promenades, at home, everywhere, they are well-behaved. They don't shout or cry, they don't bother. This very morning, on the omnibus, there was a boy of about five seated on the knees of his mother and he was very quiet and very formal, saying not a single word. After a while another woman with another child almost of the same age came and they sat in front. The two boys looked at each other in silence without saying a word, but as the trip was long they didn't remain silent. One started smiling and the other one also. One extended his hand smiling and half closing his eyes; the other took it and they started talking in their childish language and in a low voice. Later, one took out from under his coat a top and showed it to the other who examined it closely smiling and returned it with signs of satisfaction. They don't fight or shout. In the big bazaars where families go to do all kinds of shopping, there are immense halls full of vyingly beautiful toys. Well, children go there, look and bear the tricks of wonderfully made dolls, mechanical toys, horses, and many others, and you'll not hear either a cry or a shout or a plea to their parents to buy them those toys. They think that if they have behaved well during the whole year, on the morning of the 25th December they would come upon them and if not, all is well. The children of the poor go there to look at them only and they don't touch them or say a word in a loud voice, but those who see those little eyes can read what they feel in their hearts. This education seems to me a conclusive evidence in favor of the new system of educating a man in the love for the good and his fellowmen.

The mansion of Professor de Wecker is located on the Avenue d'Antin, number 31. It is a magnificent building with a most elegant appearance even in that district where sumptuous palaces abound. In Spain I didn't see a similar thing.

At the entrance one comes upon mottled marble of all colors, very well arranged, a magnificent chimney—which conditions the air when one has to take off his overcoat—standing in the middle of the hall, which presents an extraordinary sight. Upon one's arrival he is met by lackeys who take his cane, umbrella, and overcoat and conduct him to the first floor through a carpeted stairway and with ancient Spanish tapestry. The waiting room, where one stays while he is announced to the owner of the house, is full of magnificent paintings of the Dutch, French, Spanish, and Italian schools. Among these were one by Ruisdael and one by Julio Romano, believed to be Rosa Bonheur, a very precious Raphael. Inside are sculptures in marble and bronze, a boy fisherman, a gift of the queen of Italy, very old altar pieces, and in an alcove a magnificent Portuguese bedstead which some believe costs from two to three thousand pesos. The second floor of the house is destined for receptions and the dining room is there with its big chimney and two tables of malachite and gilded bronze, paintings of flowers and fruits to gladden the eye. The rooms and apartments whose walls are all covered with white silk have a delicate, elegant aspect with their tiny gray, blue, and violet designs and the matching furniture. Through a small stairway, all carpeted also, one goes up to the third floor occupied by the sister with two daughters. This part of the house is also decorated but in another style, although it is equally excellent. The walls are red or pink and gilt very well combined. Gay furniture and smiling pictures indicate that a lady with young children live there. The sewing room and the room for piano study were all appropriate and adequate. We find the toys and dolls of the children seated in chairs as on a reception day. Those who have seen this mansion agree that it is one of the best in Paris and one cannot help but admire the good taste and the exquisite tact of the owner who knew how to combine and harmonize the elegant and the serious, the old and the modern. Wecker speaks German, French, English, and Spanish. Luna, introduced by me on Christmas Day, was seized with admiration and enchanted. He couldn't help but admit that what Pardo told him as well as what I had related to him were exact and even pallid.

If by chance you'll send me money, do it through the Shanghai Banking Corporation, because through Spanish firms, much is lost, while through this bank I gain a few pesetas per 100 when I cash it, for English money is worth more than the Spanish.

15—January — I wasn't able to send this letter through the previous mail for lack of time. I'll continue it now.

Day before yesterday I received a draft for 200 pesos which upon being cashed yielded only 192 because of the 4% discount. With more reason than ever I'll repeat to you now what I have told you: If you're going to send me money, do it through the Chartered Bank of India, Australia, and China, which is very much better. If those 200 pesos had been sent through that bank, they would have given me some 204 or 205 francs, as it happens to Resurrección, who always collect more than what they send him.

The money couldn't have arrived more timely because I was already somewhat hard pressed. Fortunately Luna collected one thousand pesos² from the Senate and so we two had something to spend these days. You say that you'll send me money in February. You need not send me until the 4th of April or towards the end of March, for with what I have I'm going to Germany where the cost of living, they say, is very low, and I'll try to make this money last until the beginning of May. There's no need to sell either watch or horse. At Paris, though there is much to study, on the other hand the cost of living is very high. In Germany one can study fairly well and by staying in a provincial capital I can wait for the crisis to pass away. In the meantime I shall study German and a few other things besides eye diseases. There are very good professors in Germany. In the meanwhile you may continue sending me your letters here at Paris, 65 Boulevard Arago. Until July or August I shall be in Germany and later in England and afterwards go home. If the news have not been misleading or exaggerated, don't worry about sending me money for I have enough to live on until the 1st of May. As to the rest, I shall write you about this from Germany where I expect to be on the first of February. I want to make the most of this year and go home at once. I already write French with the same facility as Spanish, at least as the municipal secretaries there write the latter. It is a very precious language but indeed very difficult. I already understand perfectly everything said to me, except when they speak argot. The Parisians speak very fast.

With regard to the study of eye diseases, I'm doing very well: I know already how to perform all kinds of operations.

² In payment for his paintings, *The Battle of Lepanto*, bought by the Senate of Spain.

I only need to be trained in the study of what is going on at the bottom of the eye which requires much practice. In Germany, I have been told, this is taught very well but one must register and pay 10 pesos a month. I'm going to Germany with about 100 pesos, which will probably be reduced to 75 after deducting traveling expenses. If I find out that the cost of living is really cheap, I'll register and if it is not too much, I have more than enough time with two or three months. In six months I expect to learn German, study a trade, continue my specialization. In five months, though living with Filipinos, I learned French.

It was terribly cold this week. For four or five days it snowed and we had ice more than five fingers thick . . . the second a tiny red point without brilliance. One must cock up the ear in order not to be run over by the vehicles, for, as there are streets paved with wood on which a vehicle hardly makes a noise, one can easily be run over in crossing the street or boulevard. In foggy nights thieves abound. They rob you and then run away, and they can't be seen within five paces. It is like as if they have entered your house. When there is too much fog, sometimes traffic is suspended. A foggy night at Paris is like a night in our town. The difference is that this night, instead of being dark, is white and there are no civil guards who trample on you. They say that, as to fog, London leaves Paris far behind.

From 50 to 100 patients go daily to the clinic of Wecker. There are days when they perform as many as ten major operations. Many cross-eyes are set alright. Yesterday we fixed a woman-cook who is more cross-eyed than Emilio and Mr. Mariano put together; in two minutes her eyes were put in their proper places. Yesterday also Wecker removed the eye of a young man whom a baron had shot . . . lives on the Avenue de l'Empetratrice. The baron paid 18,000 francs as indemnity. The lad, who is not more than 13 years old, lost his eyes, but Wecker put in another of crystal which will not be detected because it will move like a real one. During the operation he shouted only once and it was painful at that. Cross-eyed children of four or five months and old men of sixty and seventy and even a woman of 85 also go there to be operated on. I remember an old man who had been blind for 65 years; since he was eight years old he couldn't see; he was very much satisfied. In the past days there went there a young tall woman, very tall — at least a handbreadth taller

than I—very elegant, beautiful, with a bad eye which couldn't see and it was white. Wecker had to blacken her eye, which was not difficult and which needs only time. As it was a cosmetic operation, she couldn't complain and she smiled. It is true that the eye is rendered insensitive so that the patients stand up and say that they have felt absolutely nothing. There are those who don't feel the operation and they only find it out when they already begin to see.

If I receive enough money, then I shall pay 12 pesos a month and I shall have the right to attend everything; all the treatments, and to operate from time to time which is very advantageous. You can't imagine what can be learned at this clinic. The doctors there are one Italian, one Greek, one Austrian, one North American, three South Americans, two Spaniards, four French, one German, one Pole, and I. All of us understand each other in French; now and then I speak with the Italian and the North American in their native tongues. The Greek has nothing of the Greek, such as those who have studied Greek history imagine. He is a little short with thin beard, very dark complexion, illformed, *etc.* A Greek of the Age of Pericles would have taken him for a barbarian.

My mode of life doesn't change. Luna and I eat here at the studio and as he has many friends at Paris, he is often invited by families who hold soirées at their homes. For this reason he eats outside often. The Pardo family who live here also invite me to eat at their home from time to time. Then Luna, Resurrección, and I go there. On such days we do nothing else but talk about our country — its likes, food, customs, *etc.* The family is very amiable. The mother (widow) is a sister of Gorricho and remains very Filipino in everything. Her sons Trinidad and Felix Pardo are both physicians; her daughter Paz speaks French and English and she is very amiable, and also very Filipino. She dresses with much elegance, and in her movements and manner of looking she resembles Sra. Itching. She is beautiful and svelte and it is said she is going to marry Luna. She asked me to write something in her album and I wrote the story of the monkey and the turtle with illustrations. The young women in Europe usually have the custom of keeping an album (not of pictures) in which they ask their friends to put there drawings, dedications verses, *etc. etc.* and they keep them as souvenirs.

In the Filipino colony here there is a man about whom always something silly is told. Everything stupid, curious, or unusual must be his. If he were there, even if he were of Manila, they would certainly take him for one from Parañaque.³ I believe the man has been in Paris for seven or ten years and he has not learned French; as to the rest, he is a good man.

I believe that by the end of next year or the beginning of '87, I should leave Europe and return there. That is the most time I should stay in these countries. If I prolong my stay, I shall spend much. I owe...

³The natives of Parañaque were said to be given to boasting or exaggerations.

92. Mariano Herbosa, Calamba, 2 February 1886

Family news — Death of José — Milling season — Good
price for sugar — Rising land rent.

* * *

Calamba, 2 February 1886

MR. JOSÉ RIZAL.
Paris

MY DEAR BROTHER-IN-LAW,

We received your letter and we are informed of its content.

The reason why we have not written you a long time is that whenever I pick up a pen to write you to inform you of the death of our José, it seemed as if a painful wound is touched. So, by constantly postponing it, this time has come. The remedy I apply to the said wound is "Thanks that José has died. He will not suffer any more what we are suffering."

The hardship and badness of the times when you were here have been doubled.

Delfina has two sisters, next to José. Her name is Concepción. She was followed by a girl also and her name is Patrocínio, who is the baby now. Perhaps when you return, you will not finish in one day embracing your nephews.

At this time we are milling, so that Mother with Pangoy¹ has gone to Sr. Paciano's mill in Pansol. Lucía also left for Hagdang Bató. Thanks God, it seems that the sugar harvest here is good. However, it is said the price is high, but when the time to sell comes, it is low, unlike the dues and fees paid to the Hacienda (Calamba Estate) which increase every year.

¹ Pet name of Josefa, a sister of Rizal.

We are all in good health and perhaps when you arrive here, you'll find everything just like when you left. Lucía is like before, when you went abroad.

Command your very affectionate brother in-law,

MARTANO HERROSA

93. Lucía Rizal, [Calamba, 2 February 1886]

Many bandits — Gay novena — Study painless
childbirth — Come home soon.

* * *

[Calamba, 2 February 1886]

DEAR BROTHER,

The reason we have not written you is already told in Mariano's letter. What I can tell you is that here there is much disturbance and there is said to be many bandits, as well as many persons inspecting patents.

Today it is very gay here at my father-in-law's house, because of the last day of the novena in honor of Our Lady of Aransasu. You already know the custom here: There are plenty of food, visitors, and singing.

I request you to study painless childbirth and the method of increasing the mother's supply of milk. This is what we need here.

Father and Mother are worried lest you may not see them any more. Therefore, you think of coming home, so that we may see each other again and we may take a bath in Hagdang Bató, there in our new land, which I consider the best bathing place.

Regards and command your sister who is waiting for your return.

Your sister,

LUCÍA RIZAL

94. Rizal, Heidelberg, 7 February 1886

German and French housekeeping — The dining room must
be gay, attractive, and pleasant — Suitable decorations
for the dining room — Table arrangement.

* * *

Heidelberg, 7 February 1886

MISS MARÍA RIZAL

MY VERY DEAR SISTER,

There goes the first letter I write you on German territory in order to have the pleasure of receiving your reply. The object of this letter is to relate to you some particular things that may be of interest to you and besides of use to you, like for example, how German and French women keep their houses. Although French taste reigns everywhere, nevertheless it is modified in every locality and according to the status and imagination of the people. Speaking about the dining room, for example, in Europe it is the general feeling that it must be gay, attractive, and pleasant. In the houses of the very rich you'll see paintings of landscape, fruits, and animals by the greatest masters. You'll see painted oysters, prawns, lobsters, fish, etc., etc. Others who cannot afford to pay so much are satisfied with copies and the poorest with lithographs. In some houses in Germany and particularly in Holland, what I see in pictures is that they hang on the walls old plates with more or less color, with more or less designs. In some houses they'll show you the plate belonging to a grandfather, to a grandmother—a huge plate fifty years old, a century perhaps, and in the Pardo's house at Paris I saw beside some plates of Chinese porcelain nearly two centuries old, blue plates like those from China we have for daily

In his eagerness to educate his sisters, Rizal describes dining room arrangement and decorations he had seen in Europe in this letter to this sister, Maria whom he considered a bright woman.

use, if I'm not mistaken, and have this shape: (Sketch) This plate decorations are very charming, above all when the designs are fanciful and the colors are gay. On the other hand Italian houses have on their walls gay bottles of Chianti wine whose lower parts are wrapped in straw, their neck being very slender (Sketch), and placed in the corners are small baskets of fruits which are also very pretty. In some houses they have hanging parasites alternating with cages of birds like canaries, linnets, *etc.* No serious or sad subjects, for some persons would get indigestion, and in truth they are right. When it's time to eat, eat well; when it's time to pray, pray well. Our dining room there, that is, the landing or antehall, could be decorated with parasites and plates, for we have neither paintings of landscapes nor big pictures. White plates are not used for decoration because they are confused with the wall. I remember that when we were small we had some plates with designs of little figures and landscapes on their hollows. For these I know that some would give even five pesos each for they are now rare.

The plates are hung in the following way: Take three pieces of wire, their sizes depending on the weight or size of the objects they are to support, and they are bent at the end, for example, (Sketch) and in this hook the edge of the plate is inserted; the three wires are joined at the back and a kind of ring is made to hang it on a nail so that in front it will look like this (Sketch) and at the back (Sketch).

The parasitic plants—in this we can excel all European houses, if we have good taste—are hung more easily. There are three ways of placing them: Suspended, attached to a post, and in little baskets set on a table (Sketches). Generally iron wire is used because it becomes more beautiful as it becomes oxidized or rusty. This is easier for us because it doesn't cost money and there is an abundance of parasitic plants in our country, specially in our province.

The flasks and bottles chosen are those which have fanciful shapes and if they are wrapped in straw like the demi-johns, for example, the better. They are usually filled with black wine or colored liquor. The more covered with cobwebs in their corners these flasks are the better they are. They are usually placed at a sufficient height and they are not usually moved from there. For this purpose they use a board attached to the wall in the following way: (Sketch).

On the dining table they usually place flowers in the middle alternately with the dishes of sweets, pickles, and fruits. Today it is no longer customary, at least in Paris, to put big fruit dishes on the middle of the table. They use to put flowers in small glass dishes with water so that they will not wilt. In winter when flowers are very expensive, it is not unusual to see tables with half or completely dry flowers, but over there, where it doesn't cost anything to have them fresh, they would be out of place.

I can tell you many more things about this, but my letter is already very long and it is not fitting.

This is enough for the present then and I shall be glad if this could be of some use to you.

Your brother who embraces you,

RIZAL.

Heidelberg, 7 February 1886.

95. Rizal, Heidelberg, 9 February 1886

Rizal's arrival at Heidelberg — The German student — Student duels and associations — Impressions of Heidelberg.

* * *

Heidelberg, 16 Karlstrasse
9 February, 1886

MY DEAR PARENTS AND BROTHERS,

As I announced to you in my previous letter, I left for Paris on Monday, the 1st of February; and I came to Germany. I stopped one day at Strasbourg. Aviscourt¹ is the last town on the Franco-German frontier and upon crossing this one notes that he is in a new country, for everywhere one sees only uniforms, militarism, throughout Germany the railroad employees being all military men. From France snow accompanied me on the way, that is, from Nancy until Wilwisheim. Until I reached Strasbourg, I couldn't understand well anyone, for although they almost all spoke French and German, nevertheless the German confuse the *v* with the *f*, *b* with *p*, *d* with *t* in such a way that the French spoken by them seems to be disguised German. The geese announced to me that I was nearing Strasbourg, the city of the *foie gras*, a delicacy made of the fat or swollen liver of geese of which much is sold.

Strasbourg is now the capital of Alsace and Lorraine or Elsass and Lothringen, as the Germans say. It is a gloomy city despite its commerce. Everywhere can be seen the vestiges of the bombardment of 1870, here a bullet, over there a cracked wall, farther on a destroyed tower of a fortress, a hole, a helmet enchased in hard granite.

The inhabitants take pleasure in showing the city to travelers. As was to be expected, I visited the famous cathedral and I climbed up its tower 142 meters high, the fourth in

¹ From 1871-1919 part of this frontier town belonged to France and part to Germany.

height, if I'm not mistaken, of the towers in Europe. I climbed up 500 steps until the platform from which can be seen almost the whole Rhine valley, the Black Forest, the Vosges, *etc.* This tower suffered no less during the bombardment, but it has been repaired. There is a very notable thing inside the cathedral and it is the most complicated mechanism of a clock which is built to run for a long time, being self-winding. It is the second reconstruction of a clock of the 13th century.² In a corner of the square there is an old wooden house said to be Gutenberg's. Strasbourg as well as the other towns I have seen are full of soldiers. I observed that many people greet me on the way and at every moment I was obliged to lift up my hat.

From Strasbourg I came directly to Heidelberg, and although I passed near the famous Baden, I didn't stop, for considering the state of my purse, it was not prudent to make so many stops. Moreover, Baden is for pleasure, specially in summer. Beside my 2nd class compartment was a 1st class one occupied by a Russian prince and princess. Every time they went down the train coach they were rendered military honors. Germany is a country of great order and subordination.

I arrived at Heidelberg on Wednesday, at half past two in the afternoon. The town seemed to me gay; on the streets are seen only students with red, yellow, white, blue caps of leather, *etc.* They say that the students belonging to different corporations fight one another for fun. When they fight, they have all the parts of the body covered except the face and the eyes are protected with goggles of steel mesh so that the head and the cheeks are the most exposed. They use a very sharp saber with which they fight by raising the arm over the head. The German student has fine presence, tall, and is very robust. On the night of my arrival, wishing to obtain information about a good professor of ophthalmology, I inquired about the beerhall where students foregather, and I was directed to the Gulden Bierbraucerie. There in fact I found some eight or nine, with yellow caps, of the corporation Schwabe (Swabia). I introduced myself and in my se-

² This is a large astronomical clock. An angel strikes a bell for the quarter hours; a genius reverse his hour-glass every hour; a symbolic deity step out of his niche each day—Apollo on Sunday, Diana on Monday and so on; each day at noon the Twelve Apostles march around the figure of the Saviour, while in the morning a cock on the highest pinnacle stretches his neck, flaps his wings, and crows.

mi-German I asked them. Instantly they stirred, asked one another, and gave me all the necessary information. They invited me to sit with them and drink beer. Because of my lack of practice in speaking German and not being accustomed to bear it, conversation was difficult; and because they hardly spoke French, we resorted to Latin and we used this language part of the evening until one who knew French came. The majority of these who were there, eight out of ten, had the left cheek of large scars—there was one who had more than 15 and the one who spoke French with me had, besides eight or ten large scars, his head bandaged, for just a few days ago, he lost a portion of his scalp . . . The German student is kind, courteous, modest, and is not boastful. When he greets, he lifts up his cap entirely, throwing it forward. That night they didn't let me pay at all for my beer for being a stranger and recently arrived, but next time I shall have to pay in accordance with the custom of each one paying for his own. When they drink, they have the custom of toasting the health of everyone saying, "Prosit!" or "Prost!" and holding forth the glass toward the person to whose health they are drinking. They invited me to join their society, but upon knowing that I couldn't remain among them for a long time, they said it was useless, for it would be of no benefit to me. At least six months were necessary for probation and another six months to be admitted into it. These young men take a singular pleasure in making themselves look ugly, for there are among them some who really possess masculine beauty on one hand and on the other patched up skin. There was one who had already fought 54 times. Not all the students are members of these corporations.

Now I'm living in a boarding house. The cost of living is not as cheap as I expected, for room, food, service, and light cost me something like 28 pesos a month. Undoubtedly it is very much cheaper than in Paris, but it is not as I supposed, so that the money that I thought would last until the end of April will only suffice until the beginning of this month. It is very cold; there's so much snowfall that it is necessary to keep the fire burning continuously lest one freeze. I live in a pretty good house; its owner is called Nebel; my neighbor is a young Englishman who came to study German and we speak in our semi-German and when we couldn't understand each other we speak English. At mealtime German is spoken. Little by little I'm getting to understand it. As I intend to

change house to see if I can find a cheaper one, it would be desirable that you address me thus:

Germany

HERRN JOSEPH RIZAL
General Delivery
Heidelberg

Or better you write me at Paris. 65 Boulevard Arago, Luna's atelier, for I don't know how long I'm staying here.

As I have already told you, it would be better if you write me every fifteen days via the French mailboat, because it makes the trip faster. The drafts through the Chartered Bank, etc.

Heidelberg is in a valley between two mountains; on one side flows the Neckar across which are two stone bridges. Yesterday and before yesterday, many persons were skating on the frozen portion near the river. The mountains are covered with snow and in the afternoons could be seen many people strolling among the ruins of the celebrated castle that can be seen from my window. There is only one theater; there are four or five Catholic and Protestant churches and they say that one of them is used one half by Catholics and the other by the Protestants. German food is not disagreeable, only it is full of potatoes; For everything, potatoes, day and night. At night they serve tea with potatoes and cold meat. The majority of the women have studied French and they have a smattering of it. In general they are tall, big, not very blond though fairly so. They are very amiable and very sincere.

German lads are even less curious than the French. In Paris, for example, I still saw some lads looking at me curiously on account of my type, but here they pass me by without stopping. Sometimes I take hold of their head and turn it a little; they submit and then walk away without saying a word.

The waitress at the beerhall where I go is called Mina. She writes her language very well in accordance with orthography. We always talk to each other through writing for as my ears are not yet accustomed to the accentuation, I need to see the words written down. She writes her language in two ways, as she says: *Lateinische* and *Doutsche*; that is, in Latin and German characters. For example, *Inseln Philippinen*.

—Infeln Pfilippinen. The German characters are the ones generally used.

I end this letter now and until the next mail.

Your son and brother who loves you sincerely,

RIZAL

My friend Valentin Ventura whom I owe many favors is going there. He lives on Dulumbayan Street. If you go to Manila, I would appreciate very much if you would call on him. It is better that you continue writing me in Paris, 65 Boulevard Arago, for, as I'm staying a short time here at Reidelberg, the letters may get lost.

96. Rizal, Heidelberg, 26 (?) February 1886

Rizal attending Dr. Otto Becker's Augen Klinik — Illumination
of the Castle — A tour of the Castle — Rizal
continues to study German.

* * *

16 Karlstrasse, Heidelberg
(?) February 1886

MY DEAR PARENTS AND BROTHERS,

I hope that you have received my previous letter and you are enjoying good health, which is ever my constant desire.

For some 13 days now I've been attending the clinic for eye diseases (Augen Klinik) in this city under the direction of another famous oculist called Otto Becker. He is not as famous nor is he such a great surgeon as Dr. de Wecker of Paris; but in Germany he enjoys much renown and he has written many books. At the beginning I hardly understood a few words, for German is very difficult to follow on account of its unusual construction, but now I'm beginning to understand the words and I expect to be able to speak it fairly well within six months. Here we don't perform so many operations as in Paris: The 24,000 inhabitants of this city cannot give so many patients, even if there is only one clinic. Paris, they say, has 2,000,000 inhabitants, but the truth is it has also very many oculists. When I shall know enough of the great advancement of German science and I shall be able to speak German somewhat perfectly, I intend to go to London or return to Paris which is the intellectual city par excellence, where . . . continually boils, and study a little with my first professor who had advised me to go back to him and I had promised him that I would do so.

Recently on the occasion of the arrival of a German poet, very much beloved in this city, they illuminated the castle with fireworks. Don't think that it is like the fireworks there

on feast days. Here they discharge some 15 or 16 rockets, Bengal lights, and no firecrackers; and with red light burning inside the ruins in such a way that only the glow is seen and not the flames, the walls, big towers, corridors, and all that remained of the ruined castle are revealed now by silhouettes, now by direct illumination. It is beautiful to see in the midst of the darkness those grandiose ruins all red and black with neither flames nor lighters visible, and all were simultaneously illuminated . . . (illegible) . . . I say that almost always for there are also others: . . . the students with lighted torches went around the streets on the occasion of the anniversary of the Elector. I don't know exactly what it was about for I was not able to understand well the long explanation the maid has just given me this morning.

Last Sunday I visited the interior of the castle, that is, the part . . . (illegible). An old woman, tall, erect, serious, and with a sad voice, was my guide. She seems to be the shadow of the ruins or some witch who dwells in these somber and deserted places. All the walls are dismantled, the statues are mutilated, the arches cracked; ivy grows everywhere. The old woman recited in a sad and grave voice, pointing out the various places: "This is the hall of the pages, here they played games; there the waiting room; further on is the library, adjoining it is the study room with its big chimney full of drawings. The audience hall, the hall of justice, the big dining room, the hall of the English in which was held the wedding of some princes of Great Britain. The kitchen where they roasted a whole ox with the immense hearth under the high and monumental chimney used for it still preserved. The jail, the octagonal tower, etc., etc." Sometimes one goes through dark, narrow, low corridors, going up and down little stairways one reaches a large hall whose roof is supported by massive arches: now and then a dormer window lets in some light to expose the dismal and ruinous state of the old palace of the Counts of the Palatinate some of whom became emperors. At times a small door opens on one side of the corridor into a dark and humid room—it is the jail; sometimes it is the room of the warden maybe; sometimes it is a little spiral stairway that gets lost above among the ruins and below in the shadows of the underground. There are two huge casks for wine in this castle—the larger one is thirteen paces long by eleven in width and holds, according to what they say, 230,000 bottles of wine, which seems to me probable for on top of it

even five pairs can dance very easily. In the museum of curiosities of the castle are the pictures of all those who belonged to the noble house: Women and men and even some who do not, like those of the most illustrious citizens who lived or were born in Heidelberg as Voss,¹ Melanchton.² There I saw pictures of Luther and his wife Catarina de Boka and the ring that was used in their wedding, which has this shape more or less (Drawing) The death-mask of Kotzebue showing his wound and that of his assassin, the student Sand, who was beheaded at Mannheim. His hair and blood are preserved. I saw also a letter of Marshal Ney, a passport signed by Louis XVI in the last sad days of his reign and many more autographs more or less complete, more or less important. Among the pictures there is a pair that ought to be mentioned — they are two pictures of a noblewoman belonging to a noble family that represents her youth and old age. Her picture when she was young shows her to be a serene beauty, winsome, ingenuous, and tender; that of her old age, is of a witch that reminded me of the grotesque description of an old woman in the story of two friends, one of the *awits*³ of Tuason of Pasig.⁴ There also are the old images only before which perhaps the proud and cruel elector took off his hat and knelt, maybe after ordering the death of some unfortunate man. Today nobody takes off his hat before them, and the humblest man, the son perhaps of a slave of the late lord, passes by, examines them curiously, and partly continues on his way.

Tomorrow I am going to change my residence and move to No. 12, Ludwigsplatz, near the university. The room alone with service, light, and heating costs me eight pesos a month or 32 marks, each mark is worth 2 *reales fuertes*. If we were in the midst of winter it would cost me more for I would have to spend for the heating. I shall eat at the restaurant during the day and at night take supper in my room in German style, that is, a cup of tea, bread, and butter. I believe that in the midst of winter, it would cost me more for I would have

¹ Johann Heinrich Voss (1751-1826), German poet and translator of the *Iliad*, *Odyssey*, etc.

² Philip Schwartzert Melanchton (1497-1560), German theologian, professor, and religious reformer.

³ *Awits* are stories in verse. *Awit* also means song. It's a Tagalog term.

⁴ Rizal refers to José Tuason, teacher, poet, and playwright, who lived at Navotas, now in Rizal Province. A native of Balanga, Bataan, he was the author of the popular song *Ang magtanim ay hindi biro*, of the poems *Ang Matandang Sariwa*. *Awit ng Manananim*, a play entitled *Mga Siphayo ng Pag-ibig*, and others.

lodging until the end of April when I expect to receive my monthly allowance.

I spend half of the day in the study of German and the other half in the diseases of the eye. Twice a week I go to the bierbraurei, or beerhall, to speak German with my student friends.

Three times I have gone to see their duels at Hirschgasse and I have witnessed from 20 to 25 of them; each time 7, 8, or 9 fight and several times the duels were bloody. One that I saw received as many as six wounds during the duel; sometimes they are not wounded. They fight only among themselves, corporation against corporation, many times without any motive, for those who choose the adversaries are the sponsors; it is just to test bravery, according to them. There are five Corps Students here and they are Vandalia, Guestfalia, Saxoborussia, Renania, and Swabia and their respective caps are red, green, white, blue, and yellow. Don't think that I belong to any of these corporations; I would need to stay at least one year, for they require six months trial. The Swabians are my friends.

It has been very cold here and everywhere I see only ice forming capricious figures, stalactites, of crystal, rocks, on which the rays of the sun play, producing most beautiful colors.

I wish you to keep well and healthy and that we may see each other soon, which will be absolutely next year. Regards to all who will remember me.

Your son and brothers,

RIZAL.

97. Narcisa Rizal, Calamba, 27 February 1886

Family affairs — "I should like you
to become a master oculist".

* * *

Calamba, 27 February 1886

MR. JOSÉ RIZAL
Paris

MY DEAR BROTHER,

My laziness in writing you started when my letter to you and that of our beloved Mother were lost, but never have I lacked the will nor have I forgotten you. No, my brother, not everything you say in your letter is true. You know well how your sisters and also our brothers are. What I'm sorry about is the loss of that letter that our Mother sent you, written with her own hand, giving you some salutary advice, for you know the concern and duty of a good mother, who is solicitous about the eternal happiness of her children, and imagine the trouble she took to finish that letter with her eyesight as it is. The news that I can give you is that the health of our parents is better these days. In the past months our Mother suffered from stomach pain. We too, your nephews and nieces and their parents, are well; in short, the whole family.

I suppose you don't know yet that I'm now the mother of six children. In this letter you will see the names of the three older ones written by themselves, and of the last ones, the older was Isabel, the deceased one, and the two, one girl and one boy, are called Consolación and Leoncio López, who is as fat as a melon. The children of Sra. Neneng are three: They are called Alfredo, Adela, and Abelardo. Olimpia's shortly will be three, like Sra. Neneng's. The two who are not here are called Aristeo and Cesario; the older one called Aristeo, what a lively boy he is! His godfather is Sr. Pacia-

no. He will be a useful boy when he gets older. At the age of two, he already knows a great deal. He is the only consolation of our parents, I tell you, because when you see this child, even if you are angry, you will be obliged to laugh, so funny is he.

The delay of this letter is due to an eye ailment that we call *singao*¹ from which I was suffering when I received your letter. If you meet María Lecaroz, greet her in my behalf and give her a thousand regards from me, in case she still remembers me.

May you fare well and I wish you to be a master oculist or second to your Professor Wecker.

Your sister who esteems you,

NARCISA RIZAL

EMILIO LÓPEZ

ANGELICA LÓPEZ

ANTONINO LÓPEZ

I expect this letter to have many mistakes and perhaps you will say that I'm having a hard time with Spanish. But I'm following your example and the saying that "he who does not take a risk will not reach Spain". Dandoy is sending you regards and is asking if one can buy an electric pin there. According to Zamora, physician, he bought his there. Let us know.

The Same

¹*Singao* is a Tagalog term meaning inflammation.

98. Rizal, Germany, 11 March 1886

Impression of German women — Advice to his sister — Read and read attentively — Knowledge should be the principal adornment of women.

* * *

Germany, Thursday, 11 March 1886

MISS TRINIDAD RIZAL

MY DEAR SISTER TRINING,

Since I left our country, I have received only four or five lines written by your hand, one or two insignificant news about you and nothing more. I don't know how you are and I cannot imagine your person. When I left you, you were very small. Now within two months you are going to be 18 years and in four years I suppose that you have grown up and you are becoming a young lady. At your age, German women seem to be 20 or 24 years, as much for their faces as for their ways. The German woman is serious, studious, and diligent, and as their clothes do not have plenty of color, and generally they have only three or four, they do not pay much attention to their clothes nor to jewels. They dress their hair simply, which is thin, but beautiful in their childhood. They go everywhere walking so nimbly or faster than men, carrying their books, their baskets, without minding anyone and only their own business. As I said to Pangoy, they are home-loving and they study cooking with as much diligence as they do music and drawing.

If our sister María had been educated in Germany, she would have been notable, because German women are active and somewhat masculine. They are not afraid of men. They are more concerned with the substance than with appearances. Until now I have not heard women quarreling, which in Madrid is the daily bread.

It is a pity that there in our country the principal adornment of all women almost always consists of clothes and finery rather than of knowledge. In our provinces, women still preserve a virtue that compensates for their little instruction — the virtue of industry and tenderness. In no woman in Europe have I found the latter virtue in such a high degree as among the women there. If these qualities that nature gives to the women there were exalted by intellectual qualities, as it happens in Europe, the Filipino family has nothing to envy the European. For this reason, now that you are still young and you have time to learn, it is necessary that you study by reading and reading attentively. It is a pity that you allow yourself to be dominated by laziness when it takes so little effort to shake it off. It is enough to form only the habit of study and later everything goes by itself.

I hope to receive a letter from you to see whether you are progressing or not; if you can, write me in Spanish.

Your brother,

RIZAL

99. Rizal, Heidelberg, 11 March 1886

Winter in Heidelberg — Continues studying ophthalmology and German — The *Fackelzug* — Carnival — he practices at the hospital, but he would like to return to Paris, to Dr. Wecker's clinic.

* * *

12 Ludwigsplatz, Heidelberg,
11 March 1886

MY DEAR PARENTS AND BROTHERS,

As I announced to you in my previous letter, I'm now in this new house, in front of the University itself, and in which I intend to remain all the time I have to be in this city, until I can go to Berlin, which will be within a few months.

During last week and half of this it had been very cold and snow fell during that time in the mountain as well as in the city. The wind blows with great force, beats the tree branches, and makes the snow whirl, lashing and reddening the face. Despite the fact that I'm not sanguine, my cheeks are red and at that I'm not very stout. Despite the cold, the wind, and the snow, I continue going to the hospital and studying ophthalmology and German every day. I'm progressing fairly in German, for now I can make myself understood by every one, only that I don't understand everybody, for many here speak very fast or speak a *patois* or dialect which is not the classic German, or high German that I study.

Although snow makes many suffer on account of the cold it causes, on the other hand it entertains children and the youth. The children make snowballs with which they attack one another. The young people ride in sledges or they slide from a height on a mountain path down to the valley below.

It is worth describing to you the *Fackelzug* or the torch festival which I mentioned to you in my previous letter. On the occasion of the election of the Rector, the students, num-

bering from 650 to 700, hold this celebration. All are dressed in the uniform of their corporations, usually preceded by two bearing duel swords. Each corporation selects its finest young men and these lead the march. Ahead go the Rector and the highest official in a carriage and behind them march the students with bands of music. All carry lighted torches and walk at a light gait. The effect is beautiful and wonderful. After going through the streets of Heidelberg, they all gather at this square and form a square leaving a big space in the middle. At a given signal all throw their torches up in the air—seven hundred torches fluttering in space. Those that fall are picked up and thrown up again, while all sing in chorus *Gaudeamus igitur* to the beat of the music and the clashing of the swords. Here it is the student who prevails; without students Heidelberg is a dead city. On Saturday there will be another *Fackelzug* as a farewell, for March and April are vacation months.

Carnival passed away with more gaiety, though with very much less pomp and animation than in Madrid. Very few masks, 20 or 30 floats only, but as the German is serious during the whole year, on Shrove Tuesday he makes up and enjoys himself. The street where they stroll is moreover narrow, so that all the merry-making is concentrated and the people enliven with their presence what luxury and movement do in other places. In spite of the cold and the wind that makes the ears crack, there were some little jokes, throwing of peas from carriage to carriage, and . . .

The German language is becoming clearer to me. It no longer seems to me so obscure and difficult as at the beginning. I hope that within five months I'll speak it like Spanish. I'm afraid that I may forget the latter language, for until the present, since I arrived in Germany, I haven't found anyone who knows Spanish. On the other hand, I spoke Tagalog once with a German who stayed a long time at Singapore and who spoke Malay. Although we couldn't understand each other very well, nevertheless I encountered many words similar to Tagalog.

Now I lead an entirely different life from what I had lately. I eat outside. The house with service costs me 28 marks—this is 7 pesos, each mark being worth 2 *reales fuertes*. Breakfast served at the house costs me 40 pfennigs; I lunch at the restaurant; for 2 *reales* 18 *cuartos* they give me soup, three dishes, dessert, and wine, besides potatoes, salad, cabbage and other vegetables, for it must be noted that German cooking is

all full of vegetables and many things mixed together. At night I buy two small rolls which cost three *cuartos*, cheese, fruits, and a piece of sausage or butter. All in all, the heating, light, laundry, room, and food cost me some 30 pesos a month or a little less. Add to these expenses the cleaning . . . etc. so that for 40 pesos one can live well in Germany, if one doesn't have to buy clothes and to travel from time to time.

At the hospital I practice and examine patients who come every day. The professor corrects our mistakes in diagnosis; I help in the treatment and although I don't see so many operations as I did at Paris, here I study more the practical side. If I receive sufficient money in April or May, I intend to enroll in a regular course in ophthalmology either in Leipzig, Halle, or Berlin. God willing, I don't intend to remain in Germany longer than until November at most in order to go afterward to England in December and remain there during the spring of 1887 and go again to Paris to observe the operations of Dr. de Wecker who, as a surgeon, it seems to me, is very superior to anyone I have been until the present. From there I can return to the Philippines and manage very suitably a clinic for eye diseases.

Until now I haven't received a letter from you since the last that I received from my brother at the beginning of January. You may continue sending me your letters to Paris and send them through the French mail boat which departs from there every fortnight.

A German promised me one of these days . . .

100. Rizal, Heidelberg, 20 March 1886

Spring at Heidelberg--Rapid progress in the study of German.

* * *

12 Ludwigsplatz, Heidelberg
20 March 1886

MY DEAR PARENTS AND BROTHERS,

Winter is over and this is now spring. Here the changes of the season are greatly appreciated for a great contrast is noted in the change. After the cold of a severe winter, after so much ice and so much snow and so much fog, in two or three days, the sky turns blue, the air becomes moderately warm, snow and ice melt. Men lay aside their wraps and overcoats and the women put on lighter dresses of various colors. The change of seasons is more notable in Germany than in Madrid. Now my windows are open; I hear and see the children playing noisily in the square whose trees are beginning to sprout again. This is so beautiful that one feels like singing.

Everybody tells me that I have made very rapid and surprising progress in the German language. Now I already speak it and the Germans understand me; that is, high German or *hochdeutsch*, for I don't speak or study the dialect spoken in this city or the *Heidelberger Deutsch*, being a dialect and neither a scientific nor literary language. I hope that before the end of the eight months I have fixed, I shall be able to leave Germany and go to England, or wherever you think convenient.

I still have money to live on for 27 days and to pay the house rent. If by chance I don't receive money until May, Luna has spontaneously offered to send me money any time I may need it as he has some, for being a good painter, half the year he is poor and the other half he seems like a millionaire.

Fragment to a Rizal letter.

Were it not for the fact that I have to order underwear—what I have was the one I brought from Manila mended and re-mended—my allowance could be further reduced, but now it is not possible for me, for, although food here is not expensive, the . . .

101. Paciano Rizal, Calamba, 23 May 1886

He sends him money — Paciano is planning to abandon Pansol.
— Asks Rizal to send him a remedy for malaria.

* * *

Calamba, 23 May 1886

DEAR BROTHER,

Enclosed you will receive a draft for ₱188 against the Hong Kong Bank, in accordance to what you told me in your preceding letter. It turns out more costly than in another bank, for here the discount does not exceed 2 1/2% while in that bank it is six.

I finished the milling on the 18th of this month and in spite of the low price of sugar, I'm very much satisfied for having finished this work, because at last I can rest at home after having spent five months away from it. It is true that this rest will not be for more than a couple of months, after which I shall have to attend to the preparations for the coming harvest, but after all, it is two months of relaxation from work. Our harvest was more than ordinary.

This year, if things turn out well for me, I shall try to have my own land, giving Pansol either to Silvestre or to anybody else or return it to the Estate, because it is not possible for a farmer to support himself in these lands which are over loaded with rent, considering the bad price of sugar. The land where I'm planning to go has the worst sanitary conditions — it is malarial — but it does not matter, we are all mortals. The only thing that I would regret is if I should be caught by this disease at the beginning of my work, because then they would say the lands of the Estate are very much better than one's own by any means, a saying, as you will understand, which is highly prejudicial. If you know of an effective remedy against this disease, it would not be superfluous for you to send it to me.

The whole family is in good health, except for one thing or other that I refrain from telling you to save you one more displeasure.

PACIANO

102. Rizal, Wilhelmsfeld, 9 June 1886

Rizal has received neither money nor letters from home —
Would like to go home and help the family — In
Europe postal employees are honest.

* * *

Wilhelmsfeld,¹ 9 June 1886

MY DEAR PARENTS AND BROTHERS,

Since the beginning of January until now, I haven't received either a letter or a draft, though according to my calculation I ought to receive money a month ago, for what I have would barely last until the beginning of May. The next mail doesn't arrive until after two weeks, and as I haven't received your advice to give up, I continue hoping . . . In Germany I have neither a countryman nor a true friend to turn to. Luna has been lending me the whole past month, but my friend is poor and besides has his brother at Paris and has to support two. I expected to receive through the latter, who arrived two weeks ago, the watch my brother promised me, but undoubtedly you didn't know he was leaving.

I repeat once more, lest you may have forgotten it, the convenience and necessity of writing me in advance when you cannot send me the promised amount. Thus, I shall be at ease knowing by what to abide and I don't contract obligations which later will cause me displeasures that are not easy to imagine.

If you don't have much to tell me, a postal card with four or five words would suffice, which is very convenient and costs one half. With an expenditure of four *cuartos*, you save me many displeasures. This is always easy to do.

It is my serious and ardent desire to go home, for it seems to me that I cause too much expense and I wish to help the family in whatever way I can. I'm tired of Europe and I'm

¹ Rizal has gone to live in the house of Pastor Ullmer to perfect his knowledge of German. Wilhelmsfeld is a small town near Heidelberg.

afraid to ruin the family, for they say that business is very bad. I wish to go home as soon as possible in order to be with you.

When you send me a draft, send me through the following mail the 2nd copy, and the 3rd copy through the one after that, in order that in case it is lost, the amount can be collected. I fear that that is what might have happened this time, for I can't explain the delay and lack of letters. In Europe postal employees are very honest and diligent, at least in France, Germany, and England. It is seldom that a letter gets lost.

Yours,

RIZAL

Please answer this letter.

103. Silvestre Ubaldo, Calamba, 11 July 1886

Family news — Olimpia received a letter from Rizal.

* * *

Calamba, 11 July 1886

MR. JOSÉ RIZAL,

MY DEAR BROTHER-IN-LAW,

For some months I have not written you even two or three words on account of my duties and manner of living; excuse me then for this silence.

Now I'll explain to you everything. Since 2 October when we left Albay, we have been in this town of Calamba. On 22 April last Olimpia gave birth to a robust boy but he came out dead and could not be baptized. Olimpia until now enjoys good health as well as Aris (Aristeo), César, and I, and all those in the house.

María was married to Daniel, son of Manuel Cruz of Biñan, on 5 June last, and they live in that town.

Olimpia received a letter from you and she has not answered you because she is busy in her store. When I closed this to drop it in the post office, she was taking a bath and she could not write some words in it. Probably she will write you when we receive the reply to this and she will give you some news.

With nothing more, I'll give you news in my next letter.

Your brother-in-law who loves you.

SILVESTRE

104. Paciano Rizal, Calamba, 18 July 1886

Description of the Calamba fiesta — Rizal is
advised to study hydrotherapy.

* * *

Calamba, 18 July 1886

DEAR BROTHER,

With this letter go three that I have written since January. I don't write often or by every mail because I see nothing important to communicate to you on account of the monotonous life that we lead here, or perhaps of my own barrenness, both things that I cannot remedy.

The town fiesta, like everything, passed away with its music, which this year was fairly good. There were some fireworks, half of which was not fired because they became humid. There were two nights of theatrical performances in which Rattia and Fernández¹ took part. The first night, after the second act, the orchestra and the spectators, to protect themselves from the rain, hurriedly went up the platform where some were seated, some standing, some squatting, and many in Turkish style, remaining there until the performance was over. It was a pleasure to see that crowd for its varied assortment: There were friars, with military caps and military men with cowls. In the performance the second night nothing happened except that it was finished at 5:00 o'clock in the morning. The procession of the first day got wet when it was half-way, having to return immediately to church. I liked very much the Mass because the theatrical company sang with a well-tuned orchestra. My conscience that day told me that I attended a profane rather than a religious function. The sermon depicted to us the delights of paradise and the horrible torments of hell and judging by the silence of the audience, I deduced that the

¹ Nemesio Rattia and Praxedes (Teyeng) Fernandez, were both celebrated Filipino actors.

sermon edified us very much, but I was greatly undeceived when we left the church. In short, there was such an unusual attendance of gamblers that made this, according to some, a second Cavite, if not the first, because they gambled at their pleasure and nobody molested them. And why should they be molested when they gambled with their own money and perhaps pawning their children or even their wives. There was no reason for disturbing them, because if they lost, they hurt only themselves and not a third party. Never were the wife and children considered a third party in relation to the father and husband. On the other hand, everyone looked after his own welfare and I knew of one who, in the opinion of everybody, enjoyed the most during those days because he was the only one capable of getting the most from the fiesta — a man more smart and cunning than either Porta or Cardona. (I don't know exactly with whom to compare him.) I don't covet that kind of entertainment because not everybody has the same character. There you have the description of the town fiesta that, although it is written without orthography, many words, or figures of speech, it has the merit of containing the truth, which to me is the principal thing.

Talking one day with Sevio, son of Capitan Quico, he told me that he was waiting impatiently for you so that you might treat the tumor in his left eye, the result of the lash he administered his horse which in the rebound hit him. The tumor is of the size of a *calumbibit*.² It is so serious that in hot days his right eye can no longer see clearly and it causes him intense headaches. I told him that I did not know the date of your return and he added that I write you proposing that if it is not convenient for you to come to Calamba, whether because of the distance or any other thing, he is ready to meet you at Hong Kong, should it be convenient for you to perform the operation there. In endorsing to you his proposition, I don't mean to convey that I approve it. I know that unfortunately there are still many among our countrymen who, having been obliged to give their fellowmen some money, already think that they have a right to demand from them the impossible. Hence, the poor physician who has not been lucky in his treatment, besides not being paid willingly, becomes the object of a thousand murmurings. Aside from this are the comments by the father on your fear to come to the Philippines to save the family reprimands. I make all these observations

² Calumbibit or Kalumbibit (*Frutex Globulorum Klitsji*.)

for your guidance. Now, if he goes to Paris, as some have advised him, I don't say no. But the lad is not courageous enough to undertake such a trip and he is right because, if in Madrid they made fun of a Tuvino, in Paris . . .

If you have finished translating any work of Schiller and you don't need it, send it to me so that I can have it printed. Last year I amused myself translating *Mary Stuart* but because of the poverty of the language or my inadequate knowledge of Tagalog and Spanish, in two days of assiduous labor, I translated only a page and a half, and badly, I had to give up.

Furnish me with information of the best schools there. We have many nephews the majority of whom are promising. It is a pity that these ones should fall into the hands of teachers who teach unwillingly and do so only for show. It is true that they inculcate in children very sane principles, such as, fear and humility, the first being the beginning of wisdom and the second of apostolic and civic virtue, but it is also true that fear and humility lead to dullness.

When you return to Paris, find out the price of a comb and an electric button and write me about it. The comb is for Sra. Neneng and the button is for me. This is still a novelty here; Zamora is the only one who has worn it for the first time.

Carrillo and Guivelondo insistently ask me to give you their regards.

The whole family is in good health. María married Daniel F. Cruz of Biñan, son of Manuel Cruz and one Revilla, and now they live sometimes in Biñan and sometimes in Sta. Cruz and from time to time they come to the house. Maneng will enroll in the law course this year. And Silvestre is thinking of returning to the telegraph office. You already know that he left the service almost a year ago as it suited him better to open a little store than to go around the Islands; but now, as this store, that is not worth two hundred pesos, must pay a tax of thirty or forty pesos, it is right to give it up. Otherwise, after four years, capital and labor will vanish like smoke.

Your brother,

PACIANO

P. S.

If you have any time left, you ought to study hydrotherapy as a specialty. The variety of our mineral springs in Calamba and Los Baños, could be useful to you. Many bathers instinctively and daily go to Pansol for the treatment of their ailments. Some are cured, others remain in the same condition, but very few or no one become worse. If they knew how to use the waters properly, they might get better results.

105. Paciano Rizal, Calamba, 27 August 1886

He inquires about the cost of printing a work in Leipzig — He wants to sell Rizal's horse for ₱250 — Locust infestation.

* * *

Calamba, 27 August 1886

DEAR BROTHER,

We received your four letters on the 24th of this month after an interruption of nearly two months.

As I'm suffering from acute dysentery, about three weeks ago, I sent to Manila 100 pesos to be sent through the Tuason firm. They got the draft not from Tuason but from Vara, so that I doubt if you can cash it in Frankfurt, though surely in Madrid. This will cost you delay, favor, and postage; but as the draft cannot be returned any more, there is no alternative but to use it. Be satisfied with that amount for the present, because our sugar is still in the warehouse, despite your good news. When it is sold, I'll send you some more money immediately.

They offer ₱220 for the chestnut horse, I ask only ₱250 and I sell it, first, because I don't use it and then it is getting old.

I received the photographs of the married gentlemen — Luna and Resurrección.

I wish to know how much is the cost of printing a work there in Leipzig or anywhere else, so that I can have ready the amount or borrow it, because the situation of our brothers-in-law does not permit them to help you.

In my next letter, I shall write longer, if this sickness leaves me.

Your brother,
PACIANO

Whole towns, like Calamba, Santo Tomás, and Tanawan, are covered with locusts, a plague that destroys all kinds of plants.

106. Mariano Herbosa, Calamba, 29 August 1886

Family news — Onerous system of taxation and rentals — A receipt which is not a receipt — Locusts — Rizal's father will send him money for the doctorate and purchase of medical instruments — Patients waiting for Rizal.

* * *

Calamba, 29 August 1886

MR. JOSÉ RIZAL

DEAREST BROTHER,

We received your very dear letter of 2nd July and we are informed of its content. Don't be surprised at the long interval between our letters, because we are trying to look for good news to give you. Now we realize that we are failing in our duty towards you and so we are going to write you often instead.

We and your three nephews who are here at home are well and in good health, except a little inflammation of Delfina's eye, which is the cause of her absence from school. What a pity she did not become a boy! She is bright and very studious. Her mother is always telling her not to read because her inflammation might worsen, but only she is too hard-headed.

Concha and Patrocinio are not yet studying. If you will stay there a long time before coming home, perhaps, Delfina will be able to write you also.

We admit the mistake of not writing you often; it should be once or twice in two months; from now on we are going to write you often. Marcosa died long before our son. She died of her old illness though she was operated on twice, once by Mr. Juan Burk and again by his nephew.

The tax! With regard to your question on this, the answer is very long, as it is the cause of the prevailing misery here. What I can write you will be only one half of the story and even Dumas, senior, cannot exhaust the subject. Nevertheless, I'll

try to write what I can, though I may not be able to give you a complete story, you may at least know half of it. Here there are many kinds of taxes. What they call irrigated rice-land, even if it has no water, must pay a tax of 50 *cavanes* of palay (unhusked rice) and land with six *cavanes* of seed pay ₱5 in cash. The land they call dry land which is planted to sugar cane, maize, and others pay different rates. Even if the agreed amount is ₱30 for land with six *cavanes* of seed, if they see that the harvest is good, they increase the tax, but they don't decrease it, if the harvest is poor. There is land whose tax is ₱25, ₱20, according to custom.

The most troublesome are the residential lots in the town. There is no fixed rule that is followed, only their whim. Hence, even if it is only one span in size, if a stone wall is added, ₱50 must be paid, the lowest being ₱20. But a *nipa* or cogon house pays only one peso for an area of ten fathoms square.

Another feature of this system is that on the day you accept the conditions, the contract will be written, which cannot be changed for four years, but the tax is increased every year. For this reason, for two years now the payment of tax is confused and little by little the fear of the residents here of the word "vacant" is being dispelled, which our ancestors had feared so much. The result is bargaining, like they do in buying fish. It is advisable to offer a low figure and payment can be postponed, unlike before when people were very much afraid to pay after May. I'm looking for a receipt to send you, but I cannot find any, because we don't get a receipt every time we pay. Any way it is valueless, as it does not state the amount paid; it only says that the tax for that year has been paid, without stating whether it is five centavos, twenty-five centavos, one hundred, or one thousand pesos. The residents here who ask or get the said receipt accept it with closed eyes. The receipt has no signature in the place where the amount paid ought to be, though it bears their name. Until now I cannot comprehend why some are signed and others are not. This is more or less what is happening here in the payment of the land tax and it has been so for many years, since I can remember. Besides this, the taxes on the plants in the fields that are far from the town, like the land in Pansol, are various. The tax on the palay is separate from the tax on maize, mongo, or garlic. There is no limit to this tax, for they fix it themselves. Since July no one buys sugar

and since June locusts are all over the town and they are destroying palay and sugar cane, which is what we regret here. The governor gave ₱50 to pay the catchers of locusts, but when they took them to the townhall they were paid only 25 cents a *cavan* and a half; and it seems that the locusts are not decreasing. According to the guess of the residents here only 300 *cavanes* of locusts have been caught in this town. There still remain a great many. Though the governor has not sent any more money, the people have not stopped catching them.

Father says that he will send you money for the purchase of instruments for eye treatment and also for your doctorate. Perhaps you will receive it when the sugar is sold. It is desirable that you come back here. Eusebio Elepaño, son of Capitán Quico, is one of the many waiting for you, because of his eye, which has a tumor inside. Many physicians in Manila have treated him, but they have not cured him. Formerly he was going to Hong Kong for treatment, but when he heard that you were coming, he did not proceed any more and said that he would ask you to treat him.

We are all very anxious to embrace you. Every day we mention your home-coming. May I advise you to prepare sturdy implements, all the things that you may need here, before you return. You know already the weakness of our house.

Many regards and command us. Delfina, Concha, and Patrocinio kiss your hand.

Your very affectionate servant who kisses your hand.

MARIANO HERBOSA.

107. Lucía Rizal [Calamba, 29 August 1886]

Family news — Longing for his return.

* * *

[Calamba, 29 August 1886]

DEAREST BROTHER,

Though my letters to you are far apart, my affection and good wishes for you never wane. What I like is good works and not beautiful words. We hardly have any news for you. Perhaps María and Daniel have written you. With the exception of this, there is nothing new here. What I can tell you is that every day, every month, our desire for your return increases and we are anxious to see you and embrace you. Perhaps when you return you will find conditions here quite different from there, on account of the poverty and gloom of the times. The wind that blows here hurts the eyes. Because we are accustomed to this kind of life, we don't feel it very much. For our misery our remedy is the Spanish word *paciencia* (patience). If you have a better remedy, don't forget to bring it along

We are all well, thanks to God's mercy. Mother and Father are well. Let us hope that we shall meet again in good health. Sra. Sisa had an abortion this month.

Your sister,

LUCÍA RIZAL

108. Rizal, Leipzig, 12 October 1886

Rizal's Tagalog version of *Wilhelm Tell* — Reform of Tagalog Orthography — Estimated cost of printing *Noli me tângere*.

* * *

40-II Albertstrasse, Leipzig
12 October 1886

MY DEAR BROTHER,

There I'm sending you at last the translation of *Wilhelm Tell* by Schiller which was delayed one week, being unable to finish it sooner on account of my numerous tasks. I'm aware of its many mistakes which I entrust to you and my brothers-in-law to correct. It is almost a literal translation. I'm forgetting Tagalog a little, as I don't speak it with anyone. I wanted to introduce a slight reform into Tagalog orthography in order to make it easier and follow the ancient system of writing of our ancestors. For example, I have completely discarded the *c* which we don't have, because our *camí* and *cayó*, for example, have another sound: It is a *k* with aspiration; for example, *kh*. *Qu* was also useless for neither do we have it nor does the sound of *qu* heard among us. Neither did I ever want to use *y* except at the beginning of a syllable like the old Tagalog *y*. Therefore, you have to correct it in many words where it is at the end. In short, read the note that I put on the last page.

I lacked many words, for example, for the word *Freiheit* or liberty. The Tagalog word *kaligtasan* cannot be used, because this means that formerly he was in some prison, slavery, etc. I found in the translation of *Amor Patrio* the noun *malayà*, *kalayahan* that Marcelo del Pilar uses. In the only Tagalog book I have — *Florante* — I don't find an equivalent noun. The same thing happened to me with the word *Bund*, *liga* in Spanish, *alliance* in French. The word *tipánan* which is translated in *Arca de la alianza* or *fidelis arca*

doesn't suffice, it seems to me. If you find a better word, substitute it. For the word *Vogt* or governor, I used the translation given to Pilate, *hukim*. For the prose I used purposely the very difficult forms of Tagalog verbs that only Tagalogs understand. In short, I hope you and the others would correct it, not entirely and following the Spanish translation that you have there, which, whatever may be said, is not a direct translation from the German but from the French. Had I more time I would have reviewed it again. I shall do it when I will be there and publish translations of French, English, German, Italian, and Spanish classics too.

I received the draft of 366 marks for which I thank you, and if they cash it, I shall leave for Berlin at the end of this month. As you must have observed, here we lose 9% and still we are not sure of cashing it. I should like that henceforth you would always remit to me through Tuason or the English bank. If they don't cash this here and I have to collect it in Madrid, imagine what I shall get, for here with the draft from Madrid to Germany, I shall lose another 9% at the least. Therefore, that Mr. Vaca would collect 18% just to make me spend for stamps, wait a long time, and bother my friends at Madrid. If Mr. Vaca were an honest person, he ought not to have dared accept an amount for remittance and charge so high if he was not sure that his signature would be honored, for his action can be judged very harshly. I believe that it would be better for you to remit it to me always to Paris, because the value of French money is always rising while that of Spanish is going down. A peseta that is worth a franc in the Philippines, in Germany is worth very much less.

With respect to my book, I was mistaken in my estimate. I thought that 1,500 copies would cost me 200 pesos. Now that I have talked with the printers and they have computed it, they ask me about 500 pesos for 1,000 copies for which reason I have desisted from publishing it. However, there is one who asks me about 400 pesos for 1,000 copies of 450 pages, each of 38 lines, like the enclosed. This amount seems to me big and at that in Leipzig printing is the cheapest in all Europe. They ask me 12 pesos for each sheet while at Madrid it costs from 20 to 25 pesos. I don't therefore dare ask you for this amount, for I consider it big for a work that may perchance produce more griefs than joys. For this reason, I shall wait for chance, for the lottery, and see if

I win. As to the rest, payment is in three installments, at the start, the middle, and the end of the printing, which will take five months. It is very painful for me to give up publishing this work on which I have worked day and night for a period of many months and on which I have pinned great hopes. With this I wish to make myself known, for I suppose that it would not pass unnoticed; on the contrary, it will be the object of much discussion. If I can't publish it, if luck doesn't favor me, I leave Germany . . .

109. Rizal, Berlin, 11 November 1886

Rizal visiting schools and churches so that he can bring home the best he can find abroad — Christmas celebration in Europe —
— Comparative education of children and its results.

* * *

Berlin, 11 November 1886
Jaegerstrasse 71-111

MR. MANUEL T. HIDALGO and
MRS. SATURNINA RIZAL DE HIDALGO

BY DEAR BROTHERS:

Although I have already told in my letters to our parents all the news I have, nevertheless this does not excuse me from writing to you. As you already know, I am here in Germany going from city to city, from town to town, visiting all the educational centers, the town schools, the parishes, the churches, and many times after listening to a Catholic sermon, I go to a Protestant church to attend the services there and sometimes to the synagogue of the Jews. Everything that can teach me something interests me, so that I can bring to the Philippines the best that I find here. There are here some beautiful and good customs, like for example those of Christmas, which it gives me pleasure to describe here for it is not found in Spain and you have not read about it in Spanish books. On Christmas eve they bring from the forest a pine tree and this tree is chosen because, beside being erect, it is the only tree which keeps its leaves during winter — I say it badly; not really leaves, but a kind of needle. It is decorated with tinsel, paper, lights, dolls, candy, fruits, dainties, etc., and at night time, it is shown to the children (who should not see the preparation of it), and around this tree the family celebrates Christmas. They say, and I have also read it that in England there is another custom which is for older persons. In certain parts of the house is hung a twig of mistletoe or *gui* in French. When a young man and

woman find themselves under it and he does not kiss her, he must pay a fine or give her a present. For this reason, many young men stroll in the streets carrying a twig of mistletoe. When they see a pretty girl, they approach her and kiss her. When she looks up and sees the mistletoe held over her head by the mischievous young man, she smiles, keeps quiet, and says nothing. This is very English.

The only custom I have seen in Madrid, which perhaps we have adopted, is eat a fish called *besugo* and roast turkey, which shows that the Spaniards do not indulge in poems for children and young people, or as the vulgar expression goes, they do not go around the bush. They attend more to the positive or to the stomach. And "*Carambas!*" they would say; let us amuse ourselves and let children and young people seek their own amusement as best they can. They do seek their own diversion with the result that the children and young people in Spain lack the charming innocence and candour of those of the North, without malice, without great preoccupations. A good young woman can walk alone in the streets until ten o'clock or eleven o'clock at night without being molested. A pretty girl, well educated and rich, can travel safely for leagues and leagues alone with her handbag and luggage. This is because here they know how to give each age its due, unlike in other countries where children are not allowed to be themselves, to make noise or to play. Instead they are made to recite the rosary and novena until the poor youngsters become very sleepy and understand nothing of what is going on. Consequently when they reach the age of reason, they pray just as they have prayed when they were children without understanding what they are saying; they fall asleep or think of nonsense. Nothing can destroy a thing more than the abuse of it, and praying can also be abused.

This is how I have written you, filling four sheets of paper without saying anything, which shows that one can write even when one has no news to tell. Please write me.

Your brother.

RIZAL

110. Silvestre Ubaldo, Manila, 29 November 1886

Allowance and money for the Noli — Don't come home
before receiving Paciano's letter.

* * *

Sta. Cruz, Manila
29 November 1886

MR. JOSÉ RIZAL
ESTEEMED JOSÉ,

I send you enclosed a draft for ₱300 which you can collect from the Berlin Bank, but the firm that issued that draft told me that you can collect it there in Leipzig, as it must have a branch there in that important city. I made it so in order that it will not suffer many discounts for transfer, as I suppose you know that the transfer of money from one point to another causes a diminution in its amount. You will write us if this suits you, or what would be a more economical and easier way to cash, so that I can follow it in the future as well as how to send it to reach you in a short time without bothering Mr. Luna.

Paciano says you must not make any decision concerning your return to the Philippines while you receive no letter from him which will not be very long now. One hundred pesos of the draft is your allowance and the two hundred for the printing of your work and winter suits.

Hidalgo's mother died on the 15th instant. Nanay (Mother) and Trining (Trinidad) were here in Manila on the 7th and we called on your friend Cabangis to thank for him for delivering to the two of us of Hidalgo the two boxes of your books without charging us anything. I believe you ought to do the same by letter. He lives in front of Tondo church.

Nothing more for now. Olimpia and my two boys are here. We are well as those in Calamba.

Your brother-in-law who esteems you,

SILVESTRE UBALDO

111. Rizal, Berlin, 3 December 1886

Rizal tells his mother about his religious beliefs — His concept of God — Job was not a patient man contrary to popular belief — Family customs.

* * *

71 Jaegerstrasse, Berlin
3 December 1886

MRS. TEODORA ALONZO

MY DEAREST MOTHER,

Although I haven't received news about your health for months now, I flatter myself, however, with the belief that you are enjoying the best of health, for otherwise my brothers and brothers-in-law would have already informed me about it. I don't know absolutely how you spend your time there, how you amuse yourselves, and live. I imagine that you play with your grandchildren the whole day which is the best and most wholesome thing to do — to rejoice at everything the good God sends us, at the world, light, air, at all the blessings He bestows upon us. That is the way I imagine it in my humble opinion, that God above also rejoices at seeing his creatures contented and happy with the worldly possessions He has given them, just as my parents ought to be happy when they see their children and grandchildren happy, laughing and leaving all the plates on the table clean, for I don't believe that God is like those haughty misers who give a sumptuous feast, but wouldn't want their guests to eat turkey or ham but only rice and salt, and better still if they fast. This is then my way of thinking, partly philosophical, partly naturalistic, and may God forgive me if I believe thus, for it is my concept of a good father. For this reason, I pity the good Benefictines and Carthusians¹ when I read their histories (stories?) of their penitence.

¹ The Benedictines are of the monastic order that follow the strict rules of St. Benedict. The Carthusians belong to an austere monastic order founded by St. Bruno in 1086 in the mountainous region near Grenoble, France.

In truth, were I God, I would leave them without food or drink, giving them besides . . . rheumatism, and other bothersome ailments so that they might have cause for penitence for every hour of their useless and lachrymose life. They say notwithstanding that they do contract many diseases, but these are due to the filth in which they live rather than being sent by God, for God is not filth nor does He cause diseases if we agree to believe the holy book of the little forbearing Job. Because you must know that Job didn't have much patience. The man, it is true, suffered the death of his children and the loss of his herd but he couldn't bear sickness nor the gossip of his friends and he cursed terribly the day of his conception and birth, which is . . . (illegible) . . . nor when I had the itch nor in those moments when I was rubbed with *ubas de gogo*² which was never agreeable to me, nor when I heard Father Cueto preach two hours on the Most Holy Trinity, the most boresome that one can hit upon in this life. When Father Cueto preaches, he makes the friends of Job very small indeed. Well now, I haven't cursed the day of my conception nor have I ever called Father Cueto "bad man", "devoid of intelligence", nor have I told him . . . (illegible) as he did and mind you I was a child and the least forbearing and the most . . . (illegible) and talkative that Calamba has produced; I don't hush up even the most insignificant thoughts. It is evident that Job was neither a very patient man nor . . . (illegible), as he is believed to be. All those who say "Patience of Job" haven't read Job and if they have read him, they haven't understood the language which they read, etc., etc. After putting things in their proper places — not allow ourselves to be guided by what many repeat — I return to my theme, that of religion in the family, for I know you like religious topics. And as I have no other thing to talk to you about, I shall devote myself to it principally.

I can say that until now the constitution of the Filipino family, of the Tagalog at least, is one of the best, if not the best, I have yet seen in my trips. I believe it would be perfect had it not some defects that I'm not going to state now, because I don't want to write anything that is dark and gloomy that will make us feel sad. You'll remember what I told you in talking about the curate of Wilhelmsfeld, that he didn't invite

² *Gogo* or *gugo* (*Entada scandens*, Benth.) is the Tagalog name of the bark of a tropical vine which, pounded and soaked in water, yields a saponaceous liquid which is used for shampooing. The residue is called *ubas* and is commonly used for scrubbing the body or kitchen utensils, the floor, and the like.

his son to drink with him during their trips but instead he drank alone, although he knew very well that the hapless boy was very thirsty, a thing a Tagalog father would never have done. Well then, what neither a Tagalog lad would have done, a German did. The hapless lad was traveling with his father and mother, and the three, being thirsty, entered a tavern and the father ordered two glasses of beer. "How?" exclaimed the lad and "For mother? Doesn't mother drink beer?"

Now I remember other customs, those of the Scotch. It is said that when the son gets to be twenty-five years old, the father presents him with an account of all that he had spent for him, and he goes into a deal with him, he bargains, and finally they agree on the manner of paying this debt.

112. Paciano Rizal, Calamba, 8 December 1886

Paciano is against Rizal's immediate return -- He advises him to await the verdict on his novel, *Noli me Tángere* -- Rizal's

Tagalog translation of *William Tell* is not very idio-

matic -- The new parish priest leads an

exemplary life -- Abuses of the

civil guard.

* * *

Calamba, Laguna
8 December 1886

In your last letter you said that you would like to come home after your work is printed. I sent you through Silvestre a sum which is perhaps insufficient for your needs. Though I wished to send you more, I would not do it on account of the present scarcity. If I'm in favor of its printing, I'm not in favor of your return at present.

Remember that before you left I wanted you to go to France. You preferred Spain; I didn't oppose your wish and I let you go. Now leave to me to decide your return. It is true our parents are already old. However, I suppose that love reside in the heart and not in the eyes or elsewhere. I understand since the beginning that your life there is hard on account of the smallness and irregularity of your allowance, but do consider that you are only sharing our misery. Nevertheless, I'm not insisting on what I want. I will insist on it if we had the good luck that our sugar were sold at a good price, or if you were earning something there. Because you do not, you are master of yourself. However, it may not be bad if you would wait there for the verdict of others on your book. If it is favorable as you expect, good and you can light a candle, but if it is not, as I expect, not even a regard will be suitable for you. What is the content of this book? If it is the truth, then you are mistaken in your hopes; if it is false

The original letter was badly damaged.

and contains unsuitable praises, I cannot believe it, because it is not in accordance with your nature. If this book only had the influence of the lump of earth of Virgil which pacified Cerberus, as Dante said, I'm going to agree with you. Inasmuch as you don't know that secret and besides we are still alive, I don't count on it as you do. I say that we are still alive because I suppose that that lump of earth became the human body. You can say that fear of God should not be mixed with fear of valuing oneself. One who owns a little valuable thing guards it so that it can be used at the proper time and will not put in just any place where it can be stolen. Franco himself, the doctor, is desirous of speaking to Mother in order to tell her not to let you come home because it would be a great pity and he says that his advice is due to his deep affection for you. Because friends and not friends have reached the same conclusion shows that there must be some truth in it.

At Maquiling there is a threatening storm. It is only waiting for the time. This should not surprise those who know that this is the town of typhoons over which Aeolus¹ presides.

Cabañgis has delivered to us the two boxes of books without accepting absolutely anything for freight; customs dues, and other expenses.

I received the atlas as well as the translation of William Tell by mail. The latter is fairly acceptable, especially since you have not used this dialect for more than four years, but for us who use no other language, it leaves much to be desired. Your version, in my opinion, is not very idiomatic. There are passages that, though they are perfectly translated, are difficult to understand. As to the modification of Tagalog orthography, I don't dare do it. Is the name of one man enough to impose it like the authority of an academy? Will it be accepted by all? I doubt it; but if this change can be introduced it is time to do it, because the Tagalog language still lacks good books. In view of this translation, I have resumed with Capitan Marias the translation of *Mary Stuart*, following a different method: Literal translation when this is understandable and free when literal translation is somewhat confusing, without disregarding the meaning of the text.

¹ In classical mythology the god who has dominion over the winds. Paciano seems to be speaking metaphorically in this paragraph.

You ask me to tell you about the parish priest, *etc.* If I had a good pen, what a beautiful description could I make you of varied themes, but as unfortunately I don't have one, be satisfied with what God has given me. In order not to scandalize you, I shall begin with the parish priest who, as I already told you in one of my letters, is a good priest who lives quietly and alone in his convent. He practices charity towards the needy; he eats what his servants serve him, without any complaint, however poor and meager it may be. Not in favor of house visits, he goes out of the convent only to go to the church and from the church he goes back to the convent. He leads so simple a life that some days past he went to the fields with a sacristan to exercise the cloud of locusts that were devastating our plantations. Many people assured having seen them fly away because of it, but indeed no. The stubborn locusts either did not understand Latin or perhaps they followed a force superior to exorcism, because the fact is they continued destroying in such a way that the greater part of the fields was left without seeds. He shows no enthusiasm for modern progress and science, not because of the same spirit that animates those of his kind, but because he does not like . . . (damaged) Sometimes his patience is exhausted, but this happens only at the communion rail where he delivers sermons to those women who take communion daily who hardly open their mouths and cover themselves well with their veils. As a citizen, he does not meddle in the affairs of the townhall, much less impose his will. He does not court girls, as it is customary; in short, there you have a priest who is one of the rarest exceptions among the clergy. As to Father Domingo, it is another thing. It is true that he does not yet deviate from virtue like the rest. He likes very much to be surrounded by women members of the Dominican society, like fish in water. He promotes gatherings and dinners attended by the profane all for the laudable purpose of gaining heaven through the easiest way. He preaches perpetual virginity, like the one they observed, to his goddaughters of the confession and if any ewe had the misfortune of straying into the woods, the devil take her for he has nothing to do with her. Every night he visits his goddaughters of the confession in order to see them or watch over them. In this man, as I see it, everything is life, movement, and youth, while in the other, age, tranquility, and aloofness.

Since the latest reform, the post of *alcaldes mayores*¹ (provincial chief executives) has been replaced by those of civil governor and a judge of first instance in each province. The one in this province is a gentleman of advanced age. Some say he is upright, others assert that he is not. As for me, I don't know him. I saw him once from our window at the Hacienda building. Whether he demands a monthly subsidy from the *gobernadorcillos* (municipal executives) or he permits gambling (cockfight or cards) in a certain houses for heavy fees is something I don't know. As to the judge, everybody tells me that he is upright, which for me is already something. As judges hardly have time to sign, they administer justice through desk officials: L'Hopital himself would commit grave injustice with such a personnel: Problematic persons who live decently on an insignificant salary.

As to the civil guard, you already know the great services rendered by this institution; little remains for me to tell you about it. Its commander is a bright man; he knows how to live. If he needs meat and other things for his table, he informs Clibano. If he has no honey or *palay*, he sends for them at the neighbors' houses. If he wants chickens and eggs, he gives the guard four reales to buy them in the countrysides with the instruction to bring back two dozen chickens and hundreds of eggs. If he needs something in Manila, he spies on a neighbor who has the bad luck of going there to order through him so many things and bring them *gratis et amore*. He needs lime, stone, tiles, bricks, etc., he finds an abundant supply in this blessed town. In short, if he needs servants to clean his house, he solves his problem easily by sending out every morning a guard to hunt for half a dozen men, whether they hold a personal cedula or not, to do the job. The servant of a neighbor who lives in front of his house was kept in his house a whole day (perhaps without food). Furious, his master requested the *gobernadorcillo* for a testimony of such abuse. Being his debtor, he did not deny it, but he excused himself inventing a pretext. He appealed to the senior lieutenant, but he excused himself with many pretexts. The neighbor by force had to accept peace. Abuses are perpetrated not because tyrants want to, but because the tyrannized ones allow them. (Voltaire.) Just as they gave to Alexander of Russia the appella-

¹ The *alcalde mayor* of a province exercised both executive and judicial functions. The reforms mentioned separated these junctions, hence the civil governor and the judge for each province.

tion of "Blessed", to this gobernadorcillo they give the title "Capitán, the Very Good."² His true name is Luis Francés, though he has nothing of that. The senior lieutenant is Nicolás Llamas, who, though physically big, seems to me a weakling. As can be seen, the law of compensation rules even in exceptional countries.

Your brother,

PACIANO

If we get to sell the sugar, I'm going to send you the amount lacking for printing.

There is great poverty in this town; one third of the people eats only once a day.

² *Capitáng totoong na pacabait* is a Tagalog phrase which may mean "a very accommodating capitán." The Tagalog term *mabait*, or *na pacabait* has a broad meaning; it may be mean "kind, good-natured, accommodating, generous, etc."

113. Rizal, Berlin, 25 December 1886

Rizal celebrates Christmas for being the birthday of a great man who first proclaimed the equality of men — He dreams of his mother often — Rizal sees General Moltke walking unattended in the park — How different from petty colonial officials!

* * *

71 Jaegerstrasse, Berlin
25 December 1886

MY DEAREST MOTHER,

Today, Christmas, I take up the pen to write you a few lines; I want to devote a few hours this morning to a mental conversation with you while I think constantly that probably at this time the little grandchildren are bustling to kiss the hands of the grandparents to receive the expected Christmas gifts. Above my room the boys of the carpenter are running around and enjoying themselves blowing a cornet, which probably was given to them last night, which was children's day.

I celebrated Christmas with a countryman who has come from Barcelona—the physician Mr. Máximo Viola—sharing with him a chicken, beer, etc., etc. You know that since I attained the age of discretion, I have always tried to celebrate this holiday for being the birthday of a great man who was the first to proclaim the equality of men and because this holiday always brings me back many memories of the paternal home. Since I have been in Europe I have celebrated it sometimes in company with countrymen, sometimes alone, and I haven't hesitated to spend for it the little money I have.

For three nights now I have continually dreamed of you and sometimes the dream is repeated in a single night. I should not like to be superstitious, even though the Bible and the Gospels believe in dreams, but I like to believe that you are constantly thinking of me and that makes my brain repro-

duce what is going on in yours, for after all my brain is a part of yours, and it is not surprising, because when I'm asleep here, you are awake there and so on.

For almost about a week nothing but snow falls; I'm wrong, people walking on the street also fall, for snow is slippery when it is treaded upon. My friend Viola and I walk carefully, holding on to each other so that in case one falls, he can grasp the other.

One of these days, while we were walking through the park, we saw behind us a tall military man dressed like a private, without decoration or galloons, but wearing a cap and a raincoat. The military man walked slowly but he made long strides. At a certain distance, I though I recognized with surprise the famous General Moltke, but the fact that he was walking all alone and simply made me doubt, because I'm accustomed to see sergeants and second lieutenants of the civil guard who know how to give themselves importance and put on airs. And in fact it was the great Moltke, the foremost strategists of the century, who has conquered three nations, for a few steps he met some military men who saluted him with great respect. People who knew him turned around to look at him and watch him. Many passed him by without saluting him and Moltke didn't mind it, which makes him to me inferior to our lieutenants of the civil guards and certain mayors and friars who consider it a great crime for the rest not to remove their hats in their presence. But, what are we to do? The poor fellows are right, for after God had denied them intelligence, reason, and common sense, after society had denied them education, instruction, and consideration and we, the Indios, would deny them the salute, what else would be left to these hapless men in this vale of tears but a piece of rope with which to hang themselves? So that I'm very repentant of my past conduct toward Lieutenant Porta and some friars besides and henceforth I propose to salute them in order not to leave them in despair lest God ask me to render an account of the damnation of a Christian soul. For this reason, I want and I wanted to remedy and correct my foolishness as a boy looking for all those I might have offended, but it seems that I'm in bad luck for I haven't heard again from any one of them, not even a single word. Moreover, and to conclude this question of saluting, it is good to distinguish the worthy persons, from the nonentities.

The afternoon is gloomy because snow is falling again. However, the past days were no longer cold. The sleds go around the streets; the Spree, or the river, is beginning to freeze in the places where the water eddies. However, it is expected that this winter will not be as cold as the previous one.

Here in Berlin there are only two Catholic churches, both . . .

114. Paciano Rizal, Calamba, 6 March 1887

Another ₱1,000 for expenses and printing of the book — Until the town fiesta, God and the civil guard willing.

* * *

Calamba, 6 March 1887

DEAR BROTHER,

Enclosed in this letter is a letter addressed to Mr. Luna at Paris with a draft for ₱1,000. I don't send it to you directly for fear that it might be lost, because you yourself tells me that you are thinking of going to Switzerland. I should like to send you more but I cannot do it; because last year's sugar is still unsold. Nonetheless, I believe that if this amount is not enough, it is sufficient for your traveling expenses, doctoral fees, costs of ophthalmology instruments — the most essential — and if something still remains, use it for the printing of the book. Wait for better times to buy the other things that you need, as I abstain from having for the present a bicycle and a German rifle of the kind you describe to me in your letter. It would not be superfluous to have there a friend who can take charge of these orders once you are here.

I stopped sending you your allowance for the months of January and February because, after having sent you ₱300 we received your letter in which you tell us that the printing costs at least from ₱400 to ₱500 from which I deduce that it will not be printed and therefore you will use the money for your personal expenses.

I could write you many things but the milling prevents me from doing so, and then I hope to tell you verbally on the day of the town fiesta, if God and the civil guard will permit it.

115. **María Rizal, Biñang, 15 March 1887**

María tells her brother about her marriage and her husband.

* * *

Biñang, 15 March 1887

MR. JOSÉ RIZAL

MY DEAR BROTHER,

I received your precious letter and I'm informed of its content. With regard to what you say that only through Silvestre and our brother that you learned about my new status rather than through me directly, you should not expect one like me who is working and whose mind is troubled with weighing my new life to write you. Perhaps you are also aware of all the things that a person who accepts a position needs to analyze very well the problems of life, though they are the will of Heaven. In another letter I'm going to relate to you everything about my new status which I cannot do now because the cool breeze of tranquility not yet blown my way.

Concerning your regards to those here, all are glad to know of your good wishes and they also send you theirs. With regard to your desire to know the name of your new brother, he is a very young man from Biñang whose name is Daniel Faustino Cruz.

As to other things that you say in your letter, you really should not apply them to me, inasmuch as all those are not needed by man either in this life or in the next. I mention this because, according to your letter, I don't understand your resentment.

This is all, regards to you, and may we live long. And if you would ask how we are, I tell you that we are well, thank God, though we are not yet in very peaceful condition. Please excuse your new brother-in-law for not writing you because he fell ill.

MARÍA R. MERCADO

116. Mariano Herbosa, Calamba, 27 March 1887

Good family news — Asks Rizal to be his son's baptismal sponsor.

* * *

Calamba, Laguna, 27 March 1887

MR. JOSÉ RIZAL

Don't resent that our letters are far apart. Now you are going to get such happy news that I hardly have enough words to say it.

On the 23rd of this month Lucía gave birth to a very handsome boy, robust and healthy, like his mother. To everyone who asks when he will be baptized, I reply that it will be on your return, or upon the receipt of your acceptance to be the godfather. For this reason, we beg you to answer immediately this letter because I have already talked to the parish priest who told me that your permission is necessary in order that your name may be put in the record as the sponsor. It seems that he is willing to wait for your reply.

Tell us also what will be a good name for him and how to take good care of him so that he will not die soon.

You know we love you.

MARIANO HERBOSA

117. **Lucía Rizal, [Calamba, Laguna, 27 March 1887]**

Announces the birth of her seventh child —
Asks Rizal for rules for child-care.

* * *

[Calamba, Laguna, 27 March 1887]

OUR DEAR BROTHER,

I'm writing you to let you know that I survived happily my seventh childbirth and at present I have no ailment, so is your nephew. Write us how to take good care of him so that he will grow up and you can teach him when you return.

Through God's mercy Father and Mother and all of us here are well and not sick.

Command your sister who loves you.

LUCIA RIZAL

118. Olimpia Rizal, Manila, 31 March 1887

Family news

* * *

Sta. Cruz, Manila, 31 March 1887

MR. JOSÉ RIZAL

MY DEAR BROTHER,

This is my second letter to you and I have not received a single letter from you. Vestre (Silvestre) likewise has written you three times, the last one being addressed to Berlin containing a draft for ₱300, so that he is waiting for your reply. I have no important news to give you, except about our family and our acquaintances. Father and Mother are well, through God's mercy, but their aging cannot be prevented. Mother's sight is weakening; Father is already pounding his betelnut;¹ and we your brothers are all well. Titay, daughter of Lieutenant Teang is already dead. Dandoy, brother of Chopen, married Elang, daughter of Captain Faeng. We are now here in Manila where Vestre is assigned.

With this go your nephew's many kisses, Aris and César. Many regards to you. When shall we meet again?

Your sister,

OLIMPIA RIZAL

¹ Aged-people, on account of lack of teeth, pound the betelnut before chewing it.

119. Manuel T. Hidalgo, [Manila, 1887?]

Rizal's family is persecuted — Rizal's father was evicted from his house —
"Our objective is the welfare of the country..."
He advises Rizal not to come home.

* * *

[Manila, first semester of 1887?]

.....
Concerning Paciano, Antonino, Ubaldo, Dandoy, and Teong, I send you enclosed a copy of all that was written against them that one of the government employees furnished me; there had been no formal accusation at all. They write me from Calapan, capital of Mindoro, where they are deported, that they are in good health. They rent a furnished house for ₱7 a month. They say that it is very sad there. Around it are forests and the sea. For me that is very poetic, but as they are not in the mood to be inspired, I agree with them.

Don't come, we are very much persecuted. With the present ministry and this governor general, God knows where we are going to end. However, we have more than enough courage; all this here does not frighten us, come what may. We are not doing any thing bad. Our objective is the welfare of the country and the government and we trust in God. But you, who are beyond these persecutions here, ought not to expose yourself to them. There, free from these fetters, you can work with freedom of action toward the same end.

One of the Fernández of Siniloan, Lagura, a family. I believe you know, has given ₱10 to be sent to you, an amount included in what Paciano sent you last June.

Buy me there, if you can, and send them to me through a person who is coming home: *Ley de Enjuiciamiento Civil para Filipinas*, *Código Civil para Filipinas*, and the 5 or 6 books of *Compilación Legislativa del Gobierno y Administración Civil de Ultramar* — all official publications and are sold at the conciergerie of the Ministry of the Colonies. Here they are

very dear. In addition, I want to know the prices there of Viada's *Código Penal*, annotated, the work that comprises *Código Penal del 70* and *Códigos o Estudios fundamentales sobre el derecho civil español* by Gutierrez, also *Tratado Completo de Hemeopatía* by the best author of this science. They tell me that the work of Aneman is the best.

The boys live with me. Alfredo and Adela are studying; they read well already; they are very studious and have sufficient aptitude; they write a little. Abelardo, I see, is neither mute nor an idiot, he hears and his manners are the same as those of a normal boy. Perhaps it will take him many years to be able to talk, when some of the nerves for locution are sufficiently developed. They tell me that there have been children who began talking at 7 or 8 years. All of them are in good health and stout, including Neneng who is very stout and has grown more. In the hygiene that we follow, we make much use of the hydropathic method and it agrees with us; it is very suitable for this burning climate. Our parents are also healthy, according to what they write me. Father does not show his age; he is always gay, but firm and energetic in his purposes. On the occasion of the execution of the order for eviction, Attorney Hilagan told him to beg and compromise with the Syndic. He replied that never would he resort to financing and he left and went to Narcisa's house. I don't know why he was ordered to leave the house when the order was eviction from the lot and not from the dwelling; it was a violation of domicile. It will be better for the lawyer there to denounce it.

.....

MANUEL T. HIDALGO

120. Rizal, Rome, 29 June 1887

Rizal announces his return to his father.

* * *

POST CARD

Rome, 29 June 1887

TO MR. FRANCISCO RIZAL
Calamba, Laguna de Bay
Philippines Islands

MY DEAR PARENTS,

I was at Turin, Milan, Venice, and Florence and I have been here since some days ago. I have already visited St. John the Lateran, St. Clement, and the Roman Forum, the Capitol, the Colosseum, the Catacombs, the Palatine, *etc., etc.* Today I'm going to visit the Vatican, taking advantage of the feast of St. Peter and St. Paul.

On 15 July, at the latest, I shall embark for that country, so that we shall see each other between the 15 and 30 August.

Your son who loves you,

RIZAL

121. Concepción Leyba, Manila, 23 September 1887

Sorrow for the death of Olimpia — Choleng (Soledad) is ill.

* * *

Manila, 23 September 1887

MR. JOSÉ RIZAL

MY ESTEEMED JOSÉ,

With sorrow we saw a telegram, seemingly from your mother, which says: "Ipia dead, come with Choleng." As they know that Sra. Anday is very credulous, we took it as a joke believing that some naughty person had taken advantage of her credulity so that Choleng and the one who would go with her would be greatly disappointed. All night long we had been thinking whether to go or not, and unintentionally at about 12:30 I approached Conchita and found her delirious with fever after having gone to bed in very good health.

Choleng went to bed very late and woke up very early, but she could not get up from bed on account of continued dizziness. She made an effort to get up and looked for Sra. Anday to go with her, though neither did she believe the afore-said telegram; but she fell and could not stand up. I was also ready to go but as Conchita still had fever, I decided not to go, because this unhappy child would look for me continually. Being in this difficulty, at about 7:30 in the morning, your father's telegram arrived which removed our doubts, and we realized the truth with sorrow. Choleng remained lying down and because of the pain that afflicted her, neither could she open her eyes nor much less raise her head.

Mother, seeing this very sad spectacle, solved the problem and said: "If you are like that, don't go any more, because she

Concepción Leyba, daughter of Basilia Bauson, Rizal's Lola Ilang, was an aunt of Rizal. Her brother, Colonel José Leyba of the Revolutionary Army, was assassinated by members of a society called "Santa Iglesia" in Northern Luzon in 1901.

is already dead and if you become worse, your family's sorrow would be increased. Now she is lying down crying, as it is very natural, but she is not in a condition to make the trip, though she feels already fairly well. The two little patients were treated by the famous Galicano,¹ our family physician, whom we called immediately and who said they were not seriously ill.

We would have made the trip with pleasure were we not detained by this providential accident. Our determination was great but our strength was very limited and I believe that you will bear this in mind and excuse us this failure.

Choleng requests me to tell you that when she gets well and her head clears, she will write you.

Do me the favor of presenting this letter to your parents, brothers, and brothers-in-law and specially to Silvestre.

We accompany them in their sorrow and we believe that you have enough eloquence to convince them to be resigned.

You must have already received our telegram.

Of what did the poor Olimpia die? And the children, how are they? Unhappy children!

Regards to all from Mother and the whole family particularly from Choleng, kisses to your nephews, and you can command your very affectionate relative who esteems you.

CONCHA

¹ Galicano Apacible, Rizal relative.

122. Soledad Rizal, Manila, 26 September 1887

Regrets Olimpia's death

* * *

Trozo, Manila, 26 September 1887

MR. JOSÉ RIZAL
Calamba, Laguna

DEAR BROTHER,

I received your letter and informed of its content, I see that you are very right.

I don't know how to describe in this letter the sorrow that I felt when I realized the truth in the last telegram. My hands are useless, without strength to hold the pen and make it describe my suffering. I suffer indeed and I believe this is inevitable among brothers who love one another and have always loved one another since the cradle. I'll conclude this in order not to make you suffer what I suffer.

I gave the two copies of the *Noli* to Daniel. They are the only ones brought by your *compadre*, though in my other letter, I told you that he was going to bring many, as he promised, but he did not.

Mr. Tomás del Rosario told me that he could get your diploma next Thursday.

Regards to all and you know your sister esteems you.

SOLEDAD

P. S.

Please tell our sisters to take the trouble of looking for my black blouses and to send them to me if they can. Don't forget also my former requests: Clothes and books.

SOLEDAD

Another: Aunt Concha (Concepción Leyba) says she received your letter and she sends you regards.

I forgot to tell you that I was sick for three days.

Excuse this poor writing because I can't write on unruled paper.

123. Soledad Rizal, Manila, 18 October 1887

Concerning a book and a diploma—Soledad asks
for her mourning clothes.

* * *

Trozo, Manila, 18 October 1887

MR. JOSÉ RIZAL

DEAR BROTHER,

The bearer is Mr. Cenón de Salinas, cousin of Pepay, and carries the book that Tomás brought for you. This gentlemen did not want to accept the cost of the book because he says that he has unsettled accounts with you. Your diploma has not yet arrived; Galicano is trying to get it.

Love to all, kiss the hand of our parents for me.

Your sister,

SOLEDAD

P. S.

Enclosed is the letter for Mother. Please tell also any maid to look for my black *jusi* blouse that is in the wardrobe, because I have no black blouse here. I thank you in advance.

124. Rizal, Tokyo, 1 March 1888

Spanish charge d'affaires invites Rizal to his hotel room —
Tokohama and Manila compared — Japanese men
and women — Impression of Tokyo

* * *

Tokyo, 1 March 1888

MY DEAR PARENTS AND BROTHERS:

Here I am in the capital city of the Japanese Empire, leading again my solitary and vagabond life in Europe. I left Hong Kong on the 22nd of February on the *Oceanic* and arrived at Yokohama on the 28th after having been very seasick during the voyage. Scarcely have I settled myself in the hotel, after two minutes or less, I received a message of the chargé d'affaires of Spain, requesting me to go to his room. I don't know how he learned of my recent arrival. He and the secretary received me affectionately and until now they have behaved toward me in a manner that leaves nothing to be desired.

Yokohama is a city inferior to Manila with regard to its external aspect. A portion of it has been ceded to the Europeans, a portion which I believe they call "concession", according to a traveler. The Japanese, of course, occupy the greater portion of the city in low odd-looking houses, like the little houses or cages of rabbits, very clean, with paper walls, white mats on the floor, lattices, *etc.*, *etc.* They make no noise; loud voices are not heard; they sit quietly in their stores.

The Japanese women are short, stout, fair and their cheeks are red. Their hair is stiffer and thicker than ours, and I have seen few with good denture. There are some who have big eyes. Some of the men are dressed in European style and they resemble greatly those from Biñan.

Yedo or Tokyo is very big; they say that it is bigger than Paris; it has a million inhabitants. Manila is more beautiful, but this is more imposing because of its somber edifices, of its wide streets, and Cyclopean walls.

Within a few days I will embark for San Francisco.

I kiss affectionately the hand of my parents and an embrace for my brothers and brothers-in-law.

José

Send me the copy to London.

125. Rizal aboard *City of Rome*, 24 May 1888

Description of *City of Rome* — Many languages spoken aboard.

* * *

Irish Sea, on board the
City of Rome, 24 May 1888

MY DEAR PARENTS AND BROTHERS,

I begin writing this letter on board with the intention of finishing it on land when I shall already be installed at London.

We left New York on 16 instant on the second largest ship in the world, the largest being the *Great Eastern*, which is not in operation. So that you may have an idea of the size of this monster, I'll tell you that it has three chimneys, consumes three tons of coal daily. It is more than 200 varas long and 18 varas wide, and has 12,000 horse-power for which it has 63 boilers. The promenade deck alone is 140 varas long. A newspaper is published on board once during the voyage for the benefit of the passengers. The officers and crewmen are 276; we the passengers are 604. We have had a bad trip, very rough sea, excessive wind, much seasickness, for which reason we spent eight days and hours on the trip. Tonight we arrive at Liverpool; from there I shall go to London. On board we used to have concerts for which there were a piano and an organ for the Sunday religious services.

I expect letters from you to London.

I sent you before some poems written in Germany.
Please send me a copy as soon as possible.

(The ship's dining room is 24 varas long and 18 varas wide.)

On the ship I made some friends among Americans and Englishmen and many families. One hears almost all languages spoken. There are two travelers who talk only with me: A Japanese and a Spaniard who know only their respective languages. The Spaniard is a young man who went as a boy to Mexico and is returning with hard-earned money; he is a young man . . . (illegible)

126. Rizal, London, 12 June 1888

He didn't find letters from home upon arrival — His trip
from Liverpool to London — He boards with an
English family — Sunday at London
is boresome.

* * *

37 Chalcot Crescent, Primrose Hill, N.W.
London, 12 June 1888

On my arrival here I found some letters of Blumentritt and Llorente but none from you nor from the family. This is quite surprising to me and I cannot guess the reason. I suppose that the mail cannot be blamed for it. Now I write from my new residence whose address I have placed at the head of this letter. If your letters have not been lost you can write me with this address:

J. Rizal, Esq.
37 Chalcot Crescent
Primrose Hill N. W.
London, England.

Continuing this letter I'll tell you that on the same day of the 24th we arrived at Liverpool where I spent the night at the Adelphi Hotel. (Here a plate of turtle soup costs more than a peso). Liverpool is a big and beautiful city and its celebrated port is worthy of its great fame. The entrance is magnificent and the customhouse is quite good.

The following day, the 25th, we left by the Midland Railway for London and the road is very beautiful; the land is cultivated, neat and pretty houses, and big factories. In the afternoon we reached London and we stopped at the Grand Hotel Midland. From there I went to look for my letters, house, etc. At first I lodged at a house on Beresford Road, but afterward I didn't like it and after a week I left it and came here to live with a private family. I'm not badly

off; I've two rooms, one for sleeping, small and quite warm, and another for studying, writing, and receiving callers. The family consists of the husband and wife, four daughters, and two sons. The daughters are called Gertrude (Tottie), Blanche (Sissie), Flory, and Grace; the first two, who are already young women, have sweethearts. Tottie sings very well and Sissie accompanies her. (They are pronounced Toti, Sisi.) One son is employed and the other sings in the church. Board and room cost me 45 pesos a least. In England everything is dearer than in other parts of Europe.

Sundays here are very boresome; every place is closed, there are neither shops nor theaters, and if music is played, it is only religious music. Hardly can one see a poor coach going through the streets. I spend Sunday afternoon at the home of a German doctor who has a collection of books on the Philippines and who is very amiable. There I take tea with the family. This gentleman who is called Doctor Rost paid for a Tagalog grammar by Fr. Ortiz the sum of 40 pesos. I have here the grammar for he loaned it to me.

Through this mail I'm sending Eusebio his eyeglasses. I have to send him English glasses for I've not yet gone to France. Later on I shall send him French glasses.

Here there are very good hunting rifles. If my brothers-in-law want them, let them write to me. Its price is not more than 70 pesos; there are cheaper ones.

Tell me if you have received all that I have sent you: Letters, picture of my sister Olimpia, combs, vaccine, *etc.* *etc.* Write me so that I may not believe that letters get lost.

You can also send me letters in one envelope addressed to the Spanish Consul:

21 Billiter Street E.C.
London.

With nothing more, love to all, may you continue united and in good harmony.

Your son and brother who loves you dearly.

JOSÉ RIZAL

127. Rizal, London, [June, 1888?]

At London again — Engaged in his studies — Awaiting letters from his family — Remembers his relatives.

* * *

Undated (London, 37 Chalcot Crescent,
Primrose Hill, N.W.,
(June, 1888?))

MY DEAR BROTHERS:

Upon arriving in Europe, my first letters were for you there, our parents, and my brothers-in-law. With this letter I shake your hands, the last this time of my greeting from Europe.

Though in the short time I was there, we saw one another only for brief moments and a few times, the affection, however, that I profess you has not lessened.

Here I am in London amidst the European bustle, devoted anew to my studies. If sometimes it occurs to you to write me, you can send your letters, through the Consul, Primrose Hill, N.W., London.

I wish you would remain healthy and happy. (I suppose that by this time Sra. María must have already recovered).

Give my affectionate regards to Ate¹ Felipa, *cuya*² Yñigo, Ate Vita and Danday and the daughters of Ate Pasia. If any other relative remembers me, give him my regards.

Your brother,

JOSÉ RIZAL

¹ Respectful form of address for an older female relative.

² Respectful form of address for an older male relative.

128. Manuel T. Hidalgo, Cebú, 15 October 1888

Banished to Tagbilaran without trial for being a *filibustero*
and Rizal's representative — Denounced by the
Dominican syndicate and his satellites.

* * *

Cebú 15 October 1888

MR. JOSÉ RIZAL
37 Chalcot Crescent, Primrose Hill, N.W.
London

MY DEAR BROTHER,

As I have told you in my previous letter of the 6th instant, I am banished as a preventive measure by decree of the Superior Government to the town of Tagbilaran, capital of the province of Bohol for being a *filibustero*, your representative, and other things that they have piled upon me. These were the object or the cause of that measure according to Mr. Quiroga,¹ director general of civil administration, who was kind enough to inquire of the general² in order to let me know, for as usual the proceedings were done behind my back or of the interested party, without hearing me . . . I suppose and it seems to me . . . that the syndic Father Francisco Gobeas was the one who denounced me to the civil governor of the province who succeeded Ordax, Mr. Eugenio del Saz Orozco, former professor at the University and friend of the Dominicans. The lieutenant of the civil guard of the town Mr. N. or Juan López, also a friend of the friars of the *Hacienda* and my enemy — who once, when we were talking, told me many things against you, that besides he saw that I was the only one who did not greet him, and that I was watching his steps — confirmed the denunciation of Panong (Cipriano Rubio, former lieutenant and acting gober-

¹ Eeignio Quiroga Ballesteros.

² The governor general.

nadorcillo). Capitán Lucas and Capitan Quico said the same thing. The first is resentful of me because when I was *directorcillo* (secretary) of the court there occurred a robbery with murder in which his son Isidro and the son of Periquet, relative or grandson of Capitan Quico, were involved . . . The second was an old enemy of mine in a lawsuit over tenants which he lost. I did not present any petition or complaint nor did I see the general, because all this is futile here. There it may be useful and so I sent you my power of attorney. If it can be fixed there soon, how I would appreciate it! But consider well the method which ought to be used, because the general can commit outrages, which is the normal thing here. If I were in another country, it would not matter to me. I remind you that when the Ministry, through the Senate, asked Vice Governor Moltó, acting governor general of these Islands, if *filibusterismo* existed in province of Bulacan, he replied that not only in Bulacan but nowhere did *filibusterismo* exist. Moreover, the New Penal Code provides for the inviolability of domicile, the Laws of the Indies say that the native . . . on Saturday night, 6th instant, I arrived here by the mail boat. On Tuesday, the 9th, we were made to endure three days of observations and we did not land until Friday the 12th. Tomorrow I shall continue my trip to Tagbilaran, which is six hours by banca. The trip has cost me or will cost me about ₱27 or 30, with one servant. When I left, Paciano and Mariano were convalescing from malaria. If you succeed, advise me by telegraph . . . that he may provide for my needs, as it is to be desired. For me nothing . . . against me all the calamities . . . family. However, heaven willed that I should submit and do all that is humanly possible.

It has been two months since I wrote Mr. Eduardo Lete about the new publication *España en Filipinas* and until now I have not received an answer. From here your brother who loves you embraces you. At another time I shall send you money.

M. T. HIDALGO

This letter as published in the *Epistolario Rizalino*, II, 56-57, has many missing words. The original has been lost.

129. Manuel T. Hidalgo, Bohol, 1 January 1889

In exile for being a *filibustero* — The people of
Bohol are very fanatical.

* * *

Bohol, Tagbilaran
1st January 1889

MY DEAR BROTHER,

From Manila on the 6 October of the year that has just ended I wrote you, telling you among other things that by decree of the Superior Government I am banished to this town for being a *filibustero* and your representative and besides, because I was spreading anti-religious and subversive ideas and I was not afraid, being supported by France and Germany. I enclosed with that letter a power of attorney in your favor so that you may negotiate for my liberty. Towards the middle of that month I sent you a telegram from Hong Kong informing you of my situation through the kindness of Mr. Basa. Passing through Cebu in the last days of the same month, I wrote you again, reproducing the contents of my previous letter. At the beginning of the following November from here I wrote you once more, repeating the contents of the said letter and informing you that I had arrived at this town. I have not received any reply from you to all these letters. I should like to know whether you worked through official channels or privately through letters of recommendation. I must warn you that the general government is free to give or refuse approval to the orders of the chief magistrate and if it wants to hurt one, it withholds the royal order that is favorable to it and after sometimes denies the approval. It would be better for the present to obtain an efficacious recommendation to this government and afterwards follow up the matter. I have been away from home for four months, 300 leagues distant from the family, and our business is paralyzed.

According to letters from Calamba, my sister Mariquita died on 11 November last of the same ailment from which she was suffering.

In this province the people are still very fanatical for lack of education. I shall write you about things here; I am gathering data.

Regards to you and command your brother who loves you sincerely,

MANUEL TIMOTEO HIDALGO

130. Silvestre Ubaldo, Calamba, 12 January 1889

Abuses of the administrator of the Hacienda — Persecution of his sister Lucia — Cheerless town feast — Need for reforms in local government — Need for a book written in Tagalog — *La Española Oriental*, new bilingual periodical — "It is impossible to live in peace so long as there are friars."

* * *

Calamba, Laguna
12 January 1889

RIZAL,

In my previous letter I told you to abstain from minding the case of the *Hacienda*; but now, in view of the plan to harass the town seemingly by plunging it into poverty, I change my opinion and I say that it is necessary to work actively to obtain from the Government guarantees for the security of the home and the means of subsistence and for the rights of property for those who have.

At the present time there are thirteen or sixty tenants sued in the court of the justice of the peace by the administrator of the Hacienda. If they lose the case, they will be expelled, and the warehouse, the sugar-mill, and everything above ground, they say, will be demolished. And as on one hand the judge confesses that he cannot go against the interests of the Dominican Corporation, because he was a servant of the former syndic, and on the other the majority of the tenants have no money to defray the cost of litigation, you can imagine what is going to happen to these unfortunate men. They are suing Lucia at the court of Laguna, the accusation being that she is constructing a new house in another's lot, asking that the work be suspended and the construction demolished. In fact the work has been suspended by a judicial order, summoning the parties concerned to a hearing. The origin of this question was a stone warehouse beside the townhall that she had inherited from her grand-

parents and because of its old age it was in such a bad condition that its roof was falling to pieces. About November or December last, Marianito ordered the roof to be demolished in order to rebuild it over the old walls (this was about January or February), adding new walls along the street side, but within the fence, all of which within sight of the *Hacienda*, which kept silent. Things were in this state when his death came. In view of the materials already bought and the money advanced to the workers, the widow decided to continue the work left by her husband. Seeing that the interrupted work was being resumed, the *Hacienda* sent word to the widow to stop the work, otherwise it would be demolished at her expense. As she did not heed this, the *Hacienda* complained to the judge, resulting in the suspension of the work. Here as you will see the widow, as the trustee of her children, was not erecting a new structure but continuing the work left by her husband. The silence of the *Hacienda* during his lifetime was as good as tacit consent. Besides, if he was a debtor this year and last year, the canon is already paid as they have confiscated his irrigated lands. I am communicating these details to you so that you may have all the data you may need. Here we have little hope in favor of Lucía, who has debts to pay.

In his inspection of the *Hacienda*, the syndic scolded the people, censured the *gobernadorcillo* for not having met him at the next town with the *principalía* and the *cuadrilleros*¹ with flags, for in his capacity as delegate of the General of the Dominican Order, he had the category of a governor, that his title was not signed by the king, like that of others, but by the Pope, that his form of address is *Grandísimo*, that he has gone through seven provinces in which he was received according to his rank, even in the towns of the Igorots, and that Calamba not having received him properly is worse than those. In short, that God does not sleep and he prophesied that in the not distant day there will be a tremendous punishment. To all this philippic, the *gobernadorcillo* replied that he has had not received an order from his chief he did not believe it his duty to act like those of Cabuyao. This reply put him in such bad humor that the following day he went to Sta. Cruz to get from the governor an order to meet him and conduct him with the *principalía* and *cuadrilleros*. Evil tongues say that this order cost him a great deal. The order

¹ Rural police.

was given by telegraph on the same day the syndic was embarking for Calamba, but with such bad luck that when he disembarked he did not see even an ugly constable. As he must have been sorry to have spent and worked to no purpose, he waited on the bank a long time in case some would come; but as he was getting hungry and there was cholera, then, the instinct of preservation prevailed upon him and he took a carriage sighing. The *gobernadorcillo* with some heads of *barangay* went to pay their respects to him at the *Hacienda*. The rake wanted to take revenge. He announced that he was leaving that afternoon and the *principalia* and the *cuadrilleros* went there. He made them wait in the ante-room two long hours at the end of which he announced that he had postponed his departure to the next day, as in fact he did. The syndic who was overjoyed gave a peseta to each *cuadrillero*.

The feast this year was celebrated very cheerlessly. Two music bands, a Chinese show, firecrackers, and the church bells made all the noise that, heard at the same time, was too much for one who wishes to enjoy himself. There were few people, but on the other hand there were much search done by the civil guard and vigilance by the *cuadrilleros*. The first, they say, was looking for gambling, and the latter for the rumors that were circulating that a little boat had unloaded at midnight arms which were deposited at the convent and the same was done in Sta. Rosa. The arms were intended for an infamous purpose, taking advantage of the Calamba feast. At the *Hacienda* there were many callers, the majority 40 religious, and inside they lighted many firecrackers after which they dispersed. These rumors considered singly signify nothing, but collectively and bearing in mind the prophesy of the syndic, these vague rumors acquire a certain reality. They say that those arms are no longer in Los Baños and Sta. Rosa but at the Calamba Hacienda. With regard to the new *gobernadorcillo* of this town, I will quote the order of the governor:

GOBERNADORCILLO OF CALAMBA

On the 1st July at eight o'clock in the morning you will appear here with a committee of *principales* and the *gobernadorcillo*-elect, Mr. M. Belarmino, in order for him to take his oath of office as *gobernadorcillo* to which he has been appointed.

Execute and return.

Santa Cruz, 26 July 89 — Juan Mompeon

GOVERNADORCILLO OF CALAMBA

The General Government in a communication of 22 July has appointed Mr. Eusebio Elefaño *gobernadorcillo* of that town, second place.

Sta. Cruz, 27 July 89 — Juan Mompeon.

As you will understand, in these cases, the later order annuls the former, so that we now have Sebio for *gobernadorcillo* and the syndic congratulates himself on his triumph.

They say that in the elections and the approval of the records of this biennial there had been more artful doings this year than in all previous years put together since the conquest. You should write advocating the abolition of the ternaries and with those will disappear secret accusations, the bribes, and the cruelties of the parties. If unfortunately the electors should elect a bad one, for that case we have the penal code which will not be a dead letter, if it is so desired. Why is not the election of deputies there done by ternary and reports?

The book that is very much needed today in my opinion is one written in Tagalog for the uneducated ones who are still in darkness.

I am sending you a fragment of a document that must have disappeared or may be found in the archives of the Audiencia or archbishopric. It may be of some use to you. The curate of Los Baños advised a person that he can sell it to any one except to our family. This means that on the lands of the *Hacienda*, as well as on one's own, it is impossible to live in peace while there are friars. For that reason it is necessary to work hard if one wants to return and for the good of all.

Do not forget the case of Lucía.

I advise you that the imprisoned *gobernadorcillos* came out on the 13th of this month having been pardoned for the crime of unlawful assembly, without prejudice of being prosecuted for the crimes of injury and falsification. This is all for now and I suppose that you will receive issues of the new bilingual periodical *La España Oriental*. Attack there in the newspapers the case of the gunboat *Filipinas* whose whereabouts is still unknown. Poor taxpayers!

We are all well. The two boys, Aristeo and César, are in Manila and are studying under a private teacher, paying two pesos a month.

I wish you good health and long life and the prompt publication of your work.

LUDOPA (SILVESTRE UBALDO)

131. Manuel T. Hidalgo, Calamba, 28 November 1889

Hidalgo banished again to Tagbilaran — Now the negotiations for his release should be undertaken — The Superior of Calamba is under the command of the friars — The Syndic's threats — Hidalgo is accused of being responsible for the failure of the tenants to pay.

* * *

Calamba, 28 November 1889

MR. JOSÉ RIZAL

DEAR BROTHER-IN-LAW,

I enclose the power of attorney you asked me for and a draft for one hundred pesos. You may be resentful because I have not written you for months, but I shall explain later. I do not know if you have received the letters which I sent you every fifteen days during my banishment, the last one being the one I wrote you as soon as I returned to Manila. I have not received any letter from you except one while I was still in Bohol, if I am not mistaken.

As you will see in the power of attorney, they are banishing me again to the same town of Tagbilaran, Bohol, as the governor of our province notified me in advance, in fulfillment of the decree of the governor general. This decree is based on the ground that having had enough time to gather my sugar crop and settle my business, I should return to that place. Consider the matter carefully before working for my release, because this first magistrate can commit barbarities on our persons when he finds out that we have complained against him. It seems to me better to ask first for his suspension by telegram or through a strong recommendation; in short, I leave it to your good judgment. Besides, you ought to ask for the suspension of my departure or return even without having sent the papers.

The superior here is always at the disposal of the friars. Since September, the lay-brother administrators have been announcing the arrival of the governor general at our town and

the syndicate tells the tenants that the governor is his friend and when he comes, he would strip them and order the seizure of whomever he names. They announced it three or four times, but he did not arrive until the 15th instant, without previous official announcement and it came to be known only through the syndic, Father Gobeas. He was accompanied, among others, by the friars, Father Echevaría, Rector of Santo Tomás University, and a professor of Letran College who carried the general's raincoat when he strolled through the town and when it rained he covered him with it. The rector served as the nurse of the son. At the supper held at the Hacienda, the syndic showed to His Excellency the list of debts of the Calamba tenants from which can be deduced that nothing was being paid, thus the debts were increasing enormously every year. The governor general was scandalized, as if they were debts to the public treasury. The syndic and the lay brothers said that I was the cause of it all and of the restlessness in Calamba. The lieutenant of the civil guard, new in the town, — they have changed the one there at the time of my first banishment — and Curate Añonuevo confirmed it. On the 24th, when I was in Sta. Cruz on business, the governor warned me of what I have said to you about my banishment.

The family is well; Neneng and the three children are in good health. Alfredo and Adela go to Choleng's school. Abelardo does not talk yet.

Our love and command your brother-in-law who esteems you sincerely,

MANUEL TIMOTEO DE HIDALGO.

132. Manuel T. Hidalgo, Manila, 31 December 1889

Attested deposition of Hidalgo's deportation — The governor general, the rector of Santo Tomás, and two Dominicans are awaited at Calamba — The object of the visit is to frighten the tenants so that they would pay — Choleng, teacher — Rizal's letters are intercepted — False information in the administrative proceedings against Hidalgo.

* * *

Manila, 31 December 1889

MR. JOSÉ RIZAL

DEAR BROTHER-IN-LAW,

Enclosed is the attested deposition of my detention, as I informed you by telegram.

The governor general, accompanied by the rector of the university and two Dominicans, went again on the 27th instant to Biñan and he is expected in Calamba. The purpose, it seems, is to frighten the tenants, so that they would pay, for the syndic, Father Francisco Gobeas, who is now in our town, goes around saying that the governor, when he arrives, would order to be lashed and banished whomsoever he names, like what happened to me. When the gobernadorcillo, Mr. Eusebio Elefaño, went to the Hacienda, the syndic told him that he should not ask for leave of absence as he has been doing, substituting for him persons who are *non gratae* to the fathers, otherwise he would order him to be lashed as well as the civil governor of the province Mr. Juan Mompeon who is anti-friar and does not mind the friars.

The family is well. Choleng is now a teacher and has already 25 pupils, more or less. Alfredo and Adela study there. Abelardo can speak only three or four words.

In the previous mail I wrote our friend Mr. Marcelo H. del Pilar telling him about my situation.

Write me who will be my procurator and lawyer in Madrid so that I can communicate with them too.

Tatay and Nanay are healthy, still strong.

Regards to you and command your brother-in-law who esteems you.

MANUEL TIMOTEO DE HIDALGO

P.S.

Do not write us directly, because here they intercept all your letters. Send them to Basa at Hong Kong and he will take care of sending them to us through Mr. Ramos.

THE SAME

In the administrative proceedings filed against me the reports submitted by the provisional *gobernadorcillo*, Mr. Cipriano Rubio, and other *barangay* heads, the curate Father Domingo, and the lieutenant of the civil guard, López, are all false and I shall prove it, so that it is desirable that they be delivered to the courts of justice, and for it to admit my counterproofs to be able to prosecute them for falsification.

THE SAME

133. Manuel T. Hidalgo, Manila, 5 January 1890

You should support Governor Mompeón y Loret of Laguna, because so long as he is in the province, we need not fear anything — Now there is more patriotism; a newspaper that writes against Filipino writers is abandoned by its Filipino subscribers — *Lectura Popular*, under the direction of Mr. Juan Atayde.

* * *

Manila, 5 January 1890

MR. JOSÉ RIZAL

DEAR BROTHER-IN-LAW,

Enclosed I send you the power of attorney which, as a precautionary measure, our brothers-in-law Ubaldo and López have granted.

Paciano also will grant one after the departure of the governor of our province Mr. Juan Mompeón y Loret, because he is so confident that so long as this official is in our province we need fear anything. In fact, several times the friars have warned him that a rebellion would break out with Calamba as its focus and he answered them, as well as the governor general, that in the province under his jurisdiction there is no *filibusterismo* nor will there ever be, giving his head as security. For this reason he must be supported. The friars are discrediting him to the governor general, slandering him in the vilest manner, so that he would be suspended and then dismissed. The governor general has delivered himself body and soul to the friars. Whenever he goes, he is accompanied by two or three of them. No one of us here is safe.

Here we are having more patriotism. The newspaper that attacks Filipino writers, such as Isabelo de los Reyes or those who favor the country like Blumentritt, or speak ill of the country, immediately finds itself without Filipino subscribers.

I am the correspondent of *España Oriental*, bilingual, now *Lectura Popular*, which is under the management of Mr. Juan Atayde. I have succeeded to make many from Batangas and

Laguna subscribe to it; in Calamba there are more than 40 subscribers. The *Revista Católica* has folded up for lack of subscribers. *La Opinión* was sold by its owner to Mr. Atayde also for lack of subscribers as a result of the writings of Retana against the country. Now we can speak with more freedom in favor of the country.

Love. The whole family is well. Our parents are in good health.

Your brother-in-law who esteems you,

MANUEL DE HIDALGO

134. Manuel T. Hidalgo, Manila, 1 April 1890

No letters from Rizal — False news about him from friar sources, among which that he had died of poisoning or he had been bought by the friars.

* * *

Manila, 1st April 1890

MY DEAR BROTHER-IN-LAW:

Until this date, I have not received any letter from you. I have already sent you six letters since the beginning of December and an order for 100 pesos.

Tell me who has used the power of attorney that I sent you and what is the status of the negotiation.

I continue living in this capital. Neneng is the one who goes back and forth to Tanawan and Los Baños, attending to the milling and planting of our sugarcane.

Since January various fatal news about you have been heard here, probably from friar sources: That you had died of poisoning; that you have been made prisoner in Madrid; and that you have been bought for more than one hundred pesos so that you would turn in favor of the friars or indifferent to the fate of our country. These news were received hilariously, knowing their source and falsity.

We are well. Neneng and the children have become stouter. Alfredo and Adela now read well but can hardly write. Abelardo can only say *pap, mam*. Our parents are still strong, according to Neneng's letter. My love, and command your brother-in-law who loves you with all his heart.

MANUEL TIMOTEO DE HIDALGO

135. Concepción Leyba, Manila, 20 April 1890

Very pleasant and sad remembrances — News about relatives and friends — "...your return might be fatal...I believe it would be imprudence on your part to come at this time . . ."

* * *

Manila, 20 April 1890

MY ESTEEMED JOSÉ:

I received your letter of 23rd February. In it you mentioned some very pleasant and at the same time very sad remembrances, for those days were very happy for me, unlike the present.

How sad it is not to have a mother! Especially the mother I have lost. This is the last blow that Destiny can give me, because in reality I have already endured everything endurable.

It is true that she died surrounded by her family and in her own country, but the poor one died weeping, remembering perhaps her sufferings.

You want to know what plans I have for the future. What plans do you wish me to have? To weep continually for this sad life, take care and look after my unfortunate children, stay at our poor home, working and saving something for our future. I have no more aspirations except to see them happy.

I give special attention to Pepito's education and I hope he will be a good man. For this reason, I try very hard to lead him through the good path. It is now time to correct his little faults so that when he becomes a man, he would be happy and be the prop of my old age.

About Vicentica, as you inquire about her, she lives almost separate from me. She is in the other house with Tia Feliciano, whose house, as you know, is connected with this and we have a common kitchen.

I live on the little rent which my aunts' will has assigned to me. My mother's property, as she was not able to make a will, cannot yet be touched until it is definitely divided.

Vicenta continues to be difficult. She does not leave me in peace one moment and gives me a headache with her impertinences and very ugly words, which are not suitable to her position. She bears me ill will and all those who deal with me. Just imagine if this kind of life is not very sad! I beg you to keep this disclosure of my trouble to yourself.

Your sister Choleng has returned to your house since . . . last year. She got mad with me on account of a misunderstanding and even tried to take revenge on me and afterwards went to live with your sister María. Since then she has come twice: Once when your grandmother was ill and again after her death. I don't write her nor she me. You know that I esteemed her and I regret what has happened. Your sister Trining is the one who writes me quite often and in her last letter she said that Choleng was again making trouble and for this reason the old folks were displeased. I don't know what trouble it is, but it is always about love affairs. That was the cause of her resentment against me.

You are already informed of what happened to . . . who until now cannot go back home or to her hometown.

At the end of your letter you said that you are returning soon. I would be very glad to see you here, but your return might be fatal. When are you coming? I believe it would be imprudence on your part to come at this time when we are badly off, and they want to do you as much harms as they can. You know your situation better than anybody else; nevertheless, it is my duty to call your attention and tell you to think it over carefully. I believe it is unwise for you to come home nor should you do so while it is like this, for I believe they will work very hard to make you disappear from the picture.

With his letter I'm sending you a group picture of the children, taken recently.

Until now I continue living in this house, but I don't know if I shall have to get out of it later. In any case, if I change my residence, I'll let you know, so that when you wish to write me again, you may put the same address.

May you fare well, work hard for this poor country, regards and kisses of the children, and you know your affectionate aunt esteems you.

136. Paciano Rizal, 27 May 1890

Two copies of the Rizal Edition of Morga — The friars persecute the Rizal family — Conflict with the Calamba Estate — Proposed solution of the problem — More lavish reception for the friar provincials than for the governor general — Failure to capture bandits in the environs — Epidemic of insanity — Rizal's sister Narcisa, a victim — Economic difficulties of the family.

* * *

27 May 1890

DEAR BROTHER:

Since February I have not received the packages of *Le Matin*. I don't know if the post office does not send them along for lack of a wrapper or if you have stopped sending them. I have received two copies of Morga's *Sucesos*. Antonino took one and the other is at home. Professor Blumentritt has already told me about this work in one of his letters, extolling the importance of your notes, and although I have read them hurriedly, I share his opinion.

Your last letter we have received here is the one in which you said that you were informed about our brother-in-law's exile and you proposed a plan for the security of our family. I didn't answer you because Maneng had already done so. Before your first departure from here, I entertained the same idea, but I gave it up and did not even tell anybody about it, because fiction is discovered sooner or later and after that it will no longer be useful to anybody, considering the attitude of the friars who do not spare widows and orphans just because they belong to our family. For this reason, it is better not to think of it any more.

In one of your former letters, you tell me that in the opinion of the justices of the Supreme Court, we should refuse to pay to the Estate (*Hacienda*) in order that the case will be appealed to it. Many here have anticipated that opinion, not for the same purpose, but because they have no more mo-

ney with which to pay. For this reason, the Estate presented to the justice of the peace a petition to evict the tenants. At the beginning we had hopes of a favorable verdict in view of the fact that the laws of the Indies were on our side and in accordance with an affidavit of '86 or '87, signed by some persons and released by the Court but whose contents they did not even consider. But now we know better. The amount mentioned in the case of eviction is less than that provided in the L. of C. C., because they claim immemorial possession, as if the silence of the ignorant, exploited tenants had given the exploiters a right over the property. Lastly, it is probable that in the courts of first and second instance we may lose the case, for the judges fear the intrigues of our opponents. In the trial twice I proved to be useful for having asserted the rights of the tenants and proved the spurious claim of the Estate. In spite of this, I'm not hoping for any thing good to come out of it; there (Spain) perhaps one can still hope for something. My stand will probably cost me dearly, for the friars of the Estate told some Biñan residents that I don't consider or pity our parents who are already very old. The Governor told *Gobernadorcillo* Eusebio to try to win the case, for otherwise the friars might make trouble in the province. At present there are bands of highway robbers in the environs of this town and neighboring ones, and the lieutenant of the civil guard of this town (Calamba) told Eusebio confidentially that it was I who furnished arms to the bandits, and the worse thing of all was that the one who said this was a gentleman officer and Eusebio warned me that he would deny all that he has said, as it was told to him confidentially.

I have been told rather vaguely that Father Nozaleda and others, through a third party, have made a proposal to del Pilar which he has rejected. If the Estate of Calamba is included in the proposal, I will tell you the opinion of the majority of the people. The people do not wish to own this Estate because it was ceded to the Corporation (of the friars) about 18 . . . by Asanza, but they know also that the original property did not have its present area that they claim now. The most just and equitable settlement of this case is to define the boundaries of the Estate, so that all the land not included in the original sale or cession, can be declared free from the payment of rent, and the amount of rent unjustly collected for it be returned. This is what should be done for the sake of justice, although it leaves much to be desired with respect to the tranquility of both sides. So long as the relations of the two

parties continue, bad faith or misery on one hand and abuse and influence on the other, could upset their peaceful relations. The settlement should be based on something more enduring, such as the separation of their land-holdings through compensation. In this way both parties will gain, for then, there would be no more curates who would have to jump out of their posts to give way to others who are as disagreeable; nor *gobernadorcillos* and other municipal officials replaced by others in whom the people have less confidence; nor provincial governors (it is said) who tremble in their posts solely for not favoring certain whims; nor will the prestige (if any) of the priests suffer from the poverty which is alien to their mission; and lastly the people, who are denounced as a ferocious beast, could devote themselves peacefully to their agricultural work. The sacrifice that this arrangement will require need not be unbearable, for the friars will continue to be rich as always and the people poor as always. If the proposed settlement will not hurt your cause there, you may suggest it in order to put a respite to the unbearable situation of the people; otherwise I think secondary interests should always be postponed.

When the General came last year, he was welcomed with arches of curled bamboos in the streets, and months afterward when two provincials of the Dominicans and Recollects came, they were received with more beautiful arches, with more cloth and paintings. In honor of the Dominican the bells were rung; for the other who arrived minutes afterward, not one was rung. A stranger who might have observed this and gauged the importance of men by arches and bell-ringing, would naturally say that a general is worth less than a provincial, because the arches erected in honor of the provincial are worth than those of the general, and that the Dominican is more of a prelate than the Recollect for the bell-ringing, and the Dominicans will cite this as proof of their supposed prestige among the people. The fact was that a Recollect . . . of Sto. Tomás and Eusebio's friend advised him (Eusebio) that the General was coming and to do everything possible to receive him better than the first time. Eusebio made the preparations without any order of his chief; but instead of the General, the two provincials came: a pious deceit.

Concerning the bell-ringing, the curate seems to be more enthusiastic about the Dominicans than any other corporation, because, if he could allege ignorance of his arrival, he could not say the same thing about his departure, and nevertheless the poor man left like an ordinary mortal. They say that the

avored one was secretly glad of the despair of the other and he smiled seeing the bad turn of the Estate (*Hacienda*) of his competitor. How they love one another!

In your last letter, I noted that you have not received a letter I sent you at the beginning of November. I consider it lost and I'm sorry, for it contained some things of a certain importance. The ease with which letters are being lost and my little liking for letter-writing are the reasons why I write letters only now and then.

On the afternoon of the 25th of this month, the *gobernadorcillo* received a warning that there is a band of armed bandits in *Sitio Anlog* within the jurisdiction of this town, about 6 kilometers away. Immediately the rural guards were assembled and the lieutenant of the civil guard, the head of the town's and forces, was informed, who in turn asked the Cabuyao guards to join him lest his own men would not be sufficient for the undertaking. Those of Cabuyao arrived at about 8 or 9 the same night, and at last the civil and rural guards left, spending the night at *Sitio Punta* and leaving this place in the following morning for *Sitio Anlog*, two kilometers distant, more or less, where they found nothing, perhaps because the bandits were smart or did not have the patience to wait so long. Formerly the force was prepared more promptly and secretly and flew, let us say, to the place indicated and quite often found the bandits and caught them. *Quantum mutatus ab illo!* (How changed from what it once was!)

After the fever which wrought havoc here and still continues paralyzing in a certain way the farm work for lack of workmen, now we have a worse sickness, insanity, which, although it does not have the proportions of an epidemic, already has claimed a number of victims. Albino, Cuné, our sister Narcisa, and several poor ones are victims of it. Our sister is being treated with mustard plasters and at present seems to be improving. If this is not effective, we are going to resort to hydrotherapeutic treatment.

I have no funds and our parents hardly give me enough to maintain the work in Bay. As soon as I have money, I'm going to send it to you, for you know already that personally I have little need for money, and above all with the life here I do not have much need for it.

A lawyer of Biñang has been invited by the Estate to transfer his residence to this town, promising him land and

the post of justice of the peace here. The lawyer has already rented a house, despite the fact that the *gobernadorcillo* has recommended another person who is not yet residing here, while the regulation makes residence a requirement. It seems that he will be a useful man to the Estate, because he tells Openg, the acting justice, that he, Badiola, will render the decision on the eviction cases gratis. More over, he belongs to the modern school with regard to landholding, saying that he has no hesitation in accepting land from the Estate as it will not be taken directly from the evicted tenants.

This is all.

Your brother,

PACIANO R .

137. Josefa Rizal, Calamba, 30 May 1890

Josefa's trip to Lipa.

* * *

Calamba, 30 May '90

MR. JOSÉ RIZAL

MY DEAR BROTHER,

We have been wishing for a long time to write you, but we haven't done it because first of all — I'm going to tell you the truth since you abhor falsehood—we are very lazy to write and secondly, which you already know, of the poverty of our minds. Although you need not know it, let me tell you that Sra. N.¹ took me to Lipa in January of last year. I stayed at the house of your friend, M. C. (Mariano Catigbak) who received us very well. If you resent that we have not written you, please excuse our stupidity.

What I can say about our family is included in T.'s (Trinidad's) letter, for she wrote her draft ahead of me. Many regards to you and your sister wishes you good health and command your sister who never forgets you.

Your sister,

JOSEFA

¹ Perhaps Neneng (Saturnino).

138. Lucía Rizal, Calamba, 30 May 1890

Family News — Abuses of the lay brothers.

* * *

Calamba, 30 May 1890

MR. JOSÉ RIZAL

MY DEAR BROTHER,

Please pardon me for not having answered your letter at once, for you know already the kind of life I lead.

Since marianito's death, misfortunes have pursued me incessantly. When I begin to feel that my mind is about to succumb to the preoccupations of our life, my only comfort is to read your letters which serve as a balm to my sufferings. If you have extra time, remember to drop me a few lines.

Now what I can tell you is that your five nephews are well and not one of them suffers from any illness. Delfina, Concha, and Patrocinio are now studying. As to Teodosio and Estanislao, you would not be able to tell who is older, for they are almost of the same stature and the younger is almost taller.

Concerning our town, perhaps your heart would ache at the blindness of our compatriots. Today, abuse, madness, and despotism are rampant. You can then imagine what would happen. When the lay brothers go out riding, the lieutenant of the civil guard sits on the little bench of the carriage and the acting lieutenant goes over the curate. When the lay brothers have some orders for the *Hacienda*, they send out the *capitán*, justice of the peace, and Mr. V. Laureola Roque. In a word, our town is rotten. The *capitán* has two faces and for that reason his term of office will be prolonged.

Many regards from your sister who does not forget you and also from your nephews.

Your most affectionate sister,

LUCÍA RIZAL

My dear God-Father: We are sending you our regards. Concerning our studies, I cannot tell you anything. I can't write you more because *Tia* (Aunt) Neneng is leaving.

DELFINA HERVOSA

139. Angélica López, Calamba, 30 [May] 1890

Angélica López wants to go to a boarding school, *colegio* —
Would like Rizal to come home — Paciano looks
like an old man — Bathing at Pansol.

* * *

Calamba, 30-5 [May] 1890

MR. JOSÉ RIZAL

MY RESPECTED AND DEAR UNCLE:

Although we have not received your reply to our letter, we write you again. For more than a year I went to Aunt Choleng's house to learn the alphabet; but since she got married, I stopped going there, because everybody in our house does not want me to go there any more. But I intend to continue my studies to increase whatever I have learned from Aunt Choleng and for this reason I have begged my parents to let me study in some college.¹ Until now I don't know their decision, whether they will comply with my wish or not.

I tell you that my mother got sick in March and became gravely ill. Thanks to God she has been saved and now is still a little thin. *Lolo* (Grandpa) and *Lola* (Grandma) are very well and are always teasing me. They say that you are coming soon and that I should get the house ready for your return. Sometimes I believe them; may God grant, then, dear Uncle, that you return soon so that we can enjoy ourselves, take a bath in Pansol, and take a stroll with us in Lechería. Uncle Marianito² is there and has a niche. We always pass by there when we go to the spring, we, Aunt Pangoy, Aunt Trining, my mother, my little brothers, and Aunt Lucía and

¹ She means a boarding school for girls at Manila, popularly called *colegio*.

² Mariano Herbosa, husband of Rizal's sister Lucía, who died of cholera and was buried in the place called Lechería, the church authorities having refused him burial in the cemetery for being Rizal's brother-in-law.

her daughters or my cousins. Concha is advanced in her studies. We are all very well; also Uncle Paciano, but he is already gray-haired, looking like an old man of 60.

My pleasant regards, dear Uncle, and I always remember you.

ANGÉLICA LÓPEZ

140. Trinidad Rizal, Calamba, 30 May 1890

Birthday of Rizal's father — Marriage of Choleng with Quintero

* * *

Calamba, 30 May '90

DEAREST BROTHER:

For a long time I have been wishing to write you. I left the College two years, one month and a half ago. I have read your letter to our brother Paciano in which you asked how I'm getting along with *Señora* Pangoy. Thank God we are getting along well and we live together peacefully. At night they send for us and we sleep at the house of our sister Lucía and we use to talk about you. Whenever we go out for pleasure, like taking a bath in Pansol, and when we celebrate the birthday of our dear and respected father, we miss you and we cannot enjoy ourselves completely. When are you coming back? I should like to know how you are getting along there. Has not Aunt Concha written you that Choleng has already married Quintero without the consent of our parents? They ask me what I would like to request in the letter they are going to write. Let me tell you again that we are all well and no one has become sick. Our most beloved brother Paciano scarcely stays at home, for he is always in Santa Cruz. He goes there almost every two days to defend and testify in favor of Nicasio Eigasani.

Many regards to you and your sister wishes to see you well as before and loves you as formerly.

TRINIDAD

141. Saturnina Rizal, Manila, 2 June 1890

Rizal's brother-in-law is exiled again — He was arrested at Christmas while he was eating with his family.

* * *

Manila, 2 June '90

MR. JOSÉ RIZAL

MY DEAR BROTHER,

Perhaps you are very resentful because I haven't written you, but don't think that I've forgotten you, for you already know how dear you are to me.

Last year, when for the first time they exiled Maneng, I wrote you twice, as I did when my daughter Amelia died, but you haven't answered me even once. Since then I have not been able to write you due to the preoccupations that fill my head. Now I take care of our home and the children. From now on you will receive letters from me.

Through Maneng's letters you must have learned by now that the General has exiled him again. I'm again in charge of our property and the milling in Mainit and Tanawan, for when they exiled him, it was already December, on the very day of Christmas, while we were eating. Please see to it that this imbroglio is terminated soon.

I'm in Manila because Zamora is going to treat me. He says that my womb is swollen, is out of place, and is dirty; but I don't feel the symptoms he mentions. He has already examined me twice and does not want to tell me how much each consultation costs, so that I don't know how to repay him. He told me to buy a vaginal syringe and gave me three kinds of medicine which are *Belladonna*, *Extramónio*, and *Sauco*.

Embraces and kisses from Alfredo, Adela, and Abelardo. Those two are already studying, but Abelardo cannot talk until now. Why is he like that? I'm going to take Alfredo to the Jesuits.

An embrace and kisses of your sister who loves you very much.

SATURNINA RIZAL

142. Narcisa Rizal, Manila, 2 June 1890

Rizal resentful for not having received letters
from his family — Family news.

* * *

Manila, 2 June 1890

MR. JOSÉ RIZAL
Brussels

MY DEAR BROTHER,

I suppose our letters have been lost on the way for you have not answered even one of them, but I don't doubt your good heart that you will answer this letter, even with only two lines.

I have read your letter to Aunt Concha in which you say very clearly that you are very resentful of your family or your sisters. Naturally, brother, you can tell us what we deserve, but you understand perfectly what is happening to us here if we do not continue writing you. The impediment is a penalty or torture for us.

In the month of December, on the 14th, I gave birth to a boy whose name is Arsenio, so that we now have 5 boys and 2 girls. All my dreams are that they would get an education, which is the most important to them.

Antonino has been suffering for 6 or 7 months from an ailment on the head which appears in the form of pimples and at times like dry mange. They grow even on the face.

Our parents are well and our Soledad got married on 23 April. Nobody of our family went to her wedding, nor was any one invited either.

Your sister who loves you and wishes you happiness and is anxious to see you,

NARCISA RIZAL

P. D.: Frank now prattles very well and is very amusing. He has a sweet disposition and very judicious. Antonio knows how to draw a little. It seems that these two will turn out like the godfather. May God will it so.

THE SAME

143. Antonino López, Manila, 2 June 1890

His two sons will enroll at the Jesuit school. Ateneo Municipal — Case of Hacienda (Estate) of Calamba will be appealed to the Madrid Court.

* * *

Manila, 3 June 1890

MR. JOSÉ RIZAL

DEAR BROTHER-IN-LAW:

I wish to inform you that the two brothers Emilio and Antonio and I are here in Manila and this afternoon I'm going to take them to the college of the Jesuit fathers.

The whole family are well and so are Tatay and Nanay, thank God. For months Sr. Paciano has not received *Le Matin* and *La Solidaridad*. Sr. Paciano now does not stop traveling, because of the question of the *Hacienda* of Calamba. It seems that the case will be sent to Madrid. The decisions on the two cases of Sr. Paciano and of Nicasio against the . . . were both unfavorable to us.

This is all. I wish you good luck and you know you have here a brother-in-law who can be of service to you and wishes to embrace you soon.

A. LOPEZ

144. Rizal, Brussels, 6 June 1890

You should be a model of virtues and good qualities "for the one who should teach should be better than the persons who need her learning." — Advice to his young sisters.

* * *

Philippe de Champagne
Brussels, 6 June 1890

MISS SOLEDAD (RIZAL) MERCADO
Philippines

MY DEAR SISTER:

I was much pleased to know that you are teaching because your position will oblige you to improve yourself more and more in an effort to be a model of virtues and good qualities, for the one who should teach should be better than the persons who need her learning.

Unfortunately, I learned afterwards that because of you, the peace of our family has been disturbed, the peace already so upset. It is true that I have already caused it much harm, but at least there remains for us the consolation that my movie is not shameful and does not humiliate anyone; on the contrary, it dignifies us and makes us worthy of consideration even in the eyes of our very enemies: To fall with the head high and a serene brow is not to fall, it is to triumph. The sad thing is to fall with the stain of dishonor. Besides, I can be what my enemies like, but never can they accuse me of any thing that will make me blush and lower my head, and I hope God will be sufficiently merciful with me that he would prevent me from committing one of those sins that involves an entire family. Well now, if I ask for myself this good fortune, it is because I do not wish to increase in the least the sorrows we have, and we have already had many, and this is also what I'm asking of you, Trining, and Pangoy. Always keep before your eyes the honor and good

name of all. Don't do anything which you cannot say and repeat before every one with head up and a satisfied heart. If you have a sweetheart, behave towards him nobly and with dignity, instead of resorting to secret meetings and conversations which do nothing but lower a woman's worth in the eyes of a man. Men should be noble and worthy and behave like men and not like thieves or adventurers who hide themselves. You should despise a man who is afraid to come out in the open. You should value more, esteem more your honor and you will be more esteemed and valued.

As to myself I can tell you (without posing as a model) that in my love affairs I have always acted with nobility, because I myself would feel humiliated if I had conducted myself otherwise. I have despised and considered unworthy of me any young man that I have seen hiding and fleeing between shadows.

I enjoin you to consider the gray hair of our parents; they were already very old and we should sow with glory their old days. There is a certain egoism in the love of parents, it is true, but it is an egoism which is the offspring of their excessive love. Parents would not wish to see their children unhappy. I'm a man and when I returned there I was older, had more experience and more wisdom than you have, and above all I had more commitments. You know well, as all of you do, that I *should* and *could* go to Pangasinan,¹ that I had a formal engagement there, and that for many years one of my great desires has been to go there. Well then, despite the fact that I have been cherishing this desire for a very long time, and I still cherish it, our father's opposition was enough for me to give up all my plans. I should like to go to Bacolor, our parents opposed it, and I gave in and obeyed them. And notwithstanding that my disobedience would not have brought the slightest dishonor to us. Leonor² has done the same thing as I did. Although she wished and could go to Manila with her father to fetch her nephews, her father's mere opposition was enough to stop her from insisting on it, and frankly, if she had insisted and I had known it, I would certainly not have gone to see her.

You are no longer a child, all of you are no longer children, nor are you uneducated. Thanks to our parents you

¹ Rizal is alluding to his visit to the Philippines in 1887. His father restricted his movements on accounts of the threats against his life by his enemies the friars who hated him for his writings, especially *Noli me tângere*.

² Rizal's fiancée, Leonor Rivera.

are educated and informed; I speak to you as my sisters and I repeat to you: Think of the old age of our parents, of your honor and of ours. You have many nieces; give them a good example and be worthy of yourselves.

Your brother,

RIZAL

145. Silvestre Ubaldo, Manila, 30 June 1890

Papers on eviction raised by Hacienda de Calamba sent to Rizal.

* * *

Santa Cruz, Manila
30 June 1890

MR. JOSÉ RIZAL
Brussels

DEAR JOSÉ:

With this same date I have written you another registered letter enclosing the papers on eviction issued by the manager of the Calamba Estate against *Tatay*¹ (Father) and a money order which I'm sending you. I'm reproducing the letter so that if it is lost, you could claim it at the post office there and I here, as it is registered.

Your brother-in-law who esteems you,

LUDOBOS S. UBALDO

¹ Familiar form of address for the father in Tagalog.

146. Aristeo Ubaldo, Manila, 30 June 1890

Rizal's nephew's are progressing in their studies.

* * *

Santa Cruz, Manila
30 June 1890

MR. JOSÉ RIZAL
Brussels

DEAR UNCLE:

This is the second time that I'm writing you and I wish to tell you again that my brother and I are studying here in Manila. I know now how to add whole numbers; I know by heart half of the geography book, Spanish grammar, religion, Christian Doctrine, and urbanity. The teacher told me to prepare well so that when I enroll at the Ateneo Municipal next year, I could be admitted to the upper class. César also will enroll the following year. We are in good health and we wish you the same. Your nephew kisses your hand.

ARISTEO UBALDO

P. D.

Did you receive our group picture with César?

147. Silvestre Ubaldo, Manila, 11 August 1890

The power of attorney of Paciano and letters of the family —
The unhappy incident about the friar estate.

* * *

Sta. Cruz, Manila
11 August 1890

MR. JOSÉ RIZAL

DEAR JOSÉ:

Enclosed are Paciano's power of attorney and his letter, and through this and mine you will learn about the unhappy incident which occurred here recently in connection with the friar estate. On the 6th of this month, at about 9:00 o'clock at night, Juan Mompeón, governor of the province, went to the house of Eusebio Elefaño, *gobernadorcillo* of Calamba and ordered that we be called — I, Antonino, Leandro, Lucía, Matías B. (Belarmino), Luis Habaña, Marcos Elasegui, Mateo Elejorde, Luis Elasegui, and several others, altogether 19 or 20 persons — and without any preamble, he told us that he had made a fast and special trip to the town for its welfare; that he was not on the side of any one but only of the one who was right; and consequently, we should come to an understanding with the Dominicans, for if we did not, he would fulfill strictly his duty as governor and what was going to happen to the town would be very sad and unpleasant. I answered that we were not doing anything bad to the Dominicans and that besides, I and the rest were not tenants. To which he replied that he already knew who were not tenants and that those he had summoned were regarded as heads of the rebellion or instigators who were miserably deceiving the innocent. I replied that no one had instigated those men and to find out the truth, he could ask them one by one if any one had advised them. The governor insisted on saying that he knew enough about us and that to eliminate

one or two of us would be sufficient to make the town peaceful. I replied that, speaking for myself, I could not nor do I dare answer for the others, and in any case he could inquire from the three who were present who were the guilty ones and he would know. But afterward, he told me that we all should consider his proposal and decide what we should do and tell him our views. The following day, at eight o'clock in the morning, we all gathered together in the townhall to find out the opinion of each one of us; but all proposed that it would be better to present a petition, written in Tagalog, requesting the governor to wait for the judicial decision on the case. The substance of the petition was that we request the governor, if possible, to wait for the decision of the president of the Supreme Court, inasmuch as two of our fellow townsmen, Mr. Francisco Rizal and Mr. Nicasio Eigasani, had submitted an appeal to that court and whose final decision we would accept. Because of this petition he became more angry and, as I was leading the group, acting as interpreter, he threatened me, saying: "As you have not given me any consideration for my intervention in this affair, I'm going to take strict measures; I'm going to file administrative charges and right now I'm going to send a telegram to the captain general so that he would come tomorrow with armed soldiers and it will be a sad day for this town." And then, addressing the officer, he said: "Mr. Lieutenant of the Civil Guard, go and prepare the soldiers"; and immediately he picked up his cap and went to the barracks but he did nothing. The governor, seeing that nobody was afraid of his gestures, continued saying that we were counting on France and Germany and that he was thoroughly convinced that there were many rascals in Calamba and *filibusterismo* existed. I said to him: "Mr. Governor, nothing of the kind, we all here are peaceful men and we have sworn allegiance to the motherland, always ready to go to her aid and to shed the last drop of our blood in the defense of the Spanish nation." Afterward he said to me: "You may leave." On the night of the same day, about seven o'clock, they called all of us again to the town hall and asked each one of us why we didn't pay rent to the estate and if we knew when the Germans would come to defend us. To which we replied that so long as the Dominicans have not proven their title to the property, as the lay brother manager Father Gabriel Fernandez has promised to do and he had not fulfilled in the trial for the eviction of Mr. Francisco Rizal we were not going to pay the rent; and as to the Germans,

we knew nothing. Noting that all the declarations were similar, the governor stopped questioning the others and said: "Enough, all with a reason!", and following this, very angry, he left for the office of the Hacienda. At siesta time he took the boat for the capital of the province. At about seven o'clock that night, the *gobernadorcillo* sent a constable to summon me and he detained me, saying: "You are detained here according to a verbal order left me by the Governor this morning." I replied: "In that case, you should issue an affidavit for my security." And he answered that he could not do it as he had no formal order, and "very soon you and Dandoy will go through a chain of courts." "Good; but before that, I want to know my crime and I need an affidavit." The *gobernadorcillo* told me to wait and he would telegraph the governor. At eight o'clock the governor's telegram arrived, which said thus: "Governor of Laguna to *Gobernadorcillo* of Calamba: See to it that the persons of S. Ubaldo, Antonino López, Leandro López, Paciano Rizal, and Mateo Elejorde are presented at this Government; if they disobey, send them under custody." The result of the telegraphic order, Paciano's letter says, is not yet known. I'll let you know the result afterward. Until the next.

Many regards and embraces of your brother-in-law who esteems you.

S. UBALDO

P. S.

I suppose you must have received my power of attorney with that of Antonino.

148. Rizal, Madrid, 20 August 1890

Exiles, vile tricks, reprisals of the government — With these persecutions. Providence keeps awake the popular spirit — They teach us to scorn dangers, to hate tyrannies.

* * *

Madrid, 20 August 1890

If the authorities in the Philippines were enlightened, there would not be treacherous administrative proceedings, nor vile tricks, nor infamies. I see the hand of Providence in the deportation to far-away places of enlightened persons to keep awake the spirit of the people, not to let them sleep in lethargic peace, to accustom them not to fear dangers, to hate tyrannies, etc. Tomorrow I'll see what would come out of my interview with the Minister.

Many regards to all; I kiss our parents' hands .

Your brother,

MADUDE

From W. E. Retana, *Vida y escritos de Dr. José Rizal*, Madrid, 1907, p. 355. Fragment of a letter of Rizal to his brothers, dated at Madrid, 20 August 1890, presented by the prosecuting attorney in Rizal's trial.

149. Saturnina Rizal, Manila, 6 September 1890

Evicted from their old homestead — Paciano and other principal citizens of Calamba exiled to Mindoro — Getting accustomed to the pains of separation for the sake of the country — Mishap in the burial of a corpse — Avidity to read the second part of *Noli*.

* * *

Manila, 6 September 1890

MR. JOSÉ RIZAL

MY DEAR BROTHER,

I received your most welcome letter of the 11th July. Though late I wish to tell you what happened to our parents. They were ordered to leave our house in execution of the order for eviction and dispossession against them.

Paciano, Antonino, Dandoy, Silvestre, and Teong left for Mindoro at 4:30 o'clock this afternoon as exiles. I and Sisa accompanied them until the pier and we remained there until the departure of the steamer *Brutus* on which the poor ones were embarked. The five of them left gladly, it seemed. We the same; we did not look sad nor did we lament it as we did when Maneng was exiled for the first time. I'm now getting used to the pains of separation, and especially when I think that these cruelties and misfortunes would result in the welfare of all the more my faith in everything you said to me is strengthened.

Our parents now live in Narcisa's house.

Amelia died in May 1888 as I have already written you and told you that our adversaries tried to prevent the admission to the church of the body, but the curate insisted on letting it enter the church. The body remained unburied a long time while telegrams were sent to the archbishop and the governor.

I'm now well, thank God. Perhaps Dr. Zamora was only trying to startle me by saying that my womb was swollen

because I have not used the medicine he has prescribed and I don't feel anything unusual.

Don't come home until things clear up. We are very much persecuted now.

We have been to Malabon. Mr. Severino Tuason, the Fernandez of Siniloan, and your other acquaintances are sending you regards.

If the second volume of your work is finished, send me even only one copy so that I can read it soon. Also buy me there beautifully written and cheerful novels. I don't like sad ones.

Regards and embraces from your loving sister,

SATURNINA RIZAL

150. Narcisa Rizal, Manila, 17 October 1890

A draft for \$400 from relatives and fellow townsmen — Even women send help to Rizal for his propaganda campaign — It is not prudent for Rizal to return home — He would be persecuted — His positive value in Europe — Pleasant news from home.

* * *

Manila, 17 October 1890

MR. JOSÉ RIZAL

MY DEAR BROTHER:

Enclosed is a draft for four hundred pesos: Two hundred from Antonino and Dandoy; one hundred from Nicolás Llamas; and one hundred from our countrywomen, single, married, and old, who wish to send you more if they had more money, but unfortunately at this time, money is scarce. We shall see in January and February if we can send you more.

Sra. Neneng, Pangoy, Trining and I are at present in Manila for this business. Uncle Antonio arrived yesterday and tells us that Nonong is very stout and very handsome and we are glad of this pleasant news.

You say in your letter that you are thinking of coming home. In our opinion, it is not convenient for you to come back at this time, because you are in great danger. Besides this, here you can do nothing; there you are doing much. However, you know better than I do what you ought to do.

Yesterday I visited Antonio and Emilio. I talked with the Jesuit fathers who told me many things about you and your nephews. Emilio is a singer now and Antonio is emperor or consul, so that you now have a worthy nephew. May he inherit something of you! He is studying drawing, can already draw a little, and I believe that, given more time, he may amount to something.

Receive our pleasant regards and command your sister who loves you much and always wishes you happiness.

NARCISA RIZAL

151. Concepción Leyba, Manila, 10 November 1890

Pepito Leyba is now officer in the upper class — Soledad Rizal is married — Advice on the education of children.

* * *

Manila, 10 November 1890

ESTEEMED JOSÉ:

I received your letter of 6 June last year which I could not answer for so many things I have in my mind, especially the endless vexations.

I appreciate your interest in Pepito; but what you have seen in his neck is not a disease but lack of shadow, which is a defect of the photograph or fault of the photographer. Thank God, Pepito is well; now he studies much, and says that he is one of the officers in the upper class.

Your sisters come often and your sister Trining stayed with me last month for 18 days, for they attended the fiestas of Sta. Cruz and Binondo. I suppose you already know the unpleasant news that these poor ones must have transmitted to you and for that reason I need not do it.

Your uncle Antonio Rivera is here at home, having been here about 20 to 22 days. He came alone to attend to his business and the poor one is bothered by his sickness.

I don't remember who took away from me your photograph and I hope you will send me another so that I can see whether you are stout and well.

Your letter to your parents was delivered on time. Your sister Soledad is already married and I suppose your family has already informed you about what happened to her.

I appreciate also your advice on the education of children, which is really a problem, but I hope that with patience I can raise at least humble and good sons, rather than bad and arrogant, which is the worst in this life. Because they are docile, I make an allowance.

I hope you are well and will achieve what you desire and succeed in everything.

We are as before, if not worse.

Have you seen Galicano? I have been told that you are in Madrid and wherever you might be, I believe this letter will reach you.

Leoncio and Quintin, Pastor's son, Leon's cousin live with me. The children and we are in good health.

I hope you keep well; take good care of yourself, which is the most important, and with the regards of all the people here and also of Chengoy, Teong, and your uncle Antonio,

Your aunt who esteems you.

CONCHA

152. Narcisa Rizal, Calamba, 10 March 1891

At last the eviction. — Unfortunate fellow townsmen of Rizal thrown out to the street — Deprived of their lands, homes, farm animals, and crops of sugar, rice, and all the other fruits of their labor — More than 300 families, almost the whole town, punished — Even boys and girls of 12 must buy cedulas at 4 reales — A shepherd hit by a civil guard on the mouth with the butt of the gun loses two teeth — Calamba is dying: Picture of hunger and death — The persecuted clamor for justice before the Supreme Court.

* * *

Calamba, 10 March 1891

MR. JOSÉ RIZAL

MY DEAR BROTHER:

I'm writing this to inform you clearly of the happenings during the last two months, January and February, inasmuch as you have not received any news concerning our fellow townsmen who have been despoiled of all their lands, homes, animals, and crops of sugar, rice, and other fruits of their labor. Those who are suffering this outrage number more than 300 families without counting the small families that live in faraway fields, farm workers of the evicted tenants. Some live under the shade of trees and those who are on the seashore, on the beach, and those inside the towns, some are on the street, through the fault of those who have authorized the lay-friar administrators to prohibit the giving of lodgings to evicted fellow townsmen. We suffer this very sad and painful situation and we keep quiet because the authorities do this to us by force. What are we going to do? We are now in a town very much persecuted by all the authorities, among them the civil guards who are everywhere, bothering every one. Boys and girls of 12 are compelled to buy cedulas in the townhall that cost 4 reales. They stop all *calesas*,¹ carts, and horses

¹ *Calesas* are two-wheeled passenger vehicles, generally horse-drawn.

whether or not they have the corresponding papers in order to set something for their own pocket.

The act of eviction was very painful. The authorities, the justice of the peace, the lieutenant with two or three pairs of civil guards, and the judge of first instance — were all there to take over everything that the evicted owns, and if they don't find him or his work animals there, then they maltreat his manager, the shepherds, or the *barrio* lieutenant. And in proof of this, there was one of them who lost two teeth as a result of the blow he received on the mouth from the butt of a gun. There were others who at times fell unconscious because of such dreadful punishments.

In view of these ferocious abuses, the unfortunate ones are almost without means to earn their daily bread. Believe me, if this outrage continues, Calamba is going to die. The well-to-do can move to other towns, but those who can't, naturally, will have to suffer poverty, hunger, and all kinds of calamities, or death, *etc.* There are numerous things that I'll not write down here in order not to mortify you too much.

The only thing that the people expect from you there, as they have power of attorney there, is for you to file in the Supreme Court a complaint against this iniquitous outrage.

The farm animals of the evicted are deposited with Quintero and Córdoba.

We lead here a fair life in the midst of . . .

Your affectionate sister,

NARCISA RIZAL

153. Manuel T. Hidalgo, Manila, 1 December 1891

Pi y Margall against Hidalgo's deportation — Appeal to the Queen — "If we are not heard we will ask Queen Victoria of England for protection in the name of humanity" — Weyler does not revoke the order of deportation by his predecessor — For expenses of the case in the Supreme Court — Fabie, the pro-friar, fell and Romero Robledo rose up — Others banished to Jolo — Home news.

* * *

Manila, December 1891

MR. JOSÉ RIZAL

DEAR BROTHER-IN-LAW,

I received your last letter in March of this year in which were enclosed some clippings from Madrid newspapers concerning this country. Through them I learned that the one negotiating the lifting up of my deportation is Mr. Francisco Pi y Margall.

I have recommended to several friends the purchase of the work of Mr. Margall, *Las luchas de nuestros días*,¹ extolling it in the manner you tell me in your letter; but when we ordered for some copies . . . we received the reply that there was none.

It is desirable that when you write you mention the dates of my letters that you have received until then, so that I may be assured that they are received, for often the letters we send there are lost or are intercepted. I have sent some letters to Friend del Pilar and he has not received them. Last year I sent you three letters, on dated 7 September, another 2 November, and the other last 25 December; in the present year, with this letter, three, the first on 1 February, and the second on 1st April.

¹ Rizal reviewed this work in *La Solidaridad*, vol. II, No. 43, pp. 256-258. Pi y Margall was a Spanish republican leader and sympathizer of Philippine aspirations. He was the second president, serving for six weeks, of the short-lived Spanish Republic, 1873-1874.

Tell me if you have bought the books that I ordered and if you have sent them to me. Until now I haven't received any of my orders. Don't buy me books on homoeopathy or homoeopathic medicine. I will buy them here.

Who are the best authors of grammars or of books which can more easily and perfectly teach French, English, and German? I would like you to indicate them, for I am very anxious to learn these languages to be able to read the good books written in them.

I enclose the report on what has lately occurred in Calamba. Through it you will learn about the critical situation in that town. I'm preparing a letter for the Queen Regent which *Nanay*² will sign. I'll expound in it all that Weyler has done to us and I'll ask for justice. I'll not only talk about the family but also about all of those from Calamba included in the last batch of deportees. If we are not heeded, we are going to write to Queen Victoria of England asking her for protection in the name of humankind. Attorney José María Gutierrez, Peninsular Spaniard,³ who is defending zealously the case of the tenants in their litigation against the Hacienda and negotiating the lifting up of the deportation of 25 persons from Calamba among whom are found Tatay, Neneng, Sisa, Lucía, Coya Ticio, Capitán Culás and Paciano and companions, has not succeeded to obtain from the new Governor General the revocation of the decree issued by his predecessor.

Months ago I wrote Mr. Francisco Pi y Margall and Mr. Pedro Govantes and until now I have not received their reply; I'll write them again.

With this goes a draft for 56-12/100 pounds sterling sent by the citizens of Calamba for the expenses of their case which goes on appeal to the Supreme Court, perhaps about the middle of this month. The lawyer who will defend them there is Mr. Gumersindo de Azcárate. The defendants are 31, defended here by the same lawyer, Mr. Gutierrez.

Today Fabie, the pro-friar minister, has fallen and Romero Robledo rose up. Somewhat liberal, perhaps he may work for us now.

Capitán Culás, Coya Ticio, Cayetano de Jesús and Felipe Habacon Cañope, son of *Cabesang* Juliana of the shore district were put on board en route to Joló Saturday last.

² Tagalog equivalent of Mama *Tatay*, Papa

³ Common usage in the Philippines to distinguish him from the local Spaniards.

They are looking for us with diligence; perhaps in order to send us to Joló. We are not afraid, we avoid being seen . . . *tenetur*, it says, *tradere se ipsum*,⁴ but if they catch us, we shall go unafraid, without anxiety, I'm determined, come what may, would Heaven crush me, I have done nothing wrong, and I do everything for the public welfare. Neneng, the same. Enclosed herewith is a letter of *Capitán* Matías.

Instead of the memorial that I told you about, I enclose copies of the decrees concerning the deportation of 25 citizens of Calamba and of the 5 who have been in Calapán. I'll send you the memorial at the first opportunity; I could not finish it today.

Regards and command your brother-in-law who esteems you sincerely. Neneng sends you her love. My three boys are here with me.

MANUEL TIMOTEO DE HIDALGO

P. S.

Tell me who in Madrid has the document I sent you in January . . . , for Mr. Pedro Govantes does not have it; he has returned and he left it to one Mr. Villalba Hervás. Please write there to find out who holds that document.

⁴ Meaning "to make one visible is to deliver oneself."

154. Rizal, Hong Kong, 1 December 1891

The same painful Calvary If they would let him rejoin his family, how happy he would be — "Confident that we shall get out of it safely — His mother, Pangoy, and Trining were called to the Civil Government — "Patience!"

* * *

Hong Kong, 1 December 1891

MY DEAR PARENTS AND BROTHERS,

I'm following step by step the painful Calvary that you are going through. Don't be afraid for I work and work. If you could let me rejoin you there, how happy I would be! Perhaps everything may change! Give me then the permission and I shall go immediately. I hope and I'm sure that we shall come out safely.

I have learned about the departure of four fellow townsmen for Joló and the return of my brother to Manila. Likewise I have learned that Nanay, Pangoy, and Trining have been called again to the Civil Government. Patience, a little patience. Valor.

As time is pressing I close this letter.

I long to embrace you.

Your son,

155. Rizal, Hong Kong, 9 December 1891

How are you and your family in Calamba? — His father, Paciano, and Bestre are well — That they send him his books and the letters in the possession of Brother Isidoro — To establish an agricultural colony in Borneo — "Be patient, our day will come."

* * *

Hong Kong, 9 December 1891

MRS. MARÍA RIZAL MERCADO
Philippines

MY DEAR SISTER,

I have not written you for such a long time that I no longer know whether you are still alive or if you still remember me.

Father, Mr. Paciano, and Bestre are already here, thank God. Father has put on weight and his cheeks have become pinkish, he is always cheerful, he is always walking around, and he is very much pleased with Hong Kong. They are very grateful for having been able to come here.

If Mother is there, please kiss her for me, also Pangoy and Trinidad, and tell them that they are very dear to me. I hope that we may all foregather here.

Please find out very well where all the letters that I entrusted to Brother Isidoro have landed. When you have got them, send them to me together with my books or else you send them to Manila so that they can be forwarded to me. I have heard that they are with *Cabesang Salló*.

We are well off here. We have hopes of moving to Borneo to live there and engage in farming.

Take care of our nephews and other sisters there. They must be patient and our day will come.

Tell Mother that I have a very great desire to see her and to operate on her eyes, if this letter should find her there still.

Don't forget those letters I left with Brother Isidoro. Look for them secretly so that the priests may not know about them.

Give my greetings to all our relatives and friends who still remember me.

This is all. Regards to Daniel.

How are my nephews getting along?

A fond embrace for you from your affectionate brother

JOSÉ RIZAL

156. Manuel T. Hidalgo, 18 December 1891

Letter of Rizal's mother to the Queen — Money order for the honorarium of the lawyer of the tenants — Power of attorney for the prosecution of those responsible for his banishment or for the investigation of Weyler — He is not in favor of the project — Without having exhausted the means for the country's welfare shall we go to a foreign land?
— For what then are so many sacrifices?

* * *

18 December 1891

DEAR PEPE,

I received your letter dated the 9th.

I enclose the letter to the Queen that I drafted with Mother's consent. Please send it at the first opportunity. Let it be handed to the Queen herself and not to the Palace Majordomo in accordance with the customary procedure.

The draft I sent you is from the 31 citizens of Kalamba and is to be used to pay the honorarium of the solicitor and Attorney Gumersindo de Azcárate in the lawsuit against the Dominicans which will go for cassation today at the Supreme Court. As you have made another use of it, let us see how . . .

I have not received the note of Fernando Fé on the books that I ordered through you that you mention. Don't send me Hahnemann's work written in French for here there is one in Spanish.

The book I asked you to get me are these: *Código Civil y Enjuiciamiento Civil para Filipinas*, published by the Ministerio de Ultramar or official edition, *Compilación legislativa de Gobierno y Administración Civil de Ultramar* in the Ministerio de Ultramar, *Los Comentarios de César*, in Spanish, *Las obras de Alejandro* by Plutarch, in Spanish, *Espíritu de las Leyes* by Montesquieu, in Spanish, *Las luchas de nuestros días* by Pi y Margall, and *Pequeñeces* by Father Coloma.

Again I ask you about the second power of attorney which I sent you in January 1890 because I want it used for the civil or criminal action against the author or authors of my banishment or when General Weyler is investigated at the end of his term.

I'm glad that the three have arrived there and that our father is gaining weight and improving his color. May he recover his health that he has lost for his continuous sufferings here! There go the four.

The children are well, robust and healthy. In June Adela and Alfredo had smallpox. Adela had very many and malignant. I treated her with water and now the scars are not visible. Alfredo had few, but on the other hand he had them in the joint of his two arms and now the bones are dislocated. However, he can use them, though not freely as before. When Alfredo had tumors, I called a physician who cured him, but I don't know how the luxation remained.

The Borneo project is not good. Shall we leave the Philippines, this beautiful country of ours? And what will they say? For what have sacrifices been made? Without having exhausted all our forces for the welfare of the land that has sustained us since the cradle, shall we leave for a foreign land? You decide it.

Neneng is well, robust, healthy, and always jolly. Love to all of you and we kiss our father's hand.

Yours,

HIDALGO

P. S.

I'm expecting from my brother-in-law P. *lo del diam. te punt. y el agujero seis vec.^s repetido en éste.*

157. Narcisa Rizal, Manila, 27 December 1891

The papers Rizal needed — Not a single letter of Leonor found — To Mindoro to see her exiled husband and brother — Death of her two sons.

* * *

Manila, 27 December 1891

MR. JOSE R. MERCADO

MY DEAR BROTHER,

Enclosed herewith are some of your papers that I found in Calamba. I was not able to answer your letter promptly because it arrived when I was in Calapán, visiting Antonino, our brother, and other companions. However, when I returned to Calamba I inquired about the papers you are asking for from the man with whom you left them and he gave me only the enclosed. I wish to inform you that I have not found a single letter of L. (Leonor) that you asked me to send you.

I hope you will forgive me for not answering your letter at once. Besides not finding the letters of L. that you asked me to send you, when I arrived home at Calamba I found my son Arsenio gravely ill and he died on 4 September of this year.

I'll not tell you any more about what happened to our family here nor about the death of your nephew and godson Franz, which I deeply mourn. I believe Nanay has already told you about our life here and about the death of Franz.

Please give to Sr. Paciano the other papers that are also enclosed, sent by Tonino to be given to him.

Many regards to you and kiss Tatay and Nanay's hands for us and we are waiting for their blessing.

Your distressed sister who loves you and does not forget you.

NARCISA RIZAL

158. Rizal, Hong Kong, 28 December 1891

Beloved ones at his side in Hong Kong — Suffer the pains of
this life so that in the next joy and happiness will be for
you — Life is short, hardships are ephemeral —
Suffer everything for your surname Rizal
and your children — Requests.

* * *

7 Remedios Terrace
Hong Kong, 28 December 1891

MRS. MARÍA RIZAL

DEAREST SISTER,

They have all arrived and I am informed of all that is
happening to you.

I do wish very much to see you but, according to my
information, you have three children, and it seems that I
have to go there. Endure all the hardships in this life and you
may rest assured that in the other life you will have only
joy and happiness. Our life is short and our hardships are
ephemeral. Suffer everything for your name Rizal and for
your children.

I'm told that your children are very pretty and bright.
May God have mercy on all of you. When there is sadness,
there is happiness.

Please ask *Kabesang*¹ Tiká for the papers that *Kabesang*
Salló left with Albino and get them.

In case Sixto López will go there to get my book, please
give it to him.

This is all. May God give you a happy and prosperous
New Year and make your children models of goodness.

Kisses for your children. This is all.

J. RIZAL

¹ It's a Tagalog term derived from the Spanish *cabeza*, meaning "head." Her husband is "head of barangay," hence she is called *Kabesa*. In the Philippines, as in Germany, the wife of an official is addressed with the husband's title; thus the wife of a *Gobernador* is addressed as *Gobernadora*, the feminine of *Gobernador*.

159 Concepción Leyba, Manila, 30 December 1891⁴

Book and letters received — Admirable valor and serenity of Rizal's mother — God protects innocence — Letters for Macleod and others — News of home and friends — They arrested Mr. Matias Belarmino, sick, and on Christmas day, to be deported to Jolo.

* * *

Manila, 30 December 1891

MR. JOSÉ RIZAL
Hong Kong

ESTEEMED JOSÉ,

I received your previous letter as well as the last one dated 15th instant, and the book that Sixto delivered to me, which I appreciate very much.

I'm very glad that your mother and sisters arrived safely, though seasick, and I congratulate the old lady on her valor and fortitude and especially on her serenity on the day they embarked, which was really terrible.

Well, it is not so bad that after all we got out of difficulties; God always protects the innocent; so don't worry about what is done for your family; all of us know that it is our duty in this life to help one another so that one who helps another does nothing but fulfill his duty.

I myself will deliver your letter to Macleod and he will be very glad. That of Ubaldo was delivered by Chimang to his sister, as soon as I received it. Also, I have already forwarded the letter for Mr. Domingo of Biñang.

With regard to the prescription that I found in your letter, I don't know what you want done with it, nor for whom it is intended. It is for a disinfectant and as you don't say for whom it is, I'll keep it until you answer me.

We are in good health, thank God. Delfina, Conchita, and Patrocínio are well and robust. The two little ones still

have some smallpox, but soon they can be brought home when they improve. Narcisa's children are also well.

Mrs. Tomás del Rosario died on 22nd of this month, leaving a daughter. Tomas had made already a pile, and according to information, he already has hundreds of thousands. It's good to be rich!

Concerning Paciano's shoes which, according to the note on the envelope, are with Oroşia, this one says she does not have them and that Emilio, Sisa's son, was the one who picked them up. This one, however, does not remember where they are, so that they have not been found.

We spent the last Christmas season badly — without a dance or entertainment. This is getting to be discouraging for so many things they are doing.

I have learned that they arrested Mr. Matías Belarmino on Christmas day or eve at his house. Because he is very sick with fever he is held in the barracks of the civil guard of Calamba until he gets well and he will be brought to Manila to be deported to Joló.

Pepito appreciates the embrace you send him and returns it in triplicate with the kisses of these kids. Pedrita sends you her photo in exchange for yours that you sent me. She is the only one who has had her picture taken recently.

May you keep well, regards to your parents and brothers, kisses of these little ones, and you know that your affectionate relative always appreciates you.

CONCHA

160. Aristeo and César Ubaldo, Manila,
2 January [1892?]

Greetings and good wishes — Absence of the dear father
in exile — They don't know how long it will last —
Where will they continue their studies? Besides
their Uncle Rizal or at Manila?

* * *

Sta. Cruz, Manila
2 January [1892?]

MR. JOSÉ RIZAL
Hong Kong

DEAR UNCLE,

The two of us, César and I, felicitate you on the New Year, wishing you a long life and much prosperity and we pray God that we be reunited soon and we be granted perfect tranquility. We are in good health, but what we feel only is our separation from our father, which we don't know how long it will last. Would it be better if we continue our studies beside you or here in Manila? Then we will enroll at the Ateneo Municipal this coming June in preparation for matriculating the following year in the first year of the secondary course.

Until here, we kiss the hand of *Lolo*,¹ *Lola*, and all of you.
Your nephews who love you dearly.

ARISTEO AND CÉSAR UBALDO

¹ Familiar form of address for grandfather; Lola for grandmother.

161. Saturnina Rizal, Manila, February 1892

Will move to Hong Kong to rejoin the family — Lack of knowledge of English is not an obstacle in trading — A language is learned quickly — She wishes to educate her children at Hong Kong — And the boys to study engineering at London.

* * *

Manila, February 1892

MR. JOSÉ RIZAL

MY DEAR BROTHER:

I received your letter of the 23rd instant. I am very glad indeed that our parents and all of you are living happily, which is my constant wish. We will get there. One can live anywhere. Not to know English does not seem to me an obstacle in trading. Language is learned quickly by speaking it, badly at the beginning, and later on one smatters it, and little by little one learns to speak it perfectly. I should like my children to be educated there, but I don't know if the certificates there will be valid for studying certain professions here or in Spain. Maneng plans to make Alfredo and Abelardo, if this one will be able to speak, study engineering and send them to London.

Keep yourselves healthy there; thanks that our mother is well again.

I notice that my sight is little by little weakening. Though I still see near and objects seem to be moving, it is probably because formerly I used to work at night under a very strong light. What medicine should I apply?

We are well, I speak a little French, Maneng is teaching me and even the children. Only, I feel greatly our separation.

Love to you, to our beloved brother Paciano and our sisters Lucía, Pangoy,, Trining. and I kiss our parents.

Your sister who loves you dearly,

SATURNINA

162. Manuel T. Hidalgo, Manila, 7 March 1892

Petition to the Governor General signed by the wives of the heads of *barangay* — Telegram of Procurator Manzanque urging the remittance of funds — Great difficulties of the interested party and pawning of jewels — Attorney Gutierrez defends faithfully the people of Calamba — They complain against Attorney Felipe Buencamino.

* * *

Manila, 7 March 1892

MR. JOSÉ RIZAL
Hong Kong

DEAR BROTHER-IN-LAW,

Without having any letter of yours to answer I write you to accompany a copy of a petition which will be presented to the General, signed by the views of Casio, *Cabesang* Siso, *Cabesang* Pascual, and *Cabesang* Victor, by *Capitana* Teria, Juana Valerio, Binay, wife of Valentín, and others. You will know the result.

Day before yesterday Teong Elejorde and Binay, wife of Valentín Elejorde, came to see me, bringing a telegram of Mr. Manzanque, procurator of the Supreme Court, to Attorney José María Gutierrez, in which he says that he has not received funds from the clients in Calamba and he urges that they be sent by telegraph, tomorrow being the last day of payment. The draft of 56 pounds sterling that I sent you in December was intended for this procurator or for Mr. Gumersindo de Azcárate, who is his lawyer. Such was the urgency that Binay, accompanied by her landlord, Mr. Aniceto Camoseng, spent the whole day looking for money, giving for security diamonds and pearls and some jewels of other women of Calamba. Thanks to the kindness of Mrs. Agustina Medel¹ who accompanied them, they succeeded though with great difficulty, to get ₱250 by ten o'clock at night and an equal sum at nine

¹ Said to be the prototype of "Doña Victorina," a character in Rizal's novel, *Noli me tangere*.

o'clock the following morning, on condition that they be paid without interest within two weeks and upon failure to do so, a moderate rate of interest will be charged until paid. They say that the sum was sent by telegraph yesterday. Camoseng and the lawyer sent the money, or arranged for its remittance. This case of the citizens of Calamba is not about deportation, but about the last dispossession of a considerable number of houses whose papers are already in the Supreme Court for review.

There is not the least doubt that Mr. Gutierrez is the lawyer who has defended and is defending the citizens of Calamba with uprightness and probity. In conversations and in the Civil Government he has defended them warmly to the extent that some Spaniards became disgusted with the citizens of Calamba for the facts that they cited against the Dominican friars. This is what is being said and it has been seen at the trial before the justice of the peace and the Audiencia. He is the reverse of Buencamino who, instead of defending our fellow countrymen, attacked them through the purse, obtaining about ₱2,000, and was at the point of selling them to the enemy and until now continues with his tactics. From *Capitana Teria*, through the mediation of Petrona Quintero, he got ₱30 and some more sums from some of the wives of the exiles, telling them that he would negotiate with the governor general and work in Spain for the lifting up of the order of deportation, and now it is well known that the transfer or the attempt to transfer Paciano and companions to Joló was due to Buencamino's denunciation to the Dominicans that from Mindoro they communicated with those in Calamba, inducing them to take their case to court.

I sent you a letter through *Don Juan*² in its penultimate trip.

Love and order what you wish. Regards to brother-in-law Paciano, to my sisters-in-law, Silvestre, and we kiss the hand of our parents. We are well; the boys are studying.

Your brother-in-law who cherishes you very greatly.

MANUEL.

² Name of a steamboat plying between Manila and Hong Kong.

163. Saturnina Rizal, March 1892

As soon as she has finished some collections and business, she too will join the family at Hong Kong — Silvestre is now free and visits them.

* * *

March 1892

MR. JOSÉ RIZAL

DEAR BROTHER,

I received your last letter of the 27th of last month.

We are hurrying the collection of debts and the transaction of some business, which will be finished shortly, in order to join you there. During this week, María came to visit with us. She told me that Isidro, our parents' servant, will go there in the second trip of *Don Juan*.

We are well here. Regards to Paciano and our sisters, and we kiss our parents' hand. Silvestre has already visited us here three times and walks freely day and night.

Your sister who loves you dearly,

SATURNINA

164. Antonino López, Manila, 17 March 1892

Well but restless — The exiles in Jolo were pardoned on the birthday of the governor general — It is impossible at present to sell the homestead of the Rizal family — Grand celebration of the governor general's birthday . . . to Calamba to hear complaints.

* * *

Manila, 17 March 1892

MR. JOSÉ RIZAL

MY DEAR BROTHER-IN-LAW JOSE,

I received your letter of the 10th instant and I'm very glad to know that you are well and healthy. Here we are also well, though always restless.

Of the 17 exiles sent to Joló 13 were pardoned and probably they will arrive here on the 4th of next month. Those who have remained are Matías Belarmino, Aquilino Gualia, Patricio Rizal, and one of these two brothers — Casio or Nicasio Habacon — for in the *Official Gazette* it is not stated who of them. In it is given the name of Casio with the surname of Narciso. Now I still have to find out for what reasons they pardoned the remainder.

With reference to the sale of our house in Kalamba, it seems impossible at present, for the only one who can buy it is Eusebio and I suppose he may not like it, because his money according to information, is invested in Kalamba lands, and I say the same about my debtors almost all of whom are exiled and if they are not at their destination, you will know where they are. Moreover, all of them are landless.

As yet, I'm not thinking of sending over there Emilio and Antonio, because this is not a good time to go there and others tell me the same thing.

Food drafts to the bank there, please tell me the name of the bank and find out the annual rate of interest on deposits it gives.

On the 11th of this month the birthday of the governor general was celebrated in grand style. On this occasion some exiles were pardoned. On the eve, there were fireworks, music bands throughout the streets preceded by the *cuadrilleros* of each town and some *principales*, general illumination, flags and curtains at the windows. The following day, after the chanted Mass, which was held in San Sebastian Church, and other honors have been rendered, all the *gobernadorcillos* went to Malacañang to deliver their respective speeches and pay homage to the wife of the governor general. The general did not attend these functions because he says that as yet they (*gobernadorcillos*) do not deserve appreciation.

According to information, the general will go to Kalamba to hear complaints.

Many regards to Sr. Paciano, Lucía, Pangoy, and Trining and our respects to Tatay and Nanay, and you command your brother-in-law which cherishes you sincerely.

LÓPEZ

Sisa sends you all her love.

165. Silvestre Ubaldo, Manila, 18 March 1892

Books, drafts, and other effects sent to Rizal — Feast of the captain general celebrated with pomp — But he absented himself to avoid gossip — His wife received at the palace the *principalía* and other invited guests — The archbishop was aloof at the reception — He will be granted leave of absence to go to Spain, but he must resign first — Copy of the pardon — Fire at Plaza San Gabriel — Rizal's sympathizers send him bank drafts.

* * *

Sta. Cruz, Manila, Filipinas
18 March 1892

MR. JOSÉ RIZAL
Hong Kong

DEAR JOSÉ,

Justo and another boy from Kalamba are going there, bringing your books, which arrived here only yesterday by special request. These parcels and other effects are listed on the back of this. There's a little bagoong sent to you by the de Hidalgo couple and please tell Tatay that I'm not sending yet his other orders, because the accounts due me are still unpaid.

All the letters have been delivered to their respective addressees.

Here everything is going on well. Everybody says that the feast of the captain general was very animated, more so than the royal feasts; but the guest of honor went to Pampanga leaving a special message that all could go to the palace and his wife would receive them well, as if he were present and that his absence had no other purpose than to avoid criticisms from his adversaries. Hence, the palace was filled with Filipinos and all had been well received. They said that the archbishop was also there but seated in a chair, apart, without speaking with any one. Days later he applied to the vice-governor for a leave of absence to go to Spain, and he was told

that there was no inconvenience in granting it so long as he presented first his resignation. Otherwise it was not possible to accede to his petition. In view of this opposition, the cunning rogue tried to disguise himself to undertake his voyage to Spain; but on account of the vigilance over him, he was unable to carry out his plan.

Enclosed is a clipping of the pardon. Four of them are excluded from it. Between the 5th and 10th of the coming month the three will be returned here. Everybody is advising me not to walk around much because that would be too much boldness and they might seize me. This advice is chiefly from Páez and Mr. Marcelino Santos and I answered them that at present I don't hide myself, come what may, I'm ready for anything, observing that saying: *Ang bayaning nasugatan, nag-iiba-ya ang tapang*.¹ And so they see me almost everyday walking through the streets or seated at the drugstores.

There was a big fire on the 14th instant, at seven o'clock at night, reducing to ashes all the buildings from the foot of España Bridge² at the left until Plaza San Gabriel, including Tuason's house, and in front, the whole block until the front of Bazar de Velasco,³ that is, all of that area now has been converted into a plaza, from Nueva Street until San Gabriel. The curious thing is that, after the fire, Palanca's⁴ house appeared demolished, despite the fact that it was situated fifth in a row of five houses which are not burnt down. It is said that it was the governor general who ordered its demolition by means of cannon shots. This is the current version and in fact now four houses in a row are seen standing and the fifth demolished. During the fire, according to what they say, the governor general ordered that the Filipinos be not employed in handling the pumps but all the Chinese of the vicinity be seized for this hard work with the assistance of the troops. All the thieves, including some Spaniards, were manacled and all the streets laid waste were watched by Filipino and Spanish troops. Only today the troops were removed.

You will receive at least two drafts from our good compatriots; one of them is from Sixto;⁵ I know because they consulted with me about the way they ought to be sent. They all wanted to give me the money and I replied that my opinion

¹ A saying in Tagalog meaning, "a wounded hero doubles his valor".

² Formerly on the site where now is Jones Bridge.

³ A large bazaar owned by a Chinese named Velasco that stood in the corner of Rosario and San Vicente Streets.

⁴ Name of a wealthy Chinese.

⁵ Sixto López, a patriot, friend of Rizal, and a wealthy Filipino from Balayan, Batangas.

is that he who offers a thing should not consult any one. And if they really wish to do so, they can do it according to their good judgment and that I cannot receive any amount of that nature. In view of this decision, they will send you drafts and you answer them acknowledging their receipt. It is possible that every month you would receive drafts. Let them help you. You sacrifice yourself for the common good, and I will encourage them much. As to British Borneo, we are studying it and I will let you know the greatest amount that we can get. For the present, you will receive what is in the list. The greatest amount refers to the good diamond jewelry, or rather, what Lucia and Trining loaned. They say that the amount you told me is small because afterwards, there might be scarcity. The manner of obtaining these jewels is being studied, for many are already convinced of it.

Effects and Drafts

For Tatay:

- 1 pair of sandals, 1 grindstone
- 1 pair of clogs, 1 bottle of *patís*

From Hidalgo

- 1 jar of fish *bagoong*

From Kalamba

- 4 boxes, pillows, one suitcase

Drafts

- pesos that you gave me
- pesos for Lucia, deducted ₱3.35 for
- 50 packs of cigarettes at 4 cents — ₱1.10
- 50 packs of cigarettes at 8 cents — ₱2.25

₱155 for British Borneo. What is lacking to make up the ₱400 I will send by another boat. Today this is impossible even with great resolution. If you wish, you can go there now with Sixto's ₱100; that is for you. I will take charge of this case of British Borneo.

The two boys cannot go simultaneously; today one goes, the other will go on the return trip of that boat.

Those of Taal, Balayan, and Batangas are very eager for information about British Borneo.

Many regards of your brother-in-law who values you.

S. UBALDO

P. S.

The draft today is 8-1/2%.
You will receive altogether ₱494.

166. Antonino López, Manila, 14 May 1892

Rizal's letter to Governor General Despujol — On inspection trip in the Southern Islands — News of his sister Sisa.

* * *

Manila, 14 May 1892

MR. JOSÉ RIZAL
Hong Kong

ESTEEMED JOSE,

Five or six days after the arrival at this capital city of Captain Martin, he came to visit us here, bringing me at the same time your letter addressed to Captain General Despujol¹ and advising me to mail the letter because he had to go to his hometown the following day. He could not deliver it himself to the captain general because he was away and would not be back until the end of the month. He is on a tour of the southern islands.

I suppose our parents have already told you about what happened to Sisa three days after her delivery. She was gravely ill of puerperal fever, according to Zamora; but today, thank God, she is completely safe.

This is all. Receive our affectionate regards and command your brother-in-law who embraces you.

ANTONINO

P. S.

I'll mail your letter as soon as the captain general returns from his tour. I dare not do it now for fear that it might be lost.

The same

¹ Rizal's second letter to Governor General Despujol reiterating his offer of his services to the administration, dated at Hong Kong, 21 March 1892. In it he informs His Excellency of his Borneo project, that is, to establish a Filipino colony in North Borneo. (*Epistolario Rizalino*, III, 305-307.)

167. Antonino López, Manila, 23 May 1892

Sisa, fairly improved — Despujol is not here yet — Awaiting pardon on the eve of His Majesty's birthday — Everyone is opposed to Rizal's return — Abroad he can do much for the country's welfare — As soon as he is freed, they will all go to Hong Kong for a visit.

* * *

Manila, 23 May 1892

MR. JOSÉ RIZAL

MY DEAR BROTHER-IN-LAW JOSÉ,

With pleasure we received your letter of the 13th of this month. I'm glad to tell you that Sisa is now completely out of danger from her illness.

With regard to Emilio and Antonio, I must tell you that during these times, without first knowing what will ultimately become of our situation, I don't intend to let them go far from my side. Until now, the general has not arrived and according to information, is not coming until the end of this month. I am waiting for him just in case he grants us some grace in view of our petition that he pardon us on the eve of His Majesty's birthday. As soon as he sets us free, we will depart for that port to visit you.

We appreciate very much your paternal interest in the education of our two boys, your nephews, and your desire that they may grow up in another atmosphere that is sane, free, and more enlightened. Well then, as you insist, I will try to send them there. Since the beginning, Antonio wants to go there to study, but I told him that there only commerce can be studied. I don't know if I'm mistaken. What I want is that they study first here at the Ateneo to learn some more, if it is possible.

Sisa is sending you a box of mangoes.

I'm glad you have abandoned your plan to come here. Well, almost everybody is opposed to your coming and I am also of the same opinion, as I have already told Tatay and Sr.

Paciano in my letter of last month — not to let you come to avoid greater evils and displeasures, which you already know. I believe that from there, without coming here, you can do all you want for the welfare of the Philippines.

This is all; our respects to our venerable parents and regards to all of you, and in the meantime command your brother-in-law who embraces you.

LÓPEZ

All the children are here, except Consuelo who is with her grandmother. Leoncio must be more clever than Antonio and he is more judicious. About Emilio I cannot tell you anything; I note that his ailment is becoming worse.

We are all in good health.

168. Rizal, Hong Kong, 20 June 1892

Rizal decides to return to the Philippines — The persecution of the innocent preoccupies him — He would like to save them from further suffering — Willing to risk his life —
"Man ought to die for his ideas and convictions."

* * *

Hong Kong, 20 June 1892

TO MY DEAR PARENTS, BROTHERS, AND FRIENDS:

The love that I have always professed you has induced me to take this step which only the future can say if it is sensible or not. Success judges things according to their consequences; but whether favorable or unfavorable, it will always be said that my duty has dictated it to me, and it does not matter should I die in its fulfillment.

I know that I have made you suffer greatly but I am not repenting of what I have done, and if I had to begin anew, I would again do the same thing that I did, because that is my duty. Gladly I depart to expose myself to danger, not to atone for my faults (for on this point I do not believe I have committed any), but to finish my work and to confirm with my example what I have always preached.

Man ought to die for his duty and his convictions. I maintain all the ideas that I have expressed concerning the state and the future of my country, and I will die gladly for her, and nay, to obtain justice and tranquility for you.

I risk my life with pleasure to save so many innocent persons, so many nephews, so many children of friends and not friends, who are suffering because of me. What am I? Only one man, almost without a family, quite disenchanted with life. I have had many deceptions, and my future is dark, and it will be very dark if it is not illumined by the light, the dawn, of my native land. Whereas there are so many beings full of hope and fancies who perhaps may all be happy with my death, which I hope will satisfy my enemies, and they will no longer

persecute so many innocent persons. Until a certain point their hatred of me is justified, not however with respect to my parents and relatives.

If luck is against me, let everybody know that I will die happy with the thought that my death has ended all their bitterness. Return to our native land and be happy there.

Until the last moment of my life I will think of you and wish you all kinds of happiness.

JOSÉ RIZAL

169. Rizal, Dapitan, 25 July 1892

"As if I were on vacation in Dapitan" — Loving remembrance to his mother — He commends his brother for substituting for his exiled brother-in-law Antonino — They should remain in Hong Kong for its good climate. — His sisters should continue studying English — They should keep the spacious house to accommodate relatives who may go there.

* * *

Dapitan, 25 July 1892

MRS. TEODORA ALONSO
[Hong Kong]

MY DEAR MOTHER:

In these days of lack of communication, travel, and deportation, I'm greatly distressed thinking of you, and for this reason I hasten to write you to tell you that I am well here as if I were on vacation in this politico-military district.¹ I don't miss anything except the family and freedom.

Few from there come here, for there is only one mail boat every twenty-seven days.

Today, the 27th, the official mail arrived and brought me a letter of my brother informing me of his departure for *Joló* with four companions. I commend his decision to go in place of my brother-in-law Antonino, but I don't admire him for it.

I am of the opinion that you should remain there in Hong Kong: its climate is good and healthful. And now that Antonino is free I believe he should accompany Sra. Sisa in going there to spend a season to cure herself of her ailments. Four or five months that she may spend there in autumn or winter will be of great benefit to her. She should bring along Angélica so that this girl can study a little, as she has such good aptitude.

¹ It is not yet a province.

I suggest to Pangoy and Trining to continue studying English, for now that they like to live in that colony, they ought to know the official language that is spoken in it. I don't believe that it would be convenient to change house and take a smaller one; that one is good in case relatives come or go there to visit you.

Don't send me anything, absolutely nothing, for I need nothing more than a pair of good shoes, and these are hard to send by mail.

Let all the letters as well as the books and newspapers that may come from Europe remain there, for they may be lost on account of the many changes and transfers.²

Many regards to Mr. Cunha and his family. Send the enclosed letters to their addressees.

Your son who loves you heartily,

JOSÉ RIZAL

² Rizal seems to think that his exile would not last long, that he would regain his freedom soon.

170. Rizal, Dapitan, 19 January 1893

To supply Dapitan with fish — Small *sakag* catches only little fish
— With a large *pukútan* more fish can be caught — Order
for one *pukútan* — And two Calamba fishermen.

* * *

Dapitan, 19 January 1893

MR. MANUEL T. HIDALGO

MY DEAR BROTHER-IN-LAW MANENG,

Here I have formed a partnership with a Spaniard to supply the town with fish of which it lacks. In Dapitan alone there are six thousand inhabitants and in the interior some two or three thousands more and for so many people there is nothing but small *sakag* that catches little fishes of the size of the *talaisá*. Aquilino told me that with one *pukútan* alone like yours, the whole town can be supplied with fish, because here there is a good beach and fish abound a little distance away from the shore. If you wish to sell me your *pukútan* at an agreed price, and if it is still in good condition, I would buy it. If not, I would appreciate it if you would buy me a *pukútan* in the same condition, good, strong, etc. Here nobody knows how to weave the mesh of a net.

I would appreciate also very much if you would look for me for two men or families of the beach of Kalamba who understand fishing. If they come, their fare will be paid by me. They take passage for Cebú on the mail boat that comes here without saying from where they are or whether they are going to Dapitan, and when the boat passes by here, the governor will disembark them. The fare from Manila to Cebú costs less than one-half of the fare from Manila to Dapitan and a curious thing, the boat touches at Dapitan before Cebú.

I would appreciate it also if you would tell me your arrangement with the fishermen, so that we would know how to deal with them. They will have a house and all they may need

for their subsistence. I believe this would be a good business.

For the payment of the net, please ask our Father who holds for me some money.

Do me also the favor of telling our father or Antonino (anyone of the two) that if my money is not yet invested, to please send me ₱500 delivering them to the Professor Superior of the Jesuits of Manila, for I intend to engage here in the buying of abaca. If there is no money, *pacienciao*.¹

With many regards to the esteemed Sra. Neneng, kisses to the children whom I should like to see here,

Yours,

RIZAL

If Policarpio and Eugenio, with their families, could come, even if I had to pay their debts.

The same.

¹ A characteristic Chinese pronunciation of *paciencia* (patience.)

171. Rizal, Dapitan, 8 February 1893

The price of the small dragnet — In partnership with another —
Choleng's convalescence — If his sisters would visit him — His
santol in bloom by March but not the *lanzón* — Rizal's
hammock will be imitated — Naming of his
land — Do not send him *bancas*.

* . * *

Dapitan, 8 February 1893

MR. MANUEL T. HIDALGO

MY DEAR MANENG,

I commend your diligence, for, by your letter of the 4th instant, I see that the failure of the small dragnet to get here was not due to you. You do wrong in not mentioning to me the price, for as I am in partnership with another person, to divide everything, we need to know it, so that each one may put in his half. Had I been alone in the business I would not have said anything to you about the price.

I applaud the improvement of Choleng and I have no doubt that if she would come, I could cure her, if it may be possible. To be able to say whether or not she will relapse, it is necessary that I see her first. I would be glad to see them here.

Just by thinking that you are coming with Sra. Neneng I already become glad. Unfortunately, by the month of March, my fruit trees will not yet have fruits. The *santol* may be in bloom, but the *lanzón* trees will take a long time yet.

They are going to imitate here the hammock you sent me. Thank God that my banishment can bring something useful to Dapitan.

Until this month we have had rain, but I believe that the dry season is beginning. I am clearing in order to sow rice and corn. My land, which is called here Talisay but has no *talisay* tree of any worth, is looking for a name. I am thinking of calling it *Balunó* or *Baunó* on account of a large tree with this name that grows there.

Read my letter to Antonino; in it I tell him some things that are worth knowing.

I should like to know if those from there are decided to come here or not. I know that traveling expenses and fare are costly, but on the other hand here they would have their own lands and extensive ones too.

Many regards to Sra. Neneng and tell her that here she will find a virgin territory for her business.

Don't send me *bancas* any more for here they are cheap. Aquilino bought one for three pesos and he says that there it would cost 15 pesos at least. The freight of the *bancas* moreover would be tremendous.

Yours,

RIZAL

Kisses to the children.

172. Rizal, Dapitan, 7 March 1893

Deportees in Jolo freed — Waiting for the fish net — Inviting his
brothers — The climate and the low cost of living there —
The lucrative abaca business — His furniture and books —
His pretty little house built.

* * *

Dapitan, 7 March 1893

MR. MANUEL T. HIDALGO

MY DEAR BROTHER-IN-LAW MANENG,

I received your two letters of 18 February and 4 March and I am very glad that those from Jolo arrived there without any trouble.

I am very sorry that the fish net has not arrived. We were waiting for it because we lack fish to eat and the people are fasting without desiring to do so. You could have sent it to me without the men, for I already engaged men here to cast, repair, and dry it. But finally it may come on another mail boat.

Here we were waiting for you and Sra. Neneng. I assure you that the climate here is exceedingly good for these latitudes; the cost of living is low; and there is a great deal of business opportunities. The buying of abaca in which I should like to engage is profitable; the arroba (25 lbs.) here costs one peso and three reales, so that one picul (137 1/2 lbs.) will cost 7 pesos and 4 reales 10, and there in Manila it is sold at ₱10 and 4 reales, so that one can gain enough.

My effects in Hong Kong, furniture as well as books, etc., should be left packed and boxed. If my sisters and our parents should decide to come here, which is what I should like, I will have all my things brought here. My house will be finished either tomorrow or after tomorrow. It is very pretty for its price (₱40) and it turned out better than what I wanted. My lot cannot be better and I am improving it every day. I have registered the property so that I shall not have troubles

with any body now or in the future. I am sure that if you come, you will be pleased with my property. I have plenty of land to accommodate at least five families with houses and orchards. Besides this, here there are immense lands for cultivation. Many abaca plantations are for sale at relatively cheap price. I believe that if some people would come to see them for themselves, they would not repent.

Many regards to Sra. Neneng and kisses to the children.

You know that I await you eagerly.

Yours,

JOSÉ RIZAL

P. S.

You could tell Mr. Mariano Papio that I cannot say anything about his eyes without seeing them first, that undoubtedly I would do what science advises but that I cannot promise anything beforehand.

173. Rizal, Dapitan, 5 April 1893

No more fish net — Congratulations to Alfredo — In good health though earning little — He misses nothing except the family and his books — Gift of jars of mangoes — His sister should not work too hard and should remember him also —
His trees are bearing fruit.

* * *

Dapitan, 5 April 1893

MR. MANUEL T. HIDALGO

MY DEAR BROTHER-IN-LAW MANENG,

I received your letter and I learned with regret that the fish net could not be sent. You did well in not sending it to me because having been left alone in the partnership, I would not know how to manage it alone, so that if it is not yet cut, do not send it to me any more.

I felicitate you on Alfredo's success. May all the rest be like him! Tell him that I congratulate him heartily.

Tell Sr. Paciano that I should like to write him, but as I have nothing to say to him that he does not know already, I abstain for the present.

Here I am enjoying good health; it is not as warm as there; and I earn enough, though little, to support myself. I miss nothing except the family and my books.

Aquilino is leaving on the next mail boat. I am going to see if I can send you some jars of *paho'* for I have nothing else here that is worthwhile.

Brother Titlot of the Society of Jesus is going there. You and Antonino call on him and he will be glad to see you and he will tell you how I am here.

I suppose that Sra. Neneng ought to be very busy these days with her business. Please tell her not to work so hard and to remember me now and then by writing me a few lines.

¹ *Paho'* (*Mangifera longipes* Griff.) is a variety of mangoes. It is tiny with a pleasant aroma and generally used for salad and pickles.

Here we celebrated Holy Week fairly well. There was a procession on Thursday and Good Friday as well as on Easter Sunday. On Palm Sunday there were no *Maligays* but there was a procession in the church yard.

My trees now bear fruits. If you would come, it would be a pleasure for me. Your brother who embraces you and kisses your children.

Yours,

RIZAL

174. Rizal, Dapitan, 3 May 1893

Justo, mistaken for Rizal's brother was seized — Pay
Mr. Carnicero for his board — If he declines it,
give him an equivalent gift.

* * *

Dapitan, 3 May 1893

MR. MANUEL T. HIDALGO

MY DEAR MANENG,

I received your letter and I am glad that you are all well.

Through my letter to Antonino you must have already known the misfortune that befell Justo. They took him for no less than my brother, or he had the boldness to say so and they have detained him. The matter has to be cleared up yet.

Please find out the residence of Mr. Ricardo Carnicero, the outgoing politico-military commander of this district, a person whom I owe many favors, and please deliver to him ₱90 in payment of my board for six months, according to what I have asked the Government. In case this gentleman would not accept it, as he had manifested to me, present him an equivalent gift — a ring or a gold chain, which he deserves. Ask our father for the money.

Excuse this trouble.

Love to all.

Yours,

JOSÉ RIZAL

175. Rizal, Dapitan, 8 June 1893

A cane as gift to Carnicero — The accident of his brother
— A tiny branch hit his eye also — The
trip of his mother and brothers.

* * *

Dapitan, 8 June 1893

MY DEAR MANENG,

I received your two letters and I appreciate the trouble you have taken in complying with my requests. Presenting him with a cane seems to me a very good idea.

I am very sorry for the accident that befell my brother Paciano. Something similar happened to me while cleaning my land — a tiny branch hit my eye, but it was slight. I recommend to my brother the pomade of yellow precipitate. A small grain, the size of the head of a pin, is dropped into the eye between the eyelid and the ball and afterwards it is rubbed for a minute. Also washing with a solution of boric acid if the inflammation continues.

If my mother or my brothers want to come, they may take a boat direct to Cebú and from there board a boat going to Dapitan. Pedro, the Chinese, who will be there, will be able to tell them the best way to travel.

Excuse me for being brief this time. I have so many letters to write and hardly any time is left.

I am in good health.

Love to all.

Yours,

RIZAL

176. Silvestre Ubaldo, Manila, 30 June 1893

About Rizal in Brussels — Papers on dispossession — That Rizal take active interest in the case -- The Calamba people take possession of their lands by force — They refuse to pay the canon.

* * *

Sta. Cruz, Manila, 30 June 1893

MR. JOSÉ RIZAL

DEAR JOSÉ,

There has been received here a letter explaining your sojourn at Brussels. Enclosed I send you the papers on dispossession presented by the administrator of the Calamba Estate against Father. Paciano requests me to tell you to take great interest in this case, as it is the people's weapon. If they lose, the people will revert to their primitive state for being already wearied of the business. The people of the town, except 4 or 5 of the Elepaños and Quinteros, refused to pay the canon to the Estate, and all those who had been dispossessed of their lands sometime ago returned to take possession of them by force. The Dominicans could not do anything against them, so that the townspeople are sure of the good outcome of this litigation.

I send you the enclosed draft for you; but if a larger sum is necessary for the case, return it to me by the next mail to increase its amount. I do not know if you have received my power of attorney including That is only mine, for Father's went jointly with that of Nicasio Eigasani whose bearer was Serrano. I suppose that you have already been informed about Choleng. Nothing is yet known about the case of Maneng.

Ah! The recourse of complaint in the case of Father having been filed, write me and send me the notice that it has been admitted in order to present it to the court on the day the term fixed by law expires. On the letter's envelope you can write this address:

Mr. Simeón Miranda
26 Salcedo St.
Sta. Cruz

And on the inside envelope my name.

If you can furnish me with a book of the hydropath Preit-
nist, I thank you in advance for it. This is a very useful book
to my tenants.

You know that your brother-in-law loves you,

LUDOPA S.

177. Rizal, Dapitan, 1 August 1893

If his mother would visit him — His house in a beautiful place —
Lacking only one who knows how to cook well —
Another prescription — In August Rizal performed
many surgical operations with pay.

* * *

Dapitan, 1 August 1893

MR. MANUEL T. HIDALGO

MY DEAR MANENG,

I received your letter together with the rice and three jars of biscuits for which I thank you very much.

Our mother's idea to come here is very good: Six or seven months of vacation to see these lands; the town is picturesque. My house has good views. To one who is fond of farming the place offers many opportunities. I have enough household helpers — one old woman, two men, and three boys. There is only lacking here a person who knows how to cook well.

Continue observing Abelardo; see if he hears.

I congratulate you on Alfredo's progress. I wish Sra. Neneng to profit from her business venture.

Read my letter to Antonino.

With many regards to all, especially to our parents.

Yours,

RIZAL

P. S.

I'm very sorry that Sr. Paciano is sick. I suggest that he always carry with him a little bottle of Fowler's arsenical liquor, taking daily two or four drops in a little cup of water. Do not use too much quinine.

When Antonino rebuilds his house, he should not use zinc for roofing. Zinc causes many ailments.

This month I performed many operations on persons who paid.

They are right in coming through Cebú.

178. Rizal, Dapitan, 29 August 1893

Rizal's family — If they like the lands, they will write
to their friends to come — Waiting for his
father — His lands have *lanzon* trees.

* * *

Dapitan, 29 August 1893

MR. ANTONINO LÓPEZ

MY DEAR TONINO,

The family arrived here and I only regret that Ikang did not come along. I have many *lanzon* trees with many fruits. Emilio arrived well; let us see if he will get cured.

Our family will go around my lands this afternoon which they have not yet visited. If they like them, then they will write home by the next mail and we shall see if Ikang and the rest of the folks would come.

Please tell our father that he will like it here very much because I have good water and a good view of the sea.

Tell him also to please give ₱35 to Mr. Julian Borromeo.

I do not write more because I'm very busy with the family.

Love to all.

I must give special thanks to my two sisters for so many good things. I regret deeply what is happening to Pepito.

I advise Mang Hino not to eat anything else except pure vegetables, vegetables and vegetables only.

Love to all.

JOSÉ RIZAL

179. Rizal, Dapitan, 25 October 1893

Congratulations on the arrival of an addition to the family — Christmas lanterns — "Nanay and Trining are satisfied with my land." — "Here we have no civil guards, nor neighbors, nor gossip." — ₱10 for a Christmas lottery ticket.

✻ ✻ ✻

Dapitan, 25 October 1893

MR. MANUEL T. HIDALGO

MY DEAR BROTHER-IN-LAW MANENG,

I received your three letters and I congratulate you on the happy addition to your family that worried us so much here. Nanay did nothing else but inquire about Sra. Neneng.

I approve of all that you did in the treatment of the mother and may God will that she may be cured completely. I was very sad because they told me that Sra. Neneng was sick. I reiterate then my congratulations.

As I want to celebrate Christmas properly, I would appreciate it if you would send me a bale of Japanese paper and some sheets of colored paper for making paper lanterns. I bother you because Antonino is going to Bay.

You will do well to enroll in medicine if you like it very much. It is eminently a humanitarian career.

Mr. Padillo is in fact a good man and I am glad that he got a good position. He was very much bored here and I can understand it. He did not speak the local language. Lipa is already another thing.

Nanay and Trining are sending you many regards and are wishing to see you here. More and more they like my land and tranquility. Here we have no civil guards, nor neighbors, nor gossip.

I am sending you ₱20 with which to please buy me a whole lottery ticket for the special December lottery. The ₱10 are

for the payment of the rice and other things that you have sent me. I should like to play the lottery only to find out my luck.

I would also appreciate it if you would buy me at Arevalo's a pair of pincers for extracting an abnormal incisor.

Enclosed is a letter for Sra. Neneng.

Yours,

JOSÉ RIZAL

180. Rizal, 25 October 1893

Congratulations on her happy delivery — He invites her to Dapitan to trade in clothes, jewels, and abaca.

* * *

25 October 1893

MRS. SATURNINA RIZAL

MY DEAR SISTER,

A great weight has been lifted from us when we received the news of your happy delivery. Nanay (Mother) became very glad, as all of us did.

Nanay believes that you will come some day. Here you can trade in clothes, jewels, and abaca.

I don't know who there needs a prescription for herpes. The treatment that I follow is to give arsenical liquor of Fowler in drops, 5 every day, and then wash the herpes with a solution of sublimate, 1 x 1000. I don't know if it is Sra. Concha or Sra. Sisa who has a child with herpes.

With nothing more for the present, your very affectionate brother who loves you,

JOSÉ RIZAL

181. Rizal, Dapitan, 26 October 1893

A good student of English — Invites her to Dapitan — "Our little house is between beautiful mountains". — A lottery ticket —
— Grammatical correction — Wishes to see his father.

* * *

Dapitan, 26 October 1893

MISS JOSEPHINE RIZAL
CALAMBA, LAGUNA

DEAREST SISTER,

Yours at hand, I am very glad to see that you nearly master the English language.

I should be very glad if you all come here; here it is not so warm as there; our house here is small but the ground is large and it is situated between lovely mountains.

You will receive from the Chinese Pedro Cuesta ₱20, 10 out of them for a lottery ticket, and the ten remaining for different things I should like to have, I wrote to our brother-in-law Maneng.

The ₱50 I was going to send there, you will not receive them perhaps as I disposed of them.

Send my best regards to Don Pepe.

Let me call your attention to an English word that you do not write properly. *They are* (ellos son); there (allí); do not confuse these things, this is the only fault I found in your letter.

This letter is written in English. Rizal even put into English his sister's name, Josefa, fondly called Pangoy. The postscript is partly English and partly Tagalog.

Tell our father that I should like to see him; I hope we shall see one another very soon. Kiss him the hand for me.

Thanks for the paper, and for everything you sent here.

Yours truly,

JOSÉ RIZAL

P. S.

Mother wishes to tell you that she has got your letter. The rice could not be sold because of the new harvest here.

You take care of buying their shoes; the heels should not be high, but the sole should not be too thin; two layers of leather will be just right.

182. Rizal, Dapitan, 20 December 1893

Pablo Mercado carries out a friar intrigue — Revelations — Letters and other writings of Rizal to embarrass him — Detention of the impostor — Rizal's helpers: Edjawan and Agapay.

* * *

Dapitan, 20 December 1893

MR. MANUEL T. HIDALGO

MY DEAR BROTHER-IN-LAW MANENG,

I was unable to write you by the previous mail for lack of time, for the boat left unexpectedly.

With regard to Pablo Mercado, I tell you that he came here presenting himself as a courteous friend in order to get from my letters, writings, *etc.*; but I found him out soon, and if I did not throw him out of the house brusquely, it was because I always want to be nice and polite to everyone. Nevertheless, as it was raining, I let him sleep here, sending him away very early the next day. I was going to let him alone in contempt but as the rascal went around saying secretly that he was my cousin or brother-in-law, I reported him to the Commander who had him arrested.

It was revealed in his declaration that he was sent by the Recollects who gave him P72 and promised him more if he succeeded in wresting from me letters for certain persons in Manila. The rascal told me that he was a cousin of one Mr. Litonjua, son of Luis Chiquito, according to him and brother-in-law of Marciano Ramirez. He wanted me to write to these gentlemen. He brought along besides a picture of mine, saying that it was given to him by one Mr. Legazpi of Tondo or San Nicolás, I don't remember exactly. It seems that he belongs to a good family of Cagayan de Misamis. Be careful of him; he is a tall boy, somewhat thickset, slightly squint-eyed, dark, slender, broad shoulders, and of impudent manners. He smokes much, spit more, and has thin lips.

¹ Estanislao Legazpi.

With respect to what Abelardo may have, you can be right, so that hydrotherapy is not contraindicated. It would not be bad in my opinion to give him something of strychnine, but one must know how to administer it.

I believe two boys of mine are going there: One of them is Mateo Edjawan, a very commendable young man, son of a *gobernadorcillo* of Paete, who has served me very well. You can ask him for details. The other one I believe is Pedro Agapay who is going to be in my father's service.

Here we are making some preparations for Christmas. We have made paper lanterns.

Alfredo's letter brought me much joy. By the character of his writing, though not much can be said because it is not yet well shaped, he seems to be a lad of clear intelligence, quiet, not very lively, fine, and with time, he will be reserved and will know how to keep secrets, his own and other people's. I don't believe he will be distinguished by the impetuosity of his ideas or of his character, but indeed, he will be pensive, a thinker, polite, and considerate. This is what I seem to divine by the character of his writing. But I may be mistaken half and half. He is besides affectionate.

Many regards to Sra. Neneng whom I wish the best of health possible in this world.

Merry Christmas and Happy New Year.

Your brother-in-law who loves you,

JOSÉ RIZAL

183. Rizal, Dapitan, 20 December 1893

Encouraging his nephew in his studies — A little mistake in expression — Life is an eternal struggle with a smile on the lips and tears in the heart.

* * *

Dapitan, 20 December 1893

MASTER ALFREDO HIDALGO

MY DEAR ALFREDO,

Your letter pleased me very much and I see that you are very much advanced. I congratulate you on it and on your excellent grade.

I believe it is my duty to call your attention to a little mistake you have committed in your letter, a mistake that many commit in society. One does not say "I and my brothers greet you" but "My brothers and I greet you". You must always put yourself in the last place; you should say, "Emilio and I; You and I; My friend and I." etc.

As to the rest, your letter leaves nothing to be desired with respect to clarity, conciseness, and orthography. Go ahead then; study, study, and meditate well what you study. Life is a very serious thing and only those with intelligence and heart go through it worthily. To live is to be among men and to be among men is to struggle. But this struggle is not a brutal and material struggle with men alone; it is a struggle with them, with one's self, with their passions and one's own, with errors and preoccupations. It is an eternal struggle with a smile on the lips and tears in the heart. On this battlefield man has no better weapon than his intelligence, no other force but his heart. Sharpen, perfect, polish then your mind and fortify and educate your heart.

Enough for the present. I wish you Merry Christmas and Happy New Year.

Your uncle who loves you,

JOSÉ RIZAL

184. Rizal, Dapitan, 14 February 1894

Without letters or news — Application for liberty borne by his brother-in-law — Tatay (Father) ought to present it on behalf of his son
— House plan — Consult M. Salvador's father about its cost.

* * *

Dapitan, 14 February 1894

MR. MANUEL T. HIDALGO

MY DEAR BROTHER-IN-LAW MANENG,

Althought I have not yet received your letters, nor do I know if I have any in this mail, nevertheless I presume that nothing unpleasant has happened to you there. "No news, good news", say the English.

Enclosed I send you a request addressed to the governor general¹. I do not send it directly to His Excellency, because, as he is not there, I am afraid it may be lost in some corner anywhere. If Tatay were not as he is, he would be the most fitting person to present my request to Malakanañang on behalf of his son, but I am afraid he may lose it. He is moreover very old and those trips can hurt him.

I have thought of you, but you have much work; my brother is very busy and I say the same about Antonino. As to Silvestre, there is nothing to say; I do not believe he would like to do anything for me; he behaves towards me in a way that I do not believe I deserve. I do not know then how to proceed. In short, I leave to your good judgment to decide who ought to present this request.

Enclosed is a plan for a house with some suggestions. I should like to know from a contractor how much it would cost. I think that the father of M. Salvador² understands much about this.

¹ Rizal's petition for his freedom. In it he relates that he has been deprived of it without due process of law, without trial and for two years reduced to inactivity after having finished a costly medical course. See *Epistolario Rizalino*, IV, 193-194.

² Moises Salvador.

Here we are all well, thanks God. Our mother is already well.

I have heard that Sra. Neneng is having a house built in Mainit. I am glad of it.

Command as always your brother-in-law who loves you truly,

JOSÉ RIZAL

185. Rizal, Dapitan, 10 March 1894

His petition unanswered — Ordering a book on the diseases of the ears
— Much success though little money — Few patients go
away without being cured — Rizal will represent
an association of abaca growers.

* * *

Dapitan, 10 March 1894

MR. MANUEL T. HIDALGO

MY DEAR BROTHER-IN-LAW MANENG,

I have received your letters, I believe all, and I have read them and I have always answered them. If you do not receive my letters, it will be because either they are lost or they are too much, which amounts to the same thing.

In fact there are race horses here . . . but for racing here and no more. They are not worth much either as horses or as value, for here they do not know how to take care of them or train them. Imagine the curry comb is unknown and there is not a stable anywhere. The horse looks for his own food in the fields and when needed for riding, he is caught with a lasso. Probably there may be better ones in the district of Misamis, for I know that the people there are fond of horses.

Until now I have not received a reply from the governor general.

If you can find someone there who has a good treatise on the diseases of the ear, I request you to buy it for me and send it to me at the first opportunity. I have patients here. But you have to get the money from my funds of Trozo.

Here we are all well. Our house is being enlarged little by little.

I do not know how Sra. Neneng and Silvestre are getting along with their ailments. I assure you that here my good luck brings me much success, though little money. The only ones who go away uncured are the tuberculous patients in the third

period with cavities and one who had fibrous tumors in the larynx who did not want to inhale chloroform. I have a desire to be there to attend to you.

It is probable that I may represent here an association of abaca growers and then I shall need you for the sale there. If a commission of 5% is acceptable to you, let me know.

With nothing more for the present, affectionate regards to Sra. Neneng and many kisses to the children.

Your affectionate brother-in-law,

RIZAL

186. Rizal, Dapitan, 13 March 1894

All Well, Rizal is missing only his books — His lands dotted with little hospital-houses — With very many patients — Are letters lost in the mail?

* * *

Dapitan, 13 March 1894

MR. MANUEL T. HIDALGO

MY DEAR BROTHER-IN-LAW MANENG,

This mail has been very odd. I have not received more than your letter of the 10th and that of Antonino of the month of February. I do not know what they have done with mine that you say absolutely nothing about them.

Tell Silvestre that I do not see the indication of pilocarpine, for I cannot examine his vision from here. But if his sickness arises from paludism, I advise him to take arsenic, beginning with ten drops daily of Fowler's arsenical liquor and increasing by two every day until 30 drops.

We have not received neither rice nor sugar nor anything by this mail boat and I am very much afraid that our supply would be exhausted.

They do not write us from there whether or not they have received either the ₱50 we sent through Mateo or the ₱200 that we sent through Mr. Domingo Orlach.

Here we continue in good health and I only miss my books that I should like to have beside me for reference. I have very many patients who come from different towns and now I have my lands dotted with little hospital-houses.

If there is no more safety in the mail, inasmuch as letters are getting lost, we shall have to take another route, which is annoying.

I have sent you a registered letter with my request to the captain general and you tell me nothing about it. What is happening then?

With nothing more for the present, we send you many regards and you know we esteem you and love you all.

Regards to Sra. Neneng and love to your children.

Very affectionately yours,

JOSÉ RIZAL

187. Rizal, Dapitan, 5 June 1894

The governor general has not replied—A reminder of his request—
Abaca agency in Manila—Rizal's business transactions—Ma-
jority of his numerous patients are poor—He earns
something but not enough for the work
done—Tagalog dictionary.

* * *

Dapitan, 5 June 1894

MR. MANUEL T. HIDALGO

MY DEAR BROTHER-IN-LAW MANENG,

I have not received a letter from you in the last two mails and I know nothing about you there. His Excellency has not yet written me a word. It will not be useless for you to present yourself to him when he arrives there to remind him of my request.

I do not know if I can bother you about a business that I have undertaken here. I know that you are devoted to scientific and speculative studies and for this reason I have not written you and I preferred to address my self to Antonino for being more accustomed to these business matters. But I have no doubt that you or Sra. Neneng must know there somebody who wishes to be an agent to sell abaca and copra. We here could give him from 3 to 5% of the sale. I have written to Antonino but he has his lands in Bay to attend to. If Sra. Neneng were not a woman, I would make her my agent. Within a few days I am going to order there unbleached cloth (some three bales) and when I send the abaca, I will order some 300 piculs of rice, and in all these purchases and sales the agent naturally has his commission. Excuse me then for making you this proposal, but as I know no one to whom to address myself, I am obliged to do so by necessity.

Here I have many patients, but the majority of them are poor. I earn something but not enough for the work done.

Heeding what they are asking me insistently from abroad, I have decided to prepare a dictionary of the Tagalog language,

a work that I cannot finish unless you help me. You can save me the work of looking for words and give their explanation. I will take care of classifying them grammatically, look for their analogies in Malayan languages and give their equivalent in Spanish, English, French, and German. In that way we can produce a monumental work of the Tagalog language. I realize that in order to finish this work it is necessary to be in the bosom of Tagalism, but I trust that I shall soon be in your midst.

With nothing more for the present, many regards from all here to you, Sra. Neneng, the children, etc.

Your brother-in-law who loves you,

RIZAL

188. Rizal, Dapitan, 4 July 1894

Eyeglasses or lenses for cataract—Rizal in business partnership with a man in Dapitan—Invites his sister to engage in the abaca business—He lets his family decide his return—"If with my specialty I can earn more there, I will return to Manila."—Operated on his mother for cataracts.

* * *

Dapitan, 4 July 1894

MR. MANUEL T. HIDALGO

MY DEAR BROTHER-IN-LAW MANENG,

I received your two letters together with Valentin Ventura's letter and the little box of eyeglasses or lenses for cataracts. Enclosed with this is a reply to Ventura and I should like you to send it through the same bearer that brought his letter.

With regard to the partnership proposed by Sra. Neneng, I should be very glad of it. But I should like first to make this experiment in order to see if something is gained or lost. She may lose. I have given ₱1,000 to a man here to buy abaca; the profit and the loss will be divided equally. By this mail boat I am trying to send 150 bundles of abaca and copra to be sold to any foreign firm and after deducting the expenses and the capital, we shall divide the profit or the loss. This is our partnership. If she approves of this, I would like exceedingly that she send me ₱1,000.

With regard to my return there, you decide what is convenient. If there are too many physicians there and I am not needed, it is all right that they leave me here. I shall be able to manage with the little that I earn here. If you think that with my specialization I can earn more there, then it would be better that I return. As to the rest, it is all a question of trying for some months.

I have operated successfully on Mother for cataracts, inasmuch as she was able to see at once and very clearly. The healing was going to last three days, but encouraged by this, she

did not want to follow my prescriptions and got up and went to bed by herself, went out to the service porch, removing and putting on the bandage, always telling me that nothing will happen to her, until her eye became inflamed, (she suspected that she received a blow during the night), and now she is very ill. I do not know if I can pull her out. The wound opened, the iris was ruptured and now she has an acute ophthalmia. Nothing can stop her, she reads, she goes out to the light, she rubs her eyes. What is happening to her is incredible. Now I understand very well why one ought to be forbidden to treat members of his family.

With nothing more for the present, regards of Nanay and Trining to all of you and you command your brother who loves you.

JOSÉ RIZAL.

P. S.

For the present, while Tonino is there, as he has offered himself first, I will make him abaca agent of the Dapitanos.

We have learned here that you lost your daughter. Our heartfelt condolence. One little angel more and one Filipino girl less.

189. Rizal, Dapitan, 26 September 1894

Subscription to *La Oceanía*—Will not write any more to the governor general. — He is engaged in business with a capital he has earned from his medical practice— He deplores the misfortunes of his brothers at Calamba — "If I could monopolize all the troubles and losses and leave to you all the joys and profits, I would do it with pleasure."

* * *

Dapitan, 26 September 1894

MR. MANUEL T. HIDALGO

MY DEAR BROTHER-IN-LAW MANENG,

I received your last letter as well as the first subscription numbers of *La Oceanía*.

I am not intending to write any more to His Excellency, for I have already written him a second letter and I have not received a reply. Let them do what they want. Take note that I have not asked for anything impossible or absurd.

I am very sorry that you cannot join me in the abaca business, for, although this time we gained almost nothing, we hope that in the following months we could gain more. I am not using any capital except what I have earned here through my practice, for the little that was left to me of the lottery prize¹ I gave to our father who has invested it. I am also very sorry for your misfortunes in Kalamba, but I applaud you because you did not utter the least complaint. Until now no one has complained, at least so far as I know, and nothing is lacking except for a member of our family to complain. It would be a second misfortune, perhaps greater than the first. If it were in my hands to monopolize all the troubles, all the losses, and leave to you all the joys and all the profits, with what pleasure would I do it, God knows! What makes me sorry is not to have won one hundred thousand, a million pesos, in order to

¹ Rizal won one-third of the lottery prize of ₱20,000, which he divided between his parents and his sisters.

remedy so many necessities. But finally let us be patient, and you do well in giving an example of dignity. Happy days will come. The question is to trust and hope, as Montecristo said.

If you see the Luna brothers, give them my regards. Tell Antonio what a strange thing it was. About two or three weeks ago I dreamed that he had opened a fencing school in Manila! What a coincidence! His vest was made of hemp.²

I do not see any chance of Mr. Juan Luna teaching you shooting. How can he do it, since shooting has played such an important role in the tragedy of his life³! And then shooting is not taught much; it is acquired through sheer practice.

Nanay remembers you often and always asks from the solitaires⁴ and cards how you are getting along. She appreciates very much your regards and like the rest of us return them affectionately.

This is the season of rains here.

I am very busy with the question of the mail. Very affectionate regards to Mrs. Neneng and kisses to the little ones. Come here to spend a few days.

Yours,

RIZAL

² In Spanish *cañamo*.

³ He alludes to the shooting by Juan Luna of his wife and mother-in-law and the wounding of his brother-in-law Felix in passion in 1892. *A crime de passion*, it was a celebrated case. Luna was acquitted by the French court.

⁴ Solitaire is a game of cards played alone.

190. Rizal, Dapitan, 21 November 1894

Rizal spoke with His Excellency at Dapitan — He promised to transfer him either to Ilocos or La Unión.

* * *

Dapitan, 21 November 1894

MR. MANUEL T. HIDALGO

MY DEAR BROTHER-IN-LAW MANENG,

I received your letter and I am informed of its contents.

His Excellency has been here and I talked with him a long time. He told me that he has lifted up your deportation about five or six days ago and he was going to finish the case of Mr. D. Cortés.¹ With regard to me, he promised to change my residence, taking me to Ilocos or La Unión.

Thanks for the can of sausages. We have not yet tasted it, for we are leaving it for a better occasion.

Sra. María has arrived here and has told us a great deal about you, mentioning many things that have put me at ease.

I am very glad of the progress of the business of Sra. Neneng. Forward! I have good news of Alfredo and I congratulate him. I only regret that our Abelardo is not yet as you desire him to be.

Enclosed are two letters for the Luna brothers.

On the next mail-boat all the women will return there, for I believe I shall leave this place in January.

With nothing more, regards to all.

Ever yours,

RIZAL

¹ Doroteo José.

191. Rizal, Dapitan, 14 March 1895

Recommending Miss Josephine L. Tauffer to his mother—That she give her hospitality and treat her like a daughter, as an esteemed and dear person to Rizal.

* * *

Dapitan, 14 March 1895

MRS. TEODORA ALONSO
Manila

MY VERY DEAR MOTHER,

The bearer of this letter is Miss Josephine Leopoldine Tauffer¹ whom I was on the point of marrying, counting on your consent, of course. Our relations were broken on her suggestion on account of the numerous difficulties on the way. She is almost alone in the world; she has only very distant relatives.

As I am interested in her and it is very possible that she may later decide to join me and as she may be left all alone and abandoned, I beg you to give her hospitality there, treating her as a daughter, until she shall have an opportunity or occasion to come here.

I have decided to write the General² to find out about my case.

Treat Miss Josephine as a person whom I esteem and value much and whom I would not like to be unprotected and abandoned.

Your most affectionate son who loves you,

JOSÉ RIZAL

If Trining can't come alone, it is very easy for her to come with Antonio.

¹ This is the Irish young woman who accompanied Mr. Tauffer of Hong Kong to Dapitan, seeking Rizal's services as ophthalmologist. She also called herself Josephine Bracken.

² That is, the governor general.

192. Rizal, Dapitan, [April 1895?]

Miss Josephine is grateful for the hospitality—Rizal decides that she remain in Dapitan—The "sweet stranger" is so busy she cannot dry fish or make pickles.

* * *

Dapitan (No date. April 1895?)

MRS. NARCISA RIZAL

MY DEAR SISTER,

I read your letter yesterday and Miss B.¹ and I thank you very much for your kindness. She above all is grateful to you and Tonino² for the hospitality you offer her but for the present we have decided that she should stay here. She cannot send you anything for she has no moment of rest now and although she likes this, she cannot however dry fish or make pickles.

The jar of pickled fish eggs is very good and we enjoyed eating it.

Miss J.¹ sends you very affectionate regards.

If Antonio³ likes to come, taking advantage of the school vacation, I would be very glad to see him here; but he should stay until June, for it is not worthwhile to stay only for a month and spend ₱40 for the trip. Moreover he cannot learn much in one month. I should like to know something of Leoncio⁴ and Consuelo.⁵

Next year I hope to have a large house and by then Antonio would have finished the bachelor's course. Emilio⁶ and he can come and stay for a year at least. By then I shall be able to give them practical lessons on physics and chemistry.

How is Ikang⁷ getting along in her piano study?

With nothing more, many regards to all from your brother who loves you dearly.

J. RIZAL

¹ Miss B. as well as Miss J. are the same Miss Josephine Bracken, or Tauffer.

² Tonino is Mr. Antonino López, husband of his sister Narcisa. 3, 4, 5, 6, 7 are their children.

193. Rizal, Dapitan, (No date) Wednesday

Invites his sisters to take a vacation in Dapitan—Engage in some business that will distract you and compensate you for your traveling expenses—The dam is already high but the work is stopped for lack of lime—A rich woman who pretended to be poor.

* * *

Dapitan, (no date) Wednesday

MISS TRINIDAD RIZAL

MY DEAR SISTER TRINING,

Only today the boat arrived. We received all that you sent us and your letter tells me that the sickness that you had did not last long.

All of us here miss you and many are asking when you are coming back. I believe that if you wish to come, you can do it by staying some months. You can engage in some business to distract you and at the same time to compensate you for your traveling expenses. If you wish to come, you can bring along Antonio.

The patients are here. The old man lives in the round house with his son. Sra. Manuela (Orlach) lives with us.

The dam that I am having built is paralyzed for lack of lime, but it is already very high. There are 14 boys at home and there is one more who likes to come.¹

We are sending you fish, cacao, etc. in a box.

Sra. Maria is very well, but the poor one is kept very busy by Puenice,² who is always crying. He no longer amuses us with his nose or his eyes as when you were here.

Send us sago.

¹ Among these boys were Elum, Rómulo Armat, José Aseniero, José Dalman, Aniceto Bahamonde, Filomeno Acopiado, Melchor Taladua, Catalino Gallemet, José Caangcan, Lucas Adasa, Marcial Borromeo, Marcelino Galleposo, and Adolfo Tantico.

² Puenice (Prudencio) and Moris (Mauricio) are sons of his sister María wife of Daniel Cruz.

Moris² now knows how to read very well and speaks Spanish.

Ever since you left few young men and women come, but on Sundays there are always *magugubot*.

We have already caught the *sikop* and the large iguana. The Subano hen hatched again the mountain eleven chicks, which until now are all well and complete. I have killed a young hen, because it was always climbing to the top of the bed.

Pastora's³ cousin has been operated on and is well. A rich woman of Dipolog came but, as she introduced herself as a poor woman, I charged her only ₱5 for the operation.

The deaf cannot be operated on for neither does he sleep nor stay quiet.

Tell Nanay that that of Europe cannot be.⁴ The daughter-in-law from Europe is about to be married, according to what my friends tell me. So that nothing from there.

Have a little patience; I cannot send you anything now, for there is much *tintín*.

The boys are wishing that you come back.

Tell Tone to send me half a dozen tableware like those he sent before for ₱3.50.

Many regards to all, to those at home, to Mr. Ilino,⁵ etc.

Your brother who loves you dearly,

JOSÉ RIZAL

P. S.

Sra. María says that you send her ten packages of minced tobacco, three bolts of strong white cloth, one bolt of striped cloth like Emilio's coat. From the money that Antonino will receive you can take ₱16; the ₱10 are partial payment of Magdalena and the ₱6 from what you have sent her.

³ Pastora is Rizal's laundry woman.

⁴ He is referring to Miss Nelly Boustead of Bruxelles.

⁵ Mr. Higinio Francisco, a distant relative of Rizal and active participant in the patriotic movement.

194. Rizal, Dapitan, 9 May 1895

He asks everybody to have more confidence in him—He's in the hands of God—Let us do our duty, what is right, and let God do the rest—Let us think well of our fellowmen.

* * *

Dapitan, 9 May 1895

MISS TRINIDAD RIZAL

MY DEAR SISTER TRINING,

I received your letter and I am informed of its contents. I am very glad that the fire only frightened you and nothing more. What I regret is the loss of the *palasan*¹ walking sticks, for I have never seen better ones than those. Patience.

I hope you will tell me when 'Tatay (Father) is coming, if he is coming, because I will prepare a part of my house for him.

Tell everybody to have more confidence in me and not to take me always for a child who has to be guided in everything, in what he must like and in what he must not like. If my family has no confidence in me and always treats me like a child, how will others treat me and what confidence will they have in my good judgment? I'm in the hands of God and until the present I have no reason to say that He has abandoned me. Let us do always our duty, what is right, and let Him do the rest. Let us not be hasty in our judgment, but let us think well of our fellowmen.

Sra. María carries the gold watch chain that you ask me.

How is the case of Champopo?² I am very much interested in knowing it because of Sra. Concha.

¹ *Palasan* is the popular Tagalog name for a very sturdy rattan found in Philippine forests. It is used for walking sticks.

² He was a Chinese grocery merchant who had a store on Nueva Street, Binondo, and who had a case in court concerning a loan guaranteed by Mrs. Concepción (Concha) Leyba that he could not pay or did not want to pay. (Note of Dr. Leoncio López Rizal, nephew of Rizal.)

They carry two jars of pickled mangoes.

Miss Bracken returns your regards very gratefully.

By this mail I have written the governor general requesting him to permit my departure for Spain, because I-am beginning to feel ill. I believe that I can no longer stand this life here — much work, little nourishment, and no little pleasures.

Tell Pangoy to consider this letter hers.

I send roosters and hens to Nanay (Mother), but I do not send sheep to Mr. Paciano, because what I have are very ugly and I do not know how they will eat during the trip. If he insists on having some, it would be better to buy in Manila.

Do not forget to tell me about Tatay (Father).

In the state of mind in which I am I have not been able to finish the poem.³ I need tranquility.

Your brother who loves you,

RIZAL

Many regards to all — Sra. Concha, Sra. Ticang,⁴ Sr. Hino, etc.

³ He refers to the beautiful poem *mi retiro* that tells of his life at Dapitan.

⁴ Vicenta Leyba, sister of Concepción (Concha) Leyba.

195. Rizal, Dapitan, 6 June 1895

Asks his nephew Moris to speak English — Reports uncollected debts.

* * *

Dapitan, 6 June 1895

MRS. MARÍA RIZAL

MY DEAR SISTER:

I have received your letter and noted its contents. You did not tell me about the case of the chicken of the Commander and of Tom.

The medicine for ringworm (*tinea flaba*) is *Pomada anti-herpética* to be applied after washing the skin with soap and water.

I have received the chocolate, sweets, and cigarettes that you have sent me and I thank you very much. I have already found the tea in the box.

Enciang has not yet paid her debt. Only Magdalena, wife of Sitas, has given Fiscal Genio 50 or 40 pesos; I have forgotten the correct amount.

Please tell Moris to speak English so that he would not forget it.

Please tell Sra. Lucía that she can send me her children as soon as I am settled.

This is all and command your brother.

JOSÉ RIZAL

I'm going to write Moris when he can write me.

Fiscal Genio says that Sitas has given only 25 pesos; collect the balance from the amount you will receive there.

196. Rizal, Dapitan, 6 June 1895

He will send her a black pearl — If Father would come —
The fruit trees are in bloom — Miss Josephine
postpones her trip to Manila.

* * *

Dapitan, 6 June 1895

MISS TRINIDAD RIZAL

MY DEAR SISTER TRINING,

I received your letter and I am informed of its contents.

I have not forgotten what I have promised you. I am going to send you the black pearl as soon as I have someone who can bring it to you.

I would be glad if Father would come and the sooner the better, for this will please him very much.¹ The house will satisfy him. This time the trees have borne many fruits. The lanzon trees are loaded with flowers as I have never seen before; the cacao trees are the same; the bauno, the mango, the nanca are adorned with flowers. My sampaguita, the one that scarcely yielded three flowers a day, now one can pick from it sixty to seventy every morning.

The minced tobacco and the basin will be delivered to their respective owners.

Miss Bracken gratefully returns your regards. She was about to go back on this mail boat and take along the cabinet, but she had some trouble and she will go on the next boat.

Many regards to all, to Aunt Concha, Aunt Ticang, *etc.*, *etc.*

Your brother who loves you,

RIZAL

Enclosed are ₱2 in stamps; let us see if they can be sold there.

¹ On account of old age his father never went to Dapitan.

197. Rizal, Dapitan, 4 July 1895

P50 of his savings for his mother to buy what she likes—Rizal praises Miss Bracken—His father should not worry about him—He's in the hands of God—He asks for seeds—His fruit trees are flourishing.

* * *

Dapitan, 4 July 1895

MY DEAR NANAY,

My sister Sra. María has arrived here and I am very sorry that she has made a useless trip. She returns bringing you P50 that I have been able to save. You may buy with it cloth remnants and rice cakes for your little grandchildren and other things that you like.

Miss Eracken who has been behaving towards me better than I expected, is leaving now and though she tells me that she is coming back, I do not believe that she will decide to do so afterwards, because this is a very lonely place and everything is lacking here. I shall be alone then, entirely alone; my company will be my patients and the boys.

Sra. María is bringing you also the valise that you made, for I do not want it to be spoiled here. Your grandchildren ought to take care of it as a remembrance of their grandmother.

Tell Tatay not to worry about every news he hears about me. I'm in the hands of God and if He does not save me, neither can you do it. Please do not send anybody any more here, for that is too risky, too tiresome, and too expensive. Do not believe that I have died because people say so.

Send me seeds of *kasuy*, *chico*, *ciruelas*, *cacauate*, *rimas*, *duhat*, *tampoy*, *iba*, etc.; all can be placed in a box with sawdust.

My trees are full of fruits; the *lanzon* trees are adorned with flowers and if they all become fruits; the branches will break down. The papaya trees that were near the sexagonal

house were crashed by a strong wind. However, we have abundant papayas that make me think of you always. When there shall be plenty of *lanzon*, I shall send them to you dried. I do not know if the *nangka* can reach there.

With nothing more. I kiss your hand as well as my Father's. With much love to my nephews and sisters.

Your son,

198. Rizal, Dapitan, 31 July 1895

He orders petroleum, flour, soap, etc.—He may change his residence.

* * *

Dapitan, 31 July 1895

MY DEAR SRA. MARÍA:

I received your letter and noted its contents. I received all that you have sent me. The rice, however, is lacking, as only two sacks were delivered. The tubes are large.

Miss B. is sending you her regards and asks me to tell you that the scissors have been lost. Perhaps on the next boat she would take there the wardrobe which I got back from Capitán Venancio. Of your debtors no one has paid me yet.

Please tell Sr. Pedro that if he cannot come here by October, he had better wait for my message because I may transfer to Ponot.

Don't send me anything except rice, salt, soap, and postage stamps.

I was able to save the Alferéz, thank God.

They say that Suan scolded the supercargo because of your coming here without your name appearing in the list of passengers. They say you might have brought me some news. Sr. Cipriano got sick here when he came to get your money for freight.

They say Tamarong had died of fever. He left 30,000 in addition to land and houses. Arrieta and Ina Pedro have a quarrel over house-rent.

Please send me a *Compendio de Geografía* and tell me how much it costs.

This is all and command me.

RIZAL

P. D. Greetings to Sra. Tikang, Sra. Concha, Sr. Gino, *etc.*

List of my order

- 4 boxes of petroleum
- 4 sacks of flour
- 4 *arrobas* (100 lbs.) of soap
- 2 *Compendie de Geografía*
- 1 large portfolio
- 2 cavanés (150liters) of salt

The money will be taken from the sale of abaea.

199. Rizal, Dapitan, 28 August 1895

Treatment for his nephew, Moris—If his parents join him at Dapitan, he would remain there to engage in farming.

* * *

Dapitan, 28 August 1895 (?)

MRS. MARÍA RIZAL

DEAR SISTER:

I have received all that you have sent including the sack containing three O.

Give Moris *am* (water of boiled rice) and make him sit in warm water and then wrap him. If you wish to send him here, decide it for yourself.

Tell the blind man that I'll do for him all that is humanly possible to make him well and to bring along all that he would need. Ask him if his head ached very much before his sight became dim and if the pain is on the forehead above the eyebrows. If that is the case, it would be better for him not to come here at all because probably I cannot do anything for him, especially if he is already blind.

I have already received the missing sacks; they paid me with other sacks which I sold for only 3-7. I lost, but it is done.

Miss B. is sending you and Moris greetings.

What you should send me is not *Compendio de Geografía* but Philippine Geography. I have no news for you; we are very quiet here really. Our little trouble here is a Spanish patient, suffering from cataract. He is already well but he has not paid yet. He said he would pay only two hundred.

María is sending mangosteen to Mother. Tom bade me goodbye.

Give my greetings to Sr. Hino, Sra. Concha, and Sra. Tikang.

If Father is coming here I wish he would buy me a velocipede. If they will come here and can endure our situation, I would not wish to leave this place anymore and I would just engage in farming so long as they live.

Your affectionate brother,

JOSÉ RIZAL

Kiss Moris and En¹.. (carnacion) for me. I have an order for small fishhooks.

¹ Encarnacion.

200. Rizal, Dapitan, 25 September 1895

His sister Maria's debtors have not paid—Orders fishhooks—
Will send friends walking sticks as souvenir.

* * *

Dapitan, 25 September 1895

MRS. MARÍA RIZAL DE CRUZ

MY DEAR SISTER:

We and all the children are very much pleased to learn that Moris has recovered. We have all been thinking of him.

I also know about Father's illness; I'm thankful that he got over it. It might be good for him to bathe in the sea.

It is good that you have a store; it will serve as a diversion for you. Still better would be for you all to join together and establish a large store.

None of your debtors have paid, not even a penny.

Tell Moris to study hard and learn how to write so that he can write me. I'll send him lanzones, durian, and other fruits.

Miss B. is sending you best regards.

Please send me one package of small fishhooks, like those you had here, because there are many who are ordering. Please tell me if Sr. Pedro is coming here and I'll get the house ready.

Please greet for me Sr. Gino, Aunt Concha, and Aunt Tikang.

By the next boat I'm going to send walking sticks as a remembrance to friends.

This is all and command your brother who does not forget you.

JOSÉ RIZAL

201. Rizal, Dapitan, 25 September 1895

He encourages his mother to buy a lot in Meisik, Manila —
He asks for family data for a genealogy.

* * *

Dapitan, 25 September 1895

MY VERY BELOVED MOTHER,

The purpose of these few lines is to tell you that I am in good health as always.

I have learned through Trining that you intend to buy a lot in Meisik.¹ That seems to me very good. It is a secluded and quiet place and moreover there you were born, which is the principal thing. In my leisure moments I devote myself to doing some things. I should like you to write down everything about your relatives, ancestors, *etc.*, because I am planning to prepare a genealogy² for the use of our nephews. Likewise, if you could write about my father, I would appreciate it. What I was doing in Hong Kong remained there.

We had a month of continuous wind and great billows.

I kiss your hand fondly and I ask you for your blessing.

J. RIZAL

¹ A lot on Alvarado Street, near Solor and Reina Regente streets.

² This genealogical tree made by him at Dapitan was published for the first time by Austin Craig in *Lineage, Life, and Labors of J. Rizal*, Manila, 19 . . .

202. Rizal, Dapitan, 22 October 1895

Rizal sends his mother his poem *Mi Retiro*—Also *Himno a Talisay* written for his pupils—He vows not to buy anything from the local Chinese stores—Sends honey and fruits to his mother—Sitjes, former Dapitan politico-Military Commander.

* * *

Dapitan, 22 October 1895

MY DEAR MOTHER,

Though I have no letter from you, nevertheless I write you this sending you the enclosed poem that I promised you.¹ Many months have already passed but I have not been able to correct it yet on account of my numerous tasks. Besides I follow that advice of Horace to let manuscripts sleep a long time in order to correct them better later. Enclosed also is the poem for the boys or rather the *Himno a Talisay*. On the 14th of this month the boys had their examination and many came to witness it. The examiners are all outsiders. Rómulo, José, Lucas, Anis, Elum, and Marcel won prizes.

A new commandant has come and I believe he is called Mr. Rafael Morales. He seems to be a very good man, at least by sight, he is winsome. Let us see how he will behave later.

On account of Adolfo I had a lawsuit with the Chinese and I vowed not to buy any more from them, so that sometimes I find myself very hard up. Now we have almost neither dishes nor tumblers.

By this mailboat I'm sending you a demijohn of honey, some boxes of lanson, etc.

With nothing more, I kiss affectionately your hand and father's.

Your son who loves you sincerely,

RIZAL

¹ The poem *Mi Retiro*.

Mr. and Mrs. Juan Sitjes say that they will call on you there. It is probable that they may really do so. I would be much pleased if you will receive them well, better than when he was governor.

203. Rizal, Dapitan, 25 October 1895

He asks his family not to urge patients to go to him — He is willing to teach his nephews — Sends honey and fruits to his family.

* * *

Dapitan, 25 October 1895

MRS. MARÍA RIZAL

MY DEAR SISTER:

I have received your letter and noted its contents. No fish-hooks have arrived and I have not received the passion flower.

Please tell Sr. Pedro that if he does not need very much my medical assistance, he should not take the trouble of coming here. He might think that I need badly his help. Some day he might blame me for his coming here. If there is another doctor there, he should go to him. Please tell him this and also Trining, and don't urge anyone to come to me here. It seems that they do not have such a great desire to be treated by me and they are waiting to be urged. God willing, I can get along through thrift. I don't wish them later to remind me of my indebtedness to them and to almost enslave me and interfere in my personal affairs. Therefore, let the sick who really need me come, but not those who think that they would help me with their fee. Tell this to Mang Pedro and Trining's acquaintances.

If because of what I have said and if there is a doctor there who can treat him, Sr. Pedro will not come here, you may let Moris and Tan come with Tom and Mate and I can teach them here. In that case I'm going to build a large house in which my nephews can live. Miss B. is sending you her regards.

List of my remittance:

- 1 demijohn of honey
- 2 Tojicanes (one for Sra. Concha, the other for Sra. Tikang)

Durian for Sr. Paciano
Lansones for all
Gogo for all
Mangosteen skins
This is all and command your brother.

JOSÉ RIZAL

204. Rizal, Dapitan, 21 November 1895

Prescription for toothache — Would like Miss Bracken
to stay — Carpentry is his diversion.

* * *

Dapitan, 21 November 1895

MRS. MARÍA RIZAL

MY DEAR SISTER:

I have received your letter including the bottle of Cologne and a sack of flour. I thank you for them.

Concerning your toothache may be you have been given a medicine containing mercury. You can tell this if your mouth waters. Buy lozenge of chlorate of potash. You gargle with the water of boiled areca nut. If Moris wants to come let him do so. It would be very nice if Miss B. would not go away yet, but it seems that she will. In that case, no one will take care of him.

Miss B. is sending you greetings.

Lucas' mother says that she has already paid you what she owes Trining.

Sra. Neneng, Sra. Sisa, and Sra. Lucía have not written me for a long time.

Because of the frequency of the visit of my guest patients, my chickens are almost gone. I'm going to let the hens hatch again. One Spaniard whose eyes I treated paid ₱200.

My diversion is carpentry; I know how to do it so so, as Father would say. This is all and command your brother who does not forget you.

JOSÉ RIZAL

205. Rizal, Dapitan, 21 November 1895

He does not want his mother to appeal to the governor general for his freedom—He has written him again—He has applied for enlistment in the army as physician—Sends his parents some money—The new politico—Military commander.

* * *

Dapitan, 21 November 1895

MY DEAREST MOTHER,

I received your affectionate letter and I answer it at once.

With respect to your appearance before the captain general, frankly, though I appreciate it, I cannot advise it. You have to trouble yourself a great deal, going, coming, waiting, and for what? Perhaps to receive a refusal. So that I do not want you in your old age to be exposed to more displeasures. I have written again now to His Excellency asking for my freedom or the review of my case. I ask also for my enlistment as physician in the army in Cuba.¹ Blumentritt advised me to do so and I believe he is right.

I was unable to pay the freight of the goods because the supercargo told me he didn't know it. You don't tell me if you have received the honey and the durians.

By this mail boat I send you 150 pesos; the 30 pesos must be given to Trining as payment from Rommy's mother. I issued a receipt to them. The 120 is for you and Tatay (Father) after deducting the cost of my orders and those of persons here.

One box of cheap tableware

One tin of tea (Calle Nueva)

15 cavanés of salt.

You collect a commission of 5% for your expenses in addition to the expenses of cartage, for here I shall not collect a single cent.

¹ See *Epistolario Rizalino*, IV, 266.

My orders are reduced to

2 toothbrushes

1 ball of twine for sewing shoes.

Please pay my bills with Schadenberg.

My felicitations to Pepe on his triumph in cycling.

Many thanks to Nor Gino for the seeds, sausage, and sweets.

When you want to come, please know that you will be received as a loving mother deserves to be received.

I congratulate my brother on his new purchase. What a pity that I can't help him in his planting. I would be very glad to see him if I shall still be here.

I'm very much pleased with the dishes and tumblers as well as with the two bolts of dimity.

The half *arroba*² of chocolate that I received by the previous mail boat came from a patient of mine.

The new commandant that we have is very winsome and it seems we shall become very good friends, but real friends³

If the sugar is sold and you want to buy a house in Meisik, you can dispose of the little money I have there which I give to you and my father for your whims and fancies.

With nothing more for the present, with regards to all, I kiss affectionately your hand and father's.

Your son who loves you sincerely,

JOSÉ RIZAL

Get the money from the boat, showing this letter.

² A Spanish weight of 25 pounds or 11.5 kilos.

³ Captain Rafael Morales, cultured gentlemen who spoke several languages; but he held the post only for a short time, for he was promoted to major. Ricardo Carnicero, the same one who was there in 1892, took his place.

206. Rizal, Dapitan, 18 December 1895

Allaying his parents' fears about his proposed service in Cuba —
He would welcome an inexpensive bicycle—He sends
money to his parents—Presents to his family—He
has many patients but few pay.

* * *

Dapitan, 18 December 1895

MY DEAR MOTHER,

I received your letter of 14th instant and I understand perfectly your and Father's fears about my going to Cuba; however, as you well say, we should have faith in God. Until now He has saved me from all dangers; why will He not save me from others in the future? I have therefore reiterated my request to serve in Cuba in view of the fact that I have not received a reply to my first.

If you hear nothing about my departure, I should like you to buy me a second-hand bicycle, neither very bad nor very good and which would not cost more than 100 pesos. Pepe Leyva could do me the favor of buying one to use in my trips to the town; neither very good nor very bad. In the next mail, I'll send you the money together with another 100 pesos for Father and you.

You'll receive from Capiz 50 pesos and another 10 pesos from Zamboanga, being fees paid by several patients of mine. I have money here but I have no means of sending it to you.

If Schadenberg and also Mr. M. de los Reyes present new bills, please pay them. I'll pay you afterward.

Many thanks for the ham, wine, butter, *etc.* which we have received.

Through this boat I'm sending a box which contains:

- 1 American balance which I'm presenting to Sr. Paciano.
- 1 sack of cacao for you there.
- 2 bottles of lard, 1 for you and the other for Sra. Sisa (without failure).

2 bottles of pickles for you. (1 for Sra. Sisa, without failure).

1 roll of sinamay for Trining.

Please send without failure to Sra. Sisa the lard and bottle of pickles. You may give away as you please the other bottles of pickles.

The material for pantaloons which you sent me was sold very well at one peseta a yard; so that if you can send other textile like that or better ones, with their prices, we can do a little business here. I'm not sending you honey now because the demijohn is not yet full.

If you would like to buy a lot, tell me the size you need and I'll look for one. If I don't leave this place, I'm thinking of buying a coconut plantation of more than 4,000 trees for 1,500 pesos, all about 4 or 3 years old. I hope my brother could give me money after the sale of the sugar. I believe it is good business. For the erysipelas of Mr. Hino, I would recommend three grams of boric acid in 100 grams of water for washing it.

Through the next mail, as I have told you, I'll send you a little money. I have many patients but many are *gratis*.

On the 8th of this month Mr. Cosme gave a dance in the Casa Real which I attended. There were games, *etc.*, *etc.*

I kiss your hand and that of my good old father and wish you a Merry Christmas and a Happy New Year.

Your son,

JOSÉ RIZAL

The box needs no bill of lading. Just see the purser and ask for the box marked T. A. The 100 pesos also go along with it.

Give 6 pesos Christmas gift to my god-son Antonio Lopez.

The original of this letter in Spanish is found in the collection of Dr. Leoncio Lopez Rizal, nephew of the hero.

207. Rizal, Dapitan, 18 December 1895

Miss Josephine's regards and Christmas greetings — Rizal sends some affectionate lines in English to his nephew Moris.

* * *

Dapitan, 18 December 1895

MRS. MARÍA RIZAL

MY DEAR SISTER:

I received your letter and we thank you for your regards. Miss Josephine is sending regards and Christmas greetings to you and Moris. If I do not leave this place, send Moris over here. It is useless for you to come here for there is no business.

Enclosed are some lines for Moris.

Columba has died, according to news; Lohia got married; so did Pastora.¹ The husband of Lohia is from Capiz who is somewhat elderly, 45 years. The husband of Pastora is still young, a clerk.

This is all and command your brother,

José

For Moris
in Manila:

Study hard because he who does not know will get blows on the head. (In Spanish)

I wish you Merry Christmas and Happy New Year. (In Spanish)

Felices Pascuas in English: Merry Christmas.

Feliz Año Nuevo: Happy New Year.

Moris, you must be a good boy.

Your uncle,

J. RIZAL

¹ Columba, Lohia, and Pastora were girls who served at Rizal's house at Dapitan.

208. Rizal, Dapitan, 18 December 1895

The progress of the education of his nieces is the
fruit of the troubles in Calamba.

* * *

Dapitan, 18 December 1895

MY DEAR SISTER SRA. LUCÍA,

I have seen your daughter's letter and I note that they are progressing. It's an ill wind that blows nobody good. The troubles in Calamba¹ brought about your daughter's education.

If I do not leave this place, Teodosio, Tan, Emilio, and Moris can come.

Your brother who loves you,

JOSÉ RIZAL

¹ He refers to her eviction by the Hacienda de Calamba.

209. Rizal, Dapitan, 15 January 1896

Rizal buys land—He has spent his youth serving his country—
Now he wants to serve his parents—Writes glowingly
about his plans—Josephine is good and meek.

* * *

Dapitan, 15 January 1896

MY VERY DEAR MOTHER,

I received your affectionate letter and I'm very sorry about the troubles you have had.

I'm very much surprised that you have given 40 pesos to my brother Paciano because it seems to me he doesn't need them. I gave him the balance that cost me 18 pesos and for you and my father the 44 pesos as Christmas gift. If my brother took it because of necessity, it is all right. I place at his disposal all that I have, though I don't have much. I know he will devote it to a useful purpose.

What you write me about the telegram petitioning for my freedom that Maneng saw can be true; but I'm already so disappointed with all the hopes they have given me that in truth I just smile. I have so many enemies! And my very compatriots and friends who are at Madrid are working so that I may not get out of here! They tell me that those who prevented my transfer to Vigan were my "friends" of Malolos. I don't know who they are, but may God reward them.

I bought here a piece of land beside a river that has great resemblance to the Calamba River, with the only difference that this here is wider and its stream is more abundant and crystalline. How it has reminded me of Calamba! My land has 6,000 abaca plants. If you want to come here, I will build a house where we can all live together until we die. I am going to persuade my father to come and beside me, I hope he will always be gay. My land is beautiful; it is in the interior, far from the sea, about a half-hour's walk; it is in a very picturesque place. The land is very fertile. In addition to the abaca plantation

there is land for planting two *cavanes*¹ of corn. Little by little we can buy the remaining lands near mine. There are plenty of *dalag* (mudfish), *pakó* (ferns), and little round stones. The bed of the river is all of round little stones. Hydraulic machines can be installed.

I have employed the energies of my youth serving my country, though my compatriots do not want to acknowledge it. However, it cannot be denied that we have succeeded that in Spain they pay attention to the Philippines, for this was what was wanting. God and Spain will do the rest; so I hope. My services are now useless and all I wish is to serve you and my father and help my sisters. If you come and they grant me freedom to establish myself there, we are going to revive our old town, without friars or civil guards, without bandits. It is true that this river and my land have no memories for me as Kalamba has; but we cannot have everything nor can we obtain everything that we wish. I would like to be God and I am not even a sacristan, which, according to some, is the first step to be near God.

I don't want you to give me the bicycle as a gift, but I want to buy it with my own money. At Ullmann's they sell new and good ones for 175 pesos, but I want one that is less expensive, sturdy, second-hand, for use in these very rough places so harmful to metal objects.

If they let me live on my land,² I intend to plant coconut trees.

Trining and Pangoy want to come with some nephews. I say that they consult you.

You will receive a small quantity of salted fish prepared by the person who lives at my home. She is good, obedient, and meek. All that we lack is to be married; but, as you yourself say, "It is better to be in the grace of God than married in mortal sin." Until now we have not quarreled and when I lecture to her, she does not answer back. If you come and live with her, I hope you will get along with her. Moreover, she has nobody else in the world but me. I'm all her kindred.

With nothing more, my dear mother, I hope we meet soon.

Your son who adores you,

JOSÉ RIZAL

¹ A *cavan* is 75 liters.

² According to W. E. Retana in his biography of Rizal (p. 325), General Blanco granted him permission to establish the agricultural colony in a letter dated 1 June 1895.

210. Rizal, Dapitan, 15 January 1896

Order for household equipment—Sends money for the bicycle—Present of fish, cacao, and music books from Miss Josephine—Good Dapitan Christmas—"My greatest happiness would be to have you all by my side."—They should think it over before they join him—Trining can live in the town and open a store—Order list.

* * *

Dapitan, 15 January 1896

MISS TRINIDAD RIZAL

MY DEAR SISTER TRINING,

I received your letter and the remittances as well as the invoice and for this I thank you. With the enclosed letter of the Chinese Pedro you will collect ₱100 from which you will get ₱22 and one *real* for what you have sent me by this mail and with the balance you will buy the articles in the list, getting your commission for the articles marked with a cross and you will give the remainder to our mother for my bicycle. Collect also the price of the hemp cloth, the sealing wax, and the clogs. You will also receive a box containing fish, cacao, and books. The dried fish was prepared by Miss J. and you should divide it between Sra. Neneng, Sra. Sisa, the aunts, and Mr. Hino. The cacao is for you at home and the music books are Miss J.'s present to Angélica and Delfina.

I do not want a de luxe bicycle; what I like is a sturdy one that can run on sand and on these bad roads, and does not cost more than ₱100.

To produce garnet the mixture should be, I believe, red and carmine.

We celebrated Christmas merrily, as almost always. We killed a small pig and a hen; we invited our neighbors; there was dancing; we laughed a great deal until dawn. We did not sleep on 31 December until the New Year.

there is land for planting two *cavanes*¹ of corn. Little by little we can buy the remaining lands near mine. There are plenty of *dalag* (mudfish), *pakó* (ferns), and little round stones. The bed of the river is all of round little stones. Hydraulic machines can be installed.

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If they let me live on my land,² I intend to plant coconut trees.

Trining and Pangoy want to come with some nephews. I say that they consult you.

You will receive a small quantity of salted fish prepared by the person who lives at my home. She is good, obedient, and meek. All that we lack is to be married; but, as you yourself say, "It is better to be in the grace of God than married in mortal sin." Until now we have not quarreled and when I lecture to her, she does not answer back. If you come and live with her, I hope you will get along with her. Moreover, she has nobody else in the world but me. I'm all her kindred.

With nothing more, my dear mother, I hope we meet soon.

Your son who adores you,

JOSÉ RIZAL

¹ A *cavan* is 75 liters.

² According to W. E. Retana in his biography of Rizal (p. 325), General Blanco granted him permission to establish the agricultural colony in a letter dated 1 June 1895.

210. Rizal, Dapitan, 15 January 1896

Order for household equipment—Sends money for the bicycle—Present of fish, cacao, and music books from Miss Josephine—Good Dapitan Christmas—"My greatest happiness would be to have you all by my side."—They should think it over before they join him—Trining can live in the town and open a store—Order list.

* * *

Dapitan, 15 January 1896

MISS TRINIDAD RIZAL

MY DEAR SISTER TRINING,

I received your letter and the remittances as well as the invoice and for this I thank you. With the enclosed letter of the Chinese Pedro you will collect ₱100 from which you will get ₱22 and one *real* for what you have sent me by this mail and with the balance you will buy the articles in the list, getting your commission for the articles marked with a cross and you will give the remainder to our mother for my bicycle. Collect also the price of the hemp cloth; the sealing wax, and the clogs. You will also receive a box containing fish, cacao, and books. The dried fish was prepared by Miss J. and you should divide it between Sra. Neneng, Sra. Sisa, the aunts, and Mr. Hino. The cacao is for you at home and the music books are Miss J.'s present to Angélica and Delfina.

I do not want a de luxe bicycle; what I like is a sturdy one that can run on sand and on these bad roads, and does not cost more than ₱100.

To produce garnet the mixture should be, I believe, red and carmine.

We celebrated Christmas merrily, as almost always. We killed a small pig and a hen; we invited our neighbors; there was dancing; we laughed a great deal until dawn. We did not sleep on 31 December until the New Year.

With regard to the contract proposed by Sra. Lucía to you or Pangoy, I tell you that it made me very glad. You already know that I want to devote my life to our parents and my brothers and my greatest happiness would be to have you all by my side. If you want to come, I shall be very glad; but think it over well. You know how I live and who are with me. I assure you that you will not find any one here who will seek quarrels; here all live in peace. If you approve of my present condition, very well. Miss J. is better than her reputation, and since she has been staying with me, her little defects are being corrected. She is meek and obedient, and not hard-headed; besides she has a good heart. What we only need is to pay a curate, that is to say it is not necessary to us. Until now we have not quarreled; we are always gay, jesting. The public can say that it is a scandal; without doubt it is. It is very scandalous to live better than many married people. We work and we are contented. She will do everything to be your friend, but what will people say? If you come and you do not want to live at my home, you can open a store in the town. The house of Capitán Andres, of wood, with a large lot, the best in the town, will be at your disposal. You can open a store upstairs. But if you want to come, it is better to consult with our parents.

As you will learn in the letter I write our mother. I have bought a piece of land with abaca. It is beside a river that resembles the Calamba River — crystalline fresh water, wide, swift stream. My land is half-hour from the sea. The place is very poetic and very picturesque, better than the Ilaya River, without comparison. At some points it is wide like the Pasig River and clear like the Pansol, almost, and like this it has crocodiles in some parts. There are *dalag* and *pakó*. If you and our parents come, I am going to build a large house where we can all live together. The difficulty is, whom are you going to marry here? The town is lonely still, for there is almost no one. In front, Capitán Venancio has his lands and they say that if we live here, they will also stay there. If you could come married . . . but even then, once married, it is necessary to look for better places. This is good for me, tired of the world and disappointed with many things.

Many patients come but poor in the majority.

If enough money is left, pay Schadenberg ₱17.10 for a new box of Emulsion that he sent me here last December.

Miss J. appreciates your regards and returns them doubled.

Tell Delfina that I received her letter and picture that pleased me very much. She reminds me of her mother when

she was young. I do not write her now because I have no time and I am very tired.

Many regards to all at home, to those of Trozo, and to other friends.

Your brother,

JOSÉ RIZAL

List of Orders

- x 200 tin lanterns (Until 8 *cuartos* each)
- x 4 cans of petroleum
- x 1 *cate* (equivalent to 1 lb. 6 oz.)
- x 1 *arroba* (25 lbs.) of wax of 6 candles each package
- 1 set of lottery or Lotto
- Cinnamon, *miki*,¹ *sotanjun*,¹ *bijun*,¹ cloves, soya sauce.
- 1 box of Pear's fine soap (Botica Inglesa)
- 1 box of fine soap Lactuca (Rosario St. or Nueva St.)
- 1 sponge
- 1 pair of strong sandals for women
- 1 pair of strong sandals for men
- Same size.

1 *vara* (33 inches) of strong canvas, first class, for making shoes.

My albums with pictures.

If you are coming:

- 1 box of tableware of white metal, good quality.
- 2 tureens
- 2 platters
- 4 large cups
- 1 *tacho* (Shallow cooking pan generally made of copper.)
- 1 *taliasi* or *cagua* (Large iron cooking pan)
- 1 shovel, several iron hoops.

Orders with x are for Capt. Venancio; get the commission

- x 1 weight of bitters. For Judge Mateo; get
- x 1 jar of Jayne's carminative balsam your commission.
- x 4 reales of *esencia maravillosa*

¹ These are various kinds of noodles.

211. Rizal, Dapitan, 12 February 1896

Reports the progress of her son Moris in his studies —
Orders some provisions.

* * *

Dapitan, 12 February 1896

MRS. MARÍA RIZAL

MY DEAR SISTER:

Moris arrived here yesterday afternoon but I was not home. While still far away he shouted, saying that he was bringing stockings for Miss Bracken. They are all happy and studious. Moris can now write and memorize; however, I don't wish to hurry them in their studies. Tan can already count in English and just this morning Miss B. taught him. Moris forgot, but he does not want to be left behind in English. Miss B. is going to make Moris bathing pants like those of Teodosio and Tan.

They are no longer afraid of the sea. Please send as *tokwa* (soya bean cake), mongo, and dried small fish; because some times we have no viand. Tell Mother to buy me a durable lamp because ours easily disintegrates.

We have received what you sent and many thanks.

Miss Bracken is sending you regards. She says you would not understand her writing.

She thanks Mother very much for the stockings. She says she has nothing now to give in return.

Tell Father that I'm having a large house built because he says he is coming with Sr. Paciano.

I should like Sr. Paciano to send me a helper.

I believe that next month Moris will be able to write you because he says he is trying hard to learn.

This is all and command us all here. Don't worry about Moris; God save him and I'll take care of him.

JOSÉ RIZAL

212. Rizal, Dapitan, 12 February 1896

Let them follow their respective vocations—Moris, the same as before—Teodosio wants to be a farmer—"We cannot all be doctors."—

That some till the land—Tan loves studying—Miss Bracken likes them very much—Rizal will teach them Spanish, English, arithmetic, and gymnastics.

* * *

Dapitan, 12 February 1896

MY DEAR SISTER LUCÍA,

The boys arrived yesterday and I was very glad to see them. Moris is the same, but Teodosio and Tan¹ have gained much with their stay in Manila and are grown up. They don't seem to me unpromising boys. All on the contrary, and I hope that with time they will become very useful men. Teodosio is not lazy; he has more liking for the land than for books. We cannot all be doctors. It is necessary that there be some to cultivate the land. One must follow one's inclination. Tan, on the other hand, is a boy who likes to study and has ability. He has already looked at my books and has asked me for some. With time this lad will be a man of books. When I asked them what was their order for Manila, Teodosio asked for his bolo and Tan for his book. This proves the inclination of each one. And after all, I who have spent my life studying, now I'm going to plant coconuts! I'm going to operate on Tan's tongue within a few days. Here they will become very dark with the air and the sea-baths. They are very much contented and Miss Bracken likes them very much.

Today I have made them write a letter. The writer was Tan and Teodosio helped him. You will see by the characters that Teodosio is economical and Tan is generous. Here I shall teach them Spanish, English, arithmetic, and gymnastics.

With regard to what you heard in Biñan, he will not go there any more. Here the fright will pass away.

¹ Tan or Tanis is Estanislao Herbosa, son of his sister Lucia and the late Mariano Herbosa. Teodosio or Osio is a brother of Tan.

We received the oranges and the peanuts. Thanks.

I am beginning to build my house. The posts are of *molave*, *kubí*, *gisok*.

Tell Delfina that I have received her letter and that I'm not returning it because it has no mistakes. There is only one accent left out: When she writes *muchísimo* she does not put an accent on *i*; it ought to be *muchísimo*. She should continue studying as she is getting along well.

With Miss Bracken's regards, command your brother who loves you,

JOSÉ RIZAL

213. Rizal, Dapitan, 12 March 1896

He reports on Mariás son, Moris.

* * *

Dapitan, 12 March 1896

MRS. MARÍA RIZAL

MY DEAR SISTER:

Enclosed is Moris' letter who is just beginning to learn how to write. He is stout and dark and he knows how to swim a little. Only he is too lively and playful, always running and overturning the bottles in our house, which is shaky. He is bright and beats the two of Osio and Tan in memorizing, but Tan beats him in arithmetic and English. In slow reckoning Osio beats them all.

Miss J. made him a long *cañamo*¹ shirt because he tears his clothes fast. Send him a broad-brimmed hat so that he would not get so dark. Miss J. takes good care of the three. She loves them and it is she they always call. They call her *Auntie*. Moris wears only a shirt because he often throws water. He is good in Spanish, but it is difficult for him to drop many vulgar expressions he had learned in Manila.

This is all. Miss J. greets you. Command your brother.

JOSÉ RIZAL

¹Textile made of hemp and sturdy.

214. Trinidad Rizal, Manila, 25 April 1896

M. Rivera trusted friend, is going to pick up the ring and the boards for the *dulang*¹ offered by Rizal.

* * *

Manila, 25 April 1896

MY VERY DEAR BROTHER,

The bearer, Mr. M. Rivera, is a trusted friend to whom you can entrust the ring and the boards for the *dulang* that you promised me.

I do not mention any more the fine personal qualities of the bearer because this letter goes open and his excessive modesty will not permit me to say a word of praise for his person.

With the affection of this your sister who esteems you sincerely,

TRINIDAD

¹ *Dulang* is a dining-table low enough for people seated on the floor to reach.

215. Rizal, [Dapitan, 1896?]

The nephews are advancing in their studies—Now they write to their mother without dictation—They are studying fractions and they speak English—Osio can swim until 30 braces—Tanis dives like an eel—And can lift up a twenty-five pound weight.

* * *

No date. (Dapitan, 1896)

MRS. LUCÍA RIZAL

MY DEAR SISTER SRA. LUCÍA,

I received your letter and we are very sorry for what is happening to you there.

Delfina¹ should take good care of her bronchitis because, badly treated, it can produce another illness. She must be very careful.

I cannot explain Concha's illness.

We received here the pot of biscuits and four jars of jelly. Very many thanks.

Your two sons are getting along well in their studies. Now they send you their letters written by themselves alone without dictation. They are studying fractions. They swim a great deal and Osio can swim until 30 braces, though slowly. Tanis dives very well and he is nimble like a fish, but he tires quickly. Tanis is going to be a strong lad, he now lifts up twenty-five pounds over his head; I believe he is stronger than Uncle Nengoy.² I'm sorry I have no horse or a bicycle to teach them how to ride. They already speak English.

With nothing more, command your brother,

JOSÉ RIZAL

Send your children shoes and flannel clothes for it is cold.

Moris is also very much advanced, but the poor one cannot write yet like Tanis. He needs also flannel clothes.

Sra. Sisa and Iang are here and I'm very glad, because here they will get over their ailment.

¹ Delfina and Concha are daughters of his sister Lucia.

² A brother of Rizal's mother.

216. Rizal, On board the Cruiser *Castilla*,
12 August 1896

Request Miss Josephine to send him his vest, trousers, and more collars
and cuffs and postage stamps — Asks some delicacies —
That his nephews study English, taking advantage of Miss Josephine's stay at home.

* * *

On board the cruiser *Castilla*
12 August 1896

MRS. NARCISA RIZAL

MY DEAR SISTER,

I read the lines that you wrote me in the letter of Miss Josephine and I'm very glad to know that you are well.

Today I have received the suitcase with many personal things. Tell Josephine that she has sent me the swallow-tailed coat (that I don't need) but she did not include either the trousers or the vest; that she ought to send me more collars and cuffs and also some postage stamps of two cents a piece. You ought not to send any servant to bring me letters or packages for it is a useless expense. Send me letters and packages through the Cartería de la Marina, which is a cottage near the Capitanía General de la Marina and thus they will get here without much expense.

The bearer of this letter is Prudencio Bulag, the sailor that the Commander had the kindness to place at my disposal and to whom you can give all that you wish to send me. If you can, send me through him:

- 4 pieces of Laguna cheese of very good quality
- 3 pots paté de foie gras
- 24 mangoes and lanson

Rizal was kept aboard the cruiser *Castilla* while waiting for the boat that would take him to Spain on account of the outbreak of hostilities between the Filipinos and the Spaniards. Only members of his family were allowed to visit him. As he wrote in his diary, the arrangement "disappointed me greatly, because it deprived me of the plaisir of visiting with my parents;" but he added, "What could I do except to follow orders?" (See *Reminiscences and Travels of Rizal*, Rizal Centennial Edition, 1961, Vol. I)

Prudencio is going to Trozo to greet our mother on my behalf and to pick up whatever she wants to send me.

I shall be very glad if my nephews study, taking advantage of Miss Josephine's stay there.

You have not yet told me anything about the cost of the passage that we ought to pay the Macleod firm.

Love to all at home.

Your brother,

JOSÉ RIZAL

217. Narcisa Rizal, Manila, 13 August 1896

She is sending him all his orders—Josephine is sad.

* * *

Manila, 13 August 1896

MR. JOSÉ RIZAL

MY DEAR BROTHER:

I received your affectionate letter and I'm informed of what you told me in it.

With regard to your requests, you are already informed about them, according to what Josephine tells me. I shall send there by Saturday the lanzon, mangoes, and the rest.

This is all. We are in good health here, as always. Only now and then J. (Josephine), on remembering you, becomes sad and cries sometimes.

Your sister who loves you greatly,

NARCISA.

218. Rizal, On board the Cruiser *Castilla*,
19 August 1896

Reiterates his order of certain delicacies to be sent to the Cruiser *Castilla* — The officers treat Rizal well and he wants to compliment them — His sister to calm his old parents — Trust in God who watches over us all — He has saved me from greater perils than war.

* * *

Cruiser *Castilla*
Officers
Wednesday, 19 August 1896

MRS. NARCISA RIZAL

MY DEAR SISTER,

Please buy me the following articles:

- 4 good Laguna cheese
- 3 pots of foie gras (grocery)
- 24 good mangoes
- Lonzon

Please put them all in a basket or box and deliver it to the Cartería de la Marina (which is a cottage surrounded with a garden beside the Capitanía del Puerto). On top put the label, Oficiales del Crucero *Castilla*. (All that you want to send me, do it in this manner and it will reach me.) The officers here treat me well and I should like to compliment them too.

I'm in good health. They told me that you are also well, which gladdens me.

Try to calm our old parents and have confidence in God who watches over us all. He has saved me from greater perils than those of war.

They say that our mother and other sisters are coming. I should like also to see our brother whom I have not seen for a long time. If you are coming, choose a day that is not bad,

without typhoon announcements. Come in the morning and take a good breakfast for you will not be able to go back before one o'clock in the afternoon.

My love to all the family, to Tonino. How is Ilang getting along?

Your brother who loves you,

J. RIZAL

219. Rizal, On board the Cruiser *Castilla*,
25 August 1896

Grateful to his sister for her hospitality to Josephine—But he would not want to abuse it—A proof of fraternal love that Rizal will never forget—But to avoid troubles it would be better that she take a little house near her sister's—Orders his medical instruments and clothes.

* * *

On board the Cruiser *Castilla*
25 August 1896

MRS. NARCISA RIZAL

MY DEAR SISTER,

Yesterday our mother together with Sra. María, Trining, and Encarnación was here and through them I learned that you are in good health, which pleases me very much.

The object of this letter is to thank you for your kindness in giving hospitality to Josephine. It is a proof of fraternal love that I shall never forget. However, I'm afraid to abuse it, for Josephine is not alone but has with her besides a baby girl,¹ a nurse-maid, and servants, and all this can be a bother to you, to your husband, and other companions in the house. For this reason, I wish that you would not make any sacrifice. She can take a little house near yours where the baby-girl can cry all the time without irritating anybody's nerves. Your husband is very good, but this is no reason why I should abuse of his kindness. Please read this letter to Josephine and decide between yourselves what she ought to do.

Tell Josephine also to send me the trunk to Cavite through a boy on the 2:00 o'clock steamer. The boy will deliver it to the boat of the stewards of the cruiser *Castilla*, in order that he may not be bothered in coming, and the stewards' boat will bring it to me. He will deliver the keys to the mail-carrier.

¹ Maria Luisa, one-year old daughter of his sister Soledad married to Quintero of Kalamba.

She will put in the trunk the following effects:

Ophthalmoscope

Case of instruments for vision

Underwear: shirts, undershirts, drawers.

Neckties, socks

Woolen clothes

Hat box.

My raincoat which is in Trozo and nothing more.

She may keep my satchel that I made in Dapitan in which are the receipts of the debtors.

With nothing more, my dear sister, I wish you good health, give my love to Antonino and your children.

Your brother,

JOSÉ RIZAL

220. Rizal, On board the Cruiser *Castilla*,
2 September 1896

Moving words of farewell of Rizal to his mother on leaving for Cuba
— "Take very good care of yourself and take care of my old father
so that we may meet again." — Wishes his family to stand united.

* * *

On board the Cruiser *Castilla*
2 September 1896

MRS. TEODORA ALONSO

MY MOST BELOVED MOTHER,

As I promised you, I address you a few lines before departing to inform you of the state of my health.

I'm well, thank God; I'm only worried about how you will get along or how you have gone through these troublous and restless days.¹ May God will that my father did not have any uneasiness.

I shall write you from some ports of call of the mail-boats. I expect to be in Madrid, or at least in Barcelona, towards the end of this month. Don't worry about anything; we are all in the hands of Divine Providence. Not all who go to Cuba die, and finally one has to die, at least may one die doing some good.

Take very good care of yourself and take care of my old father so that we may meet again. Many regards to my brother, sisters, nephews, nieces, aunts, etc. I leave contented, confident that while you live, the family will be united and the old cordiality will reign in it. You are the bond that unites us all.

The Most Excellent Captain General has behaved towards me very well. I'm going to show him, if God gives me time and health, that I know how to reciprocate.

¹ He refers to the first encounters between the *Katipunán* and the Spanish soldiers. See Teodoro A. Agoncillo, *The Revolt of the Masses*, Quezon City, 1956, chap. IX.

With nothing more, my most beloved mother, I kiss your hand and my father's with all the love and tenderness that my heart is capable of; give me your blessing that I greatly need. An affectionate embrace to each of my sisters. May they love one another as I love them all.

Your son,

José

221. Rizal, At the Bay, 2 September 1896

Persuasive requests and recommendations of Rizal to his family before his departure for Cuba—May his brothers take good care of their old parents.

* * *

At the Bay, 2 September 1896

TO MY SISTERS,

I urge you to take care of, to serve, and to love our parents as you would like your children later to take care of, serve, and love you in your old age. May you live united and forgive one another's asperities and slight faults—the natural thorns of life—because it is a displeasure for parents to see that their children are not living in harmony. Afterwards, when our parents are dead, we shall miss them greatly and we shall be sorry for not having served them while they lived.

I give my brothers-in-law very many thanks for the friendship they have always accorded me; they have loved me as a brother; I could not help but love them likewise.

May my nephews and nieces study, be good, obedient to their parents, grandparents, and aunts.

May my boys continue behaving well, I shall know how to take care of them if I return. God will dispose of that. They have lost nothing; it is always good to have behaved well.

JOSÉ RIZAL

To Teodosio: May he continue to be a good lad, studious, industrious, and obedient.

To Tanis: May he not try to have the best for himself; may he try to do the best for others.

To Moris: May he always be good, obedient.

222. Colombo to Aden

Death aboard — Incharge of one patient — Fine weather — He is in good health.

* * *

On board the *Isla de Panay*
21 September 1896

MY DEAREST MOTHER,

This afternoon we shall arrive at Aden for which reason I write you to give you some news about myself.

Our trip from Singapore to Colombo and from Colombo to here has been a happy one. There had not been much seasickness or much rain. Just some little squalls and rocking. Since yesterday the sea is like a pool but the heat is insupportable. Yesterday they dropped into the sea the corpse of a poor insane; he was a captain of the military administration called Cecilio who became insane as a result, they say, of his detention ordered by General Parrado. They put his remains in a box, tied to it some ingot iron and dropped the box into the sea at 2:00 o'clock in the morning. I was reminded of Luis Beaumont.¹

I'm very much afraid that a Jesuit brother² may follow him. I have taken charge of him, having been given up by the ship's physician. They have given him for dead sometime ago but he is still alive, though he continues serious. I hope to be able to keep him alive some more days. The brother-in-law of Mr. Pedro³ is worse but I am not the one treating him. He says his dysentery is worsening.

Last night the weather was fine with moon. The ship hardly moved or rocked.

Rizal's letter to his mother en route to Spain.

¹ Luis Martinez Beaumont, husband of his aunt Concepción Leyba, who died on board a ship en route to Spain.

² He was Domingo Carrió who died at sea five days after this letter was written, on 26 September, and dropped into the sea on the same day.

³ Don Pedro A. Paterno's brother-in-law, Don Manuel Piñeyro, a Spaniard.

I continue to be in good health.

Please send this letter to Callejon Estraude.⁴

Many regards to all at home. I kiss your hand and that of my dearest father, and I embrace my sisters brothers-in-law, and nephews. My greetings to our relatives, friends, and the lads whom I advise to behave well.

At Barcelona I shall write again.

Your son who loves you sincerely,

JOSÉ RIZAL

Please tell Josefina that I cannot write her for lack of time. She may consider this letter hers. I shall write her from Port Said.

⁴ The name of the alley on which was located the residence of his sister Narcisa, married to Antonino Lopez, where Josephine Bracken was staying.

223. Rizal, [1896?]

Rizal bids his family farewell — "It is better to die than to live suffering" — How he wishes to be buried.

* * *

TO MY FAMILY,

I ask you for forgiveness for the pain I cause you, but some day I shall have to die and it is better that I die now in the plenitude of my conscience.

Dear Parents and brothers: Give thanks to God that I may preserve my tranquility before my death. I die resigned, hoping that with my death you will be left in peace. Ah! It is better to die than to live suffering. Console yourselves.

I enjoin you to forgive one another the little meannesses of life and try to live united in peace and good harmony. Treat your old parents as you would like to be treated by your children later. Love them very much in my memory.

Bury me in the ground. Place a stone and a cross over it. My name, the date of my birth and of my death. Nothing more. If later you wish to surround my grave with a fence, you can do it. No anniversaries. I prefer *Paang Bundok*.¹

Have pity on poor Josephine.

This letter was among the Rizal documents presented to the République of the Philippines by Spain through her ministers of foreign affairs, Martin Artajo on 26 February 1953. It has no date, but it must have been written at Fort Santiago shortly before he was led to his execution on Bagumbayan, Manila. These documents are published in one volume, *Documentos Rizalinos*, Manila 1953, by the Philippine government.

¹ *Paang Bundok*, literally means foot of a mountain, is the place in the north of Manila where the North Cemetery, a municipal cemetery, and the Chinese Cemetery are.

Rizal was buried, not in a humble place in *Paang Bundok*, as he wished, but in the Cemetery of Paco. On 30 December 1912, the Commission on the Rizal Monument, created by virtue of Law No. 243, transferred his remains to the base of the monuments erected on the Luneta, very near to the place where he was shot.

224. Rizal, Royal Fort of Santiago. [29?]
December 1896

Last words to his brother Paciano
How sorry I am to leave you alone in life bearing the whole
weight of the family and our old parents!

* * *

Royal Fort of Santiago, 29 (?) December 1896

MR. P. R.

MY DEAR BROTHER,

It has been four years and a half that we have not seen each other or have we addressed one another in writing or orally. I do not believe this is due to lack of affection either on my part or yours but because knowing each other so well, we had no need of words to understand each other.

Now that I am going to die, it is to you I dedicate my last words to tell you how much I regret to leave you alone in life bearing all the weight of the family and of our old parents!

I think of how you have worked to enable me to have a career. I believe that I have tried not to waste my time. My brother: If the fruit has been bitter, it is not my fault, it is the fault of circumstances. I know that you have suffered much because of me: I am sorry.

I assure you, brother, that I die innocent of this crime of rebellion. If my former writings had been able to contribute towards it, I should not deny absolutely, but then I believe I expiated my past with my exile.

Tell our father that I remember him, but how? I remember my whole childhood, his tenderness and his love. Ask him to forgive me for the pain I cause him unwillingly.

Your brother,

JOSÉ RIZAL

This letter was received by Paciano in Cavite in January 1897, as he had joined the Revolution after the death sentence of his brother was signed by Governor General Polavieja on 28 December 1896.

225. Rizal, Fort Santiago, 29 December 1896

Rizal would like to see the bravest members of his family before he dies.

* * *

MY DEAR PARENTS AND BROTHERS:

I should like to see some of you before I die, though it may be very painful. Let the bravest come over. I have to say some important things.

Your son and brother who loves you most sincerely.

JOSÉ RIZAL

226. Rizal, 6:00 a.m. 30 December 1896

Last Words to his Parents
Asks for forgiveness for the pain he is causing them
unwillingly! "To my very beloved mother."

* * *

6:00 a.m. 30 December 1896

MY MOST BELOVED FATHER,

Forgive me for the pain with which I pay you for your struggles and toils in order to give me an education. I did not want this nor did I expect it.

Farewell, Father, farewell!

To my very beloved Mother,

Mrs. Teodora Alonso

At 6 o'clock on the morning of the 30th of December 1896.

JOSÉ RIZAL

Appendix I

History of the Rizal Family of Calamba

BY JOSÉ RIZAL

Genealogy

On 28 June 1848 were married Mr. Francisco Mercado, age 30 yrs. 2 months, and Miss Teodora Alonso, age 20 yrs. 7 months.

Mr. Francisco Mercado is a native of Biñan, the youngest in a family of thirteen brothers: seven men and six women, alternating in the following order: Petrona, Gabino, Potenciana, Leoncio, Tomasa, Casimiro, Basilisa, Gabriel, Fausta, Julian, Cornelio, Gregorio, and Francisco. The parents of these thirteen brothers were Captain Juan Mercado and Cirila Alejandra.

Juan Mercado was the older of two brothers — Juan and Clemente — sons of Francisco Mercado and Bernarda Monicha. The father of the Rizal was named Francisco in memory of his grandfather.

Cirila Alejandra was the daughter of María Guiño.

Mrs. Teodora Alonso, mother of the Rizal, was the second daughter of Mrs. Brigida de Quintos (Narcisa, Teodora, Gregorio, Manuel, and José), daughter of Mr. Manuel de Quintos, well-known family of Pangasinan, and of Regina Ursúa of the family of the Ursúa.

The brothers of Brigida de Quintos were Joaquina, (Brigida), José Soler, and María Victoria. Regina Ursúa was the daughter of Mr. Eugenio Ursúa and of Benigna. . . Her brothers were Father Alejandro, José Ursúa, Benito Ursúa, -Pio Ursúa.

This was written by Rizal at Dapitan for his nephews. The translation is based on a copy published in *Dra. Filipino*, 30 December 1920, furnished by Prof. Austin Craig, a well-known Rizalist.

Appendix II

Petition for the Pardon of Rizal

BY TEODORA ALONSO DE RIZAL

MOST EXCELLENT SIR:

Teodora Alonzo de Rizal, resident of Calamba and native of Sta. Cruz, Manila, to Your Excellency, with due respect and reverence, has the honor to state:

That her son José Rizal y Mercado having been sentenced to death by the Council of War for the crime attributed to him of rebellion against the Mother Country, a crime, which in conscience and at most in justice has not been proven in a conclusive manner; whereas the absolute innocence of her unfortunate son is evident to the one who has the honor to resort to Your Excellency; therefore, she is constrained to entreat your kind heart and upright justice to deign to turn your glance on and consider the tribulations of an unhappy mother, who in the last years of her life and at the advanced age of seventy-one, is going to have the greatest and the most poignant of sorrows, which is that of witnessing the death of her unfortunate son, a victim only of fatality and unfortunate circumstances which have surrounded him.

Most Excellent Sir, my unfortunate son José Rizal, suffering with humility and resignation his banishment by order of the Superior Authority of this Archipelago, appears to me in an evident manner as innocent of the grave crime imputed to him and for which he has been sentenced to death. It is not my intention, Most Excellent Sir, either to censure or question in any way the legality of the decision of a fair Court, but on account of unfortunate and fatal circumstances, it has apparently made my unhappy son responsible for the most infamous of crimes, when in fact he is innocent.

This is another Rizal document presented by the Spanish government to the Philippine government in 1953. See letter No. 223. *ante*.

In view of the above, Most Excellent Sir, I beseech Your Excellency to deign to commiserate with a poor mother, who in the supreme moment of seeing her beloved son die, addresses herself to Your Excellency in the name of our God, entreating you with tears of sorrow in her eyes and a broken heart to deign to grant her unfortunate son pardon from the death penalty imposed upon him.

This is a grace that she hopes to obtain from the acknowledged kindness of the magnanimous heart of Your Excellency, which will be eternally recognized by the undersigned and her entire family, who will elevate prayers to heaven that it may preserve your precious life for the welfare and honor of our Mother Spain and the consolation of mothers.

Manila, 28 December 1896

Most Excellent Sir.

TEODORA ALONSO DE R.

