

Understanding the *Noli*

*Its Historical Context
and Literary Influences*

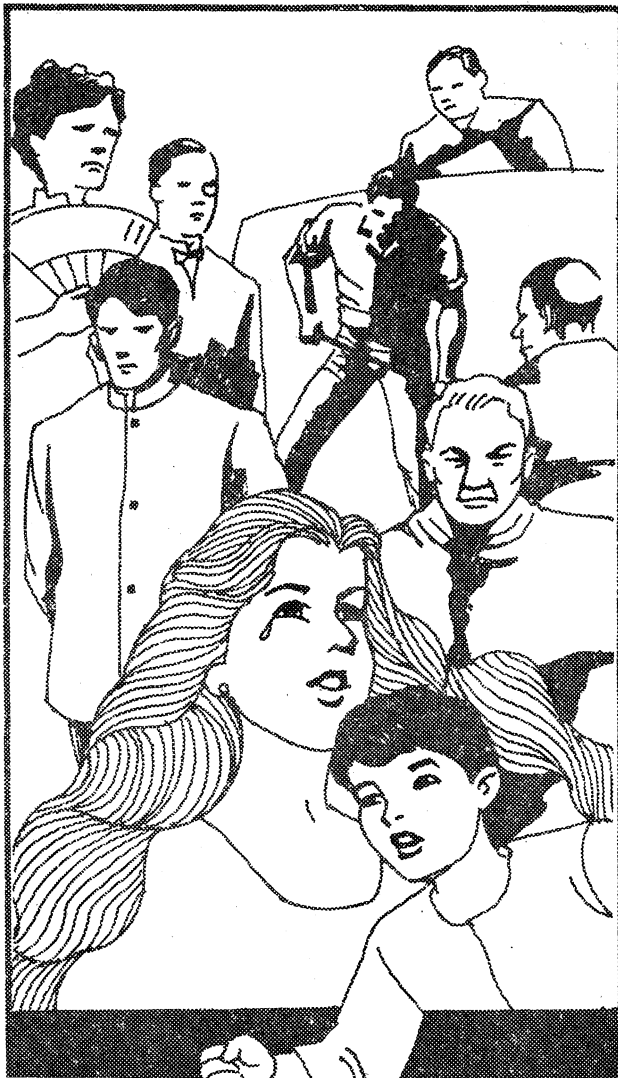
Edited by Jose S. Arcilla, S J



Understanding the *Noli*

*Its Historical Context
and Literary Influences*

Edited by Jose S. Arcilla, SJ



Copyright 1988 by
PHOENIX PUBLISHING HOUSE, INC., and
Ateneo de Manila University

ALL RIGHTS RESERVED

No part of this book may be reproduced in any form without permission in writing from the publisher and the authors except by a reviewer who wishes to quote brief passages in connection with a review for inclusion in a magazine or newspaper.

Printed by
PHOENIX PRESS, INC.
927 Quezon Avenue, Quezon City

**PRINTED IN THE
PHILIPPINES**

CONTENTS

Introduction, vii

Bishop Volonteri: Fellow Passenger of Rizal

Leandro Tormo Sanz, 1

Rizal and the Missionaries, 2

Simeone Volonteri and the Philippines, A Missionaries' Paradise, 7

The Cavite Mutiny, 15

Zaldua's Declaration, 17

Additions to the Trial of Vicente Generoso, 17

Official Reports from Izquierdo, 18

Minutes from the Overseas Ministry, 18

Confidential Circular from Alaminos, 19

A Strange Report from Patricio de la Escosura, 20

Official Letter from Malcampo, 21

Regidor's Statements, 21

The Facts, 23

"Benecia" ("Benicia"), 23

"Hertha", 24

"Nassau", 24

The Role of Free Masonry, 25

The Cavite Trials, 30

Injustice of the Trials, 38

Wealth of the Friars, 40

The Cavite Mutiny: Five Unknown Earlier Trials, 1872

Leandro Tormo Sanz, 45

Introduction, 45

Initial Dispositions, 47

Number of Insurgents, 46

The Dead and the Prisoners, 47

The First Two Trials, 48

Third and Fourth Trials, 49
Fifth Trial, 51
Anomalies in the Five Cases, 53

Literary Sources of *Noli me tangere*

Cayetano Sanchez Fuyertes, O.F.M., 57

When and How the *Noli* Was Written, 58
Genesis of the *Noli*, 60
Authors and Writings That Inspired Rizal, 67
Conclusion, 111

Rizal, Cavite, and the Franciscans

Cayetano Sanchez Fuyertes, O.F.M., 113

An Exceptional Man's Brief but Intense Life, 113
The Franciscans in Rizal's Novels, 115
Love-Hate Ambivalence of Rizal Towards the Franciscans, 120
Clues to Solve an Enigma, 131
On Identifying the Novel's Characters, 142
Rizal's Questionable Objectivity, 149
From Fiction to Fact, 150
The Lenses of Jose Rizal, 172
Jose Rizal in the Eyes of the Franciscans, 177
Conclusion, 179

Once More the *Noli*—With Understanding

Jose S. Arcilla, S.J., 183

General Observations, 183
Symbolic Names, 186
Apothegms, 190
Symbolic Episodes, 192
Don Tiburcio's Lameness, 196
Conclusion, 199

Rizal and the Question of Violence

Bernhard Dahm, Ph.D., 201

Pablo Pastells, S.J.: Rizal's Friend and Correspondent

Raul J. Bonoan, S.J., 217

Early Life, 218
Philippine Assignment and Friendship with Rizal, 219
Return to Spain, 221

The General Character of Pastells' Theology, 222
Pastells' Political Views, 223
Conclusion, 225

**The Role of Ferdinand Blumentritt in
the Publication and Propagation of the *Noli*
*Harry Sichrovsky, 227***

Basic Bibliography, 241
Endnotes, 253
Contributors, 311

INTRODUCTION

A century is not long in historical reckoning. But neither would we qualify it a short time. For in one hundred years events can take place which at the moment may seem trivial, but which in time lead to consequences of great importance.

Such is the case, for example, of Rizal's *Noli me tangere*, whose centennial we are celebrating. First published by a Berlin press one hundred years ago, it is justly considered the "gospel of Philippine nationalism." When it first appeared, it was both praised and condemned, perhaps for the wrong reasons. Critics condemned it for its "blasphemous" and politically "subversive" message, while those who applauded it praised it for its boldness in laying open before the public what everyone knew but which no one had dared to say before. None of them foresaw *Noli me tangere* would eventually put an end to Spanish rule in the Philippines.

Today, one hundred years after the appearance of Rizal's novel, the Philippines is a sovereign nation. Rizal's message, his role in the emergence of the farthest colony of Spain into an independent republic is familiar in its general lines to all. But precisely how did the *Noli* help forge still disparate provinces into a unified body that finally won political recognition? When the Philippine government passed Republic Act 1456 (1956), also known as the Rizal Law, obliging all students to read at least the two novels of the national hero in order to graduate from college, was it because people had forgotten the roots of their independence? Or, considered from another viewpoint, has the purpose of the law been achieved?

The studies presented in the following pages are an initial effort to understand the *Noli me tangere*. They analyze the historical context in which it was planned and put into writing, or what literary sources and motivations may have energized its author.

The first two essays do not explicitly discuss the novel. But besides analyzing the political situation which reoriented the life of Jose Rizal, they allow us a glimpse into the intimate experiences of a novelist who, for all his external bravery and resoluteness, was as human as the rest of us, hesitant,

vacillating, and ever on the search for the right thing to do. On his final trip home from Europe, he was unexpectedly thrown into the company of certain Franciscans and other European missionaries bound for China. Their conversation and personal behavior stirred his conscience and forced him to question whether or not his *Noli me tangere* had been an unjust calumny of perhaps an innocent group of people whom he had lumped together because of the faults of a few of them. To Rizal's surprise, they were familiar with recent political developments in the Philippines and shared with him the shock and pain he felt over the probably unjust execution of three innocent priests accused of complicity in the Cavite mutiny of 1872. Studying hitherto unused documents, Dr. Tormo Sanz offers a new perspective that will change traditional views of the Cavite mutiny and clarify unsuspected aspects of the 19th-century rivalry of the European powers and its effects on the Philippines.

The next two essays by Fr. Sanchez Fuertes are important studies which the serious historian of the Philippines cannot overlook. Meticulously comparing certain passages of the *Noli* with other contemporary writings, he shows that Rizal was strongly influenced by the liberal anti-clerical atmosphere pervading Madrid. This explains the passion and biting sarcasm with which the national hero castigated those he thought were the cause of the Philippine social cancer. Particularly relevant is the essay on Rizal's attitude towards the Franciscans. It not only explains why he singled them out for his attacks by making them the main protagonists in his novels, but also suggests what Rizal believed was the underlying motivation behind the Cavite mutiny.

The next four essays are suggestions on how to read Rizal's novels, and what conclusions may be drawn from them. This is perhaps the true gauge of the novel, namely, that they are an inexhaustible treasure and people will always find in them something valuable. Fr. Arcilla's study deserves attention because people today seem to misread Rizal's novel. Implicitly he says *Noli me tangere* is, first, a literary piece of writing — a *novel*—and must be read accordingly. It is not history, although it is based on historical reality. Unless this is kept in mind, people will never fully understand the powerful propaganda piece Rizal produced.

Blumentritt's role in Rizal's growth as a Filipino nationalist has yet to be studied in its totality. The essay of Professor Sichrovsky exemplifies just that. And Dr. Dahm's analysis of Rizal's views on violence or revolution, a topic constantly analyzed, presents still new insights that are not without merit. It certainly proves, despite the growing skepticism of Rizal's relevance today, he is still very much the man of the hour in our society.

Finally, Fr. Bonoan's study on the relations between Fr. Pablo Pastells, S. J., former spiritual guide and counsellor of the youthful Ateneo sodalist, is not to be overlooked. It makes us understand the inner conflicts that tested Rizal's values and attitudes.

Some might question the bibliography appended at the end of the volume. It is not an exhaustive list, but as titled, it is merely a *basic* reading list. Those whose interest will lead them to read more—which we hope will result from this volume—will always find in these titles other suggestions for further study.

It now remains for us to thank those who in one way or another contributed to the publication of these essays. One of the essays which has already appeared in print we included, with the author's kind permission, in a modified translation because of its importance, namely, "Bishop Volonteri: Fellow Passenger of Rizal." first appearing in *Missionarlia Hispanica* XXXIII-XXXIV (1976-1977), 181-78, 249-285. We should not omit mentioning our gratitude to Fr. Raul J. Bonoan, S. J. whose interest in this work has led to the publication of the volume.

BISHOP VOLONTERI:
FELLOW PASSENGER OF RIZAL
Leandro Tormo Sanz

On Sunday, 18 October 1891, Rizal boarded the boat for Hongkong at Marseilles.¹ It was the beginning of the end: he was moving toward the final stages of his life. Several incidents, politically trivial in themselves, but serious to his refined and artistic mind, had estranged him from his fellow Filipinos and friends editing the fortnightly *La Solidaridad* and united in the masonic lodge of the same name.² At the end of April 1889 he had broken his agreement with the vindictive Antonio Ma. Regidor for the latter's failure to publish the work he had written at the latter's urging and promise to publish it, a promise not fulfilled when the book was finished.³ The delusion over his liberal-minded masonic friends took the form of a letter to Blumentritt on 5 July 1890 in which he exclaims:

Minister Sagasta has fallen. Where now are those unselfish services of Becerra? Alas! Do not leave for tomorrow what you can do today! Beautiful words, beautiful words, but words, words, words, as Shakespeare said.⁴

When he left Spain on 27 January 1891 he had already stopped writing and taking an active part in the activities of *La Solidaridad* and withdrawn from masonry.⁵ Paradoxically, either out of malice or acting under superior orders, the masons themselves would a few years from now assert during Rizal's trial for rebellion he had introduced this secret society to the Filipinos.⁶

His youthful sweetheart tired of her role of a platonic muse and married to an English engineer, Rizal sought to fill the void with a new love which was at hand, and which besides could solve his painful economic difficulties and give him the rich man's leisure to dedicate himself to satisfactory intellectual pursuits all his life. And yet for precisely religious reasons, he refused this tempting promise of future material well-being.⁷

Mindful of the pain suffered by his family, proud in his dignity or blind belief that he had acted well, that he had carried out his duties,⁸ resolved to retire completely from political activity with whose issues and personalities he was disillusioned,⁹ in search of peace and tranquility, anxious to return to

his country,¹⁰ and intent on writing a novel distinct from *Noli me tangere* and *El Filibusterismo*, their sequel¹¹—in this mental and emotional state he boarded the “Melbourne.”

The boat is full. Starting with a description of the passengers, he begins his diary of the trip, just as he did for the first time when he had secretly sailed away from the Philippines, unknown to his parents, as well as during his final trip from Manila and back the year he was executed.¹²

On the opening page he writes:

Around 12 missionaries — Italian and French — are going to Tonkin [Vietnam]. With them is a bishop called Volonteri. He is short, dry, has a beard and moustache like a Chinese.¹³

RIZAL AND THE MISSIONARIES

These men, their world, their problems, their conversation especially that of the bishop (described above in Rizal's affectionate way) strongly attracted his attention and will be the main theme of this essay. The day following their departure, already on the high sea, Rizal wrote:

I was introduced at night to Bishop Volonteri, the old man with the Chinese face. He surprised me very much as he talked of the Philippines. He had been there 23 years ago, had visited Laguna, an estate of the Dominicans, Iloilo, Cebu, Negros, Bohol. He had frequently been in contact with many Dominicans, among them Frs. Rivas, Fonseca, and Trcerra. He described the last as a man of deep piety. He also knew Fr. Agustin Mendoza, considered an unusual man, Fr. Mariano Gomez, etc. He was acquainted with their tragedy and regretted them. He was not ignorant of the wealth of the religious houses and bewailed so much gold should be misused. He had also known Fr. Payo, and, talking about archbishops, asked me if the present one is also a Dominican.

Because the Dominicans have too much influence on the government, one of the Franciscans replied to a remark.

He then drew a very beautiful picture of the Philippines which he kept calling the earthly paradise. He spoke about its riches and abundance eloquently and with such enthusiasm that fascinated me listening to his sonorous Italian phrases. He kept regretting the bad government, etc. that I remained very pensive and in a bad mood.¹⁴

From this lengthy quotation we can identify three general ideas which at the moment concerned Rizal and filled his mind and his heart: first, the

Philippines, its beauty, wealth, abundance, and bad government; next, the Dominicans, their power, their lands, piety, wealth, and the use made of it; finally, the Cavite mutiny with its unfortunate results for the native Filipino clergy.¹⁵

Two days later, still in the same emotional state, he wrote to Blumentritt. But in this letter we notice nuances and modifications of the subjective tone with which he consigned the facts in his diary. The first idea, the Philippines, appears in these words:

The closer I am to my country, the more vehement is my desire to return. I know everyone considers this as folly, but something is pushing me. Is this good or bad luck? I cannot give up my longing to see my country.¹⁶

The suppression of the events in Cavite are more patent in this letter. He wrote Blumentritt Bishop Volonteri "even remembered the names of the executed priests, and talked of them with compassion and admiration." On the other hand, the reference to the Dominicans is softened in general terms summarizing the negative aspect under one total picture of the friars in the Philippines. According to Rizal, the bishop kept repeating "*Si troppo richi, ma troppo richi* (Indeed, too rich, terribly too rich!).¹⁷

How these statements by the prelate affected Rizal is evident in the following paragraph:

With us on board are many missionaries—Franciscans, Jesuits, and a Bishop, Monsignor Volonteri, who was in the Philippines 23 years ago. This lovable old man sincerely commiserated with the conditions of my country, spoke against the wealth and the abuses of the friars in the Philippines. I wish you had heard him speak. He thinks exactly like you. He described the Philippines a paradise but abused and exploited. I was deeply moved and *his words have strengthened and confirmed even more my convictions.*¹⁸

The underlined words are of great significance. They synthesize the importance of Rizal's acquaintance with a person as romantically patriotic and nationalist as himself and perhaps an unconscious factor in the Philippine hero's *non-retirement* from politics and his failure to find the peace and quiet he wanted. But before studying the role of this missionary bishop, we must first look into what Rizal entered in his diary regarding religion in general and the members of the religious orders, his fellow passengers in particular, two themes that occupy him most of the time of his maritime crossing.¹⁹

On 25 October, the first Sunday after they left Europe, Rizal's observations are entered in the following manner:

The bishop plans to celebrate mass on board at 11:00 o'clock. They have brought up the piano and set up some sort of an altar. Above on the left side, between two bands of white and red the Italian seal forms the background.

Mass was celebrated under the American flag in front of the Italian, the French, and the Portuguese on one side, the English on the other. There were many people, all Catholic, and some Russians. The friars remained on their knees all the time.²⁰

The seal of the new Italy, the national flags displayed during the mass he noted briefly. Did he perhaps nourish a wish to see one day the two flags of the Philippines and Spain fraternally united before the altar of sacrifice? Not unusually patriotic and religious sentiments go hand in hand, and it is possible Rizal thought of religion as an element of patriotic fervor, or of a religious patriotism such as the Spanish friars in the Philippines exemplified. He also noted the presence of orthodox Russians at the mass, or the fact that the friars knelt throughout. When compared to similar attitudes today, they give more than enough food for thought. But there was still a more urgent problem that deeply preoccupied Rizal, the problem as always of the convenience and incompatibility of various religious beliefs. Hence his pen changed from an objective narrative tone to a lyric and heartfelt intimacy when he added:

At night I had with the bishop a long discussion on religion. Deep faith, deep faith, as a true missionary. But intolerance, always intolerance. He even reminds me of the Boustead family.²¹

Rizal, too, has deep religious faith, like Volonteri, even like the Bousteads of bitter memory. But his faith is much more in consonance with today's society than that of his own. The episode that had occurred before he left Europe involving that wealthy family clearly proves it. Rizal, who had just finished his second novel vilifying the Spanish friars in the Philippines, centered his affections on Nelly Boustead after his former sweetheart had married. But the former imposed as a condition that he abjure his Catholicism and embrace reformed Christianity as she understood it.²² The national hero rejected the happiness within reach and refused to give up his Catholic faith,²³ a living faith conscious of a mission such that, were it not for the injustice perpetrated after the Cavite mutiny, Rizal would have become a Jesuit, and one of the more modern ones in my opinion. The only difference between the

bishop's and the Filipino's deep faith — I repeat — is that the first is expressed according to the conditions of his time, while the second to those of ours.²⁴ These differences were superficial, it may be said, and more visible. But more substantial religious elements bound the two together and Rizal sought the bishop's company. They played chess together, Rizal drew a portrait for him two days later.²⁵ He could not share what he considered intolerance, but at the same time, he admitted one could not be a true missionary without a strong faith. For Rizal tolerance was not the result of religious indifferentism, even if some of its manifestations might embody some equivocations due to the particular circumstances of Europe from which it had issued. His idea and practice of tolerance were at bottom based on a deeply Christian conviction, that all are sinners, that we can commit and can be in error when we view through our thick lenses the truths revealed by God Himself, the absolute truth which human words relativize. The later doctrinal controversy by expistolary exchange with Fr. Pablo Pastells, S. J. clearly showed both were guilty of their own particular errors.²⁶

On 29 October 1891, he disembarked at Aden with an enjoyable company of Jesuits and visited the city with them. He went to the Capuchin convent there, and called on the resident friar, "a good man who talked well, knew how to carry on conversation with us, describing their missions, the impossibility of converting the Moros." Rizal's curiosity was satisfied studying the construction of the church he visited. Back aboard ship and en route, he wrote:

This morning the Franciscans and the Lombard missionaries stir up all sorts of discussions. I irritate them by asking who is more saintly. One says it is God, another he who performs a better deed in God's eyes. I ask them who first reached heaven. One said Abel; another that Abel had been in Limbo first. I tell them, Dimas. At this the discussion heats up. Afterwards I check with them what the souls in Limbo were doing when Christ arrived, what the souls of the dead who returned to life. They are mad! Afterwards Fr. Fuchs came with his *Divina Commedia* translated into German. They start again another discussion whether or not that translation was badly done; that Dante cannot be translated, that the original, the Italian, etc., etc.²⁷

Rizal was not merely a devilish imp at his games inciting some friars against others, but he also saw those men of the sackcloth, universally attacked by his political novelist's pen, had a delicate social sense, and his personal, intimate hand, the one which wrote the diary, did them justice by portraying their protest against the abuses committed on the servants of his

fellow passengers.²⁸ On 1 November he described the pastoral activity of the bishop:

The bishop preached with great conviction and fervor after the gospel, comparing human life to a ship. We, all of us passengers on this boat, we are passengers in this life. We must not be distracted and lose sight of the end for which God created us. We must not be held back by things along the way, but think of the end of our voyage. He compared the Church to a ship. He spoke simply, clearly, with feeling, and from the heart. Those of us who heard him felt moved.²⁹

Volonteri hit the mark when he preached on the last things in that atmosphere conducive to prayer and meditation amidst that immense ocean where swaying in a cockleshell, man experiences his nothingness. The bishop's words must have moved Rizal more than his companions. For a long time now, he had been conscious of death. In his correspondence with Blumentritt he kept repeating: "If I died, you will remain; but life in Europe is impossible for me. Better to die than live miserably."³⁰ And "... I prefer to give my life for the sake of my people to enjoying a life of ease here. If I die, you remain and you will not abandon the Filipinos."³¹

One of the priests traveling with Rizal was a natural scientist, and the two spent a night "discussing astronomy." Rizal, however, described for Blumentritt the Catholic missionaries:

The Franciscans (Italians) and the Jesuits (French) respect me. They do not know what I have done. I do not want to disabuse them, for I would not want to disturb these good and simple young men going with great zeal to China. They are poor, pious, in no way haughty. What a difference! Only one of them who has been twice to China is a little rough, a kind of Fray Damaso. But he is good, frank, and laughs with an open mouth when I tell a brief joke. We enjoyed playing chess together. From Tyrol, he is called Fuchs. I call him Fr. Fox when he makes a bad move. A good man, a Fray Damaso without pride or malice.³²

There is much to reflect on here. Rizal showed he was in doubt he had done well. He wrote novels, fiction in which what was said could not be taken as the truth. He was aware he had generalized and universalized a few real faults. He knew that reading his novels could disturb the simple and the good. And he kept silent before his missionary co-passengers, not to disturb them, not to lose their respect. There was a depth of goodness in Rizal whose refinement was merely hidden. This cover-up would be understood only in the heat of political fights where all the protagonists lost their equanimity and could not foresee the proximate or remote consequences of their words and actions.

Rizal's very serious Catholic formation appeared with greater clarity in his conversations with the non-Catholic passengers. For example, he noted on 4 November he had had a discussion on free will and hope. A Russian had told him hope was "weakness," a Japanese that it was "useless . . . the will does everything." But the Philippine hero maintained that "without hope there is no will."³³ The night of 8 December, the feast of the Immaculate Conception, Rizal spent on the deck chatting with his new friar friends. And he wrote on his diary:

The Franciscans came afterwards and I talked to them about the Franciscans in my country.

If they are rich, they are no longer Franciscans, they were saying.

The moon was bright above; the sea calm, very calm. Big phosphorescent drops like tears of fire were jumping by the prow. The young naturalist was saying they were medusas, but how can there be so many?

Seated on the ropes and sails they were talking about these things. There was talk about Saint Francis' miracles, of the niche behind the door, of the hawthorn turned into roses, etc. I was given one of these leaves.³⁴

The novelist indulged in memories. The scientist and the poet in him went hand in hand, doubting the explanation by the naturalist and piously accepting the hawthorn leaf Saint Francis had changed into a rose.

The final reference to the missionaries he wrote in Saigon, their last stop:

More than 300 Chinese come over the bridge, and the missionaries, including the bishop, fear a riot. All speak in admiration of the Anamite [Vietnamese] seminarians and their missionaries. They are angels, a poor Franciscan was saying.³⁵

Balance and judgment are revealed in these phrases. As a first class passenger, he shared in the quite unjustified fear of a possible riot, quite probable because poverty forced the Chinese to move in huge crowds. Volonteri, who was acquainted with various Chinese groups, did not doubt something untoward could occur, but at the same time these missionaries from Europe affirmed and publicized the angelic goodness found also in an Asian.

SIMEONE VOLONTERI AND THE PHILIPPINES, A MISSIONARIES' PARADISE

Who was this bishop whom Rizal had come to know, describe, admire and respect? What is the origin and truth of his judgments and observations about the Philippines, its government, its friars?

Simeone Angelo Felice Volonteri was the son of a Milanese druggist. Born and baptized the same day, 6 June 1831, he studied in the Oblate College of Rho, where one of the missionary Oblates was his maternal uncle. It was his classmate, Eugenio Biffi, future "Apostle of two continents," who inspired Simeone to spread the faith to pagan lands. Winning a scholarship to the archdiocesan seminary of Milan, he began his theological studies there in 1853. He was ordained to the priesthood and said his first mass on 7 February 1857. He first arrived in Hongkong on 7 February 1860, where he dedicated himself to hospital work while studying the Chinese language. A few years later, he baptized the daughter of Corporal James Bracken and Elizabeth Jane McBride. The little child was named Josephine and, at her mother's death, was taken and educated by the Canossan Sisters whom she had hoped to join when she was 14 years old, escaping from the house of Mr. Taufer, who had employed her as a housemaid. Josephine, years later, became Rizal's wife and widow.³⁶

For one reason or another, Rizal was drawn to Bishop Volonteri with the Chinese beard. He was obviously a great man, but especially a true man of God. He never tried to flatter his new Filipino friend, just as the latter never embellished his ideas when putting them on paper to describe the prelate.

Volonteri called the Philippines the "earthly paradise," perhaps with more subjective judgment than anything else. But other Catholic missionaries to the Far East felt the same way about Rizal's country. The first twelve missionaries sent to China by the Sacred Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith had passed by Manila in 1696. And they, too, had been in admiration of the hospitality offered them. They reported it to Europe with the same enthusiasm as Volonteri in conversation with Rizal about two hundred years later. The Propaganda in Rome had taken note and when it sent Cardinal de Toumon to China, they recommended him to Field Marshall Tomas de Endaya in Manila. This "earthly paradise" suggested to Abbe Siddotti, a member of de Tourmon's entourage, the idea of a major interdiocesan seminary for the formation of a native clergy for Asia. Not only that, the Philippines had been a source of help for the Propaganda Procurator's office in Canton, as well as of the missionaries who depended on it.³⁷ And missionaries sent to work in the other countries of Asia and Oceania were supported by their houses in the Philippines which also welcomed them in the first Catholic country in Asia, the first in Volonteri's time, when they had the opportunity to rest from their labors in the Lord's vineyard. Surrounded by pagan nations, the missionaries in Asia found in the tropical islands of the Archipelago the delights of Eden.

Against this perspective, the bishop's impression did not seem exaggerated, a view his fellow missionaries shared. The Christian life of the Filipinos was patent to them, not just as travelers passing through, but as priests who had experienced its fruits. Simeone Volonteri knew it first from his contacts with two missionaries, Reina and Raimondi, who, failing in Micronesia, proceeded to Manila. With two others, they spent six months in the Philippines in various Franciscan and Augustinian parishes where they helped in the priestly ministry. Enough time for these Italian priests to know the quality and depth of Philippine Christianity. And when the Catholic church in Hongkong was burned in 1859, Raimondi returned to this earthly paradise to beg alms for its restoration.³⁸

In this garden of delights Volonteri and the other missionaries came to restore their shattered health and the financial well-being of their own missions always in need of money. Significantly, Raimondi wrote a letter to a Cardinal in Italy that their Hongkong mission could not pay its debts and must be helped with money from the Philippines, just as earlier his church had been rebuilt with funds from the same source. And when Volonteri went to Manila, he collected the not insignificant amount of \$5,152.50, more than the annual allotment from the Propaganda Fide and the Society of the Holy Infancy in Italy.³⁹

For three months, the bishop himself was the object of charity, people outdoing one another to help him recover his health and the no less ailing financial condition of the Far Eastern missions. He had tasted that unforgettable Philippine hospitality, a happy mix of simplicity and refinement, where the natural goodness of the Oriental found full expression in the fulfillment of Christian charity understood in the peculiar Filipino way. Not that Volonteri and the others had closed their eyes to the poverty of the Filipinos who yet were capable of giving alms to the missions; rather, the bishop and his companions appreciated it in its true dimension, in the transcendental vision of the supernatural.

From the esthetic viewpoint, both the natural scenery and the culture found by Volonteri were of indisputable beauty. The region around Laguna de Bay, Mount Banahaw, Pagsanjan Falls, Taal Volcano within Taal Lake, Mayon Volcano with its almost perfect cone, the Chocolate Hills of Bohol, the sugarcane fields of Negros, Iloilo port, Cebu City with its shrine of the Holy Infant of Prague, Legazpi's cross, the Cathedral, and the walls of Intramuros lapped by the Pasig River, and Manila Bay lined with colonial houses, monasteries, palaces, and churches—all were spectacular scenes that

charmed those Italian missionaries and other foreigners with a feeling for God's natural art, as well as man's.

But more than its natural and moral beauty, the archipelago Magellan had called Saint Lazarus where the unfortunate lepers exiled by Daifusama in 1632 had been received could not be a mere blossom of the day, a garden flowering only in spring. The Philippine eden flowed with the biblical milk and honey which served as a source for the financial help sent to the Italian missionaries in China: mass stipends and fees for dispensations, totalling in 1868 \$100 and \$106.60 respectively. With the other alms offered, the entire sum reached \$300.⁴⁰

Alas, it was a badly administered paradise! Authors are unanimous in their judgment, although they differ in their explanation of the origins or causes. Limiting ourselves to Volonteri and his group, we find a key date, 1868, and a clear cause, the government introduced by the "Glorious Revolution" of 1868. Prim y Topete was the main plotter, and his right hand man promoted to the rank of *General Segundo Cabo* of the Sevilla detachment, was Rafael Izquierdo, the same who suppressed the Cavite mutiny of 1872.

On 17 June 1869, Fr. Bernardo Viganò, priest of the Italian Foreign Mission Society, begging alms in the Philippines, wrote to his Superior:

I am here in Manila. There would be utterly no point saying this country is no longer the same as it was before if one took a look at Spain in its present situation. The former employees demoted in great part (260 dismissed) and so without bread for their families, but drawn by necessity to join any party which gives them hope of bread. The newly arrived, the flower of the *modern gentleman*. Discontent among the natives, the slowdown of commerce and of harvests are the misfortunes of the present, together with other not insignificant evils. They await de la Torre as Superior Governor, one the regenerators of Spain whispered about for future (cardinal) innovations.⁴¹

Church and state relations in Spain at that time, according to the "*Memorial de agravios*," were unfriendly. Some of those in the government coalition had agreed while plotting in a foreign country before their victory, to grant reformist cults the freedom and protection which they denied to the Catholic Church. Rumor had it that this agreement was compensation for the financial aid they received from Protestant societies. Persecution of the Church under the provisional government was more comprehensive and more unrelenting than in previous periods. Many notable churches were destroyed, religious buildings of great artistic merit were devastated, the

arms of His Holiness were demolished, the Apostolic Nuntio was insulted, threatened, and finally expelled. The Society of Jesus was suppressed by decree of 12 October 1868, their colleges and other institutions being closed and their properties confiscated in three days. Three days later, 15 October, another decree annulled an earlier one issued the preceding 25 June which had permitted the religious orders to acquire property. Three more days later, 18 October, all monasteries, religious houses, colleges, and other religious institutions in existence since 19 July 1837 (the date of an earlier and more notorious suppression of religious entities in Spain) were suppressed, all their material edifices, revenues, dues, properties being declared government property. On the following day, a decree dissolved the Conferences of Saint Vincent de Paul, and their funds were confiscated. On 22 October, the budget for seminaries was removed. On 2 November, the Court of the Military Orders was dissolved, and on 1 January 1869, all objects of art, science, and literature owned by the Church in the cathedrals, chapter houses, monasteries, and military orders were taken. By decree of 1 March 1869, rules were issued for the immediate disentail of the goods of the *Obras pias*, *patronatos*, and other pious foundations. Finally, a decree dated 4 August 1869 charged the prelates to exhort their clergy to obey constituted authorities, under pain of withdrawal of license to hear confessions from priests notoriously hostile and who might have openly shown opposition to the constitutional government.⁴²

The man charged with implementing in the Philippines the orders of the revolutionary government arrived in Manila on 23 June 1869, Lieutenant-General Carlos Ma. de la Torre Navacerrada, friend of General Prim, and a member of the Progressive Party. He had resigned from the Chamber of Deputies to assume the office of Superior Civil Governor and Captain General of the Philippines.⁴³ A proven liberal and convinced radical, according to Rafael Ma. de Labra, he was expected to impose the liberal policies of the constituent government. But he failed because the Glorious Revolution led to the contradiction inherent in all the political systems of nineteenth-century Spain, namely, that of being liberal or progressive in the Iberian peninsula, but conservative or reactionary in the Philippines.⁴⁴ The only things changed were the government officials, trained and untrained for their task, but peninsular Spaniards nonetheless. And because their political party was successful, they believed they had every right to a share in the spoils of their political game.

In this situation, Fr. Vigano failed in his alms-begging in Manila. On 7 September 1869, he wrote to the superior of the Seminary in Milan:

Of Manila it is no longer possible to sing the old song of wealth and favors. The effects of the situation in Spain have made themselves felt. Even dispositions, regulations, and other vexations of the clergy are not missing, and unfortunately they do not allow any doubts about the worst. On this date, all the old employees were deprived of their salaries and employment, and were reduced to go knocking from door to door, while the new are of new principles and accept the current ideas. The Governor from afar resigned in absentia, including the veteran military and the officials of the public force. One can conclude from this how that wave will rise. The parish priests find themselves in the dire need to dismiss their assistants, because their stipends have not been paid (a parish priest has not been paid for one year), but mainly because of the decrease in their stipends. I could add to all of these other revenues which have been cut, which are the most obvious effects. Enough. God will take care of the needs of His church and sustain it with His providence always.⁴⁵

This Italian perception of Spanish misgovernment of the Philippine "paradise" was shared by the Spanish clergy directly affected by these anticlerical measures. Ten months later, a Spanish priest, probably a Dominican, wrote to the editors of *Altar y Trono*:

There were happy times when no one could justly complain in the Philippines. The Spaniard was truly a master all over, and consequently was respected and esteemed wherever he wanted to go. He had all he needed adequately: teams for a difficult journey, at no cost; hospitality and food, choice and delightful, as each one could afford in his house. He used to have everything ready as he wished without any difficulties. Robbers were identified. Fires were rare. Murderers did not exist. Piety was growing, religion was on the increase. In a word, all that was good was multiplying. Evil had no place.

Today we see and feel the complete opposite. The Spaniard has lost almost completely the magic prestige that used to distinguish him everywhere, ridicule from the *indio* being the only thing he still retains in those places not frequented by him. Theft, murder, and fires are so frequent, so frightful and of such consequences that time would not suffice to recount them . . . What is behind all this? I believe, as also sensible people, that the cause, the origin, and the start of all this are the Spaniards themselves. Those Spaniards, I mean, of the low classes, whose background is tainted and dark, almost all of them sent by past and present governments, and like locusts have invaded the country, spreading all over the lethal poison of their liberal ideas, their reprehensible conduct, their scandalous example, in a word, their life as criminous in public as it is immoral in private.

Certainly I do not ignore the other sufficiently influential cause, unfortunately, of the corruption of the native: the essentially anti-Catholic newspapers, v. gr., *La Iberia* and *La Discusión*, and others of the kind . . .⁴⁶

These lines, granting their emotion and even the superficiality of their dangerous generalizations, reflect the same manner of viewing the Archipelago. The men of "68" wanted to manifest their dissent from the official Spanish ecclesiastical mind. Santiago Petschen laid it open for judgment in his meticulous study of the problem of the "freedom of cult in the Constituent of 69."⁴⁷ But in that period there was something else besides an ideological debate regarding the concepts of *freedom* and *religion*. At bottom, there was some anticlericalism which certain masons raised to power by the "Gloriosa" manifested in administrative measures indicative of a clear tendency, conscious or otherwise, to destroy the faithful of the Church both in Spain and in the Philippines. Hence, the secularization of social centers and the laicization of schools, while usurping the funds with which the Church supported these educational and charitable works.

The new official policy seemed bent, albeit indirectly, on weakening the opposition, including the Church. The situation of the Church in the Philippines, in need of economic resources as a result of the adverse economic measures following the "Gloriosa" of 1868, can offer a clue to certain otherwise unintelligible facts, e. g., the plan of the Dominicans to transfer to Hongkong the funds of the Province of the Most Holy Rosary of the Philippines, or the obstacles faced by Viganò when he had come to seek alms in the diocese of Cebu, as well as the refusal of Archbishop Gregorio Meliton Martínez of Manila to send money to the Sacred Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith in 1875.⁴⁸

The "paradise" was glutted with dismissed employees, political and ordinary exiles, ecclesiastics with reduced stipends that forced them to get rid of native assistant priests. At the same time, the very people who caused all this grabbed the opportunity to benefit their political groups. Regidor tells us that the exile of the republicans "precipitated the founding of the lodge in Pandacan, whose resources aided them when they docked in Manila on their way to Guam Thanks to that center, a great number of peninsulars were likewise able to live in the Philippines, regardless of their political convictions, for in that *cazzia* of unemployed, they stayed in the country without resources or means of sustenance."⁴⁹

There was something else. They tried to kill the charity among the clergy which linked and harmonized their diversity and unity within the Church. In the old polemic between the secular and the regular clergy for the possession of parishes, the Spanish government in the nineteenth century became involved for its essentially regalist interests.⁵⁰ For a long time now, this conflict had embroiled political groups, as we read in the *Anonymous*

Exposition to the Queen Regent by the "Essential Cristina Follower" (1835-1836):

Policy and peace of the Islands demand that the bishops should be stopped from ordaining the Indios and Chinese mestizos. Only Spaniards should be parish priests, including the friars residing there, but exclaustated and subject to the Ordinary. For as communities and religious orders, with the immense wealth at their disposal, they are more harmful here than in the Peninsula, because they are openly Carlists and the chief enemies of the Government of His Majesty.⁵¹

Thus the problem was shifted and weakened, intractable to a Church whose hands were tied by the fetters of a government run more often by her avowed enemies. This transformation of an ecclesiastical dispute or controversy into a political fight was initiated by the laity who succeeded in implicating ecclesiastical elements through sufficiently twisted means.

This to me was the case of Fr. Jose A. Burgos. His tragic death overshadowed Rizal's life, Volonteri regretted, and still sadden quite a number today. The mechanism to remove the clergy, Spanish and Filipino, from their own Catholic and ecclesiastical arena, and split them into nationalities in order to make them face one another in a political fight has been clearly detailed by Fr. John N. Schumacher, S. J. with the objectivity and precision characteristic of his writings. According to him, Manuel Regidor wrote a series of attacks against the friars in the Philippines which he published anonymously in the newspaper *La Discusión*.⁵² To find out who had written these articles, Fray Joaquin de Coria, O. F. M., procurator in Madrid for the Franciscans in the Philippines, replied with a violent attack on the native Filipino clergy whom he thought were involved, for he must have been convinced of the false information from Regidor maliciously stating Burgos "was absolutely in agreement with them." Apparently, then, the first to move the question of the secularization of the parishes out of their context was a Franciscan friar, at that time seeking the chair of Tagalog in the Central University of Madrid.⁵³ Having achieved this, Regidor, who had promised Burgos help to obtain a canonry in Manila, dangled Coria's articles as bait before the Filipino priest. Burgos fell for it, sending a few articles signed in his name for publication in the same newspaper.⁵⁴

The effect in the Philippines was mirrored in this article by an anonymous Dominican in *Altar y Trono* as mentioned earlier:

I shall give you another news item which has embittered and angered persons of a noble heart, because of the dire effects which in such calamitous times as we are going through could follow. The case is that of one Don Jose Burgos,

a priest of the Cathedral, who has published in . . . *La Discusión* three inflammatory articles, dated 20 March, 12 April, and the third after these.⁵⁵

The apple of discord has poisoned the Philippine ecclesiastical eden, its inhabitants have lost their innocence. At the same time the Church was deprived of her legitimate properties and her freedom, systematically tied down in word and deed. While she was being destroyed, the government interfered with her internal affairs and incited her clergy to fight one another. Foreign merchants and companies were allowed to corner the country's rice, abaca, sugar, etc. with their chains of monopolies, becoming masters of the rural estates and provoking an economic crisis. As a result, a rural proletariat quickly appeared where formerly there had been individual and collective landowners, discontent simmered among the dispossessed, and socio-political upheavals occurred. An adroit propaganda popularized to satiety that the cause of all the evils was the friars, that continuing on the same road the Philippines would neither solve her problems nor obtain the independence which for years they had already worked for. The only thing they would achieve was a change of masters, and Rizal foresaw this with distinct clarity. That is why he refused to lead a revolution he knew would benefit only a third party. And so, those who unlike him had no courage to face death would accuse him of cowardice.⁵⁶

THE CAVITE MUTINY

I consider the events that occurred in Cavite the night of 20 January 1872 as the point of departure in the journey of the Philippines in history, until it ended in the hands of the United States government. The misgovernment which, according to Volonteri and his companions began with the Spanish revolution of 1868, continued under the term of his compatriot, Amadeo of Savoy (1871-1873). In the Philippines, a military uprising by the native artillery guarding the fort of San Felipe with part of the Marine Infantry at the arsenal of Cavite took place. It was a revolution of subordinate officers, similar to what had occurred in Spain in the same century.

My present discussion is based on documents hitherto not used by either Filipino or Spanish historians. They contain information of the Filipino priests exiled to the Marianas Islands as a result of the mutiny, but having escaped, they arrived in Hongkong where they came into contact with the Italian missionaries whom they must have known before in the Philippines.

We may suppose there was a special bond of fraternity between the Italian missionaries in China who were themselves secular priests and the Filipino secular priests fighting for the recognition of their right to own parishes.

But of greater relevance is the information the documents provide of a possible foreign intervention in Cavite. Traditional histories accept without analysis the official version that the plotters were the Filipinos who had been convicted by the courts. Filipino historians, however, claim the rebellion was the work of a group of Spaniards manipulated or influenced by the friars, an opinion confirmed by the statement of the accused during their trials. A third position is possible, in my opinion, that the weavers of the plot were neither Filipinos nor Spaniards. There are enough indications to support this hypothesis, not sufficiently recognized till now. Perhaps it can explain the Cavite mutiny and the trials connected with it.

I admit this alleged foreign intervention was only one cause among many which set the conflict in motion. In the present case, we cannot throw away possible political rivalries, including those of the different parties which had united to dethrone Isabel II, and at this precise moment no longer looked on favorably by King Amadeo who imposed the will of Prim; the socio-economic malaise because of certain labor decrees; the possible intervention by agents of the International clearly evident in the later strike at the arsenal; military discontent over government measures considered unjust; schemes of Cuban agents to create a second front in the Spanish army and dissipate its forces.⁵⁷ Not surprisingly, there would also be certain personal motives; disappointments of those who were tired of hearing the government spokesmen mouth declarations about democratic freedoms but saw that the latter not only failed in their promises or trampled them down, but also that within the established system their words could not be honored; desperation of the dismissed employees; the effects of administrative injustice; romantic adventurism and the fruit of an unquestioned patriotic idealism proper to the age.

These and other causes existed or could have existed; but in this essay, my concern is with the possibility of foreign intervention which Rizal saw quite clearly but did not link with the mutiny. Had he suspected this, he would not have attributed to the friars what I believe was a machination of their enemies. Jose Ma. Jover Zamora tells us what was "characteristic of international politics between 1870 and 1914 is the *imperialism* of a few big powers who desire to assure themselves of exclusive markets both to sell their finished products and obtain raw materials for their industries."⁵⁸

This foreign intervention was indirect at the moment. Hypothetically I consider in the first place that it was not the big powers themselves who were in need, but their traders who manipulated their governments, convinced their private interests benefited also their fellow citizens. To obtain support and aid in their enterprises, colonial capitalism created different conflict-situations until their nation's weaponry was drawn in. The proper tool for such involvement was freemasonry which, in Cuba's case, would actively promote the island's political independence from Spain with economic dependence on the United States. In the Philippines in 1872 freemasonry would whip the imperialist appetites of England and Germany rather than that of the United States, although its English agents frequently acquired American citizenship for their own interests.⁵⁹

ZALDUA'S DECLARATION

Of the trial which convicted the three Filipino priests and the civilian, Francisco Zaldua, who testified against them, we know only the statements which Manuel Artigas copied and published in his *Los Sucesos de 1872*. One of these statements reads:

... Zamora immediately went to Burgos' house the third time he brought the letters to the latter. He says the same government of Fr. Burgos was promising to launch boats into the sea; that Balbino Mauricio was coming from America; that a Spaniard, a certain Estrella, was commissioned to lead the American squadron.⁶⁰

From this vague and confused testimony we have a Spaniard who had contacts with the North Americans; but to pretend that the United States squadron would intervene on behalf of a few rebel sergeants in the Philippines seems unlikely. This might be an exaggeration about a foreign boat ready to lend aid to the Cavite mutineers, a not completely wild speculation especially if we keep in mind aid had been given to the Jolo pirates who had risen against Spain.

ADDITIONS TO THE TRIAL OF VICENTE GENEROSO

In my book *1872* I included a few additional statements by Bonifacio Octavo at the end of his trial. The last is as follows:

Manila, 29 September 1872, the Fiscal proceeded to Fort Santiago where Bonifacio Vicente Generoso is detained. He was willing to make additional testimony, after being notified of the previous one he had made. He said he recalled that on 19 January, on his way to the office of the Arsenal that morning,

an Artillery Corporal named Taylo informed him that Sergeant Madrid was summoning him. The witness proceeded to Fort San Felipe where that sergeant again invited him to join the rebellion, telling him he was planning to go to Corregidor Island to stop all Spanish boats sailing in; that he hoped to take the witness along since the latter knew the signals and flags of the foreign boats they would let by; that he would bring sufficient artillery to that island, but he did not say where the artillery for Corregidor would come from; that a chain would be forged to lower it into the sea and raise it by machines when a Spanish boat would come.⁶¹

Despite its simplicity, we have some confirmation of the hypothetic possibility that a foreign boat might arrive to support the uprising. The fact that this idea was manifested the day *before* the uprising can induce us to consider that they could have received such aid from the boats which had just sailed out of Manila Bay.

OFFICIAL REPORTS FROM IZQUIERDO

The Superior Civil Governor of the Philippines, Rafael Izquierdo y Gutierrez, who believed he had discovered and penalized the plotters and instigators of the mutiny,⁶² was the object of some suspicious comments which the newspaper *London and China Express* made on 2 March 1872. People consequently became aware of a possible involvement in the mutiny of a British subject. In a letter dated 6 May 1872, the Governor reported to the Overseas Minister that, on learning about this piece of information, he had forbidden the circulation of the newspaper in the Islands, for he thought that England "would not permit our interests to be so blatantly attacked."⁶³ Fifteen days later, on 21 May, he told the Minister the events in Cavite were "the fruit of a plan coordinated with elements without and within these islands."⁶⁴ He then enumerated the elements within the Archipelago, saying nothing about those outside. He could mean the Filipinos in Spain but he could also refer to foreigners whom he did not specify lest the Spanish government be embroiled in problems of an international magnitude.⁶⁵ But in the incident involving the "Nassau" on 15 October 1872, we have documentary evidence of British involvement although with reference only to the Jolo insurrection.⁶⁶

MINUTES FROM THE OVERSEAS MINISTRY

From the very first moment, nonetheless, news about the disturbances in Cavite interpreted them as "analogous attempts, and perhaps not altogether

alien to those which produced the Cuban insurrection."⁶⁷ They knew that the North American promise to work for that island's independence was one of the causes that energized or sustained the revolt. Prim's letter, dated at Vichy, 10 September 1869, to Governor Caballero de Rodas of Cuba gives an idea of the importance of these gestures. The Marquis of Castillejos wrote:

It is indispensable that, as the superior authority over the Island, Your Excellency have exact knowledge of the gestures by the United States before the Government, and at the same time you must give your opinion regarding certain serious and urgent matters. Your Excellency will not ignore from the newspapers and the communications of our representative in Washington that it was being said General Sickles was coming to Madrid with a special mission to obtain the declaration of independence of the island of Cuba.

Indeed, hardly did he present his credentials when he brought up the question, stating his government could not resist the pressure of those who opposed non-recognition of the Cuban insurgents as belligerents, unless Spain agreed to declare the independence of the island through an indemnization.⁶⁸

It was, however, not just the weak North American government that could not resist the thinking created by a press skillfully directed by certain business concerns exploiting the old canard of the black legend with which American public opinion had been warped. The small Scandinavian countries, yesterday as today, proceeded also to manifest their unfriendliness in words and deeds. In 1871, it was discovered that the "consul of Sweden and Norway in La Havana, John Ninninger" was shielding the insurgents. Proofs were sent to the Overseas Ministry by General Valmaseda.⁶⁹

These factors convinced the Ministry in Madrid that the Cavite mutiny had foreign links.

CONFIDENTIAL CIRCULAR FROM ALAMINOS

General Juan Alaminos succeeded Izquierdo as Governor of the Philippines, and was involved in the successive conflicts created by the foreign powers in Jolo, Mindanao, and Paragua [Palawan] to usurp the southern islands of the Spanish colony.

In his official letter dated 21 March 1873, Alaminos forwarded to the Overseas Ministry the information prepared by the Marine in connection with the libelous charge submitted by the Consul General of Great Britain in Labuan to the British Minister of Foreign Affairs, the Count of Granville, namely, that the entire crew of a merchant boat had died aboard a Spanish

battleship which had captured it. And in another letter of the same date, Alaminos wrote:

... the greed of merchants has filled the air so as to convince the delegated authorities of England to take an extreme, indiscreet, and counterproductive posture to such a degree that, if the Supreme Government in its prudence does not know how to restrain them in time, for which I believe it is necessary to inform it of the true situation, it will lead to a disagreeable and regrettable break.⁷⁰

The connection of every kind of machination with the Cavite mutiny became public rumor and Alaminos summed it up in a confidential circular dated 23 July 1873 sent to the provincial superiors of the religious orders in the Philippines. In it we read:

... you will perhaps have heard that the recent insurrection in Cavite was counting on the moral support of that nation and even its funds; then perhaps it spread around information I acquired, and others which I have received through official sources give verisimilitude to these facts and the possibility that today they are working with the filibusters for the same end.⁷¹

Two days later, 24 July, he told them in another circular:

The enemies of the Spanish dominion in this Archipelago, filibusterism and foreign ambition, work together apparently to take it over, in ways that even the European press has come to interest itself in the matter.⁷²

A STRANGE REPORT FROM PATRICIO DE LA ESCOSURA

The nation Alaminos referred to in his circular of 22 July 1873 was Germany. The notices which the Governor of the Philippines received from the Spanish consul in Singapore and the news itself later made the Spanish Minister of Foreign Affairs request his Ambassador in Berlin on 3 July 1873 to verify the truth of the matter. The latter, Patricio de la Escosura, however, did not try, convinced the Philippines was not endangered but rather the government itself of Spain. He wrote:

In such circumstances, showing ourselves suspicious of this Marine would have been at least inopportune and, in my judgment, would lead only to deprive us of the little sympathies we enjoy here. The hostile comments in the French press, perhaps the gestures of the Paris government, the open ill will of the Russian tsar, and even the not totally good will of England—in sum, all in Europe conspire against us. The destitution of Commodore Werner is a sufficiently clear symptom of the influence prejudice against the Spanish Republic of other Courts

has exercised on this Government. To weaken, then, that influence as far as I could, I had to consecrate and I have consecrated all my energies, extremely weak and opposed as they are, that it might be rationally licit for me to soften it by raising here by myself a question, of great import doubtless, but not as urgent as that which has put in doubt not only our *right*, but even the reality itself of our political entity.⁷³

OFFICIAL LETTER FROM MALCAMPO

The government's weakness before the European powers was manifested when Admiral Jose Malcampo, Alaminos' successor in the Philippines, former Minister and former President of the Council of Ministers, tried Jacob Zobel Zangroniz for treason. A simple unofficial intervention of the German Plenipotentiary in Spain sufficed to have an order cabled to the Philippine Governor that before implementing whatever sentence was reached, the latter should await further orders from Madrid. Malcampo obeyed, but on 21 March 1875, he wrote in detail:

For some years now mercenary plans in relation to these Islands have been attributed to Germany, and in the Ministry of Your Excellency this is proven by communications in the year 73 between this Governor General and our Ambassador in Washington. It is also proven that a society of German agents supposedly founded in Hongkong is charged with having aided the Cavite mutiny with funds. It was said afterwards that, to attain their objectives, the German plan called for the occupation of Formosa, support for the Joloanos, and the provocation of a rebellion within [the colony]. Given these factors, it is not surprising that public opinion has marked Mr. Zobel as the [German] Government's agent, considering his sympathy for the insurgents of Cavite, and the circumstance of his having been educated in Germany, his being the son of a German, and his occasional claim that he enjoys an influence in that country. When I dissolved the masonic lodges which were in existence here, I knew that he had secretly told some that he had written to Germany in order that Bismarck might demand from the Government the expulsion of the friars from the Philippines.⁷⁴

REGIDOR'S STATEMENTS

The admiral who signed the preceding letter figured in Philippine history as the founder of freemasonry, thanks to the pen of Antonio Ma. Regidor, one of those implicated and condemned as an accomplice in the Cavite mutiny by Bonifacio Octavo. But Malcampo would be a curious and unusual

“founder,” considering the above and other letters he had written in the same tone to the Overseas Ministry.

In his brochure, *La Masoneria en Filipinas*, Regidor tells us that the Cavite mutiny was organized by the Spaniards, not the Filipinos. And yet, in his work, he presents the foreign interests as a danger to Spanish dominion in the Philippines. For example, when speaking of the campaign of Mendez Nufiez and Malcampo in Mindanao, he assures us:

That campaign was carried out under special conditions, it can be truly said, despite the governments of Manila and Madrid. It led to constant and repeated protests and complaints against England, whose agents, from the insignificant island of Sarangani off the north coast of Borneo, and from Singapore and Hongkong, were abetting and protecting such practical intrusions against Spain. Sir James Brooke, Rajah of Sarawak, had given no little concern to our government and our statesmen.

Of the English, he immediately added:

Since their occupation of Sarawak, they thought of staying on that coast with the groups from Jolo, Balanguingui, and Tawi-Tawi, without losing sight of those of Mindanao and Paragua. They were openly and totally hostile to us.

Later:

Do not forget in that period, the United States of America likewise wanted to spread its influence to the East.

Finally, and referring in particular to the term of Juan Alaminos, Malcampo made a series of statements that confirmed and amplified the official documents we have cited in the preceding section. He wrote:

The situation in the Mindoro Sea was critical for the national interests since the foreign residents in the Visayas shamelessly threatened to take our territory.

The islands of Cebu, Negros, and Panay were the center of far-reaching activities to alienate the natives, whose commerce and agriculture fell under exclusive British control.

From Negros arms and ammunition were distributed to the natives, as much as the residents of Mindanao and Jolo had been receiving indiscriminately from the foreigners in Negros or in Sarawak Island, Hongkong, and Singapore.

... The international agreements were that Great Britain would occupy for the moment North Borneo, and the groups of Jolo, Balanguingui, and Tawi-Tawi; and Germany would support the separatist movement of the Visayas and Paragua.⁷⁵

THE FACTS

All of these references strongly support the idea of a possible foreign intervention in the Cavite mutiny which had deeply affected Rizal. We add a few facts unnoticed till now, but which can tell us something.

Two days before the mutiny, two battleships left Manila, the German propeller frigate, "Hertha," and the North American "Benecia" of the same class. Earlier, 17 January, also the English corvette "Nassau." The Spanish armada was at that time in Jolo, but these three boats sufficed for an alliance to assure the success of the Cavite uprising, or at least, create a serious problem for the Spanish government. This would mean direct intervention by these powers, but 1872 was too early for military action. However, in my opinion, that does not disprove indirect support or even open help in case the insurgents triumphed. Remember that the American ambassador Sickles had asked shortly before that Spain declare Cuba's independence or else the United States would consider the rebels as belligerents. We can thus conclude these war vessels were around for possible action.

"BENECIA" ("BENICIA")

I have found no references to the actuations of this North American frigate called "Benecia" or "Benicia" indiscriminately in the Spanish documents, to suppose American opposition to Spanish presence in the Philippines, except a vague notice from Artigas y Cuerva. At the end of his copy of the comments published in the *London and China Express* (22 March 1872) about the Cavite mutiny, he wrote:

What is certain is there was discontent and fear in the Visayas as well as in Mindanao, since orders to reconcentrate the forces were circularized to all the provinces, such that in Cebu where no news of the events came until the afternoon of 29 January with the battleship, the corvette "Benecia," it was rumored the insurgents in Kawit were expecting support from the Manila residents and of that island [Cebu]. This led to the reconcentration of the Infantry, the Tercio civil being deployed at the Cota.

If what we read on page 156 of *Los Sucesos de 1872* is correct, we would deduce the "Benecia" was aware of the plot, for it sailed out of Manila Bay two days before the mutiny, and did not return before the 29th of the same month. These details came from Regidor who was sufficiently informed, but

frequently mixed up the names, places, and dates. This interpretation can also be true of "Nassau," but not as the bearer of the news to Cebu; rather it was in charge of bringing it from Iloilo to Zamboanga.

Only hypothetically can I suppose that the "Benecia" was a decoy of the plotters to encourage the troops, who were promised an easy and certain victory. It could be made to appear as the spearhead of that North American squadron which the Spaniard Estrella was supposed to have planned to bring in as aid to the insurgents, according to Zaldua's testimony; or one of the boats which Sergeant La Madrid wanted Vicente Generoso — according to the latter's statement—to check before bombarding or apprehending it.

It is possible that the 429 men under Commander Kinderly of the "Benecia" had the mission to protect the trade which his compatriots were fraudulently engaged in, like those of the schooner "Scotland," considering the unspeakable diplomatic pressure from his embassy in Madrid.⁷⁶

"HERTHA"

From the English newspaper *The Australian and Straits Times* sent him by our consul on 25 March 1872, Izquierdo knew that this frigate or corvette was in the south seas looking for a suitable place to establish a German colony a little over two months after its departure from Manila and the insurgent attack on Fort San Felipe. Three years later, Schomburg and Company, a group engaged in smuggling arms into Jolo, worked through the acting German consul in Singapore, who was also a trader, so that the "Hertha" with her 400 men under the ship captain Kohler could go to protect its interests in insurgent Jolo. Likewise, this trader and diplomat by accident, delayed submitting to the sultan of Jolo Emperor William's official message that he could in no way grant the request for aid in view of his good relations with Spain.⁷⁷

These facts also confirm the possibility of foreign intervention in the Cavite mutiny.

"NASSAU"

In the case of the "Nassau," the evidence is clearer and more convincing, although indirect because of the secrecy of international diplomatic exchange.

"Nassau" was a "scientific" boat with a crew of 100 under the frigate commander Chimmo, for whom the head of the British squadron in China,

Henri Kellep, requested on 10 December 1870 permission to conduct hydrographic studies in Philippine waters. Governor Carlos Ma. de la Torre granted the permission, since it came from a friendly nation. On 9 March 1871, the English consul in Manila asked for the boat 150 tons of carbon from the Cavite depot and a supply of combustibles in Basilan port, as the boat was in Palawan. Two months later, 9 May 1871, the chief of the Southern Light Craft Division (*Fuerzas sùtiles*), Manuel Fernandez Coria, reported that he had supplied them with 35 tons of carbon. After this first reconaissance of the military situation of the Philippine Archipelago, the "Nassau" sailed back to Hongkong, and from there returned to the Philippines on 20 December 1871. On board as passengers were Arthur Alexander and Edgar Besant. The boat arrived in Manila on the 24th, received the sealed mail bags and departed on 17 January 1872 for Iloilo. There her commander volunteered to bring the official correspondence to Zamboanga, and the governor gave him the reports on the Cavite mutiny. But Willima Chimmo did not steer his boat to Zamboanga. On 1 February she was sighted in Jolo Bay by the "Santa Lucia," which forced her to turn back because the Moros were up in arms. Only then did Chimmo deliver the official papers for the Commandant General of the Philippine Naval Station, MacCrohon. Later, it was learned from Jose, a Moro, that the commandant of the "Nassau" had induced the sultan of Jolo not to seek peace, and had given him cannons, powder, and bullets to continue hostilities with Spain. The Spanish schooner, "Arayat," again met the "Nassau" on 24 March in the forbidden waters of Jolo.⁷⁸

And yet, despite these contacts with the Jolo rebels, it was not Spain that entered diplomatic protests against such perverse conduct, but England. On 15 August 1872, the British chargé d'affaires in Madrid, on orders of his Minister of Foreign Affairs, the Count of Granville, complained before our Minister of State against the Spanish Government in the Philippines about the difficulties of the "Nassau" during its trip to study the waters of the Archipelago. The Governor of the Philippines answered by pointing out the suspicious adventures of Commander Chimmo and its results: "the war munitions which served the Sultan of Jolo for his defence."⁷⁹

THE ROLE OF FREEMASONRY

The above report was penned by Rafael Izquierdo, too late to realize the instigators of the Jolo uprising could also have been the same who had helped plot that of Cavite. Too late, because eight months previously he had refused

the plea for an indult presented by the Archbishop of Manila, who, more discerning, wanted to review the acts of the trial before agreeing to canonically demote the priests Burgos, Gomez, and Zamora. Then, Izquierdo was in a hurry to issue a warning, and he believed the Archbishop's petition sought no other end than to delay indefinitely a sentence he considered just and necessary. It was rather entirely the opposite in the prelate's mind: the sentence was unnecessary, counterproductive, and perhaps unjust.⁸⁰ But Izquierdo, former halberdier of the Queen he had helped dethrone, did not want to commit any injustice. He did, because he was deceived, they deceived him, or he wanted to be deceived, since he was convinced it was licit to execute some alleged complices, while sparing others, depending on whether they were affiliated or not to masonry, the very same secret society he had joined to conspire and rise to the rank of Lieutenant General. It was also through the same secret society that they conspired against him precisely by promising to sergeants and corporals the stars in exchange for their stripes.

Was Izquierdo a mason? Did he not agree to condemn a member of that secret society who the trial revealed was implicated in the mutiny? Lastly, was freemasonry in 1872 a danger or threat to the Spanish government in the Philippines?

Regidor answered:

General Izquierdo relieved la Torre, whose term was a continued series of assaults, immorality, and unimaginable shamelessness.

Even if the friars at this time were the lords and arbiters of the archipelago, *they failed to induce him to investigate the masons, due to his fear of them, since he himself was a mason*, and because he used the alibi of what he called an "international conflict."⁸⁰

Forced to try masons in Cebu, he strongly intervened that the courts of justice acquit them and that the Madrid government approve his conduct.⁸¹

Regarding the arbitrary sentences imposed on the alleged complices in the Cavite mutiny, the same writer said: "*Izquierdo refused to confirm the conviction of those who turned out to be masons.*"⁸²

From Regidor I conclude the foreign lodge in Manila conspired against the Spanish government:

Father Payo . . . asked Don Jose Cabezas de Herrera, a conservative from Spain, and General la Torre, Superior Civil Governor of the Philippines to suppress and prosecute the masons of Pandacan, the majority of whom were

natives. But they refused, thinking otherwise that the natives should be encouraged, thus in this way having a counterweight to the *foreign lodge in Manila which was the real danger*.⁸³

I do not know if "Reynolds, at first a British citizen, later an American, a higher degree mason, a person of bold initiatives and daring enterprises," was the key contact for unknown elements in the organization by third parties of the Cavite mutiny. Regidor wrote he had caused the conflict between the Spanish and the British fleets in Hongkong when Carlos Roza was Lieutenant of the Navy, a conflict "considered in those lands as a fight between the Spaniards and the masons in Hongkong, which was truly of an international and transcendental significance."⁸⁴

The link between the commercial firm Reynolds and the Cavite mutiny is evident through Jose Ma. Basa, one of those subsequently proscribed, exiled to the Marianas, and escaped together with Regidor and others, according to the latter, thanks to which "the lodges in Hongkong (Germans and English) agreed to take into their party the persecuted Filipinos," and the Anthony brothers, whose "principal partner was the Venerable of the most prominent lodge . . . later dispatched . . . the American schooner "Rupax" aboard which several of the prisoners implicated in the Cavite uprising fled and finally transferred to the German schooner "Coheran" which brought them to Hongkong."⁸⁵

On 12 October 1875, the Politico-Military Governor of Iloilo forwarded to Governor Jose Malcampo a subversive publication which the former *gobernadorcillo* of Molo, Iloilo had just sent him. During the legal investigations, it turned out that the captain of "Océano" had brought a sealed letter for Lucsinger and Company handed to him by José Ma. Basa in Hongkong. Inside the envelope were other letters addressed to Cornelio Melliza, Arroyo, and Teodoro Benedicto. The captain had not realized they were propaganda material. In his confidential report to the Overseas Minister, Malcampo added at the end:

I shall not close without calling to your attention a copy of the letter which, occasioned by this matter elevated to me by J. J. Reynolds as soon as he had information of what had happened, and despite the protestations expressed and the manner he treats Basa, does not leave any doubt it is not the first time he had addressed himself to strangers with seditious circulars. But the latter have not brought them to my knowledge until they saw that the courts of justice were taking action and they were implicated in the criminal case.⁸⁶

In the same manner, a series of curious circumstances make me think masonry was actively involved like birds of prey of the English and German capitalist imperialism, so that with a change in the situation, they could easily take over some islands which then and now integrate the present independent republic of the Philippines. The oft cited Regidor, behind his pen-name Francisco Engracio Vergara, gave us in his pamphlet *La Masoneria en Filipinas* the following information:

At that time these lodges instigated various conflicts in Mindanao, Jolo, and Palawan which led to the capture of the vessels "Mina," "Gazelle," and others which were later released, the Spanish government having to pay huge sums of indemnity to their proprietors and crews, because of the strongly worded notes from the Cabinets of London and Berlin.

The captain of the "Mina," Mr. Holcan, was also captain of the "Rupax," with which he facilitated the escape of the Filipinos from the Marianas. And the consignatory of both boats in the British colony was the same corporation, Anthony Brothers.⁵⁷

The truth of these assertions is easily verified in the archives of the Overseas Ministry preserved in the Archivo Histórico Nacional and those of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. In the issue for 22 March 1872 of the *London and China Express* we can read these "friendly" opinions and "wise" suggestions on the Cavite mutiny:

As they tell us from Madrid, the conspiracy was really aimed at completely liberating the Islands from the Spanish yoke. Not strange that such a thing should happen. All the residents, both civilian and military, know the Spanish Government is purely and simply despotic and unbearable. The government in Madrid does not take good care of the interests of these islands since its attention is too occupied with the internal evils of the peninsula and with those of the proximate colony of Cuba, where the fight for independence continues fiercely. That government owns the Philippines as a lemon squeezed dry, whose juice it alone will drink. It is impossible for the Spaniards to dispatch troops abroad to face these manifestations which will surely take place again in Manila and the neighboring provinces. Success is a matter of time. Useless to hide the desire that "the sooner the better." The bountiful resources of these islands have too long been wasted. What has been done to develop them is due to the Anglo-Saxons, whose activities have been shackled by all possible means, by the narrow and inert ideas of the Spanish government. With regards to the future government of the Philippines, it is not possible for ours or that of America to take any responsibility; and no one else but themselves would benefit from a change so necessary for the proper development of the wealth and abundant products of that land. That is why the best that these inhabitants can do is establish their inde-

pendence under a republican form of government, making use for this purpose of one or the other Anglo-Saxon residing among them. It would be very prudent if the local government did not oppose a peaceful solution. That they would be separated is inevitable. The power of Spain to govern distant colonies has disappeared never to return.⁸⁸

This Philippine republic, following the system of Sarawak, i. e., a state ruled by some "venerable" Anglo-Saxon trader, could be one of the aspirations of international masonry which Regidor considered a danger to Spain. Not only him. Malcampo told us the same thing a few days after taking possession of the Superior Government of the Philippines, 17 July 1874. And in a cable to the Overseas Minister on 22 September 1874, he reported:

... when I had taken the steps to confiscate by surprise certain suspicious papers I knew Don Jacobo Zobel was keeping, Colonel Moscoso, to whom they were surrendered for submission to me, presented them to the *Segundo Cabo*. The two have kept them from me for a month and a half. I omit the details I shall send by mail. The papers are with me, are in cifer, with the masonic seal and signs, and the mottos "Independent Republic" (Malaysia Melanesia), Zobel and Moscoso in prison, their case being tried.⁸⁹

This was the case in which the German Ambassador had intervened and the government of Madrid had ordered a suspended sentence. In this official correspondence we discover the intimate link among masonry, Philippine independence, and the expulsion of the friars through pressure by foreigners.

Regidor had come upon this fact when he wrote about the foreign lodges and their secretary Zobel. He affirmed that "after 1868, when the fight between those of the Islands [criollos, mestizos, and indios] and the religious orders heated up; a fight which the foreigners, especially the German Consul General sought to exploit; and he accordingly established a lodge dependent on that of Hongkong, of the Scottish rite." Was this fight a welcome occasion or was it instigated by foreigners? The friars were the key to the British failure to conquer the entire Archipelago and exploit the Filipinos as Sepoys although they had occupied Manila in 1762. This explains Regidor's final phrase with which he concludes the following paragraph, namely, the reason for masonic intervention in the Philippines:

All the foreigners were initiated or joined it. Its secretary was a Filipino, a German-Criollo mestizo, named Jacob Zobel Zangronis, today owner of the tramway in Manila and Malabon, and of the vaster fortunes in the country.⁹⁰

The lure of greater fortunes in the country can also explain the role of masonry in the sordid conflict of Cavite.

THE CAVITE TRIALS

Knowing now that there was masonic intervention in the mutiny of Cavite, let us now look more closely into the trials that followed it. But let us first note that, according to Regidor's pamphlet, Philippine masonry had different lodges, rites, and orients in disagreement among themselves. One faction could easily have set up a lodge unknown to the others, and it was even possible Filipino priests might have been involved, as well as their "brothers" of the other rites.

It is beyond dispute that Izquierdo acted precipitately and with preconceived and fixed ideas. Within a month of his arrival in the Philippines, he wrote Duke de la Torre:

I dedicate myself to the study of the country and its needs without rest . . . study which what I know and observe—because of their identities and similarities—in Cuba, Puerto Rico, and Santo Domingo greatly helps.

And just as in these islands the criollos hate the generous Fatherland which brought them to their happiness and civilization, so in the Philippine Archipelago the Chinese and European mestizos share the same aversion. It seems nothing else but that they are like the bastard who hates his father who reminds him of the illegitimacy of his origin.⁹¹

On 30 June 1871, he wrote Lopez de Ayala: "What I observed and learned in Cuba serves me in very good stead."⁹²

With such pronounced prejudices long before the mutiny, it is not surprising that immediately after it was crushed, he wrote:

As a result of the lamentable incidents about which I send a report to Your Excellency in a separate letter of this date, I have the honor to inform Your Excellency that I have apprehended and placed in isolation in Fort Santiago the native priests D. Jose Burgos, D. Agustin Mendoza, D. Mariano Lopez, and D. Feliciano Lopez, as well as the laymen D. Joaquin Pardo, D. Enrique Paraiso, D. Antonio Regidor, D. Jose Maria Basa, and D. Pio Basa, also born in the country. Their indictment the Captain General has entrusted to the Fiscal of the Tribunal of War. I do not know what will result from these actions and of those being effected in Cavite. But public opinion, impartial observers, the evident proofs of a moral order, the secret information which for some time I have had on these persons are all for me proofs of my personal conviction they alone are the authors of the uprising crushed in Cavite. If their guilt is proven, the judgment of

the law will be inexorable; but, if, as is likely to happen given the circumstances of those who have been deceived and seduced, these persons listed are not found guilty, I am still ready to adopt for them a rigorous norm, their exile to the Marianas. There is urgent need to dig up the root of these dozen unfortunate men, the only ones who see with malevolent eyes the government of Spain in these regions. We must immediately without fail exile from the country these persons, the only ones who can seduce the unwary and originate conflicts like the one just crushed, but without loss of Spanish blood. I answer for the tranquillity and public order, and I am ready to carry out all the duties of the Captain General and the Superior Civil Governor, inspired only by the honor of Spain and the preservation of her territorial integrity. I likewise am confident Your Excellency will recommend that His Majesty approve my conduct and the measures which I think convenient to adopt.⁹³

Nor is it rash for us to believe that Izquierdo asked from the Archbishop of Manila a list of native priests in Batangas and forwarded it to the police, with this label: "*Parishes administered by native priests and their coadjutors who should be watched because of their known anti-Spanish attitude.*"⁹⁴

Still, if prejudice so worked on Izquierdo that he exiled those he believed guilty of mutiny even when their participation was not proven by the court, as well as every Filipino who loved his country just as he loved his, and put under police surveillance all the native priests in one province; I do not think he was capable of executing anyone merely because he suspected him, or public opinion believed in his guilt. He needed denunciations and concrete charges. But if these fell on those suspected by Izquierdo, he quickly arrived at a moral conclusion and had no further need to add the official signature to the dreaded death sentence.

There were denunciations sincerely made. The morning of the same day, 19 January 1872, the Commandant General of the Marine received from "an *indio* who values the public good and tranquillity" an anonymous report which said:

I submit this information obtained this same evening in this city's market and along its walls, that on Friday or Saturday this week, the cannon in the fort of Manila will be fired as a sign of the uprising against the Spaniards. The occasion is propitious because the fleet is away. He who serves as the leader of the uprising is the Most Rev. Father Burgos in Manila and in Cavite the sergeants of the Artillery and the Corporals of the Native Marine Infantry . . . the mutiny or the one who wins over all those who are in the plaza being Corporal Pedro y Celestino of the Marine Infantry . . .⁹⁵

The troops that assaulted Fort San Felipe received this kind of information and so at 10:00 o'clock in the morning of 22 January, the *General Segundo Cabo* said in a reserved telegram to the Captain General: "Apprehend Fr. Burgos, Cure of San Pedro."⁹⁶

Certain concrete charges were also formulated during the trial. Artigas y Cuerva who claimed he had with him the declarations taken during the trial, gave the following:

Corporal Pedro says on folio 52," . . . the President of the Republic in case they had triumphed would be the Cure of San Pedro whose name he does not know."

Corporal Tolentino . . . "met on Palacio Street Corporal Calda, Yance, Corteza, who mentioned the native Cure of San Pedro as the president.

Maximo Inocencio . . . "while in San Roque he ordered that all the bancas arriving at the point should be told to dock, and when a launch arrived, he ordered it docked, and a trooper of the Marine was in it, and, interrogated, told him the insurrection was to kill all Spaniards, and set up a native king, and this was Fr. Burgos."

The widow of the Castellan Rodriguez . . . "on presenting himself, La Madrid, his face all dirtied, indicated he was the agent, for he was instigated by the Cure of San Pedro who would be the president of the Republic."⁹⁷

Other declarations affirming the same thing were taken months later during the trial of the deserter Bonifacio Octavo. Artigas y Cuerva preserved only a few of the declarations of the original acts of the trial which later disappeared and until now the copy Izquierdo forwarded to Spain has not been found.⁹⁸ Hence, the questions and answers during Octavo's examination are important. Besides, these questions are related to the answers (now lost) made during the earlier interrogations.

We need not reprint here the document or the part that concerns the three condemned priests, Burgos, Gomez, and Zamora. The interested reader can easily refer to it in my book 1872.⁹⁹ Despite the flaws of Octavo's testimony, it sufficed for Izquierdo.¹⁰⁰ We can only conclude that information about the three Filipino priests' involvement in the uprising came from one source, the man who informed the Marine Commander and wrote what he had just heard, the same information which someone could have sent around as a circular among the native rank and file in Cavite or Manila, namely, that Burgos was the head of the mutiny.

The same thing can be said of the other anonymous reports, like that one of the soldier of Regiment Number 5 who was speaking of "*priests* with the

Cure of Bacoor with his priest uncle." The information gathered by the victorious troops and the statement of the commander's widow also came from the same source.

In explaining his desertion, Octavo said the conspiracy had started between November and December 1871. He had been invited by Corporal Manonson who had been in turn informed of the plot by Francisco Zaldua. Initially refusing to join, he accepted the invitation the following day in Manonson's house, with Sergeant La Madrid, a corporal of the Artillery, Corporal Tolentino, the retired Sergeant Patricio, the scribe Vicente Generoso, the civilian Leon, and Francisco Zaldua. Vicente Generoso made some lists of the forces involved, and Zaldua collected them, saying they were to be presented to Fr. Burgos, who with Frs. Gomez, Zamora, Guevarra, and others were directing the revolt. That night, Octavo returned to his barracks and enlisted his companions-in-arms in the conspiracy. That had been his last talk with Zaldua or the others. On the 20th, he had a change of mind and fled because his regiment did not have the courage to rebel, even though everything had been ready.

Hence, whatever he might have said during the other examinations had come from no other source than what he had heard in that single meeting when Zaldua explained the details of the plot. One concludes, then, that Zaldua had held a previous meeting at which they decided to mutiny, a meeting, according to one of Octavo's statements, attended by the lawyer Jose Basa, and the soldiers Tolentino, Manonson, and La Madrid.

From the fiscal's examination of Octavo, we conclude that in the previous trials, Zaldua was said to have met with the above-mentioned persons and gone to Manila with letters from La Madrid and Jose Basa for Frs. Burgos and Zamora. The contents of these letters were unknown, but perhaps they were about a meeting in Cavite, which seems to have been attended by Burgos, Zamora and other native priests, with some laymen, possibly to discuss the planned uprising. Among the laymen could be counted the lawyers Joaquin Pardo, Antonio Ma. Regidor, and Gervasio Sanchez, as well as the traders Gabino Mauricio, Ramon Maurente, Pio Ma. Basa, Jose Ma. Basa, Maximo Paterno, Crisanto de los Reyes, Enrique Paraiso, and Maximo Inocencio. No evidence shows there was agreement to rebel, if they had discussed it at all, except to keep it hidden from the government. We can only conclude it was after this meeting that the rumor about Cuba's separation from Spain began to circulate, that various military units were ready to take up arms, and that the *gobnadorcillo* of San Roque counted with men to provide aid.

Octavo admitted having heard the appointment papers of La Madrid, Manonson, and Tolentino had been received by Tolentino in Fr. Burgos' residence, "whose corporal arrived in Cavite with a big package in which were several job appointments on full sheets, printed, with a seal on the left, *New Freedom of the Native Philippine Army*. The appointments began with these words: '*The Provisional Government of the Philippines,*' or '*Philippine Liberation Government,*' Octavo was not sure which. But he did remember they were guaranteed with three signatures he did not particularly note."¹⁰¹

If all this were true, we have a second testimony implicating Fr. Burgos in the Cavite mutiny. But they are mere hearsay and contradict Tolentino's statement copied by Artigas and already cited above. According to Tolentino, Yance, Calda, and Corteza were the ones who had said Burgos was the president. None of these three curious personalities are mentioned in Octavo's cross-examination. Of two of them, Izquierdo said in a letter dated 24 February 1872 to the Overseas Minister:

The circumstance that these individuals were the main instigators of the insurrection, their wicked past, and the fact that Cleto Yance had boasted he would provoke new conflicts are the reason the Captaincy General of this Civil Government considers highly prejudicial to the preservation of order and public peace their permanence in the penal institutions of these islands, in virtue of which I have resolved that they carry out their sentence in one of the garrisons in Africa, notice having been duly made to the Civil Governor of the Province of Cadiz that he might confine them with the necessary security.¹⁰²

Regidor says the mestizo Corteza was an agent of international masonry, and through the Bank of Hongkong, distributed more than 200,000 pounds for subversive ends in Panay and Negros and the appropriation of "extensive rural properties." But there is no clear evidence to identify him as Sergeant Corteza.¹⁰³

Sent to Spain with Calda and Yance were Enrique Paraiso, Maximo Inocencio, and Crisanto de los Reyes. Of these five, Izquierdo wrote:

Since the guilt of these five convicts which concerns us is of the most serious, and it is believed their friends or complices may try all means to facilitate their escape, or at least attenuate the penalty imposed on them, and since Maximo Inocencio and Crisanto de los Reyes are considered wealthy people and it is possible they may seek to bribe their guards, I believe it my duty to call the superior attention of Your Excellency to these circumstances in order that you may deign to issue the proper orders that the necessary precautions be taken to the end that the penalty imposed on them may be truly and efficaciously carried out, for the public order and peace of these Islands, as well as the integrity of the Spanish nation are closely linked to it.¹⁰⁴

These five convicts are specially mentioned in the "Petition for an indult in favor of D. Antonio Regidor, D. Agustin Mendoza, D. Jose Ma. Basa, D. Maximo Paterno, and D. Joaquin Pardo de Tavera" elevated on 30 July 1873 by Rafael Ma. de Labra and Manuel Regidor to the Presidency of the Executive Power. That the authors of this petition had had access to the acts of the Cavite trials is evident from the details they mentioned, for example, that there was an abstract of the case in the President's office. From that abstract they had come to know who were truly guilty of the insurrection "almost to the point of admitting their role and even active participation." But these men were not sent to the gallows because they were masons, as Regidor categorically stated:

Then Izquierdo . . . forbade that they again apprehend anyone of the native affiliates of the lodges, ordering that those initially jailed should be transferred to the Peninsula or Africa to carry out the sentence imposed on them, even if they turned out to be natives, something never done before. And so, destined to Ceuta and Cartagena were Enrique Paraiso, Crisanto de los Reyes, and Maximo Inocencio, all three natives, the first a brother of the lodge in Pandacan, the last two of that of Cavite.¹⁰⁵

Here we have another reason different from what Izquierdo gave for sending to the Peninsula such as were found guilty of rebellion. Furthermore, Regidor insisted that the Governor had acted thus out of fear of the masons, "himself being one of them, and to pretend he believes in what he used to call an 'international conflict'."

In the other case of Zobel, also involving masonic intrigue two years previously, we meet the same names:

It appears also with Zobel's admission of epistolary contact with two of the complices in the Cavite mutiny who were in the garrison of Cartagena doing time for those crimes, though according to him friendship with them began through their commercial contacts. He declared he had withdrawn sums of money but at the request of Dorotea de los Reyes, the wife of one of them who had entrusted to him the fate of her husband and who he says was always advising her to write to her husband and who had escaped from Cartagena to Oran to present himself to the Spanish authorities and that witness on folio 1062 . . . expresses that indeed through Zobel she had withdrawn 1,000 pesos for her husband Crisanto, but that she had not recommended his fate to Zobel. Nor did she remember Zobel could have suggested that Crisanto write to surrender to the Spanish authorities. Besides, on folio 1034, it turns out that D. Francisco Javier Esquerro tells Zobel in a letter from Madrid that he had not again concerned himself with the deportee, his recomendees, but it shocks him that they should continue in Oran, and that he will check in the Ministry about their fate. In examining Zobel's papers, a note

which detailed the personal circumstances of D. Francisco Moscoso was found filling folio 368

With respect to Colonel Francisco Moscoso the indictment brings out the same thing as in the beginning, namely, having handed over the papers and pamphlets mentioned to D. Antonio de la Camara to give to His Excellency, the Governor General, instead of doing so, [Moscoso] entrusted them to the *General Segundo Cabo*, His Excellency, D. Manuel Blanco Valderrama, who had them in his keeping for about a month. He returned them later and Moscoso deposited them in his own house. Meantime, the Governor General was uninformed of the developments in such a serious matter considering that, by Moscoso's admission, His Excellency, the Governor had commissioned him to investigate if a subversive movement was going on and Camara, noting such action, should have notified His Excellency, and the latter should have summoned Moscoso and later send to his house for the papers. This, namely, finding in the house of the accused Zobel whom he contradicted when he gave his testimony, the note about their individual signals and the other contradictions too between him and the *Segundo Cabo*, for according to the latter, on folio 140, when the papers were delivered to Moscoso, he told him, "Here they are; I cannot say what they are"; and Moscoso expressed, on folio 248, that General Valderrama indicated to him they looked masonic to him but they could be subversive; and he repeated the same thing two days later in the following words: "it was not masonic, but a question of the independence of the country, but he should leave them there for a time to examine them more thoroughly." On returning them on 12 September, he told him to do what he wanted with them. And so, the subsequent second trial was begun . . . on the retention and concealment of the papers which are in question. The gravity of the deed in question is shown from the first moments, while the secrecy characteristic of all those of his kind, and that concealment with knowledge of a conspiracy could occasion a conflict whose dire results are not easily foreseen if the conflagration explodes before the Authority had control of these documents. That withdrawal, furthermore, is all the more punishable, considering how His Excellency, the Governor got hold of the papers. This gives the idea that were it not for this casual and unusual manner, they would never have been in his power. All of this constitutes a strong indication of a cover-up of the crime which apparently was going to be committed, as well as of the delict which was already consummated by the mere fact of conspiracy to the same end, with the circumstance that Don Francisco Moscoso had won the confidence of the first authority of the Islands and was, therefore, charged with the task of uncovering the plot which, as it was said, has constantly been planned for some years now. We declare Francisco Moscoso accessory to this procedure, that he be confined in prison, sentence to be carried out on cognizance of His Excellency, the Captain General.¹⁰⁶

This lengthy text is the key to unravel the difficult skein that is the court process of the Cavite mutiny. The one imprisoned for complicity in a conspiracy that for several years had been aiming at the independence of the

Philippines from Spain is the same man who had presided over the permanent military court. And rather than repress or extirpate the Cavite mutiny, it irritated the wound, turning it into a tumor that would ruin the Spanish government. Francisco Moscoso y Lara appears here strangely in cooperation with Zobel, and, in turn, the latter with others who, according to Labra and Regidor, were those "who almost admitted having participated" in the mutiny, the very same people who were saved from the penalty of death because they belonged to the same secret society as the Captain General who feared a just sentence would unleash an "international conflict." But this was the very thing that immediately ensued when one of the true leaders of the conspiracy for the past two years (Zobel in 1874) was jailed by Jose Malcampo, namely, the Admiral with the typical 19th century naval beard, and who turned out to be the founder of masonry in the Philippines, for he established the lodge "First Light of the Philippines" in Cavite under the Portuguese Orient, and solved in this curious way, according to Regidor, "the fight between the Spaniards and the masons in Hongkong, which has a truly international and transcendental significance."

Thus we now see how a small group of foreigners, among them perhaps Reynolds, knew perfectly well the weakness of Spain, knew the military forces in the Philippines would hardly suffice to crush the rebellion in Jolo which they had incited. And they planned a barracks attack when the Spanish fleet was away in the south. The plot was probably organized in the lodge in Cavite, whose Filipino members followed the secret instructions faithfully. The latter in turn were charged with recruiting, on the one hand, the native soldiers who had to take up arms and, on the other, the politically discontented to see what measures could be taken against that chronically unjust situation. Both had held various meetings separately and independently, so that one group could agree on a military uprising, but not the other. A university student, Jose Basa y Enriquez, used to come to the secret meetings of the military group. He is not to be confused with Jose Ma. Basa, brother of Pio, who was sentenced to 10 years and must have been an important figure, but about whom hardly anything is known.¹⁰⁷

The other basic element in this tangle was Francisco Zaldua, possibly Basa's subordinate and a contractor who claimed to be Fr. Burgos' secretary, and had approached the simple corporals and sergeants, serving as the only liaison between the two groups.¹⁰⁸

The point is not whether this was true or not; rather, if Zaldua's declarations were true, the court sentence was just, and indeed Frs. Burgos, Gomez, and Zamora are national heroes by their own making, martyrs of

Filipino patriotism. If, on the other hand, those declarations were false, Burgos was, as his Jesuit friend, Fr. Pedro Bertran, S. J. had foretold earlier, the victim of a doubly criminal act which had written his name "on a banner waved by deluded and traitorous men" ¹⁰⁹

Evidence can support both positions. Archbishop Martinez of Manila who refused to degrade the priests because he was not convinced of their guilt, and in his official letters repeatedly defended the native clergy, denying the charge of disloyalty levelled against them, finally accepted the accusation. But it was for pragmatic reasons, namely, to win from the religious orders their voluntary cession of the parishes they had been administering, although canon law entrusts them to the secular priests. And so, one day, Fr. Jose Ma. Lluch, S. J., Visitor of the Philippine Jesuit Mission, wrote:

. . . although innocently, we could blame ourselves for the attempt of 21 January 1872 to declare the independence of the country. Many secular priests were involved, some have been exiled to the Marianas, and three (one 72 years old) were executed mercilessly by garrote before an immense crowd. It was being said that the insurrection was to kill all Spaniards and, in particular, the friars, to assure possession of all the parishes. It may be true or not, for I have not read the acts of the trial to be able to make my judgment. ¹¹⁰

INJUSTICE OF THE TRIALS

Before one can make conclusions about the justice of the sentences imposed after the Cavite mutiny, one has to know the various trials that were held. Many of them were conducted orally. A bitter controversy ensued between the Commanding General of the Marine and the Captain General, which Izquierdo resolved by applying the law of the stronger force. ¹¹¹ The polemic was basically a question of the competence of the naval court, but, as it unfolded, it became clear that at stake was the basic problem of justice or the propriety of the sentence imposed to suppress the mutiny. The deaths of Adjutant Vazquez and the baker, Gonzalez, as they were trying to spread the mutiny on land from Cavite to Manila led to the idea that there were three groups of plotters for whom three penalties were suggested: the parish priest of Bacoor, Fr. Mariano Gomez, with his recruits; Camerino, leader of a group of criminals; and the troops of the Marine Infantry stationed at Binakayan of Cañacao. ¹¹²

The records of the trial of Burgos and Regidor have disappeared, except for the copy made by Artigas y Cuerva. But those of Octavo and Zobel are available. In the first, Zaldúa appears as the key figure. His execution and that of his co-accused leads one to believe that the sentence was anomalous and probably unjust, especially if one keeps in mind the qualifications of the chief judge, Colonel Moscoso, as revealed in his and Zobel's later trial under Governor Jose Malcampo.

Furthermore, in the various petitions for justice for the exiles in the Marianas (Regidor, Basa, Paterno, Mendoza, Pardo de Tavera) formulated by Manuel Silvela, Rafael Ma. de Labra, Manuel Regidor, Estanislao Figueras, Francisco Salmeron, and German Gamazo the same arguments appeared: they were not given time to prepare their defense; the official testimony was from hearsay or from the accused themselves and therefore invalid; the true conspirators were the accusers Balbino Mauricio and Crisanto de los Reyes; witnesses were of questionable background, or their open personal enemies, as Pedro Gutierrez Salazar,¹¹³ they were accused of editing *El Eco Filipino*; above all, although civilians, they were tried by a military court when the Philippines was not in a state of war and that, even according to the law of 1821, military jurisdiction extended only to those "apprehended by a military unit expressly assigned, or, in case of resistance with the use of fire or side arms." Those condemned, however, by the military tribunal in Manila on 8 March 1872 had been apprehended quietly in their houses and by a Commissary of the Police.¹¹⁴

That the police, with no trouble at all, had found the accused peacefully in their houses should lead to the conclusion that even the three accused priests could not have known about the military uprising until their actual arraignment. It would have been very strange, if they had received brief reports of the troops before the uprising and they had signed the appointments of the officers of the future Philippine Army, the police should find them peacefully at home. From what we know of Burgos, a priest and the son of a military officer, it seems incredible that he should quietly await in his house the presidency of an independent Philippines served him on a platter. If he had organized the entire rebellion, why would he not be with his men at the moment of danger, either as a good captain, or merely as a priest, like the Mexicans Hidalgo and Morelos, with whom they compare him? Such reasoning, however, had no force with Izquierdo who despised the plotters as cowards doubly guilty for cheating a few miserable individuals with promises impossible of fulfillment and for abandoning them in the moment of truth.¹¹⁵ Such logic had no force because, even if one granted that these last factors could be said of the real conspirators, they were not true of Burgos.

Rizal was convinced of this. He had known this from others, for example, his older brother Paciano, who had known the priest intimately and could not accept the latter was such a felon as to deceive a few soldiers. This is the injustice. It was bad enough that Burgos should be executed for not belonging to any masonic lodge; but it was certainly unjust to identify him with that materialistic conspirator who was either dispatching arms to his ruffians for an uprising in Jolo, or instigating the troops in Cavite, as long as his own ends were served. This was the essential injustice Rizal had been suffering since childhood, darkening all the stages of his life, moving his pen, and finally bringing him through the same if not a similar road to an equally if not identically unjust end. That is why, in listening to Bishop Volonteri regretting the deaths of the three priests to whom the Filipino novelist had just dedicated his latest book, Rizal was deeply impressed.

Volonteri had known the tragic fate of the three Filipino priests from the information sent him by Fr. Timoleoni Raimondi, as well as from the stories of the exiles living in Hongkong, especially the secular priests who had escaped from the Marianas.

WEALTH OF THE FRIARS

For Rizal, the passenger aboard the "Melbourne," the blame for the maladministration of the Philippine eden, as well as the execution of GOMBURZA fell mainly on the friars. But for Volonteri, the fault lay principally in the politics of "new coinage" of the Spanish liberal government. The two, however, were in agreement on one point, the wealth of the friars.

Both agreed that the friars in the Philippines were exceedingly rich and bad administrators. To them, their maladministration was rooted in the refusal to use their goods mainly for spiritual, not temporal ends. Perhaps neither of the two had understood the finality of the friars' resources invested in business, loans, or bonds. Possibly they might have guessed, but they were not convinced.

In Hongkong both of them had sure knowledge of the friars' resources. On 27 July 1888 Rizal wrote to Mariano Ponce:

We went to Hongkong which I enjoyed. There I came to know many important Spaniards, among them Varanda who, they say, was General Terrero's secretary. I conferred with him for many days, especially during a trip we took together, Varanda, Basa, and myself, to Macao to visit that Portuguese colony and

Mr. Lecaroz in whose house we stayed. Lecaroz, like Basa and the other Filipinos, are with us and support the *Noli*. In Hongkong I investigated many important things, for example, the wealth of the Augustinians, their missions, etc.¹¹⁶

Volonteri, however, had been aware of this because of a controversy between his companion Raimondi and the Procurator of the Dominican Province of the Most Holy Rosary of the Philippines, Fray Ramon Reixach, O. P. It was a heated fight occasioned by the economic penury of the Catholic Church at the moment when liberalism triumphant all over the world systematically sought the impoverishment of the Church. One answer was the integration of plans for the economic stability of certain missions then going through precarious vicissitudes and facing imperious needs.

The origin of this conflict was a fund which Jose Calvo, Vicar Apostolic of Fookien, had left in a bank so that, with its revenues, the Sacred Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith might continue financing the spread of the faith in Fookien. In 1867, Fr. Raimondi, Procurator of the Mission of Hongkong, was appointed administrator also of the Procure of the Propagation in Hongkong. He soon reported the disappearance of a sizable amount of money, apparently through bad loans, leaving the Procure of the Propagation in Hongkong in debt. A few days later, 29 March, another letter complained that a subsidy from the Holy Infancy in Italy had not been received. Other anomalies were also uncovered: a debt of 50,000 *escudos* since 7 September 1867; another loan to a certain Diaz murdered by the Chinese; still another loan to a Fr. Serafin who had died while returning from his mission. Raimondi's problem then was how to make good all these sums. The creditors were now insisting on payment of loans they had made. Unfortunately, the deposits had been withdrawn by Ambrosi, former administrator in Hongkong for the Propagation of the Faith, and charged to the Mission of Hongkong which then had to pay the interests to the Mission of Fookien. To avoid lawsuits, Raimondi borrowed money from Reixach. Volonteri went to the Philippines to collect the amount and, with the sums he brought back, they were able to liquidate the debts to the lay creditors. The problem had not been fully solved, but at least, it was now confined within the ecclesiastical family.

Raimondi was forced to adopt a new financial plan, but those who were affected demanded that the Mission of Hongkong must pay because the solution of their problems had been at the cost of losing their stipends. Hence

they sought to have them directly sent from Italy, but Raimondi objected:

The missionaries of the Vicariate of the Propaganda pass by Hongkong, are lodged with us, remain for several days and pay nothing. The letters from the Vicars Apostolic come here, and are forwarded at the expense of the Procure. We ought to pay for our lodging by way of compensation. Your Excellency, then ought to recommend to those of the Propagation to continue the subsidy Otherwise, the Procure will be absolutely unable to pay its debts to the Vicars Apostolic and a sanation will be unavoidable.¹¹⁷

It was a question, then, of trying to make do within the limits of their poverty. We find here that the less poor or he who administered better the meager funds available appeared rich. This was the situation of the Philippine Dominican Province. The Filipino Catholics probably, although much poorer, supported more missions abroad than any richer Christian nations. And he who had direct access to this generous people was richer, because he had possibilities for financial support. The wealth of the Philippine friars in Hongkong, by contrast, had some value, but it was also because, as in the Dominicans' case, it was properly administered and properly invested. This was the rock of scandal and the reason behind their serious difficulties with Raimondi, who was himself not a bad administrator.

Reixach demanded payment of his loan, but, unfortunately, it had been made to an entity that was producing only spiritual profits. This occasioned the quarrel. In his view, the money could have been invested, for the sake of their own missions, in enterprises that guaranteed material benefits. This earned from his debtor the epithets "usurer," "immoral," and others that spice the letters of Raimondi.¹¹⁸

We must add there was a lack of total openness on both sides, perhaps due to excessive prudence, or even sincerity. Reixach had been entrusted with some kind of a secret project. During the greater part of the 19th century, the religious orders in Spain had been hit in various ways, in some cases directly to destroy them. They were saved because they had missions abroad where they administered schools and hospitals, especially in the Philippines. These mendicant missionary orders were the main and cheap support of Spanish domination in the mission lands. They were the anachronistic guardians of the old moral order in a century of materialism which finally would destroy their good name through skillful use of licit and illicit propaganda, as well as political subversion. Once this bastion of spiritual and moral prestige was breached, the Philippines could be kept only through the use of force. But Spain did not have sufficient economic power to retain the Philippines this way, above all if she was challenged by another nation.

The Dominicans had foreseen this quite clearly by 1868. They realized they would soon be expelled not only from Spain, but also from the Philippines. Against this eventuality, they decided on an extreme plan: survive in pagan lands by totally pouring themselves out in their task to spread the Catholic faith. For this, the British economic emporium in Hongkong was the key factor. There they planned to invest their funds in order to be able to survive even with no other resources from their other missions in Vietnam, China, or Formosa. They had to sell what they owned in the Philippines, namely, the estates which had supported their houses of formation in Spain, their priests toiling in the missions, the social and educational institutions in the Philippines, etc. They felt these institutions would be secularized and the properties supporting them expropriated. They also knew the tenants and lease-holders in their lands could create each day problems for them. They decided, therefore, to sell them, invest the returns in projects that could bring them the greatest profits according to accepted capitalist practices.

The first effort along this line was entrusted to Reixach, a trader before becoming a friar, according to Raimondi. The latter believed the "Dominicans in Manila would have a capital of more than 400,000 *escudos* invested in loans at 12%" interest rate. As is usual in polemical writing, this report must have been exaggerated, but it could have some kernel of truth.¹¹⁹

Raimondi's concealments were of another type. It was a question of discretion regarding certain economic projects which implied, not the violation of religious poverty, but its proper interpretation in the new circumstances imposed by a society strongly controlled by economic factors. He was moved by an unusual "shame" laudable in itself perhaps, but without accepting its corresponding responsibilities.

In this dispute, the Italians had political power, the Spaniards economic. And the latter lost. The Procurator of the Propagation in Hongkong became the Bishop of Hongkong, but the Dominican Procurator was recalled to Manila. His replacement faced the same situation. The Dominican chapel in Hongkong was closed to the public because Raimondi had convinced the Cardinal Prefect of the Propagation in Rome the Portuguese would have in the Spaniards the defenders of their *Patronato real* and, later, the former Nuntio expelled from Spain wrote the projected Iberian Union would be realized.¹²⁰ With this, the Dominican plan to pour themselves out in the other foreign missions fell through.

Volonteri was a witness to all this. But he was unaware the economic projects of Reixach who went about his business in his own carriage—

scandalizing him and Raimondi perhaps—had no other aim than to put an end to hunger, tend the sick, raise the children in a Christian way, educate the young, form native priests, build churches, hospitals, schools—the same tasks he himself was doing in China.

Neither did Rizal know this. Like the Italian bishop, he was peering in from the outside. He only saw the Dominicans in the Philippines were rich, had sufficient funds such as to need a carriage for transporting them to Hongkong.¹²¹ But they were administered badly, loaned at 12% interest rate. He and Volonteri could not have known how these amounts would be used, for the Dominicans never made them public. Had they known, perhaps Volonteri's remarks would not have impressed Rizal so much, nor confirmed the latter's convictions. Rizal, unsure till then, could have had a better understanding of the trial of Frs. Burgos, Gomez, and Zamora. Instead of the *Noli me tangere*, he could have written perhaps its opposite.

THE CAVITE MUTINY: FIVE
UNKNOWN EARLIER TRIALS, 1872
Leandro Tormo Sanz

INTRODUCTION

The ill-starred life of Fr. Jose A. Burgos overshadowed and reoriented the life of Jose Rizal.¹ The injustice he believed suffered by this friend of his older brother, Paciano, hammered on his temples, moving his novelist's pen² to produce *Noli me tangere*, whose centenary we are celebrating, a fictitious narrative of the causes and effects of the mutiny which had occurred in Cavite on the night of 20 January 1872.

When one mentions the government suppression of this military uprising, however, the talk usually concentrates on the trial which condemned the Filipino priests Frs. Jose A. Burgos, Mariano Gomez, and Jacinto Zamora. These three were leading members of the clergy and their execution has led to the impression that there was only *one* court case connected with that event. As a matter of fact, there were several cases brought before the three military tribunals which, according to extant official records, were guilty of irregularities later exposed and condemned by the highest military tribunal at the time, the Supreme War Council of Spain.

INITIAL DISPOSITIONS

Contemporary documents reveal that on the night between 20 and 21 January 1872, the head of the Superior Civil Government was appraised at 3:00 o'clock before dawn of the 21st of an uprising in Cavite. He immediately delegated powers to the Captain General to proceed "with all urgency to suppress it" and impose "swift and exemplary punishment on the guilty."³ General Rafael Izquierdo, who was both the Superior Civil Governor and the Captain General, ordained that "the permanent War Councils established in this capital [Manila] and in Cavite use their powers to adjudicate all matters related to the uprising, but exercise jurisdiction upon

oral examination to impose immediate punishment condign to the very serious crime of military and political rebellion against the Motherland.”⁴

Izquierdo right away dispatched General Felipe Ginovés Espinar, his deputy military commander (“*Segundo Cabo*”), with the First and Second Regiments to Cavite to suppress “the sedition, without mercy or regard, decimating the insurgents he could capture, and, with the advice of the Auditor of War” who also went with him, try them in court-martial and execute those whose fate so decreed.⁵ According to this dispatch, the trials were to start in Cavite and the Auditor of War, as counsel to the military judges, was to play a fundamental role.⁶

NUMBER OF INSURGENTS

That same day, 21 January, when Izquierdo was issuing the above orders, he received at 11:00 o’clock in the morning a telegram from Ginovés reporting the insurgents to be 200. This total was immediately passed on to official letters and notices,⁷ which served as the source of historical popularization.⁸ As in similar cases, this number was a round estimate exaggerated by the one about to initiate military operations, and the first report from the Politico-Military Governor of Cavite shows they were really unaware of the size of the insurgent forces.⁹

At 6:00 o’clock in the afternoon, the dead among the insurgents were estimated at 21, and about 8 who had tried to flee by swimming were taken prisoners later in the night.¹⁰ At daybreak of 22 January during the assault on San Felipe which had already signalled its surrender,¹¹ 34 insurgents were put to the sword, according to the “Diary of Operations.” The prisoners taken before and after the assault were calculated to be about 40, “with probably some more captives among those who may have hidden under the scaffolding.”¹² These cifers add up to a reduced number of insurgents reported the previous day by one half.¹³

On 31 January, Izquierdo specified the above numbers in his official letter No. 396. He reported as follows:

1. In Fort San Felipe the Artillery detachment which rebelled was composed of a lieutenant, two sergeants, a bugler, and 32 soldiers.
2. All the soldiers of the Marine Infantry who mutinied in their barracks numbered 54. Of them, 15 remained without passing on to the fort, and these were sent to the barracks of the Infantry Regiment No. 7.

3. The Marine Infantry guard stationed at the exterior gate of the Arsenal, which also sided with the enemy, was composed of about seven troops.¹⁴

All in all, then, the mutineers numbered only 76. There was no Marine among them, such as was reported in the first notices published in the *Gaceta de Manila* (22 January)¹⁵ and in the cablegram sent to the Overseas Ministry the same day. And not a single laborer employed at the Arsenal was implicated.¹⁶

THE DEAD AND THE PRISONERS

The claim that all the rebels were put to the sword,¹⁷ a datum that has been repeated in the published war bulletins, is interesting. But of the total killed, 21 had lost their life while trying to flee before the assault, and 8 had been taken prisoners. The Governor of Cavite reported his count of 49 dead bodies inside the fort.¹⁸ Thus there were 78 persons only who mutinied and barricaded themselves inside the Fort of San Felipe, namely, the 76 we mentioned plus the lieutenant and the peninsular artillery sergeant whom the insurgents had killed.

I do not know if among the number of bodies found inside the fort that of Lieutenant Montesinos who was a prisoner there was included, as well as that of the loyal Filipino housemaid who died to save her mistress.¹⁹ If so, we would hold that one or two of those who had risen in arms could have escaped massacre. If they had been able to question the dying La Madrid how many had followed him until the last moment, he could have answered: "Count the dead."

The prisoners were counted exactly at 15 in the barracks of the Marine Infantry and 8 were apprehended in the night of the 21st as they tried to flee from the besieged fort. And yet the "Diary of Operations" cited above gives an approximate total of 40 prisoners,²⁰ without telling us where and how the 17 of the missing had been rounded up. Some could have been taken prisoners during the assault, but that would account for only one or two, according to the estimate just made. Izquierdo clarifies this for us in his letter No. 396, in which we read:

When the troops returned from that plaza [Cavite] they brought 71 prisoners, some taken in the fort and others presented by the Marine on suspicion of possible complicity in the incidents. These were immediately turned over to the

permanent War Council, which sentenced them to die by firing squad. But, considering the [possible] loss of life, I thought that public vengeance would be satisfied by executing only a third of them.²¹

THE FIRST TWO TRIALS

41 found guilty were sentenced by two war councils, both of them presided over by Colonel Francisco Moscoso y Lara. One of them tried First Corporal Jose Tolentino and 33 Marine Infantry troops. The other, Corporal Pedro Manonson and his 36 co-accused. All in all, 71 persons were tried and sentenced, that is to say, all those who were brought as prisoners from Cavite. On Izquierdo's orders to Segundo Cabo Ginovés, both trials were held in Manila, not in Cavite, and the secretary of the proceedings was Joaquin Perez y Rosette of the Magallanes Infantry Regiment No. 3.

The prisoners headed by Tolentino, were tried by Fiscal Juan Gomez y Fernandez of the Royal Infantry Regiment No. 1, and the following captains of the same regiment acted as judges: Fernando Gonzalez, Fidelio Novella, Francisco Salado, Jose Perez, Francisco Sanchez, and Fidel Hernandez. Condemned to death were Tolentino and 6 soldiers, a first corporal, and a second corporal. 22 soldiers were condemned to ten years' imprisonment, and three remaining soldiers were acquitted.²²

The group headed by Manonson was adjudicated by Lieutenant Emilio Gonzalez y Grano de Oro of the Queen's Regiment No. 2, who acted as fiscal, with the following captains as judges: Enrique Tovar, Fernando Gonzalez, Victor Sanchez, Federico Novella, Antonio Bustillo, and Fidel Hernandez. 34 accused soldiers were condemned to death, while a crewman, a prisoner, and a civilian named Maximo Inocencio were set aside for later questioning. 22 soldiers of the Marine Infantry received an indult, while all the artillery men (a corporal and 7 soldiers—probably the 8 who had been apprehended when they tried to escape from Fort San Felipe) and four of the Marine Infantry (Manonson and 3 soldiers) were executed by firing squad.²³

Not a single one of those who had openly fought the Spaniards remained alive.

In his proclamation "To the Inhabitants of the Philippines" on 27 January 1872, Izquierdo made the following statement:

The War Council with jurisdiction over the case of the unfortunate events in Cavite pronounced the death sentence yesterday on 41 lost individuals who, forgetful of their sacred oaths and lending their ears to the cowardly, *rose in arms* against the glorious banner of Spain.²⁴

But notice that, from the recount above, only 8 prisoners had mutinied. This same cannot be said with certainty of the 15 Marine infantry troops who remained at their barracks and did not join the rest of their mates at Fort San Felipe, perhaps because either they could not or did not care to. Izquierdo's statement adding the remaining 18 to raise the total to 41 is not quite accurate, since they had not "risen against the glorious flag of Spain," but were merely "apprehended by the Marine on suspicion of possible complicity in the incidents." This is inferred from the statement of Izquierdo whose legal language seems to have been rather imprecise.

Sentence of the 13 condemned to die was carried out the day after their conviction, i. e., 27 January. Tolentino and the 8 artillery men were executed on Bagumbayan at 7:00 o'clock in the morning; Manonson and the 3 Marine Infantry on the Campo de Instrucción in Cavite that same morning at 9:00 o'clock.²⁵

In a letter to the Commanding General of the Marine on 31 January, Izquierdo expressed himself:

The War Council has already condemned the rebels of Cavite as Your Excellency will see in the issue of the *Gaceta* I am sending you, and actively follows the procedures to impose the condign penalty on the instigators of the Cavite mutiny.²⁶

In other words, judgment had been made after these two trials of the men considered direct participants in the rebellion. Among them was Maximo Inocencio, whose sentence was deferred in order to cite him for another trial because he was also considered one of the organizers of the mutiny.²⁷

THIRD AND FOURTH TRIALS

The third trial convicted First Corporal Rafael Calda and 11 more of the Artillery Regiment guarding Manila, "for the crime of conspiracy and antecedent knowledge of the insurrection attempted in Cavite."²⁸ 4 of them were first corporals, 5 second corporals, and 32 artillery men.

This case was drawn up by the deputy commander of the Queen's Infantry Regiment No. 2, Manuel Boscasa y Perez. The chief judge was again Colonel Moscoso y Lara, with the following associate judges: Artillery Captain Narciso Claveria; the Captain of the Infantry Regiment No. 3, Ramon Arce; that of No. 2, Victor Sanchez; that of No. 1, Francisco Salado; that of the same corps, Jose Perez; and that of the Artillery, Pedro Garcia.

Eleven of those found guilty were condemned to death, and one, who reported the conspiracy to a sergeant of another company was sentenced to ten years. Once again, we are faced with the anomaly of a person condemned for the crime of having denounced an insurrection he had known beforehand. Moreover, as all those condemned to die were indulted, we are left with the fact that both conspirators and men who had reported the plot suffered the same penalty of ten years' imprisonment, even if the former were detained and the second was not. The truth is that the latter suspect could have concluded or it could have been brought up against him by the rest that it was not worth the trouble spying on his comrades.

This occurred in Manila on 6 February 1872. In the decree granting the indult issued the next day and published on the 8th in the *Gaceta*, Izquierdo justified the decision in these terms:

Considering that the guilty were seduced and fooled by the plotters whom they served as blind tools;

Considering that the law shall be inexorable with the plotters and that without considerations of any kind they will suffer the severe and exemplary penalty their crime deserves²⁹

Clearly, instead of justifying the indult, Izquierdo was preparing and prejudicing public opinion in favor of the "exemplary" punishment he had already decided on before the respective tribunal pronounced sentence.³⁰

No other information on the fourth case is available than the sentence published in the *Gaceta de Manila* (10 February) and the inclusion of the suspects in the "*Estado que manifiesta las sentencias impuestas por los Consejos de guerra celebrados para ver y fallar las causas instruidas con motivo del alzamiento que tuvo lugar en la plaza de Cavite los días 20 al 22 de Enero próximo pasado*" and signed by Lieutenant Colonel Juan Alvarez Arenas on 10 April 1872.³¹

Previous communications made public reported that the alleged crime was "rebellion" and "complicity." However, it was only in this fourth case that the penalties were expressed, and that those who had been tried "all belonged to the so called *Compañía de Guías de la provincia de Cavite*."³²

All the sentences pronounced at the end of this fourth trial were carried out, for the only one condemned to death, Sergeant Casimiro Camerino, was not spared but executed by *garrote vil* on 9 February, unlike those condemned earlier and executed by firing squad. This difference could show why the crime imputed to them had not been made public, a crime whose

connection to the military uprising could not be proven conclusively. Indeed in his cablegram to the Overseas Ministry on 10 February, Izquierdo lumped the cases together in this way:

War Council continuing trials condemned to death 11 native artillery and Camerino executed by garrote, the artillery indulted.³³

On 12 February, Izquierdo ordered that the sentence of Rafael Calda and Cleto Yance, "death convicts but pardoned" be carried out in one of the garrisons in Africa. Communicated to the Overseas Ministry twelve days later, this decision was based on "Cleto Yance's having boasted that in the garrison he would provoke new conflicts."³⁴

These words from the official letter No. 442 make one pause. What help did this Yance, and probably Calda too, have or was counting on, to indulge in such falseful boasts, seeing that even without it others had already been shot for the same crime of conspiring in a revolution? Was this braggadocio really the reason to exile them in Europe as they had been sentenced, or simply an excuse to separate them from companions they had already seduced, or again, lest they carry out another type of "false boasting?"³⁵

With regard to their part in the mutiny, we know from Corporal Tolentino's declarations cited in those passages of the acts of the trial of Fr. Burgos and copied by Artigas y Cuerva that "he met on Palacio Street Corporal Calda, Yance, and Corteza, who mentioned the native pastor of San Pedro as president."³⁶

FIFTH TRIAL

Next in order of time comes precisely the trial of that pastor of San Pedro, Jose Burgos, who Calda and Yance had told the executed Jose Tolentino would be the future president of the Philippine Republic. Of this trial a copy of which Artigas y Cuerva had and was being kept in the Philippine National Library in 1910, we know only what this author published in his *Sucesos de 1872*, and the sentence, according to which Burgos, Gomez, Zamora, and Zaldua were condemned to death and executed as instigators and accomplices of the revolution. This charge, however, does not appear in the official news of their condemnation and execution announced in the *Gaceta de Manila* (18 February 1872). In this same trial, the sentence of 10 years' imprisonment was imposed on Maximo Inocencio, Enrique Paraiso, and

Crisanto de los Reyes. Together with Yance and Calda,³⁷ they were sent to Spain in comfortable boats, according to Rafael Labra and Manuel Regidor who considered them "guilty, having practically admitted their part and active involvement in the bloody insurrection."³⁸

The transfer of these three guilty men, as Antonio Maria Regidor wrote, followed Izquierdo's decision that the native members of the masonic lodges "who were initially imprisoned be sent either to the Peninsula or to Africa to carry out their sentence there, even though they were natives, something never done before. That is why Enrique Paraiso, Crisanto de los Reyes, and Maximo Inocencio, Filipinos all three—the first a brother of the lodge of Pandacan, the last two of that of Cavite—were sent to Cartagena."³⁹

This case was drawn up by Manuel Boscasa y Perez, Deputy Commander of the Queen's Infantry Regiment No. 2 as that of men "privy to the crime of conspiracy against the political constitution of the State, and authors of the military uprising attempted in the plaza of Cavite, the night of 20 January last; all with the purpose of separating this archipelago from the Motherland, proclaiming it a Republic, and directly attacking in this manner the integrity of the Monarchy."⁴⁰ The War Council was headed by Francisco Moscoso y Lara, with the concurrent counsel of Captains José Cañizares of the Infantry Magallanes Regiment, Enrique Tovar of the Queen's Infantry Regiment No. 2, Eustacio Gijón of Infantry No. 4, Federico Novellas, Francisco Salado, and Jose Montalbo of Regiment No. 1, and the assistance of the Assessor of War Jose Luciano Roca.

Burgos, Gomez, Zamora, and Zaldua were condemned by unanimous vote "to the penalty of death by *garrote vil*, in accordance with Article One of the law of 17 April 1821, their being accomplices in the said crimes having been fully proved; and Maximo Inocencio, Crisanto de los Reyes, and D. Enrique Paraiso to ten years' imprisonment, the first with reclusion, the third and the second to ten years without, in keeping with the spirit of the same article and with the general prescriptions of military law."⁴¹ The article referred to by which some were condemned to death and others to ten years with or without retention provided only the following:

The objects of this law are the cases formed against conspiracy or machinations directed against the observance of the Constitution, or against the internal or external security of the State, or against the sacred and inviolable person of the constitutional King.⁴²

The sentence provided that a copy be furnished the Archbishop "for the degradation of the ecclesiastics Don Jose Burgos, Don Jacinto Zamora, and Don Mariano Gomez, calling attention to the fact that in case of necessity, the sentence be carried out in accordance with the prescriptions of the Royal Order of 17 October 1835."⁴³ Note that the tribunal arbitrarily took upon itself to impose unequal penalties for the *same* crime, imposing on some of the guilty, but not in the case of the others equally judged guilty, what it considered to be the spirit of the law. But this law was limited to the enunciation of cases to be drawn up, and it can thus be said the tribunal aprioristically reached a judgment that no pardon was possible for the priests, overlooking Izquierdo's indult of the other previous cases.

The Captain General asked the Superior Civil Governor that same day of 15 February 1872 that "an appeal to the Metropolitan Ordinary be presented that he might immediately proceed to the degradation of the same priests considering that the guilty will at 8:00 o'clock the next day be prepared for death, and executed on the 17th of the current month at 8:00 o'clock in the morning."⁴⁴ Izquierdo, who held both positions of Captain General and Superior Civil Governor, appealed to the Archbishop to proceed with the requested degradation. But the prelate answered on the same date:

... to proceed with the degradation of the priests . . . I deem it indispensable to have full knowledge of the case. To that end I have the honor to request Your Excellency to furnish me the acts of the trial held by the War Council, on perusal of which I shall be able to form my own just judgment, as is demanded by the imposition of the death sentence, the heaviest penalty that canon law can impose.⁴⁵

Rizal must have read these words from the copy which Izquierdo kept and later passed on to Rafael Maria de Labra. Based on them, he asserted in the dedication of his *El Filibusterismo*: "The Church, by refusing to defrock you, has put in doubt the crime charged against you."⁴⁶ In the same way, the Philippine national hero could have also known the Superior Civil Governor's answer in which, using verbal tricks, Archbishop Gregorio Meliton Martinez's request was completely ignored.⁴⁷

ANOMALIES IN THE FIVE CASES

On 19 February 1872, the Captain General of the Philippines sent to the War Ministry, together with his letter No. 577, copies of the sentences

imposed for these five cases, while retaining his powers to proceed as ordered and concluded by the court.⁴⁸ That same day he sent to Cotabato the military personnel suspected of complicity, without putting them to trial, convinced that "all the native troops are in the same situation,"⁴⁹ a rather gratuitous conviction from the first moment he was in possession of anonymous denunciations by native soldiers friendly to the Spaniards and who in their own ways and styles reported the conspiracy, but without following the formalities demanded by the military ordinances they were not too familiar with.

On 13 April that year, 1872, the five copies which had arrived in Madrid were forwarded to the Supreme War Council to await confirmation. This high military tribunal was headed by Lieutenant General Felipe Ribero Lemoine, who had been Colonel of the Gerona regiment when Rafael Izquierdo Gutierrez, a mere 14-year old cadet, enlisted in that unit and for whom the former acted as sponsor in the Army. Probably the last of his favors to his godson was to delay action on the acts of the Cavite trials approved by Izquierdo. Thus, on 7 February 1873, after the latter had ceased as the highest political and military authority in the Philippines, Ribero Lemoine signed the rescript approved by the Supreme War Council devolving to the War Ministry five copies of the sentences duly annotated. The following 26 April, the War Ministry forwarded the complete dossier to Juan Alaminos, Captain General of the Philippines, ordering "that in the future one should resolutely guard against anomalies which the Government cannot approve and which it has the duty to avoid through privileges granted by law deeply lacerated in those Islands, as reported in the documents in question."⁵⁰

What were these irregularities which Izquierdo had approved and sanctioned, but which the Supreme War Council denounced, and the corresponding Ministry considered inadmissible?

These are the facts listed in the registry for Corporal Tolentino: guilty soldiers, crime foreseen in the Ordinances, and the permanent Council which is termed "verbal," such that, according to the military fiscal of the Supreme Council, "it accords neither with the law of 17 April nor with the general order of the North Army dated 22 October 1837, because neither the president nor his council in any way belonged to the body of the accused."⁵¹

In the second, in which the first case concerned Corporal Pedro Manonson, the same anomalies perpetrated in the first were noted. Besides, a crewman, a prisoner, and a civilian, by decision of the council, were subjected to the other trial procedures which proved their innocence when they were finalizing the last document in which charges were imputed to

them, against which their defense should have been heard and the judges acquitted or condemned them. This charge won the Captain General's approval who, "on his own authority, ordered that the 8 artillery men should be executed by firing squad in Manila, the Corporal and the three soldiers of the Marine Infantry in Cavite, imposing on the rest 10 years of reclusion" by way of indult, "invading attributions which in another case the Superior Civil Governor used and if he did not alter the sentence of the permanent commission" he still ordered the execution of what he had decided on.⁵²

In the third trial which started with First Corporal Rafael Calda, article 26, Treatise 8, title 10 of the Ordinances was applied, according to the judges. But the Supreme Council declared that it could not explain "why, although existing as a permanent Council, it had no qualms appealing to an exceptional law which excludes no one," considering that to pass judgment in keeping with the Ordinances, the ordinary Council which the same Ordinances provide for should have met. Those condemned to capital sentence were indulted, the Superior Civil Governor commuting the sentence to perpetual imprisonment, such that soldiers guilty of sedition were amnestied following judgment according to the civil code upon arrangement with the military. And the military fiscal ended his report to Felipe Ribero: "no irregularities are missing [which were not perpetrated] and in regard to the aforesaid commutation, Your Excellency acts well in calling the attention of the Government of His Majesty."⁵³

With regards to the fourth case referring to 30 individuals of the Guías de la Torre involved through the connivance of the insurgents, which in itself indicates the former had clearly not plotted the military sedition, the copy of their sentence offers something noteworthy where it says that the penalty was adjusted to Article One of the law of 17 April 1821 for the eleven condemned to imprisonment despite the absence of complete proofs, while the other 30 were treated with greater rigor than those guilty under Article 3 of the same law which refers to those who "with fire or side arms, or with any other offensive instrument, offered resistance to the troop that apprehended them,"⁵⁴ since nowhere does the law impose that penalty of imprisonment for ten years.⁵⁵ As regards the reference to those exempted from official vigilance, it was impossible for the military fiscal of the Supreme Council to guess which law would be appealed to.

Finally, in the trial of Burgos, Gomez, and Zamora, whose conviction was based on Article One of the law of 17 April 1821, as mentioned, literally obeyed in the case of those who were penalized with the loss of their lives, but

interpreted according to the "spirit of the law" in the case of the others, the military fiscal wrote:

There is no clear explanation for this since the modification of the penalty must be based not on what the article seeks to express, but on the kind of evidence presented in the case. This sentence was pronounced on 15 February, proving that Manila continued in an exceptional situation 24 days after the Cavite mutiny had been crushed.⁵⁶

This opinion was signed by the Supreme War Council and the Chief Military Fiscal.

According to the latter, Izquierdo had abused and acted arbitrarily, partly approving as convenient "the sentence of the War Council, modifying it as he pleased, decreeing on his own authority the subsequent implementation in accord with what he himself had proposed, but which were not explicit in the sentence," just as he did in the first two cases in violation of all the established rules for the administration of military justice and arrogating to himself attributes he did not possess, "acting as untrammelled judge and referee."⁵⁷

Felipe Ribero Lemoine signed the official letter where these reprimands are mentioned, and agreed that his godson Izquierdo be made aware of them. Since the highest military tribunal of Spain has so concluded, Archbishop Gregorio Meliton Martinez and Jose Rizal were right in doubting the fairness of that trial.

LITERARY SOURCES OF *NOLI ME TANGERE*
Cayetano Sanchez Fuyertes, O. F. M.

I was not brought up among the people My opinions were formed by books, and I know only what men have brought to light; I know nothing of things that remain hidden, that have not been written about. (*Noli me tangere*, [Guerrero tr.], chapter 50)

Some historians have the impression that certain Rizal scholars carried on by their enthusiasm—at the times extreme perhaps—for the Philippine national hero “have pushed our researches into the minutest details of Rizal’s life to almost incredible lengths”¹ The judgment is correct but only on certain aspects or periods of the hero’s life. Works about what we could call his “foreseen death” abound, but studies regarding the factors that led to it are few, or, for that matter, about the authors and works that decisively influenced the development of Rizal’s ideas. This is especially true of the planning and writing of his most important literary work, the *Noli me tangere*.

How did the idea of writing this novel take shape in Rizal’s mind precisely in the form that it took and no other? I do not mean the idea of vindicating perhaps subconsciously in the face of the racism and alienation resulting from Spanish colonial practices, the Filipinos’ dignity and freedom, but a written work following certain precise literary canons. Which authors and works inspired him to write what many consider the “gospel of Philippine nationalism”? These and other related questions are necessarily answered only after painstaking research because of their complexity and the need for precise nuances. The present essay, thus, seeks to offer some answer to this problematic, without pretending to either dogmatize or exhaust the subject. I would be satisfied with tracing certain guidelines for others more capable in the continuing study of certain aspects of Rizal’s undeniably important life and work.

WHEN AND HOW THE *NOLI* WAS WRITTEN

Apparently, Jose Rizal seems to have decided to write the *Noli* because of the disappointing results of the press campaign he and his compatriots in Madrid had been waging for the rights of his fellow Filipinos. At first the plan was for a joint project in collaboration with his fellow Filipino students in Madrid. But because it was impossible or at least difficult to co-author a book, Rizal decided to write it himself, although he seems to have informed no one about his decision.

He worked for about two years "day and night for a period of many months," as he himself asserts.² We do not know the precise moment when he started to write, but we do know it was in 1884, when he was living in Madrid as a student of medicine and philosophy and letters, and that he finished it in Germany: "half of the *Noli*," Rizal himself tells Pastells, "was written in Madrid; one fourth in Paris, and the other fourth in Germany. Witnesses: my countrymen who used to see me work."³

The atmosphere in Germany, far from the tensions and the political and cultural conflicts of Madrid, helped him introduce revisions, nuances and trim the original. It is very probable that Rizal worked during the summer of 1884, a time when he would be free from his usual student chores. A little later, in November of the same year, a series of tragic events would take place in Madrid, which in our opinion, greatly influenced the writing of the novel, as I indicate elsewhere.⁴

But what is, and what does the *Noli* intend? Rizal himself provides a complete and manifold answer to this question. He wrote an intimate friend *Noli me tangere* was

... the story of the last ten years ... I answer all the false concepts with which they have tried to humiliate us. I hope you will understand it rightly.⁵

Noli me tangere is a satire and not an apologia. Yes, I have painted the social wounds of "my country," There is in it "pessimism and blackness" ... because I "see much infamy in my country; there the miserable equal the imbecile in numbers. I admit I have not tasted any bitter satisfaction in bringing to light such shame and embarrassment, but in painting with the blood of my heart, I wanted to correct and save the rest."⁶

But perhaps it is in the well-known letter to Felix Resurrecion Hidalgo written on 5 March 1887, that Rizal best expresses the novel's aim:

Noli me tangere, words taken from Saint Luke, mean "do not touch me." The book contains; therefore, things about which none of us have spoken until now;

they are so sensitive that they cannot be touched by any person. As far as I am concerned, I wanted to do what no one has dared. I *wanted to answer the calumnies which for so many centuries have been heaped on us and our country.* I described the social situation, the life, our beliefs, our hopes, our desires, our complaints, our sorrows. I unmasked the hypocrisy which, under the cloak of religion, was impoverishing and brutalizing us. I distinguished the true from the false religion, the superstitious, the one that trades in the holy word to extract money in order to make us believe in sorcery, of which Catholicism would blush were it aware of these. *I have raised the curtain to show what is behind the deceitful, eloquent words of our governments.* I have bared to our compatriots our defects, our vices, our reprehensible and cowardly indifference to the misery there. Wherever I have found moral strength, I have proclaimed it to give it its due, and although I have wept when speaking of our misfortunes, I have laughed because no one wants to weep with me over the unhappiness of our country, and laughter is always good to hide the pain. *The facts I relate have happened and all are true. I can provide proofs. My book will contain (and does contain) its faults from the artistic or esthetic viewpoint. I do not deny it: but what cannot be doubted is the impartiality of the narration.*⁷

I have quoted this passage from Rizal in its entirety because it masterfully shows both the purpose he had in writing the novel and some important details to which we shall return later.

In regard to the purpose of the *Noli* and its historical content, there is a central fact easily perceived by any careful reader and which Rizal himself wanted to put quite clearly in writing in his letter to Mariano Ponce on 18 April 1889. Everyone knows it, but I believe it must be quoted here again because of its importance to what we intend in this essay. I refer to the events that occurred in Cavite in 1872. Here are Rizal's words:

*Without 1872 . . . Rizal would now be a Jesuit, and instead of writing Noli me tangere, he would have written the opposite. In view of those injustices and cruelties, my imagination, though I was still a boy, was aroused and I resolved to dedicate myself to avenge one day so many victims, and with this idea I have been studying. This can be seen in all my works and writings.*⁸

By way of synthesis, then, we can say that when he published his novel Rizal wanted to lay before the Filipino people the true story of the events that took place in Cavite, as well as the social situation in 1872 and after. The entire plot hinges on chapter 55 in which the Franciscan Fray Salvi reveals to the officer in San Diego the false conspiracy he himself and his brother in religion, Fray Damaso, had concocted. The question, therefore, is whether we can trace Rizal's steps back to the germinal idea, and follow as well the writing of the work just as he conceived its purpose and context. This is exactly what we hope to do, though only superficially, in the following pages.

GENESIS OF THE *NOLI*

The novel's impact on the reader is explained by, first, its direct style and the unmistakable aim easily perceived from the earliest chapters, and, second, its four important characteristics. (1) It is based on personal experiences—as Rizal himself admits more than once. (2) Historical facts confirm these experiences and give credibility to the narrative. (3) The appropriate literary techniques are used to attain his end. And (4) an unmistakable ideology unifies the work and arouses the reader's interest.

All of Rizal's biographers emphasize the first characteristic is an important element confirmed in repeated statements by the author himself of the *Noli*. These are his negative experiences, both personal and familial, mentioned rather fully in his writings. But even if one can deny the novel is "a work whose seeds were the author's personal sufferings," one can also add it is the final result of an intellectual process. With his gifted memory and unusual talent for observation, Rizal will evoke in his novel personal, family, and social experiences. He recalls personages, scenes, anecdotes, places, etc., and recreates, enriches, and complements them in his mental world. What he saw, experienced, and read receives flesh and blood to the degree they are reread, reexperienced, and recalled from a wider unifying perspective.

Rizal lived and grew up in a family of intellectual tastes sufficiently superior to those of the ordinary Filipino family of his time. Both his father and older brother, Paciano, studied at the Colegio de San Jose, his mother and sisters at the Colegio de Santa Rosa in Manila. His paternal and maternal relatives were financially comfortable and had received no mean cultural formation.⁹ Rizal himself entered the cultural world early. At home, he states, he had at his disposal a library of about a thousand volumes, among which were works of some of the writers who had exercised an influence on the ideas of the last decades: Voltaire, Rousseau, Cantu, Sue, Lamartine, Dumas, etc. Even as a child, he was an avid reader, with books ready at hand very few could allow themselves the luxury of reading as adults.

Another important factor that powerfully helped mould Rizal's personality are, naturally, his studies at the two most important centers of education in the Philippines, the Ateneo municipal de Manila, and the University of Santo Tomas,¹⁰ where he received a humanistic and cultural formation much richer and more encompassing than he himself wanted to admit in the later more critical years of his life.¹¹ Finally, to all this must be added the social atmosphere he breathed in the cultural circles among which

his brother Paciano moved, an atmosphere intimately linked with the most radical elements of the Philippines as a result of the Revolution of 1868. Of these, the most influential was Fr. Jose A. Burgos,¹² executed in 1872 for alleged complicity in the mutiny of Cavite and whose death was a traumatic experience for the boy Pepe Rizal.

Reading novels was one of the loves of the young Rizal, he himself assures us:

By this time [1872-1874] I began to dedicate myself in my leisure time to the novels, although years before I had already read *El último Abencerraje*, but I read it indifferently. Imagine the imagination of a twelve-year old reading *The Count of Monte Christo*,¹³ enjoying the beauty of their lengthy dialogues and following step by step the heroes in their adventures. Under the pretext of studying universal history, I importuned my father to buy me Cesar Cantu, and God knows how much I profited from reading it . . . despite my half-hearted interest and insufficient familiarity with the Castilian language.¹⁴

If we keep all this in mind, the assertion that the seed of an open and liberal mind (using the word in its widest and most positive sense) began to bear fruit rather early in the young Rizal is not at all surprising. As he himself would confess much later, already in 1880 when he was 19 years old, he admired Quixote because, among other reasons, he was the “whip that castigates and corrects without shedding blood, and instead causes laughter.”¹⁵ Much less was his early, genuine, and radical feeling for his nation the result of spontaneous generation.

1. Rizal Crosses the “Great Bridge”¹⁶

Leon Ma. Guerrero, one of the more lucid biographers of the Philippine national hero, has conclusively shown in his day that Fr. Burgos “had a profound influence on Rizal.”¹⁷ This is most true, not only in the sense that Burgos was a model Rizal looked up to, but also in that the ill-starred Filipino priest strongly influenced the latter’s writing.¹⁸

There is, however, a moment when Rizal takes a jump of really transcendental consequences, namely, when his mind came into contact with the cultural world of Europe, the continent he stepped on for the first time in 1882 to continue his medical studies and prepare himself adequately in order to convert into reality a dream perhaps still half-concretized in its detail, but which centered around the recognition of the dignity of his people and the consecution of their socio-political rights in accordance with the liberal principles asserted by the Spaniards for all the citizens of Spain and its colonies.

I believe it was Blumentrit who has most clearly described the deep "shock" experienced by Rizal and the tremendous commotion produced in his inner world when he came into contact with the intellectual and political world of Spain in 1882-1885:

His stay in Europe uncovered a new world for him. His spiritual horizon broadened considerably, embracing new ideas. He came from a land where hypocrisy had its seat; where the Spaniards, friars, officials, military men, etc. enjoyed unlimited power over body and soul. In Madrid he could see the opposite: free-thinkers and atheists speaking freely about one's religion and his Church without shedding their blood. He found minimal exercise of government authority. He did not see the fight which he was expecting between liberals and clericals. He saw, on the contrary, that the republicans and carlists were many times united in order to realize a political ideal. Observing all this, a feeling of bitterness overwhelmed him when he compared the difference existing between the untrammelled freedom in the motherland and the theocratic absolutism in his land.¹⁹

From the day he arrived in Spain, Rizal began to read with his usual avidity the works of the classical writers of the Enlightenment and Romanticism, both Spanish and those of the other European countries. They found a privileged nook in his abundant private library, alongside the books of his specialization in the university and the classical Spanish, Italian, German, and English authors as important as Voltaire, Rousseau, Heine, Victor Hugo, Claude Bernard, Lessing, etc. He felt an extraordinary admiration especially for Voltaire and Rousseau, the "fathers of modern ideas."²⁰ He also read with interest the press of Madrid, but above all *El Progreso*,²¹ the organ first of Republicanism, and much later of the Progressive Democratic Party, founded in 1881, which openly proclaimed in its maiden issue: "We do not wish to admit or proclaim rebellion as truly a right: we consider it a duty"; *El Liberal*, of republican persuasion, "more than a spectator, a protagonist of many of the most violent upheavals in the political and social history of Spain"²² and in sympathy with the ideas spread around by publications like *Las Dominicales de El Libre Pensamiento*, founded by Ramon Chies and Fernando Lozano Montes, important personages of the Federal Republican Party (of Pi y Margall). Chies had been editor of *La Discusión*, a conspirator and agitator in the prerevolutionary days, a specialist in circulating around the most scandalous and sensationalist reports of violations of clerical celibacy.²³ Rizal was also reading *El Dia*, a paper "independent, not connected to any party, ever respectful of the opinions of the others and rather little inclined to polemics,"

but not denying its liberal monarchical leanings;²⁴ *El Imparcial*, the most prestigious daily of Madrid, with its abundant information and moderate ideological views.²⁵ Which paper had the greatest influence on the mind of the young student from the Philippines is easy to gather from a simple reading of his letters and the *Noli*.

Of course, neither the books nor the daily newspapers were decisive factors in the mental change that took place in Rizal within the short space of two years, perhaps a few months. Much more influential were his contacts with the outstanding figures of the political and intellectual world of Spain, namely, men like Rafael Maria de Labra, Francisco Pi y Margall, Miguel Morayta, and others less known whom we shall discuss below. One easily reaches this conclusion without any great effort from a quiet reading of Rizal's correspondence and works. Much less did he ever hide it. On the contrary, he confessed it more than once with absolute sincerity to, among others, Ricardo Carnicero, head of the district of Dapitan, during his exile in that Mindanao town:

In Madrid they know perfectly well what the friars do here [in the Philippines], so much so that in the first talks I had with Pi and [Aureliano] Linares Rivas, when the latter belonged to the Liberal Party, they made me realize things which I, born in that country, did not know. Like them I could mention to you many who are equally well informed of the lives and miracles of the friars in the Philippines.²⁶

Those liberals were the ones who taught Rizal, as he admitted to his former teachers, the Jesuits—if we are to believe Fr. Francisco Forada-da, S. J.—that, among others, “The liberties of nations are besought not on one's knees before thrones, but with weapons in one's hands.”²⁷ To the Jesuits, Rizal's meeting with some of the heroes of the September 1868 Revolution was the turning point in his life: “He arrived in Spain, already with the seed of pernicious ideas which reached full development until they were transformed into subversive ideas after [Rizal] in Madrid came to know Morayta and the other persons and leaders of Freemasonry about whom he admitted in his final hours that their mutual contact had made him a filibuster, ‘because’—quoting his exact words—‘they made me want the independence of my country’”²⁸

We do not intend with this kind of reasoning to show that the influence exercised on Rizal by the above persons—below we shall discuss their writings—was entirely negative; rather, the tremendous impact they had on his values, his beliefs, and his faith. Without perhaps realizing it, Rizal had

entered the orbit of the men of the September revolution, whose "most conspicuous representatives are the republicans, federalists or otherwise, but certainly anticlerical and advocates of a humanist religion and even a Christianity without or against the Church, basing themselves on love and charity among men."²⁹ It was the world of the French romantics Victor Hugo, Eugene Sue, Ernest Renan, etc. brought to its final consequences. It was a complex world difficult to assimilate for a restless young man, sensitive to the values of religion and deeply preoccupied with his country's future, as was Jose Rizal. Values and countervalues in that world were mixed and not easily distinguishable from one another. Jose Jimenez Lozano, a lucid writer known for his honesty and deep Christian faith, explains it in this paragraph, rather lengthy but which helps clarify what I mean:

These men of 69, these republicans, "new Christs" and ministers of a new religion of equality, fall like vultures on the papacy and the history of the Church or even the Bible itself, the Old Testament above all, and of course on the canonical and ecclesiastical discipline to underline its essential immorality. Putting it up against the moral regeneration which they offer: suppression of slavery, women's liberation, sympathy for the needy, humane treatment of prisoners, liberation of prostitutes, freedom of worship. Masonry is presented to them as a theological and cultural substitute for the ancient Catholic beliefs and as a superior morality to the Catholic.³⁰

The typical man of this generation is a "mystic" who will nonetheless degenerate first into a politician and later into a sectarian, as this author affirms.

Regrettably the Spanish Church at that time could offer no alternative at least acceptable to the restless mind and generous heart of a man like Jose Rizal. On the contrary, the Spanish Church violently rejected liberalism, dragging away with this condemnation a set of values which Rizal believed he could not give up. "What is liberalism?" the most popular Catholic apologist of the age asked and answered immediately: "In the order of ideas, it is a totality of false concepts; in the order of facts, it is the practical consequence of those ideas, a totality of criminal acts."³¹ Being a liberal is, consequently, "a greater sin than blasphemy, theft, adultery, or homicide, or any other thing forbidden by God's law and punished by his infinite justice."³² In the face of irreverent statements like that of the well-known physician Suñer y Capdevilla who, while mayor of Barcelona pronounced the famous phrase, "man's enemies are tuberculosis and God," the most reactionary Catholic press compared the revolution of 68 to the Muslim

invasion of the year 714 and added that the only solution was the proclamation of a new crusade.³³

And so we can fully understand the personal drama Rizal must have undergone when he had to choose between two quite contrary alternatives. Could there be a middle way? Perhaps, but it was not easy.

2. Labra and the Izquierdo Archives

Another consequence which seems to have followed from the friendship between Rizal and a good number of famous persons of the political and cultural circles of Spain at that moment was probably the access it allowed him to a collection of books and documents belonging to one of the men who directly participated in the bloody incidents after the Cavite mutiny of 1872, namely, Rafael Izquierdo, successor of Carlos Ma. de la Torre, whose governorship in the beginning raised great expectations and hopes, but was a disappointment in the end.

I have earlier indicated how among the personalities belonging to the wider political world with whom Rizal had struck an acquaintance was Rafael Ma. de Labra. (Of him more below). We have sufficiently weighty evidence to say that several important documents concerning General Izquierdo became the property of Labra, who sold them much later to Ignacio Bauer and from him passed on to the Royal Academy of History (Madrid), to be used by Rizal in preparing his *Noli*.³⁴

Even from this we could have a satisfactory answer to the problem of the source or sources Rizal used when narrating a series of rather important episodes connected with the most salient characters of his novel. For example, the sacrilegious loves of Fray Damaso echoing real problems of another Franciscan of flesh and bones, Fray Fermin Terren (a fact we pass over because it has already been fully discussed elsewhere by Dr. Leandro Tormo Sanz),³⁵ the existence of a true mutiny with a political and separatist aim, the anomalies committed by the political and judiciary authorities at the very moment when those truly responsible for it had to be identified, the refusal by Archbishop Meliton Martinez of Manila to condemn the Filipino priests Burgos, Gomez, and Zamora as complices without first examining the acts of the trial, and, finally, the refusal to defrock these priests because of the clear hesitation shown by Izquierdo to carry out a full investigation that could lead to an impartial verification of the facts. Of all this, it seems Rizal was informed.³⁶

In his *Noli*, Rizal seems to assert that what happened in Cavite in 1872 was another of those revolutions taking place both in Spain and in the

Philippines: the people, symbolized in the old man Pablo, Sisa's husband and father of Crispin and Basilio, sated with vexations and indignities, decides to take the law into his hands; Lucas, helped by the brothers Tarsilo and Bruno who seek to avenge their father's death from beating by the Guardia civil and whom he tells he is in close contact with Crisostomo Ibarra (alleged source of money and arms) to attack with the others the barracks of the Guardia civil and the parish house of San Diego; Fray Salvi, denouncing the plot alleging it had been revealed to him in confession, suspicion immediately falling on Ibarra; the discovery of the supposed conspiracy followed by the death of some of those implicated, and the arrest of Ibarra and others totally unconnected with the incident. After the traditional investigation with torture, Ibarra is sent to exile on charges of having "trusted in certain persons with whom he was corresponding," although the one who says this adds in the next line, "if our fiscals were incapable of too subtle an interpretation of the document, that young man would certainly have been acquitted." Furthermore, the first statements of the witness were later on denied and the documents attributed to him were forged. The strongest argument for conviction was "certain ambiguous lines which this young man wrote to a woman before leaving for Europe, lines in which the fiscal read the plot and threat against the Government." With Elias' help, Ibarra succeeds in avoiding jail and escapes from the law.

Rizal's doubts about the legality of the Cavite trials — concretely the one that determined the fate of the three native priests, Burgos, Gomez, and Zamora—and its silent denial of their guilt by the ecclesiastical hierarchy are quite clear when the Philippine national hero dedicated the second part of his *Noli*, the *El Filibusterismo*, to these priests: /

The Church, by refusing to defrock you, has put in doubt the crime charged against you; the Government by enshrouding the trial in mystery and pardoning your co-accused has implied that some mistake was committed when your fate was decided; and the whole of the Philippines in paying homage to your memory and calling you martyrs totally rejects your guilt.

How did Rizal come to know these important details of such a tragic execution of three priests as would deeply affect all the Filipinos, but in a special manner the boy Jose? Through the letter, we believe, of Governor Izquierdo to Archbishop Meliton Martinez of Manila which ended in Labra's hands, or (in the supposition that the latter could already have gotten rid of these documents when Rizal arrived in Madrid in 1882) through direct

revelation by this Cuban statesman to the Filipino student. The precise text has already been published by Tormo:

Overcome by deep sadness from reading the sentence attached to Your Excellency's report which I have just received, with due respect I must manifest that, to proceed with the degradation of the three priests, D. Jose Burgos, D. Jacinto Zamora, and D. Mariano Gomez, condemned to death by that tribunal, I judge it indispensable to have full knowledge of the case. For which purpose I have the honor to request Your Excellency to furnish me with a copy of the acts of the trial held by the War Council, in the light of which I shall be able to form by myself a correct assessment as is demanded by the imposition of a penalty, the heaviest provided for in canon law.³⁷

Rizal also seems to have been aware, either because he read it himself, or because someone else has informed him about its contents, of the letter Juan Aragonés, Bishop of Nueva Segovia, addressed to Izquierdo after the events in Cavite, in which the bishop pointed to the university as a focal point of filibusterism. A comparison of two passages, one from this letter and the other from the *Noli*, provided the basis for affirming the point:

"It is not the seminaries, Your Excellency, which are going to lose the Philippines for Spain, it is the University . . ."³⁸

"All the dissidents come from the Ateneo," said one friar " . . . the Jesuits are ruining the country. They corrupt the youth."³⁹

AUTHORS AND WRITINGS THAT INSPIRED RIZAL

The task of tracing the sources in which Rizal found inspiration for the form and content of the *Noli*, as indicated earlier, demands wide acquaintance of literature as well as of the other fields of knowledge which explicitly or otherwise are present or, at least, exercise some influence on Rizal's novel. I would like to limit my contribution to an analysis of a list of Spanish authors whose contribution to the final composition of the *Noli* seems almost certain—certainly not exhaustive, but which permits the use even of mere "*suspicion*" as the basis of our hypotheses.

As a preliminary remark, I would like to repeat a fact which is not unperceived by Rizal's biographers, and explicitly mentioned in Rizal's Diary. It alludes to the factor that led to the crystallization of the *Noli*, at least as it was projected, namely, the reading of one of the more popular romantic works of the age, namely, Marie Joseph (Eugene) Sue, *The Wandering Jew*.

On 25 January 1884, he notes in his *Diary*:

Today I finished reading *The Wandering Jew*. This novel is one of those which seemed to me better conceived, fruits only of talent and meditation. That of Lamartine does not address the heart. He forces himself, dominates, confuses, subjugates, but he does not move to tears. I do not know if it is because I am hard-hearted. It reminds me very much of *Los Mohinos de Paris*.⁴⁰

It would be interesting if one could fathom the possible influence exercised by this classical work of the age of romanticism on Rizal's novel.

Before starting enumeration of the authors and works which seem to have had greater weight on the composition of the *Noli*, I wish to remark that I am following a chronological order of the publication of these sources (except sections 12, 13, 16 below), even if it may obfuscate the total picture, for we shall conclude with a composite view towards the end of this essay.

1. Rafael Maria de Labra y Cadrada, *La Cuestión Colonial—Cuba—Puerto Rico—Filipinas*. Madrid, 1869

Rafael Maria de Labra was born in La Habana, Cuba in 1841 or 1843, where his father, a liberal-minded military career man from Asturias, headed the Galicia regiment. Sent to Cadiz when he was ten years old, Rafael went to school in Madrid, studied law, obtaining a *sobresaliente* in all his subjects. But he soon dedicated himself to newspaper work, and became involved in politics, activities he did not abandon until he died in 1910. He enthusiastically supported the September 1868 Revolution, and joined the Radical Party, fighting without quarter for the autonomy of the Spanish colonies in the Antilles and the abolition of slavery there, for which he founded and headed the Abolitionist League. He also actively collaborated in the establishment of the *Institución Libre de Enseñanza*, was president of the Ateneo de Madrid, and published numerous books and articles on the most varied topics.⁴¹

Labra came into contact with the Philippine problematique of the second half of the nineteenth century almost certainly through the work of the Regidor brothers, Antonio Maria and Manuel who, by 1869 were already in Spain playing a principal role in the campaign to obtain a series of reforms for the land of their birth. Apparently, Labra must also have had a distant relative in the Philippines. Anyway, by 1869 he published the work we mentioned in which entire chapters and many paragraphs analyze the socio-political situation of the Philippine Islands, with suggested reforms he believed most necessary. The ideas he expounded could not be his; rather and logically, they must have been suggested to him by the Regidor brothers still unknown to him.

In general, the book is a denouncement of the "influence of and the exploitation by the regular clergy" which had sunk the Philippines in ingratitude, neglect, and exploitation, a situation that should not be allowed to continue. In fact, the people were now mature for freedom and the separatist movements in the last 40 years were

... cemented in a deep discontent which rules over the country, thanks to a brutal exploitation which victimizes the indigenous population and the difficult situation through which are passing the lower clergy, oppressed by the all-powerful regular clergy, thanks, too, to a spirit openly hostile to an anachronistic colonial regime in power in the Philippines which incites the enlightened classes of Manila.⁴²

The Philippines continues under the "sharpness of the sober and the sterilizing shadow of the convents." In this situation, only one attitude is possible:

It is proven that theocracy, like militarism, has never produced a vigorous and progressive colony; it seems therefore that we ought to take advantage of time to bring to an end these reactionary forces wherever they are found.⁴³

Can there be a more radical posture in that situation, no matter how difficult? Yes, Labra suggests:

We believe that the future of our colonies is under the wings of Spain. We think that only in freedom can Spain assure herself of the overseas empire. And if unfortunately she could not keep them—contrary to our hope—except at the cost of Liberty and Justice, we suggest, we affirm that Spain OUGHT TO GIVE UP ONCE AND FOR ALL HER COLONIES IN ASIA AND AMERICA.⁴⁴

Was this work read in the progressive circles in the Philippines at the time? If we must accept the word of Pedro Gutierrez y Salazar, an official in the Manila government then and one of those "purged" by Governor de la Torre, someone presented this brochure "which the author sent here to his relative to obtain permission to reprint and circulate it," an idea rejected by the governor for "the friars would react." At the same time, however, he allowed distributing copies "among people of the most modern convictions." This is what happened. According to the same author, sensing his imminent fall from power and to prepare a justification for his actions in the Philippines, de la Torre used Labra in Madrid to spread around the Spanish capital ideas that were pertinent to his case.⁴⁵

Anyway, the close collaboration between the Labra-Manuel Regidor tandem was maintained until the 90s. The most important project the two undertook, however, was the publication of *El Correo de España*, its issues coming out in 1870. We shall return to this later.

Did Rizal know, and more importantly, use this work of Rafael Maria de Labra when planning and writing the *Noli*? We think so. It is very probable that the publication the latter mentions under the title *Estudios coloniales* was none other than what we have just mentioned—see *Noli*, 17—although the name was changed.

All in all, as I have previously mentioned, given the close relationship between Rizal and Labra, it is hard to see that the former would not know the latter's writings. Besides, the identity of ideas expressed by the Cuban politician and the author of *Noli* seems impossible to deny. Not to lengthen excessively these observations, it is enough to compare the last paragraph of *La Questión colonial* with the following words Ibarra uttered in frustration and despair when he found himself vilely implicated by Fray Salvi as having plotted the alleged mutiny of San Diego:

Now misfortune has snatched away the blindfold from my eyes. Now I see the horrible cancer that is gnawing away at our society And since that is how they want it, I shall become an agitator, but a true agitator God does not exist. There is no hope. There is neither human kindness nor any other law than might which is right!⁴⁶

2. [Joaquin de Coria, or Gil y Montes de Santo Domingo, O. F. M.], *Memoria apologética sobre la utilidad y servicios prestados a España por los religiosos misioneros de Filipinas, redactada por un religioso misionero franciscano*. Madrid: Imprenta de R. Labajos, 1869

Elsewhere⁴⁷ we explain the reasons for attributing this work to the Franciscan Fray Joaquin de Coria even if it was not published under his name. But who was this Franciscan friar?

Fray Joaquin was born in Coria, Cáceres on 12 December 1813, came to the Philippines in 1831, and served in various parochial and administrative offices in the Franciscan Province of Saint Gregory the Great. In 1864, he was sent to Madrid as Procurator for the Order, thus becoming a witness of the events of the 1868 revolution. When the Regidor brothers and Labra began publicising the Philippine problem, including heavy attacks on the religious orders in the Philippines, Joaquin de Coria, perhaps urged on by the procurators of the other Orders, notably the Augustinian Fray Casimiro Herrero, sallied forth to the arena and engaged in a bitter polemic, dragging

in, among others, Fr. Jose A. Burgos. The Franciscan's accusations were immediately disapproved by his superiors in Manila, who decided to change him as their representative before the Court, inspite of the considerable influence he then enjoyed over the press and the political circles in Madrid.⁴⁸ The harm his writing caused not only his Franciscan brothers, but the Philippine Church in general, was real and its effects would be felt in the succeeding decades.

The negative influence of Coria's writings and activities on Rizal's mind is unmistakable and easily verifiable from a reading of the *Noli*. Fray Damaso's racist slurs against the Filipinos, his opposition to the teaching of Spanish, the manipulation of their genuine faith and trust in the missionary for his own political ends (on debatable legal grounds), the untempered and extemporaneous apology for all things Franciscan—if anything, they echo many of the paragraphs one can read in Coria's *Memoria*. There are even details which seem to confirm the parallels between some of the *Noli*'s paragraphs and the Franciscan's writings:

Coria

Thirty-five years in the Islands give us the right to think that we know whatever happens there, the various uprisings we have witnessed, and during which we have helped to save the Spanish Flag.⁴⁹

Well, go to the market place and let there be a discussion, and time will show us the truth and confirm once again that he "whom God would destroy, He first makes mad."⁵²

Noli

... I've had 23 years of rice and bananas, and I can speak with authority on the matter. Don't come to me with theories and rhetoric; I know the natives.⁵⁰

... one of their procurators declared: "The lowest lay-brother is more powerful than the Government with all its soldiers."⁵¹

The native is forced to buy elsewhere lands that are as good as ours, if not better. I fear we are on the decline. Whom God would destroy, He first makes mad.⁵³

The above are from Coria's controversial articles published first in *La Discusión* and later in *Altar y Trono*⁵⁴ which Burgos answered in the first newspaper. The parallels in the *Memoria* and the *Noli* are no less surprising.

Memoria

The Novales uprising took place later; friars knew that a conspiracy was being plotted and the superiors of the four religious orders notify the Captain-General in time . . . We are in 1836 . . . but the Custodian of St. Francis knew about it . . . calls on Captain Salazar, confers with him and by joint resolution they set up a plan to save the islands. 1841 comes to an end and Apolinario . . . but the friars . . . notify General Oraa . . . With Apolinario jailed by the Franciscans, these men opposed executing him before he revealed his complices . . .⁵⁵

Noli

"Come now," said the friar slowly and with a certain contempt, "you'll see once again how important we religious are; the lowliest lay brother is worth a regiment, so that a parish priest . . .

Then lowering his voice and with a heavy air of mystery: "I have discovered a great conspiracy."

"The important thing is to catch them alive and make them talk, rather, you'll make them talk . . . All I ask is that you put it on record that it was I who warned you."⁵⁶

The parallelism is so clear there is no need for any comment.

3. [Casimiro Herrero, O. S. A.,] *Apuntes interesantes sobre las Islas Filipinas, que pueden ser útiles para hacer las reformas convenientes y productivas para el país y para la nación. Escrita por un español de larga experiencia en el país y amante del progreso.* Madrid: Imp. de "El Pueblo," 1869.

Despite certain ambiguities, I follow the opinion of the Augustinian historians who attribute the above work to Fray Casimiro, although its authorship is disputed, some claiming it for Vicente Barrantes.⁵⁷ In any case, the ideas in the book hardly differ from what the illustrious Augustinian presents in his other writings, as we shall see later.

Casimiro Herrero was born in 1824 in Villameriel de Campos, Palencia, went to the Philippines in 1851 and, after holding various positions in the Islands, was sent in 1869 to Madrid as Procurator for his Order. In this office, he worked in close collaboration with the Franciscan Fray Joaquin de Coria, but in open controversy with the Regidor brothers and Rafael Maria de Labra. His name, like Coria's is therefore intimately linked with the dramatic events of Cavite, although only indirectly.

The theses presented by the author in this work are the same as those held by Coria, but with less passion and supported by a mass of information which even today can be useful. The most important parts of the book are those dealing with administrative reforms which Rizal seems also to have had in mind for his country. Certain paragraphs are copied almost closely from Coria, but worded differently, and the other original passages seem to have been quoted with minor changes by Rizal in the *Noli*. Here are a few examples:

Apuntes

. . . those letters [from the Philippines] which generally are written by *pseudo-lawyers and pseudo-doctors* from Manila breathe hatred and a desire to declare themselves independent.⁵⁸

. . . the knowledge and the power which the *friar* has over the rebellious are equal to a company of soldiers in each town.⁶⁰

Noli

He spoke . . . of proud and vain *half-breeds, of young know-it-alls, of pseudo-intellectuals, pseudo-lawyers, pseudo-students,* and so on.⁵⁹

. . . one of their procurators declared: "The lowest lay-brother is more powerful than the Government with all its soldiers."⁶¹

The Augustinian author's attitude towards the reforms envisioned by Moret and those introduced by Governor de la Torre in the Philippines can be summed up in what Fray Damaso says with his usual self-sufficiency and disdain for the initiatives by any reformist government: ". . . it's one thing to govern from Madrid, and quite another to make-do in the Philippines . . . the reforms proposed by the Ministers in Madrid are crazy."

4. *La Armonía*. Madrid, 1870-1871

At one time historians concluded almost with conviction that the decadence of the regular clergy in the Philippines in the second half of the nineteenth century was quite universal; but this position now needs to be revised according to the most recent studies. It is now beyond question there were religious priests who wanted and fought for a radical reform of the religious orders.

One of these certainly Fray Francisco Arriaga y Mateo, a contemporary of Fray Joaquin de Coria and a Franciscan like him, but with diametrically opposed opinions. Arriaga is important, not only from this aspect, but also

because of his influence on the circle of reformers and Filipino liberals residing in Madrid around 1870-1871, and, indirectly therefore, on the plan and publication of the *Noli*.

Fray Francisco Arriaga was born in Corella, Navarra on 9 October 1830, and arrived in the Philippines in June 1857. He was successively pastor of Baler (Quezon), Binangonan, Pililla (Laguna), and Morong (Rizal). Here in 1869 he got into trouble with Governor Jose de la Gandara on the charge that he was supporting the *gobnadorcillo* against the politico-military District Governor. Consequently Governor Carlos Ma. de la Torre much later ordered his transfer elsewhere, but the friar disobeyed the order, and an order was issued for his repatriation to Spain and expulsion from the Order in 1870 together with Fray Mariano Pardo, another Franciscan expelled for supporting Arriaga. The latter arrived in Madrid early this same year, and immediately came into contact with the liberal groups fighting for reforms in the Philippines, joining the Abolitionist League of Rafael Maria de Labra in January, as well as the Progressive Club. Through the press he began to support an all-encompassing, but especially a religious reform movement in the Islands.

We are now in a period of deep religious crisis in Spain, due to, among others, the difficulty of harmonizing the new values appearing in Spain with the authentic gospel values. Many priests, consequently, were faced with profound problems which they tried to solve. It was thus that *La Armonía* was born in Madrid, a review with its rather significant subtitle: "Of Reason and Faith—Of Catholicism and Liberty—A Review of Religious-Politico-Social Interests." Arriaga contributed a few brief observations in the 16th issue remarking that in the Philippines a "monstrous organization" reigned.

In 1870-1871, Arriaga wrote the not to be despised total of 17 articles. A little later, he also wrote for similar publications, but we are sure only of his "Essays on the Philippines. The Missions and the Pagans of Luzon," in the issue for 13 May 1871 of *El Correo de España* (founded by Manuel Regidor and Rafael Maria de Labra to defend the interests of the Spanish colonies in Asia and the Antilles); and another one in *La España Radical*. In the article mentioned above, after analyzing the situation of the missions in the mountains of Baler (Quezon) and its abandoned condition, he extols the "missionary D. Braulio Villarreal, a native secular priest, whose evangelical zeal contrasted with that of many religious who administered the towns nearby," ending with a bitter denunciation of the Franciscans of whom he says:

They are not, as one can easily see, the missionaries absolutely needed in the Philippines The relaxation in their vows and the complete neglect of their

duties, just as the hunger to possess what both the State and the Church have declared do not belong to them, are the principal cause for their loss of prestige which we all notice.⁶²

The number of articles and notes submitted to the press, as well as the fact that he joined in the public competition for the chair of Tagalog in the Universidad Central (he was nominated for the chair) give a clear idea of Arriaga's strong personality and energy. He was, nevertheless, a restless man incapable of staying put in the same place and doing the same work for a long time. In 1872, he sailed for Cuba, where more than once he supported, or at least, sympathized with the revolutionary cause, got involved in numerous conflicts with the civil and religious authorities, more than once earning for him exile and even the *suspensio a divinis*. We do not know the place and date of his death. I have added these details about the life and personality of Francisco Arriaga in order to understand better the link between his writings and Rizal's novel.

Given his mental agility and facility for putting his thoughts on paper, Arriaga must have published a hundred articles in Spain and Cuba. Of those we have seen up to the present, what is of most interest is without doubt his articles in *La Armonía*. Although the first ones are general observations in connection with various problems in the Philippines, soon, in Number 30, mention will be made of a debate between Joaquin de Coria and Jose Burgos. Arriaga's bias in the latter's favor is clear from the denunciation he begins to make against the regular clergy in the Philippines—more strongly against the Franciscans—and the praise he makes of the secular clergy. This is seen above all in the publication in the issue for 11 February 1871 of Jose Burgos' letter answering another one published in *Altar y Trono*, 65 (5 September 1871)—probably written by a Dominican—which attacks the secular clergy in the Philippines, but particularly Fr. Burgos. Burgos' letter is of interest since, besides revealing at least indirectly his friendship with Arriaga, it is one of the last, if not the last that Coria's writings had provoked. It notes besides the number of articles he sent to *La Discusión*.

Issue after issue, Arriaga kept up a review of the problematical situation of the Philippine Church: tensions between the regular and the secular clergy; the wealth of the Franciscans who, despite their profession of the "rule of the least brethren of Saint Francis own in Manila itself under the name of Professed House a true commercial house for the sale in their own name of merchandise in the Peninsula," and "although unshod friars" they make a show of "very luxurious carriages to prove doubtless their poverty and

humility”;⁶³ the surprising notice of the civil wedding of Celedonio Hernandez, the former Franciscan treasurer of the order in the Philippines. In connection with the Philippine Franciscans’ wealth denounced by Arriaga in *La Armonía*, a new scandal jumped out of the pages of *La España Radical* when it published the story—we suppose sent by Arriaga—that the Franciscan lay brother Pascual Adeva had recently left for Cadiz “with the purpose of dispatching to Manila valuable merchandise for the important trade the *Franciscan missionaries* maintain in those islands.”

Although *La Armonía* was limited in circulation, the press in Madrid quickly reprinted its articles and notices. The conservative press denounced them as “calumnies and falsehoods,”⁶⁴ emphasizing the “sacrilegious and treacherous frenzy to reform the missionaries.”⁶⁵ It is, however, *El Debate* that most strongly attacked the weekly for which Arriaga was writing, as well as *El Eco Filipino* which was taking up common cause with *La Armonía*. In its issue for 16 September 1871, *El Debate* carried an item under the title “Let Us Be Responsible” to rebut an accusation from Arriaga that in the Philippines “moral and material anarchy reigns among the religious clergy.” Evidence was sought to prove the “exactness of the accusation” and show “the immorality in general of the religious communities, the only time, as the priests of *La Armonía* will understand, when no one will dare qualify their attacks as calumnies.”⁶⁶ The reform which Arriaga’s writings suggested for the religious orders—cession of their parishes to the secular clergy, return to religious observance, and evangelization in the active missions—was absolutely not feasible, according to *El Debate*.

The snare was laid as it had been two years earlier, but in the opposite way. In 1869 it was the Regidor brothers and Labra who cast the hook to bait the conservatives; now it is the latter who challenge Arriaga and, indirectly the liberals, to join a comprehensive debate mainly on issues that were strictly ecclesiastical and at times even merely domestic, in order to ventilate them openly before every kind of reader and politician interested in knowing the intimate secrets of the religious orders to obtain weapons against them. Francisco Arriaga, a Franciscan until a little more than a year earlier, accepted the challenge and, hoping to do a favor to the Philippine Church and the Province of Saint Gregory, publicized a series of abuses and defects of his former brothers. This found a quick echo in the papers of all persuasions, but especially those interested in the Philippine problem.

Provoked, Arriaga responded accordingly to the *El Debate* article “Let Us Be Responsible” with his own titled “Proofs and Appearances,” in *La Armonía* (23 September 1871) in order to place on the table the proofs

demanding by the conservative newspaper, and presenting Coria's *Memoria* as a reference document, precisely to disprove it. Because of the importance of Arriaga's writings and their repercussions in the press, especially the one controlled by Federico Lerena, Manuel Regidor, and Rafael Maria de Labra, we are quoting the entire paragraph which in some way sums up, in Arriaga's opinion, the true situation of the clergy in the Philippines, and particularly that of the Franciscans:

The correspondent of *El Debate* will see also that the cure of Santa Cruz is administered by Fray Agustin de Consuegra, recently Visitor General and President of the Provincial Chapter of his Order, and today Vicar Forane of Laguna province.

Now that we are asked to confirm with facts the moral and material anarchy reigning among the religious in the Philippines—we wanted to use logic only—we agree but reluctantly to the wish of *El Debate* which of a certainty will not return to qualify our accusation as gratuitous.

Right away we recommend reading the main paragraphs of an exposition we have recently received from our friends—some good friars in Leyte—and which had been submitted to the Superior's office by all the *principales* of the town of Palo, their parish priest being the grave *coram vobis* (heavy) Fray Agustin:

We want, Sir, our parish priest removed from this town because we cannot endure what he is doing to us, treating us not like men, not even our *Cabezas de Barangay* (barrio heads). For a slight fault he punishes us in front of our own *sacop* (town followers). He broke the gobernadorcillo's staff of authority when he used it to punish a Cabeza de Barangay whom, after this beating, he had flattened and scourged with the staff of a third deputy magistrate. And it is not just this Cabeza who has been punished by him. He has beaten also with the chief deputy's staff another man, and still another one with the second deputy's staff which he broke. Besides, he has whipped and kept in the town hall several other Cabezas, his blows reaching the count of fifty. And he punished not only the Cabezas, but also the subordinate officials. Besides, many sick people carried in hammocks to the church in order to make their confession he has castigated in the hammocks themselves. There was one who, hardly brought out of the church, died as a result of the blows, besides the verbal abuse inflicted in a voice much louder than when he preaches. With the healthy who come to make their confession and are slightly careless in the manner and form of confessing he raises his voice publicizing the sins of the penitents after he has abused them verbally. In the case of the sick who remain in their farms or are in town but cannot be brought to the church, he obliges the relatives to call the parish priests, but with great fear, because if the sick is careless about his confession, the priest berates and punishes the one who came to summon him. It is impossible to make a single request from him. And when we compile the list of our recruits for the week when it is our turn for the public works, he exacts four *reales* (half a *duro*) for the entire week for each one who cannot report personally because he is truly

sick. He does not pray over those who died without making their confession because they died in an accident, nor does he allow their burial in consecrated ground, but in the beach, particularly if they have no money to pay the fees. Thus, he forbade burial of five deceased in the cemetery, one he allowed at the foot of a mountain, a second along the road leading to San Joaquin, and two in a site close to the cemetery. But for four *pesos* and two *reales* he permits their burial in the cemetery and in the usual manner. Besides the above, when Rev. Ignacio del Castillo was dying and asked for the last sacraments, the parish priest refused until the man died.

Because of the above, we implore Your Lordship that our parish priest be removed *because we greatly fear what may occur later* since many are disgruntled over his abusive conduct.

This jewel of missionaries fled before the storm which the people's attitude had augured, being named consequently the custodian of the convent in Manila, from where he fled again from another tempest which the Franciscan *coristas* (seminarians) had readied for him. But he was assigned to Pila, Laguna, from where, for similar abuses to the people there, he was transferred to the parish of Paete, Laguna. Due to the clamor of the people, he was sent to Pagsanhan which he had to abandon because of even more serious problems. Finally, he was assigned, as a reward for his merits, to no less a place than the capital parish of Laguna province, jointly holding the office of Vicar Forane. Presumably, given the way the orders work, we shall soon see him a pompous Provincial! What more, if he has already been, as we have said, capitular president and Visitor General!⁶⁷

There is not the least doubt that Rizal read, or at least knew the text of this hair-raising and even macabre denouncement of Fray Agustin de Consuegra by the leading figures of Palo, Leyte. The picture it presents of this unfortunate Franciscan corresponds almost entirely in its details to what Rizal draws of Fray Damaso in his novel: a heavy man ("*coram vobis*"), cruel to his parishioners, bereft of sympathy and compassion even towards his own assistant priests, lover of physical beatings as a punishment, of an insatiable greed that would not hesitate to bury the dead outside of consecrated ground because the relatives fail to pay the corresponding fees, removed from Pagsanhan "for even more serious problems" and, to the greater scandal and cynicism of the author, recompensed finally with a promotion in rank and awarded with the post of Vicar Forane of Santa Cruz. We are, without any possibility of a doubt, in the presence of a historical person used by Rizal for his fictionalized creation of one of the most typical characters in the *Noli* which will immediately become in the minds of the national propagandists and even the simple readers of the novel the typical friar in the Philippines.

But to solve once and for all any doubts whether Rizal read or at least knew the contents of the text we have just quoted, let us keep in mind that even if he could not have had direct access to the text, he did read or at least know it through *El Eco Filipino*, a newspaper he read, which immediately summarized in its pages this pearl of religious sensationalism, to use it as a dart aimed at the religious orders in the Philippines, reproducing the entire text in his own pages and adding comments easily understood by the reader.

The editors of *El Eco Filipino* found precisely what they desperately needed to prove the truth of their charges against the friars in the Philippines. This allowed them to demolish the arguments of those who, though admitting corruption to a certain degree in certain sectors of the religious orders, insisted that the majority maintained an appreciable level of moral integrity, as maintained by, among others, Joaquin de Coria (no longer a Franciscan by this time) and the Augustinian Fray Casimiro Herrero. It was precisely against the latter that the editors of this newspaper wrote. Affirming that from then on they could not support the opinion that abuses in the Philippines were true only in isolated instances, they concluded with some sort of a diagnosis of what was occurring in the Islands:

There has not been in recent years, nor is there in those who exercise power [i.e., the religious orders] any moral strength to hold back the progress of evil which, starting from the parts, has now taken hold of the whole. And it is also admitted that, besides being chronic, the religious authorities themselves are infected by the leprosy to an extreme degree, since they represent the majority.⁶⁸

Substitute for "leprosy" the word "cancer" used by Rizal in the dedication of his novel and we have touched the heart of *Noli me tangere*. The information provided by Francisco Arriaga to the most radical and belligerent liberals who were fighting for reforms in Philippine society is so extreme and full that the *Noli's* author can rightfully say that what he published was only a portion of the abundant information on his country's condition at his disposal. It would have been logical to ask if the news published by Arriaga merited full credence. Neither Rizal nor the editors of *El Eco Filipino* did that. A politician seldom undertakes this kind of investigation.

5. *El Eco Filipino*, Madrid, 1871-1872

Since the events connected with the 1868 Spanish Revolution, *El Eco Filipino* had been without doubt one of the more important publications in the formation of a specific opinion regarding the Philippine problematique and

its solution. Its founder was Federico Lerena,⁶⁹ the brother-in-law of Jose Maria Basa, who, besides, others, used to distribute the paper in the Philippines, and probably Fermin's brothers, one of the most assiduous contributors to *Ilustración Filipina* (Manila, 1858-1860). Considering its popularity, this paper was very probably read by Rizal and inspired the description of Tasio and the robber in the *Noli*.

The *Eco* appeared at a moment of tremendous political and intellectual ferment. Its announced purpose, stated in the second issue (18 September 1871) was to "draw a little, and for brief moments, the thick veil covering the truth" about the Philippines. And in case any doubts still lingered about their purpose, the editors repeated it in their final issue when they had already decided to suspend publication:

We have sought "... to uproot from the eyes of this great-souled nation the blind which blocks it from seeing, and lighten the misery, the pain, the bitterness which weaken the Philippines and exhaust her moral force and capacity to suffer."⁷⁰

How did *El Eco Filipino* seek to attain its purpose? There were various underlying ideas which frequently surfaced in each individual page of this paper. Perhaps the main ones were the following.

In the Philippines there were two classes of people, "the ignorant," incapable through lack of education to distinguish or understand whence the source of the problems and ills of the country in connection with the use of civil and ecclesiastical authority; the "civilized class," which did recognize and know and single out that the basic problem was the presence of the religious clergy opposed to "every manner of progress in the Islands, every kind of reform which can lead to the betterment of the natives . . . for they know that each Filipino who soon opens his understanding to the light of reason is for the religious communities one slave less and one enemy more."

Things were thus simplified and uncomplicated. The *Noli* accepted this thesis in good part.

As already seen, the conflict between the regular and the secular clergy in the Philippines had started long before and was newsworthy both in Spain and in the Philippines. Opinions about it can be classed under three headings: (1) Things ought to continue as they are, according to the conservatives. (2) The regular clergy (the friars) ought to cede their parishes to the secular clergy and return to regular observance and dedicate themselves to the active missions—the opinion maintained by Francisco Arriaga of the regular clergy, and Jose Burgos of the secular. (3) The regular clergy should

completely give up the Islands, the position of *El Eco Filipino* and clearly expressed in a few verses about the reforms needed in the Philippines. After asking the Overseas Ministry to end the tobacco monopoly, and much later the freedom of the press and representation in the Cortes, a third stanza adds:

Then must you allow
The troop of halo and cowl
Marching with the music
Towards another goal.

For in those regions
As pleasant and satisfying
As the friars, the best
Are not the regulars.⁷¹

The paper served as an echo, with its usual commentaries, of the articles and information from Francisco Arriaga's pen, with whom almost certainly the editors were in constant personal contact—recall the article this ex-Franciscan published in *El Correo de España*. With regards to the fall of Governor Carlos Ma. de la Torre, it was taken for granted that the friars had resorted to the "system of spreading those specious stories that frighten people with plots and riots, even if there was no reason for them." It is also said that the friars "will believe, and with reason, that the Provincial Superior's powers are greater than the Spanish monarch's since they *can* and *have been able* both on that occasion and at other times, to countermand the sovereign will, not passively, but with the assent and even cooperation of the civil authority." Of course, Herrero's apologetic writings on behalf of the friars are commented on and discussed. Finally, on receiving notice of the lamentable incidents of January 1872 in Cavite, as well as the execution of the priests Burgos, Gomez, and Zamora, *El Eco Filipino* stated its opinion in the following terms. According to the latest information received, the participation of the three priests in the mutiny seemed certain and merited condemnation mainly for two reasons: "it knows perfectly that, successfully or not, it cannot lead to anything else but to serious disasters and disturbances, and annihilation." And, "There is never a good reason to justify a son turning against his mother."

Concretely, however, with regards to the execution of the three priests, two nuanced statements appeared in two successive issues. (1) "That the three condemned secular priests be called *traitors* because the carrying out of their sentence *leads one to believe was reasonable*."⁷² Nothing else was

and the question therefore was whether their conviction was just or not. (2) The most likely hypothesis was that those charged with complicity were persons they did not trust because they had joined in the manifestation when de la Torre took possession of the governorship of the Philippines, had collected funds to raise a monument to Simon de Anda y Salazar, placed wreaths on his tomb (especially the secular clergy and the youth of the Philippines), and, finally, were readers of *El Eco Filipino*.⁷³

El Eco Filipino carried in its masthead its editorial address, but it had serious circulation difficulties in the Philippines. It was sent from Madrid to individuals who took care to spread it from hand to hand, always careful lest they be caught reading its pages or that a copy be found during a random search in the houses. This is shown by the following paragraph from V. M. Garchitorena's letter dated 6 August 1871 to Fr. Vicente Garcia:

I enclose for you the first issue of *El Eco Filipino* and if I don't send copies until the fourth, it is because the few we have received are with the reader only long enough for him to read it. Of the package received till now, 16,000 copies have been burned secretly. There are now 450 subscriptions here. We now await also the protection for those in the provinces. Here [in Manila] the practice is to burn or destroy the correspondence regarding this periodical.⁷⁴

But if this was happening to the first issues, one can imagine what would be done to the issues after the Cavite incidents. As a matter of fact, Federico Lerena writes to his brother-in-law, Jose Maria Basa: "I shall send you only a copy [of Number 16] that you may read it and do what you want with it."⁷⁵ And we know that the civil and religious authorities had forbidden this paper and *El Correo de España*.⁷⁶

Did Rizal know or use *El Eco Filipino* to give form and content to the *Noli*? The answer seems obvious: yes. Besides, after reading this newspaper and rereading the pages of Rizal's novel, one gets the impression that the line of thought which unifies and gives life to the work, with all the nuances, naturally, is the ideology, the preoccupations, the pretensions and even the facts that motivated the editors of the newspaper. The coincidences are quite numerous. The editorial aim was "to draw a little and for a few moments the thick veil that covers the truth" and "uproot from the eyes the blind that blocks [the Filipino people] from seeing . . . and lighten the misery, the pain . . ." For Jose Rizal, the *Noli* aimed "to lift a corner of the veil which shrouds the disease, sacrificing everything to the truth, even self-love—for, as your son, your defects and weaknesses are also mine." (Dedication) And Ibarra concludes after the fictitious San Diego uprising: "Now I see the

horrible cancer that is gnawing at our society, that seizes on the flesh of our country, and must be torn out." *El Eco Filipino* took scandal at the "elegant carriages" the Franciscans allegedly used. And Rizal makes Fray Damaso mount "a carriage of silver decor," etc.

I believe these few examples and those we indicated when quoting the Palo leaders' charges against Fray Agustin de Consuegra justify saying many of the passages in the *Noli* were written against the background of the ideology, the opinions and facts published in *El Eco Filipino*. If any doubts still linger, I quote the novel's description of how Fray Salvi received his guests, depending on whether he liked them or not, as well as an identical passage from the newspaper:

El Eco Filipino

But in our search for greater comfort and less taste, let's go to the *parish house* and there we find the *selfish* face in its varied expressions . . . The friar's food is well prepared and finely served in either case [the guest is well liked or not], and he behaves in this way:

It is customary in the Philippines to end orders to the servant with the password "Ah" or "Eh." Well, then. Suppose, for example, a *cup of chocolate* is offered a traveler. The friar who keeps the most exquisite and the worst cups, orders one or the other taken out by merely concluding his order with "Ah" or "Eh," and the servant, previously instructed, knows exactly what the priest wants to tell him.⁷⁷

Noli

So you're going to the parish house to visit Father Wouldn't-Hurt-A-Fly! Look out! If he offers you chocolate, *which I doubt* If he calls the servant and tells him, "So-and-So, make a pot of chocolate, *hey*," then you can rest easy; but if he says, "So-and-So, make a pot of chocolate, *ha*," then you'd better pick up your hat and get away at a run."

"What!" his visitor would ask, taken aback. "He wouldn't throw the pot at me would he? Good heavens!"

"My dear chap, he wouldn't go as far as that."

"Well, then?"

"Chocolate *hey* means really good chocolate; chocolate *ha* means it will be very watery."⁷⁸

I am also convinced that the opinion which Rizal had formed in his mind and made explicit regarding the causes and effects following the incidents of Cavite was strongly influenced by the series of documents not normally open to everybody, but which he had read, namely, those mentioned above as the "archives of General Izquierdo." We can now add some details which I have indicated in connection with the dangers the public authorities saw in *El Eco Filipino* when they forbade its reading, and the panic which all of this caused the readers. For these are all details mentioned by Rizal in his novel.

But such an opinion is greatly conditioned by Rizal's reading of the newspaper which he could have easily found in his friends' libraries in Madrid. He guessed, like the editor/s, the mutiny of Cavite was either a pretended uprising astutely plotted by the friars in order to justify sweeping away the liberals from the Philippines, or a real mutiny shrewdly utilized by the former to reach the same end. By 1889, he wrote an initial statement: "[The friars] can instigate another uprising like that of Cavite and on this occasion chop off the heads of so many enlightened minds . . ." ⁷⁹ That same year, Ferdinand Blumentritt, Rizal's friend and confidant, added a parallel statement to a later hypothesis he certainly must have heard from Rizal:

The country suffered an unforgettable tragedy when the detachment in Cavite rebelled in 1872. It was actually only a simple mutiny crushed immediately . . . with the aid of native troops! However, the *Spaniards* find comfort in the belief it was a frustrated attempt to declare the independence of the Philippines . . . [The friars] and the other peninsulars used this mutiny to accuse all Filipino liberals of *subversion* . . . to neutralize all the discontented with the charge of being *subversives*.⁸⁰

If *El Eco Filipino* condemned the mutiny, regardless of its success or failure, and supposing it were true and not merely simulated, Rizal did the same for the same reasons, making Elias say the following words in his effort to convince Pablo to give up violence:

You must find it strange that I, one more unfortunate like the rest, but young and more robust, should propose peaceful measures to you, who are old and weak, but it is because I have seen so much misery, caused as much by ourselves as by our oppressors. The unarmed always pay.⁸¹

6. Casimiro Herrero, O. S. A. *Frutos que pueden dar las reformas en Filipinas*. Madrid: Imprenta Universal, 1871

The work that we must now discuss may not seem to have been written by this friar, despite the fact that only the initials "F. C." followed by the surname appear on the title page.⁸²

The pamphlet was occasioned by the reforms the Overseas Minister, Moret, planned for the Philippines, and sought to answer the arguments in their favor. The friar based himself on, among other things, the incapacity of the Filipino for certain areas of learning, especially the abstract sciences, the danger in raising the cultural level of the masses, etc., incidentally touching on topics like the intellectual and moral qualities of the native clergy, the evident risk any improvement would entail to the security of the peaceful possession of the colony, etc. None of these seems original, least of all the last which Joaquin de Coria discussed in his *La Memoria*. That the reader may compare its ideas, including the citation of certain phrases, with Rizal's novel, here are a few lines:

“. . . although lacking the talents which I admire in them [the men of affairs], since I spent only 20 years in the country residing in various islands, speaking two principal dialects, and enjoying intimate contact not only with the native, but also with all European classes, I make bold, I repeat, to undertake the project,” to prove the undesirability of the reforms being proposed.⁸³

These reforms sought only the introduction of “the moral and political disorganization” of the natives, until this priceless flower is lost to the Castilian crown.⁸⁴ They might be possible in Spain, but what could be done here “is impossible in the Philippines . . . unless one recalls the moral tools of conquest and preservation which our nation used in the Archipelago.”⁸⁵

With regards to education, even more serious difficulties against it were foreseen:

Let us suppose that with the freedom of the schools two or three graduates are sent to the provinces in order to open a public school, and taking advantage of their freedom, they teach the *indio* he has the same rights as the Spaniard . . . those teachers can instigate an entire province, and unite among themselves and together rise in rebellion one day.⁸⁶

In summary, Casimiro Herrero says that free education meant “freedom to conspire.” The parallels between the first part of the text we have cited and some of those attributed to Fray Damaso in the first chapter of *Noli* to which we alluded above, leave no room for doubt: “. . . I've had twenty-three years of rice and bananas, and I can speak with authority on the matter. Don't come to me with theories and rhetoric; I know the natives . . . *Well, twenty years! Nobody will deny that's time enough to know any town.*”⁸⁷ “What? How's that? But is it possible that you can't see what's clearer than daylight? Don't

you see, my dear boy, that all this is tangible proof that the reforms proposed by the Ministers in Madrid are crazy?"

Concerning the problem of education, a review of chapters 19, 21, 26, 34, and 40 of the *Noli* clearly shows Fray Damaso determined to block Ibarra's project to raise a school for one simple reason: from the Franciscan's experience, all those who went to Europe returned heretics and lost respect for the priests. The same thing was likely to happen to those who, without going abroad, received an identical or similar education.

7. Casimiro Herrero, O. S. A. *Reseña que demuestra el fundamento y causas de la insurrección del 20 de enero en Filipinas, con los medios de evitarla en lo sucesivo. Escrita en conformidad con la opinión de todos los españoles, por uno de larga experiencia en el país.* Madrid, 1872

As in his other books, the friar author's name does not appear on the title page, but the introduction is signed with his name, and there can be no doubt about the authorship.

There are several interesting points and parallels between this brochure and Rizal's novel. After a lengthy introduction about the meaning of the word "freedom" and the abuses it has suffered in various European countries, the author shows or wants to prove the exceptional goodness of the Spanish administration reflected in its laws. It is true certain corporal punishments—e. g., the rattan whip—were used, but they were needed for the Filipinos who in the past "*usually righted everything with the rattan whip,*" or also because it "*is the most painful for the indio,*" and in this manner "*public ire is satisfied.*"⁸⁸ The Cavite mutiny was the fruit of "*publications which poisoned the mind and the heart of the loyal Filipinos and made them the instrument of the ambition and indignation of certain rebels,*"⁸⁹ with the cooperation of a great number of the clergy" using *El Eco Filipino* as a means of spreading their ideas—the same which produced all the revolutions in Europe.

As for the reforms demanded by some, Fray Casimiro observes that "*considering the ineptitude of the natives for the abstract sciences, they will seek to improve the natural, practical, and mechanical arts, for which the indio has sufficient talent, and they can be of great use and value in the Islands,*" but nothing else.⁹⁰

That Rizal read this work carefully is beyond doubt. It seems paralleled in the novel by the friar's words after the discovery of the San Diego "conspiracy" with a view to a possible recompense for Fray Salvi who had

“discovered” it: “I know one who got his mitre for less; he wrote a silly little book *showing that the natives were incapable of anything higher than manual labour*—you know, all the old stuff!”⁹¹

The Augustinian writer alludes no less clearly to the supposed perversity of certain ideas from Europe which he charges lay behind the Cavite mutiny in Sister Puti’s comments on Crisostomo Ibarra’s personality after the discovery of the plot: “All right, he may have been a good little boy, but then he went to Spain; and those who go to Spain come back heretics. That’s what all the friars say.”

In several meaningful paragraphs the Augustinian shows that any attempt by the Filipinos to seek independence from Spain, from the Motherland, would be an act of indescribable ingratitude, in view of the favors done them by the Spaniards since the discovery until the moment the brochure was being written. We shall return to this later.

The rattan as an instrument of punishment is also clearly alluded to by Rizal. Besides the graphic picture of Fray Damaso’s mania for cuffs and whippings, Rizal adds this was not enough reason to wish him ill, since the friar “was convinced that one could deal with the natives only with blows; *a fellow friar had said so in a book*, and Father Damaso believed it because he never contradicted the printed word” Elias’ grandmother in the novel was not flogged until after she had given birth because “You know the friars propagate the belief that the only way to treat the natives is by beating them up; read what Father Gaspar de San Agustin has to say about it.”

8. Manrique Alonso Lallave, *Los Fralles en Filipinas*. Madrid: Imprenta de J. Antonio Garcia, 1872

Whoever reads the *Noli* perfectly knows it is a vehement diatribe against the regular clergy in the Philippines, but concentrating on the Franciscans. Why did the Philippine national hero choose them as the target of his denunciations and the symbol of despotism, abuse, and oppression? I believe for particular historical reasons. Above all, added information about certain friars popularized by the ex-Franciscan Francisco Arriaga led him to write in the most caustic terms, with the certainty his statements, though harsh, corresponded to historical fact. Precisely this is what we have tried to do in this essay. But other religious orders are also the target of similar criticisms, although less virulent. Such, for example, were the Dominicans. Recall Fray Sybila in the novel and the cutting irony in chapter 9 referring to the alleged riches of his order. What sources did the author use to portray their ecclesiastical, economic, and administrative roles in the Philippines? Rizal

had studied at the University of Santo Tomas, and presumably he would be informed in some small way of the organization, the way of life, and the social and economic clout of the Dominicans. Was this knowledge used? Did he have other sources when he wrote his novel? I think so, namely, Manrique Alonso Lallave's *Los Frailes en Filipinas*.

Manrique Alonso Lallave was born in Fuente de San Esteban, Salamanca in 1839, arrived as a theology student in the Philippines in 1858 and, after priestly ordination, was parish priest in Manila and in Pangasinan. Expelled in 1871 from the Dominican order for reasons we do not know, he returned to Spain where he came into contact with the politicians and liberal thinkers of the time, living almost similarly to the former Franciscan Arriaga.⁹² Shortly after, in 1872, he published the book we are discussing. It is not much more than a bloody criticism of the agonizing situation in the Philippines, and what the author himself wrote as a diagnosis of the disease, summed up in this phrase: "the cause of the evils in that country . . . consists in having entrusted its civilization to the friars, and the absolute and exclusive dominion they enjoy there. The friars will be useful for the conversion of the pagans, but not to civilize savages. Civilization is more than making the sign of the cross, assisting at mass and reciting the rosary, the only things the friars can teach in the Philippines."⁹³

Lallave attacks all religious orders, and his former brethren, the Dominicans, particularly and with more deadly aim. He criticizes everything, but especially their system of education and economic power, and yet affirming he was not minutely informed because "the mysteries of the Procure only the fattened priests know." But this does not stop him from making a six-part elenchus of the main sources of their riches. The third part is the most important, referring to the "vast estates of Santa Rosa and Bifian in Laguna province; Lolomboy and Pandi in Bulacan province . . . a total of nine estates with imposing villas, granaries, and other things needed in farm houses."⁹⁴ H. P. de Tavera, a closed mind when it comes to denouncing the defects of the clergy, has already noted (in a fit of honesty which it is good to mention) that the book was written *ab irato* and so of little credibility.

Apparently Rizal had the book with him when he wrote his *Noli*. He was not satisfied with oral sources, and he usually based himself on written ones. Recall what we have indicated in note 35 above.

9. [Casimiro Herrero, O. S. A.] *Filipinas ante la razón del indio: Obra compuesta por el indígena Capitán Juan para utilidad de sus paisanos y publicada en castellano por el español P. Caro.* Madrid: Imprenta de A. Gomez Fuentenebro, 1874

This is a more voluminous work by the Augustinian Procurator and Bishop of Nueva Caceres. It does not carry the author's name, but no one doubts it is from his pen. The message is the same as that proposed in the previous book, except that this time it is written fictitiously by a Filipino, not a Spaniard.

The hero and author, Capitan Juan, asks his friend, a former pilot of a brig, to infiltrate a liberal group about to start a revolt against Spain to neutralize their plot. He does this through dialogue with the plotters, which can be summed up in the following points: liberalism caused the Cavite mutiny of 1872; the words used by the masons, "equality," "fraternity," and "liberty," must be rejected because they are against nature and deceive the people; "blind submission even to despots [i.e., of the Filipino to the Spaniard] is beneficial, necessary, and an unavoidable factor in his way of life";⁹⁵ the Filipinos, therefore, ought to understand that union with Spain, under her flag, and the obedience owed her "are based on divine and natural law."⁹⁶ Hence, it follows, they should show the "deepest gratitude" to Spain—an idea repeated by Fray Casimiro more than once.

The work ends with a *Rational and Social Catechism for the Benefit of the Indios*. It is in dialogue form and seeks to synthesize in a few words the central message of the book.

There are no clear proofs Rizal had read or was thinking of this book when he wrote his novel. But there are indications to think so. Chapter 60 of *Noli* which describes the various reactions of the people after the discovery of the alleged San Diego uprising almost certainly echoes it. Capitan Tinong and his wife began to burn incriminating books, newspaper, documents: "Harmless books by unsophisticated authors thus found their way into the fire. Not even *Capitán Juan* the most naive work was saved." The next phrase is filled with irony: "Yet Cousin Primitivo was right. The just suffer for the sinners."⁹⁷

However that may be, certain paragraphs in the novel clearly seek to refute ideas contained in this and the other works of Herrero mentioned earlier. A parallel citation will show this.

Reseña

... the Filipino natives owe Spain a debt of gratitude for her religion, civilization, and all the social progress they now enjoy... She has always condemned and punished the murderer, but murderer, committed by one who has received from his victim immense benefits, is described with the most odious name society knows, namely, that of *ingratitude*. So was the project of the plotters of the Cavite mutiny....⁹⁸

Noli

"Has the Philippines forgotten what she owes to these Orders? Has she forgotten her *immense debt of gratitude* to those who redeemed her from error and gave her the True Faith, to those who shielded her from the tyranny of civil power?"

Elias, surprised, could scarcely believe what he heard.

"Sir," he answered gravely, "you accuse the people of *ingratitude* . . . But because the fore-runners were virtuous, are we to submit to the abuses of their degenerate descendants? Because we have received great benefits, are we committing a crime in protecting ourselves against great injuries?"⁹⁹

From early youth, Rizal had strong national feelings which grew in intensity as his cultural horizon broadened and which he sought to reconcile with his love for Spain. For Casimiro Herrero these were two irreconcilable loves. On the other hand, Rizal wanted to express in his novel that they not only can be reconciled, but that both are even needed. In any case, loving the

Philippines does not imply rejecting Spain. Again, here are texts from both authors, although we use the friar's *Catechism*:

Catecismo

Why should this society not be called especially Filipino since we are in our land, and we are the majority?

Because we have done nothing, and the Spaniards have done everything.¹⁰⁰

Why should our independence destroy the unity of government in the islands?

Because union in society is achieved through obedience to the true authority [Spain's].¹⁰¹

Could we not use religion and morality which the Spaniards have taught us to give new laws [once independence is won]?

No, because one or the other demand from us obedience and submission to the legitimate authority which is exercised by the Spanish government. Rejecting this, we begin to violate the Gospel and natural law, which prescribe obedience to all laws.¹⁰²

According to this, should the Filipino motto be to live with Spain?

And to be happy, die for her.¹⁰³

Noli

"Bow my head or lose it," repeated Ibarra thoughtfully. "It is a hard dilemma. But why should it be so? Is my love for my country incompatible with my love for Spain? Is it necessary to humiliate oneself to be a good Christian, and to betray my conscience to achieve a good objective? I love my country, the Philippines, because I owe her my life and happiness, and because every man should love his country. I love Spain, the country of my forefathers, and because, after all, the Philippines owe and will owe to Spain both happiness and future. I am a Catholic and keep pure the faith of my fathers. I don't see why I should bow my head when I can hold it high or place it in the hands of my enemies when I can defeat them."¹⁰⁴

From these texts, one sympathizes perfectly with Rizal's vital drama involving two legitimate loyalties for two countries he deeply loved, the Philippines and Spain, but incompatible in the practical order due to the closed mind of some Spaniards—I do not know if of the majority. Unfortunately, some missionaries, among them Fray Casimiro, were responsible for this tragic dilemma which would entail serious consequences in their effort to indoctrinate the Filipinos that their search for their national identity and their love for their own country were irreconcilable with a sincere Christian faith. If to be a sincere Christian necessarily meant loyalty and love for Spain, on the one hand, and giving up affection for one's country, what reasonable alternatives, on the other, were open to an unclouded mind and a passionate lover of one's own land?

These factors—no matter how basic they may seem — explain Rizal's letter to Blumentritt, when the national hero explained his dialectical exchange with the Jesuits in Manila after the publication of his novel. It was difficult for him to convince them that his purpose was to attack, not religion, but those who were hiding behind it to legitimize their abuses and despotism:

Pardo de Tavera answered him [Fr. Federico Faura, S. J.] it was correct that in wanting to strike a blow against the friars, I had cast a stone against religion. I added the analogy was inexact, namely, I wanted to hit the friars. But since they use religion not only as a shield, but also as a weapon, a defense, a castle, a fortress, etc., I was forced to attack their false and superstitious religion . . . God should not be used.¹⁰⁵

10. John Bowring. *A Visit to the Philippine Islands*. Manila: Imp. de Ramirez y Girauder, 1876

Although neither Bowring's name nor the title of his book appears in the *Noli* or in any other writings previous to the publication of Rizal's novel, there are enough indications to believe that Rizal read this travelogue of an English diplomat who came to the Philippines in 1858. Well known in his country for his literary, diplomatic, and political achievements, he was named British chargé d'affaires and governor of Hongkong in 1854. He says he visited the Philippines for reasons of health, but there could have been other reasons too.

Cultured and a keen observer, Bowring was well informed about the past and present of the Philippines, and his book is replete with interesting observations and value judgments not always correct, but which still call one's attention. The cultured classes and the students at the end of the last century must have considered his book "must" reading. One finds in its pages

long quotations, not always from a positive viewpoint, from authors like Gaspar de San Agustin, Sinibaldo de Mas, Juan Francisco de San Antonio, M. Mallat, Joaquin M. de Zuñiga, M. de la Gironière. Among this English writer's negative judgments about life in the Philippines when he was visiting the country, we could mention the following which are found more or less *verbatim* in the *Noli*:

The Indian and the cane grow together. (page 82)

It has been said of the Indian that he is more of a quadruped than a biped. (page 84)

The governor-general is in Manila [far away]; the king is in Spain [farther still]; and God is in heaven [farthest of all]. (page 200)

A cockpit is described with details found in chapter 47 of Rizal's novel, and a procession also portrayed by Rizal.

But more significant are Rizal's citations from San Agustin and Sinibaldo de Mas whose ideas about the Philippines the novelist found unacceptable. Rizal seems not to have read these authors' works themselves. But on 12 January 1886, he wrote, among other things, to Blumentritt: "Our race has its defects and vices, but not as Fr. Gaspar de San Agustin, Mr. Sinibaldo de Mas, Mr. Cañamaque, Fr. Casimiro Herrero, and others describe them."¹⁰⁶ More than a year later, he will repeat the same idea to the Austrian anthropologist. And this explains why these authors are not accidentally not mentioned in *Noli*. Most likely Rizal read Bowring's book or Antonio Garcia's *Mysteries of the Philippines* (Madrid, 1858), where some of the most insulting paragraphs ever written about the Filipino have been included.

11. Francisco Cañamaque. *Recuerdos de Filipinas*. I (Madrid: Libreria de Anllo y Rodriguez, 1877). II (Madrid: Libreria de Simon y Osler, Libreria de Juan Rodriguez, 1879)

Francisco Cañamaque was born in Gaucin, Malaga in 1851, and was in the Philippines in an official capacity, after which he published the volumes we are discussing.

He claimed to follow the radical liberalism of many politicians of his time and possessed an extraordinary facility to verbalize on paper his thoughts and feelings, with a sarcasm and irony Wenceslao E. Retana would show later. Besides his almost blind adhesion to liberalism, Cañamaque openly showed himself a racist and anticlerical to an unmitigated degree. Without any embarrassment, for example, he says Jose Montero y Vidal took

the Philippines seriously, but not him, the exact opposite, because "the only serious things there are earthquakes and dysentery." Trinidad H. Pardo de Tavera, his contemporary and well acquainted with the Manila situation, asserts that Cañamaque "attacked the friars, made fun of Manila society, stated that the natives were monkeys, and censured the entire world." His books, consequently, "won the privilege of raising complaints from all sides,"¹⁰⁷ a sign they were read. These books must have been as popular in Manila as Bowring's.

Like the students of his time, Rizal read Cañamaque. Many of the latter's statements thoroughly disgusted him, but other assertions helped him to write with ease and a good dose of sarcasm reminiscent of Voltaire.

Two parts in Cañamaque's works on the Philippines are clearly distinguishable: the fictionalized narrative of his own Philippine experience, and his reflections on the problems facing the Spanish colony then. I shall add a list of Cañamaque's chapters which seem to have their parallels in Rizal's novel:

Recuerdos de Filipinas. I:

1. "The Night I Arrived"—a description of a meeting of the town rulers, the Spaniards (the friar, the commander of the Carabineers, the captain of the Civil Guard, etc.), which the author attended; bananas, boiled rice, *tinola*, *gulay*, etc. Rizal followed the same technique in the first chapter of the *Noli*.

4. "The Filiipinos' Modesty"—how a school functioned, among others. Rizal echoes this in chapter 19 of his book.

5. "A Ball"—the *gobernadorcillo* of the town is submissive "as a dog loves the Spaniards more than the Filipinos," is deeply religious, offers a gift to the Virgin of his parish, serves mass, offers chocolate to the parish priest, etc. This is the picture of Capitan Tiago in chapter 6 of *Noli*.

6. "The Filipino Theater"—a stage presentation of the popular Muslim-Christian battles in the Philippines, also included in Rizal's work.

13. "The Religion of the Filipinos"—a severe criticism of Filipino religious attitudes characterized as superstitious: a narrative of a love affair between a native priest and the former town *capitan's* wife. These are not missing in *Noli*, although the sacrilegious love affair of the priest may have become the story of Fray Damaso and Capitan Tiago's wife.

14. "Sloth and Neglect of the Filipinos"—two constant themes in Rizal.

15. "What Is the Family in the Philippines?"—serious, by contrast. Cañamaque describes the Filipino family as an entity without feelings, but

Rizal describes it as being the opposite, in lines that are short of maudlin, especially in Sisa's love for her sons.

19. "The Friar"—they are the scum of society. Cañamaque's lines repel anyone who understands the religious phenomenon. As a colophon to his furious attacks, he adds that he writes "scrupulously, exactly, and impartially." In Rizal, who are the friars?

20. "Where One Witnesses the Spaniards' Curious Life in Manila"—the precise element Rizal describes in his chapters on Doña Consolacion and the Espadafia couple. Here Rizal explicitly cites Cañamaque.

"General Observations"—the final and serious part of the book, a worthy colophon to all this sarcastic writing. Here are some lines which could very well have influenced the writing of the *Noli*:

... I break that silence and pretend to prove it is worth announcing and useful to the interests of my country.

Does one have to feel all the time what is being said?

The administration of the Philippines can never be more vicious, more wretched, more dismal

... since it is impossible to raise the veil of certain mysteries without wounding them on the rebound . . . the monastic orders, who are the soul of that country, put a veto on debates and speeches; and protesting their love of country and concern for the territorial integrity, they hold on to the *status quo*, forbid the shining life of reason, flee from progress, and rule sovereignly and absolutely a society of apathetic and superstitious men.

... down with friar influence which can do more than the decrees from Madrid and the will of the Governors.

Compare these with Rizal's words to Felix Resurreccion Hidalgo when he wanted to explain what he desired with the publication of his *Noli*, and one can easily see the evident similarities between the two.

Recuerdos de Filipinas. II:

5. "Folly of a Friar from Aragon"—a friar's love for a Filipino girl fifteen years old, whom he ended up treating violently, a situation at least insinuated in Fray Damaso's story.

6. "Letter Left by this Friar Before Leaving His Bones in Paco"—the final relief of the torment gnawing at the conscience of a rough missionary at the end of his life, after reviewing the scandalous path which he had taken in the Philippines, completely alien to his priestly character. It opens with a phrase that spontaneously evokes similar passages in the *Noli*: "I have lived

for twenty years in these lands of *buyo and boiled rice*, disguising body and soul, and I do not want to begin the final journey without putting on paper *things no one has heard or said*." Significantly at the end, the friar denounces and accuses both himself and his brothers in the cloth:

What are we? A battalion of loafers without any spark of discipline. The currency with which we inculcated virtues on the native conscience is fake and quite worthless . . . I who am in on the secret tell you this. (page 82)

Each convent is a closed arena, each friar a first class sinner. Ask the mestizos who frequent these blessed lands. (page 83)

Reading these lines, the reader can hardly avoid feeling that they were aimed, as chapter 63 of Rizal's *Noli*, at the same target, namely, the friars' self-accusation. It is not a question of fiction, not even of calumny, because it is the friars themselves who acknowledge their excesses and atrocities.

7. "Paco"—philosophico-religious thoughts on death, one of the few times Cañamaque leaves irony and sarcasm aside, and adopts a somewhat existentialist tone. Chapters 13 and 53 of *Noli* are two episodes on death, but in a far different style from Cañamaque's chapters 13 and 52.

11. "The Native Carabineer. The Smugglers"—The sign C. de H. P. (*Carabineero de Hacienda Publica*) is translated by the disgruntled into *Calamidad de Holgazanes Publicos* (Plague of Public Loafers). Tasio in Chapter 32 makes a similar play on words: M. R. P. (*Muy Reverendo Padre*) becomes *Muy Rico Propietario* (Very Rich Proprietor). The way of life and the conduct of the Carabineers and the Civil Guard are frequently treated by Rizal, especially in chapters 39 and 49.

12. "The Manileños"—they frequently mistake "f" for "p" and write "Peeleefeen" Islands for "Philippine" Islands, a defect Rizal also attributes to the Muse of the Civil Guard in chapter 40 of the *Noli*.

14. "The Mestizas"—like many Spaniards of his time, Cañamaque flaunts his impudent disdain for everything Filipino, past and present, except the mestiza to whom he dedicates extraordinary praise, perhaps excessive. Maria Clara, significantly, is also a mestiza.

At the end of his work, Cañamaque includes in the form of an appendix a letter supposedly from a reader, whose name he does not reveal, and titled "The Friars in the Philippines." As mentioned, this part of the book is the serious and more important of the second series of his *memoires*. Here all the

complaints that are voiced in Rizal's novel are poured out. A superficial glance will suffice to give an idea of the similarities:

You, and many others like you, believe the friars are needed in the Islands. You are quite wrong!

In their time the religious orders were useful and needed in the Philippines . . . but their mission is over. (*Noli*, chapter 50)

You see nothing priestly in the friar. A ridiculous habit which collects much dirt and, above all, going without socks inspires only revulsion. (*Noli*, chapter 1)

. . . he calls these [the students] petty lawyers, are the objects of special disdain, not satisfied until they obtain, through much vexation and whatever means are at hand (numerous anywhere), their alienation from the people. (*Noli*, chapters 40 and 52)

. . . he lives in peace, a feudal lord, except that instead of the fork and knife, he uses and misuses the cane. (*Noli*, chapters 11 and 51)

. . . to see a woman with a normal figure, single or married, and be moved to desire her, is impossible for him. (*Noli*, chapters 1 and 20)

He abused in the convento a girl ten or twelve years old, causing her death. And when his disconsolate parents went to complain against the rapist, they exited by the window, one breaking his leg, the other jumping to his death. (*Noli*, chapter 46)

The vicar is a miserable native priest whom he . . . jeers at and buffets. (*Noli*, chapter 1 and 36)

The funeral arrangements . . . as usual, settled for the most frivolous and unjust reasons. It is not yet four years that a certain governor was denied it. . . . (*Noli*, chapters 4 and 13)

. . . sermons that rarely lack gross allusions to the listeners and at times the authorities (*Noli*, chapter 32)

The above are more than enough to show that both writers have been concerned with the problems of the Philippines and have written in a very similar style. Sometimes, they use identical words. For example:

Cañamaque

. . . the friar is Pope-King.¹⁰⁸

[Fray Agustin] was the king, Pope, and Lord of this corner of the Philippines¹⁰⁹

Noli

The priest [of San Diego] was the Pope in the Vatican, officer of the Civil Guard, the King of Italy in the Quirinal (*Noli*, 56)

In his *Olvidos de Filipinas* (Manila, 1881), Francisco de Paula Entrala tried to rebut Cañamaque's exabruptos and serpentine assertions, though perhaps with minimal success because he lacked the Malagan writer's imagination and argumentative ability. Rizal also read Entrala, but he was hardly satisfied with it. At least, Cañamaque was sincere.

Entrala also tried to comment in detail on Bowring, analyzing long, comprehensive passages, especially those in which the Philippines are described worse or in the same words as San Agustin's. He takes his first steps as a novelist, with, among other things, a description of a house in Manila, which closely resembles that of the opening chapter of Rizal's *Noli*; a picnic, also described in chapter 21 by Rizal; but especially a woman, a "daughter of the country," called *Maria Antonia*, in these terms:

Maria Antonia was of a pale brown skin, wistful sad eyes, long glowing black hair, of a pleasant and sweet face As her mother used to say, she was a true Filipina.¹¹⁰

Do we not have sketch of Maria Clara here? I incline to say so, without categorically affirming any parallelism. But compare this with the description of Rizal's Maria Clara on page 37 of *Noli*.

12. Parallel Lives of Jose Somoza and D. Rafael Eibarramendia

The unhappy story of D. Rafael Eibarramendia, father of Crisostomo Ibarra, the *Noli*'s hero, has a surprising similarity to a real historical figure of the nineteenth century, who flourished in 1781-1852 in Piedrahita, Avila. His story was retold many times by several authors, among them Benito Vicens and Gil de Tejada in *Revista Ibérica* in 1883, the year Rizal arrived in Madrid.

Jose Somoza, according to his biographers, was a type of "populist philosopher," "enlightened pantheist" and liberal "quaker," "an agnostic mite infected besides with cosmic mysticism." He was denied Christian burial because he had neglected his Christian duties, had not fulfilled his Easter duty, nor even gone to Church. So far, his case did not seem to have anything special, considering that refusal of Christian burial in nineteenth-century Spain was, for a number of reasons, unfortunately a common occurrence. Nor does it appear there was much in common between Somoza and Ibarra. The similarities begin when we look into the details of their lives.

Jose Somoza was at odds with his parish priest whom he had accused before the bishop of alluding to him "in his sermons," and of calling "from

the altar itself asses spelled out fully those who had not fulfilled their Easter duty," threatening them with "non-burial in consecrated ground."¹¹¹ But the most serious of the priest's accusation was based on Somoza's having published a book containing false, temerarious, and scandalous propositions harmful to the authority of the Church, etc. This hostility between Somoza and the priest and his bishop "caused much sorrow and led to his quick death." The town's arch-priest refused to grant him ecclesiastical burial, even if he later absented himself after leaving the pertinent orders for his Christian burial to his vicar. Somoza's dramatic end, and the tensions occasioned by his burial were widely divulged all over Spain by the contemporary press with picked up the story from *El Clamor Público* and *Revista Ibérica* much later.¹¹²

Rizal may not have read Somoza's story published by Benito Vicens in 1883, but he could have at least heard it being talked about. In any case, the similarities between the two lives of Somoza and Ibarra are numerous. Don Rafael, like Don Jose, was accused of "not going to confession" and "subversion and heresy." Fray Damaso "alluded to him from the pulpit," and reproached him for subscribing to *El Correo de Ultramar* and other papers from Madrid, for having sent his son to study in Germany, as well as "having been found to keep letters and the picture of a condemned priest." Like the parish priest of Piedrahita, Fray Damaso in the pulpit apostrophized his listeners with insulting phrases, like "you will die unrepentant and ushriven, you race of heretics! Already God is punishing you on this earth in dungeons and prisons . . . barbarians . . . you have lost all shame!" After Don Rafael died, which happened "when Fray Damaso was away . . . his vicar allowed his Christian burial . . ." But on returning, the former ordered the remains transferred to the Chinese cemetery where it was later disinterred to be thrown into the lake.

Are these merely coincidences, or something else?

13. Antonio Gil y Zárate. *Carlos II, el Hechizado* (Madrid: Imp. de Jose María Repulles, 1844)

While in Madrid, Rizal had plenty of occasions to attend various theatrical presentations, a literary genre he particularly enjoyed. Did he watch the stage presentation of this work we are now discussing? His novel contains many things in common with that drama.

Antonio Gil, a free-thinker and politician of some stature, died in 1861, leaving behind the name of liberal, progressive, and anticlerical, not

apparently in the degree it was thought but even much more. This is shown in the work we are concerned with, first presented in 1837 in Madrid, then in Valencia in 1846, and finally in Almeria in 1883. The hero of the play is a certain Fray Froilan, the confessor of Charles II, whom the author paints "in supercharged colors going beyond the anticlerical animus characteristic of the literary world of his time." The friar meddled

... not only in the royal conscience, but in all the affairs of the realm ... besides, like a quarrelsome friar, sexually obsessed by the young Inés, and, desperate at her refusal, victimized her before the Inquisition. Florencio, her fiance, also incarcerated by the Inquisition through the Fray Froilan's machinations, went mad and finally stabbed the friar's lustful heart.¹¹³

Each stage presentation so excited the audience that they usually reacted with unrestrained signs of their anticlericalism. For example, in 1883, after the final riot scene, a spectator from the front row asked that Fray Froilan be killed again. And "Florencio went back on stage brandishing the dagger, and the audience retired quietly," according to *El Imparcial* on 16 December 1883.

Did Rizal watch the play? Did he, at least, read the news and its press review? There is no evidence except that in January 1884 he sent his family that issue of *El Imparcial*. Anyway, the parallels between Rizal's novel and this theatrical piece are obvious. The key is the climax that resolves the pent-up tension in the relationship between Fray Damaso and Crisostomo Ibarra, when the latter "reached for a sharp knife as he kept his foot on the friar's neck," as he was about to stab the Franciscan had Maria Clara not intervened and prevented a sacrilegious murder.

14. Francisco Pi y Margall. *Las Luchas de Nuestros Dias* (Madrid: Tip. de Manuel G. Hernandez, 1884)

Identifying the writers and works that influenced Rizal and the writing of his novel may not always be easy, but there is one about whom there is not the least doubt: Francisco Pi y Margall. Of the numerous publications by the most important figure of the revolutionary ideologues of 1868, what caused the greatest impact on the restless and inquisitive mind of the young Filipino student was, without doubt, *Las Luchas de Nuestros Dias*, reedited several times in the second half of the nineteenth and the first half of the twentieth century.

Apparently Pi y Margall was one of the more important friends whom Rizal came to consult rather frequently in Madrid, even visiting him in his own home.¹¹⁴ But there is no doubt that the Philippine hero read the work we are now discussing, that it influenced and moulded his mind, especially his religious ideas. His enthusiasm for the book was not confined to mere reflective reading, but he recommended it with great enthusiasm to the readers of *La Solidaridad*: "Go, judge for yourselves, and pick out the most valuable things found all over it; perhaps your judgment will be more valid than mine, fascinated, dazzled, surprised, in admiration."¹¹⁵

Who was Francisco Pi y Margall? What was the message of his book? He was born of a humble family in Barcelona on 29 April 1824. A solid humanistic and philosophical formation he received in his youth at the seminary served him well in the later evolution of his thought. A hard and tenacious worker, he soon took up newspaper work, becoming a staff member of publications like *El Correo*, the progressive daily whose editor was Patricio la Escosura, and *La Discusión*, of which he became the editor. He defended militant socialism against Castelar's individualism. His philosophy took final form after he had read the works of Kraus, Rousseau, and his translations of Proudhon. When the revolution broke out in 1868, Pi y Margall became its ideologue, imprinting on it specific characteristics and certain dogmatic postures incarnated in Federal Republicanism. Historians attribute mainly to him the more radical twist the "Glorious Revolution of 1868" took, neutralizing many of its authentic values, for he advocated, among other things, grabbing power to install a radically revolutionary republic.¹¹⁶ In any case, the history of Spain in the second half of the nineteenth century is unintelligible if no account is taken of this top figure who used to lead an ascetic life and quickly became a living myth. So important and decisive was the influence of Pi y Margall's human and intellectual personality on Rizal's life and thought that I believe the latter would remain an enigma unless one knows this famous Catalan.

Las Luchas is a dialogue between Rodrigo and Leoncio. The former, a man 60 or 70 years old, had become a conservative anti-revolutionary after a life of unbelief and liberal ways and ideas. The latter, of the same age and educated by an uncle, was a canon in Burgos, but ended up losing his faith and becoming a "federal and democratic" free-thinker. In another guise, we are reading Pi y Margall's own thoughts, especially his religious tenets. In another sense, it is also the genesis of at least part of Rizal's personality.

The book burns with praises of reason as the only source of knowledge and the primordial ethical norm, against revelation which "supposing it was possible, is not superior to man's reason." Hence, the author deduces, "there is no revelation, nor was there ever any." Besides, religions that base their claims on supposed revelation are plagued with contradictions and have been historically responsible for oppression, violence, and fanaticism. Leoncio, the symbol of the force of emerging reason in the society at the end of the nineteenth century, will demolish one by one Rodrigo's arguments and alleged certainties, and end up counselling him to "attend to reason and leave revelation aside." Leoncio, it must be remembered, had tasted to satiety that faith is the abdication of a man's intelligence" as well as the "inefficacy and impotence of revelation to unify men or solve life's problems." (page 130) Rodrigo, as was to be feared, will finally succumb to the unanswerable cogency of Leoncio's logic. And the publication of the book produced among the extensive Catholic circles of Spain real indignation. Its subsequent ban helped only to spread it.¹¹⁷

Is the book's impact on Rizal, such as I have demonstrated, shown in the *Noli*? Yes, and clearly. One can even say something more. If Eugene A. Hessel had known this, he would have understood more easily the apparent contradictions he found in Rizal's writings.¹¹⁸ In this sense Unamuno was right when he said Rizal's religious thought was much more extensive and profound than he and W. E. Retana had admitted.

To Pi y Margall, Jesus of Nazareth was no more than an exceptional man, an "apostle and martyr of an idea, who will always win my respect," but not superior to the founders of other religions or systems of thought. On the contrary, he is on occasion inferior to the rest, his teaching and behavior sometimes unacceptable because they call for resignation, apathy, and tolerance of oppression by tyrants, and certain disdain for the intellect in preference to feelings. Following this idea of Jesus, Rizal usually avoided mentioning His name in his novel and, when he did, never made Him appear as the Messiah and Savior, but simply as a good but occasionally an illogical man:

Capitan Tasio's was a "God [Who] in His infinite goodness had created the poor for the good of the rich, the poor who for a peso are able to recite sixteen mysteries and all the holy books, even adding to the price of the Hebrew Bible." (*Noli*, chapter 6)

"My good Crispin!" Sisa cried. "How dare they say such things about my good Crispin! It's because we're poor, and the poor have to stand for everything." Sisa sobbed after Fray Damaso had accused her son of stealing. (*Noli*, chapter 17)

"Come now, come, don't quarrel about a little pig, sisters. The Holy Scriptures give us a model. Even the heretics and protestants, whose herd of swine was sent by Our Lord Jesus Christ into the sea . . . (Noli, chapter 18)

To Rizal the religion Jesus preached definitely did not save. At most, it offered consolation to the poor:

"Would He, who had blessed poverty, and the suffering souls, be content with simple prayers offered . . . before images of the Crucified, artistically blood-stained . . .?" (Noli, chapter 16)

Even the God of Jesus, the provident and merciful Father, appears in the novel only quite casually and like flashes in the pan, rather the creator of a world "functioning properly and in no need of maintenance," as Newton had conceived Him. Hence we have Elias in the novel, like Leoncio in *Las Luchas*, who cannot believe in chance or miracles.¹¹⁹

Rizal also agreed with the opinion of his mentor and friend that the religion of Jesus, although imperfect, did offer important values. Unfortunately, His followers, especially the Christians of Spain, far from teaching peace and love among men, had shown through history signs of intolerance, fanaticism, uncontrolled ambition when they invaded other peoples and deprived them of their own identity. Here are two parallels from both writers:

Las Luchas

"Shall I recall for you," Leoncio tells Rodrigo, "the very tragic expulsion of the industrious race by the Catholic Kings; our intolerant conduct in Granada, the origin of the rebellion of the Moors whom we also expelled without realizing we were weakening the Fatherland; the crimes, in a word, which in God's name we committed under the brilliant American sky?"

"And was that peacefully bringing the Americans into the bosom of the church by distributing

Noli

"Let us put history aside," Elias answered, "and forbear from asking what Spain did to the Jews . . . what she did to the Arabs who gave her culture, who themselves tolerated her religion, and who awakened her national self-consciousness, dormant, almost dead, under Roman and Visigothic rule. Do you say that the Religious Orders gave us the True Faith and redeemed us from error? Do you call external practices the True Faith . . . You will tell me that imperfect as our present religion may be, it is

them as slaves among the conquerors, profaning their temples, breaking their idols, and putting to the sword thousands of soldiers, because Atahualpa did not respect a Bible he neither knew nor could have known, since he did not even know there was a written language?" (pages 127-128)

preferable to the one we had before; I believe you and I agree with you, but it is too expensive, for we have paid for it with our national identity, with our independence. For its sake we have given to its priests our best towns, our fields, and even our savings, which are spent on the purchase of religious trinkets. A product of foreign manufacture has been imported here; we have paid for it; and we are even." (page 312)

The above shows a not insignificant number of ideas were shared by Pi y Margall and Rizal, who not only did not deny his sources, but even openly acknowledged them.¹²⁰

Let me now close this section, apparently insignificant in itself, but actually of more importance if we keep in mind what we have been saying so far, namely, some of Rizal's characters like the canon Tio Leoncio of *Las Luchas de Nuestros Dias*, know by memory the philosophy of Amat.

15. Miguel Morayta y Sagrario. "Discurso leído en la Universidad Central en la solemne inauguración del curso académico 1884-1884," *La Reforma Burocrática* (Madrid: Tipografía de Diego Pacheco, 1884)

Miguel Morayta is another figure of the first rank in the political and social life of Spain at the end of the nineteenth century. Both his friendship and his writings strongly influenced Jose Rizal, his history student at the university. Castelar's intimate collaborator, Morayta played an important role in Spanish politics in the middle of the nineteenth century. He founded, edited, and in a good measure wrote, two dailies that were rabidly anticlerical, rationalist, republican, and quite blasphemous, *La Reforma* (1868 or 1869), and *La República Ibérica* (1869). He was the secretary of the "*Junta revolucionaria*" of Madrid and president of the Anticlerical League. He rose to the 33rd degree in masonry. His ideas on the supposed goodness of

masonry and his attitude towards the religious phenomenon stands out clearly from his published statements and aphorisms:

Masonry is the greatest, the holiest human institution. It seeks to realize the GOOD, freely conceived and freely exercised.

Faith, nothing but faith—but in the rational, in what is evident in itself.¹²¹

The Filipino colony in Madrid, and in a special way, Jose Rizal, always counted on Morayta, as well as on Rafael Maria de Labra and Pi y Margall, their most distinguished friends, sympathizers, and defenders. The first was Rizal's professor in history, who listened with admiration to the toast the latter pronounced during the homage offered to Juan Luna e Hidalgo in 1885, and counted on his participation at a commemorative function in Giordano Bruno's honor. Morayta certainly influenced the growth and final formation of Rizal's mind, as well as the plan of the *Noli*.

I shall concentrate on only one of Morayta's writings, part of which I find in Rizal's novel, namely, the inaugural address for the academic year 1884-1885. It caused quite an impact on Spanish public opinion but scandalized the more conservative Catholic circles.¹²² It also brought on a serious crisis in Rizal's academic career, as can be seen in his diary.

Morayta's lecture traced the evolution of Egyptian religious ideas. Today some of his statements are acceptable, but not in nineteenth-century Catholic Spain. Others were and will always be open to question. His most important statements were: Egyptian culture contains thoroughly religious elements; man's origin as described in the book of *Genesis* cannot be literally accepted; religion, like culture, evolves; the idea of Purgatory is already found in Egyptian religion; Pharaonic hieroglyphics and Champollion are mentioned.

But here are samples of statements that apparently hurt the sensibilities of many Catholics:

It is now illicit to place Israel at the head of universal history. (page 85)

The authoritative arguments of science coincided with those of the pagan gods; books learned by memory are a contradiction in the University. (page 93)

The Church hierarchy read in the second a frontal attack on all kinds of teaching authority, including the Church, and the authority of Scripture, and this explains the violent reaction to Morayta's words.

Did Rizal attend this lecture? Chapter 14 of his novel discusses the idea of Purgatory in pre-Christian religions, while chapter 40 mentions the "most

eminent Egyptologist [Champollion]." This leads us to believe the national hero at least read a published copy of Morayta's inaugural lecture.

There is no doubt that Morayta exercised a tremendous influence on the young Rizal, both through his teaching and his writings. However, the signs of this influence are only indirectly to be seen in the *Noli*. Besides the lectures on history attended by his disciple, Morayta could also obviously suggest other authors to be read and even offer to the university student from the Philippines some reading material which otherwise would have been hard for the latter to obtain. This would be true, for example, of *La Reforma*, a newspaper frequently and quite passionately dedicated to Philippine affairs. Let us now see some of the evidence.

Vicente Barrantes published in *El Imparcial* towards the end of 1868 two letters on matters concerning the Philippines. Besides showing a considerable dose of partiality towards the regular clergy, he adds in these letters several negative conclusions about the level of education of the people and the competence and moral integrity of the native clergy. Barrantes was immediately and totally refuted by the contemporary liberal press, but especially by *La Reforma*, which published various articles by Rafael Garcia Lopez, former Governor of Cagayan. This matter, which is of great importance to know the political atmosphere pervading Europe and the Philippines during the years immediately preceding the Cavite mutiny of 1872, we shall discuss in another place. For now we are concerned about the possible influence the reading of this newspaper could have exercised on the planning and actual writing of Rizal's novel.

On 4 August 1869, an unsigned article in *La Reforma* appeared discussing Philippine affairs, addressed to the Overseas Minister, Don Manuel Becerra. Occasioned by the latter's program-order of 23 July of the same year which had been sent to the Governor General of the Philippines, the unknown author launches into a virulent attack of the religious orders and Vicente Barrantes. The pertinent details are, among others, as follows:

It does not surprise us that Mr. Becerra's good will and rectitude has committed the same vulgar error of ignorance and malicious scheming of not a few with regards to the *Noli me tangere* and frailocracy in the Philippines. The cohort of exploiters of the Vatican¹²³

The writer analyzes and condemns Becerra's actuations as Secretary of the Governor General of the Philippines in unusually harsh terms, spicing his essay with Latin phrases like the well known *quos Deus vult perdere demen-tat prius* (whom God wants to destroy, he first makes mad) and totally prescind from praising the native clergy.

A few weeks later, when the Franciscan Joaquin de Coria imprudently joins the newspaper controversies about the Philippine situation, this same anonymous writer—although it could also have been another one (it could still be Rafael Garcia Lopez himself who, for one reason or another did not think it good to sign his contributions)—repeats his denunciations of the alleged immorality of the religious orders in the Philippines, describing Coria as a “fattened commissar” and “a *bon vivant* and man of the world”

There is no need, I think, to insist on the possible influence reading this newspaper, and concretely the issues we mentioned, exercised on the writing of Rizal's novel. It is enough to mention one point which could be overlooked, namely, neither *La Reforma* nor Rizal, despite his clear anti-clerical attitude, ever praised the native clergy of the Philippines. In the novel, Crisostomo Ibarra, recently arrived from Europe and passing by Bagumbayan, reflects that “the man who opened his mind's eyes, made him understand the good and the just. That man was an old priest The man had died there.” But besides these, there are no other words praising the clergy, not even of a single exception.

We repeat that we do not want to categorically affirm that Rizal found inspiration in these writings, but suggest, nothing more, that it could have been possible, and base our statement on the hints that we think are enough and clear.

16. Benito Perez Galdos. *Doña Perfecta* (Madrid, 1876)

I said at the beginning of this essay that Rizal had to have an adequate literary technique to bring to port his dream of writing a masterful book about the Philippines as the means to realize his own preoccupations and desires to the full, and that the greatest praise of his work is, without any doubt, its immediate success. However, is the literary technique he followed authentically his? Did he also, as in the other aspects already mentioned about his book, drink from the sources of his time?

Some historians are averse to the idea that there were certain important non-Filipino influences in the planning and writing of the *Noli*. A “certain

romanticism" is accepted, however, which Rizal could have assimilated from Victor Hugo and the other Romantic authors.¹²⁴ But others believe that, besides certain literary elements characteristic of the romantic novel. Rizal's can be classified with the thematic novel introduced in Spain by Benito Perez Galdos.¹²⁵ Yet Rizal had not known the latter, although he must have read his works and, possibly, even met him at some time in such places as the Ateneo de Madrid which the two frequented.¹²⁶ The Philippine national hero may not have always agreed with the political views of the most famous nineteenth-century Spanish novelist, because, among other reasons, the latter was editor for some years of *El Debate* which defended non-progressive ideas for the Philippines, especially in connection with the term of Governor Carlos Ma. de la Torre and the Cavite mutiny.

Perez Galdos' first long novel, *La Fontana de Oro* (1870)—whose main character curiously is named Clara—marked the start of the modern novel in Spain and its "historic" age. It was aimed "not to reconstruct descriptively the distant past, but to *interpret* the recent past in a didactic manner in order to discover the origins of the ideological, political, and social processes operative in Spain at the time."¹²⁷ It was followed by, to name a few, *Doña Perfecta* (1876), *Gloria* (1876-1877), and *La Familia de León Roch* (1878), whose main motif centers around a religious problem. Later, in 1884, this Canarian writer, sent to the press *Tormenta*, whose hero was a dissolute priest, Pedro Polo Cortes, who seduces Amparo Sanchez Emperador, a name writers understood to refer to Spain. But all the novels Perez Galdos published in 1881-1885 were a sharp description of Spanish society: poor, empty, filthy, void of ideals, dominated by hypocrisy, double-dealing, materialist, etc.

If we put together some of the elements of some of these novels, we shall be able to trace the influence, at least on the literary technique (there could have been others) used in the *Noli*. But in all the novels which Rizal's resembles, *Doña Perfecta* "brings to life the influence on the surroundings, the region and the society of a religion inexorable with those who do not think like them and, what is worse, men who make use of a spiritual empire to satisfy avaricious and petty interests from the top down, of interests repudiated by Jesus and His Church."¹²⁸ Isn't this precisely *Noli me tangere*? Already John N. Schumacher, S.J. has shown, although briefly, the surprising

parallels between these two novels, including the plot.¹²⁹ I believe, however, the similarities go farther:

Doña Perfecta

Scene: Orbajosa: a town in Spain

Roles: Jose Rey:
engineer
studied in Madrid
plans a bridge
is disapproved, accused of
heresy, pro-German, etc.
by Da. Perfecta and D. Inocencio, a Canon

Rosarito:
Jose's cousin
lives in her town
simple, deeply religious
subjected to the orders and
wishes of Da. Perfecta and
D. Inocencio

Da. Perfecta:
Rosarito's mother
intolerant on religious matters
and possessive of her
daughter

Tio Pasolargo:
tagged as "the philosopher"

Plot: Jose Rey and Rosarito want to get married "since it has been arranged by Da. Perfecta and Jose's father

The wedding does not take place because of the opposition of the parents of both

Dénouement: Jose Rey dies mysteriously after a "turbulent plot" in Orbajosa is discovered

Noli

San Diego, a town in the Philippines.

Crisostomo Ibarra y Masalin:
rich young man, philanthropist
studied in Spain
plans a school
is disapproved, accused of being anticlerical, pro-German, subversive, etc. by Fray Damaso, a Franciscan, disappears mysteriously.

Maria Clara:
Crisostomo's childhood friend
lives in her town
simple, deeply religious
subjected to the orders and wishes of Fray Damaso

Fray Damaso:
M. Clara's real father
intolerant on religious matters and possessive of his daughter

Tasio, the madman:
tagged as "the philosopher"

Crisostomo Ibarra and Ma. Clara want to get married since it has been arranged by Capitan Tiago and D. Rafael Ibarra

The wedding does not take place because of the opposition of Fray Damaso

Crisostomo Ibarra is imprisoned for his presumed participation in a "widespread conspiracy" discovered by Fray Salvi

Rosarito is brought to the psychiatric hospital of S. Braulio in Llobregat (Barcelona)

D. Inocencio is transferred to Rome

Maria Clara enters the monastery of Santa Clara in Manila, where she will end her days mad

Fray Salvi is transferred by his superiors to Manila

The parallels in the two novels, not only in the plot, but also in the unfolding of the plot, as well as the characterization, are so numerous it is hard to deny dependence of Rizal's novel on that of Perez Galdos. Still, it would be interesting if someone more competent could undertake a deeper analysis of the matter and its many other details to find out the common elements in both, including this aspect.

17. Jose Maria Basa (?). *Escandaloso, horrendo y punible delito perpetrado en el Monasterio de Santa Clara por un fraile franciscano, vicario de la misma.* [No printer, no date.]

Schumacher shows this leaflet, printed probably for propaganda purposes by Jose Maria Basa in Hongkong, or at least with his cooperation, was nothing else but another one of those denigrating pieces clandestinely distributed in the Philippines by the propagandists in order to blacken the name of the regular clergy.¹³⁰ This appears from its colophon: "*Away with friar mobs. Come, secular priests!*" Rizal received a copy in the same year 1884, but it is not clear whether before or after he had started writing the *Noli*.

The leaflet pretends to tell the dramatic experience of Sister Pepita Estrada who, adamant against the pressures of the abbess of Santa Clara, her monastery, to submit to the sexual whims of their chaplain, sought help from outside, shouting from the tile roof of the building. The incidents took place, according to the writer, "one day in 1883" ("the month of August," noted a reader of the copy kept in the Archivo Franciscano Iberio-Oriental in Madrid). Informed, Rafael Jovellar went to the monastery and ordered its door opened. After considerable difficulties, he found out it was more serious than anticipated, since infants had already been murdered inside. Nevertheless, the guilty had never been punished and so they demanded, among other things, the exile of the Archbishop of Manila, the expulsion of the friars, and the esclausturation of the nuns of Santa Clara.

We have here a case of one of the innumerable calumnies printed both in the Philippines and in Spain by anticlerical elements without the least moral scruples and for merely propagandistic aims. All kinds of literary devices

were used in this kind of writing. But Rizal, immersed in a world-already and clearly hostile to the clergy, dedicated to fight for a political program perhaps not yet clear to him, refused to credit the entire story. But he accepted a great part of it and used it as a colophon to his novel. A comparison of the two texts leaves no doubt about this.

In both we find the protagonist in the monastery of Santa Clara, up on the roof of the building, shouting for help, accused of being crazy, and impotent against the negative attitude of the abbess to open the monastic gate to the civil authority. Of them both, Maria and Petita Estrada, nothing more is said, their subsequent fate remains unknown.

CONCLUSION

One of the most lucid Filipino historians, the Jesuit Horacio de la Costa, recently wrote with unerring insight about the Propaganda movement and its roots in the Spanish presence in the Philippines:

In short, the leaders of the propaganda movement, and Rizal, most of all, were the fated fruit of the Spanish conquest, the natural term of Spanish colonization, the kind of Filipino whose emergence the Spanish conquistador and missionary made not only possible but inevitable.¹³¹

I think this statement synthesizing the entire Spanish-Filipino, or Filipino-Spanish history (in many aspects an inseparable and indivisible reality) is also true of Rizal's *Noli me tangere*. It is the book that represents most fully the intellectual stature of a man whom another Jesuit—Spanish, this time—described as the most perfect example of his race.¹³² The *Noli* is another typical example of the intellectual high breed. Its author learned his Catechism in his childhood and youth, and through contact with the missionaries, he came to know, value, and live an exacting but liberating gospel even if some of his other teachers did not understand it in all its consequences. He understood, through the writings of the Regidor brothers, Rafael Maria de Labra, Francisco Pi y Margall, Miguel Morayta, and others, that he could and ought to start a fight without quarter until he could win dignity for his people and their freedom. He might not always have used the correct methods; but he assimilated from his readings the purest literary techniques of the novel of his age, thanks to the writings of Benito Perez Galdos. This, certainly, was one of the reasons for his success.

Hence, *Noli me tangere* can be included among the great literary works of Philippine-Spanish literature. As W. E. Retana after his conversion to the more authentic values of the Filipino people wrote:

If instead of having belonged to Spain the Philippines had belonged to Holland, for example, there would have been perhaps no revolution, but much less the autochthonous government it now enjoys This anxiety for emancipation beating in the Filipino heart is nothing but a case of *metempsychosis*. Spain failed to plant a liberal regime, it is true. But it is no less true that she taught Rizal that one *does not beg* for freedom. It must be won. Spain, with all her serious failings, effected in the Philippines what no other nation could have done: touch the soul, remould the spirits of the conqueror and the conquered.¹³³

Marginally to everything that has been said, there is another reason which explains the success and transcendence of Rizal's novel. *Noli me tangere* appeared at the opportune moment when the public needed it. If it is true that the "best books are those which tell us what we already know,"¹³⁴ *Noli* had an impact, enthused its readers—also embarrassed and exasperated them—because it was saying what the Filipinos already knew but were incapable or inhibited from saying it. It was the voice for the voiceless, the accusation by those who no longer had the strength to complain, the whip which "hacked the face" of the oppressors, the cry of freedom of an entire people. For this, and much more, *Noli me tangere* will always be a novel of actuality.

RIZAL, CAVITE, AND THE FRANCISCANS

Cayetano Sanchez Fuentes, O. F. M.

Jose Rizal, father of Philippine nationalism and one of the most outstanding and more influential historical figures of the Malay race, whose rich personality can be compared—in a certain sense—to that of the great Asian figures of today, like Mahatma Gandhi in India or Mao Zedong in China, has without doubt been meticulously studied both in his own country and elsewhere. But the life of this number one Philippine national hero, brief but packed and intense within the 35 years he lived, is such that until now efforts to understand his true being and the transcendent political message he left and spread in writing or tried to exemplify in his own life fall short of the reality.¹

The following paragraphs are offered as a study of an important but still unexplored facet of his complex personality, namely, his attitude as a person and as a writer to the Franciscans. But before entering fully on our subject it will be good to add a biographical sketch of Rizal that can serve as the context of our discussion.

AN EXCEPTIONAL MAN'S BRIEF BUT INTENSE LIFE

Jose Mercado y Alonso, otherwise known as Jose Rizal, was born on 19 June 1861 in Calamba, Laguna, a farming town not too far from Manila, economically, culturally, and morally better than many other towns. His parents boasted of an enviable happy mixture of cultures, whose good qualities they bequeathed to their son, Jose: Chinese, Japanese, Spanish, and, of course, Filipino. His maternal grandfather, D. Lorenzo Alberto Alonso, had been a representative to the Cortes, while Doña Teodora herself had received a more than average cultural formation for women in the Philippines at that time. She spoke correct Spanish, loved poetry and mathematics and, above all, was an avid reader. Francisco Mercado, his father, did not have the same cultural upbringing but he was highly esteemed for his keen sense of responsibility and industry.

When he was eleven years old, Jose studied at the Jesuit-run Ateneo municipal in Manila and later at the University of Santo Tomas where his extremely sensitive temperament soon distinguished him from the rest of his class. An introvert, romantic, persevering, he was blessed with a strong personality. He had a rare mind, read and studied tirelessly, and stood out in every kind of activity, surprising everyone by the originality of his thoughts expressed with elegance and ease in verse as well as in prose. In 1882, unable to bear the oppressive and stultifying university atmosphere in Manila, he left the Philippines seeking, like every ambitious Filipino, the intellectual mecca in those days: Europe. He first passed through the halls of Madrid, where in about three years he obtained two licentiate degrees, one in medicine, and the other in philosophy and letters. He also received his baptism of fire in the liberal ideas of the age, which marked him for life. From Madrid he went to Paris, Berlin, etc., always perfecting the studies he had started in the Philippines and in Spain. But his insatiable desire for excellence soon led him to other fields of intellectual endeavor, and he studied linguistics, literature, agriculture. As expected, he did not shy away from politics. On the contrary, exquisitely sensitive to the important socio-political problems of his country, he entered a fight without quarter or rest to instil in his compatriots a deep sense of responsibility, self-respect, and national identity. To this end, he initially wrote articles for publication, but he quickly became convinced it was a useless effort. He then decided to write a patriotic novel, and this plan culminated in the publication in Berlin in 1887 of his famous work, the *Noli me tangere*.

He returned to the Philippines this year, but after a disturbed visit of 6 months, he sailed back to Europe. At this time, he had practically abandoned the practice of medicine and undertook what he thought was a fight against time for a radical socio-political and cultural reform of the Philippines still under the rule of Spain. A handful of illustrious men respected worldwide in the most diverse fields of knowledge supported him with their advise and friendship: Segismundo Moret, Francisco Pi y Margall, Miguel Morayta, Ferdinand Blumentritt, Rudolph Virchow, etc. Research and polemical writing were his activities. In 1891 he published in Ghent the second part of his famous controversial novel which he titled *El Filibusterismo*. But the tempest unleashed by his life and his writings made him see that his presence in the Philippines was a fatal necessity and he came home a little later, in 1892. He immediately realized the tempest had grown into a tropical storm in whose eye was the man, Jose Rizal.

Four days after his final return to Manila, he resigned himself to a sentence of exile in Dapitan where he fenced himself in a political silence that submerged him in a sea of anxieties about the meaning of his work. But history had sealed him with the mark of heroism, centering his people's destiny, and turned around him the crossroads of contradictory passions. And so he fell on 30 December 1896, mortally wounded on the "New Nation," Bagumbayan, a few meters from the walled city of Manila, the tragic realization of what he had always felt as an irresistible desire, a sacred mission not to be shirked, namely, death for his fatherland:

Ah, he too would like to die, to become nothing, to leave to his country a glorious name, to die for her, defending her against the foreign invaders, and let the sun afterwards shine on his dead body, an immovable sentinel on the rocks of the sea!²

His execution that fateful morning of December 1896, symbolized the violent and definitive death of the Spanish empire. In a sense, by dying Rizal had failed naturally to realize his dreams for his people; but the seed of his misunderstood and blood-soaked life had fallen into the furrow of history and bore the desired fruit in due time. The Philippines did not win independence until many years later. No matter; Rizal, the Malayan apostle of non-violence, the Filipino "Christ," in the words of his great Spanish admirer, Unamuno,³ the supreme figure of Asian nationalism, had never gestured for a premature political independence. He was seeking total freedom for all and each of his fellow Filipinos; otherwise, there would be no authentic *political* independence.

I. THE FRANCISCANS IN RIZAL'S NOVELS

The work and the mind of Rizal are incompletely understood, in my opinion, without a serious and detailed study of the role and the importance he attributed to the Franciscans in his writings, especially in the novels, where the latter occupy the place reserved only for principal characters, not only religious but also secular, fictitious creations he was openly proud of.

Even a numerical count of the preponderance of the Franciscans in Rizal's writings offers a surprising insight, whose significance I shall discuss below. While in his novel, *Noli me tangere*, Rizal mentions the Dominicans about 18 times (besides 5 other institutions certainly connected with them, like the Third Order, Santo Tomas University, etc), the Augustinians about 6

times, the Jesuits 4, references to the Franciscans are found quite abundantly. Rizal recalls Saint Francis 14 times, San Diego de Alcala 11, the third Order of Saint Francis 6, Santa Clara 6, Saint Anthony of Padua 5, Saint Paschal Baylon 3, and the Franciscans in general, either as individuals or as an institution, approximately 155 times. Such frequency would make one almost say the novel, *Noli me tangere*, is a Franciscan novel, although unfortunately in a pejorative sense.

But what Rizal thinks about the Franciscans, their reputation, their role in his writings is more important than mere statistical data. To the national hero of the Philippines, who were the Franciscans? What did they represent? What ideals moved them? What did the people think about them?

In the opinion of the author of the *Noli*, the Franciscans were a group of friars extravagantly clothed, conspicuous for their fanaticism and ignorance, repulsive for their questionable morals—especially in matters of sex—rich from exploiting the helpless poor of their parishes, accomplices in unheard of crimes, despised even by the other religious orders then in the Philippines. Their only positive quality perhaps may be a strong sense of identity which distinguished them from the rest and generated strong ties of solidarity among themselves.

This, in general strokes, is the depressing and frustrating image—better, repulsive caricature—of the Franciscans of the Philippines any impartial reader would have after reading the work of the Philippine national hero. *El Filibusterismo*, its sequel, will merely reproduce in its essential points the same degrading picture of the Franciscans, although in a less strident tone since, in his second work, Rizal, for obvious historical and circumstantial reasons, believed he had to shift his attacks and center them directly on the Dominicans, relegating the Franciscans to the background.

Rizal, however, will not stop with this Voltairean canvas of the Franciscans in his country. Three of the more important protagonists in his works, essential for the unfolding of the plot he had conceived, are Franciscans. Let us see the role this prolific Filipino writer has assigned to each of them.

1. Fray Damaso Verdolagas

Fray Damaso Verdolagas, parish priest of San Diego, is one of the fictional characters best drawn by Rizal and the most important person in the unfolding of his plot and theme. Fully identified with the town where he had been assigned twenty years previously, he “couldn’t have known each and every one of them better if [he] had given them birth and suck [himself].”¹⁴ Of

Herculean proportions, easy and open laughter, but withering looks, he was wont to bare his hairy legs and unshod feet. He habitually gave in to fits of anger which often degenerated into violence, abusing his assistant priest and raining blows and kicks on the sacristans and students, which rightly won for him the significant nickname, "Father Big Stick."

Ignorant but conceited, he was no more refined and gentlemanly in his relations with the other social classes. From his Olympian throne he despised the government officials, tagging them as heretics and irrational, insulted the students from Europe and Manila, methodically qualifying them as subversives, and honored any person with liberal ideas with the not too pleasant titles of daft, vulgar mestizo, sniveller. But ironically, among the Franciscans, he enjoyed the reputation for eloquence, although his sermons, delivered in an unintelligible patois of Latin, Castilian, and Tagalog, was nothing more than a litany of malaprops, ill-worded panegyrics of Franciscan saints, and coarse and demeaning diatribes against the natives.

But the most serious charge Rizal laid against Fray Damaso was his rather loose morals. Just assigned to San Diego, he developed an intimate friendship with the two most influential persons in town, Capitan Santiago (better known as Tiago) and the powerful Don Rafael Eibarramendia. Their relations quickly soured, however, into mutual hostility and suspicion. One fine day, Fray Damaso, abusing his friend's trust, allowed himself certain intimate relations with Capitan Tiago's wife, the fruit of which was Maria Clara, future fiancée of Don Rafael's son, Crisostomo, the principal figure of *Noli me tangere*. The break between D. Rafael Ibarra (short for Eibarramendia) seems to have been occasioned initially by the departure of the latter's son for further studies in Europe—the nursery of heresies and anticlericalism in the priest's opinion.

From then on, Fray Damaso regularly censured D. Rafael from the pulpit, alluding to him personally and then accusing him of heresy and subversion for not attending mass, although the whole town knew that he was, in both his private and public life, a man of unsullied reputation. One unfortunate day, the rich landowner of San Diego had an altercation with another Spaniard who fell down, accidentally striking his head against a stone and dying on the spot. For this reason, the former was accused of homicide, thrown into jail where he languished for several years and finally died. He was buried, not in the Catholic, but in the Chinese cemetery by order of his former friend, Fray Damaso. Later, by the same priest's order, his remains were disinterred and cast into the lake of Bai.

While all these unforgettable events were taking place, Crisostomo was living in Europe, totally unaware of his tragedy. Then when he returned to the Philippines years later, he slowly came to know about his father's very sad end. And yet, though deeply wounded by the outrage inflicted on the author of his life, he never planned revenge against the friar. On the contrary, he tried to dissimulate, to pretend total ignorance and innocence. But the Franciscan kept baiting him with cutting remarks, and scuttling his most ambitious plans—especially his love for Maria Clara—and the initial tension exploded in an open clash. Fray Damaso, finally, in connivance with his successor in the parish, another Franciscan, will concoct a plot against the Spanish authorities by which he will be able to rid the town of all the liberal elements, starting naturally with Crisostomo Ibarra, who will be arrested, charged with organizing a conspiracy and imprisoned in Fort Santiago.

With Ibarra out of the way, Fray Damaso tries to marry off Maria Clara to a lowly and graceless Spaniard distantly related to his family. But the young girl refuses and, heartsick, retires to the monastery of Santa Clara in Manila. There, hounded by the lecherous Fray Bernardo Salvi, she dies thirteen years later. Fray Damaso, transferred by his superiors first to Manila and then to a town in Tayabas province, suddenly dies mysteriously the day following his arrival at this new assignment. Crisostomo Ibarra, on the other hand, freed from jail by Elias, his friend, successfully eludes the pursuing Guardia Civil and secretly leaves the Philippines.

2. Fray Bernardo Salvi

Rizal baptized the second Franciscan character of his novel with the name Fray Bernardo Salvi. Fray Damaso's successor to the parish of San Diego a few months after the confrontation between the Franciscan and Crisostomo Ibarra, he was to all appearances the opposite of his predecessor: gaunt, pale, emaciated, with sunken eyes, lost in his own thoughts, sickly. He enjoyed the reputation of saintliness among the people and of wisdom among his brothers in the cloth. The parishioners gave him the eloquent nicknames of "Father Wouldn't-Hurt-A-Fly" and "Father Wet Blanket." He seldom flogged people, but he loved to exact fines from the sacristans since they were a source of greater income for his pocket.

Notwithstanding his apparent fame for holiness, Fray Salvi actually complements his brother in the cloth, Fray Damaso. He is a deeply embittered man, obsessed by ill-repressed sexual desires centered on the young, beautiful, and innocent Maria Clara whom, as talk has it, he visits quite frequently even at night. He is also accused of having committed certain

unpardonable crimes. One day Fray Salvi rapes a young girl, the daughter of Sisa, the mother of Crispin and Basilio, two of his sacristans. To cow down the girl's father and avoid being denounced before the court, Fray Salvi accuses in turn the two boys of stealing in the convent, punishing them violently. The first dies as a result, the second tries suicide but fails. The unfortunate Sisa, unable to bear with so much suffering and shame, loses her mind, while her husband, in despair, decides to flee to the mountain to join the *tulisans* or bandits.

Official investigation of these events is rushed, and Fray Salvi is credited with having successfully aborted in time a conspiracy of very serious dimensions against the security of the state. He is then named by his superiors chaplain of the monastery of Santa Clara in Manila. Thirteen years later, promoted to the position of ecclesiastical governor, he will reappear as a character in Rizal's second novel *El Filibusterismo*. In this story, Fray Salvi, now aged, is unusually thin and grey-haired, but he retains his more repulsive traits when he was parish priest of San Diego. His laughter is that of a dying man, he cancels a stage presentation he judges immoral. He lives tormented by a conscience guilty of hypocrisy and unrestrained desires.

3. Fray Camorra

Of the two characters we have mentioned, only Fray Salvi, as just indicated, reappears in the second part of the *Noli*, which is titled by Rizal, *El Filibusterismo*. But its author pulls out from his sleeves a third Franciscan personality, Fray Camorra, significantly nicknamed by the parishioners *Si Cabayo* ("the Horse"). Rather than a new character, Fray Camorra appears as Fray Damaso's reincarnation, but decidedly more vicious and ridiculous. Parish priest of the town Tiani, his gunner's face marks him out. Sounding off, gesticulating, stamping his foot, he rudely interrupts those conversing with him. Thanks to his appearance in the novel, Rizal can continue indulging in the task of hitting the Franciscans as before.

Eccentric and thoughtless, Fray Camorra cynically squeezes his flock pitilessly, mercilessly demands payment of every single stole fee, bestowing with glee the title of subversive on every one who fails to pay him faithfully, and tirelessly advertising a book titled *Tandang Basio Makunat*. He ridicules the teacher in Tiani who is striving for excellence, openly and violently opposes that the natives should learn Spanish, because "afterwards, once they do, they start to argue with us, and the natives have no business arguing, all they should do is pay and obey As soon as they know Spanish they become enemies of God and Spain."⁵ His flirtations and sexual adventures

are as frequent and serious as those of the other two Franciscans. One of these whims ends tragically, apparently in the suicide of a young girl, and this explains his final transfer to Manila where his superiors sentence him, not to Moorish dungeons, but to "expiate his escapades in Tiani in the delightful villa along the banks of the Pasig river." There we meet him one day, the heroic defender of the Franciscan Procure when three *tulisans* or *bolo*-armed bandits rob the convent and escape with some insignificant booty, after slightly wounding Fray Camorra.

II. LOVE-HATE AMBIVALENCE OF RIZAL TOWARDS THE FRANCISCANS

This brief resume of the role Rizal assigned to the Franciscans in his novels, the charges he laid against them, the denuntiations, and the reader's general opinion about them after reading the *Noli me tangere* and *El Filibusterismo* easily lead to the conclusion that Jose Rizal must have been moved to write these two fictional works by his strong anti-Franciscan sentiment. Actually, apart from what has already been mentioned when discussing these fictitious Franciscans, it is surprising to find they are the most corrupt, mean, and repulsive of all the characters imagined by Rizal. Nobody else is painted so harshly, or denounced so insistently. Worse, nowhere in either of the two novels do we find any positive trait that could offset the utter disgust one experiences on reading these works of fiction.

All of these observations necessarily lead to a series of queries regarding our theme. Was Rizal really against the Franciscans? What secret or public reasons could have motivated him to draw such a devastating and humiliating picture of the most popular friars throughout history, in the Philippines as well as in many other countries of the world? Why this ceaseless accusation, close to an obsession, throughout the length and breath of his novels?

These are not simple questions and possibly we shall never find a completely satisfactory answer. Actually the problem is much more complex. In his fiction, Rizal aims his fierce and unrelenting barbs against the Franciscans, but in his letters, diaries, and historical and literary essays not only are there no negative statements on which to base his radical posture towards them, but rather a special predilection for certain aspects of Franciscanism unparalleled in Rizal's attitude towards the other religious orders. How explain such a contrast clearly detected in Jose Rizal's writings?

The following pages are an initial essay to bring out certain clues which might orient us towards a solution of this Rizalian enigma.

1. Rizal, A Franciscan Romantic?

We have already seen that Rizal uses the Franciscans in his two novels as a canvas to give consistency to his narrative. We have also mentioned previously how the pages of the *Noli me tangere* and *El Filibusterismo*, but especially the first, are replete directly or indirectly with allusions to the Franciscans, the saints of the Franciscan Order, and the institutions closely linked with them. Mere coincidence? Literary exigencies because of the plot? Utilization of Franciscans as a recognizable universal type? Most probably not.

There is enough evidence to say without any fear of error that Rizal was a stranger neither to the Franciscans nor to the history of the Order before he began writing his two novels. Of course, he must have personally known more than one Franciscan friar. Calamba, where he was born, is a few kilometers from Los Baños, a parish then administered by the Franciscans, and for various reasons Rizal travelled to this small town with some frequency in his childhood and youth. We also know, besides, that some Franciscans were frequent visitors to Calamba. His mother was jailed in Santa Cruz, and he went there to visit her, returning there a number of times for other reasons. Finally, it seems impossible that Jose Rizal, this insatiable observer and deeply religious young man, could not have known some of the more famous Franciscans of that time when he was in Manila studying under the Jesuits and later the Dominicans, as well as during his visits to Santa Ana where one of his sisters was studying. But none of these certainly supports the idea that such contacts with the Franciscans, possible but sporadic, may have served as the basis for the creation of the fictionalized characters of his novels.

But he did know, on the other hand more than superficially, and he did feel an attraction for the universal figure of the founder of the Franciscan Order, Saint Francis of Assisi. Already mentioned above is the unusual frequency with which the saint's name appears in the pages of Rizal's novels. On various occasions Rizal joins to the saint's name the adjectives "venerable," "seraphic father," "second Christ." The Philippine national hero knows the phenomenon of the impression of the stigmata and the form in which it is represented. But perhaps it is in Fray Damaso's sermon and the procession during the town fiesta of San Diego that one best perceives the familiar, attractive figure Rizal had formed of Saint Francis—except one or

two phrases not free of some disdain. The old man, Tasio, skeptical but sympathetic, leaning against a wall (or possibly squatting beside it, in the oriental manner) watches the procession respectfully as it goes by, closely observing each of the details, and lovingly converses with each of the saints' images as they pass before his scrutinizing eye. The first to appear is that of Saint John the Baptist, carelessly set up on an old portable wooden platform. It is followed by that of Saint Francis, on a rich and elegant carriage meticulously adorned. The contrast between the two saints, whose historical figures had much in common, shocked the old "philosopher" into deep thoughts brilliant for its irony:

"Wretch," Tasio the scholar mused, as he watched the procession from the side of the street. "It avails you nothing that you were the bearer of good tidings or that Jesus humbles Himself before you; nothing, your deep faith and self-denial, or your dying for the truth and your beliefs; all these count for nothing among men when one stands on his own merits. It profits a man more to preach badly in the churches than to be the eloquent voice crying out in the wilderness—the Philippines should teach you that. If you had eaten turkey instead of locusts, worn silk instead of the skins of wild animals, if you had joined a religious Order"

But the old man interrupted his harrangue; St. Francis was coming along.

"Just what I was saying," he continued with an ironic smile. "This chap comes riding on a float with wheels, and, God bless us, what a float! So many candles, such precious crystal globes! You were never so well lighted, Giovanni Bernardone that was, before you became Francis! And such music! Your sons made other music after your death. Venerable and humble Founder of their Order, if you were to come back to earth now, you would see only degenerate counterparts of your excommunicated vicar, Elias of Cortona, and would perhaps share the fate of Caesarius of Speyer"⁶

This long but important passage provides us with valuable data to know Rizal's attitude towards Saint Francis and the Franciscans in his country. Rizal, the emotional romantic, but radically-inclined student of the European drama at the end of the nineteenth century, is strongly attracted to that poor, simple, and humble Francis whose life openly contradicted the pomp, the extravagance, and the wealth with which his sons in the Philippines have adorned him—and themselves—taking pride in their infidelity to their own founder. Rizal knows that the baptismal name of the saint is not Francis, the name by which he is known everywhere, but Giovanne (the Italian spelling!), and his family name Bernardone. He takes careful note of the fight within the Order concerning the purity of the primitive ideal proposed by Francis, and

and even mentions the name of the two of the most important protagonists, Fray Elias of Cortona, and Fray Caesarius of Speyer. He chooses a very strong adjective to describe both those opposed to the original Franciscan ideal at the time of the Poverello's death and the Franciscans in the Philippines. To the author of the *Noli*, the Philippine Franciscans, judging from the novel, continued the relaxation introduced by Fray Elias in those early years, and in no sense resembled their founder.⁷

2. The Rizal Family, A Franciscan Home

When and how did Rizal come into contact with this romantic and rather simplistic figure of Saint Francis, whose attraction we can trace in the former's writings? The answer is simple: through his mother, since his infancy, although probably he may have immersed himself more deeply in the knowledge of this universal saint during his stay in Germany just before he finished his first novel. Teodora Alonso, Rizal's mother, a woman of culture and refinement quite superior to that of the average Filipino woman in the second half of the nineteenth century, was a Franciscan tertiary and, doubtless, because of her reputation for honesty and learning, served as an officer of the lay Franciscan Confraternity in Calamba, performing her duties with the care and devotion characteristic of most members of the Rizal family.⁸

It is quite possible that Doña Teodora joined the Tertiaries in Meisic, Binondo⁹ close to her birthplace Sampaloc, either because of the influence of her family, or when she was living there as a student in Manila. It would not be strange, too, that, given her profound religious sentiments, she would urge her daughters to join a group of tertiaries themselves, whose popularity and active devotion were, and are, widely accepted in the areas administered by the Franciscans for several centuries. Rizal was born and grew up in a family which must have been strongly influenced by the spirituality of the Franciscan order.

On 4 October 1882, the Franciscan tertiaries of Calamba celebrated the feast of their founder with the solemnity, joy, and intimacy that make the feasts in the Philippine towns such enjoyable occasions even today. That day, most probably, Doña Teodora was the soul of the celebrations. She was naturally aided by the members of her family, including Paciano, Jose's older brother. And on 19 December of the same year, he informs Rizal, who is now

in Madrid, and still in the grip of an almost incurable longing for his far and beautiful country:

This month on the fourth, the Tertiaries of both sexes celebrated the feast with mass and procession in the patio. Afterwards, the *celadora* served breakfast and dinner at home enjoyed by several Tertiaries, some leading town figures, and Fr. Domingo. The ladies did not want to eat inside, preferring to eat in the kitchen. But since there was nothing ready there, each one had to get his own plate and serve himself, and naturally there was confusion all over. After breakfast, the more scrupulous gathered around one who read the life and miracles of their father, Saint Francis, the less observant sat together in another place passing the time exchanging jokes that were a bit profane Dinner was more orderly because a table was set outside for those who did not want to come in. After the meal, the *manang* [tertiaries] took their leave of the *celadora*, putting an end to the feast. In this celebration we helped our mother in some way, in order to satisfy her.¹⁰

This lengthy description from Paciano must have revived for Rizal the many occasions which he himself had witnessed in this atmosphere of sincere brotherly union experienced in Franciscan simplicity and intimacy. That is why on 13 February the following year, almost by return mail, he answers his brother and shows unmistakable interest in the news just received. He regrets his absence from the feast Paciano describes, at the same time that he shows an unmistakable disdain for certain religious activities that were excessively demonstrative, accepts with bad grace the principal role of Doña Teodora in such celebrations, and permits himself to give his mother the following spiritual advice:

Tell Nanay to be careful, like a true *celadora*, lest instead of looking for God, they would be looking for the Franciscans.¹¹

This warning from Rizal to the cultured and apparently scrupulous Franciscan tertiary is surprising if one remembers that among Filipinos—even today—no child ever allows himself anything that would smack of giving advice to his mother. And yet, Rizal's admonition is in keeping with good theology, in itself irreproachable. But this does not preclude that he may have written it with another perhaps anti-friar intent, since the strongly liberal atmosphere predominant in Spain at the moment of writing this letter will gradually leave its imprint on the writings of Rizal. As a matter of fact, he immediately notes that any clerical attire other than the cassock is rejected by the people and whoever dares contravene this law is stoned. It is good to underline, however, the total lack of any condemnatory allusion, direct or

indirect, to the Franciscans. Paciano will later write his brother about the Franciscan tertiaries of Calamba, their activities, the rivalries among other religious associations, the superficial nature of certain pious practices, etc. Everything seems to show that the Franciscan tertiaries were an integral part of the life of the Rizal family. But let us return to Jose's letter to his mother.

This rather tactless admonition of the young student in Madrid to his mother is received by her with surprise and disquiet:

Since you say in one letter¹² that for you prayers in the church are of no value, let me tell you, that since you went away, in your regard I have made a most special promise for you and undertaken the duty of entrusting and praying [to win] patronage and protection for all those for whom I pray. Now, I shall go through my debts to God our Lord one by one.¹³

Rizal's concise but sharp phrase must have cut deeply the soul of Doña Teodora, a sensitive and intelligent woman, and presaged for her the future tragedy of her son. And so, on 11 December 1884, deeply preoccupied she wrote again with more urgency and in phrases impregnated with Franciscan influence on the value of learning and the need to hold on to the faith he had learned from her:

You no longer realize the sadness I feel every time I hear something about you from my companions. I therefore charge you not to get mixed up with matters that can becloud my heart What I now most earnestly beg of you, my son, is that, above all, you do not fail in your duties as a true Christian. This to me seems more satisfying, instead of your becoming excessively learned, for learning is sometimes the thing that brings us more misfortunes.¹⁴

3. Spiritual Shipwreck

But perhaps the well-meaning counsel of the distant mother arrived too late to be accepted by the till shortly before courteous, respectful, and deeply religious Jose who had left the Philippines only two years previously. In a letter written shortly afterwards to his brother Paciano, he reacts in an inexplicably brusque manner to what he considers an alarmist and excessively maternal concern of Doña Teodora, concluding with a strong attack, apparently uncalled for, of certain current religious practices and the clergy in the Philippines:

. . . [Paciano], by your example, with your prestige among the people there, should begin to consider within yourself [how] to kill feast days and other things that do not bring any profit, like masses and other similar things. The money that goes to certain depositories does not circulate, and money not circulating is

poverty for the country. Besides, in all sense, we continue being exploited and we ought to tire of that now

On your word I believe in the goodness of the pastor whom I greet from here. But an idea comes to me. If the women of Calamba despite a pastor not at all a fanatic, are so devoted spontaneously to vigils and statues, what will happen if a fanatic and abusive pastor comes, someone who will weigh heavily on their conscience like a [dark] night, someone who squeezes like the printing press? You have to agree that if there your sex is hardly advanced, it is much better than the opposite which turns and lives in that atmosphere between the confessional box and the sacristy, [and] leads to serious aberrations.¹⁵

It is around this time, approximately, when there is no known previous or existing dispute between him and the Franciscans that Rizal began his novel, the *Noli me tangere*.¹⁶

He wrote one half of the work in Madrid, and the rest in France and Germany. In March 1887, the first copies were off the press in Berlin, and in the middle of this year, Rizal arrived unexpectedly in Manila with a few copies in his bag. His sudden appearance in Manila, where sufficient information of his political and literary activities and some copies of his recent novel had already reached, first, caused great surprise, and, second, created a climate of great tension, precipitating his immediate departure six months after his arrival. The brutal frankness, pointed irony, and Voltairean sarcasm of *Noli me tangere* seemed to the Spaniards, both friars and laymen, a mockery of everything Spanish and a slap on the race. Dominicans and Augustinians, and much later the Governor General, were the first to condemn Rizal's book as "heretical, impious, and scandalous in the religious aspect, and antipatriotic, subversive in the political"¹⁷ Paradoxically, however, we are unaware of any censure, official or otherwise, by the Franciscans of the book which attacked them globally, unjustly, and one-sidedly.

Two years later, in 1889, Rizal published one of his better prepared works, an edition of Antonio de Morga's *Los Sucesos de las Islas Filipinas*.¹⁸ His intention, totally laudable in principle, was to write a history of his people from the viewpoint of the Filipinos, i. e., of the colonized and not of the colonizers, the oppressed and not of the oppressors. But he continued his sweeping attacks of Spanish colonial policy and the regular clergy, going beyond the limits of objectivity and impartiality. The Franciscans again appeared under a totally negative light, and yet, the only historical fact that seems to provide Rizal a base on which he could justify his antipathy to them was a lay Brother's participation, in his capacity as administrator, in the construction of the Los Baños Hospital subsidized by the government.¹⁹

Two years later, in 1891, Rizal published the second part of his novel with the title *El Filibusterismo* in which, as we have already seen, he lavishes once more on the Franciscans his denunciations and attacks. This inexplicable stance was not, however, the only one he adopted, as we shall see immediately. Meanwhile, the Franciscans, for their part, continued in perfect silence with regard to Rizal himself and his writings.

4. A Chance Meeting Aboard the "Melbourne"

The year 1891 was for Rizal one of the most painful and trying periods of his life. Discouraged by the failure of the Calamba case in the Madrid courts, misunderstood by his associates in the Propaganda movement, feeling guilty of the irreparable harm his political activity indirectly caused his family, Jose Rizal decided to say goodbye to Europe and once again turned his gaze to the Orient, to the land he would call a few hours before his death "my idolized fatherland, sorrow of my sorrows," the Philippines. On 18 October this year, in the afternoon, the now famous Filipino revolutionary was in Marseilles—where he had disembarked nine years ago—and went aboard the "Melbourne." Following his inveterate practice when undertaking such journeys, our illustrious passenger minutely observed everything around him, examined the faces of his fellow passengers, conversed with each one of them, took notes, wrote down personal observations, and drew whatever impinged on his fine artistic eye. He could hardly have suspected the experiences awaiting him in this new ocean crossing.

The first day on board ship was one of the greatest and unexpected surprises. Among his fellow passengers, a group of missionaries immediately caught his attention. Headed by a bishop, they were going to China. It was composed of Jesuits, Franciscans, and priests of the *Pontificio Istituto Missioni Esteri* (Pontifical Foreign Missions Institute) or P. I. M. E., from Milan. A cultured man open to all kinds of persons, Rizal entered into immediate contact with these men who must have impressed him as quaint and attractive at the same time. The world of the Jesuits was already familiar to him since his years at the Ateneo municipal de Manila, but not that of the Franciscans, and even less, supposedly, that of a bishop, and, what is more a missionary. Possibly for the first time in his adult life he was coming face to face with the "unshod" friars, with those men whom, agreeing on this with Cañamaque, his mortal adversary, he had described as repulsive, precisely for going barefoot. Those characters he had created with such fertile imagination in his novels were of this group of men.

Someone must have introduced our hero to this group of clerics. The bishop who headed the missionary group, Monsignor Simeone Volonteri, had been in the Philippines 23 years previously, i. e., in 1868. That was the first big surprise, because of which their talk immediately jumped from the usual greetings to the problems that were burning the soul of the young Filipino: the Philippines, Cavite, the friars, etc. The conversation must have been reduced quickly to three points which Rizal noted in his diary for the 19th, a few hours after embarking: Volonteri, the Franciscans, and the author of the *Noli me tangere*. The presence of these Franciscans must have disquieted him and quickly polarized his attention towards them: "The Franciscans have played with us a game of *pastas* [*sic*]," he noted in his diary that evening. And after mentioning the dialogue with Volonteri about the Philippines and its problems, the events in Cavite, the role of the friars, especially the Dominicans, as well as their influence on the government, he added: "Because the Dominicans exercise a great influence over the government, [Volonteri] answered to a remark about the Franciscans."²⁰ The sun had gone down, and downcast, pensive, and in a bad humor, Rizal retires to his cabin.

They had touched, with exquisite delicacy, the most sensitive and painful nerve in Rizal's soul, and a tomado of ideas and contradictory emotions had suddenly stirred his conscience. The conversation must have pierced him through and through, the author of the two most radical novels in Philippine literature found himself violently borne to the world of the most questionable personalities created by him, and he felt an irresistible need to face himself honestly. But he did not record it in his diary; rather, three days later, on 22 October, he wrote to his complete friend and confidant, Ferdinand Blumentritt. The letter is brief and it is dedicated almost entirely to this important self-revelation of Rizal:

On board ship with us are many missionaries, Franciscans, Jesuits, and a bishop, Mons. Volonteri, who was in the Philippines 23 years ago. This aging holy man spoke against the friars' wealth and abuses in the Philippines. I wish you had heard him speak. He thinks exactly like you. He describes the Philippines as a paradise, only abused and exploited. *I was deeply moved and his words have strengthened my convictions.* He still remembered the names of the priests executed, and spoke admiringly of them and with compassion. On speaking of the friars, he kept repeating: *Si, troppo ricchi, ma troppo ricchi!* (Yes, too rich, but extremely rich.)

The Franciscans (Italians) and the Jesuits (French) *respect me; they do not know what I have done.* I do not want to tell them, for I would not want to disturb these

good and simple young men going with much zeal to China. *They are poor, pious, and in no way haughty. What a difference!* Only one of them has been in China twice, he is a bit rough, a *kind of Fray Damaso*; but he is good, frank and laughs from ear to ear when I tell him a brief joke. We enjoyed playing chess together. He is from Tyrol, is called Fr. Fuchs, and I call him Fr. Fox when he makes a bad move. A good type, Fray Damaso without pride or malice.²¹

This compact paragraph suggests several observations of great interest. In the first place, the impact of Volonteri's words on Rizal was noteworthy. He was firmly convinced of the correctness of his denunciations of the friars, especially the Franciscans, but was also aware he lacked direct and personal experience to guarantee accusations and ideas expressed in his writings. Now he felt relieved that a bishop no less agreed with him the friars in the Philippines were exceedingly rich and influential, although he seemed to refer only to the Dominicans when he made these assertions. But did this justify the crudeness of his most important writings?²² Rizal appeared ill at ease. The presence of these Franciscans who "respect" him and played with him "with pleasure," disturbed him and made him pose questions. "He was aware he had generalized a few real failures and popularized them,"²³ doubted the morality of his work ("they do not know what I have done"), but he immediately reacted, shielding himself again behind the only argument that could justify a serious action with irreparable effects: "They are poor, pious and in no way haughty. What a difference!"—this last a circumstance about which he was unsure since, as already indicated above, he had no intimate knowledge of the Franciscans in the Philippines.

One final observation. The meeting with the friars of the same Order which he had caricatured and drawn so mercilessly in *Noli me tangere* could not help but revive in his memory the most beloved figure of the literary creation of Rizal, Fray Damaso.²⁴ Fr. Fuchs reminds Rizal of the pastor of San Diego. They are so similar, they differed only in the Philippine missionary's fault, his pride and malice.

The mutual respect and even understanding which took place between Rizal and the Franciscan friars aboard the "Melbourne" since the first day of their journey, continued and deepened throughout almost a month of sharing the monotony, the difficulties, and the almost unending moments of leisure on deck or seated in a salon. For the author of *Noli me tangere* the journey would be converted into a kind of journey to the fantastic world of the persons created by him in the novel, of the men from whom he seems unable to detach

himself and whom he observed at close range. This was shown in his diary aboard ship:

25th day: "The friars [Franciscans] were all the time on their knees," during the mass.²⁵

28th day: sketch of the back of a Franciscan.²⁶ (Rizal's biographers believe that that the sketch represents the aging and broadminded missionary of China, Mons. Volonteri, because of Rizal's deep and open admiration for him. But the sharp hood and even the cincture leave no doubt it is a Franciscan.)

30th day: "The Franciscans and Lombards argue about everything every morning. I irritate them when I ask who is more saintly [*sic*] . . . I ask them who first reached heaven . . . Afterwards I check with them what the souls in Limbo were doing when Christ arrived there, and the souls of the dead who returned to life. They are maddened! Fr. Fuchs then came with his *Divina commedia* in German. A discussion follows next whether the translation must be bad . . ."

The same day Rizal writes about the Franciscans' attitude to a case of apparent injustice: "The second class passengers [Rizal travels first class] had a slight altercation. Two of them took it ill that a servant of a first class passenger should be mixed with them. They asked he be put outside and eat separately from them. The friars and many others protested that since he had paid, he had a right to eat. It seems they are going to the Commissar to have the servant returned."²⁷

2 November: brief recount of the passengers: "With us are 7 Jesuits, 5 Franciscans, 3 Lombard priests, and one bishop."²⁸

6 November: walk through Colombo, accompanied probably by fellow travelers, the Italian Franciscans: "We visited the hospital administered by the Franciscans,"²⁹ highly praising their work there.

8 November: "The Franciscans came after, and I have been talking with them about the Franciscans in my country." It was impossible for Rizal, obsessed by the real or apparent wealth of the Franciscans of the Philippines, not to bring up for discussion a subject that preoccupied him deeply. But their brothers in the cloth limited themselves to draw the conclusion from the information Rizal furnished them: "If they are rich, they are no longer Franciscans."³⁰ The dialogue must have continued in an atmosphere of calm and relaxation: "Seated on the ropes and cables, they conversed about these things. They talked of the miracles of Saint Francis, the niche behind the door, the thorn turned into roses, etc. One [who?] gave me one of these leaves."³¹ No dialogue in Rizal's diary was recorded with such delicacy and respect as this one he had with no one else aboard the ship. It was because of his sincere admiration for the saint from Assisi, with whom he had so many things in common.

15 November, in Saigon: "All [the missionaries] tell me about the Anamite seminarians and the missionaries with admiration. They are angels, a *poor Franciscan* was saying."³²

Jose Rizal's arrival in Manila, after several months' stay in Hongkong, now the key figure of the present and the future of the Philippines, would produce a storm of contrary forces, and our writer and statesman, aware of his responsibility, in order not to disturb feelings and forestall misunderstandings about himself, accepted the exile to Dapitan and voluntarily imposed absolute silence on himself, interrupted only by letters to intimate friends and scientists.

On 4 October 1896, he was once again on board ship, the "Castilla," anchored off Barcelona. From the Philippines he had sailed to Spain in order to continue on to Cuba to offer his medical services as a volunteer in the Spanish army. He awaited instructions, and meanwhile, he wrote in his diary of the trip: "At six o'clock many cannon shots awaken us; I think this is because of the feast of Saint Francis of Assisi, as they say."³³ A few pages more, and he ends his diary.

Before putting a period to this section on the irresistible attraction towards certain Franciscan values which struggled to open a path into Rizal's heart, it is good to make a final observation that can serve to complement what has been discussed so far. Rizal scholars are aware of the hero's artistic sense and the by no means negligible talents he has shown for the plastic and graphic arts. If it is true that the artist chooses as an inspiring object any and every thing that he finds specially attractive and beautiful, then the presence of Franciscan motifs in the artistry of Rizal is one more proof that what is Franciscan formed an important aspect of his personality. Naturally after what we have been discussing in the previous pages, this cannot surprise us.

Now, from the first epoch of his artistic career, his youth, we know a clay model of Saint Anthony Padua, the saint, together with Saint Paul, as far as we know, modelled by Rizal. To him we owe also a clay carving of a Friar, of which I have not seen a reproduction.³⁴

III. CLUES TO SOLVE AN ENIGMA

What has been discussed so far seems to prove the existence of a double posture towards the Franciscans in Jose Rizal's writings: one of revulsion, condemnation and disdain in his works of fiction, and the other of attraction,

bordering on admiration, sufficiently clear in his intimate writings, like letters and diaries. Can one explain in a convincing manner this clear dichotomy traceable in Rizal's life and works? Do we have the details that can help clarify the reality of this double current of contradictory emotions in the greatest hero of the Malay race? We have already tried to explain the origin of Rizal's positive vision of the founder of the Franciscan order. But why did he entertain such an aversion for his followers?

Lorenzo Perez, O. F. M., in the only place apparently where he raises the problem of Rizal's deep-seated prejudices against the Franciscans and their possible causes, finds the answer in one of the interviews between the Filipino writer and Governor General Despujols in June and July 1892 immediately before the former's exile to Dapitan:

Before Rizal was exiled to Cavite [*sic*], General Despujols had a meeting with him and asked him to state the cause of the Filipinos' dissatisfaction with the friars. To this Rizal replied: "The haciendas." "Well," replied Despujols, "the Franciscans do not own haciendas. Why do you hate them too?" "Because they are Spaniards," Rizal answered.³⁵

I am unaware of the truth of this interview supposedly held between Despujols and Rizal, or until what point an intelligent researcher like Lorenzo Perez could accept as satisfactory this alleged reply, which to me is rather superficial, of the no less intelligent Filipino writer and statesman. Anyway, the testimony of the well known Franciscan Philipinologist, Rizal's contemporary, would prove only one thing, namely, that already at that time, Despujols, and perhaps many others besides, could not appreciate the hero's paradoxical posture before the poorest and least influential religious order in the Philippines, the Franciscans.

As far as I know, no biographer has discussed this problem, not even so much as to advert to it.³⁶ Certainly there have been efforts to seek a logical explanation for the aversion to the friars in general which one detects in practically all of the writings of Rizal. But even if studies on the issue which have hitherto been published do not seem to provide a clear, definitive and objective answer to such an important problem, still they can help indirectly to understand this subject better.

Jesus Ma. Cavanna y Manso, C. M. offers a preliminary explanation. According to him, Rizal must have undergone a change in his way of thinking because of a series of complex factors, among which we can mention the following: bitter incidents and conflicts between his family and some members of the religious orders; offenses and misunderstandings due to real

abuses; personal links to masons, liberals, rationalists and freethinkers in Europe; heretical and blasphemous books he read, etc. All of these factors led to a complete turn in his life, converting Rizal from a believer to an agnostic and rationalist who, though still keeping his faith and trust in God, took advantage of certain occasions, and attacked by means of the spoken, written, and unorthodox language certain Christian dogmas, having recourse occasionally to blasphemy to ridicule the Church, the clergy, and the church law.³⁷

Ante Radaic̃ thinks, on the other hand, that the anticlerical ideas expressed by Rizal in his novels must be viewed in the context of his romantic mind, deeply sensitive to all his country's problems. In the opinion of this Yugoslav writer, Rizal is looking for the supreme good of his people. His two novels are

“not works of limited catholicity, but are a manifestation of his clear antipathy for everything external that ecclesiastical concerns have . . . puts up against a formulary catholicism without a moral conduct according to its creeds an interior Christianity with no formulas or [merely] routine practices . . . Rizal calls for the purity of the primitive Church. He is a Christian, and in his writings and novels becomes a voluntary lay apostle of Christianity and always turns with longing his gaze to the pristine simplicity and poverty of the Church.”³⁸

Both positions, in my opinion, contain important aspects to understand Rizal's anticlericalism, but neither seems helpful in explaining the apparent duplicity of Rizal with regard to the Franciscans. Leon Ma. Guerrero already lamented in his biography of Rizal the lack of interest in the subject among the Catholics, as well as the lack of a conscientious analysis of the evolution of Rizal's religious thought to fill the present vacuum. And after noting the insufficiency of the viewpoints of both Cavanna and Radaic̃, he suggests the possibility that Rizal might have arrived at the conclusion in 1886, already in 1872, that the real enemies of reform and the progress of the Philippines were the friars. Thus they have to be demythologized at all cost, even at the cost of justice and charity.³⁹ In Guerrero's opinion, this would prove the sincerity, the impartiality, and the absence of any resentment at the time Rizal prepared to write his first novel.

Without doubt, Guerrero's hypothesis is more acceptable than the first two, but it leaves unexplained an aspect of the problem I have posited since the start of this section. Now, if this was Rizal's point of departure in writing his novels, why did he single out in a special way the Franciscans as those responsible for an intolerable situation he wants to denounce, making them

the main protagonists in the episodes he narrates even if it was in the style of a novel? Why, on the contrary, did he not portray several responsible actors more in accord with the facts of history? The Franciscans were neither the wealthiest nor the most influential in the government. Finally, why is it only Rizal who takes this discriminatory position, not shared, if we are to judge by their writings, by his colleagues of the Propaganda, not even by those who were born and lived in parishes administered by the Franciscans, like, for example, Marcelo H. del Pilar?

1. Cavite, 1872: An Incurable Obsession

In my opinion, we must seek his point of departure elsewhere. Jose Rizal wrote his novels, not for the Spaniards, but for the Filipinos, as he himself repeated to satiety. But, what did he intend in so doing? We have the answer more than insinuated in his writings: lay before the Filipino people in the form of a novel the real genesis and history of what happened in Cavite in January and February 1872, such as the Filipino *ilustrados* viewed it around 1878, the date he chose for the action of his first novel.⁴⁰ The entire plot is centered around chapter 55 and the following when Fray Salvi reveals to the constable of San Diego the false conspiracy he himself concocted, as indicated above. The scheme, shrewdly woven by the Franciscan, spontaneously recalls in the mind of all the Filipinos the scenes of Cavite in 1872. A careful reading of this and the subsequent chapters will very clearly show the truth of our view.⁴¹

Even in *El Filibusterismo*, Rizal loses no occasion to connect his story with the tragic events in Cavite. Fr. Florentino, an evocation of Fr. Leoncio Lopez, his family's intimate friend and the pastor of Calamba who lived at the time of the tragedy, like his fellow Filipinos, feels himself pinched by the trauma he had undergone. Somehow the Spaniards intuited this when they first read Rizal's first novel and, if any further doubts remained, the dedication of the *El Filibusterismo* serves to remove them definitively:

To the memory of the priests, Don Mariano Gomez, eighty-five, Don Jose Burgos, thirty, and Don Jacinto Zamora, thirty-five, who were executed on the scaffold at Bagumbayan on 28 February 1872.

The Church, by refusing to unfrock you, has put in doubt the crime charged against you; the Government by enshrouding your trial in mystery and pardoning your co-accused has implied that some mistake was committed when your fate was decided; and the whole of the Philippines in paying homage to your memory and calling you martyrs totally rejects your guilt.⁴¹

For Rizal, the year 1872 was not only a fateful year, it was a landmark in the history of the Philippines, a radical moment when history took a new shape. And he wanted to tell all his fellow Filipinos about it. It was a traumatic experience which gagged their mind, and he wanted to initiate a liberating catharsis once and for all from all the fears, frustrations, and estrangements numbing them as result of the tragedy of Cavite:

Without 1872 there would be no Plaridel, no Jaena, not even Sancianco, nor would there be courageous and generous colonies of Filipinos in Europe. Without 1872, Rizal would now be a Jesuit and instead of writing *Noli me tangere*, he would have written the opposite. Seeing those injustices, my imagination even as a child woke up. I swore to dedicate myself to avenge one day so many victims. I have been studying with this idea, and this can be read in all my works and writings. God will give me the occasion some day to carry out my promise.⁴²

Wherever he directed his footsteps, the events of Cavite pursued Rizal like a fantasm. Manuel Jerez Burgos, Fr. Burgos' nephew, through whose influence Rizal had been admitted as a student at the Ateneo and in whose house he lived the first years he was in Manila (the same where the ill-starred priest lived?), adds, after noting that Rizal was intelligent, but reticent and introverted: "Usually he did not mix with his companions beyond that of commenting on those events that have just disturbed all of the archipelago."⁴³

Considering the facts from this perspective which to me faithfully reflects Rizal's mental state, the novels of the great Filipino hero are much more than mere literary narratives, charged with folkloric and romantic themes easily understood and accepted by the majority of the Filipinos. Rather, they are a historical novel, a narrative of historical events, skillfully mixed at different levels and using diverse literary styles. They record what happened in those fateful days of January and February 1872 and its effects, and predict the same or similar incidents will inexorably be repeated if the agents who intervene constantly and definitively in the Philippines are not mercilessly swept away, namely, despotic and corrupt friars, an inept government, a people cowed down by oppression, and the tyranny of the few. But the head of the cancer which he wanted to extirpate with all his energy he found in the friars. They were the ones responsible for the events in Cavite, and Rizal believed he was morally obliged to destroy them, not physically but

morally, unmasking them before a credulous people who still believe in them:

They [the friars] will be able to simulate another uprising like that of Cavite and so cut the throats of so many illustrious heads, but the blood shed will bring forth fresher and more numerous shoots. Before the catastrophe of 1872, there were less anti-friar thinkers. They sacrificed innocent victims, but now you have the tender youth, women, maidens declaring themselves for the same cause. Repeat the hecatomb, and the executioners shall have sealed their own sentence.⁴⁴

In my opinion this is what Rizal considered his great discovery. Others before him, perhaps cruder and less tactful, had publicized friar abuses in the Philippines,⁴⁵ but no one had dared, least of all a Filipino, to present them to the Filipinos explicitly, repeatedly, and in such detail as a real malignant tumor, the authentic cancer that had been poisoning the soul of an entire nation until the publication of Rizal's novel.⁴⁶ It is in this precise context, I believe, that we have to posit the problem why Rizal laid the greater blame for what happened in the Philippines on the Franciscans. Certainly we find neither in his diaries nor in his letters a single text which expressly explains Rizal's unnerving position. But keeping in mind his insistence that the facts he narrated did occur, and after verifying the extraordinary importance he placed on the events of 1872, there can be no room for subjective interpretations outside of these presuppositions.

2. Cavite, Jose Burgos, and Joaquin de Coria

One of the most conspicuous victims of the Cavite mutiny was without any doubt the native-born priest, Don Jose Burgos, a man admired and deeply respected widely among the Filipino clergy and nation at the time.⁴⁷ We do not know if Rizal had met on an earlier occasion the priest whose name the young students of the period pronounced with deep respect when Rizal himself began his studies in Manila. But what is beyond question is the admiration the latter felt, not without a certain idealism of which he will try to divest himself later, perhaps in a rather radical way, although easily understandable, given his profound inner transformation after coming into contact with the atmosphere and culture of Europe.⁴⁸

From what we have written in the preceding section, one can easily say, among other conclusions, that Jose Rizal was intimately convinced the events in Cavite, and especially the death of the native priests had been the final result of the machinations shrewdly engineered by the friars, and more

particularly, the Franciscans personified by Fray Damaso and Fray Salvi in the novel *Noli me tangere*.

Fray Joaquin de Coria in Madrid was the Commissar of the Franciscan Order in 1886-1870. Perhaps it was his activities that gave Rizal reasons for his view of the Franciscans. In 1869, the Commissar published a series of letters—I shall refer to these below—which expressed totally negative judgments about the Filipino secular clergy, accusing them as inhuman and anti-Spanish, but mentioning no names. But Fr. Burgos answered in equally harsh terms, addressing himself, however, to the friars, mentioning the commissar by name several times. Two years after this epistolary exchange in the Madrid papers, Jose Burgos was executed in Bagumbayan. Who was or were responsible for his death? Jose Rizal must have thought it was the friars, or, at least, Coria, must have been one of them.

What reasons did Rizal have for aiming against the friars, and more particularly, the Franciscans, this terrible accusation? We do not know since he never said so in his writings. Was he the first to defend this opinion or did he, rather, popularize it? The events in 1872 in Cavite and their tragic sequel, continue today—in good measure, at least—to belong to the realm of mystery despite the distance of time from which we view it and the scholars' continuing research to find an adequate answer. Soon after the news of the events in Cavite was known through the press, the most contradictory opinions began to surface, most of them, however, without any solid basis.⁴⁹

One of the newspapers that contributed in an outstanding way to form an opinion on the causes that led to the Cavite mutiny was certainly the liberal *El Eco Filipino*, published and edited in Madrid by Federico Lerena and Manuel Regidor, both of them Philippine-born Spaniards. The first reaction of this publication to the events was surprise and condemnation of the mutiny (5 February 1872). A commentary on the execution of the priests Jose Burgos, Mariano Gomez, and Jacinto Zamora appeared in the issue for 4 February, since their involvement in the events was also a surprise to the editors. But they did not form any judgment as there was no official information on what had happened. Fifteen days later, despite the lack of reliable information, *El Eco Filipino* decided to "come down to the field of hypothesis" and proceeded to "lay before the public the causes which probably must have led [authorities] to suspect most of those imprisoned, who, it is inferred from personal letters, were the ones the official report says had been closely followed using *confidential* reports and notices," since they were considered "with reason to be the instigators of the public disorder."

And so, following these premises, *El Eco Filipino* made the following hypothetical analysis of the facts. When Governor Carlos Ma. de la Torre arrived in the Philippines, he was received with a patriotic demonstration. But the friars were "displeased with the actual demand for peaceful reforms, manifesting much less sympathy for the Spanish liberal party." This could have been the first cause. Later, when a plan was made to erect a monument to the memory of Simon Anda y Salazar, the regular clergy reacted with a frigid indifference while the secular clergy were enthusiastic. Second cause. On 31 October, Anda's remains were transferred to the provisional cathedral—the centuries-old Franciscan church. The people, the career men, etc. participated fervently in the ceremonies, but especially outstanding was that group "of the secular clergy and the Filipino youth, and this was the *third cause*, suspicion of certain people." Fourth cause: "Later, these same individuals—the secular clergy and the Filipino youth—now marked as subversive," were caught reading *El Eco Filipino*.

As it is, the editors' conclusion falls by its own weight. But in its issue for 8 April 1872, the last of this publication, the following clear and unambiguous statement appeared:

From the first day we appeared in print, we have been bringing up the antagonism existing even long before the revolution, which has grown in bitterness and seriousness, between the regular and the secular clergy in the Philippines . . . and not only that, an insurrection takes place and three priests are implicated in it as the instigators. What, in good logic, must we conclude?

. . . many Filipinos are in sympathy with the liberal parties in Spain. But there, in the islands, where the cruel rule of absolute theocracy prevails, this is cause for suspicion and persecution of those who, nonetheless, continue being loyal Spaniards. It is thus quite possible that many of those who had no part directly or indirectly in the uprising may have been imprisoned . . .

And, concluded *El Eco Filipino*, this was the reason why the conservative press, as long as the court made no statements, had no right to accuse—as it has been doing all the while—these priests as traitors.

It was in this way that the only newspaper in Madrid wholly dedicated to publicize news and comments on Philippine affairs, and edited by Spaniards born in the colony, offered for public consumption a first explanation of the 1872 events in Cavite, laying the blame on the friars, even if it was only a mere supposition. Only the details were missing to complete the story and give it greater verisimilitude. This, as we shall see shortly, was the task Antonio Ma. Regidor would undertake about 30 years later.

Jose Rizal would also defend the same—or, at least, similar—theses in his novel *Noli me tangere*. It is very probable, as we have tried to show in a companion essay, he knew and even used one or more issues of this fortnightly when writing his book. And we can suppose he was acquainted with all its issues. However, it is also possible that the explanation of the causes of the Cavite mutiny he accepted may have come to him through other channels, for example, letters or individual exchanges with persons officially implicated in the case, as Antonio Ma. Regidor, Jose Ma. Basa, etc.

Once Rizal's novel appeared in public, his ideas on the Cavite mutiny were accepted as not unproven facts. For example, on 27 January 1888, the *gobnadorcillos* and *principales* of Navotas included in a manifesto submitted to the Governor of the Philippines that they were presenting

... a communication from a friar published in his party's organ, *Altar y Trono*, which will finally convince Your Excellency of their [the friars'] aversion for the Spaniards. For they speak so ill of the latter, as of the papers which here publicize the wisdom, in particular of the priest Jose Burgos who fought the friars on the matter of the parishes and, as they say, occasioned the issuance of royal orders removing the friars from their parishes and confiscating of their property.⁵⁰

In the manifesto of *gobnadorcillos*, *principales*, and residents of the suburbs of Manila, likewise submitted to the Governor General a month later (28 February), their authors, besides demanding the ouster of Archbishop Pedro Payo of Manila for alleged non-compliance and disregard of the orders from the Metropolitan Government, also asked for the expulsion of the friars. Among their reasons was the latter's opposition to de la Torre who wanted to forcibly secularize the parishes and confiscate their properties, "... until, Governor Izquierdo, being caught unawares, they succeeded in bringing to the scaffold many innocent persons, especially the learned and virtuous priest, Don Jose Burgos."⁵¹

The same idea reappears in a manifesto presented by the property-owners, merchants, industrialists, lawyers, and residents of the Philippines to the Queen Regent and dated Manila, 10 March 1888. After briefly reviewing disturbances that had taken place in the past in the Philippines, they stated that the most serious consequence was the Cavite mutiny, whose genesis is synthesized in this manner:

The celebrated issue on the provision of curacies for the Filipino clergy continued unresolved. Led by Dr. Jose Burgos, the secular priests clamored for the implementation of the Council of Trent which declared the friars to be absolutely incapable of any benefice of a secular curacy.... The friars undertook a vigorous

counter-campaign against this demand. They charged that the native clergy were unprepared for this ministry, minimizing their intellectual capabilities. They accused the latter of consecrating hosts made of rice flour. Appealing to the theory of Darwin, they made them descendants of the monkey . . . Then the Cavite incident occurred . . . and later three native priests ascended the scaffold, while other priests, traders, and lawyers went on exile.⁵²

As is well known, the inspiration for the demonstration in Manila on 27 February and the author of the manifestos was none other than Doroteo Jose, with ties to the circle of *ilustrados* including Paciano Rizal, Jose Burgos, and others, whose involvement with the Cavite uprising we need not repeat. Their printer was Jose Ma. Basa, a member of the same group.

In 1889, Pio Pazos, using the pseudonym *Padpyvh*, published a pamphlet titled *Los frailes en Filipinas. Refutación a la "Memoria apologética sobre la utilidad y servicios prestados a España por los religiosos misioneros de Filipinas," redactada por un misionero franciscano.*⁵³ I have been unable to study this pamphlet, but the mere fact that Coria's unfortunate writing still occupied the attention of the *ilustrados* twenty years after its publication and almost the same number of years after its author's death, seems not without interest and proves that Joaquin de Coria continued as a key figure in the political controversies of the age, being held as the symbol of the intransigence and despotism of the friars in the Philippines.

But it was Antonio Ma. Regidor—we shall mention him frequently—who described most fully and openly the connection between the events at Cavite, Burgos' execution, and the alleged responsibility for them of the friars and, more concretely, of the Franciscans. In his words, when the Spanish revolution broke out in 1868, he and his brother, Manuel, organized in Madrid a political campaign aimed at obtaining for the Philippines a reform of the colonial administration, the return of the parishes by the friars to the secular clergy, representation in the Cortes, and reforms in education. These aims, Regidor continued, met with the opposition of the procurators in Madrid of the religious orders, especially of the Dominican Fray Jose Cherca, and

. . . the Franciscan Joaquin de Coria . . . a person of rather imperfect education, wedded to the despotic ways and base manners of his Franciscan brothers, and who spent his life moving from convent to convent there in Legazpi's colony.⁵⁴

The Regidor brothers, Antonio went on, published articles in the liberal Madrid newspaper, *La Discusión*, which caused great concern to these procurators. That was the reason why

... they agreed that, *using his name*, Coria would write and answer and challenge the author of the articles to reveal his identity. Burgos submitted other articles to *La Discusión* in answer to Coria, in which, without crediting himself for Regidor's writing, he declared his total agreement with it, and using his name questioned the abuses of friar rule. And Fray Coria immediately ended his articles. *The friars believed they had uncovered the legitimate "leader"* of that agitation, and swore to punish him and vindicate themselves.⁵⁵

In Regidor's mind the situation was risky for the friars, and so they decided to "carry out an exemplary punishment, terrorize the rest." He continued:

To this end the drama was planned and prepared which began the night of 20 to 21 January 1872, whose second act consisted of the gibbet erected with the sword, and ending with two scenes, one on the shores of Palawan, the other of Guam in the Marianas Islands. The monastic tribunal was made up of Messrs. Castro and Treserra, Dominicans; Fray Cuartero, Recollect, later Bishop of Jaro; Fray Huertas [*sic*], Franciscan; and Fray Herrero, Augustinian. The pact was signed and the program was agreed on.⁵⁶

The sequel is too well known: Jose Burgos, together with Mariano Gomez and Jacinto Zamora, was executed. And so, the events of Cavite, like their origin and their sequel, were the fruit of a Sadducean machination born of the ambition of some of the outstanding representatives of the religious orders in the Philippines whom surprisingly Regidor knows only through their family names and, in one case, that of Felix Huerta, not even this. Still, many of Regidor's categorical assertions and of his colleagues in the political propaganda became an integral part of the historic vision of the age when Jose Rizal lived and wrote his book. Until about two decades later, there was hardly any historian who dared question its veracity.

This will not be the last time when Regidor will aim his animus against the Franciscans in extremely harsh terms and denounce facts of whose veracity we have serious doubts.⁵⁷

IV. ON IDENTIFYING THE NOVEL'S CHARACTERS

Is it possible to identify the characters described in the novels by Rizal with real historical persons belonging to the Philippine society of his time, or the facts which he narrates in them? The idea is challenging, of no little historical interest, but fraught with difficulties. Rizal, just like or perhaps more than other novelists, moves at the same time on distinct levels which crisscross one another, at times in clear patterns, but totally inexplicable at others. He transfers personal data of some religious groups to the others, forges history with fiction, and assembles all of these rather heterogenous elements with great ability, in the process creating a type of novel which corresponds perfectly with the political ends he pursues. This ambiguity, consciously pursued by Rizal, clothes his characters with a certain kind of omnipresence. It is like the eyes of certain paintings which, thanks to the artist's peculiar technique, give the sensation of being always observing the viewer from whatever corner of the hall he sits.

Rizal's contemporaries already manifested great curiosity, as is natural, to know whom he was portraying in his novels, but he gave them merely evasive answers for obvious reasons. He explicitly identified only three persons: Don Vicente Barrantes, described in chapter 52 of *Noli me tangere*, "Charges"; Fr. Florentino, an evocation of Fr. Leoncio Lopez, parish priest of Calamba; Crisostomo Ibarra, and partly Elias, self-portrait of Rizal. But it will not be difficult to identify the other characters, among them, Tasio, Sisa, and Maria Clara.⁵⁸ The theme is extremely wide, and goes beyond the limits of this essay. I shall therefore concentrate only on the Franciscan characters, which have not been seriously studied. Our sources, however, are rather scanty.

1. Fray Damaso Verdolagas

With what has been already indicated in the preceding pages, it seems logical to think that the fictitious personage best described by Rizal, Fray Damaso, would have to be identified with the Franciscan Fray Joaquin de Coria, despite the dearth of biographical and topographical data concerning him, to substantiate this claim.⁵⁹

Still, the data I mention in a companion essay are solid enough to maintain this hypothesis. Besides, the psychological traits which identify Coria for us coincide suprisingly with those used of Fray Damaso by Rizal. But the strongest argument for identifying these two personalities are the beliefs which Rizal attributed to the latter, again, identical in general lines

with those defended by Joaquin de Coria in his writings, both published and still in manuscript, and which Ibarra, Elias, Tasio, and other characters in the novel undertake to rebut.

The basic ideas Coria expressed in his letters published in *La Discusión* and in his *Memoria apologética* are summarized in the following:

The Filipino is a believer. No one sins against faith there. Because of this faith, he is obedient and is willingly subjected. The day, then, when ideas against faith were to wrestle for the control of his soul, that would be the day when doubt would begin, followed by fighting, then incredulity, and finally rebellion. It is necessary, therefore, to keep the faith unharmed in order that our domination may continue invulnerable. It is therefore indispensable to block every means which may lead his mind to this state, and that would not be easy once he learned Spanish.⁶⁰

But maybe we have to read at length some of the more pregnant paragraphs in his *Memoria* to appreciate in all its crudity the manipulation of the faith by Coria for strictly and rigorously political ends, using them to maintain the *status quo* of an unjust socio-political situation and preserve by all means the privileged economic and moral stability of a minority at the expense of the most elementary human rights of the Filipino people.

One of the postulates most insistently defended by Coria under the cloak of patriotism is the unconditional submission of the Filipino to the European, which, in the Franciscan's mind, is sustained by the religious idea of the duty to obey one's superior—superiority understood in the intellectual, moral, and even racial sense. "Drawing this veil," writes the Franciscan procurator, "attacking this custom, is to put them on the road to emancipation." Thanks to the influence of the missionaries, "the Filipinos reject all ideas of independence."⁶¹ Conclusion? It is necessary to preserve and protect the influence of the missionary if those dominions are to be kept.⁶²

In Coria's opinion, this explains why the friars stand out in all the rebellions that have taken place in the Philippines. Every movement for autonomy or independence is destined to frustration as long as the mythical image of the missionary and his almost boundless influence are kept before the *indios*. And after making a brief resume of the more important uprisings in the Philippines, he states in cold blood (referring to Novales): "... as always, however, the friars came to help and they prevailed, punishing the principal leaders, some with the capital sentence, others repatriating them to Europe." In 1836, the anti-revolutionary work is carried out by the Francis-

cans in a much more direct manner, in Coria's thinking, who relates with evident pride of caste the adventures of his brothers in the cloth:

... the events in Spain of that epoch alarm part of the army, the conspiracy is planned, it spreads, and the revolution is about to break out. But the *Franciscan Guardian had knowledge of it*, and on the wings of his patriotism appears before Captain General Salazar, confers with him, and they agree to follow a plan which would save the Islands. Thanks to this plan carried out by the Governor, the revolution was cut short and there were no consequences to regret. It gave him time to rid himself of the main leaders and abort it at the start. He moves on to the barracks, harangues the soldiers, following the *advice of the Franciscan friar*.⁶³

But the Franciscan role that aborts revolutionary plans acquires epic proportions in the mind of our author above all in 1841, on the occasion of the case of Apolinario de la Cruz in Tayabas province: "... Apolinario imprisoned by the Franciscans [!], the latter are against executing him before he reveals his accomplices."⁶⁴

Another grand obsession of Coria is the risk to the political stability (moral and even religious stability seem to interest him less) which the teaching of Spanish entails, for which reason he writes with great aplomb: "... hence, one of the strongest reasons the friars have for refusing to teach them the Spanish language."⁶⁵ The independence of Hispanic America was possible or at least was much easier, thanks to the possession of a common tongue.

The last words of the preceding two paragraphs recall for us Fray Salvi's euphoric phrases when revealing to the constable the false rebellion of San Diego: "What is most important is that we get them alive and we, I mean, you, make them sing ... I only ask that you attest that it was I who warned you."

And shortly before:

you'll see once again how important we religious are; the lowliest lay brother is worth a regiment, so that a parish priest ...⁶⁶

After reading these paragraphs from Coria (paragraphs I have not found in any other Franciscan writer of the nineteenth century, either verbatim or containing the same thoughts) Rizal's answer to the friars through his novels become more comprehensible, and his defense of his own clearly hard and extreme anti-friar attitude before Blumentritt in a comment on Fr. Faura's remarks to Pardo de Tavera about the publication of the *Noli*:

... I wanted to hit the friars, but since the friars use religion not only as a shield, but also as a weapon, a defense, castle, fortification, an armor, etc., I was forced

to attack their false and superstitious religion to fight the enemy hiding behind it God should not be utilized as a shield or protector of abuses, much less religion for such an end . . . Why should I not fight this religion with all my energy, when it is the primordial cause of all our sufferings and tears? The responsibility falls on those who abuse its name!⁶⁷

We do not know Coria's intimate life to be able to verify if some of the deeds attributed to Fray Damaso by Rizal have a historical basis in the biography of the Franciscan procurator in Madrid. Nor do I believe it necessary, considering Rizal's literary technique in creating his fictional characters as mentioned above. Still it can be of interest to point to the possibility that the germinal idea of the argument of the *Noli me tangere* (the sacrilegious loves of Fray Damaso, the fruit of which is Maria Clara, of whom Fray Salvi in turn is maddened with love) is suggested by a historical event which Rizal could have known directly or indirectly since it had happened when he was still a child. I refer to the sexual excesses of Fray Serafin Terren, pastor of Sangay, Camarines Sur, one of whose daughters his successor in the same parish, a Franciscan like him, abused. We know the story from Terren's own confession in a letter dated 19 February 1872 to his intimate friend Mariano Garchitorena:

. . . they told me Titay was involved with the pastor of Sangay, and fifteen days later, when I was in danger for my life, I learned Titay was pregnant—terrible! Evil never comes singly! What a lesson! I was already guessing that, but what must we do? It proves that God loves me very much, and loves me for His own sake, when He punishes me in this way so painful for my heart but quite necessary [to] heal the wound in it. Would the daughter does not run out like her mother! Poor Eliza! I shall keep vigil for you! Now I see I have gained very much in all senses by remaining here.

How good to share secrets with a friend! Especially when this friend is sincere! Now more than ever you should look out for my little ones, and this will prove our friendship. Now you can answer me frankly, for I know Titay's situation. May God forgive her, and him, too. I give you permission to educate Eliza, that she may not see her mother involved with another man who is not her father. Take my place: I have the right and I delegate it to you. Enough! Poor Eiiza! Poor Kikoy!⁶⁸

Leandro Tormo, who edited the letter from which we quote this extract, suggests that, since Rizal had no personal grievances against the Franciscan, this could be the reason why they were the persons who, "for providing a known real basis, may reincarnate all the quarrels and complaints against the friars."⁶⁹ He says this because of the parallelism he found between this

confidential information from Fray Terren to his friend Mariano Garchitorea and a central action in Rizal's *Noli me tangere*, a parallelism that extends to the two friars' attitude to the daughter's future which occasions a painful problem of conscience for each of them, and an almost literal identity of certain phrases pronounced by both friars. In my opinion, sufficiently detailed in the preceding pages, Rizal's basic reason for aiming his anti-friar attacks at the Franciscans was undoubtedly the thesis and actions of Fray Coria. This is not to deny the novelist may have had knowledge of the unfortunate historical incident I am discussing and he took advantage of it to mount the entire dramatic conflict of his novel, *Noli me tangere*. In this connection, it is important to remember that Pandacan, where Fray Terren was assigned when he wrote his letter, was in the years immediately before the events in Cavite, one of the meeting places for the most important liberals of the Philippines in the years immediately before the events of Cavite closely connected with the Garchitorenas.

On the other hand, one must not forget that violations, more or less notorious, of clerical celibacy were frequent then among the religious orders in the Philippines. There must have been an abundance of anecdotes about the amorous adventures of the friars which Rizal could have used as a source of inspiration for more than one politico-erotic novel. Actually, a year before Terren wrote his letter, Fray Francisco Lopez was in Pandacan, about whose sexual manners several authors have written.

This in regard to the Franciscans. Similar cases abound too among the secular clergy and the members of the other religious orders. Without going far, Francisco Cañamaque's works strongly criticized but not for that less read by Rizal, offer abundant material to whoever wishes to dedicate himself to Philippine erotic literature. Rizal undoubtedly took inspiration from them to create characters as important as Capitan Tiago, although paradoxically Cañamaque, once again, never, at least expressly, denounced the Franciscans.

And almost certainly Rizal incorporated also in the central character of the *Noli* certain biographical data of Fray Agustin de Consuegra, also a Franciscan, popularized by Francisco Arriaga of the same order, to which I shall refer later.

2. Fray Bernardo Salvi

If for the reasons mentioned it is difficult to identify with certainty the person who corresponds to the fictional Fray Damaso, it is not much easier to do the same for Fray Salvi. Like his brother in the cloth, this personage can

have a Franciscan as its source or inspiration, but everything seems to indicate rather he is a *tertium quid* resulting from an amalgam of history and fiction, attributable not to one, but to several friars in the Philippines in those years that Rizal was writing his novel.

In the supposition that Rizal did choose a concrete Franciscan to fabricate this personality of *Noli me tangere*, and keeping in mind other possible options, this choice could fall possibly on either of the following two: Felix Huerta and Benito de Madridejos. The description of Fray Salvi made for us by Rizal can very well coincide with the reality of either of these two Franciscans, judging from the few pictures we have of both. But, the least doubt about the moral integrity of Fray Felix Huerta is to me clearly unjust, with not the least basis. The use made of him by Rizal as the source for his Fray Salvi would have been an extremely unwarranted and unforgivable license.

This supposition is more probably possible in the case of Benito de Madridejos. He was also a contemporary of the events, not much inclined to positions such as those defended by Rizal, and whom possibly Rizal saw on some occasion when he was staying in Manila as a student. Anyway, whatever assertions are made in this area of mere conjectures is of little use or justification as long as we do not possess the concrete data to support our statements.

With regard to the actuations of Fray Salvi, leaving aside his sexual misdeeds (which could very well have been inspired by Terren's letter or by Cafamaque) and his complicity in the false Cavite mutiny (possibly based on Coria's boastful mouthings cited in previous pages), writers have fancied Fray Antonio Piemavieja in the punishment imposed by Fray Salvi on the two defenseless altar boys. But for the sake of historical truth and objectivity, it is good to mention that Rizal's narrative has certain similarities to an act attributed to the Franciscan Fray Simeon Bustos, pastor of Carranglan. In 1864, robbed by one of his domestic servants, Fray Bustos brought the culprit to the authorities to be punished, as a result of which and a sickness, he died the following day. The friar was then arrested, but after the corresponding investigation, he was acquitted.⁷⁰

Nonetheless, and despite these apparent similarities, the jump here is much less valid from the fact to its consequences, since the Carranglan incident could also have taken place elsewhere in a more or less similar manner. Nothing authorizes us to affirm that Rizal had this concrete fact in mind when he wrote chapter 15 of *Noli me tangere*. We prescind from the fact that this kind of misdeeds, and even more violent acts, must have occurred

with a certain frequency in the Philippines at that time.⁷¹ Finally, certain deeds whose historicity is beyond doubt are attributed to Fray Salvi, but their perpetrators were neither the Franciscans nor the friars of the other religious orders, but the members of the secular clergy.

3. Fray Camorra

Perhaps it may be relatively easy to identify the third Franciscan personality used by Rizal in *El Filibusterismo*. But we must always keep in mind the reservations we have indicated.

In 1885, Fray Miguel Lucio y Bustamante published in Manila a brief fictionalized pamphlet, titled *Si Tandang Basio Macunat*. It was received amid great indignation among the liberal circles of the Philippines which saw in it an irrefutable confirmation of the truth of the well known accusations which through the years have been hurled against the friars. They denounced the latter's opposition to freedom of thought and of the press, their intransigence in barring the Filipinos from education, holding them subjected and submissive to the unlimited authority and influence of the friars, their manipulation of religion for political ends, their propensity to preserve the political stability of the Archipelago, suffocating every desire, not necessarily of independence, but even of enjoying the fundamental rights for the good government of the country.

Briefly, its publication could not be more inopportune, gratuitously depositing in the hands of the anti-clerical sectors the best excuse enabling them to continue the attacks started by the publication of *Noli me tangere*. Attacks against this fatal and worthless booklet rained from all parts. Against it were lined up almost all the members of the Propaganda and their sympathizers from Marcelo H. del Pilar to Ferdinand Blumentritt. As was to be expected, Rizal also gave it special attention, mentioning it more than six times in *El Filibusterismo*.

The identification, then, of Fray Camorra with Fray Miguel Lucio y Bustamante seems very probable. Rizal presents him as a parish priest, not of San Diego, but of Tiani, a Philippine fictional town, of course, but which could well answer to Tanay, thanks to a play on letters which Rizal was quite fond of. Fray Lucio was pastor of Tanay for many years.

We must remember, however, that Camorra was much less a faithful picture of Lucio y Bustamante, but the result of a juxtaposition of various real individuals to whom a series of historical deeds corresponded, some performed by Franciscans, others by members of the other religious orders, and on occasion by some members of the secular clergy. Thus, to cite a concrete

case of real historical existence, Miguel Lucio y Bustamante was not present when the Franciscan procure on Isla del Romero was assaulted on 15 January 1891, an episode described by Rizal in chapter 36 of *El Filibusterismo*. He could therefore not be found among those wounded by the *tulisans*. On the other hand, Fray Gregorio Azagra and Eusebio Gomez Piatero were there. These two were less the object of the admiration of Rizal, and with good reason.⁷²

V. RIZAL'S QUESTIONABLE OBJECTIVITY

Did Rizal in his writings about the Franciscans judge them objectively, especially in his two novels, the *Noli* and the *Fili*? He himself seems to have thought so, considering the various statements we find in his correspondence occasioned by criticisms of his first novel from various sectors. For example, in his letter to Felix Resurreccion Hidalgo he does not hesitate to say "My book will have (and has) its defects from the artistic or aesthetic viewpoint . . . but what I cannot doubt is the impartiality of its narrations."⁷³ But it was not only Rizal who said that; the Jesuit Fr. Faura, too, who must have assured its author that in the *Noli* "I have written the truth, the bitter truth," Rizal himself reports. "You have not written a novel. You have described the sad condition of our time."⁷⁴

The reality, however, seems completely different. Ferdinand Blumentritt shows in the prologue to Rizal's edition of Morga's *Sucesos de las islas Filipinas* that the Filipino writer erred in viewing history from a distorted perspective when he asserted that the people of the 17th century should have the same values as those of the 19th. There is something else. At the end of Rizal's notes to this edition, the reader gets the impression that the Philippine national hero has fallen in the same trap as the Spaniards whom he wanted to discredit. He considered reasonable, ethical, and correct only what in some way or another favored the Filipinos, but reproachable and barbaric what the Spaniards did. One form of racism substituted for another!

As regards the *Noli me tangere*, W. E. Retana, the greatest Spanish apologist for Rizal and perhaps his best biographer until now, does not hesitate to say:

Rizal's narratives are accurate in as much as they are based on rigorously certain facts. His characters are a natural copy. And yet . . . it would be very easy to write the *Anti Noli me tangere*, and with facts of indisputable authenticity turn Rizal's novel inside out.⁷⁵

Jesus Ma. Cavanna tried to do this when he published his book *Rizal and the Philippines of His Day* (1975).⁷⁶ But such an attempt is necessarily doomed to failure because it lacks the essential elements for success. Certain charges which Rizal made against the friars are unquantifiable, or will never be the objects of a statistical recount or historical investigation. For example, it will never be possible to know the number of friars unfaithful to their religious vows; how many succumbed to the temptation of avarice, cruelty, etc. Nor, on the other hand, is it possible to know the number of those who lived a life in fulfillment of their vocation and in the sincere and disinterested service of the faithful.

We can indeed study facts and external attitudes which are certified, in writing or otherwise, by means of documents or traditions available to any researcher. It would, however, be an interminable enterprise studying case by case the unlimited number of historical situations and facts that could be of interest to us. We shall limit ourselves concretely to the attitude observed by the Franciscans in regard to the events that took place in the Philippines between the years 1868, the year of the Spanish revolution, and 1872, the date of the Cavite mutiny, as well as other aspects related to the Franciscans of the Province of Saint Gregory, less important, but not for that to be overlooked.

VI. FROM FICTION TO FACT

The relations between the Church and the State following the Spanish revolution of September 1868 were, generally speaking, openly hostile or, at least, of an unrelieved tension. Both sectors of the clergy supported the dethroned Isabela II, and later the crown pretender, Don Carlos. That means the Church made common cause with the conservative parties, putting herself then, at least indirectly, against the triumphant revolution. For their part, the revolutionaries answered the majority position of the Church by suppressing the Society of Jesus on 12 October that same year, decreeing the closure of several monasteries, convents, colleges, seminaries, and other religious institutions founded after 1837, and committing other serious outrages. How did all this affect the Philippines?

1. The Franciscans in the Philippines and the Revolution of 1868

The Franciscans in the Philippines followed closely the events connected with the September revolution of 1868, called "The Glorious." The first notices of serious developments then taking place reached the Philippines on

28 October in a telegram sent via London by the Overseas Minister. After consultation with the competent organizations, Jose de la Gándara, Governor of the Spanish colony, decided to maintain the *status quo*, lest the occurrence of possible public disorders endanger the security of the Islands. In the beginning, the events in Spain were kept secret, but since it was impossible to hide them from the public for a long time, an announcement on 23 November publicized what had happened, and asked for the cooperation of everyone to keep calm as long as no concrete orders arrived from Madrid.⁷⁷

Meanwhile, what had happened to the Franciscans residing in their colleges in Spain? Information trickled slowly to the Provincial in Manila. The convent of Puerto de Santa Maria had been closed and the friars had been forced by the revolutionaries to evacuate it within 48 hours. The same thing was about to happen to the College of Consuegra, although neither the priests nor the students were molested. These exemptions were due to the efforts of Frs. Vicente del Moral and Victoriano Condado, and the lay brother, Fray Pascual Adeva, who was the Province Econome for Spain.

Meanwhile, in the Philippines, the friars lived in tense calm watching the events whose direction no one could foretell. To prepare for any eventuality, the Provincial and the friars we mentioned—to whom we could add the names of Fray Gregorio Aguirre and Fray Joaquin de Coria—sought to obtain the help of influential persons in the current political set-up of Spain. We know this was done by, among others, Joaquin Aguirre, the Minister of Grace and Justice and President of the Revolutionary Junta; Rafael de Echagüe y Bermingham, former Governor of the Philippines; Vicente Barrantes, former secretary of the Governor of the Philippines; Rafael Nacamo Bravo.⁷⁸

Thanks to these efforts, the discretion of the revolutionary government, and a few other factors we need not mention, peace was quickly restored to the convents in Manila, secure that things were going to continue with no major changes. The government continued the support of the colleges of Pastrana and Consuegra, and authorized the departure and travel expenses of new groups of missionaries for the Philippines. This situation will continue for the rest of the period we are considering. But what relations existed between the Franciscans and the three governors general who ruled the destinies of the Archipelago for more than three years?

2. The Franciscans and the Government of Jose de la Gándara

The Provincial at the time, Fray Benito Romero de Madridejos, made a positive evaluation of the actuation of Gándara, but in our opinion, the man

sinned by excessive optimism. In the face of the insecurity and worry over the threat of an expulsion of all the friars from the Philippines, Madridejos thought that the conservative (in its original etymological meaning) policy adopted by this governor was, obviously, especially commendable.⁷⁹ But a more stringent scrutiny of the facts allows us to make some slight nuances that are not without importance.

The day after receiving the notice of the September revolution, Gándara sent a confidential letter to the Provincials of the religious orders (and I suppose to the Archbishop of Manila also), asking them that

... invoking their position of authority over the priests under their obedience, they issue guidelines to indicate the manner by which, with the proper confidentiality, the latter ought to guide their faithful in order that these may not separate themselves from the obedience and submission which they have always shown to the Motherland.⁸⁰

This was not the last time that the governor asked for the help of the clergy, both secular and regular, to be able to preserve a peace and tranquillity which he, with good reason, believed extremely fragile in view of the effects which the revolution in Spain had produced all over, and the enormous expectations that it had awakened in the most restless elements of the colony demanding the same freedoms for the colony as those being enjoyed at that moment in the peninsula. For this reason, Gándara sent a new missive to the Bishops and Provincials urging that their subjects should promote compliance with the orders promulgated in the *Gaceta de Manila* of the same date, and so, stop "every attempt at demonstration which may contribute to the disturbance of public order and peace, [as] it would openly violate the strict prohibitions that in those orders are communicated to this government" from Madrid.⁸¹ In this second letter, the governor was saying that, considering the problems through which the government in Spain was passing, on the one hand, and the continuing war situation in Cuba and Puerto Rico, on the other, it was thought opportune, for the time being, to put off the promulgation of the new Constitution in all the Spanish colonies, including naturally, the Philippines.

It was a delicate situation and Gándara moved cautiously. For example, although he ordered the removal from all public buildings of all the insignia of the recently dethroned royal family, he advised keeping the symbols of royal power. Their suppression could create confusion in the mind of many Filipinos. Gándara, in other words, wanted to avoid any gesture that could give occasion to the least feeling of a break between the central power and

the colony. The shadow of the Cuban question hovered above the Philippines, which the Metropolis, besieged by internal conflicts, was incapable of facing and, probably, to these problems one had to add the precarious security which one enjoyed in the suburbs of Manila where the bandits roamed at will. As a result, on 14 January 1869, the governor declared a state of emergency in the provinces of Manila, Cavite, Bulacan, Laguna, and Batangas. On the following 7 June, Gándara ceased as governor of the Philippines, handing it over provisionally to the Deputy Governor, Manuel A. de Maldonado, as he awaited his replacement, Don Carlos Ma. de la Torre.⁸²

As I said above, the relations between Gándara and the Franciscans were—at least in Benito Romero de Madridejos' opinion—apparently not only good but excellent, though it was really otherwise. There was at least one moment of great tension provoked by the dispute between Fr. Francisco Arriaga, parish priest of Morong, and the Politico-Military Commander of the same district when the *gobernadorcillo* of the town refused to obey certain orders transmitted by the Commander on 5 January 1869. The latter's reaction against the native functionary must have been unduly violent, and Arriaga, it seems, defended him.

The details of this incident are unknown. Anyway, the fact is on 10 February following, Gándara wrote the Franciscan Provincial a letter strongly condemning Arriaga's conduct while regretting the Commander's procedure, because even if it was true that the Franciscan parish priest had not "apparently broken the peaceful harmony that must reign between the civil and the ecclesiastical authorities, principally in the small localities," considering, however, "the moral influence which its present pastor in that town enjoys to the detriment somehow of what in all senses the Politico-Military Commander of the district should enjoy, it becomes necessary [for the Provincial] to indicate to Arriaga the need for the latter to take care of giving as much support and prestige as is needed for authority to be duly respected and obeyed." Otherwise, the governor would be forced to adopt more drastic measures against the friar.⁸³ Gándara left the Philippines a few months afterwards without having taken further action on the matter which Carlos Ma. de la Torre, his successor—as we shall see—would face later.

3. The Franciscans and the Government of Carlos Ma. de la Torre

Both the personality and the government of Carlos Ma. de la Torre have been the object of numerous but controversial studies in view of his military background and the period when it was his turn to rule the Philippines.⁸⁴ We

shall focus our attention on the relations between him and the Franciscans as a result of the antecedent circumstances that finally led to the Cavite mutiny.

The appointment of Carlos Ma. de la Torre to succeed Jose de la Gándara provoked contradictory reactions in the Philippines. As the famous but controversial soldier would write later: "It happens that the friars had misgivings about me on my arrival in the Islands, all the employees and government functionaries hated me, while the rich and the *ilustrados* were crazy for me."⁸⁵

And indeed it was that way. The Franciscans received him in silence, maybe in apprehension bordering on fear, but these attitudes were quickly assuaged. On 16 July 1869, the Provincial had his first conference with the general of the September revolution. The meeting must have been, if not cordial, at least polite. Benito de Madridejos seemed gradually to put aside his fear and mistrust of de la Torre. He had his misgivings, but was not alarmed at actions which others considered highly suspect. I refer particularly to the patriotic demonstration held in Manila on the governor's arrival, to which Madridejos refers in a letter to Joaquin de Coria, dated 13 July that same year:

Last Sunday there was in front of the palace of His Excellency, the Civil Governor, a festive and peaceful serenade, a homage, they say, of the Filipinos, and next Sunday, they say there will be artificial fireworks and other signs of celebration, offered it seems by various persons at the invitation of the Honorable Ayuntamiento.⁸⁶

The Franciscan Provincial, judging from the above paragraph, was quite divorced from the goings-on in Manila. As the months passed, his opinion of the governor clearly grew in optimism, such that on 13 March 1870, he had no qualms writing:

When this general arrived, there were misgivings that some have difficulty [accepting him *sic*], but afterwards they saw those who bear [could have?] an intention to create trouble say His Excellency thinks it good here to sustain at all cost the moral rectitude and principle of authority. And so everything is fine following these principles.⁸⁷

Was everything so satisfactory as to justify Madridejos' judgment? Considering that at the moment what was of great concern to him was survival (note the difficulties through which in the peninsulà the relations between the Church and the State were passing), we agree. De la Torre intended to rule, at least in some aspects, with a heavy but caressing hand. In

regards to the Franciscans particularly, he was the one who resolved in a drastic manner the dispute in Morong between the parish priest and the politico-military commander which we mentioned above.

On 6 September 1869, de la Torre wrote the Provincial that, since instead of being settled this conflict had aggravated to the consequent loss of prestige of civil authority, "I recommend to Your Reverence that you deign to assign this Fray Francisco Arriaga to administer a parish of another province."⁸⁸ Five days later Arriaga received his orders. The latter refused to obey, and de la Torre wrote again to Madridejos on 23 October demanding that he command the pastor of Morong to present himself at once to the Manila convent "to receive orders from my authority."⁸⁹ Madridejos forwarded the communication to Arriaga. Arrived in Manila, the latter notified de la Torre he awaited the Governor's pleasure. But far from admitting he was in on the case, the Governor ordered Madridejos to inform Arriaga not to think of communicating with him (de la Torre) directly, but with his superiors.⁹⁰

Francisco Arriaga's problematic situation will be even more embroiled with the involvement in the affair of another Franciscan, Mariano Pardo, as young as the first, and also sharing his ideas and his restlessness. The conflict will be settled a few months later with the expulsion of both from the Franciscan order and from the Philippines mutually agreed on between the governor and the Franciscan Provincial.⁹¹ As a result, Arriaga and Pardo were forced to leave the Islands in February 1870.

On the other hand, like his predecessors, de la Torre unequivocally sought the help of both the secular and the regular clergy to carry out his colonial policies. For example, on 9 August 1869, he sent to the Franciscan Provincial a reform decree on primary instruction, with a covering letter asking Franciscan cooperation, since it will be "very easy to spread moral and religious education by basing it on the eternal principles of the gospel," and in this manner the country "will gradually be more religious, more principled, and more educated." He also asked from the Provincial a Franciscan to translate his circular into Bicol. And finally, with the reappearance of the confraternity of Saint Joseph founded by Apolinario de la Cruz, a phenomenon he attributed to "ignorance, fanaticism, and excessive credulity" while qualifying it as a "heretical association," he approved a controlled freedom of its members, but asking the Provincial to order the "pastor who enjoyed the greatest reputation to convince them of their error." And this request the Provincial took care to attend to immediately.⁹²

Fray Sebastian Moraleda de Almonacid will succeed Fray Benito, but this change seems not to have especially affected the basic relations between

the Franciscans and Governor de la Torre. Almonacid showed that he was much more in touch with reality, it is true, but Madrideo was sufficiently more prudent. One of the new Provincial's early decisions was to withdraw his trust in Fray Joaquin de Coria, till then Commissar in Madrid of the Province and a trusted man of Madrideo. In his place was named Fray Vicente del Moral.

By Christmas 1870, Almonacid made a courtesy call on the governor general and the civil governor of Manila, after which he admitted "having little confidence in the officials of this epoch," although, he continued, "God can make use of these same men to carry out His will."⁹³ Some weeks later, the decree from the Madrid government reached the Philippines, in virtue of which was granted the faculty to secularize the friars in the Philippines who asked for it, the confiscation of their properties, and the secularization of the University of Santo Tomas. Deeply affected by the effects the implementation of these decrees could have in the life of the Franciscan province, the Provincial summed up his anxiety in two very significant phrases: "The revolution is now at home,"⁹⁴ "We are going through a fateful epoch, and our hands are tied."⁹⁵

However, none of these decrees was carried out due to, among other reasons, the opposition of persons most affected by them, but especially because de la Torre ignored them and informed Madrid about the negative results that would follow if they were obeyed. In his opinion, it should be the Cortes, not a mere provisional government that should introduce substantial changes in the manner of governing the colonies.

As indicated above, and as is well known, de la Torre has entered history as a liberal governor frustrated in his Philippine policies because of the interference and pressure made to bear on him by the friars. That actually is not the conclusion one draws from what we have discussed in the preceding pages. De la Torre himself strongly stated so in his brief when he handed the office over to Izquierdo. After repeating he had always wanted to be reconciliatory, that he never allowed himself to mix his own political creed with his duties as governor and never allowed any interference by anybody, he analyzed the tensions to which he had been subjected both politically and economically, focusing them especially on two groups. For greater clarity, I quote his words:

I shall put down those who were expecting much from the revolution for their own personal interests, not for those of the country, and much less for the interests of Spain. They were the secular clergy, the three dozen Spaniards

known as "Filipinos" and the mestizos . . . the native priests . . . were hoping for confiscation and secularization The two dozens of rich families, if they are that many, Filipinos and mestizos, and a dozen persons, if that many, who among the classes are the most educated, were hoping for the freedom of the press, representation in Cortes, positions till now reserved to Spaniards, and also confiscation and secularization.⁹⁶

This does not mean, however, blaming anyone concretely for the occurrences in 1872 because of the Cavite mutiny, according to de la Torre. And he ended by saying that the secular clergy is unjustly marginalized. It was urgent to give them a major role in the religious life of the Philippines. The regular clergy, on the other hand, needed no less urgently to be reformed. Prescinding from them, as many suggest, "would be a crime of *lèse nation*, the result of which would be great evils. That would be the height of indiscretion, inconvenience, and the most senseless imprudence."⁹⁷ Furthermore, "*those who wish ill of the friars are the very ones who wish ill for Spain*,"⁹⁸ a clear allusion to the republican liberals.

4. The Franciscans and the Government of Rafael Izquierdo

On 4 April 1871, Carlos Ma. de la Torre handed over the government of the Philippines to his successor, Rafael Izquierdo, another hero of the September revolution. On this same date, the latter issued a circular to the provincials of the religious orders asking in a homiletic tone their unconditional support. Later, on 12 May, he issued another circular in order to implement a reform of primary education. In January 1872, he sought anew the same cooperation to improve communications and roads.

Life in the Philippines continued without any incidents of transcendence until 20 January 1872 when the Cavite mutiny broke out, with all its tragic results known to all.

What were the relations between the Franciscans and Izquierdo in the short span of time since April of the previous year? From the documents we have, relations strictly of protocol. Without any doubt, Izquierdo was better received by the Franciscans than his predecessor, but without enthusiasm. Almonacid, their Provincial, merely states, "He seems to be a man of character and determination. And so we hope his stay in these Islands may result in good."⁹⁹ That is all. For his part, the Provincial seems to have shown a special care to stay aloof as much as possible from all kinds of strife in the political arena. We have already mentioned that one of his first decisions as Provincial was the change of Commissars in Madrid, replacing Coria with del Moral. The latter, perhaps seeking to follow in the footsteps of his

predecessor in the office, sent from Madrid 10 copies of the liberal (later, conservative) paper, *Las Provincias de Ultramar*, founded to defend the interests of the Antilles and the Philippines, which Almonacid seemed not to have known. When the latter received them in Manila on 4 December 1872, he reacted strongly in surprise:

... I inform Your Reverence that the venerable Definitorio has charged me to tell Your Reverence never again to make the same expenditure for similar purposes. In imposing this task, they base themselves on the fact that in the Philippines the entry of such periodicals is not forbidden, and no matter how bad that paper is, no matter how badly it speaks of the [religious] orders, it will only be *El Universal*, *La Discusión*, *La Armonía*, and many more containing articles against the orders in the Philippines and their properties that are received from the peninsula.¹⁰⁰

The Provincial's letter crossed the ocean as many more issues were being sent to him: *Las Provincias de Ultramar*, *El Correo de las Antillas*, and *El Argos*. Almonacid rejects them again, warning the Commissar in Madrid that, if things continued that way, their publishers "are going to involve us in newspapers and other Californias will be needed to pay for so many publications."¹⁰¹

All these details, apparently in themselves not important, I have mentioned to emphasize the non-interference of the Franciscan Provincial in the clearly political issues in the administration of Spain's colony in the Far East. Hence, when the Cavite mutiny broke out, it is not strange that he should be the first to be surprised. This appears from both the news he himself sent to Fray Gregorio Aguirre and the tone in which he wrote:

There is no other news here except the Cavite uprising last 19 and 20 January which was immediately crushed. I was in those days on the way to the missions of Pungcan and Caraballo. There we received the fateful news of that uprising which disturbed us very much since I did not know the fate of those I had left in Manila and its suburbs.

They have shot several rebels from the ranks and executed by *garrote vil* many plotters of the revolt. Among them, on the 17th, two priests from the Cathedral, the pastor of Bacoor and another *indio*, their confidant. Many people are jailed and they continue imprisoning more. They expect it will reach some of the provinces. But despite all, everything seems peaceful.¹⁰²

Obviously Almonacid seemed unaware of, or at least not interested in, the details of the mutiny. The information he forwarded to Aguirre was what any man of the streets could have heard from rumors or read in the Manila press.

But to complete our understanding of the background of the Cavite mutiny, let us move to the capital of the peninsula, Madrid, the center where crucial decisions affecting Spanish colonial policy were taken.

5. The Philippine Clergy in the Madrid Press (1868-1872)

The secular and regular clergy in the Philippines became a controversial topic in the Madrid press towards the end of 1868, the year of the revolution, more concretely with the publication of two articles by Vicente Barrantes in *El Imparcial* on 21 and 27 December. We have not seen the articles themselves, but from the reactions which we have read, it is clear Barrantes wrote a long essay on the situation of the Islands, including, among others, the very low cultural level of the Filipinos—whom he apparently described as “savages”; the futility, consequently, of extending to the Philippines the rights and freedoms granted in Spain immediately after the revolution; the defective training of the secular clergy, some of whom did not hesitate to use rice flour instead of wheat for the eucharist; and, finally, the need to grant more privileges to the regular clergy, considering the extraordinary evangelical task they had been carrying on in the Islands since the 16th century.

The publication of these articles by Barrantes—former secretary of the Governor of the Philippines, and Intendant general of the Hacienda—provoked an angry reaction from a good number of periodicals and reviews of Madrid, but especially from *La Igualdad*, *La Discusión*, and *La Reforma*.

La Discusión reechoed the ideas Barrantes had contributed in its issue for 21 December 1868, and tried to refute the statements of this politician and extremist author in the issues for 3, 8, and 13 the following January, including almost always the controversy about the clergy. The editor of *El Imparcial* must have been surprised at the scandal occasioned by the publication of Barrantes' articles in his periodical and practically stopped publishing articles on the Philippines in the two following years of 1869 and 1870.

On 10 January, the clearly liberal *La Iberia* provided ample space in its pages for a series of contributions by Barrantes titled “Primary Education in the Philippines.” They appeared on 10 and 17 January, 16 February, 12 and 17 March. Later this same year 1869, they would be published in book form with the same title by the press “La Iberia.”

These new articles by Barrantes merely added fuel to the fire of the already burning controversy, and provoked further replies. The editor of *La Discusión* launched a new attack on the theses of this conservative politician-author on 16, 23, and 30 January 1869. On the following 1 Feb-

ruary, he printed a notice of the creation by the government of a Board of Reforms of the administration of the Philippines, composed of Joaquin Montenegro y Guitart, Eugenio Aguera, Gabriel Alvarez, Luis Estrada, Federico Hoppe, Diego Suarez, Vicente Barrantes—as an expert—and Patricio de la Escosura, appointed the Board president.

Reaction was not long in coming. The next day, the paper headlined its comments on this plan with the significant title "Treason," describing the Board as a rubber stamp (*mamarracho*) and dedicating to Barrantes the unflattering epithets of "selfish champion of the religious orders," and "soul of reaction." Escosura and Luis Estrada got off just a little better.

The controversery, however, continued. On 11 April space was given to Manuel Regidor's letter on the question of representation in Cortes; on 24 April, it began a series of about seven or eight articles titled "Studies Relating to the Administration of the Philippines," apparently claimed by Antonio Ma. Regidor and his brother, Manuel; on 4 June, a new letter replying to the articles published by Barrantes in *El Imparcial*, respectful but harsh, splashed with ecclesiastical terminology; on 10 June, again another letter against Barrantes and his ideas on the Philippine clergy.

The last installment of the "Studies," which was perhaps the least controversial, appeared on 17 August. Immediately, however, a new polemicist, this time in answer to "Studies" and anonymous like all the writers answering Barrantes, appeared. From here on, the controversy became a bonfire, and rare was the day when the paper, through replies and counter-replies, was not occupied with Philippine issues, especially in regard to the clergy. Joaquin de Coria appeared on 20, 21, 28 August, and 17 September, signing his name at the end of his last letter.¹⁰³

Six months later, Jose Burgos wrote a reply to these letters, although Coria had not mentioned Burgos or any other Filipino priest by name, published by the same newspaper on 20, 29, March, 12 April, and 11 May.¹⁰⁴ Why so late?

Burgos' letter reached the editors of *La Discusión* on 12 March of the same year, the date when he promised to publish his articles, the same date that for the first time and in the same issue, the policies of Carlos Ma. de la Torre were being attacked, among other reasons, because he had confiscated several issues of *La Epoca*, *La República Ibérica*, and *La Discusión* (whose corresponding editor in Manila resigned for this reason), and had opened personal and private letters (allusion to what had happened to Burgos' mail?). *La Discusión* continued its interest in Philippine affairs, always in impassioned defense of the most progressive views throughout 1870-1871,

denouncing the religious orders and severely attacking de la Torre whom it accused in the issue for 22 September 1870 of having "agreed to the order of banning the newspapers from concerning themselves even indirectly with the policies for the Philippines, and especially the policies of Spain"

But let us return to the Coria-Burgos controversy. Antonio Ma. Regidor, the Filipino author who has given to this epistolary debate the greatest importance, stated reservedly that when Burgos joined the debate, "Fray Coria immediately stopped his letter writing," an assertion that does not seem to have any foundation. In the first place, Joaquin de Coria more than six months before had been deposed from his post by his superiors, precisely because of his contributions to the newspaper which we are discussing. And, second, on 18 and 29 September, and 10 October 1869, that is, on the next day after Coria's last letter appeared, he had received a blunt reply in the form of three anonymous letters in which the writer, after a long historical disquisition of the conflict between the secular and the regular clergy in the Philippines, denounced certain actual activities of the Franciscans, among whom he mentioned Gregorio Aguirre by name, and included a letter from the politico-military commander of Morong to the Governor of the Philippines and the Archbishop of Manila about the scandal created by the parish priest of that town.

In the third part, better, third letter, the writer copied a letter from the bishop of Cebu, Jaime Gil de Orduña, dated 13 June 1844, which bewailed the moral decadence of the friars, but affirming he could fill with individual names the blank space of the letter from the commander of Morong.

Who wrote these three important letters which, for the first time, place the Franciscans in the eye of the hurricane of the newspaper controversy on the clergy of the Philippines? Without any doubt, he was a Franciscan and, almost certainly, a friend of Francisco Arriaga. Without entering into the details of our second affirmation, it is enough to quote the following regarding the first:

Give up, then, [you, Coria] your so-called rights based on that *privilege*, in conformity also with what our holy founder, Saint Francis, was saying: "*His privilege and that of his brothers was to possess nothing.*"¹⁰⁵

Another Madrid paper that joined in the polemic raised by Barrantes' articles on the clergy in the Philippines was the republican *La Reforma*. Its editor was a known and influential political figure of the age, grand master of the Orient of Spain, and friend of the members of the Filipino colony in Madrid, among whom was Jose Rizal. I refer to Miguel Morayta. It is his

paper which will provide a more consistent and biting tone to the debate, but it is not the first time it will be concerned with the clergy in the Philippines. And his concern in the matter was anterior to the publications of Barrantes.

On 19 November 1868, the first chapter of a series titled "Public Education in the Philippines," signed by Rafael Garcia Lopez, a former governor of Cagayan, appeared.¹⁰⁶ From this date until 7 October 1869 (the date of the last issue of this paper which we were able to consult), Garcia Lopez signed no less than 14 articles or letters on Philippine issues, many of them on the clergy or those referring to them. Let us examine just a few of them.

In the issue of 20 November 1868, which published a brief resumé of the College of San Jose under the administration of three native priests, it already made sufficiently harsh judgments on the secular clergy. On the 25th of the same month, together with its fervid criticism of the regular clergy, it issued this denouncement of the secular (i.e., native-born) clergy. From the University of Santo Tomas, it said, came the priests who slowly formed "a center of subversion in the capital," "the major plague" of the Philippines is the "big number of so-called *bachelors* who poured out yearly into all the islands, coming from the royal and pontifical university of Manila," the "factory of theologians with *buyo and morisqueta*, of petty lawyers who burn the midnight oil (*arden en un tinjoy*)."

Three days later, on 28 November, in reference to the needed reform of the University of Santo Tomas, it editorialized that what ought to be done was issue a

... communication clear and evident to their Reverences to move out within 24 hours, and if they fail to do so a company of grenadiers can take over, and the matter is closed.

On 22 December, after unambiguously stating its clear opposition to extend universal suffrage to the Philippines, as proposed by *El Puente de Alcolea*, the paper went on to denounce the continuing separatist activities and some of their instigators, concretely, Don Juan Francisco Lecaroz¹⁰⁷ and his

... very close confrère and friend, the mestizo from Bacoor, province of Cavite [Fr. Mariano Gomez?], repeatedly tried for insurgency, but who to our face freely made his boasts one night in his parish residence.

Vicente Barrantes, then, did not initiate the attacks on the secular clergy, much less Joaquin de Coria, but a republican liberal and, perhaps, a mason, namely, Rafael Garcia Lopez.

On 17 January he joined the controversy started by Barrantes with a fierce satire against him and the Dominicans. The newspaper inserted between Garcia Lopez's articles news and other writers' articles on the Philippines. For example, on 11 February of this same year, there was an "Exposition to the Constituent Cortes Protesting Against the Creation of a Special Board of Reforms for the Philippines," with forty signatures, among them that of Manuel Regidor, broker of a Madrid commercial enterprise; Saenz de Vizmanos, former Commissar of the fortifications of Manila; Antonio Ma. Regidor; Rafael Garcia Lopez, former alcalde mayor of various Philippine provinces; and Manuel Rivas, a Dominican.

Attacks continued both against Barrantes and the regular clergy in the following months. On 11 August, the newspaper published a letter signed by a certain Luis Lacandola, probably a pseudonym, which, besides manifesting his disappointment that the new Constitution of Spain had not been implemented in the Philippines, attacked Barrantes, Estrada, and Escosura for their support of the regular clergy, and ending with a threat and a warning—although he took care to add a disclaimer—that the Filipinos, sated with sufferings, could seek the help of "nations who look askance at Spain and would aid our emancipation," even providing the necessary "equipment for an army of 50,000 men whom we could immediately put under arms." (Note we are in August 1869!)

Joaquin de Coria's open sally into the newspaper tournament is hailed by Rafael Garcia Lopez with real enthusiasm replete with Voltairian irony. He probably personally knew the Franciscan whom he described as a "robust Commissar" of the Franciscans, "a man easy going and friendly."

... we are happy that Your Reverence has joined the dance, that it will not be the first *kundiman* which you will join. And for the sake of the truth, we were hoping that a son of Saint Francis would be the one to break the cotillon; for, to repeat, it is the least hypocritical and most open of that papist army.

In answer Coria wrote two articles titled "Now It Appears," published by *La Reforma* on 26 August and 2 September, although, curiously in the hour of truth, he centered his denunciations more on the Dominicans and the Augustinians than on the Franciscans.

By these dates, such as we can gather from the information published by this newspaper, the Philippine government was going through serious

economic difficulties. Many of its senior employees, displaced by a wave of new functionaries appointed by the revolutionary government, were in misery, so much so that "entire families go through these streets [of Manila] begging from generous souls a loaf of bread or cooked rice to feed themselves." Some, bereft of resources to return to the peninsula, were able to do so later, thanks to a subscription organized by the government itself. Among these was perhaps Federico Lerena, who, once he reached Spain, would found, together with Manuel Regidor, the review *El Eco Filipino*.

Besides the authors and publications mentioned above, there were still others who joined the controversy on the clergy in the Philippines: Rafael Ma. de Labra in *Las Cortes*; Vicente Barrantes in *El Pueblo* (with the help of the Commissars of the religious orders); Francisco Arriaga (we shall discuss him more fully in another place) in *La Armonía* (the review which published about 26 articles and letters on the Philippines), *La España Radical*, *El Correo de España*, *El Universal*, probably *Las Provincias de Ultramar*, and *El Correo de las Antillas*. Although more or less sporadically, almost all the periodicals and reviews of that period published articles on the matter, especially during the years 1869-1870.

The conservative press defended the *status quo* of the clergy in the Philippines, heaping praises on the friars and showing their own prejudices and niggardly appreciation of the secular. The liberal press, for its part, demanded the confiscation of the goods of the regular clergy, their voluntary or forcible exclaustation, and the nationalization of the schools. The attitude of the liberal press towards the secular clergy was far from unanimous, however. *La Discusión*, for example, habitually made apologies for the secular priests. *La Reforma* cursed them, while *El Eco Filipino* in general neither praised nor vituperated them, but used them rather for its own advantage.

6. Colophon on the Biography and Personality of Joaquin de Coria

As we have been able to observe, there are various individuals who play a fundamental role in the controversy about the clergy in the Philippines: Rafael Garcia Lopez, Vicente Barantes, Joaquin de Coria, Francisco Arriaga, Jose Burgos, and the Regidor brothers, although these last in a less important role than Antonio Ma. Regidor wants us to believe from his writings. Each one of them deserves a full monograph similar to that on Burgos by Schumacher. In regards to the Franciscan Coria, it would be good to add a few comments to what has been discussed elsewhere.¹⁰⁸

Contrary to the impression of some, Coria does not represent the Franciscan prototype in the Philippines in the second half of the nineteenth century. There were probably many members of the Province of Saint Gregory who were identified with his attitudes, but it is also true there were equally many others opposed to them, as we shall see below, with many more who were not involved in such controversies.

A vain man, self-centered and lacking adequate cultural formation, Coria acted in Madrid almost with absolute freedom until the publication of his letters in *La Discusión* and his *Memoria Apologética*. Then the Provincial, Benito de Madridejos, began to show open disagreement with his ideas or, at least, with the way he aired them. Even less in agreement with his actuations than Madridejos were the rectors and some professors of the colleges in Spain, one of whom we suspect penned and published likewise in *La Discusión* the reply to Coria's articles (mentioned above). And in opposite poles to these ideas were the ideas of other men, like Francisco Arriaga and Mariano Pardo.

The Commissar must have been a man easily swayed in his opinions, despite the tone of self-sufficiency in his writings. When Francisco Arriaga and Mariano Pardo arrived in Spain after their expulsion from the Philippines, Coria received them in his Madrid residence, and shortly after wrote¹⁰⁹ to superiors in Manila that the two former Franciscans "have edified him very much and he cannot help but regret the loss of such good friars and so, considering their high spirit of conformity and good sentiments, he has looked on them as submissive and sincere sons docile to his fatherly advice." This alleged admiration, however, lasted for only a short while, as we shall see right away.

On 9 June 1870, Fray Sebastian Moraleda de Almonacid, successor of Madridejos, notified Coria by letter his assignment as Commissar in Spain had ceased. The latter received the communication with real surprise and evident disgust. He tried to convince his superiors in Manila that such a decision was unjust and wrong, considering his qualities and the many things the province owed him. Failing in this, he had recourse to higher offices in the administrative machinery of the state where he had influential friends—remember he had been awarded the Cross of Charles III—demanding the nullification of the acts of the chapter recently concluded in the province.

His activities on this terrain were likewise fruitless and, between the prospect of returning to the Philippines, where many would not welcome him, and the choice of staying in the peninsula, he opted for the second, but without incorporating himself to any of the two Franciscan communities in

Spain. In November, Coria, Arriaga, and Pardo presented themselves for the public competitive examinations for the chair of Tagalog created at the Central University of Madrid to prepare government functionaries for the Philippines. The board of judges, composed of Nicolas Salmeron, Fernando de Castro, Jose Alvarez, and Manuel Azcarraga, recommended Francisco Arriaga as the first choice. But Segismundo Moret, the Overseas Minister, decided to give the chair to Coria and not to Arriaga. Paradoxically, Arriaga's background and his present liberal inclinations served him nothing before a government of the same persuasion. It had preferred being realistic to being utopian, compromise to real progress. It was one more bud showing the worsening deterioration of the revolution of September 1868.¹¹⁰

Sebastian Moraleda de Almonacid did not spare himself in tact and consideration before Coria's new situation, counselling patience to those who sought the former Commissar's expulsion from the province and the order. But such a decision was never taken. Meanwhile, Fray Pascual Adeva, in charge of the economic concerns in Spain stayed with him.

We do not know if Coria finally took possession of the chair of Tagalog. We only know that he received the official appointment on 28 December 1870, that on 1 February 1872 the Overseas Minister asked the Minister of Public Works to publish in the *Gaceta de Madrid* the notice of the opening of the course, and that on 16 March that year Joaquin de Coria accepted his anticipated salary in the payroll.

We suppose that the time that elapsed between his destitution from the office of Commissar on 4 June 1870 to the date of his election to the professorial chair of Tagalog he employed to edit his *Nueva gramática tagala teórico-práctica* (Madrid: Imprenta de J. Antonio Garcia, 1872).¹¹¹

He must have fallen sick soon afterwards, for by July of the following year, 1873, he was already dead. Although Eusebio Gomez Platero believes he died outside of the Order, legally he was still a Franciscan till the end of his life.¹¹² In fact, the Franciscan community at the College of Consuegra (Toledo) prayed for the repose of his soul, using the prescribed prayers in the rule for members of the province.¹¹³ His brothers in the cloth seem very quickly to have forgotten his name, perhaps too quickly. The Filipino *ilustrados*, on the other hand, only slowly, perhaps very slowly, forgot him.

7. The Franciscans—Corrupt Order?

By going through Rizal's works, the reader can easily reach the conclusion that the Franciscans in the Philippines during the second half of the nineteenth century must have been one of the most degenerate and

disreputable religious orders, whose members, from what seems to appear in Rizal's writings, were morally corrupt and reactionary beings, with little or no hope of salvation.

Is this image true? We do not think so. But before explaining our reasons, it will be good to make an initial clarification. Rizal's novels are not missiological studies, nor a history of the Church in the Philippines. They are a political weapon, masterfully planned and adroitly used by a politician outside with no claims to objectivity, despite affirmations to the contrary (as previously cited) and even outside any ethical considerations. Jose Rizal, physician turned politician, fixed on certain concrete objectives, chose the most convenient means (novels, historical studies, etc.) in order to convey a palpable message to his readers, means capable of transforming his vision of reality following tenets he believed most adequate, and he congratulated himself on having achieved his purpose.

The novels and some historical writings of Rizal contain several value judgments, general affirmations, etc., whose truth he never sought to prove, because, among other reasons, it was impossible to do so. Much less would it be possible to prove the contrary of what he affirmed. Of course, I do not now intend to do the same, but I shall attempt some kind of an approximation of the internal situation of the Franciscans in the Philippines just as it can be gleaned from the documents available to us. It is not a matter of descending to particulars, or making some kind of a statistical study to show how many Franciscans there were, parish priests or otherwise, who merited being called "excellent," "good," "average," "mediocre"; or how many, on the other hand, deserved the opposite. We shall simply try to give a panoramic picture of the truth, with its lights and shadows, its positive and negative aspects.

The Franciscan Province of Saint Gregory the Great of the Philippines traces its origins to the Franciscan descalced reform group under the direct inspiration of Saint Peter Alcantara, known in history as having begun in Spain a style of life characterized by austerity in the order. In this Alcantarine spirituality emphasis was on the testimony of one's personal life of poverty, simplicity, preference for the humbler classes of society, care of the sick, etc. The Franciscans are still faithful to this rather demanding spiritual tradition more evident in the first generations, but less so in the following. This is not unusual, considering the major transformation undergone by the Province of Saint Gregory due to socio-cultural and religious circumstances, and the new demands imposed on it as it moved farther and farther from its initially strict missionary ideal, and became an order that sought only to *preserve* the faith of the Christian communities of the Philippines.

Some values essential to the primitive ideal appear to have been kept faithfully through the centuries, like, for example, care for the sick, communal poverty, preference for the humbler social groups, the "people," as we say today. It is true less emphasis is now placed on personal witness, but at the same time, one notices a growth in the cultural level of the missionaries. Unfortunately, none of these factors is quantifiable and therefore not worth the effort insisting on them.

Because of possible defects of certain individuals, and there were a number of them certainly, it would also be good to indicate the exceptional human and religious qualities of more members of the Franciscan order in the Philippines. Just to cite an example in the history of the country which we are concerned with, there is one Franciscan friar whom we ought to rank among the best, Fray Felix Huerta.¹¹⁴ Fray Felix was not only a full-bodied man, but an excellent religious, a first-class historian, a tireless advocate to uplift the social situation of the Filipinos, and, at the same time, a Franciscan recognized for his humility. What right does anyone have to say Fray Damaso is the Franciscan prototype, and not Fray Felix Huerta? Both belonged to the same Franciscan order!

But let us leave aside apologies. The Philippine Province of Saint Gregory, just like the other religious orders in the Philippines and elsewhere, naturally needed reforms, not only in their organization, but also in their personal spiritual lives and apostolic tasks.¹¹⁵

It has been repeated *ad nauseam* that the regular clergy, the friars, in the Philippines pressured and frequently coerced the civil authorities in order to maintain their centuries-old privileges both in relation to the secular clergy and the Spanish government. Of course, there are enough proofs to support the statement. But no less certain is it that, viewing history from another perspective, the Church, and in this case, the Franciscan order, was not just controlled, but at least in many aspects rather subjected and exploited by the powers of the state.

The Franciscans in the second half of the nineteenth century lived to a great degree on the mercy of the state which subsidized their seminaries, financed the missionaries traveling to the Philippine missions, and supported them in their respective parishes. But in return they paid very dearly, in the frequent curtailment of their freedom to live the internal life of the order according to their own spiritual charism. Felix Huerta, who more than once suffered under this constraint, says this:

We have to submit to the supreme government the capitular register [the acts of nomination] for its approval after consulting, when convenient, the three

diocesan Ordinaries. This is strictly imposed, and usually it takes three months to examine the register. If the government disapproves it, the chapter was useless. This government does not delay much on the physical defects [of the nominees], but concentrates especially on their moral shortcomings. As it constantly receives information from the three bishops and the *alcaldes mayores*, it knows perfectly the conduct of everybody and God save us from electing someone whose conduct is not, in its mind, at least average, lest it nullify the register. Worse if one has been brought to court, as unfortunately is the situation now with the six pending cases before the government against six members of this province. It is true that these cases are not always a dishonor to the order; on the contrary, some redound to our honor. For example, take the case of Fray Benito de la Pila.¹¹⁶ In places where there are *alcaldes*, the parish priests are ordered to supervise the *alcalde's* accounts. The one in Tayabas robs one half of the allocation for the prisoners. Fray Pila refused to sign the statement, thus sanctioning the robbery, and the *alcalde* has accused him before the court and forwarded his case to the government. As all the governors are of Garibaldi's school, it is probable Fray Pila will lose his case,¹¹⁷ and in this instance; we now have to beware not to name him Provincial or assign him to a position of honor, for he will be disapproved since he resisted civil authority.

This dispute, Very Reverend Father, is rather sad, but unfortunately quite true and more frequent than appears at first sight.¹¹⁸

The *ilustrados* frequently accused the provincials of the religious orders of failing to punish duly the parish priests who infringed on certain rules or violated their own religious vows. There are clear cases of this type of negligence. But we must not forget that no less frequent was the case of a parish priest victimized by libelous denunciations by individuals interested in having them transferred from the parish or to discredit him.

On many occasions, superiors sincerely tried to remedy an anomalous, even scandalous, situation of a parish priest; but their efforts were stymied by the civil authorities themselves which refused to allow the transfer of any priest without first checking the reasons before allowing such changes. That was the case of Fray Salustiano Bus, parish priest of Borongan, Samar. The provincial chapter elected him librarian of the convent in Manila clearly to remove him from the parish for reasons we do not know, but which must have been serious. Fray Bus appealed to the civil courts which, after a lengthy trial, issued a sentence in favor of the Franciscan provincial. The friar asked permission to return to Spain, but the governor refused it. Once in Manila, he approached some influential politicians who pressured the provincial to reassign him to Borongan. The provincial yielded, and finally, Fray Bus was assigned to the parish of Palapag, and later to Catarman.¹¹⁹

Without leave of the corresponding civil authorities, parish priests could not only not leave their parishes, but even travel to another province far from that in which his parish was located, nor go to the neighboring one to visit its pastor or receive the sacrament of reconciliation. "An unbearable burden," wrote Fray Jose Miralles, Franciscan provincial, "which the most insignificant *indio* does not bear."¹²⁰ Joaquin de Coria had tasted this himself in 1866 when going to Tayabas from Manila to visit the parish priest of Binangonan before taking the boat for Spain after his appointment as Commissar and Procurator. He had no permit from the government and was detained for a half-hour by the politico-military commander of the zone.

The province was in need of reform too in order to free it from the legal exile it was suffering from the rest of the Franciscan order, thanks to its old Alcantarine privileges, and allow their younger professed in the colleges in Spain a greater share in the internal affairs of the province. The new generation of Franciscans could infuse a new vigor into the spiritual and pastoral life of the Franciscans in the Philippines. But not finding a proper channel for their boundless energies, they worsened the internal split of the province, producing an alarming situation.

The Arriaga and Pardo incidents we have summarized were not, by any means, isolated ones. Already in 1865, the former, together with Fray Domingo de la Rosa, Fray Jose Martinez, Fray Mariano Duran, Fray Francisco Jimenez, and Fray Remigio Mufoz, headed a letter addressed to the Commissar and signed by 37 other Franciscans of the province, protesting against the manner of holding the provincial chapters and the marginalization of the young friars although they were the majority.¹²¹

In 1880 a group of young Franciscans submitted a simple exposition to Rome, denouncing what they considered a serious internal decadence of the province,¹²² which resulted in the appointment of an Apostolic Visitor by the Sacred Congregation of Bishops and Religious to investigate the truth of these friars' complaints.¹²³ Fray Damaso Calvo and Fray Domingo Ufert again manifested their dissatisfaction with the way the Rule was observed in the province of Saint Gregory in a letter to the Franciscan Minister General, Fray Bernadino de Portu Romantino,¹²⁴ when they asked permission to work in the China missions.

These documents are susceptible of two readings. First, the denouncements would prove there were serious shortcomings in the province of Saint Gregory, a viewpoint which is not wrong. Second, they show that there was a rather important ferment of disquiet and a desire for change,

seeking a more radical evangelical life among a sizable number of Franciscan friars in the Philippines. This is a positive factor whose importance cannot be overlooked.

The younger generation of Franciscans in the Philippines were aware of the urgent need for a profound reform in the legal structure of the Province of Saint Gregory to allow a better adaptation to the problematic circumstances in the Islands in which they found themselves. Such a reform had to be effected in any case by a return to the roots of the Franciscan order and of the province itself, reviving the more characteristic values of those first years.

In this sense, the young friars could not reconcile the Franciscan vocation exclusively spent in the parochial ministry such as it was then practiced and accepted. Fray Mariano Pardo was the one who, certainly summing up the sentiments of a considerable number of his brothers, directed the writing of a long document titled *Points of Reform Suggested by Fray Mariano Pardo to the Provincial of Saint Gregory, Fray Benito de Madridejos, co-signed by Fray Francisco Arriaga*. It has no date, but it must certainly have been written towards the end of 1869. The document contains 49 points, of which the more important are the following:

33. The superiors of the Franciscan friars in the Philippines are under strict, unavoidable, imprecindible obligation to assign to active missions and to the pagan [areas] exclusively *all the friars, and cede little by little*, according as the interests and the subsequent rights allow it, *to the bishops the parishes vacant by accident, voluntary renouncement and any other cause in the towns already accustomed to the practice of the Catholic religion.*

34. The supposed interest of the state that is alleged because, as friars are the pastors of the Philippines, the natives will be better vassals, better and more industrious citizens, is of a very low category and not worthy of being taken into account against the general interest of the Church which cannot sanction absurdities as that of the Franciscan Order of Saint Francis as it is observed in the Philippines, nor impose bonds that shackle the free exercise of the diocesan faculties and occasion the commission of many sins by those who enter the religious life in the belief that it is as it is painted in the novitiate.

42. The visitor declares it is his intimate conviction that it is God's will and that of our holy Father Saint Francis that a residence of our community be erected as soon as possible in Palanan and other points along the litoral of Nueva Vizcaya, where young men are trained and the older religious continue converting to Christianity the pagans who inhabit that province and other parts of the Philippine archipelago.

45. In that convent in Palanan, a novitiate should be established, and the religious vows should be granted more extensively to Filipinos than to Europeans

46. In the convent of Palanan and other similar houses, the friars can dedicate themselves to farming for their own support and be an example of industry and how to exploit the land to the new converts, without issuing signed titles of property over the cultivated areas; rather with the obligation to grant them with no charges to the natives when the Order no longer needs them for its own daily support since the new Christians are now accustomed to make voluntary offerings to the friars, or since the latter receive from the state their allotted condign stipend.¹²⁵

As was to be expected, the suggestions of Arriaga and Pardo were received by the Franciscan superiors in Manila with surprise and anger. They saw in it a veritable internal revolution directed towards a more radical and sincere renovation of the life of the order in the Philippines. Unfortunately, their expulsion from the order and the inefficacious or useless visitation by Fray Francisco Saenz de Urturi, O. F. M. who had been named Apostolic Visitor by the Holy See destroyed what could have been a promising experience for the Franciscans as well as the Church in the Philippines.

In spite of everything, every now and then new voices were heard repeating and seeking the necessary reform and renovation of the life of the Province of Saint Gregory until practically the eve of the Philippine revolution and the end of the Spanish presence in the Islands.

VII. THE LENSES OF JOSE RIZAL

I have tried quite honestly to describe a few basic aspects of Philippine history, as well as the Franciscan role in its development. I have also discussed the relations between these friars and the Governors General Jose de la Gándara, Carlos Ma. de la Torre, and Rafael Izquierdo, and the internal situation of the Franciscans. The discrepancies between Rizal's vision of the followers of Saint Francis in the Philippines and what we have detailed are evident. What could be an explanation for this? The viewpoint from which one contemplates history. Rizal read the history of the Philippines of the period immediately before his time from a particular viewpoint that conditioned and even distorted, in our opinion, elemental facts of that history.

Despite the apparent confidence with which Rizal defended many of his denunciations of the friars, alleging they were based on real facts, and insisting on his impartiality when judging the activities of the religious orders in the Philippines, it is clear that his anticlericalism and his fierce criticisms of the friars did not proceed from a wide, direct, or objective acquaintance of

the real life of his country. Before sailing for Europe, Jose Rizal had hardly traveled beyond the surrounding areas of Calamba and Manila. Thus, the vision we find in his writings about the friars, the Franciscans especially, originated from several varied factors, among which the more important are the following: some negative experiences in his childhood and youth—his mother's arrest; the lack of respect, merely because he *was* Filipino, shown by his Spanish classmates; his own arrest and imprisonment when only 17 years old; the family and social atmosphere in which he was born and raised; the trauma from the GOMBURZA deaths; the influence exercised by his older brother, Paciano, intimately linked to dreams of progress for the Philippines, etc.

All the factors listed above formed a perfect cultural medium such that, with his readings, there emerged slowly the student of Ateneo de Manila and of the University of Santo Tomas, the Jose Rizal of the *Noli* and *Fili*. His later decisive experiences merely solidified his attitudes, and confirmed his intuitions. One of them was the following.

On 3 May 1882, Rizal left the Philippines for Spain aboard the "Salvadora." Enveloped in a welter of sadness and dark presentiments, he heads for the goal of every restless and idealistic Filipino in his time, Europe. The first big surprise during the trip, which would leave an impression of unforeseeable consequences, he found the following day with the boat still in Philippine waters, when he listened to the conversation of a group of notable Spaniards, mostly government functionaries. Like him, they were going to the peninsula. Rizal left his impressions in his personal diary:

Conversing this evening were Messrs. Barco, Moran, Pardo, Buil, and others. They talked at length about the government in the Philippines. Criticism flowed as never. *I came to discover that everyone in my country lives with the desire to suck the indio's blood, friars as well as officials. There could be exceptions, but rare.* Hence great evils and enmities among those who squabble over the same booty.¹²⁶

Here, in condensed summary, are some of Jose Rizal's more profound convictions we find repeatedly in his writings, the fundamental theme, above all, of *Noli me tangere*. The operative phrase in this paragraph is, without any doubt, "*I came to discover.*" It is impossible for Jose Rizal, the young and gifted student of Ateneo de Manila and the University of Santo Tomas, not to have known a good measure of the evils that afflicted the Philippines, even if only from conversation with his familiars and peers in the school. He knew them indeed from personal experience, as indicated above. But Rizal thought

he found in the conversation among the Spanish former government employees the missing link that gave a clear pattern to the riddle puzzling him for some time. There was corruption, former government employees themselves admitted it. Fact verified suspicion.

All Jose Rizal did was simply come into contact with a new world which a little later would dazzle him to the degree that the contact intensified, but which would in the end control him. Shortly after arriving in Spain, he plunged into the reading of the works of the grand masters of the Enlightenment, like Rousseau and Voltaire; the romantic novelists, like Dumas and Eugene Sue. He subscribed to the most progressive periodicals of Madrid, and became friends of some of the more outstanding figures of Spanish politics and thought of the time: Miguel Morayta, Francisco Pi y Margall, Segismundo Moret, Rafael Ma. de Labra, etc.; without forgetting the Philippine-born Spaniards then residing in Spain: Pedro Paterno, Manuel Regidor, and others.

The impact this meeting with the new world produced on the very young Filipino student just a little over 20 years old is preserved for us by his friend and confidant, the Austrian ethnologist, Ferdinand Blumentritt:

His stay in Spain opened a new world for him. His mental horizon began to expand considerably. New ideas took hold of him. He was coming from a country where bigotry rules, the Spanish friar, the Spanish employee, the Spanish military hold sway with unlimited power over bodies and souls. Here in Madrid he found the exact opposite: freethinkers and atheists were speaking freely in an insulting manner about his religion and his Church. He found minimal exercise of government authority. And he not only saw liberals fighting with clericals, but he watched astonished the republicans and carlists working openly to realize their ideas. A feeling of bitterness overcame him when he saw the difference between the unrestrained freedom of the Motherland and the absolute theocratic rule in his Fatherland.¹²⁷

But Jose Rizal did not merely modify considerably his thinking when he became part of a circle of admittedly the most radical politicians and thinkers of the age. He also received from them exact information, so he thought, of facts about his country's situation which till then he had not known. If we must believe the word of W. E. Retana, that is what he himself related to Ricardo Carnicero, his body guard in Dapitan:

... in the first meetings I had with Pi and Linares Rivas, when this man belonged to the Liberal Party, they taught me what I, born in this country was ignorant of. Like these gentlemen, I could mention to you many others who equally have knowledge of the life and miracles of the friars of the Philippines.¹²⁸

Besides what has been indicated, the above-named persons must have lent the young student periodicals, reviews, and books not easily available to the average reader.

November 1884 was one of the most tragic for the student world in the Spanish capital towards the end of the nineteenth century. Rizal witnessed the events which left a deep impress in him. Miguel Morayta had delivered the inaugural lecture for the academic year, in which he defended the professors' right to untrammelled research and also freely express their ideas within the university circles. Some of his statements provoked the criticism and condemnation by part of the more traditional elements of the Spanish Church, some of the bishops going to the extent of banning the reading of his lecture and recommending the destruction of all the extant copies. Urged on by the liberals, the students responded by organizing a massive demonstration "with *vivas!* and *mueras!*," in the words of the author of the *Noli*, which was brutally dispersed by government forces. The rector was arrested, his secretary, and various professors of the university. The steps of the university were stained with the victims' blood, the number of students wounded was high, and those arrested were even more. Rizal, fearing the same fate, managed to escape by disguising himself.

The condition of the young student following this dramatic experience which doubtless could have reminded him of the vivid experiences of his brother Paciano 14 years before in Manila must have registered a high degree of emotional tension, judging from this paragraph from one of his letters:

... It is no longer an honor to graduate from this dishonored, violated, debased, oppressed, and tyrannized Center. Knowledge should be free, the professor too. I shall not obtain my medical degree as long as Creuss is in the Rectory. I do not want a man execrated by all to sign my most glorious page If he does, I would tear it.¹²⁹

This same year, 1884, a handbill fell into his hands, published probably by Jose Ma. Basa in Hongkong. It was anticlerical in tone, and was directed against the Franciscans of Manila. Rizal must have read it with genuine glee, judging from the number of times he mentions it directly or indirectly in his writings, and the use he made of it in the writing of the epilogue to his novel, *Noli me tangere*. Its central theme is the scandalous conduct attributed to the Franciscan chaplain of the nuns at the monastery of Santa Clara in Manila.¹³⁰

Not much later, still in 1884, Rizal, carried by his desire to put down on paper his intimate experiences, wrote an article, better, its sketch, titled "A Filipino's Thoughts." Here for the first time, we have, although still in outline

form, the entire dramatic argument of his first novel, including the themes, protagonist, etc. Nor are the Franciscans, the monastery of Santa Clara, and, of course, the events of 1872 missing.

In these circumstance, that is to say, strongly influenced by the cultural atmosphere around him, clearly conditioned by friends and the books they provided for him, deeply disturbed by the incidents he was witnessing as a student, and considerably affected by anti-Franciscan prejudices resulting from reading Arriaga, the handbill just mentioned, etc., Rizal enclosed himself in his room until the late hours of midnight and wrote feverishly, "night and day for the space of many months"¹³¹ the greater portion of the novel which soon after would make him famous, *Noli me tangere*. In it Jose Rizal analyzed his country's condition from a grossly distorted—in our opinion—perspective created by lenses through which he read the recent history of his country.

In our view, these are the factors which, together with Joaquin de Coria's role in his controversy with Jose Burgos, pushed Rizal to portray the Franciscans as the direct manipulators of the events of Cavite, imposing on them a responsibility they did not incur. But, of course, we must admit there could be a convergence of other motivations we are still unaware of.

Besides the Franciscan participation in the events of Cavite, Rizal could hardly accept certain facets of Franciscan culture. I refer particularly to a certain skepticism towards the value of learning and science detectable in wide circles of the Franciscan order. Jose Rizal, a young man gifted with a more than average intellectual capacity, thirsting for excellence, and imbued with an almost unlimited faith in the possibilities of science to liberate humanity, must have looked with disapproving eyes on the feeble enthusiasm for science and progress among a good number of Franciscans.¹³²

Finally, we must keep in mind that even if Rizal dedicated much of his life to the cause of his people's freedom, he was never in contact with the masses, with the poor and the marginalized of his country. On the contrary, he always lived in relatively comfortable economic circumstances. This does not exclude that one day or so he suffered hunger, but which made it possible for him to carry out expensive studies abroad and travel to several countries. It was hard for this Rizal to feel an admiration for the Franciscan in his country, given their simplicity and chronic lack of economic resources, at least on the corporate level, and deprived of the political clout which apparently other religious orders in the Philippines made much of.

For all the reasons indicated, the Franciscans, perhaps more than any other religious order, lent themselves as good protagonists in a fictitious

story, like Rizal's, conceived with the purpose of discrediting all the friars in the Philippines, described as reactionaries, exploiters, enemies of all manner of economic and intellectual growth, and responsible consequently for all the evils of his country.

VIII. JOSE RIZAL IN THE EYES OF THE FRANCISCANS

We now know Rizal's attitude towards the Franciscans. But what was their attitude towards the author of *Noli*? What did they think of him? Considering that he gives such importance to them in his writings, the normal thing would be for them to have striven to refute, or, at least, comment on the publications of a man who, for reasons not too clear, had made them the target of his merciless and devastating attacks.

But no; it seems as though the friars of Saint Francis, deeply affected by the terrible accusations hurled against them, had drawn a thick curtain of silence over an event that, almost ineluctably, must have agitated wide sectors of the Franciscan province. How do we explain this silence?

Perhaps the Franciscan response could mean several things: admission that Rizal was not entirely wrong in his denunciations, and so, as acceptance of part of the responsibility for the moral decadence of the Philippines. It was not prudent—perhaps not even possible—to hold a dialogue with someone who in such a visceral and unilateral manner had held them up to ridicule (for, after all, they were not the only ones, nor possibly the more guilty of that situation). Pardon, not physical or verbal violence, was the answer more in keeping with the Gospel.

These remarks may seem to provoke questions. The facts, however, point to the direction we have indicated as our initial reply. The publication of the *Noli me tangere* was received in certain political and religious sectors of the Philippines with great disgust and the book was the object of strong criticism and condemnation. But, contrary to what could be expected, we do not know of any censure, official or officious, by the Franciscans, and the very few individual opinions expressed about either the novel or its author are generally done in a noticeably moderate tone. This makes one think that there could have been an order from the higher spheres of the Franciscan Province of Saint Gregory, imposing absolute silence in the matter. In 1888, shortly after he had been forced to leave the Islands, and deeply chagrined at the hostility shown him by some whom till then he had considered his friends, Rizal complained to Blumentritt that, because of their friendship, the Jesuits

and the Augustinians might have broken their epistolary contact with the Austrian ethnologist.¹³³ On the other hand, no mention was made of the Franciscans, some of whom we positively know to have maintained and continued later to maintain frequent exchanges of letters with Blumentritt—a strong proof that the Franciscans did not break their relations with Rizal's friend and confidant.

Neither must they have taken vengeance against his family a little later, when in the middle of 1889 Rizal's brother-in-law, Mariano Herbosa, was buried in unconsecrated ground for failing to receive the sacraments. The author of the *Noli* rejects the charge, alleging, among other reasons, that Herbosa used to go for confession to the Jesuits and the parish priest of Los Baños, a Franciscan.

The well-known missiologist, Lorenzo Perez, O. F. M., Rizal's contemporary and the secretary of Monsignor Martin Alcocer, the Bishop of Cebu during the years that Rizal published his novels and other writings, never allowed himself to write a cutting or vindictive phrase against the Philippine hero. On one occasion he respectfully cited the Filipino novelist to disagree on some of the latter's opinions about the Franciscans. Such a posture was in stark contrast to the very harsh words he directed, in the same paragraph and for the same reasons, to a Spaniard, Jose Montero y Vidal.¹³⁴

According to an unwritten tradition preserved by Fray Antolin Abad, O. F. M., Fray Jose Castaño, Fray Nicolas Acebal, and Fray Felix Pinto used to relate that the superior of the convent of San Francisco in Manila forbade his subjects, under the gravest canonical penalties, from attending Rizal's execution on 30 December 1896, although it seems that a few went there secretly.

Whatever its truth, it appears as one proof of prudence and an admirable gesture of pardon and reconciliation offered by the Franciscans. At the same time, it is good to put on record that, according to the same sources, Rizal must have reciprocated the Franciscan gesture by requesting a Jesuit, a few moments before he fell mortally in Bagumbayan, to thank in his name the superior of San Francisco for deciding not to attend his execution.¹³⁵ Anyway, this posthumous act of Rizal does not seem implausible, considering the trajectory of honesty and sincerity followed by the author of the *Noli* throughout most of his life, with the exception of certain periods of extreme political enthusiasm.

After Rizal's death we find two other testimonies on his life and writings, one of them unusually harsh, from the pen of Gabriel Casanova, who describes the hero as a "hypocrite, a sly and cowardly Chinese mestizo,"¹³⁶

—a very unkind judgment, like many others which this writer pours into the same article, but perhaps understandable if we remember he was writing at a time of extreme political tension when the end of the Spanish presence in the Philippines was inexorably coming closer.

Much more serene, respectful, and impartial is the testimony of Fray de Dios Villajos. In relating the imprisonment of some Franciscan pastors of Laguna, he says that they were brought to Calamba, “the town of the brothers Jose and Ponciano [*sic*] Rizal.” With regard to Jose, he adds the following:

... Don Jose, sufficiently well-known oculist and author of the novel titled *Noli me tangere*, published some years before the insurrection, the one which fomented [it] through ideas and doctrines planted there. The Filipinos hold him as a great man and a martyr of the independence they longed for Despite his separatist ideas from the Motherland, he did not lose his religious faith, and so made his confession like a good Christian before going to the field of Bagumbayan to receive the sentence of execution by firing squad.¹³⁷

The Franciscans, then, did not answer Rizal’s denuntiations and diatribes with a censure, scorn, or vengeance, but with silence, pardon, respect, except on the part of a very few, conduct that ought to win our admiration.

CONCLUSION

The attitude Rizal observed towards the Franciscans, one of the more popular and admired religious orders throughout history, not only in the Philippines but in the whole world, is one of the most paradoxical aspects of the personality of this great Malayan hero.

On the one hand, Rizal does not hide his strong attraction and even admiration for the historical figure of Saint Francis, even if his perception of the saint is limited to the more romantic and perhaps superficial aspects of the holy man’s extremely rich personality. On the other, he feels a strong revulsion and antipathy towards the Franciscans in his country which does not seem to be based on the limited personal contact he must have had with them, nor the economic and political influence they enjoyed. Lastly, he assigns to them a responsibility for the events in Cavite for which he offers no manner of proofs.

This seeming contradiction could be better understood if we remember the circumstances in which the hero of the Philippines lived and wrote, particularly the very strong influence made to bear on him by some of the

more radically anticlerical politicians and thinkers of Spain in the second half of the nineteenth century. These were the men who, reacting to the excessively conservative stance of the Church and the religious orders in Spain, initiated after the Spanish revolution of 1868 a fierce campaign to discredit both the regular and the secular clergy, although, for political more than for any other reasons, in the Philippines their attacks centered on the friars.¹³⁸

In my opinion, Jose Rizal makes the Franciscans the target of his denunciations of the friars in the Philippines mainly because of the writings of two of those friars, Joaquin de Coria and Francisco Arriaga, writings published at a time of the greatest dialectical tension in the Madrid press between the liberals and the conservatives during the years 1868-1872.

The socio-political and cultural circumstances in which Rizal carried out his program to defend the rights of his people certainly explain the blackest pages of his novels, *Noli me tangere*, and *El Filibusterismo*. At the same time, however, one should never forget these pages are in open contradiction to the ethical principles which he himself was claiming to have set up as norms to guide his own life, and quite deeply and with an irreversible effect because of their partiality—closely bordering at times on calumny and defamation—the fundamental rights of the Franciscans.

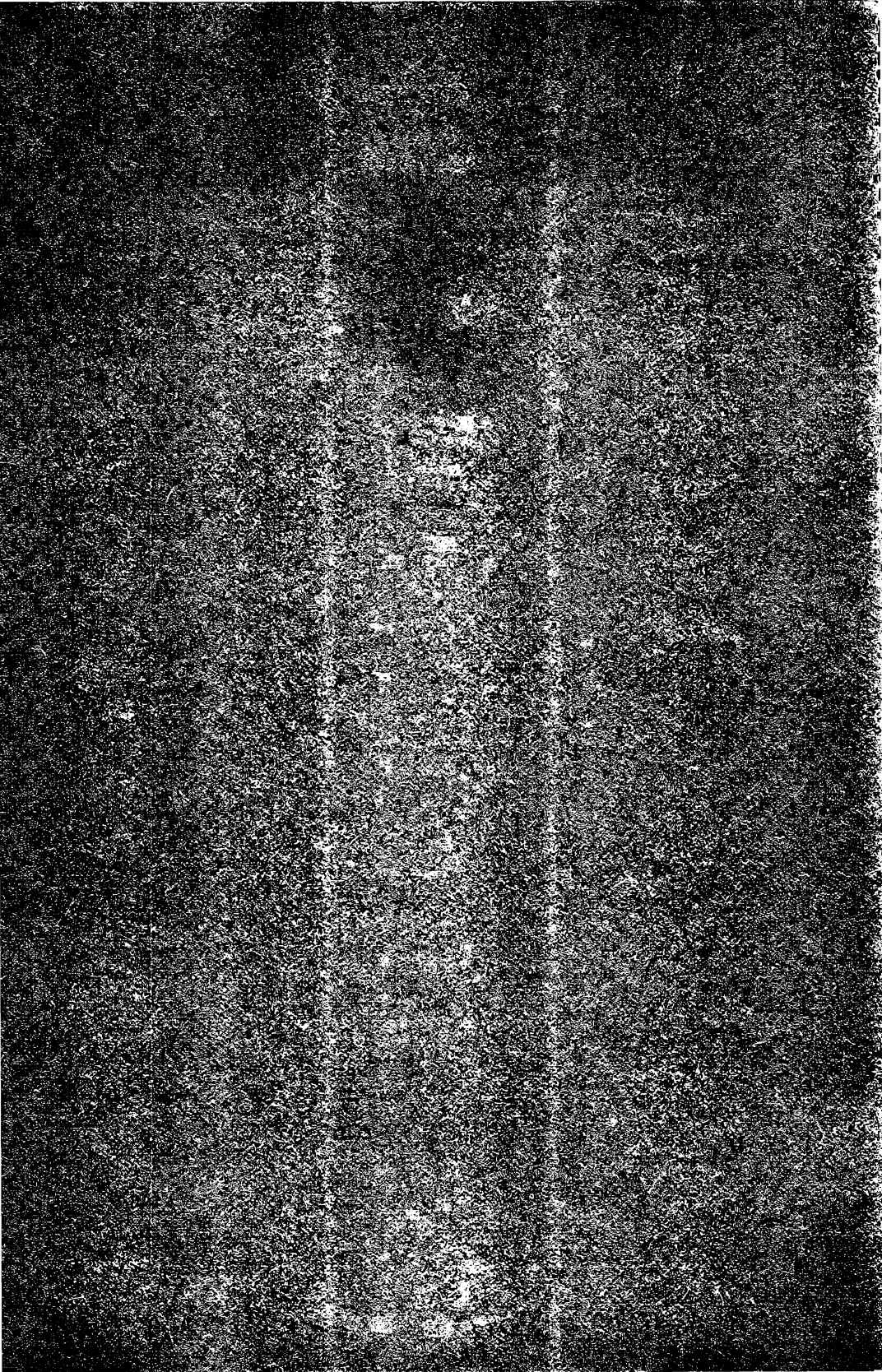
Despite it all, the simple people of the Philippines did not seem to have shared the theories of Rizal about the Franciscans. On the contrary, even in the most intensely patriotic moments of the Philippine revolution, they expressed their gratitude, sympathy, and admiration for them. Hatred and disdain for them was the attitude rather of a minority of extremist, vengeful and unscrupulous moralists. Not only does it appear that not a single Franciscan was killed; it is not on record that they had even been tortured, an unusual thing if we remember what the members of the other religious orders suffered.

Several Franciscans were given a safe-conduct by the revolutionary leaders, to protect them from molestation. Their former parishioners served them their meals when they were imprisoned. When Fray Mateo Atienza, pastor of Pilar, Sorsogon, returned after the revolution to his former parish, he was received with real joy.¹³⁹

But perhaps the most relevant and meaningful experience in regard to the attitude of the people towards the Franciscans is that of the Franciscan Bishop of Cebu, Martin Garcia Alcocer. His personal relations with both the Filipino clergy and the Filipino people were not only not broken by the events before and after the revolution; they were even more solidified. Martin Garcia Alcocer was the only Spanish bishop who remained as head of a diocese

during the more dramatic moments of the fall of the Spanish regime. Not only that, he was later named by the Holy See the Apostolic Administrator of the archdiocese of Manila, an office he resigned in 1903 for reasons of health.¹⁴⁰

We are certain that the testimony of poverty, simplicity, and closeness to the Filipino people, visible in the life of many Franciscans in the nineteenth century, has borne abundant fruit now perceptible in the life of the Church of the Philippines in our day.



ONCE MORE THE *NOLI*—WITH UNDERSTANDING *Jose S. Arcilla, S. J.*

GENERAL OBSERVATIONS

With few exceptions, Rizal wrote explicitly propaganda. His style, therefore, was that of the debater or the polemicist, with all its vices and virtues. His essay, *Filipinas dentro de cien años*, for example, has all the prolixity and exaggeration, the ornateness and overstatement of the fanatical pamphleteer or professional agitator. In contrast, his *Sobre la indolencia de los filipinos* is more moderate and does not have as much literary embellishment as the first. It is because in the second essay he does not have to prove anything, but merely assert the facts. But his style changes whenever he writes about the friars in the Philippines—his “obsession”—and then his sharp pen is devastating. When it comes to them, Rizal tends to over-generalize, missing no opportunity to caricature them with gusto.

Undoubtedly abuses were rife in the Philippines in the time of Rizal. But his sweeping condemnations seem unnatural. They seem to prove too much, a tactic we call today “overkill.” But to say that in his works the national hero was a nationalist who used innuendo and extreme statements is not to take from them their essential truth. Style is one thing, content is another, and the two must not be confused. Propaganda, like commercial advertising, must be demythologized to be properly understood. So also Rizal’s novels must be properly read; otherwise, one misinterprets his mind.

One must also bear in mind that Rizal wrote in nineteenth-century Spanish. Unless one is at home in that florid and romantic language, he is liable to miss the author’s intent. Being polemical, Rizal’s writings were not scientific historical studies which demand a more disciplined and sparse style, free from literary flairs and florid phrases that betray emotion rather than thought. Still what he wrote are documents of vital historical significance. Properly interpreted, they contain information not at all valueless.

Rizal's *chef-d'oeuvre* are two novels, literary works that entertain while delivering a serious message. Perhaps he could not have done otherwise. He lived in the second half of the nineteenth century, also known as the "age of novels." From the Greek *Daphne and Chloe*, a story of unrequited love, to the eighteenth-century *Emile*, Rousseau's didactic novel, we have a full range of writing that had gradually realized its potential to voice out the conscience of the people. And in the Ateneo, Rizal came to know the language of the muses which he confessed he had learned to love.

He was only twenty-five years old when he finished his *Noli me tangere*. A twenty-five year old writing in a foreign tongue in such a way as to electrify an entire nation could not have been a mere "*mesticillo vulgar*," as the novel's critics snorted. The style itself does not compare with the best, its grammar leaves much to be desired. As a piece of literature, it will never be included in any Spanish anthology. And if the *Noli* can be rated as Rizal's *magnum opus*, its sequel, *El Filibusterismo* can be called its counterpiece as far as literary merit goes.

The *Fili* is a rather undisciplined outpouring of smouldering hatred, even of seething white-hot anger. In the *Noli*, Doctor Rizal uses the scalpel, deftly handling the sores and weak spots of his patients. But in the *Fili*, the doctor has laid aside his art, and picks up blunt instruments, applies the crudest surgical methods. The scalpel is laid aside, and he has picked up the bludgeon or the sledge hammer. There is haste, impetuosity. Restraint is cast to the winds, caution is gone, like Basilio's prudence which has turned into petulant impulsiveness. For in this novel, Rizal seems to say time is fast running out. At times, the tone is like the "riposte—a sudden thrust after parrying a lunge." But this thrust is like that of a novice fencer who is unfamiliar with the art and can counter only with a "violent blow." Still, as propaganda, the two novels rank among the best.

What did Rizal write? The plot of the *Noli* is rather loose. Juan Crisostomo Eibarramendia (Ibarra, for short) returns home after several years of study in Europe, ignorant of how his father died. In trying to find out what happened, he uncovers corruption and abuse in high and low places of Philippine society. He is most shocked when he finds out his father had died alone in jail, that his corpse had been disinterred and thrown into the lake at the behest of a family friend, Fray Damaso Verdolagas. Instead of exacting vengeance, however, Ibarra decides to do good for the people, certain such would be his father's wish if he were still alive. But he is thwarted at every turn. At the laying of the cornerstone of the school building he is erecting, a contrived accident almost kills him. During the fiesta dinner, Fray Damaso's

uncalled for slurs against his family provoke him to attack the priest violently, bringing down upon his head automatic excommunication from the Church, and his marriage to Maria Clara is called off as a result. Later he is implicated in a revolutionary plot, is taken prisoner to Manila, but he escapes through the help of Elias, an outlaw whose grandfather had once been wronged by Ibarra's Spanish grandfather, Don Pedro Eiberramendia. The novel ends with two cryptic episodes. Basilio, the young sacristan, finally catches up with his crazed mother who dies in his arms on recognizing her son. He has no means of burying her, but a wounded, dying stranger appears and directs him to cremate his own and the corpse of Basilio's mother. And in Manila, Maria Clara, a poor Clare after refusing to marry the Spaniard Fray Damaso had chosen for her, escapes one stormy night to the roof of the monastery, seeking refuge in the angry elements from the presumed sexual advances of Fray Bernardo Salvi, promoted to the chaplaincy of the monastery after single-handedly aborting the revolution in San Diego.

The second novel is even less compact. One gets the impression that the dialogue and the action are a pretext to make explicit Rizal's personal debate on violent revolution. Simoun, the main character, is a ruthless plotter, best portrayed in the opening discussion on how to improve communications between Manila and Laguna province. Instead of the slow, winding channel of the Pasig River, he advocates a solution that "would not cost a penny," namely, "dig a canal straight through from the lake to Manila . . . make a new river channel and close up the old Pasig." People would be killed or dislocated, forced labor would have to be used, but that was "the only way to accomplish great works with little means." Anyway, he adds, "the dead are dead; posterity gives its verdict only to the strong."² Challenged that the end never justifies the means, he scoffs he has no time for moral platitudes, scandalizing everyone within hearing. His revolution fails in the end, but, instead of regret, he is overcome with despair and commits suicide.

Noli me tangere is rich in imagery and symbolism. One, for example, immediately recognizes in Rizal's grave-digging scene a similar episode in Shakespeare's *Hamlet*. And one cannot help but notice the classical motif of a son going to the depths of Hades in search of his dead father which Rizal imitated to start his story. But unlike the tragic Hamlet, Ibarra is neither beset with doubts, nor does he ever question his role in Philippine society. So much so that he strides through the novel as a noble, all-conquering figure, almost too good to be true. Indeed, he falls short of the classic hero, for Ibarra has no tragic fault that will doom him to a fatal dénouement. His sanitized story weakens whatever cathartic value is left in the plot. But he appears as a breath

of fresh air amid the hot stench that inflated the tinsel and bubble of the pretentious and showy life of Manila, where so much store was set on outward appearance and too little on true inner qualities, where men are "turtles . . . classified and valued according to their shells."³

An obvious defect of both novels is their extreme wordiness. Action is slow, conversation is long drawn-out, as if the plot unfolds only in order to advance one idea after another. This is especially true with the *Fili*. It is actually an ill-concealed philosophical debate on whether violent revolution is justified or not.

Second, characterization is shallow. Ibarra, as mentioned, is wooden and stiff. His assault on the Franciscan friar who insulted his dead father's memory and its sequel—better, its lack—do not convince and are just a bit too melodramatic to be plausible. Rizal seems never to have realized that a public affront to a priest would not have been settled as easily through the Governor General's immediate personal intervention, no matter how powerful he was, without a formal investigation. If, as the novel seems to imply, the friars enjoyed tremendous power in the Philippines, why did they turn out to be so impotent as to fail to marshal their legal resources against Ibarra the attacker of a friar?

SYMBOLIC NAMES

One can always single out the literary defects of the novel, but they are only one side of the picture. Its positive aspects are more abundant, and they explain to a degree the novel's immediate success. Rizal's years at the Ateneo moulded him into a careful writer, and this is shown in the literary devices he employed.

First, the names of his characters are highly symbolic. For one reason or another, Rizal's generation was fond of pseudonyms and meaningful titles. Rizal himself used "Laong Laan" a number of times. Marcelo H. del Pilar was "Plaridel." And in answer to critics of his novel, Rizal made a play on words, choosing meaningful names for his characters. For example, when the Governor General shelved the censors' statement condemning the novel, the Augustinian Fray Salvador Font clandestinely circulated copies of his censure, and Rizal wrote a pamphlet satirizing the Augustinian. In an imagined telephone conversation, *Salvadorcito Tont* is brought to task by his religious superior for accepting a donation to the Augustinian order, thus compromising their vows of wealth, lust, pride, etc. Note Rizal's meaningful

choice of names: "Salvadorcito" or Tiny Salvador (savior), and "Tont," from the Spanish *tonto* (fool) combined with the friar's name "Font."

The main character of the *Noli* is Juan Crisostomo Eibarramendia (Ibarra), obviously named after Saint John Chrysostom martyred in A.D. 389. John is a common name in Christian history, obviously used in honor of the harbinger of the Good News of Christ's coming. Chrysostom means "golden-mouth" from the Greek CHRYSOS = gold, STOMA = mouth, the appellation of the eloquent preacher of the fourth century. What name more apt for the novel's hero, whose words and deeds were a source of hope for the down-trodden Filipino? True to his namesake, Ibarra's words reveal a noble mind and, even in anger, he never descends to vulgarities.

He comes from San Diego, a town whose name reminds one of Spain's Santiago de Compostela, the city that had grown around the famous shrine of the Apostle James (in Spanish, "Santiago") and center of pilgrimage that had united all of western medieval Christendom. As everyone knows, the Latin *Jacobus* is translated into Spanish as *Jacobo*, *Santiago*, *Diego* (English, Iago). So, too, in the novel, people flock to San Diego on the town's patronal saint's day.

Don Santiago de los Santos, Capitan Tiago, or in English, James of the Saints, is a perfect foil to the saint. In the Apostle's case, one man was the source of help for practically all of western medieval Europe, but in the novel, help is sought from many for only one man, Capitan Tiago. In keeping with the latter's character, heaven is called upon—more exactly, he bribes those whom he calls his friends in heaven to keep himself safe and sound. At the start of the uprising, he vows more candles, more masses, and bigger fireworks. Religion to him is a question of how much to pay for the favors from heaven.

Fray Damaso Verdolagas recalls the first of two Popes Damasus who reigned in 366-384, the perceptive Vicar of Christ who commissioned his secretary, St. Jerome (*ca.* 345-419/420), to revise the Latin translation of the New Testament basing it on the original Greek text. He reorganized the papal chancery, and was the first to call Rome the "Apostolic See." Because of his liturgical reforms, Latin became the language of the Roman Catholic Church. The second Pope Damasus was pope from 17 July to 9 August 1047, and practically nothing can be said about him. Unlike his namesake, however, Fray Damaso of the *Noli* is an anti-intellectual. His *modus operandi* is to crack the whip, lash out against ambitious young men who pursue higher studies abroad, calling them "daft;" "subversive," insolent imps for whom eternal fire and brimstone are ready. Interestingly, while Pope Damasus I was

persecuted by his enemies, in the novel, it is the friar who persecutes his enemies. And, of course, "Verdolagas" is the Spanish for the Tagalog *kulasim* or "sour," "acid," or *kulasiman*, *gulasiman*, *ulasiman*, a creeping red-stemmed plant formerly used in salads because of its succulent juice, but now serving only as animal fodder. Ibarra's creator certainly knew his man.

Maria Clara is the third important character in the *Noli*. Together with her Aunt Isabel, the two remind one of the New Testament pair of kinswomen, Mary and Elizabeth, whose sons, Jesus and John, ushered in the new Christian age. Did Rizal have this parallelism when he chose these two names? And ironically, the background of Ibarra's dream girl, despite her name, is anything but clear!

There are other names. *Dofia*, not *Victoria*, but its diminutive, "Victorina," petty victory. Alas, she has to be satisfied with her small victory in her desperate catch of that puny derelict of a Spaniard, the lame and toothless Don Tiburcio de Espadaña. *Espadaña* is a plant which they dried before stuffing it into pillows or cushions. *Dofia Victorina* has a perfect cushion for her needs! She also plasters her face with make-up to hide her brown skin, and pitifully gesticulates with her barbarous Spanish, a deeply meaningful symbol of the tragedy of colonial subservience.

Then there is *Hermana Rufa*, smug, conceited and self-satisfied as her name implies, in her ignorance relying on the mathematics of her indulgences to jostle souls out of purgatory. *Hermano Pedro* is her rival and fierce competitor in sanctity, the head of the local confraternity, and open-handed with his indulgences and merits to push the suffering souls across the pearly gates, just like his namesake, Saint Peter, the keeper of the keys. And, of course, *Dofia Consolacion*, the officer's wife, is certainly no consolation to her husband. It takes little to appreciate Laong Laan's sardonic humor.

Who else may be mentioned? The Franciscan priest, Fray Bernardo Salvi. His external ascetical manner impresses everyone. But unlike his namesake, Saint Bernard of Clairvaux (1090-1153), whose eloquence and wisdom reconciled the warring princes of western medieval Europe, our friar is a sham who must close the doors of the church lest people walk out as soon as he starts mounting the pulpit. Don Anastacio, or Tacio, the philosopher, to others the madman, bears the name of that young defender of orthodoxy against the dangerous Arian heresy that would have nullified the redemptive value of the passion of Jesus Christ, for which reason the holy bishop of Alexandria was exiled more than once. So also, Rizal's Tacio is twice an exile among his own: first, because his words are too recondite for his fellow townsmen; and second, because they studiously avoid and even ridicule him.

In the opening chapter of the *Fili* we have the pregnant description of the ship of state, whose name and form are both symbol and reality, "Tabo." It is a ship; it is also a shell. And Rizal explicitly tells us it was a

ponderously shaped vessel almost as round as the native [ladle], usually made of half a coconut shell, after which it has been named. It was rather dirty in spite of its pretensions to whiteness and managed to appear stately by dint of going slow. For all that, it was looked upon with a certain affection in the region, perhaps because of its Tagalog name, or because it was *typical of the country* . . . a steamship that was not quite a steamship . . .⁵

We also have Fray Irene, whose name in Greek means "peace," but whose life and influence are scarcely eirenic. Placido Penitente, the perennial sufferer in patience, as his name signifies. His science teacher, Fray Millon, for whom science is serious business, and who prides himself on his million store of scientific lore, but alas, centuries after Copernicus and Galileo he still doubts if the earth is a sphere. And there is Mr. Pasta, the lawyer. His name in colloquial Spanish means "cash" or "dough," and he refuses to stand for the students' rights fearful his legal career be ruined.

Isagani is the only character with a native name. Why? Is it because he is noble-hearted, but also emotionally weak, whose mind is ruled by his heart, a shortcoming, Rizal seems to say, typical of the *indio*, a flaw in the native's personality that explains many of his failures? As in the novel, Isagani's deep love for his girl friend spells doom for Simoun's plan.

There is another native *indio* in the *Fili*, Father Florentino. Why this name? Is it because Rizal saw in the great fourteenth-century Florentine whose immortal poetry perfected his own native Tuscan dialect into the Italian we know today the personification of his ideals of wisdom and goodness he wanted realized in a Filipino priest?

And finally, of course, we have Simoun, the main protagonist in the second novel. In choosing this name, did Rizal have in mind that more famous Simon of the New Testament, the one who, impressed by the miracles performed by the prince of the Apostles, offered money in exchange for the power not even the devils enjoy? Their names are spelt a little differently, but both seem to believe that money can provide everything. Would it be reading into the mind of Rizal if we say that he was aware of this parallelism and wanted to condemn the luxury and affluence of the friars so contrary to their professed way of life? to disabuse people of the real value of money, although it is useful in a certain sense? The words he puts in Father Florentino's mouth

as he throws away the chest of money brought by Simoun lead us to the conclusion:

When men should need you [Simoun's money chest] for a purpose holy and sublime, God will raise you from the bottom of the seas. Until then you will do no evil there, you will not thwart justice or incite greed!⁶

APOTHEGMS

A second literary device masterfully employed in the novels is the apothegm, or meaningful sentence. We have already cited one from the opening paragraphs of the *Noli*: "Men are like turtles: they are classified and valued according to their shells." Pretense! Sham! External show and empty facades! As soon as word spreads that Capitan Tiago is hosting a party, everyone sets out to "hunt polish for their boots, collar-buttons and cravats" and rehearse how to "greet their host with the assumed intimacy of long-standing friendship"⁷

During the party to welcome Ibarra at Capitan Tiago's house, Fray Damaso's indignant challenge to the military officer reveals more than he intends: "Do you think that under my cassock I am less of a man?"⁸ The novel will show he *is* a man who can sire a child. But his behavior makes him *less* than one. And unfortunately for him, his priestly consecration should have made him more than a man. Later his fiesta panegyric asphyxiates everyone in the overcrowded church. Only one succeeds in extricating himself, the irreverent Manileño who gets up and walks out, not through the main door which has been locked, but through the sacristy doors, in the full sight of everybody and shocking them with such effrontery. Ibarra, too, is miserable. He listens to every word of the friar, and

. . . understood the allusions. Under an outward composure, his eyes sought help from God and the authorities, but he found nothing except images of saints and the nodding Governor.⁹

In other words, there was no redemption, no escaping the abusive friar! God is not to be found, only painted wooden images of the saints. Neither is there help from the Governor, for instead of being inspired, he falls asleep lulled by the constant droning of the friar's unintelligible mouthings. Ibarra feels all alone. And this, precisely, is the tragedy of Philippine society. In the face of friar omnipotence, there is no support or hope of salvation.

Overlooked by many is the final line of the fourth chapter of *Noli me tangere*, in which Lieutenant Guevarra recounts to Ibarra how his father died and was dishonored after his death. It was a shocking revelation to Ibarra who had no words to thank the officer, "but with emotion." Slowly he turns and hails a carriage, inaudibly telling the driver where to take him. And the driver thinks Ibarra "must be just out of goal."¹⁰ Indeed. During the party in Capitan Tiago's house, no one dared tell him as everyone tried to put up a front and make believe everything was fine. It was when he had gone out, away from the crowd, away from both the adulation and the suspicion awaiting him on his return from Europe that he found the truth, and the realization that Fray Damaso was *not* his family's friend, that the country which from afar had seemed an eden is not so in reality. For the first time he touches the sordidness that has so far spared him. But it was his night of liberation from the prison of his ignorance. And he is now on a voyage of discovery—not of things that will lift him up, but of the social cancer gnawing at the entrails of his own country, "a cancer so malignant that the least touch inflames it and causes agonizing pain"¹¹ Because Ibarra will try to cure it, it will cost him dearly.

Though not fully studied, the theme of pretense suffuses every page of Rizal's two novels, but we can just mention one or two examples to illustrate it. In the *Filli* we have "Ben Zayb, the writer who looked like a friar . . . arguing with a religious who in turn looked like a gunner."¹² And in the *Noli* we have Doña Victorina de Espadafia, perhaps Rizal's best aper of Spanish ways.

Events, too, are not what they seem, but are full of pretense and empty show. The several fiestas and parties in the *Noli* are loud and meaningless, and have all the air of "putting on appearances." Capitan Tiago's shell-like house, with its untouched piano, the unappreciated paintings on the wall, the careful attention to what to wear to the party—they all stress what Fray Damaso repeats in another context "what is already patent to the eye." And what of Fray Irene who disguises himself to attend an operetta on the pretext of being its censor? If so, why cover up? If men and events can be one thing, and yet seem to be another, something is definitely wrong. In psychology, they call this an identity crisis. Was this part of the social cancer?

The Spaniards in the Philippines, too, have their identity crisis. This is seen in the anonymous—note how much in keeping with the theme of identity crisis—High Official trying to intercede for Basilio, and admits surprisingly that the native is always on the losing end when foreign officials fall out. The High Official has just been discussing and interceding for

Basilio with the Governor General, but he failed because the latter needed a martyr for the "good of the majority . . . the good of all [and] maintain the threatened principle of authority, and preserve and enhance the prestige of the regime." Out of a myopic sense of justice, someone had to die: "that way the punishment turns out to be more salutary and exemplary for it will strike more terror." And so, because he openly sides with the natives, the High Official receives a one-way ticket back to Spain, no doubt, arranged by the Governor. But, before leaving, the Official talks to the native lackey who opens the door as he steps out of the Governor's office: "When you declare yourselves independent some day, remember that there were not lacking hearts in Spain that beat for you and fought for your rights." But the lackey asks uncomprehending, "Where to did you say, sir?"¹⁴ Is Rizal saying communication has broken down between the rulers and the ruled? Worse, that the people have no longer ears or the time to listen in order to know which direction to take?

SYMBOLIC EPISODES

More than symbolic names or apothegms, Rizal employs to great advantage symbolic episodes, or individual incidents that illumine a wider situation. Multiform vignettes of daily life, they are the details that add up to a perfect picture *ad unguem*.

Maria Clara and the girls are happily chattering along the street when they are stopped by a strange sight. A leper is begging, as is his wont, and Iday explains his plight. She says people suspect he contracted the disease from overstaying in the prison, while others report he was infected by his diseased mother for whom he was caring. Everyone now avoids him, and he is forbidden all human contact. To obtain his daily bread, he leaves out at a distance a basket, and people drop what they set aside for him. One day he happens to be passing by when a small boy falls into a ditch. He instinctively pulls the lad up, but instead of being grateful, the father denounces the leper to the town authorities. The *gubernadorcillo* has him flogged, burning the lash afterwards. Iday dramatizes the end of her story:

It was horrible! The leper running away, the flogger running after him, and the Mayor screaming: "Let that be a lesson to you! Better to drown than catch your disease!"

And Maria Clara whispered, "True!"¹⁵

In other words, things were so bad in the Philippines that for trying to do good, one is penalized. And Maria Clara, Ibarra's beloved, *agrees*.

In lines that stop short of being maudlin, Rizal illustrates the irony of pretense that wrings the hearts of his readers, one night in Sisa's home. Basilio has just come back from the town, where with his brother he was serving as an altar boy in the parish church. He is late this evening, and his forehead is bleeding from a gunshot wound. He is not hungry, although he has had nothing to eat. Even if he wants to, there is no food, for his worthless father had arrived unexpectedly and, having had his fill, departs as unexpectedly, fondling his game cock. On his way out, Sisa painfully wrings out from him some kind word for his sons. Later, she lies to Basilio to save the boy from the painful realization of how inhuman his father can be. Basilio himself was forced to come home earlier than usual, leaving his brother detained in the priest's house on the charge of having stolen from the priest. Later that night, Basilio has nightmares about Crispin's probable fate. Awakened by his mother, he in turn concocts a lie, painting an idyllic picture to comfort her with the empty unreality of a dream world. Young as he is, he does not want to share his anxieties with her.

The voice of Sisa called him back to reality.

"What's the matter? Why are you crying?"

"I was dreaming," Basilio answered, raising himself, covered with sweat. "Oh, God! Say it was a dream, mother, only a dream."

"What did you dream?"

The boy did not answer. He sat up to dry his tears and sweat. The hut was in darkness.

"A dream, a dream," Basilio repeated in a low voice.

"Tell me what you dreamed," his mother said when he had gone back to bed. "I can't sleep."

"Well," he whispered, "I dreamed that we went harvesting, in a field full of flowers. The women had baskets full of grains, and the children, too . . . I don't remember anything more, mother, really I don't."

Sisa did not insist. She did not believe in dreams.¹⁶

Alas, the good, the weak, the poor and downtrodden have to dissimulate, to pretend, because life is harsh, and men do not help. One has to cover up, to tell a lie to protect the innocent, one's beloved, although not always successfully when people have lost hope. And Sisa? She has ceased to dream and no longer believes in any. All she can do is "cover up with the ashes of outward indifference the burning emotions of [her] soul lest they be extinguished by careless exposure . . ."¹⁷

In the dialogue between Isagani and his favorite friar, the student asks some pointed questions. The sickly—why sickly?—Fray Fernandez is a teacher, having spent his life hoping to educate the Filipinos in justice and self-respect. Now he is hurt that no one is brave enough to say what the students honestly think about the friars. Isagani counters by saying that when the natives are schooled in hypocrisy, in seeking only to flatter the powerful in order to be on their good side no matter what the cost, they will act that way. When free speech and every independent thought is labeled subversive, what is the point of standing up and speaking one's mind? Old, outmoded ideas, false principles, and an embargo on the free employment of the mind is what passes for education, Isagani retorts. Freedom is to man what education is to the mind, and the "opposition of the friars to our education is the source of our discontent." Both men are now fully communicating and words are used to convey thought and attitudes, not to camouflage them. There is now a communion of minds and hearts here, there is no pretense, but honesty, courage to express and face the truth. In general, the student says that his fellows leave the shreds of respectability as long as they are in the classroom where they are endlessly brutalized and the innate desire for knowledge is effectively squelched. Making a mockery of the unlettered native will never help or motivate him to study or improve himself: "You strip him and then mock his nakedness!"¹⁸ The friar replies there are overbearing professors because there are compliant students. There are no tyrants where there are no slaves. Both men finally take leave of each other with a bitter-sweet feeling that their respective friends, alas, will never believe the other exists.

"... it may look as if nothing practical has been gained from our conversation, but something has been achieved. I shall speak to my brethren about what you have told me and I hope that something can be done. I only fear they may not believe that you exist."

"I fear the same thing," answered Isagani "I am afraid that my friends will not believe that you exist as you have shown yourself to be."¹⁹

Was this Rizal's message, that the cancer eating up the victuals of Philippine society has already reached that stage where neither the Filipinos nor the Spaniards believed it was still possible to be good? When hope is gone, the worst will follow.

In the second novel of Rizal, the Governor General goes hunting in Bosoboso, but lady luck is unpropitious to him. He retires to a rest house to play cards with some friars and his other friends, Simoun the jeweller among them. The Governor's secretary is part of the party, for, as Rizal notes with

evident sarcasm, his "Excellency was very hard-working and did not waste time so that he attended to official business when he was dummy or while the cards were being shuffled." But even the card game is not going well for the highest official of the land, nor for one of the more loquacious friars. They ask Simoun to join them, and the man says he will be "satisfied with mere words" Instead of paying in chips, Fray Sibyla will say "I renounce poverty, humility, and obedience for five days." Fray Irene, "I renounce chastity, generosity, etc." In turn, Simoun will offer his diamonds. A high official asks what is to be gained from mere "promises of virtue, prison sentences, deportation and summary executions." Quite a lot, the jeweller answers. After all, he declares,

... in my view the outlaws are the most honest men in the whole country! They are the only ones who really earn their daily rice. Do you think that if I had fallen into the hands of, well, for example, you, Father Irene . . . would [you] have let me go without taking at least half of my jewels?

The trouble is, Simoun goes on, not in the mountains and in uninhabited places, but with the bandits in the towns and the cities, with people like Simoun himself who are "not openly professional bandits; when we become like that and go to live in the forests, that day the country will have been saved, that very day a new society will have been born capable of running its own affairs," and the Governor General can play cards at will. And at this moment, the secretary yawns loudly, raising his arms and stretching his crossed legs, causing laughter in the room. But the Governor did not like the turn of the conversation and, "dropping the cards which he had been shuffling, said half serious and half jolly:

"Come, come, enough with jokes and games. To work, let's go down to some serious work, there is still half an hour before luncheon. Is there a lot of business?"²⁰

Put bluntly, while the Governor had the entire morning to hunt and play cards, he had only half an hour before the noon meal for some serious work! That, Rizal implied, was part of the social cancer.

Chapters 23 and 24 of the *Noli* describe the fishing expedition a day or so before the town fiesta of San Diego. Everybody was there, even Fray Salvi who followed afterwards. The heart of the episode is the free banter during the meal after the excitement of killing the crocodile that has been eating the fish in the traps. The conversation ranged from the failure of the peace

officers to apprehend those who had earlier mauled Fray Damaso to the care shown by Fray Sibyla not to lose a single peso of the Church while losing his two sacristans. In the officer's words.

"Your Reverence loses a few pesos and my sergeant is routed out of bed to look for them; then Your Reverence loses two sacristans and not a word said. And you, Mr. Mayor You must admit that you"

Without bothering to continue he broke into a laugh, sinking his spoon into the red meat of a wild papaya.

The priest lost his head and blurted out in confusion: "But I'm accountable for the money!"

"That's a fine answer, Father, for a shepherd of souls," interrupted the lieutenant, his mouth full. "A fine answer, indeed, for a man of religion!"

And the give and take continues, each interlocutor freely accusing the other of neglect of duties.

All this took place in the carefree atmosphere of a picnic, outside and away from the town. And, this is the point. At the end of the day, they all return home, "by the light of the torches, huge and crimson in the night The company scatters, the lights go out, the song dies, the guitars grow silent, as they approach the habitations of men. "*Put on your masks: you are again among your brothers,*"²¹ Rizal wrote. Why? Was life in the Philippines such that only by pretense one could live in the towns? Or, as Simoun says, was the town the home of the real bandits who are supposed to be brothers of one another? Was it the town, and not the forests or mountains that spawned the real dangers to men?

DON TIBURCIO'S LAMENESS

There are many other similar significant sentences in the novel, but let what we have pointed out suffice. The next literary device used by Rizal is perhaps best exemplified by the sub-plot of Don Tiburcio de Espadafia and his wife.

In chapter 48 of the *Noli*, Don Tiburcio and Doña Victorina pass in front of the commanding officer's house. Doña Consolacion, the officer's wife, happens to be at her window, and Doña Victorina, not liking the way she looks at her, picks up a fight. The officer arrives in time and sides with his wife. Routed and in desperation, Doña Victorina hysterically screams at her

husband for not standing up for her honor. Don Tiburcio answers meekly he is afraid they might cudgel him. The dialogue continues:

"That is why you are a man!"

"But-b-but I'm lame!"²²

Overlooked by commentators, the episode shows Rizal using a man's physical disability to satirize the rest of Philippine society. The first thing one notices in this passage is Don Tiburcio's physical defects. Rizal skillfully uses Doña Victorina "who would have preferred a Spaniard who was not so lame, who did not stutter so, who had more hair and teeth, and who sprayed less saliva when he talked . . . a Spaniard who had, as she used to say, more brio and more class . . ."²² In approved repetitive propaganda style, the word "lame" is used about ten times. Not only that, the national hero gives Don Tiburcio a lisp, causing him to stammer, a detail to emphasize his lameness.

Like all novelists, Rizal has also to explain de Espadafia's pitiful condition. His story has to be plausible. Thus, the poor man is not a Spanish grandee, not a bemedalled war hero or brave veteran. He is a drifter, one who abhors work, with no personal ambition, i. e., a psychologically lame individual wandering from country to country, and as often frustrated in his efforts. He is the born loser. He settles in the Philippines, because he thinks one has a fighting chance here if he knows some tricks and wiles. Don Tiburcio is seeking, no longer a fortune, but a modicum of comfort, three meals a day and a bed under a roof every night for the few years still remaining to him. He once dreamed of a "girl with a caressing smile." Alas, the smiling girl turns out to be a masculine, pretentious, and domineering hag, for "in this world one cannot live on dreams alone."²³ Ridiculed, he has a quick and ready answer: "Fill my stomach and you can call me a fool." Worse, he is willing to suffer her, even if when "annoyed with him, she snatched the denture out of his mouth and left him looking ghastly for one or two days, in proportion to his crimes." Never mind, for he is hungry. He married her, or more accurately, *she* married him, and to satisfy her, he agrees to pose as a medical doctor. He became an expensive quack, with no one the wiser, an impostor whose total ignorance is craftily camouflaged by his excessive rates willingly shouldered by the pretentious but ignorant rich of Philippine society.

These literary devices—repetition, detailed description, satire, humor, irony—are intended to appeal to the emotions. One is repelled by a "toothless" and "balding" Tiburcio, at the same time that one pities and scorns him.

His material and bodily misfortunes are compounded by his moral and psychological shortcomings. Evidently, Rizal wanted this negative reaction from the reader. Is there a symbolic message in Dofia Victorina's pathological obsession to shed her brown Filipino skin and her native accent, only to emphasize her being a native *india*? What is the message in her marrying a broken Spaniard who earns a livelihood on the strength of a lie?

Perhaps one of the more dramatic episodes of *Noli me tangere* is the revelation of Maria Clara's origins. We must admit the incident is a bit melodramatic for contemporary tastes, and could stand more improvement from the literary viewpoint. Maria Clara is blackmailed into surrendering Ibarra's written pledge of undying love and loyalty in exchange for her mother's two secret letters revealing her real father. They had been written before she died. Now, given a choice of either marrying Ibarra and have the identity of her real parents exposed, or giving up her love by saying the honor of both her mother and her real father, Fray Damaso, she chose the latter. In admiration, Ibarra manages to blurt out Maria Clara is a "saint."

The incident is a bit too pat, and perhaps too artificial. It can stand literary improvement, for as the critics say, like Homer, Rizal *aliquando dormitat*. But it prepares for the sequel, when Fray Damaso explains himself to his daughter. All he wants, he assures her, is her happiness:

Could I allow you to marry a Filipino, and see you unhappy as a wife and wretched as a mother? But I could not put your love out of your head. I opposed it with all my strength, I abused all my powers, for your sake, only for yours. If you had been his wife, you would have wept afterwards to see your husband's condition exposed to all manner of persecution without means of defence I know that your childhood friend was a good man: I loved him as much as I loved his father; but I hated them from the day I saw they were going to make you unhappy. . . .²⁴

The temptation to focus only on the friar's sexual misconduct in this episode is strong, and many have succumbed to it. But that is the best way to misconstrue Rizal's mind. I suggest rather this is perhaps one more of those pithy, but pregnant descriptions of the colonial malaise that was victimizing the Philippines. We can understand how a father can love his child, even if that father happens to be a friar. But can we excuse a racism condoned by the society in which he lived? The native-born *indio* was legally equal to the peninsular Spaniard, equally a citizen of Spain. In cases, as was true of Rizal himself, some of the despised *indios* and Chinese mestizos were more talented than the peninsular Spaniards. But in the second half of the

nineteenth century law and theory did not always correspond to reality. Worse, as exemplified by Fray Damaso, certain sectors in the colony had no qualms abusing their position in order to maintain their superiority. Unsure of their inner worth, they made use of external helps, not always moral or licit, to keep up their prestige and "dignity." This indeed was a social cancer!

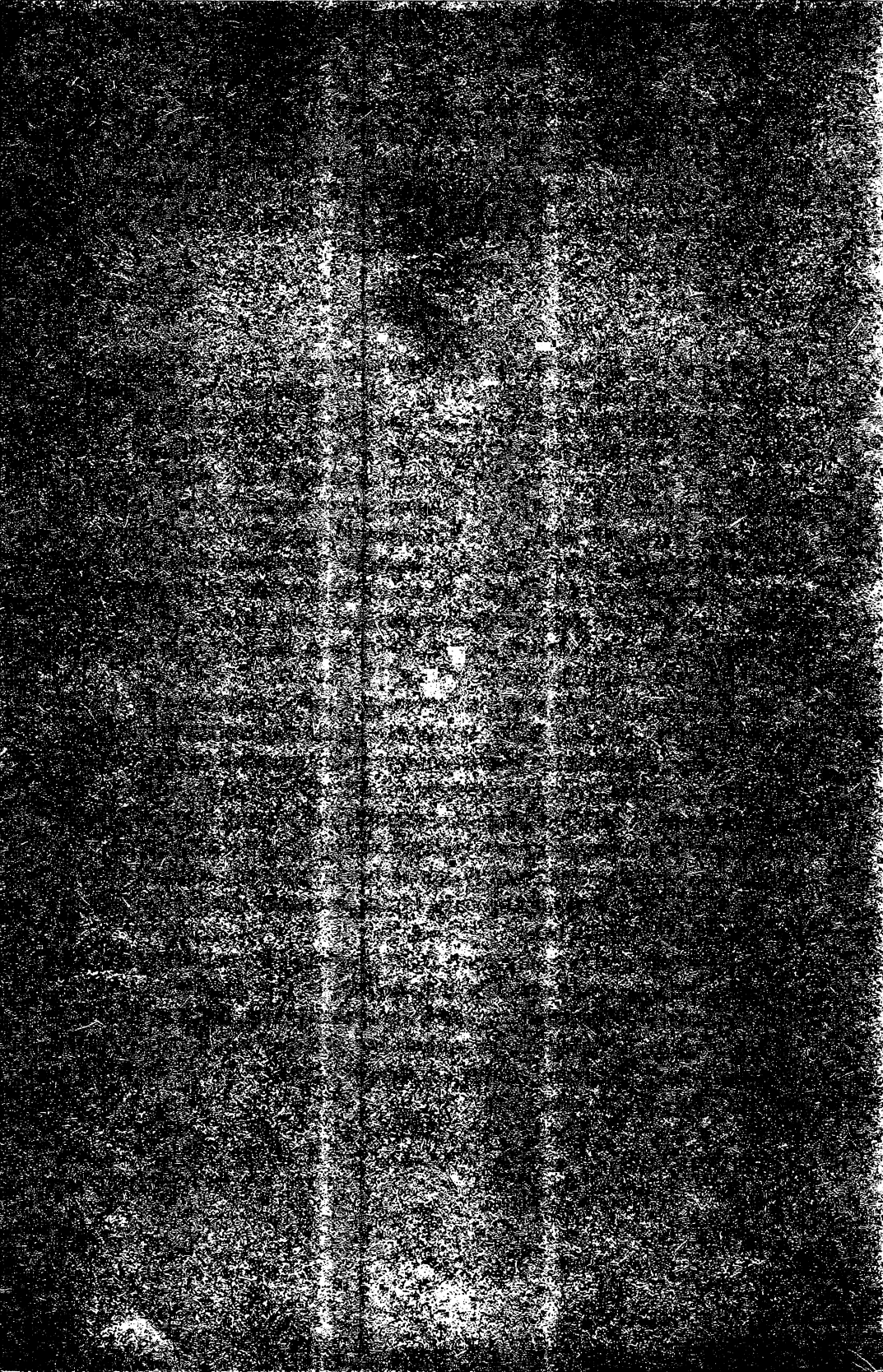
CONCLUSION

Rizal's novels, but especially the *Noli me tangere*, are rightly considered an attack against the abusive friars in the Philippines in the last quarter of the nineteenth century. But they are more than that. They are books to "lift a corner of the veil which shrouds the disease" of Philippine society. As is true in every case of cancer, corruption has already spread to the whole organism before it is detected. And when it is, the malady is already beyond cure.

So also, the novels portray evil lurking in all corners and on all levels of Philippine colonial society. And it is to make his readers aware of their extreme situation and of the need to do something about it that prompted the national hero to create these fictional works. It was not always easy for him. As he says in his dedication of his first novel, he is "sacrificing to the truth everything, even self-love. . . ." ²⁵

To think that the *Noli* is a criticism only of the Spaniards would not be according to the mind of Rizal. It will not do to concentrate on his anti-Spanish barbs, or to miss the symbolism that makes the work such a powerful piece of propaganda. Trying to check the historical reality of the novel as it is written is perhaps self-defeating—for example, identifying Maria Clara, or Crisostomo Ibarra. And like every piece of writing against legally constituted authority, the novels speak covertly, it preaches in secret terms, much like the classic apocalyptic warnings of early Christian history intelligible only to those "who have ears to hear."

And so, one must not only know the main plot of the novel, but also all the minor sub-plots and episodes that support it. One must consider the minutest details and descriptions, and the role they play to convey the single unified message intended by the author. For in good writing, unity is an essential quality. In good writing no word is useless. Everything has a purpose, everything has its place.



RIZAL AND THE QUESTION OF VIOLENCE

Bernhard Dahm, Ph.D.

1. A Dream Come True

The old system may convert the ruins of its castle into formless barricades, but we will take them singing hymns of liberty But do not be uneasy—the struggle will be a pacific one.

These words of Isagani to Paulita in the chapter “Dreams” of the novel *El Filibusterismo*¹ seemed to come true in the Philippines exactly one hundred years after Rizal finished his first novel, *Noli me tangere*, perhaps an even more serious plea for a peaceful emancipation of the Filipino people from Spanish colonial rule than *El Filibusterismo*, the second novel which expressed those hopes in the form of dreams. Nevertheless, in February 1986, there was the same atmosphere depicted in the above-mentioned “dream”—people peacefully freeing themselves from despotism to start a new life: “with a frank look and a stout heart we shall extend our hands to one another, and commerce, industry, agriculture, the sciences will develop under the mantle of liberty with wise and just laws”²

A stunned world, witnessing the extraordinary happenings on the streets of Quezon City and elsewhere in the Philippines at a time when around the globe violence was endemic, asked itself whence the sources of that “people’s power,” as the event came to be called. Statements, such as “Gandhi is alive in the Philippines” could be heard and read in the Western media, accustomed to see throughout the world, inspired at least by the great Mahatma, campaigns of civil disobedience. Others, better informed of late developments in the Philippines saw the major reason in the indignations of the Filipino people after the murder of Benigno Aquino in August 1983 and the growing opposition movement since then, particularly after his widow, Corazon Aquino, had decided to lead it. Some observers, believing less in morals and miracles, saw the non-violent revolution more as a consequence of pressures from Washington on the two sides involved. Still others—and this comes perhaps closest to the heart of the matter—point to the eminent role played by the Catholic Church, after attempts by the Marcos government

to manipulate the election results had become apparent. The memorandum of the Conference of Philippine Bishops calling for "active resistance to evil by peaceful means in the manner of Christ"³ together with the later call of Jaime Cardinal Sin, transmitted by Radio Veritas, to protect the dissenters Enrile and Ramos at Camp Aguinaldo and Camp Crame had, there can be little doubt, an overwhelming effect.⁴

But what about Rizal? Can the national hero of the Filipinos be included among the "sources" of the people's power-movement? His ideas—consider his wish, vision, or "dream" quoted above—pointed at least to the same direction. But was he as uncompromising an advocate of non-violence as Jesus, Gandhi, or Martin Luther King, who like him finally had to suffer a violent death for their teaching and preaching of non-violence? This question is not easy to answer. Nobody who has studied Rizal's novels and his other writings can deny that he was a serious proponent of peaceful evolution. But there is considerable disagreement among the Rizalists with regard to his opinion on revolution and violence.

Because of the tremendous amount of available information on Rizal's life and writings, it has become possible, as was once noted by Claro M. Recto, that "everyone makes his own Rizal."⁵ In the many biographies of the Philippine national hero one can easily detect a Rizal according to one's own liking. Another possibility is "that his admirers note only that stage of his intellectual development, which appeals to them, ignoring or rejecting others," as is maintained by Ruth Ailene Roland in her dissertation on the "uses" of Rizal by scholars and politicians.⁶

This can also be noted in the scholarly discussions of Rizal's opinions on revolution and violence. Roland distinguishes three different points of view:⁷

(a) Rizal is absolutely opposed to the idea of revolution: W. E. Retana, F. Blumentritt, A. Craig, F. Laubach, among others.

(b) Rizal is conditionally in favor of revolution: N. de la Peña (auditor general of war during Rizal's trial), J. Alejandrino, M. Kalaw, R. Palma, C. Quirino, among others.

(c) Rizal is ambivalent or uncertain toward revolution: T. A. Agoncillo, C. Leonard, M. Unamuno, among others.

One could dispute the lists, argue about the categories, but they do prove the difficulty in giving a clear cut answer to the question: was Rizal an advocate of violent revolution or not?

This difficulty already existed in his own time. Who would accuse Bonifacio of having misread the *Noli me tangere* and Rizal's other writings alluding to force as a last resort, when he was founding the Katipunan after

Rizal was exiled to Dapitan in July 1892? Or, on the other hand, who would deny that in his "Manifesto to Some Filipinos" written in his death cell Rizal was correct in maintaining that he had opposed the planning of "this savage and absurd rebellion" from its very start? As will be shown this was no last-minute attempt to save his own life, but his legacy. And in our own days it is still taken us such. Renato Constantino, for instance, saw in Rizal's rejection of armed resistance "limitations" in keeping with his class-interests as an *ilustrado*. In his time Rizal was a Filipino one could be proud of; but his writings can longer be used to defend our status quo in our time, Constantino argues. For our problems, he concludes, Rizal's solutions have to be "negated."⁸

Aside from the question whether the "negation" has been "negated" meanwhile by the partial fulfillment of the dream mentioned above, one sees that it is not only among Rizal's admirers but also among his critics that the national hero's teachings are still very much alive. And there is some indication that acquaintance with them is found beyond the world of Academe. After all, the so-called Rizal law of 1956 made the teaching of Rizal's life and writings compulsory in all schools, colleges, and universities in the Philippines,⁹ so that one can assume that a broader public too is informed about his major ideas.

But what were these ideas, as far as violence and revolution are concerned? Before we can answer this question we have to look at some events in Rizal's life that have helped to shape his views on the matter.

2. Some Factors in Rizal's Growth up to 1885

A. *Experience in the Colonial Setting*

From his childhood and youth, most of which he spent in his hometown in Calamba, Laguna and in Manila, three factors should be emphasized with regard to Rizal's later opinions on violence.

1) His family, consisting of a serene father and a loving mother, his brother Paciano, ten years his senior, and nine sisters, to all of whom he felt a life-long commitment and love. It proved to be a haven in difficult times, a source of inspiration and material help, and the constant object of his attention. He might have been less reluctant in recommending revolutionary violence were it not for fear of occasioning further sufferings for his family, especially after the Calamba report he had initiated in 1887.

2) His religious education, by his mother first, and, when he was eleven years old, by the Jesuits at the Ateneo municipal in Manila, was most

thorough. The family prayed the Rosary every night. When he was sent to a neighboring village for his initial schooling, he heard mass daily, usually at four o'clock in the morning. Later, at the Ateneo, he received not only solid training in the classics and the modern sciences, but he was also "subjected to one of the world's most thorough and gripping systems of indoctrination, the Jesuit *ratio studiorum*, under tight and constant discipline with every incentive of competition and reward." It was, of course, also the purpose of the pious teachers "to make steadfast and lifelong Catholics" out of their pupils.¹⁰ This latter intention in Rizal's case, perhaps, was less successful. He soon would lose, when he came to Spain, the naive faith of his early youth, expressed for instance in his poems on religious topics. But the teaching of morals and discipline imbibed at the Ateneo left a lasting impact on him. In his later life they were responsible for his scruples when tackling the problem of violence. He remained a moralist to the end of his days, which made him sometimes a difficult companion for the other Filipinos in Europe. But it also made him an honest intellectual who, for convenience's sake, did not ignore questions or arguments that did not fit into his scheme.

3) Painful personal experiences in the colonial setting taught him an early lesson that rebellion or the use of force by those not in power did not pay. Rizal grew up in an atmosphere where even a family of "*principales*" and "*ilustrados*" were helplessly exposed to and victimized by violence. In 1872 when still a boy of ten, he heard about the execution of the three "nationalist" priests, Burgos, Gomez, and Zamora, from a well-informed witness, his own older brother, Paciano, who was at that time staying in the house of Fr. Jose Burgos, the mouth-piece of the Filipino clergy in their fight for equal rights with the Spanish clergy.¹¹ Obviously the priests were not involved in the Cavite mutiny for which they were sentenced to death and they became, subsequently in the eyes of the people, martyrs for a just cause.

Shortly thereafter, his own mother, a learned lady whose father had been—in a liberal period in Spain—the representative of the Philippines in the Spanish Cortes, was arrested. She was marched off to prison in a disgraceful manner and for more than two years kept there on false charges.

Rizal himself, when still seventeen years old, was assaulted by an officer of the Civil Guard, wounded, thrown into jail and threatened with deportation for no other reason than having failed to doff his hat to the lieutenant whom he had not even seen in the dark.¹²

All these humiliations deeply hurt the pride of the hypersensitive Rizal who excelled in competition against his Spanish classmates. But he was forced to admit that in the colonial setting might was not restrained by any

notion of ethics or legal rights, and that it was always the weak who suffered. In civilized societies, use of violence was defined by law and, in most cases, restricted to the prevention of crime and/or the restoration of a generally accepted order. But in the colonies, violence was more often than not arbitrarily used. In the Philippines not only the representatives of the Spanish government but also the friars of the various religious orders let no occasion pass without trying to demonstrate their superiority or powers of command.

B. Arrival in Europe

When Rizal arrived in Spain in 1882 to continue the study of medicine which he had started at the University of Santo Tomas in Manila after graduation from the Ateneo Municipal, he came into a truly different world. To quote Rizal's friend and first biographer, Blumentritt:

He came from a country where bigotry came naturally, where the Spanish friar, the Spanish bureaucrat and the Spanish officer ruled with unlimited power over body and soul. In Madrid he found exactly the opposite. Freethinkers and atheists spoke freely and slightly about his religion and about his church. He found the authority of the state at a low ebb; he saw not only the liberals fighting the clericals, but, to his astonishment, the republicans and carlists working openly for the realization of their political ideas.¹³

In such an environment one could also openly articulate one's own grievances without being punished. One could try to make plans and proposals for reforms, discuss them with other Filipinos who were staying in Spain at that time without being persecuted. One could even try to contact Spanish politicians and interest them in the Philippine cause.

The small Filipino colony did all this. It contacted both Liberals and Republicans, such as Pi y Margall, Manuel Becerra, or Miguel Morayta. It founded associations and edited newspapers. The most famous was *La Solidaridad*, which served as a forum in their quest for reforms, as well as their mouthpiece to expose the worsening situation at home in the Philippines where the friars, partly in response to criticism from abroad, were gradually introducing a reign of terror.

To Rizal the exchange of ideas with the Spanish liberals was a revelation. It is true they had taunted him with the aphorism that one asked for democratic freedoms with bullets, not on one's knees.¹⁴ He disagreed often with their opinions which showed too little knowledge of the true situation in the Philippines. But the very fact that these things could be so openly discussed quite impressed him.

To be sure, Spain or Madrid in the mid-1880s was not an *el dorado* of liberal ideas. Intellectual freedom was not completely unrestrained, as Rizal found out. In November 1884, Dr. Morayta, one of his liberal-minded professors, talked about academic freedom in his inaugural speech at the start of the school year 1884-1885, but the Spanish bishops banned the publication of that speech. When the students protested, the campus was stormed by soldiers and police. The rector was apprehended, professors were insulted, riots left many students and others wounded or on their way to prison.

These scenes of violence described by Rizal in a letter to his family dated 26 November 1884 made him decide to leave the university after the appointment of a new rector, "a man detested by all, without dignity," whom he did not want to sign his diploma.¹⁵ Thus Rizal was ready to leave Madrid "which is not very distinguished for its culture and enlightenment"¹⁶ to continue his studies elsewhere, in France and Germany first and in other European countries.

Nevertheless the enlightenment in Spain was bright enough to bring about a major change in Rizal's religious outlook. The naive beliefs of his childhood and early youth were set aside. Reminded of his duties as a Christian by his suspecting mother, he replied in 1885 that he had "not stopped a moment in believing in the fundamental principles of religion." He continued:

A belief that cannot withstand examination and the test of time ought to pass on to memory and leave the heart What I believe now, I believe rationally and it is because my conscience cannot accept more than is compatible with thought.

I can bow my head before an act that is mysterious to me . . . but never before an absurdity nor before a probability . . . I believe God would not punish me if in trying to approach him I should use reason and intelligence, his most precious gifts¹⁷

This was the basis of his intellectual grasp of religion up to the end of his life, reflected in his later theological discussions with Fr. Pastells. But in critical hours—not only shortly before his execution when he signed his much debated "retractation"¹⁸—there were occasionally emotional returns to the beliefs of his childhood, almost identifying his own sufferings with those of Christ, after all hope was gone that reforms from Spain might bring relief to the Philippine problem.

This hope was still strong when he started writing the *Noli me tangere*. In this novel, the topic of our interest finds, for the first time, closer attention.

3. The Question of Violence in *Noli me tangere*

There are a number of scenes in the *Noli* describing or depicting acts of violence (the fate of Sisa and her sons, the stories of Ibarra's father and of Elias' family, the various plots and attempts at Ibarra's life, etc.) which do not concern us here. They are scenes, partly at least taken from actual events in the Philippines, revealing the machinations of the friars as the main target of the novel and the weakness of certain sectors of Filipino society corrupted by the powers that be, which is another target of the book. What is of interest, however, is the answer to the question what ought to be done to overcome these powers hindering the Filipino people from a life according to their own liking, powers that were trying to prevent their emancipation and growth into an independent nation and keeping it subjugated with the intention of further exploitation.

Violence is discussed in three different scenes in the novel which deserve close attention. In the first scene, Elias, the true hero of the *Noli* (he later sacrifices his life for the safe escape of Ibarra), visits a group of *tulisanes* in the woods.¹⁹ He tries to persuade Pablo the leader to give up his plan to avenge his two sons' death caused by a friar who had already previously dishonored his daughter. Because revenge would most likely lead to terrible reprisals that would not spare the innocent, Elias proposes instead that Pablo convince Ibarra to act as the spokesman of the oppressed on behalf of the people's grievances, using the latter's case as the occasion to effect reforms. "Let us try the reforms before using violence," says Elias, because "the unarmed always pay." The old man finally accepts the idea and promises to avoid all violence until he receives an answer from Ibarra.

The hero of the "oppressed" in this case and, indeed, in most of the examples given by Rizal, belongs to the "middle class" and not to the poor farmers, tenants, landless laborers, or workers in an as yet rather undeveloped industry. In Rizal's time it was still difficult to see the latter as a distinct "class" in the Philippines, but neither was Rizal's interest in "class struggle" aroused when he arrived in Spain. There was much activity by anarchists and socialists, trade-unions and secret societies, supporting the struggle of the poor, mostly advocating violent action.²⁰ But this appealed to him intellectually less than the debates between the liberals and the Church which had begun to depend more and more on the wealthy groups at this time.²¹

Rizal's sympathies were not with the poor or the "mob," as he sometimes calls the "lower class" disparagingly, but with the "middle class" which, in

his eyes, had the potential to lead into a new era in Spain as well as in the Philippines. As he was later to write to Blumentritt:

The best in Madrid is the middle-class. It is amiable, distinguished, educated, frank, hospitable and chivalrous. It is also a little aristocratic in its taste. It loves kings, titles, honors, withal remaining republican. It mocks curates and priests . . . Remaining is the low class of the people, the rabble, which is the filth and mire of Madrid. Everytime I think of this society, I imagine the rabble as the rubbish and the bourgeoisie as the flower that grows in smoked ground . . .²²

The "middle class," with its desire to participate in the government of the country and its economy, as well as in the field of culture and education, is more interested in reforms from above than in revolutionary activities from below. This was clearly Rizal's point of view at the time of writing the *Noli*. Hence the plea of Elias: "let us try the reforms first before using force." The use of force occasions retaliation and it is the unarmed, the powerless who will have to pay.

But there is no condemnation of violence as such. This becomes clear too when we take a look at the second scene, where the question of violence is discussed in the *Noli*.²³ In a meeting, Elias approaches Ibarra, a rich young man who has just returned from Spain. Elias wants to help develop the Philippines and tries to win him over to lead the movement for reforms. Ibarra fears the reforms might fail, might be ridiculed. When Elias alludes to the possibility of an uprising by the masses, Ibarra replies:

Never! I would never be the one to lead the mob to take by force what the Government believes inopportune. If I should ever see the mob in arms, I would take the side of the Government and fight against it, because I would not recognize my country in such a mob. I want my country's good, that is why I am building the school-house. But I seek it through education, through progress. We cannot find our way without the light of knowledge.

Neither can freedom be won without a fight! replied Elias.

Ibarra replied: But I do not want that kind of freedom.

In the continuing discussion, Elias points to the fact that the Filipino people has awakened, that it has new aspirations which will necessarily lead to the quest for freedom. But Ibarra cannot be persuaded to appeal to even the threat of violence to obtain reforms: "wrongs are not righted by other wrongs and for our misfortunes all of us have a share of the blame."

Taking the above scene as it stands, Rizal, speaking through Ibarra, seems indeed to reject violence outright or even the threat of resorting to it

eventually. But there is a follow-up to the scene, after Ibarra has received another lesson of the wickedness of the other side falsely accusing him of masterminding a conspiracy in order to be able to send him to prison and marry off his bride to somebody else. Elias succeeds in freeing Ibarra from prison and facilitates his escape. This is the third scene in which the question of violence is discussed in the *Noli*.²⁴

Ibarra is now ready to lead a revolutionary movement:

No, that will not be a crime. It is never a crime to fight for one's own country. On the contrary! For three centuries we have stretched out our hands to them; we have asked them for love; we wanted to call them brothers. What has been their answer? Insults, sarcasm, a denial that we are even fellow men! But God, as you once said, will not forsake us. He has given His helping hand to all people that fought for their independence.

This time it is Elias who points to the dangers of resorting to violence:

In this fight which you propose to start, the defenseless and the innocent will suffer most. The same sentiments which a month ago led me to ask you for reforms lead me now to ask you to reflect further. Our country does not think of independence from the Motherland; she asks nothing more than a small measure of liberty, of justice, and of love. The discontented, the criminal, and the desperate will follow you, but the people will stand apart. I would not follow you myself

A truly amazing change in opinion has occurred, if one regards Elias and Ibarra as two distinct characters. It might be tempting to see the Ibarra of scene two as the Rizal coming to Spain, asking for reforms "on his knees," and the Ibarra of scene three as the student who had been taught meanwhile to ask for it "with bullets." But the novel does not offer any insight into whether there is a process of development in Ibarra's mind. It is just one more proof of Fr. Damaso's machinations that bring about the change. I am therefore inclined to see Ibarra and Elias, as has been suggested before,²⁵ as the ego and alter-ego of Rizal toying with the idea of recommending violence but recoiling in fright from the idea at the same time. His moral education mentioned above causes him scruples and inhibits him from going farther than he does. Elias might be the true hero of the novel, but Ibarra gets away with his plan to stir up revolutionary activities.

There can be little doubt that in the *Noli* the question of violence is answered in the affirmative! Yes, violence can be used as a last resort, with the proviso, however, mentioned in scene one: "Let us try reforms first." This opinion of Rizal is also reflected in his letters to Blumentritt, written at the

time of the publication of the novel, when Rizal was as yet uncertain of eventual reactions to it.

On 26 January 1887—the book came out of the printer's shop in Berlin only in early March—he wrote to his Austrian friend:

A peaceful struggle shall always be a dream, for Spain will never learn the lesson of her former South American colonies. Spain cannot learn what England and the United States have learned. But under the present circumstances we do not want separation from Spain. All we ask is greater attention, better education, better government employees, one or two representatives, and greater security for our persons and property. Spain could always win the appreciation of the Filipinos if she were only reasonable. But "*Quos vult perdere Jupiter prius dementat.*"²⁶

And clearer yet, a few months later before returning to the Philippines:

I assure you that I have no desire to take part in conspiracies which seem to me too premature and risky. But if the government drives us to them, that is to say, when no other hope remains to us but seek our destruction in war, when the Filipinos would prefer to die rather than endure longer their misery, then I will also become a partisan of violent means. The choice of peace and destruction is in the hands of Spain . . .²⁷

This is, in private communication to a trusted friend, not the voice of a Gandhi-type pacifist who abhors and rejects violent means in principle. It is, rather, an urgent plea to Spain to be aware that the loyal Ibarra can at any time turn into hot-tempered revolutionaries. It is the point of departure for future Bonifacios.

4. The Question of Violence in *El Filibusterismo*

It has been noted by Fe Palafox y Arzadon that *El Filibusterismo*, published in 1891 in Ghent, "is indicative of a deep change which had come over Rizal in four years' time. He now despaired of any possibility of reforms by Spain and realized that the Filipinos must redeem themselves through their own efforts."²⁸ And R. A. Roland, in her overview of the literature, comments: "*El Filibusterismo*, it has often been observed, is much 'stronger' than the *Noli*."²⁹

If "own effort" and "much stronger" stand for a quest of Rizal for violent action, as it obviously does, more evidence would be needed than is provided by alluding to an occasional remark of either Simoun, alias Ibarra, or Isagani, the true hero of the second novel. For it is the same Isagani who is speaking about a "right to slaughter every foreigner like the most ferocious monster spewed up by the sea,"³⁰ but who frustrates the pernicious plan of the arch-revolutionary Simoun and saves thousands of people by risking his own life.

Indeed Isagani is a key figure for understanding Rizal's thoughts at this time. He comes closest to the ideal extolled by Fr. Florentino at the end of the novel. But this is the very opposite of revolutionary action. Now for Rizal violence is, in our opinion, no longer a possible alternative, a "last resort," as it still was in the *Noli me tangere*.

All observers agree that in the years following the publication of the *Noli* Rizal experienced, in T. A. Agoncillo's words, "all kinds of injustice, all forms of brutality and all shapes of hypocrisy."³¹ The reason was not just the book which, in the Philippines, caused the expected uproar, particularly among the friars. An even greater "crime" was the report on the Dominican hacienda in Calamba, written by Rizal at the end of 1887. He had asked the inhabitants of the town for all available information, had read the report to them, and had it signed by the *principales* and others who agreed with his phrasing. The report was submitted to the authorities early in 1888. It disclosed that for decades the Dominicans had been illegally demanding tributes on the land which belonged in fact to the government, and that they had been committing "numerous other irregularities."³²

This exposure of corruption among the friars who, after all, had taken the vow of poverty, together with veiled hints of continuing violations of their other vow of chastity in the *Noli*, led in the course of time to a *Noli*-like net of intrigue and persecution. The targets were not only Rizal and his family, but all who had dared sign the report of Rizal and a later petition to ask the government for an investigation of the matter. The friars started their revenge in 1888, after a new Governor General of their liking, Valerino Weyler, had arrived. His predecessor, Emilio Terrero, openly sympathetic to Rizal, had before he himself left the Philippines advised the latter to leave, since he could no longer guarantee his safety.

And so from abroad Rizal had to watch how his family, the people closest to his heart, and his other friends were more and more molested, first losing their land, then suffering other injustices, a process culminating in their ejection from their homes and in the burning of their houses by General Weyler's troops in October 1891.³³

At first, as is shown both by his activities in the Philippines and his articles in *La Solidaridad* (started 1889), Rizal still believed in the possibility of obtaining reforms, albeit through violence eventually. This is, for instance, the gist of his celebrated article, "The Philippines—A Century Hence," published in *La Solidaridad* from 30 September 1889 to 1 February 1890, appealing to the reason of the Spanish people, reminding them of the long historical connection between their two countries, of the gradual change of

conditions in the Philippines, and of the emergence of a new class (the "middle class," as mentioned above) which served as the brains of the people and would demand and achieve the advancement and moral progress of the people ("it is fated"):

The Philippines, then, either will remain under Spain, but with more rights and freedom, or will declare herself independent after staining herself and the mother country with her own blood. As no one should wish or hope for such an unfortunate rupture of relations, which would be bad for all and should be the last argument in a most desperate case, let us examine the forms of peaceful evolution

The eventual "use of force" is pushed even further into the background. To shed blood is to "stain" oneself. But the threat is there, also at the end of the article:

So we repeat and we shall always repeat while there is still time, that it is better to anticipate the wishes of the people than to yield to force; the first wins sympathy and love; the second contempt and indignation.³⁴

All these appeals, however, faded away, without being heard and without receiving a reply. In the Philippines, meanwhile, the situation was worsening. The authorities and the friars were growing nervous and sharply reacted to the widening impact of the activities not only of Rizal, but also of the other members of the "Propaganda Movement" in Spain, like Marcelo H. del Pilar, Mariano Ponce, Graciano Lopez Jaena, Eduardo Lete, and the Luna brothers. Some Filipinos were no longer appealing for reforms, but openly attacking the "rule of the friars" and propagating "filibusterism" and masonry.

For Rizal, the last, almost desperate hopes for help from Spain finally withered away. This help was obviously not forthcoming. As a serious man, he therefore had to reconsider his former strategy, as also his "last resort." Without allies in Spanish society and in the Cortes, the refusal of violence in the colonial setting was of no avail. This he remembered from the incidents of his youth, this he was now seeing in the treatment of the Calamba tenants, in the punishment of his own parents, brother, and brothers-in-law. If appeals to the government, as in the Calamba case, did not effect anything, if appeals to the Spanish liberals and to the Spanish audience in general did not result in any concrete steps in the direction of reforms, what alternative was left? Rizal answers the question in *El Filibusterismo*.

The theme of the book is the rejection of the use of violence, of criminal plotting, as attempted so effectively by Simoun, alias Ibarra, who uses all

means to either persuade or bribe people to win them over for his pernicious plans. These efforts are no longer heroic. They are, instead, increasing the filth, the greed, and the demoralization of the people. This is demonstrated for instance in the way Simoun wins over Basilio, who is reprimanded by the author for not protesting against the former's "criminal actions."³⁵ The bright contrast to Basilio is Isagani, the student, who lectures his professor, Fr. Fernandez, on morals and duties; Isagani the "idiot," who gives himself up to the government authorities to answer for his convictions and be punished for a crime he had not committed, Isagani, the man who is ready to sacrifice his life for others because of love.³⁶

Rizal does not leave the intention of the novel to the reader's imagination. It is extensively explained in the last chapter by Fr. Florentino, a Filipino priest, to the dying Simoun who had found refuge in the priest's house after his attempted revolution had failed. Fr. Florentino replies to Simoun's question, why God had forsaken him: because God could not approve the means chosen by the rebel!

The glory of saving a country cannot be given to one who has contributed to its ruin. You believed that what crime and iniquity had stained and deformed, more crime and more iniquity could cleanse and redeem. This was an error. Hate only creates monsters, crime criminals; only love can work wonders, only virtue can redeem. If our country is some day to be free, it will not be through vice and crime, it will not be through the corruption of its sons, some deceived, others bribed! Redemption presupposes virtue; virtue, sacrifice, and sacrifice, love.³⁷

In the course of the discussion, Fr. Florentino elaborates on the latter aspect. In winning freedom for a country it is not so much the sword that counts. What counts is dignity and courage:

We must win our freedom by deserving it, by improving the mind and enhancing the dignity of the individual, loving what is just, what is good, what is great, to the point of dying for it. When a people reach these heights, God provides the weapon and the idols and tyrants fall like a house of cards.³⁸

It is no longer Spain which is asked to provide help, but God, and God requires sincerity, purity of heart, sacrifices! This point is stressed repeatedly in this last chapter of *El Filibusterismo*, which can indeed no longer be taken as a call for a Katipunan-like revolutionary movement. It is, rather, a call for a religious-like service, for self-sacrifice among the youth "who will give generously of their blood to wash away so much shame, crime, and abomination. Pure and immaculate must the victim be for the sacrifice to be acceptable"³⁹

Rizal's alternative to the use of violence in this period of his life when he was about to leave Europe to return to the Philippines for good was self-sacrifice. In the novel, Isagani was the shining example, exposing himself to danger, ready for self-sacrifice. But it was not the advice to the Philippine youth from Fr. Florentino only; it was also Rizal's own conclusion for himself. He was always willing to live what he preached.

5. Violence Or "Pasyon"?

In his challenging attempt to write a "history from below," to "bring to light the masses' own categories of meaning that shaped their perceptions of events and their participation in them," Reynaldo Ileto has pointed to the enormous potential of Philippine folk Christianity. In particular he discussed the importance of the events and rituals of Holy Week for Philippine society, finding their expression in the readings and dramatizations of Christ's sufferings in Philippine society. Ileto also mentions the different functions of the passion plays:

Firstly they were intended to inculcate among the Indios loyalty to Spain and Church and to raise the people's concern with morality and the after-life, rather than with conditions in this life; secondly, they provided a forum for the masses to articulate their own grievances, ideals and even hopes of liberation.⁴⁰

How the masses' preoccupation with Christ's sufferings and death can help to explain essential aspects of popular uprisings in the Philippines from Apolinario de la Cruz to Felipe Salvador is shown. Until Ileto, these aspects have been ignored or neglected for lack of suitable analytical instruments. But even if the "pasyon" cannot provide the key to a better understanding of all aspects of the major uprisings and rebellions in the Philippines in the late nineteenth century,⁴¹ it is of great importance for understanding the values and the mobilization of the masses. It reveals motivational forces, like the belief in the coming of Ratu Adil in the anti-colonial movements in Java⁴² or the messianic aspects of Buddhism in the Burmese revolution.⁴³ Without those popular beliefs, the leaders of the Indonesian or Burmese independence movements would have had much greater difficulties in arousing the interest and participation of the masses in their struggle for liberation.

Rizal in obviously appealing to this living tradition of the pasyon at the end of *El Filibusterismo* can thus be seen as an apt predecessor of other charismatic leaders appealing to their own people's cultural traditions, such as Cokroaminoto and Sukarno in Indonesia, U Oktama and U Nu in Burma, or Ho Chi Minh in Vietnam. Even though Vietnam's tradition is secular

rather than religiously oriented, there was a living tradition of a heroic past, which could be and has been referred to extensively in the struggle for independence against France as later against the United States.

The difference between the "pasyon" tradition and those of the "new golden age" or the "promised paradise" is the fate of the leader. In the first, he is the Christ-like leader, doomed to suffer and to die,⁴⁴ whereas the others can at least expect to reap the fruits of their struggle together with their victorious followers. Another difference is the resort to violence. Even if in the Indian tradition violence (in contrast to the Islamic as well as the Vietnamese tradition) is less important than magic potency, it is a legitimate means. In the pasyon, however, it is not. St. Peter was reprimanded by Christ when he was drawing his sword. The decision for pasyon, therefore, means a decision for non-violence and when Fr. Florentino says at the end of *El Filibusterismo*, "Pure and immaculate must the victim be for the sacrifice to be acceptable," he means precisely that.

As far as Rizal was concerned, at the time he was writing the second novel he was ready to sacrifice his own life. His youthful presentiments of an early death were condensed into the wish to offer his life as a remedy when he learned about the sufferings of the tenants of Calamba. In a letter to Blumentritt dated 20 July 1890, he writes: "I would rather give up my life of leisure If I die you remain and you will not abandon the Filipinos."⁴⁵ After finishing *El Filibusterismo*, he prepares to go back to the Philippines despite all warnings:

I have to return to the Philippines. Life is becoming a burden to me here. I have to give an example not to fear death, even if this may be terrible⁴⁶

And, already aboard the boat:

The nearer I get to my country, the more vehement is my desire to return to the Philippines. I know that everybody considers it a folly, but something pushes me on. Is this fate or misfortune?⁴⁷

In Hongkong, where he meets his parents, he reconsiders his plans, reflects about the "North Borneo plan." But I do not think that he really considered this as an alternative, as Guerrero does.⁴⁸ The "something" (i.e., the desire for pasyon) was farther pushing him on, until finally, on 26 June 1892, he arrived in the Philippines and presented himself to the Governor General in the same manner Isagani in *El Filibusterismo* had presented himself to the authorities. The letters "to be published after my death" had been written, he was ready for martyrdom.

The anticlimax, in Guerrero's term, of Rizal's exile to Dapitan opened a new chapter in his life. It occasioned new wishes and new fulfillments to Rizal the man, but hardly new insights to Rizal the nationalist as far as the idea of the use of violence was concerned. In 1896, he rejected Andres Bonifacio's *Katipunan*, because it adhered to methods Rizal had abhorred in his writings. Furthermore, the movement was not led by men of the middle class, the only ones who, in Rizal's opinion, could lead the Philippines to a better future. Other attempts would be in vain. "Transformation has to be violent and fatal, if it should originate from the masses," as he had written in "The Philippines A Century Hence"⁴⁹ and this was Rizal's opinion also at the time when his pasyon finally had come.⁵⁰

His open condemnation of the *Katipunan* and of its use of violence, therefore, was not a last-minute attempt to save his own life. It was a confirmation of principles, developed in the *El Filibusterismo*, for the fulfillment of which he had already embarked on his martyrdom four years earlier and for which he was now ready to die.

If the readiness to suffer or to sacrifice one's life for the betterment of one's country was reflected in the revolutionary events of February 1986 referred to in the introduction, then, in response to our theoretical question, Rizal could very well have been a "source" of the people's power movement.

But if many of those who assembled at Camp Aguinaldo or Camp Crame were not aware of the teachings of their national hero, they were, in heeding the call of their bishops for "active resistance of evil by peaceful means in the manner of Christ," at least drawing from the same inspiration!

PABLO PASTELLS, S. J.: RIZAL'S
FRIEND AND CORRESPONDENT
Raul J. Bonoan, S. J.

For about ten months in 1892-93, Jose Rizal and the Jesuit Pablo Pastells conducted a protracted and lengthy correspondence. Rizal wrote from Dapitan where he had been sent as a political exile, while Pastells, the Superior of the Jesuits in the Philippines, was stationed in Intramuros. Rizal began with a first letter in September 1892 in response to a message which Fr. Pastells had asked Fr. Obach, Jesuit parish priest of Dapitan, to convey to Rizal, counselling the patriot not to be obstinate in his views. Together with this fatherly advice came the gift of some volumes by a popular Spanish Catholic apologist, the priest Don Felix Sardá y Salvany. There were altogether four long exchanges, plus a brief closing missive from Rizal, most probably in June 1893.¹ The Rizal-Pastells correspondence was a philosophico-theological discussion, or better perhaps debate, focusing on the following principal topics: the role of private judgment or conscience, the problem of God, and revelation.

The purpose of Pastells was clearly to bring back Rizal to the Church and the practice of the Catholic faith. Rizal, on the other hand, took the occasion to examine his religious views much colored by rationalist ideas, in a sincere desire to find out if there be anything which could be salvaged from what his favorite professor, Fr. Francisco de Paula Sanchez, referred to as the shipwreck of his faith, *el naufragio de la fe*.² The animated exchange, which took place between Dapitan and Manila, represented the clash between two currents of thought in the larger theater of late 19th century Europe: the multi-faceted movement of rationalism and the post-Vatican I Catholic scholastic theology. The Rizal-Pastells correspondence must be understood in the historical context of this wider conflict.

Elsewhere I have treated the impact of rationalist and liberalist ideas on Rizal's thought and literary output.³ The purpose of this essay is to give a synopsis of Pastells' life and point out the characteristics of his theology and political views, situating them in their historical context.

EARLY LIFE

Born in 1846 in Figueros in the northeastern province of Gerona, Pablo Pastells joined the Society of Jesus in 1866 at the age of 20.⁴ He had just completed his third year of theology in the Jesuit-run Seminario Conciliar in Barcelona, which he had entered five years earlier. Certain political events were to set the life of the young Jesuit on a course which finally led to his Philippine assignment.

At the outbreak of the Revolution of 1868, a wave of religious persecution ensued and the young Pastells together with the rest of his fellow Jesuit scholastics was forced to cross the border into France, where he continued his seminary studies. Two years later, with the defeat of Napoleon III in the Franco-Prussian War and his subsequent removal from the throne, Pastells, in lay clothes and accompanied by a captain of the Papal Guards, had to flee in the dead of night from anti-clerical elements. He sought refuge in Clermont only to find out upon his arrival that the Jesuit house there had just been pelted with rocks by some revolutionaries. He then proceeded to Toulouse, joining a group of wounded soldiers returning from the battle of Sédan. Since the Jesuit houses in Toulouse had been closed down, he returned to Spain to complete his theological studies in Bañolas in his native Gerona, where he was ordained priest in 1871.

Because of the armed conflict between government forces and the rebel army of the Carlist faction, Jesuit superiors decided to disperse the community in Bañolas. The newly ordained Pastells was assigned to the recently founded Jesuit residence at Alcoy. For the next three years, in addition to giving missions, he devoted himself to the apostolate among working people, organizing them into small groups or *círculos* patterned after similar Catholic workers' groups in other countries in Europe. The success of Pastells' *círculos* provoked opposition from anarchist elements. Violence broke loose one day when anarchist groups marched into the city to the tune of Riego's revolutionary anthem; the mayor was assassinated and buildings were set on fire. Pastells had to go into hiding and fled from the city.

He then returned to France and, in Auzielles in 1875, completed a year of tertianship, the final phase of the Jesuit course of training, after which, he set sail for the Philippine Mission of the Aragón Province of the Society of Jesus. Indeed, Pastells had been on the run for a great part of his early Jesuit life. His biographer Salvador Sedó goes so far as to suggest that his Philippine assignment was due to the atmosphere of religious persecution that had prevailed in Spain prior to the Restoration of 1875.⁵

PHILIPPINE ASSIGNMENT AND FRIENDSHIP WITH RIZAL

On 5 September 1875 Pastells, then 29 years old, arrived in the Philippines⁶ and was to stay in the Ateneo Municipal de Manila till about the middle of the following year. In addition to his other duties, he was assigned as sub-prefect of the boarders and director of the *Congregación Mariana*, or what was known in English as the Sodality of our Lady. Rizal, a young boy of 14 from Calamba, was a member of this religious association. According to Pastells, he rose to the office of prefect (or president), a position he well deserved "by reason of his most exemplary progress in virtue and learning."⁷

In his letter to Obach, Pastells was to refer to himself as "one who had guided his (Rizal's) conscience in much more propitious times."⁸ He would also call Rizal his spiritual son, *querido hijo de mi alma*.⁹ Rizal in turn was to acknowledge this role of Pastells by expressions of filial respect and by referring to the memory of his dealings with the priest as something "sacred." He wrote: "... I hold you in such high esteem . . . for what you have been in the years of my adolescence (the memory of which I always cherish and hold sacred) . . ."¹⁰ A very special and profound relationship, therefore, grew between Pastells and Rizal: the priest became Rizal's spiritual guide and director, whom he approached for his problems of conscience and spiritual needs: and very probably, in as much as sodalists were enjoined by rule to go to confession regularly, he was even Rizal's regular confessor. Hence, it would seem that at least in the school year 1875-76 it was to the young priest Father Pastells that Rizal turned for spiritual counsel, just as it was the scholastic Sánchez that he consulted on matters literary.

Even after Pastells had left the Ateneo for Mindanao, the sodalist appeared to have kept in touch with him. By Pastells' own account, Rizal sought his advice by letter on the matter of his choice of career.¹¹ From the mission station in Caraga, Surigao, Pastells replied suggesting that he take up agriculture, but by the time Rizal got the letter (the trip from Manila to Caraga and back took six months) he had already decided on medicine. Of the many Jesuits close to him at the Ateneo, including Sánchez, Pastells was given the first place by Rizal himself, at least in a letter to Blumentritt in 1886. "He was my *best* friend, the most distinguished and most traveled among the Jesuit missionaries; he is also very zealous."¹²

While at the Ateneo, he was concurrently *socius* or assistant to the Superior of the Philippine Mission.¹³ But it seems that the principal task of Pastells in Manila was the study of Visayan in preparation for his assignment to the mission areas of Mindanao.¹⁴ Except for occasional visits to other parts

of the country, Pastells spent the next eleven years, 1876-87, in Mindanao. Stationed principally in Bislig and Caraga of the province of Surigao, he set out on numerous trips and expeditions to distant outlying areas. The years in Mindanao proved not only his missionary zeal but also his organizational skills and ability to govern. For seven of those years, he held the position of local Superior of the residence in Bislig from 1878 to 1884 and then of the community in Tagaloan in 1887.¹⁵

Finally, he was recalled to Manila to be acting Superior of the Philippine Mission beginning November 1887, and was subsequently formally appointed Superior by the Jesuit General on July 5 of the following year.¹⁶ In July 1892, toward the end of Pastells' term of office, Rizal was arrested in Manila and subsequently shipped to Mindanao for exile. Pastells took personal interest in his case. No one seemed in a more favorable position to lend Rizal a helping hand: he enjoyed Rizal's friendship, confidence and esteem, and as Superior of the Philippine Mission he had Jesuit resources at his disposal and commanded influence in government circles, in particular with Governor-General Despujol, reputedly a friend of the Jesuits. It has been suggested that the choice of Dapitan, a Jesuit mission territory, might have been arranged by Pastells.¹⁷ This view finds support in some remarks of Rizal in the correspondence.

... I shall never forget your good heart, for you have remembered me just when I felt most downfallen. In adversity we know who our friends are.¹⁸

... you are one of the few persons who, far from forgetting me in my adversity, have offered a helping hand with so much kindness.¹⁹

The Governor-General was in fact willing to allow Rizal to live in the Jesuit house in Dapitan. But Pastells imposed the following conditions: (1) that he execute a public retraction of his religious errors and issue statements signifying pro-Spanish sentiments, (2) that he make the Spiritual Exercises of St. Ignatius and approach the Sacrament of Penance for a general confession of his whole life past, and (3) that he conduct himself in a manner becoming a good Christian and loyal Spanish subject.²⁰ Rizal would not agree to these terms, and so lived with Ricardo Camicero, Captain of the Infantry and Politico-Military Commander of Dapitan.

Pastells likewise relieved Father Sanchez, Rizal's favorite professor, of his teaching assignment at the Ateneo, although the school year had already begun, and assigned him to Dapitan. Sanchez arrived in August in Dapitan, carrying the letter for Obach and the books of Sardá for Rizal. The objective,

in Pastells' own words, was to bring back "the strayed sheep to the right path."²¹ And his long letters to Rizal, exuding with paternal concern and culling arguments from the text of the First Vatican Council and contemporary Catholic theological manuals, were all part of the strategy.

On 19 February 1893 he ceased being Mission Superior, and over a week later was appointed Acting Superior of the Escuela Normal. The correspondence continued for few months more till June of that same year.

RETURN TO SPAIN

Because of failing health, Pastells left the Philippines on 5 October 1893.²² His principal task in Spain for the rest of his life was research into the history of the missions established by the Spanish Jesuits in the Americas and the Philippines. An indefatigable researcher and prolific writer, he published a prodigious amount of historical works: among them, Colin's *Labor evangélica*, which he edited and re-published with copious notes of his own;²³ a three-volume history of the Jesuits in the Philippines in the nineteenth century,²⁴ into which he incorporated his many travels and apostolic endeavors as missionary in Mindanao and Mission Superior; and an impressive nine-volume work on the history of the Philippines,²⁵ which he finished just shortly before his death. His activities included the compilation and preservation of documents pertaining to the history of the Jesuits in the Philippines.

Among these documents which he had a fleet of secretaries transcribe, were the letters between him and Rizal. Pastells has made a lasting and valuable contribution to Rizaliana for his transcriptions of Rizal's letters to him, now kept in the Jesuit archives in San Cugat del Vallès, Barcelona. Rizal's letters to Pastells published by Teodoro Kalaw in the *Epistolario Rizalino* were merely the drafts from Rizal's *borradores*, which apparently had come into the possession of Mariano Ponce.²⁶ In Kalaw's version there were numerous lacunae, the wording in many instances was tentative, and Rizal's fifth and last letter was missing. But the San Cugat documents are authentic copies of Rizal's letters in final form as mailed from Dapitan.

It is an irony of history that Pastells, whose ill health forced his return to Spain shortly after the conclusion of the correspondence, should outlive Rizal by 38 years. He died in Sevilla in 1932 at the age of 86. His reputation with Rizal as a most travelled missionary and a priest of extraordinary zeal is confirmed by the record of his years in Mindanao, the correspondence itself

which attests to his ardent desire to be of spiritual assistance, his dedication to scholarly work in later life, as well as the high esteem in which he was held by his Jesuit companions.

In view of the fact that Pastells' letters contained theological as well as political statements, an inquiry into the general character of his theology and political views is now in order.

THE GENERAL CHARACTER OF PASTELLS' THEOLOGY

The highly ramified movement of rationalism, in its multiple and complex forms, was the principal adversary of the Catholic Church in the nineteenth century. It represented the revolt of the intellectual world against the Church brought about through the combined efforts of the English deists and the French encyclopedists.²⁷ It attacked not one or other dogma of the Church, but the very foundations of Christianity: the possibility of revelation, the notion of the supernatural, the validity of Scripture. At the same time, certain social and political developments, specifically the liberalist efforts to secularize society, separate Church and State, and promote the new freedoms extolled by the French Revolution, were being pressed on the basis of a rationalist ideology diametrically opposed to the spirit of the Gospel. More often not, these were aimed at the destruction of the Church herself.

To counteract the errors of rationalism and stem the tide of revolt against the Church, Pius IX issued in 1864 his famous Syllabus of Errors. Unhappily, this list of papal condemnations—belligerent, sweeping, and unnuanced in its language—made Catholicism appear incompatible not only with false liberal ideas but also with all “progress” and “recent civilization.”²⁸ Five years later, in 1869, the First Vatican Council met. It authoritatively defined a middle course between, on the one hand, rationalism, and semi-rationalism, which exaggerated the role of reason in religious knowledge, and on the other, traditionalism and fideism, which put emphasis on revelation and faith at the expense of reason.

In view of the rationalist opposition, Catholic theology in the 19th century became preponderantly apologetic, defensive, and highly suspicious of modern developments. The deeper understanding of Catholic dogma, which had been theology's traditional function emphasized by scholastic theologians in the past, was thought less urgent than the defense of the foundations of Christianity.²⁹ At the same time, as evidenced by the semi-rationalism of some Catholic theologians themselves condemned by Vatican I, theology

itself did not altogether escape the rationalist trap in its efforts to present the credentials of Christianity as reasonable and fight rationalism on its own grounds. However, rising out of a period of decadence, scholasticism itself was gaining new vitality to meet the challenges of the time. In Spain, Jaime Balmes and Ceferino Cardinal Gonzales were key figures in the scholastic revival. And Leo XIII himself gave fresh impetus to this movement with his encyclical *Aeterni Patris*. Nevertheless, it must be said that theology remained highly defensive and polemical. Moreover, generally theologians (except for a minority of Catholic liberals) took an unbending, intransigent, reactionary posture against new social and political developments, such as religious freedom, the separation of Church and State, inasmuch as their proponents were grounding these on false rationalist principles.

Pastells had concluded his theological training in 1871, seven years after the Syllabus of Errors and two years after Vatican I. No professional theologian or original thinker, he depended on current theological seminary manuals. His theological views reflected the theology of the time. Doubtless, his own personal experience of persecution reinforced the defensive, polemical and reactionary character of his theology as well as his political views.

PASTELLS' POLITICAL VIEWS

The Restoration of the Bourbon monarchy in the person of Alfonso XII in 1875 ended the brief interim of republicanism and liberal politics in Spain. The ascendancy of Alfonso XII had in fact been brought about largely through the political acumen of Antonio Cánovas del Castillo, a political conservative who was open to liberal ideas, a Catholic who professed loyalty to the Church but disagreed with extremists in their defense of the Church's prerogatives, and a monarchist who took it upon himself to shape a constitutional monarchy with a parliament patterned on the British model. Two major parties emerged: the Conservative Party under the leadership of Cánovas himself and the Liberal Party headed by Praxedes Mateo Sagasta.³⁰ But numerous groups of the extremist variety played in the political arena, bound together only by their common opposition to the monarchy of Alfonso XII. On the left were various Republican factions, proponents of thoroughgoing liberalization of Spanish society and adversaries of the Church; and on the right were the Traditionalists, known also as Carlists, who defended the claim of Don Carlos VII to the throne, fought for the rights of the Church, and

advocated Catholic unity in its extreme traditionalist and absolutist form.

More of a movement than a party, Traditionalism appealed to Spain's glorious past as the norm for the 19th century and found concrete expression for its political ideas in the Carlist struggle for ascendancy.³¹ Now within the ranks of the Traditionalist Party, extremist as it already was, there arose under the leadership of Ramón Nocedal a dissident group, the Integrist Party, which was formally founded in 1888 with Nocedal's final break with Don Carlos. Nocedal resisted every effort of Leo XIII to unite Spanish Catholics, interpreting Roman documents in his favor, and attacked other Carlists, including Don Carlos himself, for their infidelity to "integral" Catholicism and dangerous accommodation to liberalism. Integristism has been characterized by Schumacher as "the absolutization, so to speak, of its [Traditionalism] principle, the sustaining of all Traditionalist principles in their most intransigent form."³² Any slight concession to liberalism was considered a sinful departure from Catholic orthodoxy. Catholic unity was understood to mean the established position of the Church, complete religious intolerance, and likewise the all-pervading and comprehensive presence of Catholicism in all aspects of personal and social life, or in the words of Nocedal "*the rule of Christ in society*, Jesus Christ ruling in the laws and customs, in public and private institutions, in all education, in all propaganda, written and spoken, in King and subjects as well."³³ And precisely because the Integrists, in rejecting Don Carlos, had no longer any tangible king to sustain their political hopes, Integrist literature came to exhibit increasingly a political mysticism, with Nocedal frequently appealing to "the rule of Christ in society" as an earthly goal devoutly to be wished. Nocedal found support among the secular clergy and the religious orders, especially the Jesuits, who initially were his advisers but were later to reverse their position at the instance of Leo XIII and the Jesuit General Father Martín, a Spaniard. Among the secular clergy, the noted publicist and polemical writer Don Felix Sardá y Salvany took up the cudgels for Integristism. Most famous of his works was a slim volume with the telling title, *El liberalismo es pecado*, which came to be the vademecum of Integristism.

Pastells left little doubt in the correspondence as to his political leanings. Detecting Rizal's adherence to liberal ideas, he was quick to point to the abuses of freedom, advocating a "preventive and repressive" socio-political system:

I am convinced that for the sake of the common good restrictions should be set on freedom in many instances and individuals should be held responsible for their action by authorities endowed with legislative, administrative, coercive, judicial,

and executive powers. Hence I favor a system that is preventive and at the same time repressive.³⁴

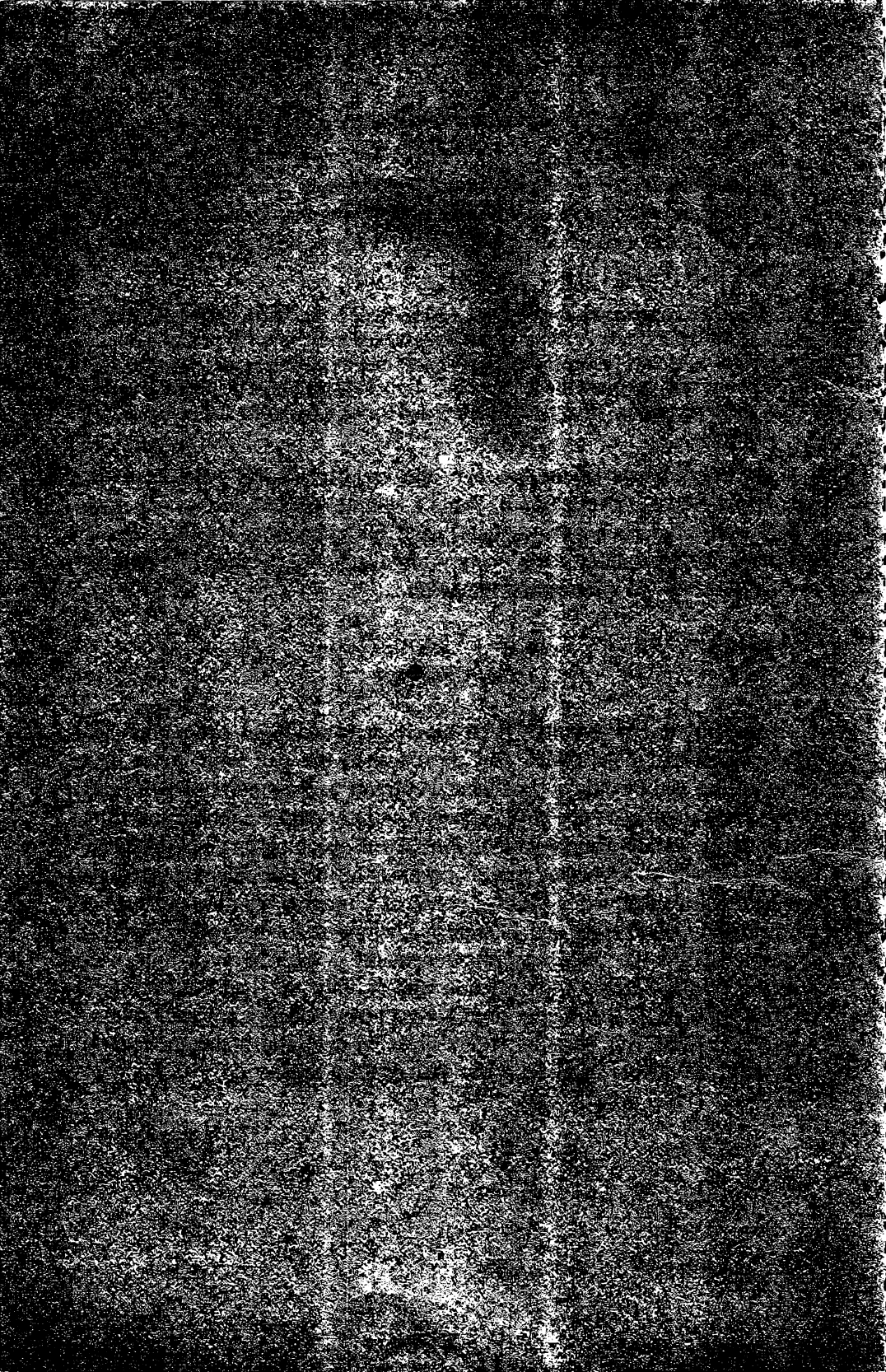
In his perception, a society extolling freedom was founded on the principle of the absolute autonomy of man; it was anti-Christian and could not endure. In a rousing defense of his conservatism, he appealed to "the rule of Christ in society."

Then shall peace come upon the earth when force is wedded to justice and justice is tempered by mercy. But this can be achieved only with *the rule of Christ in society*, when his precepts dictate the constitutions of states and the spirit of the Catholic religion gives life to their laws. Only in Jesus Christ do man and society achieve perfection. He is the beginning and the end, the alpha and omega of true civilization.³⁵

The mystic tone of the passage, the use of Nocedal's battlecry and sacrosanct phrase, Pastells' gift of Sarda's volumes (*El liberalismo es pecado* could well have been one of them), and his encomium on this popular defender of Nocedal's ideas betray unmistakably where his political sympathies lay—in intransigent Integrism.

CONCLUSION

Bound by ties of personal friendship, Pastells and Rizal spent hours and days composing their letters. But they pushed the pen with much pain, representing as they did two intellectual currents at cross purposes with each other. They stood each one at the opposite end of Spain's political spectrum, separated by widely divergent ideologies. Rizal, speaking for a colonized and oppressed people, advocated the liberal ideas of the Enlightenment and the tenets of rationalism; while Pastells, personal witness to religious persecution at the hands of liberals and anarchists, belonged to the strong Catholic reaction against the philosophical movements, which many a time were directed at the Church's destruction and in fact the banishment of all organized religion. The issues raised in the correspondence are seen today in a different light. But Pastells' letters must be read and understood in the context of the history of ideas in late 19th century Spain.



THE ROLE OF FERDINAND BLUMENTRITT
IN THE PUBLICATION AND PROPAGATION
OF THE *NOLI*

Harry Sichrovsky

Before trying to evaluate the above, it is necessary to examine the relationship between Ferdinand Blumentritt and Jose Rizal. Theirs was one of the most moving and most beautiful friendships in history at the same time that it was also most unusual. On close examination, there could hardly be two more different, disparate, and unequal characters and human beings than these two. Their individual uniqueness may begin with language, nationality, colour, and country. Then one can add their social background and their style of life. Blumentritt was head-master of a higher institute of learning, an Imperial civil servant, his loyalty to the Habsburg throne never in doubt. He was the respected head of a family, the accepted patriarch. All in all, a mainstay of the traditional order, of the establishment, as we would say today. He was a symbol of the unshakeable middle class society on which the Empire rested, the very personification of stability and conservatism.

Consider now Rizal. The offspring of a wealthy dynasty of traders and landowners, but also bourgeois intellectuals and cosmopolitan thinkers. But Rizal was first and foremost an Asian, a revolutionary, the restless spirit who stalked from country to country, the rebel and conspirator whose aim was to overthrow the accepted order in his native country even if that order was the colonial order of a foreign nation. Unlike Blumentritt, Rizal never had the time or patience to raise a family, but he seemed to prefer the hasty love affairs in the various countries of his Odyssey.

Between the two there was only one point in common, which in the end proved to be the most controversial: they both professed the Catholic faith. But whereas Blumentritt would consider himself the loyal Catholic subject, his friend would prove to be not only the enemy of the friars, but a fighter against the secular power of the Church, not hesitating to overstep the permissible mark of theological principles.

Yet all this proved to be no hindrance to a life-long friendship in which Rizal considered the Austrian as a kind of brother, sometimes even a father. And what at first glance might have seemed incompatible proved to be the

ideal mutual complementarity of each other. On the one hand, the quick-witted, fast reacting but nervous and highly intelligent Blumentritt throwing himself into battle with as much emotion as certainty of great changes ahead. For Blumentritt was fully aware that his years as a quiet researcher and scientist, as the well known academic Philippinologist, were over. No longer would he find time to study the tribes, languages, customs, and manners of his beloved Philippines. He would inevitably turn or be turned into the companion of a rebel, a revolutionary, and a politician, perhaps also something of a journalist and a pamphleteer. And he would have to try at the same time to remain a loyal servant of his country and avoid confrontation with the powers that be. Being the older of the two, well settled and respected, Blumentritt had the experience for dealing with the public authorities and enjoyed international contacts with famous scientists and artists who would be of value to Rizal.

On the other hand, Rizal, the restless and pursued vagabond, the lonely one, had suddenly acquired a powerful ally, a mighty fortress for his ideas in the middle of Europe. And whereas Rizal had to begin to study Blumentritt's mentality and European surroundings, it was easier for the Austrian to understand and sympathize without difficulty the emotions, the mentality, and the problems of his friend and his friend's country, thanks to his life-long studies, of which Rizal now proved to be the living testimony.

Let us now turn to the question of religion because it will prove to be the basis of an analysis of Blumentritt's contribution towards his friend's *Noli me tangere*. For religion was the first and most intense subject of discussion between them, their bone of contention that almost led to a split of this remarkable partnership. In the end, however, it provided the basis for their common action, a united force of honesty and intensity, a community of purpose rarely verified between two men of such diverse personalities.

It seems natural that the professor from Leitmeritz, a believing and devout Catholic, would consider the monks and missionaries the pioneers of enlightenment, the apostles of civilization. Surely Blumentritt's liberal attitude towards the native Filipinos would not permit any racial discrimination. Certainly, he welcomed the blessings of education, hygiene, law, and order which the friars bestowed on the indigenous population. How is it possible that he did not see, did not seem willing to see, or simply ignored, even missed, the significance of clerical colonialism, of the political power of the monastic orders?

This is hardly the place to disclose the well known facts of how the Philippines were conquered and maintained by the Sword and the Cross. The

real rulers were, to all intents and purposes, the superiors general of the monastic orders and the archbishops of Manila—if only by the fact that the Church could build upon a stability which the Crown lacked. In the last 150 years of Spanish rule in the Philippines, 41 governors changed places in Manila, but only 5 archbishops.

The friars had a decisive say in all areas of public life and they were the declared enemies of progress or any kind of reform which in their opinion endangered Spanish rule in the Philippines. The self-importance of the clergy was best expressed in the slogan, “a friar outweighs a battalion of soldiers.”

Was Blumentritt oblivious of all this, or was it of no concern to him? Was his aim merely to perfect himself as an ethnologist or a linguist, a historian of the Philippines? But if the welfare and the emancipation of the Filipinos were also his concern, it would not take him long to confront those forces that ran counter to Filipino democratic and modern aspirations, namely, the monastic orders.

The moment seemed to have arrived sooner than expected. In a letter dated 22 August 1886,¹ barely a month after the correspondence between Rizal and Blumentritt had started, the former sarcastically retorted in answer to the latter's praise of the friars, that these had been well compensated with worldly as well as heavenly riches, nay, in truth, had opted for the land of the natives' ancestors in exchange for the heavenly. And Rizal adds:

Dear Sir: you know our country through the books written by the friars and Spaniards who copied one another. If you had grown up in our villages as I had and had seen the sufferings of our country folk, you would have a very different idea of Catholicism in the Philippines. I have had an opportunity to study the religions in Europe. There I found Christianity beautiful, sublime, divine; Catholicism attractive, poetic Our country folk do not know these differences. Pardon my frankness which may perhaps seem strange to you for not having heard such a thing before

It must have sounded strange indeed to Blumentritt who suddenly was surprised with a new territory opening before his eyes, a world of problems his studies had never yet touched. It is difficult to estimate how long it took the Austrian scholar to change his opinion or even when his research did result in a new attitude. The first expression of this new approach towards religion and the friars did not appear in Blumentritt's letters to Rizal but in Austrian and German magazines.

In a report on the Philippine system of government² written some two years after the first exchange between the two friends, that system is defined

as "bureaucratic-military, subordinated to the priesthood, in which everyone who opposes the caste rule of the friars is denounced as a traitor. Arrests, banishment, and imprisonment are the rule of the day. Every Philippine intellectual who was not on good terms with the Church was not sure for any moment that he would not be arrested."

In another detailed analysis of the monastic rule in the light of the political situation³ Blumentritt cites as an example the murder of Governor Bustamante-Bustillo and his son by armed monks and the corrupt rule of the Archbishop of Manila. But the Austrian was especially infuriated by the fact that the natives were whipped by the friars, for committing the crime of learning Spanish, as reported by governor Anda. The friars feared for their monopoly of being the only mediators between the natives and the Spaniards. And Blumentritt was shocked to learn that the friars, once the torchbearers of enlightenment, should now base their rule on native stupidity and ignorance. Where and how he obtained the information that led to his change of attitude is not quite clear. But he was a profound student and a forerunner of what we would call today "investigative journalism," although he was a scientist, known for his thorough scientific investigations and research, one who would not rest until he was satisfied he knew enough for a detailed analysis.

It is most interesting and also very important to note that Blumentritt's opposition to the policy of the monastic orders in the Philippines was not motivated by an anti-clerical feeling; rather it must be seen as his warning to the friars to make them realize the dangers of their shortsighted policy. In the same article he expressed his conviction that the friars' attempt to stem the tide of progress and enlightenment was futile and could not stop it. If the clergy would not take advantage of the trend and lead it themselves, it would continue any way, despite themselves. However the carriers of the new ideas would no longer be the Church but the liberals and the freemasons of Voltaire and Rousseau. It was the same attitude that Blumentritt professed when he warned the Spanish rulers that timely reforms would save their dominion over the Philippines, but that intransigence would inevitably lead to independence and the loss of 7,200 islands from their empire.

Finally it should not be overlooked that Blumentritt's harsh opposition to the monastic orders was to a large extent fueled by his shock and indignation on learning of the sufferings of Rizal's family at the hands of the Dominican friar owners of the Calamba estate. On 24 August 1890,⁴ he wrote in what is perhaps his strongest letter and call for counter-measures:

We deeply regret the grievous misfortune that your family has suffered at the hands of the friars It is necessary to undertake a determined and bold

newspaper campaign; the inhumanity and barbarity with which the most sacred human rights are violated under the banner of religion and of Spain should be denounced to the whole world.

And again on 15 October of the same year:⁵

I am deeply grieved to read in your last letter about the sufferings of your family due to the barbarity of the Spaniards and the friars. This cries to heaven; this asks for revenge. We should take advantage of this opportunity to expose to the peoples of Europe and America the injustice and harshness of the government of the Philippines.

In his essay, "Rizal and Blumentritt,"⁶ John N. Schumacher, S. J. comes to the conclusion that there can be no doubt about Blumentritt's Catholicism. Schumacher quotes not only from Rizal's foreword to the critique of the *Noli* where the latter calls his Austrian friend a true Catholic, a submissive son of the Roman Catholic Church, but also from Fr. Pablo Pastells, S. J., a former Superior of the Jesuits in the Philippines and author of a history of the Philippine Jesuit missions in the nineteenth century: ". . . although his (Blumentritt's) ideals were separatist, he always made profession of the Catholic faith, and never could it be said of him that he had lost it; rather on various occasions he found fault with Rizal, according to the latter's own avowal, for having abandoned it." Pastells also mentions that Rizal himself told the Jesuits of Blumentritt's efforts to bring him back to the faith. But at the same time the Jesuit does not hesitate to call Blumentritt an enemy of the friars. He, as many other Church men and friars, did not understand that Blumentritt saw no contradiction between his Catholic faith and his fight against the abuse of religion for worldly ends, such as the maintenance of Spanish colonial rule in the Philippines.

In Blumentritt's experience in central Europe, professing and practicing a religious faith was purely a personal affair, not a matter of state policy, let alone one of foreign interference or colonial domination, as it was for the Filipino. There many have been a time when the Catholic Church and especially the Popes decisively interfered politically, even internationally, dividing whole continents. But those days had long gone by. There was no interference by the Church or religion in the daily life of the citizen, except perhaps an occasional case of discrimination against a Protestant or a Jew, which could usually be remedied under pressure of public opinion.

Schumacher in a way poses the question of who was influenced by whom. Did Blumentritt accept the apparently one-sided picture of the friars as painted by Rizal for him? Secondly, did Blumentritt make an earnest

attempt to refute the views presented to him by Rizal? Furthermore, did Blumentritt attempt to lead Rizal back to the fold of the Church?

In the relationship between the two, the Austrian was the older and wiser, and often called "father" by Rizal. It therefore does seem unlikely that he would have accepted a picture from Rizal without his own thorough investigation. It must be surmised that Blumentritt arrived at his own conclusion after his own research. What Rizal did was to draw his friend's attention to the problem. On the other hand, given Blumentritt's position as the more mature—the adviser—it may be doubted whether Blumentritt made a serious effort to lead Rizal back into the Church after some initial attempts had failed. In the end it seems that the two men respected each other's point of view. The basis of their friendship was their love for the Filipino, their hope to attain freedom and justice for him. That was the decisive norm. Whatever furthered this aim was supported. Whoever helped towards it was their friend. And whoever hindered it or persecuted the Filipino became their enemy.

From this standpoint, it becomes clear that Blumentritt would commit himself to support the *Noli* from the first moment of its appearance. This involvement had a special character because his word carried more weight and went farther than that of any other Spaniard or Filipino. He was a distinguished scientist of international fame. He was a foreigner who could not be accused of ulterior motives, of seeking personal gains, or of fostering his own position. On the contrary, his concern could only lead to results detrimental to his reputation. It was difficult to ignore a man selflessly championing the cause of a budding nation seeking freedom from the fetters of colonial domination. Even his enemies could not brush aside the claim that his actions were governed entirely by his sense of justice and his concern for human rights and self-determination. That is why the only counter-attack his enemies could think of was to try and accuse Blumentritt of being a German agent, a Protestant, a Socialist, as we shall see later, notwithstanding the fact that all these charges contradicted one another. Nor could he be accused of rushing with unprepared statements, of being carried away by emotion because significantly his critique of the *Noli* appeared in print only in 1889. This means that he had pondered it well for over two years before finally deciding to put his thoughts on paper. And it cannot be denied that from the beginning Blumentritt's attitude towards the publication of the book had been positive. He was as a matter of fact instrumental in arranging for its printing at the Setzerinnungsschule des Letter-Vereins, Berliner Buchdruckerei AG (Berlin). But since no less a literary giant than Vicente Blasco

Ibañez had also offered to act as adviser and proof-reader, Blumentritt was in good company.

Of course, Blumentritt's involvement with the *Noli* may be said to have started with the famous letter of 27 March 1887⁷ in which the friend not only appreciates the book but added the prophecy about Rizal which has since assumed historic proportions:

In the first place accept my cordial felicitations on your beautiful social novel which interests me extraordinarily. Your work, as Germans say, has been written with the blood of the heart ("*mit Herzblut*") and for this reason it speaks also to the heart . . . I already knew that you were a man of extraordinary talent . . . but this notwithstanding your work has exceeded my expectations and I consider myself lucky that you have honoured me with your friendship. But not only I but your people also can be called lucky for having in you a son and loyal patriot.

And Blumentritt adds those fateful words that until today have stood as a perfect characterization of Rizal:

If you will continue thus, you can become for your people one of those great men who will exert a definite influence on their spiritual development.

Finally Blumentritt's grand assault on what he considered the critics, opponents, slanderers, and distortioners of the *Noli* was launched when the Imprenta Iberia de Francisco Fossas (123 Rambla de Catalunya, Barcelona) published *El Noli me Tangere de Rizal—Juzgado por el Profesor Blumentritt*.⁸ An appendix was added by Marcelo H. del Pilar and Rizal provided the essay which introduced Blumentritt to the Spanish and Filipino reading public,¹⁰ although Rizal wrote there was no need to give his biography because "all those who are interested in geography, ethnography, and linguistics, all Orientalists, all those who are engaged in the study of the Philippines know his name which is respected and honoured in the civilized world of Europe." Still, Rizal rightly expected that the opinions expressed by Blumentritt might raise protests from those who had pretensions to infallibility or who denounced everybody airing a different opinion as a "*filibustero*," a heretic, or a Protestant. And Rizal assured his readers that "Professor Blumentritt is a fervent Catholic and obedient son of the Roman Church, which he considers the only true one, the only one that can redeem mankind." Furthermore, the Philippine national hero set out to prove that his Austrian friend could not be branded a "*filibustero*" because he was defending Spanish rights on all questions, for which he had been honored and decorated by the Madrid government. Lastly, Rizal pointed out that Blumen-

tritt had read all the books by the friars and peninsular authors. If the learned professor had arrived at a different viewpoint or did not fall victim to the prejudices and calumnies of those authors, it was due solely to his common sense and care to study things carefully.

A most correct evaluation of Blumentritt's labor! It is easy right from the beginning to realize that Blumentritt has gone far beyond producing an essay for topical discussion or brought about an actual happening. One might almost say he used the defense of *Noli* as a welcome pretext to come to terms with Spanish and monastic rule in the Philippines. He took the opportunity to present an investigation of the racial, social, political, and economic repercussions of Spanish colonial policy for the Philippines, thereby drawing up an analysis that has lost nothing of its scientific and historical value to this day, a hundred years after his opening paragraph which had become something of a classic:

In that distant corner of the globe, known under the name of "The Philippines," the state of things today is such that it calls to mind past centuries. The administration of the country, thoroughly military and bureaucratic, is subordinated to the interests of the omnipotent friars. Without representation in the Cortes, and without freedom of the press, abuses there are the order of the day, and like the provinces of ancient Rome, the well-being or the misfortune of the country depends, not on laws, but on the personal qualities of each employee in particular.¹⁰

Blumentritt points out that the clergy in the Philippines possessed such power and prestige as could never be found in any other Catholic country, not even in the ancient states of the Church. He gave credit to the monastic orders for protecting the natives from slavery, cruelty, work in the mines, heavy taxation, although this praise was very much disputed by some historical sources that spoke of depopulation of the Islands due to wars, brutal treatment, slavery, and mass suicides.

In Blumentritt's opinion all of this changed when the era of splendid isolation preserving the friars' power ended with the opening of the Philippines to the outside world, and the monastic orders had every reason to fear the loss of their privileges. This situation provided the basis for his analysis which went beyond a mere critique of the *Noli*, and assumed the character of a thorough investigation in which several aspects may be discerned:

1) *The Economic Aspect*—By no means could progress be prevented, Blumentritt stated. Manila has opened her gates to world trade, and the opening of the Suez Canal has reduced traveling time between Europe and

the Philippines by half. The Philippines could not escape the influence of the Meiji Restoration in Japan (1868) which has led to the opening and modernization of the once secluded hermit empire of the Shoguns. The change from sailing ships to the steam boat has opened the sea lanes and turned the once remote Philippines into a busy junction of trade routes in the Pacific and the Far East. The tobacco monopoly has been abolished. The Madrid Exposition of 1887 has drawn the attention of Spain and Europe to the long forgotten Islands. A penal code has been introduced and many other reforms have gotten under way, the number of peninsular Spaniards supporting these reforms having increased. From all this Blumentritt drew the correct conclusion:

The financial interests of certain Spanish groups (were) threatened by the novel . . . naturally all those in the Philippines whose lives were endangered by the introduction of such reforms were fearful lest Rizal's novel, portraying as it so clearly did the miseries of the Indios, would increase the number of reforms in Spain, and so they closed ranks against their enemy.¹¹

2) *The Social Aspect*—Economic progress and the opening of the country did not stop at pragmatic reforms. They led to the beginning of spiritual and ideological enlightenment. The Spaniard, the mestizo, and finally the *indio* had begun to wake up from their lethargy. This could be a chance for the clergy, Blumentritt wrote, to reform education and cater to the new desire to know more of the changing world. But the monastic orders did not see this need, a blindness that resulted in the exodus of talented young men to the universities in Spain and other European countries. And this has produced unforeseen but important results.

From there they returned home filled with new ideas and they saw their country in a new light. Here in the Philippines condemnation and tyranny! There in Spain liberty and liberalism! They had been free citizens in Spain; in the Philippines they were subordinated and subdued.¹²

Naturally, the returning students, now full-fledged doctors, lawyers, artists, scientists, tried to enjoy at home the same status and the same right to participate in public life as they had in the mother country. They did not understand and would not accept two different rights and justices which in consequence meant the denial of right and justice in their homeland.

It can be said that Blumentritt's was an original analysis. He was the first to recognize a problem that would engage and influence politics in what we

now call the "third world." What happened then in the Philippines would be repeated in most colonial countries in the following years and has continued to the present. The youth, educated in the metropolis, has provided the leadership in the struggle for emancipation and liberation of the colonial countries. Liberal ideas implanted in their minds have naturally stirred the desire to see them work at home. These students have later become their countries' rulers, presidents, and prime ministers. We can see this in all the former colonies of the European countries, in India, the former Belgian, Dutch, Portuguese, or Spanish colonies. Marx once coined the phrase that, in creating the proletariat, the bourgeoisie was creating its own gravediggers. In our case, however, the Marxist thesis failed to materialize as also many other theses. But in the case of the colonies, it may be said to be true that the mother country did, *nolens volens*, produce its own gravediggers. The colonial subjects educated in the mother country have been imbued with the democratic and liberal ideas that served to turn the black, brown, and yellow man into that loyal and obedient civil servant who has guaranteed the continuation of the self-satisfied ruling caste, prepared to carry on the "white man's burden" in tranquil empire for ever and ever. Seemingly no one had visualized the danger from the native, who, fully possessed of the knowledge his master taught him, would one day demand the same blessings for himself and his motherland. To our knowledge, Blumentritt was the first to recognize this development at a time when the age of decolonization was still a long way in the future, nay, when the colonial race for the possession of Africa, for instance, was just peaking.

3) *The Racial Aspect*—The rulers found it particularly aggravating that the author of the *Noli* should be native-born, a Chinese half-caste at that because, as Blumentritt points out, "from the earliest times the Spaniard has always looked down on his colonial subjects, and not only on the coloured people but also on the mestizos and the Spaniards born and bred in the Islands."¹³ The *indio* was considered inferior, at best a younger brother or child, and at worst a sub-human being, a combination ape-man, as Blumentritt says, something of the missing link in Darwin's search in the evolution of man. Among the many friars and peninsular Spaniards the conviction prevailed that the white man was made of finer clay than the yellow, brown, or black man, an attitude expressed in today's Apartheid. In his inimitable style, Blumentritt tries to convey some of the indignation of the monastic and

secular rulers of the Filipinos when one of those sub-human *indios* dared to criticize the living conditions in the Islands:

Is it possible? An *indio*, a brute, an animal, a creature, an ape—to dare talk ill of the institutions of this country, an *indio* to dare make critical observations reproaching the friars and the civil servants for their official or moral misconduct! . . . If an *indio* is labelled impudent when he dares criticize the institutions of a superior race, what must he become when he goes a step further! The rabble must be after him, all the firm believers in the superiority of the white and the inferiority of the Malayan . . .¹⁴

Again Blumentritt resorts to analysis in order to explain this attitude of civilized and cultured European nation with a long and proud history. He cites the fact that with the exception of Portugal, no other European nation has led so isolated an intellectual life as Spain. She has lived happily within herself, the center of the world or, better still, the whole world itself. Only France has influenced Spain a little. The Spanish nation has grown up in the tradition that she has been not only the greatest world power but has continued to be, even at the time when nearly all of her Latin America possessions had been lost and the total decline of the Spanish empire would take place within a decade. From childhood the Spaniards have been taught that their noble and valiant nation was superior to all foreign nations. Today the saying, "proud as a Spaniard" ("*Stolz wie ein Spanier*," in Blumentritt's native language) is still current. Such conceit which the Austrian scholar considers a national weakness must inevitably lead to xenophobia, mistrust and disdain even of the English, French, German, Dutch, and other European nationalities. How much more the Filipino native, the *indio*? Rizal should have guessed, his friend concludes, that being the work of an *indio*, his *Noli* would meet with a host of enemies, even if he did not touch on theological matters.

It might be tempting to conclude that the answer to Spanish arrogance and contempt for the *indio* should have been for Rizal to adopt the same attitude towards the Spaniard, that he should have professed anti-Spanish sentiments as a kind of vengeance. Blumentritt passionately refutes this assumption. Rizal, the liberal cosmopolitan, was an admirer of Spain's cultural heritage and abhorred hatred and enmity because of religion or race:

All the wise men and writers of France, Germany, Austria, and Italy who know Rizal personally, as well as his numerous Spanish and Filipino friends, and I myself, know that he harbours not a single spark of hatred in his heart for Spain. He loves what is noble and brave in the Spaniard, as he hates and despises the

tyrant, the scoundrel, him who forgets his duty regardless of whether he is a Spaniard, Indio, Negro, or Papuan. He values not the colour of the skin or the language he speaks, but the character of the man. Is this being anti-Spanish?¹⁵

It was quite natural that Spanish xenophobia should be extended to Germany and the Germans in general. Circumstances allowed the Spanish authorities a most welcome opportunity to slander and distort Rizal in general and his work in particular in more than one way. There was the Prussian nationalism fostered by Bismarck who was presented as Rizal's friend. The fact that Rizal had studied medicine in Germany led to the rumour that he was a professor at a German university. But nearer to the Philippines, there was the problem of the Carolines on which the Germans had designs (and which they finally acquired by buying them from the victorious United States after the Spanish-American war). To this may be added that the *Noli* was printed in Berlin and—a most important and disreputable fact—Rizal's closest friend and staunch supporter was Professor Ferdinand Blumentritt who might have been an Austrian, but whose native tongue was German and who set out to translate the novel into German, thereby making it available to millions more of readers! And a final blow! The majority of the Germans were believers in Protestantism, Lutherans, traitors to the Pope and the Holy Roman Catholic Church. Germany was the historical seat of heresy. All in all, here was the classical conspiracy with the enemy spread out over the national, political, and even economic field.

Inexperience in democracy made it unlikely that Spain would realize that the reading public of Europe had not only read much more critically about the Spanish colony than about the *Noli*. People of democratic countries were used to much more condemnatory literature about the situation in their own countries: Harriet Beecher-Stowe's *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, which finally led to the liberation of the slaves in North America (and has often been compared to Rizal's *Noli*); Heinrich Heine's poetry condemning the exploited weavers; Charles Dickens' descriptions of the abominable life of the underdog during the industrial revolution in Britain; Emile Zola's harsh social criticism of French society, which Blumentritt mentions. All these should have been persecuted and black-listed, according to the Spanish rule against Rizal. Instead their authors were widely honoured and their works were widely read.

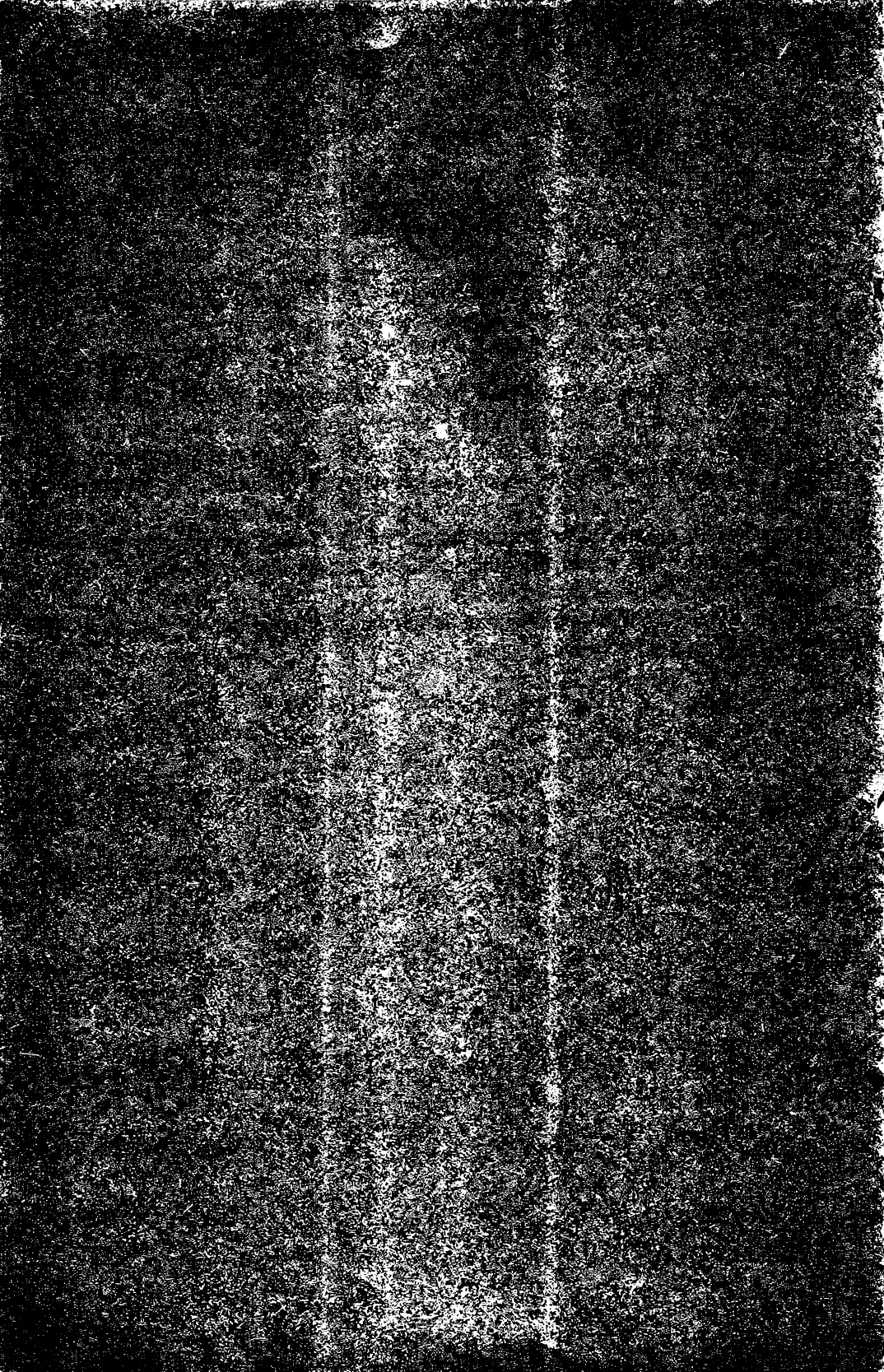
In the end, not only Rizal but his friend, too, was warned, threatened and intimidated. To all of which the professor had only one answer: he would continue his work for the *Noli* for only men weakened by evil or stupidity could "filibusterize" him. He had never attempted to curry favor through

hatred of the blind and the ignorant. In his final resumé Blumentritt does not hesitate to proclaim:

If I may express my opinion on the *Noli me tangere*, I shall state frankly that I consider it the greatest literary work written by any man in the Philippines, and I am happy to say that I am not alone in this opinion. The literature of the Philippines does not include any novel showing so ardent a love of country as the *Noli me tangere* written with the heart's blood of a patriot, who harbours no hatred for Spain but a righteous abhorrence for him who abuses selfishly and scandalously the powers conferred on him by the state or the church.¹⁶

Blumentritt's spirited defense of the *Noli* assumed for him, seen in historical perspective, the significance of the beginning of a new chapter in his life. Never before had he publicly taken a stand with such passion and force of conviction. Regardless of the dangers and difficulties to his own position, Blumentritt took his place beside Rizal and those Filipinos struggling for the liberation of their homeland. He would remain there even after the death of his friend, after the revolution and the Malolos Republic and the fateful war until the end of his life.

It is indeed a rare case of the total immersion of a foreigner in the national struggle of another country.



BASIC BIBLIOGRAPHY

Compiled by Jose S. Arcilla, S. J.,
Clarita Datiles-Tagasa, and
Johnny E. Villanueva

I

Rizal y Alonso, Jose. *Barrantes y el Teatro Tagalo*. Barcelona: Imprenta Iberica de Francisco Fossas, 1889.

_____. *Documentos Rizalinos regalados por el pueblo español al pueblo filipino*. Manila: Imprenta Publica, 1953.

_____. *Dos Diarios de juventud 1882-1884*. Ed. P. Ortiz Armengol and A. Molina. Madrid: Ediciones Cultura Hispánica, 1960.

_____. *Epistolario Rizalino*. 5 vols. Manila: Bureau of Printing, 1930-1938.

_____. *Escritos de Jose Rizal*. 10 tomos. Manila: Comisión Nacional del Centenario de Jose Rizal, 1961.

_____. *El Filibusterismo. Novela filipina*. Gent: F. Meyer-Van Loo, 1981.

_____. *La Visión de Fray Rodriguez*. [Barcelona, 1889].

_____. *Noli me tangere. Novela tagala*. Berlin: Berliner Buchdruckerei-Actien Gesellschaft, 1887.

_____. *One Hundred Letters of Jose Rizal to his Parents, Brother, Sisters, Relatives*. Manila: Philippine National Historical Society, 1959.

_____. *Por teléfono*. [Barcelona, 1889].

_____. "Die Transcription des Tagalog," *Bijdragen tot de taal-land, en volkenkunde van Nederlandisch-Indie* 42 (1893) 311-320. Trans. F. Blumentritt.

_____. "Über tagalische Verskunst," *Verhandlungen der Berliner Gesellschaft für Anthropologie, Ethnologie, und Urgeschichte* 19 (1887) 293-295.

_____. *The Young Rizal. A Translation of "Memorias de un estudiante de Manila"*. Ed. Alberto and Tomas Barretto; transl. and ed. Leon Ma. Guerrero. Manila: Bardavon Book Co., 1951.

_____. (ed.) *Sucesos de las Islas Filipinas, por el Dr. Antonio de Morga*. Obra publicada en Méjico el año de 1609, nuevamente sacada a luz y anotada por José Rizal y precedida de un prólogo del Prof. Fernando Blumentritt. Paris: Garnier, 1890.

II

- A Rizal Anthology. A Selection of Winning Literary Pieces from Various Contests Held Under the Auspices of the Jose Rizal Memorial Centennial Commission*. Trilingual edition. Manila: National Heroes Commission, 1964. 432 p.
- Abeto, Isidro E. *Rizal, The Immortal Filipino*. Manila: National Book Store, 1984. 328 p.
- Africa, Bernabe. *The Political Views of Rizal*. Foreword by Encarnacion Alzona. Manila: Juan Luna Press, 1961.
- Agoncillo, Teodoro A. *Ang mga pangunahing tauhan sa mga nobela ni Dr. Jose Rizal*. Manila: Pambansang Komisyon ng UNESCO sa Pilipinas, sa pakikipagtulungan ng UNESCO, 1969. 76 p.
- Agorilla, Amado L. *Bagumbayan*. Maynila: Manlapaz Pub., 1965. 154 p.
- Alejandro, Rufino. *Buhay at Diwa ni Rizal*. Manila: National Book Store, 1972. 213 p.
- Alip, Eufronio M. *I Traced Rizal's Footsteps In Foreign Lands*. Manila: Alip and Sons, 1961. 313 p.
- Allas, Lilia O. *An Evaluation of the Aesthetic Qualities of El Filibusterismo*. Quezon City: Ateneo de Manila University, 1959. 80 l.
- Alzona, Encarnacion. *Rizal's Legacy to the Filipino Woman*. Second revised edition. Manila: no imprint, 1956.
- _____. et al. *Rizal Centennial Lectures*. Manila: University of the East, 1961. 75 p.
- Ancheta, Celedonio A. *Jose Rizal's Life and His Complete Works*. Rev. ed. Manila: Navotas Press, 1977. 184 p.
- Araneta, Salvador Z. *Rizal and His Message*. [Institute of Economic Studies and Social Action, No. 8] Manila: Araneta University, 1962. 82 p.
- Banag, Consuelo and Ancheta, Herminia M. *Playlets on Rizal and Selected Poems*. Manila: Abiva Publishing House, 1956. 176 p.
- Bantug, Asuncion L. *Lolo Jose: An Intimate Portrait of Rizal*. Manila: The Intramuros Administration, 1982. 218 p.

- Bantug, Jose P. *El Dr. Jose Rizal como Portaestandarte de la España Científica en el Extremo Oriente*. Madrid: Imp. Cosano, 1949. 50 p.
- Baron Fernandez, Jose. *Jose Rizal. Filipino Doctor and Patriot*. Manila: M. L. Morato, 1980. 377 p.
- Batungbacal, Jose. *Jose Rizal, Patriot and Martyr*. Manila: University Book Supply, 1958. 189 p.
- Bernad, Miguel A. *Rizal and Spain. An Essay In Biographical Context*. Manila: National Book Store, 1986. 188 p.
- Blumentritt, Fernando. *El Noli me tangere de Rizal, juzgado por el Prof. Fernando Blumentritt*. Barcelona: Imprenta Ibérica de Francisco Fossas, 1889.
- _____. *Biography of Dr. Jose Rizal, The Distinguished and Talented Philippine Scholar and Patriot Infamously Shot in Manila on December 30, 1896*. Singapore: Kelly and Walsh, 1898. 51 p.
- Cabrera, Gene C. *Rizal and Josephine*. Manila: Bookman Printing House, 1960. 40 p.
- Calleja, Cesar M. (ed.). *Se Retractó Rizal? Si!* Tabaco, Albay: Oliver's Press, 1961. 23 p.
- Capino, Diosdado G. (ed.). *Dictionary on Jose Rizal's Thoughts, Teachings, Principles*. International edition. Quezon City: Philippine Education Co., 1979. 383 p.
- _____. *Jose Rizal's Character, Teachings, and Examples*. Memorial edition. Quezon City: Manlapaz Pub. Co., 1961. 506 p.
- _____. *Rizal's Life, Works and Writing. Their Impact on Our National Identity*. Quezon City: JMC Press, 1977. 271 p.
- Carmen, Vicente F. del. *Rizal. An Encyclopedic Collection*. 2 vols. Quezon City: New Day Publishing, 1982.
- Casim, Concepción M.; Atienza, Obdulia L.; Banzon, Feliciano C. *Mga tala at patnubay sa pag-unawa sa El Filibusterismo ni Jose Rizal*. Manila: National Book Store, 1973. 184 p.
- _____. *Mga tala at patnubay sa pag-unawa sa Noli me tangere ni Jose Rizal*. Manila: National Book Store, 1973. 188 p.
- Castrence, Pura S. *The Women Characters in Rizal's Novels*. [Regal series, No. 3] Manila: Regal Pub., 1960. 155 p.
- Cavanna y Manso, Jesus M. *Rizal's Unfading Glory. A Documentary History of the Conversion of Dr. Jose Rizal*. Rizal Centennial Edition, Revised and Enlarged. 2 Parts in 1. Manila: no imprint, 1983. xlv, 167, xxxvi, 235 p.

- _____. (ed.). *Rizal and the Philippines of His Days. An Introduction to the Study of Dr. Rizal's Life, Works, and Writings. Historical Notes . . .* Manila: no imprint, 1957. 256 p.
- Coates, Austin. *Rizal, Philippine Nationalist and Martyr*. London: Oxford University Press, 1968 and Quezon City: Malaya Books, 1969. xxxiii, 378 p.
- Collas, Juan. *Rizal's "Retractation."* Introduction by Claro M. Recto. Manila: no imprint, 1960. 86 p.
- _____. (ed.). *Rizal's Unknown Stories*. Manila. no imprint, 1953. 107 p.
- _____. (transl.) *Rizal's Unknown Writings*. Manila: Bookman Inc. 1957. 126 p.
- Comisión Nacional del Centenario de Jose Rizal. *Rizal ante los ojos de sus contemporáneos. [Escritos sobre Jose Rizal]* Manila: Comisión Nacional del Centenario de Jose Rizal, 1961.
- _____. *Pensamientos de Rizal. Bibliografía de los escritos de Rizal. Lista de las obras artísticas de Rizal*. Manila: Publicaciones de la Comisión Nacional del Centenario de Jose Rizal, 1962. 104 p.
- Costa, Horacio de la (ed. and transl.). *The Trial of Rizal*. Quezon City: Ateneo de Manila University, 1961. 165 p.
- Craig, Austin. *Life, Lineage, and Labors of Jose Rizal, Philippine Patriot. A Study of the Growth of Free Ideas in the Trans-Pacific American Territory*. Manila: Philippine Education Co., 1913. 287 p.
- _____. *Rizal*. No imprint. 23 p.
- Dacio, Maria Socorro L. *Is the Noli me tangere a Novel?* Manila: Ateneo de Manila Graduate School, 1957. 88 l.
- Daroy, Petronilao Bn. and Feria, Dolores S. (eds.). *Rizal. Contrary Essays*. Quezon City: Guro Books, 1968. 195 p.
- Deveza, Eduardo T. *A Critical Evaluation of Dr. Jose P. Rizal's Noli me tangere*. Quezon City: Ateneo de Manila Libraries, 1972.
- Domingo, Benjamin B. *Rizal in Germany*. Manila: Foreign Service Institute, 1983². 97 p.
- Elio, Vicente. *Compendio de la vida y de las doctrinas e ideas del ídolo del pueblo filipino, José P. Rizal Mercado en preguntas y respuestas breves y sencillos*. Manila: Tipo-Lit. de L. Cribbe, 1913. 51 p.
- Far Eastern University Faculty Journal. *Rizal Centennial Issue*. Manila: Far Eastern University, 6 (1961) 107-189.
- Fifth Annual Rizal Grand Oratorical Contest in the English Language. Nine Prize Orations*. Manila (?): Knights of Rizal, 1959, 31 p.

- First International Congress on Rizal. Data Papers. I. Commission on Science. II. Commission on Social Sciences. III. Commission on Humanities.* Manila (?): no imprint, 1961 (?). 311 p.
- Gagelonia, Pedro A. *Rizal. Our Noble Heritage.* Manila: Cruz and Sons, 1968. 311 p.^a
- _____. *Rizal's Life, Works and Writings.* Manila: National Book Store, 1974. 490 p.
- Garcia, Paulino J. *Rizal and the Sciences. Three Speeches.* Manila: NSDB Printing Press, 1961. 16 p.
- Garcia, Ricardo P.; and Malay, Armando J. *Winds of Controversy. A Debate on the Rizal Retracting.* Introduction by Juan C. Orendain. Quezon City: Knights of Rizal (?), no date. 121 p.
- Garcia, Ricardo P. *The Fallacy of the "Forger of the Rizal Retracting."* Quezon City: Garcia Pub. Co., 1961. 45 p.
- _____. *The Great Debate. The Rizal Retracting.* Quezon City: Garcia Pub. Co., 1964. 216 p.
- Garduño, Leonardo. *Rizal and His Enemies.* Part I. Manila: no imprint, 1953². 32 p.
- Guerrero, Leon Ma. *The First Filipino.* Manila: National Heroes Commission, 1963.
- Gutierrez Lasanta, Francisco. *José Rizal, Figura Hispánico-Filipina. Contribución al I centenario de su nacimiento, 1861-1896.* Zaragoza: Talleres Editoriales "El Noticiero," 1962. 196 p.
- Hart, Irving. *The Enigmatic Dr. Jose Rizal.* Manila: Wightman Printing, 1934.
- Hernandez, Jose M. *Rizal.* Manila: Alemar's, 1950. 291 p.
- Hessel, Eugene A. *The Religious Thought of Jose Rizal.* Rev. ed. Quezon City: New Day Publishers, 1983. 344 p.
- "I Abjure Masonry"—*Jose Rizal. Symposium Sponsored by the San Beda College of Law.* Manila: San Beda College of Law, 1950. 32 p.
- Jaen, Antonio. *Simón de Anda y José Rizal. Figuras de la Raza. Conferencia pronunciada por el Ecmo. Sr. . . .* Manila: Democracia Española, 1937. 11.
- Jose Rizal National Centennial Commission. *The Rizal Shrine at Fort Santiago.* Manila: Bureau of Printing, 1961. 56 p.
- Lakan-dula (pseud.). *Biografía de Rizal.* Manila: no imprint. 762 l.
- Lanuza, Cezar Z. and Zaide, Gregorio. *Rizal in Japan.* Tokyo: no imprint, 1961. 92. p.
- Laubach, Frank Ch. *Rizal. Man and Martyr.* Manila: Philippines Community Publishers, 1936. 421 p.

- Lopez, Honorio M. *Ang buhay ni Dr. Jose Rizal at ang mga katha niya na inihulog sa wikang tagalog ni Plaridel, Gatmaitan at ng iba pa. Ikalawang pagpapalimbag.* Maynila: J. Martinez, 1927. 71 p.
- Majul, Cesar A. *A Critique of Rizal's Concept of a Filipino Nation.* Quezon City: University of the Philippines, 1959.
- Malay, Armando J. *Jose Rizal. The National Hero of the Philippines.* Manila: Jose Rizal National Centennial Commission, 1961 (?). 19 p.
- Mallari, Ismael V. *Rizal and You. The Story of the Life of Rizal and How It May Help the Average Man in Meeting the Problems of Everyday Life in a Democratic Society.* Manila: Bookman, Inc., 1953. 145 p.
- Medina, Isagani R. (ed.). *Index to the Epistolario Rizalino (1877-1896).* Quezon City: The Library of the University of the Philippines, 1962. 44 l.
- Mendez, Paz Policarpio. *Adventures in Rizaliana.* Manila: National Historical Institute, 1978. 224 p.
- Molina, Antonio M. *Rizal. Man and Hero.* Manila: UST Cooperative, 1964. 65 l.
- Norton, M. M. *Builders of a Nation.* Manila: no imprint, 1914.
- Ocampo, Esteban de. *Rizal as Bibliophile.* Manila: Bibliographical Society of the Philippines, 1960.
- _____. *Si Rizal—Ang mananagalog.* Maynila: Surian ng Wikang Pambansa, 1969. 25 p.
- Ocampo, Geminiano de. *Dr. Rizal. Ophthalmic Surgeon.* Manila: Philippine Graphic Arts, 1962. 126 p.
- On Jose Rizal—Fr. Pablo Pastells Religious Controversy.* Quezon City: R. Martinez, 1961. 117 p.
- Ongoco, Tomas C. *Mga tulong sa pag-aaral sa Noli me tangere.* Manila: MLQ University, 1969, and Pioneer Printing Press, 1969. 197 p.
- Orendain, Juan C. *The Tragic Farce.* Manila: International Contact Service, 1959. 164 p.
- Orosa, Sixto Y. (ed.). *Jose Rizal. A Collection of What People Have Said and Written about the Filipino National Hero.* Manila: Manor Press, 1956. 118 p.
- _____. *Jose Rizal el Héroe Nacional por varios autores.* Manila: Nueva Era Press, 1956. 179 p.
- _____. *The Greatness of Rizal.* Manila: Booklovers Soc., 1960. 156 p.
- Osias, Camilo B. *Rizal and Education.* Manila: Mission Press, 1921. 84 p.
- Palma, Rafael. *Biografia de Rizal.* Manila: Bureau of Printing, 1949.
- _____. *The Pride of the Malay Race. A Biography of Jose Rizal.* Transl.

- Ramon Ozaeta. New York: Prentice Hall, 1949. 385 p.
- Panlasigui, Isidro. *Rizal's Boyhood*. Quezon City: no imprint, 1956. 103 p.
- Parale, Apolinar B. *Why Rizal Should Remain Our National Hero*. Quezon City: Manlapaz Pub., 1975. 47 p.
- Pardo de Tavera, Trinidad Hermenegildo. *The Character of Rizal and the Legacy of Obscurantism*. Transl. Encarnacion Alzona. No imprint. 100 p.
- _____. *El carácter de Rizal*. Manila: Imprenta Philatelica, 1918. 41 p.
- Parel, Elvigia A. *An Evaluation of Rizal's Noli me tangere and El Filibusterismo*. Cagayan de Oro: Xavier University, 1967. 65 l.
- Pascual, Ricardo R. *The Philosophy of Rizal*. Manila: F. B. Ayuda, 1962. 335 p.
- _____. *Rizal Beyond the Grave. A Reiteration of the Greatness of the Martyr of Bagumbayan*. Rev. ed. Manila: Luzon Pub., 1950. 200 p.
- Ponce, Domingo (ed.). *Diccionario Rizalino. Colección alfabética del ideario político, social, religioso, etc. del Dr. José Rizal y otros patriotas filipinos y filipinistas*. Prólogo del José P. Bantug. 2 vols. Manila: Nueva Era Press, 1965.
- Pi, Pio. *La Muerte cristiana del Doctor Rizal. Vindicación del buen nombre del patriota*. Manila: Imp. de Santos y Bernal, 1909. 45 p.
- Piñana, Gertrudis R. *Dr. Jose Rizal. Ang Dakilang Filipino*. Manila: Bookmark, 1979. 316 p.
- Proceso del Dr. José Rizal*. Manila: no imprint, 1896 (?). 68 p.
- Quirino, Carlos (ed.). *Rizal in Retrospect*. The Centennial Anniversary Number of the Philippine Historical Association. Manila: Philippine Historical Association, 1961. 551 p.
- _____. *The Great Malayan*. Manila: Philippine Education Co., 1940.
- Radaic, Ante. *José Rizal. Romántico realista. Anatomía literaria del "Noli" y "Fili."* Prólogo del José E. Romero. Dibujo e ilustraciones: Daniel Vazquez y Vicente Manansala. Manila: University of Santo Tomas Press, 1961. 248 p.
- Recto, Claro M. *Si Rizal at si Bonifacio. Isang paghahambing*. Baguio: no imprint, 1958. 28 p.
- Reines, Bernard J. *A People's Hero. Rizal of the Philippines*. New York: Praeger, 1971. 189 p.
- Retana, Wenceslao E. *Vida y escritos del Dr. José Rizal*. Madrid: Victoriano Suarez, 1907. 517 p.
- Rivera, Juan F.; and Rivera, Petra O. *Living the Rizal Way*. Quezon City: no imprint, 1958. xii, 287 p.

- Rizal*. Manila: Jose Rizal National Centennial Commission, 1961. 151 p.
- Rizal As An Internationalist*. Papers Read at a Symposium Sponsored by the UNESCO National Commission of the Philippines, Girl Scouts of the Philippines Hall, Manila, December 30, 1958. Manila: UNESCO National Commission of the Philippines, 1961. 54 p.
- Rizal*. Publications of the Quezon City Chapter of the Order of the Knights of Rizal. Quezon City: no imprint, 1960. 37 p.
- Rizal Day Committee for 1954. *Rizal Day. Thursday. Dec. 30, 1954. New Luneta, Manila*. Manila: Bureau of Printing, 1954. 52 p.
- Rodriguez, Eulogio B. *Rizal Could Have Saved Himself Had He Cared To*. Reprinted from *The University Alumnus* V (1930). 3 p.
- Roland, Ruth Ailene. *The "Rizalista Cult" in Philippine Nationalism. A Case History of the "Uses" of a National Hero*. New York: Graduate School of New York University, 1969. 274 l.
- Runes, Ildelfonso T. *The Forgery of the Rizal "Retraction" and Josephine Bracken's Autobiography*. Manila: Pro-Patria Pub., 1962. 198 p.
- _____. and Rosa Luciano de la. *The Forgery of the Rizal "Retraction."* Manila: BR Book Co., 1961, 69 p.
- Russell, Charles; and Rodriguez, Eulogio B. *The Hero of the Filipinos. The Story of Jose Rizal, Poet, Patriot and Martyr*. New York: The Century Co., 1932. 392 p.
- Salazar, Jose A. *Si Lolo Juan at ang Noli me tangere. Mga tarawang-guhit ni Eduardo Custodio*. Maynila: Jones Pub., 1961. 311 p.
- Santos, Alfonso P. (ed.). *Miracle Tales Retold*. Manila: National Book Store, 1973. 142 p.
- _____. (ed.). *Rizal In Life and Legends Retold*. Manila: National Book Store, 1974. 158 p.
- Terrenal, Quintin C. *Jose Rizal. Lover of Truth and Justice*. Manila: National Book Store, 1984 158 p.
- Tolentino, Guillermo, *Si Rizal*. Maynila: no imprint, 1957. 113 p.
- Unson, Benjamin C. *Martir ng Bagumbayan: Gat Jose Rizal*. No imprint. 173 p.
- _____. *Rizal*. Manila: Mac's Printing Press, 1953. 106 p.
- Vaño, Manolo O. *Light in Rizal's Death Cell. The True Story of Rizal's Last 24 Hours on Earth Based on Eyewitnesses' Testimonies and Newspaper Reports*. Quezon City: New Day Publishers, 1985.79 p.
- Veyra, Jaime C. de. *El Ultimo Adiós de Rizal. Estudio crítico-expositivo*. Manila: Bureau of Printing, 1946. 149 p.

- Villanueva, Francisco. *Reminiscences of Rizal's Stay in Europe*. No imprint. 72 p.
- Villaroel, Fidel. *Rizal and the University of Santo Tomas*. Manila: University of Santo Tomas, 1984. xx, 314 p.
- Yabes, Leopoldo Y. *Jose Rizal, Sage, Teacher and Benefactor of Humanity*. Quezon City: no imprint, 1961. 64 p.
- _____. *Rizal and National Greatness and Other Essays on Nationalism, Liberalism, and Democracy*. Manila: G. Rangel, 1966. 188 p.
- Zafra, Nicolas. *Jose Rizal, Historical Studies*. Quezon City: University of the Philippines, 1977. ix, 215 p.
- Zaide, Gregorio F. *Jose Rizal, Life, Works and Writings*. Revised. Manila: Villanueva Book Store, 1963. 318 p.
- _____. *Jose Rizal. Life, Works and Writings of a Genius, Writer, Scientist and National Hero*. Manila: National Book Store, 1984. 438 p.

III

- Agoncillo, Teodoro A. "The Contemporaneousness of Rizal," *Comment*, 1958, 61-65.
- Anwar, Rosihan. "Rizal's Name in Indonesia," *The Diliman Review* IX (1961) 354-363.
- Arcilla, Jose S. (ed.). "Documents Concerning the Calamba Deportations of 1891," *Philippine Studies* 18 (1970) 577-633.
- Arensmeyer, Elliott C. "Little Mansions. Some Aspects of Jose Rizal as a Novelist," *Philippine Studies* 18 (1970) 740-752.
- Bantug, Jose P. "Rizal, the Physician," *The Journal of History* V (1957) 36 ff.
- _____. "Rizal and the Natural Sciences," *Philippine Studies* 9 (1961) 3-16.
- Bernad, Miguel A. "The Nature of Rizal's Farewell Poem," *Kinaadman* II (1980) 113-128.
- Bonoan, Raul J. "Rizal on Divine Providence and Nationhood," *Philippine Studies* 25 (1977) 146-162.
- _____. "Rizal's Record at the Ateneo," *Philippine Studies* 27 (1979) 53-73.
- Borg, Cornelius Ch. "Rizal and Oriental Studies in the Netherlands," *Journal of World History* 10 (1962) 35-41.
- Costa, Horacio de la. "Some Notes on Rizal's Style," *Philippine Writing* I (1962) 3-10.
- Cristobal, Adrian E. "Elias: The Ethics of Revolution," *Comment*, 1958, 66-72.

- Cullum, Leo A. "Francisco de Paula Sanchez, 1849-1928," *Philippine Studies* 8 (1960) 334-361.
- Daroy, Petronilo Bn. "The Ideas of European Liberalism in the Fiction of Rizal," *Philippine Social Sciences and Humanities Review* 30 (1965) 109-183.
- David, Fernando S. "Rizal's Pamassian Years," *Comment*, 1960, 63-69.
- Deats, Richard L. "Jose Rizal and the Vision of Freedom," *Philippine Christian* 12 (1960) 11.
- Del Pan, Rafael. "Dos gigantes y un pífimo: Rizal, Cánovas, y Pi y Margall," *Dia Filipino* 30 (Diciembre 1913).
- Demetillo, Ricaredo. "Rizal's Cogency for Our Time," *The Diliman Review* VI (1958) 384-392 and *Comment*, 1958, 101-112.
- Dimaya, P. D.; and Siega, G. D. (comp.) "Jose Rizal: A Selected Bibliography," *Philippine Journal of Education*, 38 (1959) 413-414.
- Echevarria, Ramon. "Rizal's Last Farewell—A New Translation of the 'Ultimo Adios'," *Philippine Quarterly of Culture and Society* 6 (1978) 205-209.
- Fernandez de Castro, Antonio. "Larra's Influence on Rizal," *Historical Bulletin* 5 (1961) 314-324.
- Fisher, Marguerite. "Jose Rizal, First Asian Exponent of Liberal Democracy," *The Diliman Review* IX (1961) 467-484
- Francisco, Juan R. "Preliminary Notes on Rizal's *Ultimo Adios* in Sanskrit," *The Diliman Review* IX (1961) 377-382.
- Guerrero, Leon Ma. "Rizal As A Liberal; Bonifacio As A Democrat," *Comment*, 1963, 3-12.
- Hernandez, Jose, "Rizal's Poetry and Drama," *Unitas* 345 (1961) 55-70.
- Hidalgo-Laurel, Lilia. "Rizal — Through His 'Ultimo Adios'," *The Diliman Review* VI (1958) 393-402.
- Hornedo, Florentino H. "Notes on the Filipino Novel in Spanish," *Saint Louis University Research Journal* XI (1980) 383-422.
- Lopez, Salvador. "Rizal and the Philippine Constitution," *The Diliman Review* XVII (1969) 317-323.
- _____. "Rizal Today," *The Diliman Review* II (1954) 1-12.
- Majul, Cesar A. "Political Notes on 'La Liga Filipina'," *Comment*, 1958, 73-76.
- _____. "Rizal and the National Community," *The Diliman Review* VI (1958) 403-415.
- Mallari, Ismael V. "Rizal in the Schools," *Comment*, 1958, 113-115.

- Martin, Dalmacio H. "Hamlet and Its Possible Influence on Rizal's Novels," *Silliman Journal* 13 (1966) 635-640.
- Morales, Alfredo T. "Children of the Storm: Rizal's Artistic Imagery," *The Diliman Review* IX (1961) 311-326.
- _____. "Rizal's Background in the History of Ideas," *Historical Bulletin* 3 (1959) 1-39.
- Nevins, Allan. "Three American Patriots Needed to Match Rizal," *The Diliman Review* IX (1961) 364-367.
- Nuckarinton, Anuphong Rotchana. "The Social and Political Ideas of Rizal," *The Diliman Review* XI (1963) 311-321.
- Orara, E. de Guzman. "Notes on the Preliminary Notes on Rizal's *Ultimo Adios* in Sanskrit'," *The Diliman Review* XIII (1965) 140-156.
- Osiyas, Camilio B. "Interpreting Rizal," *Far Eastern Freemason* 49 (1957) 9-20.
- Padilla, Benito S. "Rizal's Ideological Basis of a Revolution," *The Diliman Review* IX (1961) 327-353.
- Pascual, Ricardo R. "Rizal As Commentator," *The Diliman Review* I (1953) 293-301.
- Radaic, Ante. "The Filipino Don Quixote," *Far Eastern Freemason* 44 (1963) 12-20.
- Ramos, Jr., Maximo B. "The Rizal Story in Philippine Fiction," *The Diliman Review* IX (1961) 383-396.
- Rodolfo, Agustin. "Rizal As A Propagandist," *The Diliman Review* VI (1958) 416-457.
- Ruaño, Pedro. "The Franciscans in the Writings of Dr. Jose Rizal," *Philippiniana Sacra* XIII (1970) 291-310.
- Sanchez Fuertes, Cayetano and Cruikshank, Bruce. "The Franciscans in the Life and Works of Jose Rizal," *Philippine Quarterly of Culture and Society* 11 (1983) 1-56.
- Saniel, Josefa. "Jose Rizal and Suehiro Tetcho. Filipino and Japanese Political Novelists," *Asian Studies* 2 (1964) 353-371.
- Santos Cristobal, Epifanio de los. "Más sobre Rizal," *The Philippine Review* I (1916) 24-44.
- Schumacher, John N. "Due Process and the Rule of Law. Three Unpublished Letters of Rizal," *Philippine Studies* 25 (1977) 237-253.
- _____. "Rizal and the Ateneo," *Philippine Studies* 25 (1977) 135-144.
- _____. "Rizal and Blumentritt," *Philippine Studies* 2 (1952) 85-101.
- _____. "Rizal the Revolutionary and the Ateneo," *Philippine Studies* 26 (1978) 231-240.

- _____. "Some Notes on Rizal in Dapitan," *Philippine Studies* 11 (1963) 301-313.
- _____. "Wenceslao E. Retana. An Historiographical Study." *Philippine Studies* 10 (1962) 55-576.
- Sinco, Vicente G. "Rizal and Education," *The Diliman Review* IX (1961) 297-310.
- Terrenal, Quintin C. "Maria Clara and the Three Men in Her Life: An Interpretation of Rizal's 'Noli me tangere,'" *Philippine Quarterly of Culture and Society* 4 (1976) 1-18.
- Varela, Miguel Ma. "Rizal's Studies in the Universtiy of Madrid," *Philippine Studies* 9 (1961) 294-300.
- Villafuerte, Pedro, "Rizal as a Medical Student," *Revista Filipina de Medicina y Farmacia* XXIV (1933) 205-212.
- Viola, Maximo. "Mis viajes con el Dr. Rizal," *The Journal of History* V (1927).
- Yabes, Leopoldo Y. "Rizal and the Liberal Intellectual Tradition," *The Diliman Review* XI (1963) 159-167.
- _____. "Rizal and the Life of the Mind," *The Diliman Review* IX (1961) 368-376.
- _____. "Rizal, Nationalist and Internationalist," *The Diliman Review* III (1955) 123-128.
- _____. "Rizal's Novels," *The Diliman Review* XI (1963) 82-90.

ENDNOTES

VOLONTERI

1. His last "European book" was written on 6 December 1896 when he was in prison at Montjuich castle (Barcelona). The book before this was the diary he wrote on his journey to Hongkong from Marseilles, 18 October to 19 November 1891: *Escritos de José Rizal* (henceforth, EJR), *Diarios y Memorias* (Manila, 1961), 235.

2. "... he voluntarily retired from the nucleus of the propagandists—why not say it?—because of intrigues and rivalries": Preface to EJR, VII, iii. Isabelo de los Reyes, *La Sensacional Memoria . . . sobre la Revolución Filipina de 1896-1897 por la cual fue deportado el autor al Castillo de Montjuich* (Madrid, 1889), 83, wrote: "A masonic lodge of Filipinos called *Solidaridad* was established in Madrid and the idea came up to propagate masonry among them." Retana noted that "Rizal was not yet a mason; he was initiated in London, although he certainly never ascended to a high degree. This shows he was never a *worker*, although he was a mason.": W. E. Retana, *Vida y escritos del Dr. José Rizal* (Madrid, 1907), 157, n. 177. We know from Fr. Vicente Balaguer, S. J. that when he presented a formula of retraction to Rizal, the latter [presented some difficulties] "against signing these words, 'I abhor masonry as a society condemned by the Church,' explaining that the masons in London with whom he had dealings and where he had been initiated, were good persons who said nothing against religion, in contrast to other masons whom he had known and who were very bad. And it did not seem to him proper to sign what referred to all since those gentlemen in London could take offense": letter of Fr. Balaguer published in *Cultura Social* (Manila, January 1913), 13-19, reprinted in Jesus Ma. Cavanna, C. M., *Rizal's Unfading Glory* (Manila, 1956), 261-262.

3. I describe Regidor as "vindictive," because in his letter to Mariano Ponce and the rest of *La Solidaridad* (Paris, 18 April 1889), Rizal used these words: "... while there [in prison], let them, like Regidor, think of plans of

revenge": EJR, II-3, 357; *Epistolario Rizalino* (henceforth, ER; Manila, 1931) II, 168. "I have broken my contract with Regidor for he did not publish the work he had agreed to," Rizal to Ponce from Paris, 30 April 1889: EJR, II-3, 362; ER, II, 170. He wrote a similar letter to Marcelo H. del Pilar: EJR, II-3, 369; ER, II, 176.

4. EJR, II-2, 682.

5. On 12 December 1896, Rizal presented in writing to Lieutenant Luis Taviel de Andrade a few facts for his defense before the military tribunal. It reads in part: "I left Madrid in January or February 1891, and since then I had ceased writing and taking part in the policies of *La Solidaridad*, and I was out of masonry": EJR, IX-2, 741. Yet, referring to the propaganda in a letter to Deodato Arellano, dated in Bruxelles, 1 May 1891, he used the masonic sign of three dots with his masonic pseudonym, Dimas Alang. His break from the Propaganda is shown in these words: "I believe my resignation is necessary in order to settle down and earn a living . . . and so I announce my intention to the PP . . . that it may decide": EJR, II-3, 657-658. The masons seem to have refused his resignation since they held him up as a model. It is not easy to see what could follow from Rizal's resignation. A few masonic documents referring to Rizal ended in the hands of Governor Polavieja, who was neither the one who had initiated the trial of Rizal nor appointed the judges who sentenced him. According to his niece, the governor did not even "seek Rizal's death": Jose Andres Gallego, *La política religiosa en España, 1889-1913* (Madrid, 1975), 128, n. These documents on masonry form part of a collection which Polavieja's relative was selling and, according to Jorge C. Bocobo, "if the Philippine Government wanted to acquire them, the Spanish Government's approval was needed, since these papers . . . had ended in the hands of Governor General Polavieja in his official capacity": *Documentos Rizalinos Regalados por el pueblo español al pueblo filipino* (Manila, 1953), viii. A study of these documents could provide important leads, for it is possible Polavieja obtained some of them not in his official capacity. For example, among them is a "Diploma de Maestro Masón expedido por le Grand Orient de France," dated in Paris, 15 February 1892, attesting to the reception to this degree on 14 October 1891. The "*ne varietur*" is not signed by Rizal, unlike the "Diploma de Maestro Masón de la Logia Solidaridad expedido por el Gran Oriente Español" on 15 November 1890. The French diploma gives the impression Rizal was unaware of it, and that it was not part of the documents owned by the head of the Katipunan, Andres Bonifacio, which had been discovered by the Guardia civil in the

Fressell warehouse where the latter was employed. According to Retana, these documents implicated Rizal to a lesser degree and were the reason for his trial, his detention in the boat on leaving Port Said, and his return to the Philippines since Olive, the judge, demanded from Blanco Rizal's presence in Manila. Rizal defended himself against this piece of evidence so vigorously that the court threw away the charge that he had introduced masonry to the Filipinos. The lack of any reference by Rizal himself to the French document explains why it did not figure in his trial. This is why I think these documents could have reached the governor's office through his secretary who, according to Retana, "*motu proprio*, drew at one time a memorandum of how much he knew against Rizal. Submitted to the Governor General, the informant suggested a copy be sent to the military tribunal." See Retana, *Op. cit.*, 354, 389.

6. This is the testimony of Moises Salvador, first Venerable of the lodge *Nilad*: Retana, *Archivo del bibliófilo filipino* (Madrid, 1897) III, 291-293. In his statement, Salvador seems to want to implicate Rizal, who was not in Madrid when *La Solidaridad* was founded. Elected later to be its president, he refused the office. He could, therefore, not send orders to Manila to establish masonic lodges. Likewise, it was not Rizal, but Jose Ma. Basa who sent the statutes of "La Liga filipina," as Salvador himself admitted later when questioned. See Retana, *Op. cit.*, 295-296. In his written "information for my defense" given to Taviel de Andrade, Rizal said: "It is not true that I have given orders to Pedro Serrano to introduce masonry into the Philippines. Serrano had a higher degree in masonry . . . I did not go beyond the 3rd degree, while Serrano reached the 30th or the 33rd. This is clear in the letter he wrote me when I was in Hongkong, a letter included in the case, in which *he names me Venerable* as though it was something. If I was the head, when is an officer permitted to raise the rank of a Captain General? The letter proves the assertion false. Besides Serrano and I separated in Europe quite hostile to each other": EJR, IX-2, 741.

7. Blumentritt wrote Rizal on 15 February 1891: ". . . topping all the misfortunes they have inflicted on you, your sweetheart now abandons you": EJR, II-2, 711-713. On his possible marriage to Nelly Boustead, daughter of a British trader who introduced British and French road building machinery into the Philippines, Fischer wrote: "In 1891, a young Philippine-born girl whom Rizal courted in Biarritz told him she could not agree to marry him unless he became a Protestant. Our hero was not converted, and later, he would qualify this decision as a voluntary sacrifice for the religion in which

he was born. But it rather seems he did not intend to be married”: *Jose Rizal* (no imprint), 56, n. 25. I disagree with this opinion. Even before telling Fr. Pablo Pastells, S.J. about his break with Nelly for religious reasons (more of this later), there is sufficient evidence that Rizal was thinking of marriage. See EJR, letters 240, 242, 243, 248. It is also true he hesitated to get married lest his wife share his misfortunes. In Nelly’s case, however, it was rather him sharing her fortune than her sharing his misfortunes. At this time, disillusioned with politics, the religious motivation was the reason for his decision not to join the English gentry.

8. Rizal to Blumentritt, Biarritz, 29 March 1891: EJR, II-2, 723.

9. “I retire completely from politics, as I have already announced to you and I believe I am right. I need peace and quiet”: Rizal to del Pilar, Ghent, 22 September 1891: EJR, III, 231. Antonio Luna wrote: “These our labors will be rewarded with the destruction of our future, and easily we serve as a screen behind which others may steal in the dark. In a word, it is man exploiting man, to put it briefly”: Antonio Luna to Rizal, Madrid, 12 September 1891: EJR, II-3, 699; ER, III, 226-228. Rizal also wrote: “Some rich people are promising and offering me money to publish my work. Now that I accept it, they send me not even one centavo. I have now pawned all my jewelry”: Rizal to Jose Ma. Basa, Ghent, 9 July 1891: EJR, II-3, 666; ER, III, 201.

10. Rizal to Blumentritt, Bruxelles, 23 April 1891: EJR, II-2, 731.

11. “I am thinking of writing a third novel, a novel in the modern sense . . . politics will not occupy many pages”: Rizal to Blumentritt, Ghent, 22 September 1891: EJR, II-2, 759-760.

12. “When I secretly left the Philippines . . . it was Fr. Leoncio Lopez, a native priest, whom I had asked to console my parents”: Rizal to Blumentritt, Ghent, 23 August 1891: EJR, II-2, 754; ER, IX-2, 759-760.

13. EJR, I, 235.

14. EJR, I, 236-237.

15. See my article, “El clero nativo en Filipinas durante el período español,” *Missionalia Hispanica* XXIII (Madrid, 1966), 257-296.

16. Rizal to Blumentritt, aboard the “Melbourne,” 22 October 1891: EJR, II-2, 774; ER, V, 621.

17. Rizal to Blumentritt, aboard the “Melbourne,” 22 October 1891: EJR, II-2, 775; ER, V, 621-622.

18. Rizal to Blumentritt, aboard the "Melbourne," 22 October 1891; EJR, II-2, 774-775; ER, V, 621-622.

19. This trip to Hongkong is hardly mentioned by Rizal's biographers, except Austin Coates, *Rizal. Philippine Nationalist and Martyr* (Hongkong, 1968), 209-211. But he singles out the Borneo episode and amplifies the reference in the diary to the Pryer marriage. Gregorio Zaide, *Jose Rizal. Life, Works, and Writings* (Manila, 1957), 161-162, dedicates an epigraph to this journey in chapter IX, where Rizal's friar co-passengers are mentioned, but not expressly the Bishop. Rafael Palma, *Biografia de Rizal* (Manila, 1949) gives more details of this journey, using the information in the diary. This is the only work where a more lengthy discussion of Volonteri is included based on Rizal's impressions and notes. But Palma is wrong when he says in the alphabetical index that Volonteri was bishop of Tonkin. He was bishop only of Honan, China.

20. EJR, I, 240-241.

21. EJR, I, 241.

22. In 1891, Nelly wrote to Rizal: "When [my parents] wanted to know how I felt about you, I answered I could not tell them without first knowing if you have decided to embrace Christianity such and as I understand it": EJR, II-4, 156. Palma believes the condition was for Rizal to become an Orthodox Christian: *Biografia*, 180. Coates affirms "Nelly was a Protestant": *Rizal*, 196. Both authors show how they came to this conclusion.

23. While in exile in Dapitan, Rizal and Fr. Pablo Pastells, S. J. carried on by letter a brief exchange of views on faith. In one of these letters, the Jesuit told his friend the "Protestants have taken hold of you." In reply Rizal wrote back: "As for becoming a Protestant . . . If Your Reverence knew what I had lost for not openly agreeing with Protestant ideas, you would say no such thing. Had I not always respected the religious phenomenon, had I, for my part, taken religion as a science of convenience and an art by which to live well, instead of now finding myself a poor exile, I would now be rich, free. Honors would now have been heaped on me. Rizal a Protestant! A loud guffaw explodes inside me which only my respect for your words can check. . . . You should have listened to my conversations with a Protestant pastor, during the long summer evenings there in the solitude of Ondenwald. There, talking quietly and objectively, expressing freely one's thoughts, we discussed our respective beliefs, the moral code of nations, its influence on

their respective creeds. A true respect for the good faith of one's adversary and of the most diverse ideas necessarily due to race, education, and age almost always led us to the conclusion that religion, whatever its form, should not make men enemies of one another, but brothers, good brothers. From these exchanges which we repeated almost daily for more than three months, I think I have gotten no other thing, unless I am wrong, than a deep respect for every idea sincerely held and carried out with conviction. Almost every month, a Catholic priest from one of the little towns along the Rhine, an intimate friend of the Protestant, used to visit him, giving me an example of Christian brotherhood. They considered themselves as two servants of the same God and, instead of using the time quarreling, each one fulfilled his duties, leaving to the Lord the judgment of who interpreted His will better": EJR, II-4, 222-223. See also Raul J. Bonoan's essay elsewhere in this volume.

24. Rizal's faith is deep, alive, and nourishes him in moments of despair. For example, on 29 March 1891, he wrote from Biarritz to Blumentritt: "What has become of my family? When I think of them, I am overwhelmed with so much pain that had I a lesser faith in God, I would have committed something foolish": EJR, II-2, 723.

25. There is a sketch of a bishop in Rizal's diary. The only bishop aboard the boat with Rizal was Volonteri, but the drawing is of a Franciscan. See EJR, I, 242.

26. In answer to Rizal, Pastells wrote: "The Catholic priest on the bank of the Rhine who was giving you an example of Christian brotherhood while considering himself, with the Protestant pastor, one of two servants of God. . . . If so, he would be utterly naive, ignorant, one who must have lost the common Catholic sense, for one has to be such to consider the Protestant as the servant of the Catholics' God. This only he can say who, like you, believes that the differences between Catholics and Protestants are merely in matters of *opinion*, not of faith; that one can carry out his religious obligations without knowing how God's will is interpreted. This is interpreted, in the Catholic faith, well and better; in the Protestant, neither better nor well, but bad and worse": EJR, II-4, 229. The Jesuit was apparently not fully informed when he wrote that Rizal believed the differences between the Protestants and the Catholics were only on matters of *opinion*. Rizal's idea of religious toleration concerned rather accessory and externally formal than basic tenets. In a letter dated at Ghent, 23 August 1891, he wrote to

Blumentritt about the pastor of his hometown Calamba: “. . . a just man, liberal and tolerant He was a musician, a poet, and a naturalist. He never became involved with politics. He never had anything to do with the election of the *governadorcillo*”: EJR, II-2, 754. This is Rizalian tolerance: of the accidental, not of the substantial.

27. EJR, I, 244.

28. EJR, I, 245.

29. EJR, I, 246.

30. EJR, II-2, 760.

31. EJR, II-2, 688.

32. EJR, II-2, 775.

33. EJR, I, 249.

34. EJR, I, 252-253.

35. EJR, I, 258.

36. I do not know Fischer's reasons for writing: "Josephine Bracken, an Anglo-Chinese mestiza, who arrived in the Islands with her sick father-in-law": Fischer, *Jose Rizal*, 47. He cites Leon Ma. Guerrero, *The First Filipino*, but the 1974 edition which I used carries a document written by Josephine Bracken, titled "Description of My Life." She relates: "My Mother is a Native of Ireland and was married to my Father on the 3rd of May 1868 in Belfast, Ireland. My Father's name is James Bracken, and my Mother's Maiden Name was Elizabeth Jane MacBride": Guerrero, *Op. cit.*, 360.

37. Carlos Alonso, "La Sagrada Congregación y Filipinas: Relaciones sólo en la Primera Parte del siglo XVIII," *Sacrae Congregationis de Propaganda Fide Memoria Rerum. 350 Años al Servicio de las Misiones, 1622-1972* (Roma-Fribourg-Vienna, 1972), I, 2, 1044. "Reglamento del Colegio Seminario de San Clemente," epigraph "De las naciones que se han de admitir por colegiales," in Pedro Rubio Merino, *Don Diego Camacho y Avila, Arzobispo de Manila y de Guadalajara de México (1695-1712)* (Sevilla, 1958), 524-525.

38. Giovanni B. Tragella, *Le Missioni Estere di Milano* (Milan, 1950) I, 278.

39. Archivio della Sacra Congregazione della Propaganda Fide (Roma), "S. C. Roma," Vol. 23. fols. 1-7.

40. *Ibid.*

41. Archivio Generale del Pontificio Istituto Missioni Estere (Roma), "Hongkong, Missionari 1859-89," Vol. 18, fols. 968-971.

42. *La Cruz I* (Madrid, 1872), 198-207.

43. "Memoria instructiva, escrita para su sucesor" in Jeremias Rebanal y Ras, *La administración liberal española en Filipinas (1869-1871)*, Ph.D. dissertation submitted to the Universidad Complutense de Madrid, II, 384.

44. Governor Carlos Ma. de la Torre's term of office has been badly treated by the majority of Spanish historians, but generally praised in Philippine historiography. Antonio M. Molina has proved the anti-liberal posture of this Governor in "the Myth of Carlos Ma. de la Torre," *Unitas* 36 (Manila, 1963) and his *The Philippines Through the Centuries* (Manila, 1960) I, 313-318. Jeremias Rebanal has also mentioned this in his dissertation cited in the preceding note. Subsequently, John N. Schumacher, S. J. and Nicholas P. Cushner, S. J. published "Documents Relating to Father Jose Burgos and the Cavite Mutiny of 1872," in *Philippine Studies* 17 (1969) 457-529. Among these documents are orders from de la Torre to censor the European correspondence addressed to Jose Garbriel Esquivel, Tomas Fuentes, Manuel Fuentes, Ambrosio Bautista, Agustin Mendoza, Jose Burgos, Juan Adriano, Ignacio Rocha, and Joaquin Loizaga. Finally, in the same review, Jose S. Arcilla, S. J. has published "The Exile of a Liberal in 1870, or Father Arnedo's case," *Philippine Studies* 19 (1970), 373-419, which likewise shows the anti-liberal actuations of de la Torre.

45. Arch. PIME, "Hongkong, Missionari 1859-89," vol. 18, fols. 972-975.

46. Excerpted from a letter dated Manila, 9 July 1870, published with the title "Correspondencia de Filipinas," *Altar y Trono* (5 September 1870) 315. Because of the strong attack against the Spanish functionaries, the Philippine Customs accused the paper's editorial staff before the Tribunal of Justice: Archivo Historico Nacional (Madrid), "Ultramar," 5215, expediente 4.

47. Santiago Petschen, *Iglesia-Estado. Un cambio político. Las constituyentes de 1869* (Madrid, 1974). Note that deputies like Rafael Izquierdo who voted in the Constituent Cortes of 1869 against the Catholic

unity of Spain and the confessional state in the peninsula, proclaimed the exact opposite when they were sent as governors general to the Philippines. See Archivo de los Agustinos Recoletos (Marcilla, Spain), "Copiador de Oficios 1857-1873," Document 744 of 1871.

48. ACPF, "S. C. Cina, 1875-1876," Vol. 26, fol. 167.

49. Francisco Engracio Vergara, *La Masoneria en Filipinas* (Paris, 1896), 12.

50. See my article, "El clero nativo en Filipinas, durante el período español," *Missionalia Hispanica*, XXIII (Madrid, 1966), 257-296.

51. Cited, Jose Montero y Vidal, *Historia de Filipinas* (Madrid ?), III, 11.

52. John N. Schumacher, S. J., *Father Jose Burgos, Priest and Nationalist* (Manila, 1972), 26-27, 134-145.

53. In commenting on Joaquin de Coria's *Devoto ejercicio del Via Crucis. Traducido al idioma Tagalo* (no imprint, 1852), Retana maintains the professorial appointment cost his expulsion from the Franciscan Order "because the regular clergy in the Philippines did not approve the peninsulars should learn any Philippine tongue": *Aparato bibliográfico de la Historia General de Filipinas* (Manila, 1864), II, s. n. Gomez Platero says, however: ... he was named Commissary procurator in the court of Madrid towards the end of 1865, and left Manila for Spain on 7 January 1866. There he obtained approval for the foundation of the College of Consuegra, was named Chronicler of the Province in 1870, with the option of residing in either of the two Colleges, Pastrana or Consuegra, or returning to the Philippines. But, against the prelate's will, he chose the chair of Tagalog at the Central University, a post founded in January 1871. Since this date, he has not been considered a son by the Province": *Catálogo biográfico de los religiosos franciscanos de la Provincia de San Gregorio Magno de Filipinas* (Manila, 1880), 657. See also Cayetano Sanchez Fuentes, O. F. M., "Rizal, Cavite, and the Franciscans" elsewhere in this volume.

54. Bernardo Garcia was then editor of *La Discusión*. "According to a document distributed on 24 June 1887 to the lodges to inform them of the creation of an anti-masonic league," *La Discusión* figured as one of the newspapers linked to masonry: Pedro Gomes Aparicio, *Historia del periodismo español* (Madrid, 1971), 119-120. Fr. Burgos' articles published

in this newspaper were edited both in its Spanish text and in an English translation by John N. Schumacher, *Father Jose Burgos*, 134-193

55. *Altar y Trono* (5 September 1870), 316.

56. "Reynolds . . . was the founder of the harbor of Dagupan, labelling it as the harbor of the future and there setting up a huge depot of rice; and later the one he created with funds loaned him by the Official Bank of Hongkong, namely, the powerful league of rice monopolists, which occasioned the serious crisis of this product in 1885-1888": Vergara, *La Masoneria*, 7. According to its own records, the Official Bank of Singapore distributed in Cebu, Bohol, and Leyte, 80,000 pounds sterling; the one in Hongkong, through the mestizo Corteza, more than 200,000 pounds in Panay and Negros. Both institutions leased immense rural properties such that the latter became the properties of foreign governments or official British corporations" *Op. cit.*, 17-18. Isabelo de los Reyes wrote in 1897: "One of the main reasons for the insurrection is the land question For the last ten years, the country has been undergoing a commercial crisis which has worsened in these last years. *Añil* or indigo is paralyzed completely and the prices of abaca and sugar have so decreased that they hardly pay for their cultivation. Coffee has disappeared because of a pest which has attacked the plantations. And precisely, only the price of rice has gone up, an article of prime necessity, since it is the basic food of the Filipino. Likewise, with these changes, the important articles have become more costly": *La Sensacional Memoria*, 48. Note that these sources blame the friars for everything.

57. AHN, "Ultramar," 5217, exp. 66; "Anónimo firmado de 'Un militar,'" Biblioteca de la Real Academia de Historia (Madrid), "Colección Bauer," 6127, document 501. In the Governor General's report "of the persons who, for their marked hostility to Spain, it is good should leave the country as a precautionary measure," the first listed is Leon Goicuria, a Cuban lawyer, "a man of some ability, hates Spain since his brother was executed in the island of Cuba for insurrection against the mother country": BAH, "Col. Bauer," 6127, document 528.

58. Jose Ma. Jover Zamora, *España moderna y contemporánea* (Madrid, no date), 329.

59. "Mr. Thomas Reynolds, an English man first, an American second": Vergara, *Op. cit.*, 6.

60. Artigas y Cuerva, *Los Sucesos de 1872*, 128.

61. AHN, "Ultramar," 5216, exp. 26; BAH, 6127, doc.523.
62. Servicio Histórico Militar (Madrid), "Ultramar," Documentos de Filipinas, legajo 4, armario 14, tabla 1, carpeta 9.
63. AHN, "Ultramar," 5227, exp. 53.
64. BAH, "Col. Bauer," 6127, doc. 570.
65. AHN, "Ultramar," 5222, exp. 11
66. AHN, "Ultramar," 5214, exp. 38.
67. AHN, "Ultramar," 5216, exp. 15.
68. BAH, ms. 9/7916.
69. Antono Pirala, *Historia Contemporánea de España* (No imprint), V, 25.
70. AHN, "Ultramar," 5217, exp. 60.
71. AAR, "Copiador de Oficios de 1873," doc. 47
72. AAR, "Copiador de Oficios de 1873," doc. 48.
73. Archivo del Ministerio de Asuntos Exteriores (Madrid), "Ultramar, Filipinas," 1870-1874, legajo 2960.
74. AHN, "Ultramar," 5221, exp. 61.
75. Vergara, *Op. cit.*, 17-18.
76. AHN, "Ultramar," 5221, exp. 28.
77. AHN, "Ultramar," 5221, exp. 34.
78. AHN, "Ultramar," 5214, exp. 38.
79. *Ibid.*
80. Tormo Sanz, 1872, 171.
81. Vergara, *Op. cit.*, 13.
82. *Op. cit.*, 15.
83. *Op. cit.*, 13.
84. *Op. cit.*, 7.
85. *Op. cit.*, 8.

86. AHN, "Ultramar," 5227, exp. 57.

87. Vergara, *Op cit.*, 16.

88. This is from the transcript made in Manila by Florencio Saenz de Vizmanos, 6 May 1871, and sent by the Governor General to the Overseas Minister together with the confidential letter number 570 of the same date. In this letter we read: "I omit commenting on the article Your Excellency mentioned, and the Supreme government will duly appreciate the seriousness and the consequences such ideas can occasion in this Archipelago where until now foreign periodicals have freely circulated in the belief that governments friendly to Spain, like that of England, could not permit our interests to be so blatantly attacked, as the article referred to does, obliging me to dispose that in the future no foreign periodical may circulate without previous censorship by the Commission on Censorship": AHN, "Ultramar," 52, exp. 53. Nevertheless, on 12 December 1872, this periodical was again permitted to circulate freely in the Philippines, as he said in letter number 933 to the Overseas Minister, "because it has not published again an article against the Spanish government in the Philippines": AHN, "Ultramar," 5227, exp. 53.

89. AHN, "Ultramar," 5221, exp. 61.

90. Vergara, *Op. cit.*, 9.

91. Archivo General Militar (Segovia), personal papers of Rafael Izquierdo.

92. AHN, "Ultramar," 5222, exp. 11.

93. SHM, "Documentos de Filipinas," leg. 5, arm. 14, tab. 1, carp. 9.

94. BAH, "Col. Bauer," 9-3-1, 6127, doc. 533. Two hands are clearly identifiable, but the inscription is Izquierdo's.

95. "Information submitted to the Ministers of the Marine and the Vice president of the Admiralty, the temporary Commandant of the Marine, Philippine Naval Base, regarding the Cavite uprising, Manila, 5 February 1872": Biblioteca Nacional (Madrid), manuscript 13.228. I included in my book, *1872*, a similar anonymous report by a native soldier which, despite its confused writing, contains similar ideas.

96. Schumacher-Cushner, "Documents-Relating to Father Jose Burgos," 508-510.

97. Artigas y Cuerva, *Op. cit.*, 126. See also the same author's "Padre Jose A. Burgos," *Filipinas. Su Glorioso Pasado* (Manila, 1962), 94. Probably, Pedro Mancanson, Corporal of the Marine Infantry, is the one mentioned in Bonifacio Octavo's testimony: Tormo Sanz, 1872, 155-156, 158, 160-161, 164-167. Another corporal mentioned is Jose Tolentino, also of the Marine Infantry, but he was executed by firing squad: *Loc. cit.*, BAH, 6127, doc 559. Rafael Calda Luisa was 36 years old, from Calasiao, Pangasinan: AHN, "Ultramar," 5217, exp. 85. Cleto Yance Lara was from Arayat, Pampanga, 34 years of age: AHN, "Ultramar," 5217, exp. 69. Maximo Inocencio Franco was a native of Cavite, 40 years old, married. Condemned to 10 years' imprisonment, he escaped from Cartagena, went on to Marseilles, where he settled as a trader enjoying good connections. He is recorded in the documents as a carpenter: AHN, "Ultramar," 5217, exp. 47.

98. BAH, "Col. Bauer," 6217, doc. 570.

99. Tormo Sanz, 1872, 164-168.

100. "In my letter number 796, dated the 18th of this month, I had the honor of informing Your Excellency about the capture of Bonifacio Octavo . . . from whom I determined to obtain important revelations . . . everything that the investigations obtain comes to corroborate the justice with which the sentencing court acted to impose the rigor of the law on the guilty, a corroboration that is always important, notwithstanding that neither the War Council that pronounced the sentences nor the Captain General who approved them had no need for such, convinced as they were of the justice of their judgment": Tormo Sanz, "El Clero nativo," *Missionalia Hispanica*, XXIII, 285; Schumacher, *Father Jose Burgos*, 248.

101. Tormo Sanz, 1872, 166.

102. SHM, "Doc. Fil.," leg. 4, ar. 14, tab. 1, carp. 9.

103. Vergara, *Op. cit.*, 17.

104. SHM, "Doc. Fil.," leg. 4, ar. 14, tab. 1, carp. 9; BAH, "Col. Bauer," 6217, doc. 524.

105. Vergara, *Op. cit.*, 15.

106. AHN, "Ultramar," 5221, exp. 61.

107. AHN, "Ultramar," 5219, exp. 24. Jose Basa y Enriquez was a lawyer and author of a *Reglamento de Galleras y explicado y comentado, con formularios, casos prácticos, definiciones técnicas e índice alfabético y*

comentado. Obra util a Absentistas, Sentenciadores, Soltadores y Galleros, dedicated to the Royal and Pontifical University of Manila with real and emotional memories of his professors. He was also Judge of the Court of First Instance and Fiscal Promoter of the province of Cavite. According to Retana, he must have been a "true gallophile": *Aparato Bibliográfico*, III, 1292.

108. Francisco Zaldua, the civilian, acted in the meeting as the secretary or scribe of great confidence of Fr. Burgos, and they told the witness La Madrid that if Tolentino and Octavo wanted to join, they would have to draw up an act which the witness would sign together with them. They also told him that Zaldua had to bring to Fr. Burgos the act or paper which the witness signed. After the revolution, they all had to swear to the provisional government, according to Zaldua, and the latter, as well as the others, told him they later would have to elect a king from among the four most famous lawyers of the country, and then all would take their oath to the elected king. These lawyers, as the witness had been assured by those present at the meeting he is describing, were a gentleman, named Regidor, another whose family name was Pardo, a third Serra, and fourth Sanchez." Statement of Vicente Generoso included in the trial of Bonifacio Octavo" AHN, "Ultramar," 5216, exp. 26.

109. Schumacher, *Father Jose Burgos*, 268.

110. Tormo Sanz, "Los jesuitas en Filipinas hace un siglo," *Missionalia Hispanica*. XXX (1972), 348.

111. This occasioned one of the unproven charges against Izquierdo at his "juicio de residencia" at the end of his term as governor of the Philippines.

112. AHN, "Ultramar," 5217, exp. 55.

113. Author of *Las Prescripciones de Sila (remedo de) en Filipinas, por el Excmo. Sr. D. Carlos Maria de la Torre* (Madrid, 1870).

114. *Solicitud de Indulto en favor de D. Antonio Regidor* (no imprint), 8.

115. AGM, personal papers of Jose Ma. Burgos, Veteran Sergeant Major of the Pampanga Batallion Number 3 of the Provincial Militia.

116. EJR, II-3, 196.

117. ACPF, "S. C. Cina 1867-1868," Vol. 22, fols, 941-942.

118. ACPF, "S. C. Cina 1869-1870," Vol. 23.

119. ACPF, "S. C. Cina 1867-1868," Vol. 22, fols. 944-947v; "1873-1874," Vol. 25, fols. 1077-1080.
120. ACPF, "S. C. Cina 1869-1870," Vol. 23, fols. 694-696.
121. ACPF, "S. C. Cina 1867-1868," Vol. 22, fols. 944-947v.

CAVITE TRIALS

1. See the essay, "Bishop Volonteri, Fellow Passenger of Rizal," elsewhere in this volume.

2. *Op. cit.*

3. Archivo Histórico Nacional (Madrid), "Ultramar" legajo 5217, expediente 55.

4. Those War Councils were empowered by the proclamations of 14 January 1869 and 8 May 1871, and the declaration of 24 June of the same year. These edicts gave jurisdiction to the permanent War Council over highway robbers, and those guilty of robbery, violence and other excesses committed together with others if apprehended *in fraganti*, or within 48 hours after the commission of the crime. The reports submitted by the Fiscal of the naval station and the Assesor of War to their superiors, the Commandant General of the Marine and the Captain General of the Philippines respectively, differed in the interpretation of "other excesses committed together with others." The first believed that individual members of the Marine in active service were incapable of planning an act of rebellion and therefore they could not try them. The second, on the other hand, was of the opinion no one could doubt with an honest mind that "other excesses" included "crimes of rebellion and conspiracy because these are excessive and serious, perpetrated together with others."— Letter of the Commandant General of the Marine to the Captain General of the Philippines dated Manila, 9 February 1872; Report of the Auditor of War drawn up also in Manila, 15 February 1872: AHN, "Ultramar," 5217, exp. 55.

5. Servicio Histórico Militar (Madrid) "Documentos de Filipinas," legajo 4, armario 14, tabla 1, carpeta 9.

6. This auditor was Manuel Asensi, born in Cehegin, and 43 years of age. A licentiate in jurisprudence, he joined on 12 February 1851 the College of Lawyers in Madrid where he practiced law until 9 March 1854. He went to

the Philippines where he was commissioned Alcalde mayor of Calamianes for seven months beginning on 27 December 1854; Deputy Governor of Cavite for one year and five months beginning on 8 October 1855; Alcalde mayor of Camarines for another year; permanent Deputy Governor of Calamianes for eleven months beginning in November 1857; Deputy Governor of Zamboanga by royal appointment for a term of two years beginning on 24 October 1858; Alcalde mayor of Bataan for two years and three months beginning on 29 October 1860; Alcalde mayor of Pangasinan for three years. He was for nine months Counsel of the "*sección contencioso*" of the Administrative Council of the Philippines, retiring in 1869 when reforms were introduced. Finally, from 22 March 1869 to January 1871, he served as interim Auditor of the Philippine Naval Station.—"*Hoja de servicios*," Manila el 28 de Febrero: AHN, "Ultramar," 1400, 18.

Izquierdo received an anonymous paper titled "*Preguntas que pueden hacerse al Director de Fondos Locales y a los señores Valdenebro y Clemente*," written in the hand of Pedro Gutierrez Salazar, the author of *Proscripciones de Sila*, in which Asensi is assailed in this manner: "Is it true that Don Manuel Asensi was allowed to practice law in Manila while at the same time being the ad interim Auditor of the Marine at an extremely high salary? Is it true he was living with the Honorable Regent Triviño? That he is the latter's son-in-law? That the law forbids the practice of law by such close relatives as Triviño and Asensi in an area where one of them is a magistrate?" "*Colección Bauer*," ms. 6127, document 509 in the library of the Real Academia de la Historia de Madrid.

7. "*Los insurrectos en número de 200 del Batallón de Artillería y las fuerzas de Marina y del Arsenal son dueños de la fuerza y de mucha parte del Arsenal*" in John N. Schumacher and Nicholas P. Cushner. "Documents Relating to Father Jose Burgos and the Cavite Mutiny of 1872," *Philippine Studies*, XVII, 500-510; "*Algunos individuos del Batallón de Infantería de Marina que ocupaba el Arsenal de Cavite, unidos al pequeño destacamento de Artillería que guarnecía la Fuerza de San Felipe y agregándosele alguna marinería que en total llegaba escásamente a 200 hombres*," *Gaceta de Manila*, 23 Enero 1872; also, my "La Huelga del Arsenal de Cavite en 1872," *Anuario de Estudios Americanos*, XXXV, 285-288.

8. Jose Montero y Vidal, *Historia de Filipinas*, III, 578; Louis La Ravoire Morrow and Norberto Romualdez, *A Short History of the Filipino People* (Manila, 1936) 286; Antonio M. Molina, *Historia de Filipinas* (Madrid, 1984), I, 250.

9. "Seeing that only at great loss could the Regiment No. 7 take the fort and ignoring what lay entrenched within, I believed it more prudent for lack of campaign artillery to order a retreat." SHM, "Documentos de Filipinas," leg. 4, armario 15, tabla 1, carpeta "año 1872."

10. "Parte de la Columna de Operaciones en Cavite," 21 January 1872: SHM, "Documentos de Filipinas," legajo 4, armario 14, tabla 1, carpeta 9; "Diario de las operaciones practicadas por la columna expedicionaria a Cavite." SHM, "Documentos de Filipinas," legajo 1, armario 15, tabla 1 (published in an English excerpt by Carlos Quirino, "More Documents on Burgos," *Philippine Studies*, XVIII, 166-167).

11. "At this stage, the Deputy Captain General, with Regiments 1 and 2, and four mounted artillery companies, appeared in sight of Cavite aboard boats idling in the bay, initiating a general assault at the same time that the artillery attempted to break through, effectively accomplishing the objective in a few moments. Seeing this, the insurgents made signals for a parley which were ignored." *La Discusión* (7 March 1872).

12. SHM, "Documentos de Filipinas," legajo 1, armario 15, tabla 1.

13. Nonetheless the previous number continued to be repeated and even increased. Thus, for example, the correspondent of *El Pensamiento Español*, writing from Manila on 28 January: "As I told you, they would total around 300, soldiers and laborers."

14. SHM, "Documentos de Filipinas," legajo 4, armario 16, tabla 1; Quirino, *Op. cit.*, 167-170.

15. "On the night of 20 January some members of the Marine Infantry Battalion which was occupying the Fort of San Felipe, joined to the small detachment of the Artillery guarding the Fort of San Felipe and some artillery uniting with them . . ." General Army Orders for 22 January, published in *Gaceta de Manila* (23 January 1872).

16. "About 200 men composed of the Artillery of the Army, the Armada, and the Marine, all native-born, rose in arms at the Arsenal on the 20th." SHM, "Documentos de Filipinas," legajo 4, armario 14, tabla 1, carpeta 9. See also my essay, already cited, "La Huelga . . ." where I mention various opinions.

17. The cablegram mentioned in the preceding note continues: "consolidating themselves in the Fort of San Felipe. This has been taken by the loyal troops and all the rebels have been put to the sword."

18. Izquierdo to the Overseas Ministry, Letter No. 390 dated Manila, 31 January 1872: SHM, "Documentos de Filipinas," legajo 4, armario 16, tabla 1.

19. The sensationalism of the press, then and now, distorts the facts. The same thing happened here. *El Argos* (5 March 1872) published: "they assassinated a lieutenant with his wife and a young child five years old." *El Debate* (6 March 1872) said the same thing: "a lady and her son were assassinated by the insurgents." However, in *El Pensamiento Español* (14 March 1872) we can read: "The castellan's wife whom they killed, received a bullet in her leg, and her maid who covered her with her own body, died of a bullet wound." This is actually what had happened as recorded in the "Diary of Operations" where it is recorded that "in a room to the left of the gate to the fortress, they found the wife of the Artillery Lieutenant, Commander of the detachment with his arms, a bullet wound on her thigh." SHM, "Documentos de Filipinas," legajo 1, armario 15, tabla 1; Izquierdo's reserved letter No. 390 to the Overseas Minister dated at Manila, 31 January 1872, where one reads: "Of the two officers apprehended and arrested in the fort, one was found dead, the other seriously wounded, the Castellan commander of the detachment, the peninsular Second Sergeant, and a maid all dead; the Castellan's wife wounded on the thigh." SHM, "Documentos de Filipinas," legajo 4, armario 16, tabla 1). There was no child killed, but a Filipina maid who deserves our praise.

20. "The prisoners taken from the enemy at the moment of the assault, as well as in the previous days, totalled about forty, it being probable that some more may be captured of those who may have hidden under the floor of the first storey of the buildings which are found there and were not included in the careful counting immediately made." SHM, "Doc. Fil.," leg. 1, arm. 15, tab. 1.

21. SHM, "Doc. Fil.," leg. 4, arm. 16, tab. 1.

22. SHM, "Doc. Fil.," leg. 4, arm. 14, tab. 1, carp. 9, fols. 73-85

23. The list of those convicted may be found in SHM, "Doc. Fil.," leg. 4, arm. 13-4, tab. 1, carp. 9.

24. Published in *Gaceta de Manila* 28 January 1872.
25. See note 22 above, and SHM, "Doc. Fil.," leg. 4, arm. 14, tab. 1, carp. 9, fols. 86-99.
26. AHN, "Ultramar," 5217, 50.
27. That case in which he was again included was the same one of Burgos, Gomez, and Zamora.
28. SHM, "Doc. Fil.," leg. 4, arm. 14, tab. 1, carp. 9.
29. Here the two charges which appear in the Superior Civil Governor's indult included in the copy of the sentence are repeated. See note 28 above.
30. I wrote in my essay, "Bishop Volonteri" it is beyond dispute that "Izquierdo acts with precipitation and fixed preconceived ideas." Elsewhere in this volume.
31. BAH, Col. Bauer, ms. 6127, document 559.
32. *Gaceta de Madrid*, 10 February 1872.
33. SHM, "Doc. Fil.," leg. 4, arm. 14, tab. 1, carp. 9.
34. *Ibid.*, and BAH, Col. Bauer, ms. 6127, document 524.
35. Corporals Tolentino and Manonson, the first prisoners executed, had committed the same crime of conspiracy, but the abundant documentation I have consulted mentions nothing of their having caused an uprising while in detention either before or after the mutiny had started.
36. Manuel Artigas y Cuerva, *Los sucesos de 1872*, 126.
37. See "Bishop Volonteri," in this volume.
38. *Op. cit.*
39. Francisco Engraciõ Vergara (Regidor's pseudonym), *La Masoneria en Filipinas*, 15.
40. John N. Schumacher and Nicholas P. Cushner, "Documents Relating to Father Burgos," *Philippine Studies*, XVII (1969), 522-528.
41. *Ibid.*
42. *Colección de los Decretos y órdenes generales expedidos por las Cortes ordinarias de los años 1820 y 1821* (Madrid, 1821), VII, 45-46.

43. Schumacher-Cushner, "Documents," 522-528.
44. Leandro Tormo Sanz, 1872. *Documents Compiled*, 170.
45. Carlos Quirino, "More Documents on Burgos," *Philippine Studies*, XVIII (1970), 172.
46. *El Filibusterismo* (tr. Guerrero), dedication.
47. Both documents are in BAH, Col. Bauer, ms. 6127, document 527.
48. Archivo General Militar (Segovia), 2ª Seccion, 4ª Division, leg. 255.
49. Copy of the letter sent by the Captain General to the Superior Civil Governior which Izquierdo sent together with this letter No. 441 to the Overseas Ministry. AHN, "Ultramar," 5217, 57.
50. See note 48 above.
51. See note 48 above.
52. *Ibid.*
53. *Ibid.*
54. *Colección de los decretos y ordenes . . . VII*, 45-46.
55. See note 48 above.
56. *Ibid.*

LITERARY SOURCES

1. Horacio de la Costa, S. J., *The Background of Nationalism and other Essays* (Manila-New Delhi-New York, 1965), 23.
2. *Escritos de Jose Rizal*, (Manila: Centennial Edition, 1961), Vol. II, Book 1, part 1, 259.
3. EJR, II, 4, 22.
4. Cayetano Sanchez Fuertes, O. F. M., "Rizal and the Franciscans," elsewhere in this volume.
5. EJR, II, 2, 1.
6. Rizal's answer to the criticism of the *Noli* by Vicente Barrantes: EJR, II, 4, 140.

7. EJR, II, 3-1, 91. Italics mine.
8. EJR, II, 3-1, 356. Italics mine.
9. John N. Schumacher, S. J., *The Propaganda Movement: 1880-1895* (Manila, 1973), 29.
10. For an explanation of the Philippine educational system when Rizal began his schooling, see Evaristo Fernandez Arias, O. P., *Memoria histórico-estadística sobre la enseñanza secundaria y superior en Filipinas* (Manila, 1883); Encarnacion Alzona, *A History of Education in the Philippines* (Manila, 1932).
11. Fidel Villaroel, O. P., *Jose Rizal and the University of Santo Tomas* (Manila, 1984).
12. Fidel Villaroel, O. P., *Jose Burgos, University Student* (Manila, 1971); John N. Schumacher, S. J., *Father Jose Burgos: Priest and Nationalist* (Quezon City, 1972).
13. Francois René (Comte de Chateaubriand), *Aventures du dernier Avencerrage*; Alexandre Dumas, *The Count of Monte Christo*.
14. "Diarios y Memorias," EJR, I, 5.
15. EJR, II, 2-6.
16. Phrase used by Fr. Pablo Pastells, S. J. to explain the change in Rizal when coming into contact with the socio-political and cultural surroundings in Europe in 1882: EJR, II, 4, 209.
17. Leon Ma. Guerrero, *The First Filipino. A Biography of Jose Rizal* (Manila, 1974), 128.
18. John N. Schumacher, S. J., *Revolutionary Clergy* (Quezon City, 1981), 36-40. It seems, however, that Rizal not only did not live with Burgos—as some historians claim—but did not even come to know him personally. See Villaroel, *Jose Rizal*, 17.
19. EJR, VIII, 2, 645.
20. "Diarios y Memorias," EJR, I, 106. The unusual admiration Rizal showed for the most outstanding representatives of the Enlightenment included their role as a source of artistic inspiration. The Philippine hero not only admired them, but was some kind of a preacher of the values of the Enlightenment. In January 1888, he advised Marcelo H. del Pilar to learn

English or French for, he writes, "you will be able to read the complete works of Voltaire, whose beautiful, simple, and correct style is admirable, besides being in harmony with his mode of thinking." EJR, III, 2-1, 274.

21. EJR, I, 120.

22. Pedro Gomez Aparicio, *Historia del periodismo español. De la Revolución de septiembre al desastre colonial* (Madrid, 1981), 409-413.

23. *La Discusión*, an out and out republican paper, ultraliberal, already in 1869 utilized by Joaquin de Coria and Jose Burgos to debate on the problem of the Filipino secular clergy, openly proclaimed its challenge and ideology through its subtitles. During the revolutionary period, it was "*Diario Democrático: No más Tiranos-Soberanía del Pueblo*," and during Amadeo's monarchy, "*No más Reyes-Viva la República*." With regard to the articles in *Las Dominicales de El Libre Pensador*, the noted Spanish journalist Diego Carcedo offers this criticism: "Scandalous news against the sixth commandment predominated. Some times it is a parish priest who has amorous relations with a widow; other times, a friar who fled from the convent and violated a girl; still other times a cloistered nun who held a rendezvous at a bridge with a young student; other times a clergyman surprised in bed with a married woman and jumping down a window; and at others a priest who performs impure acts with boys in the sacristy . . ." See Gomez Aparicio, *Historia del periodismo español*, 449.

24. Gomez Aparicio, *Historia*, 418-420.

25. *Op. cit.*, 251.

26. Wenceslao E. Retana, *Vida y escritos del Dr. José Rizal* (Madrid, 1907), 274. On this point, Retana makes this interesting comment earlier in the same work: "The Filipino *theoretical* revolutionaries found inspiration in the Spanish *practical* revolutionaries." (page 156) Admiration for these great personalities of nineteenth-century Spanish liberalism was shared in a greater or less degree by all the members of the Filipino colony in Spain. Some, like Graciano Lopez Jaena, using their typically exalted and demagogic vocabulary, did not hesitate to utter their praise in public, like the following: ". . . instruments of modern Spain, of liberal and spiritualized Spain. Morayta, the personification of the freedom of Thought, of emancipated reason, is consequently the personification of the country's freedom, of the people's redemption. Labra, like Fulton, like James Watt, is the incarnation of the revolutionary spirit in the sciences, arts and letters; he is the living protest,

vengeance alive" Graciano Lopez Jaena, "Homage to Professor Miguel Morayta, President, Asociacion Hispano-Filipina," *Speeches, Articles, and Letters* (Manila, 1974), 37. In 1890, the conceited Pedro A. Paterno dedicated his work *Los Itas* (Madrid, 1890) "To Don Rafael M. de Labra, Eminent Tribune, Deputy to Cortes . . . His admirer and friend."

27. Francisco Foradada, S. J., *La soberania de España en Filipinas* (Barcelona, 1897).

28. Manuel Garcia-Barzanallana [pseudonym of Fr. Pablo Pastells, S. J.?]. *La Masonización de Filipinas* (Barcelona, 1897) reprinted by W. E. Retana, *Archivo del Bibliófilo Filipino* (Madrid, 1897), IV, 286-287. Anyway, in this work the factors that influenced the change in Rizal's outlook, even before he went to Europe, are the following three which probably also left their impact on the evolution of the entire Philippine society during the second half of the nineteenth century: (a) the revolution of September 1868; (b) the opening of the Suez Canal; and (c) the propaganda of the Biblical Societies in Hongkong. Anyway, the same author even states—I do not know if *a parte post*—that "a few years after the start of his college career in Manila, we already see in the young student [Jose Rizal] the perversion of his patriotic sentiments, when he composed a prize winning poem and submitted it to the literary contest celebrating the centenary of our immortal Calderon [1881], unless we are mistaken. The poem was an inspired hymn to his fatherland which for him was no longer Spain."

29. José Jimenez Lozano, *Los cementerios civiles y la heterodoxia española* (Madrid, 1978) 192.

30. *Op. cit.*, 197-198.

31. Felix Sarda y Salvany, *El liberalismo es pecado* (Barcelona, 1887) 13. The first edition came out in 1884. In his epistolary debate with Fr. Pablo Pastells, S. J. regarding faith, Rizal claimed he had read the works of the ultraconservative Sarda y Salvany, but does not mention which.

32. *Op. cit.*, 19.

33. *La Cruz I* (1890) 668-673.

34. Leandro Tormo Sanz, 1872. *Documents Compiled and Annotated* (Manila, 1973); "Bishop Volonteri: Fellow Passenger of Rizal," elsewhere in this volume.

35. Still, one must not forget that this unpleasant and embarrassing incident could have had greater publicity than is believed, for already in 1872 we find on the printed page an event of similar characteristics. It can be checked, however. Manrique Alonso Lallave, former Dominican expelled from the Philippines in 1871—we shall speak more of him—after abandoning the Catholic Church, widely ventilates abuses in the Islands by the religious orders. Referring to priestly celibacy, he writes: "The other case is that of a pastor of a certain town, father of a pretty girl, who madly in love with another friar, fled with him and made her irritated father go out in pursuit of the abductor. Good that the other one stood firm in his house, otherwise there would have been a combat as in the ancient times, when knights fought for their ladies." Manrique Alonso Lallave, *Los frailes en Filipinas* (Madrid, 1872), 76. The story could have also reached Rizal through more complicated channels. The Garchitorenas residing in Pandacan, the town whose parish priest in 1871 was Fray Serafin Terren were in contact with a wide group of liberals or sympathizers with liberal movements, among whom we can mention Federico Lerena, the Regidor brothers, Rafael Maria de Labra, and Fr. Vicente Garcia, a secular priest—he defended Rizal's *Noli*—who certainly were aware of Fray Terren's personal problems. The latter had been, among other things, Vicar Forane in the Diocese of Nueva Caceres to which Sangay, the Franciscan's former parish, belonged. This point needs to be emphasized. Leon Ma. Guerrero, on pages 135-136 of his *The First Filipino*, believes that the heart of the plot of the *Noli* is not so much the dirty and unrelieved animosity between the Franciscans Damaso and Salvi, on one side, against Crisostomo Ibarra, on the other, not for political reasons, but "out of the basest sexual motives, one because he is Maria Clara's sacrilegious father, and the other because he sacrilegiously desires her. Thus he denies the friars even the dignity of their convictions." Knowing this fact could not have brought Rizal, logically, to a similar conclusion, or at least to a generalization as he did. However, with greater access to more detailed information, and strongly influenced by the liberal ideas which he imbibed in Madrid, the Philippine national hero, as Guerrero indicates, arrived at the conclusion that "they [the friars] must, at all costs, even at the cost of fairness and charity, be stripped of even their sacerdotal immunities and mystical powers and exposed to ridicule and hatred." Guerrero, *Op. cit.*, 136. I am convinced this was the process followed by Rizal's thinking, such and as it will appear in the following pages.

36. Not to overwhelm the reader with bibliographical references, but for a more exact understanding of the complexity of the events before and after the Cavite mutiny of 1872, I suggest the detailed analyses by Leandro Tormo Sanz, "Bishop Volonteri: Fellow Passenger of Rizal," and "Five Unknown Earlier Cavite Trials," elsewhere in this volume; the same author's "La Huelga del arsenal de Cavite en 1872," *Anuario de Estudios Americanos*, 35 (1978). Besides a comprehensive study of the incident, the reader will find the corresponding bibliography there.

37. Tormo Sanz, 1872, 171.

38. John N. Schumacher, S. J., *Readings in Philippine Church History* (Quezon City, 1979), 255; Villaroel, *Jose Rizal*, 46.

39. *Noli* (Guerrero translation), 366.

40. *Ibid.* "Diarios y Memorias," EJR, I, 119. One of the first to emphasize this was Austin Craig in his *The Story of Jose Rizal* (Manila, 1909), 112-113.

41. *Diccionario enciclopédico hispano-americano* (London, no date); XII, 463-464; *Enciclopedia universal ilustrada europeo-americana* (Barcelona, no date), XXIX, 101-102.

42. Rafael Ma. de Labra, "La Cuestión colonial," *Las Cortes* (Madrid, 1869), 56.

43. *Op. cit.*, 49.

44. *Op. cit.*, 118.

45. Pedro Gutierrez y Salazar, *Las Proscripciones de Sila (remedo de) en Filipinas, por el Excmo. Sr. D. Carlos Maria de la Torre* (Madrid, 1870), 84 *passim*.

46. *Noli*, 387.

47. Cayetano Sanchez Fuertes, O. F. M., "Rizal Cavite, and the Franciscans," elsewhere in this volume.

48. Joaquin de Coria, O. F. M., *Informe del P. . . . al capítulo provincial de 1870 sobre sus actividades en España en calidad de comisario de la provincia de San Gregorio*, Madrid, 4 Abril de 1870: manuscript in Archivo Francisco Iberio-Oriental (Madrid), 286/8-1. With regards to the *Memoria* and its limited circulation, Francisco Arriaga tells us: "This *Memoria* was not

put up for sale. Know, however, that in the four months following its publication, an explicit order was received in Madrid from the Superiors of the Franciscans it be not distributed. Much astonishment did a like exposé produce in the mind of their own defenders. But doubtless foreseeing its counterproductive effects to the purpose he was aiming at by this rather resounding answer, the author decided that only a small circle of persons should know his work, those not in any official capacity to be able to influence public questions in the Archipelago, and who were ignorant of their traditions and their actual way of life." *La Armonia*, II: 41 (21 March 1871). Once again it is clear that the Franciscan Superiors in Manila strictly disapproved the spread of such a nefarious pamphlet.

49. Joaquin de Coria, O. F. M., "Los frailes en Filipinas," *La Discusión* (21 August 1869); *Altar y Trono*, I (13 October 1869), 395.

50. *Noli*, 6.

51. *Op. cit.*, 156. Italics mine. The passage in the novel refers almost certainly to ideas on pages 61-68 of Coria's *Memoria*, where the Franciscan tries to show, with mathematical proof, how it is more economical for the Spanish government to continue its presence in the Philippines with friars than with soldiers. This curious explanation of Coria, together with other passages from his work, will soon become an obligatory point of departure for all the apologists of the presence and permanence in the Philippines of the regular clergy. But it also seems that already from the wars of independence of the Spanish American colonies, it had been enjoying the category of an axiom after it was expressed by a Mexican Viceroy. See Ferdinand Blumentritt, *Consideraciones acerca de la actual situación política de Filipinas* (Barcelona, 1889), 35. BR also cites the phrase: "... an old viceroy of New Spain was wont to say: 'In every friar the King had in the Philippines a Captain General and an entire army.'" BR I, 41-42, which, however, cites Mallat, I, 389. An anonymous author assures us that the phrase originated in the Philippines during the British occupation of Manila in 1762: "Why did an English Admiral, after signing the peace [with Anda y Salazar] pronounce those remarkable words which later were repeated by impartial history books: 'The King of Spain has in every missionary not only a minister of the altar, but also a soldier and a general?'" (*La Discusión*, 19 August 1869). Rizal himself could also have read the same phrase in this newspaper.

52. Coria, "Los frailes in Filipinas," *La Discusión* (21 August 1869); *Altar y Trono*, I, (13 October 1869), 369.

53. *Noli*, 50.

54. Schumacher, *Father Jose Burgos*, 26-28; Tormo Sanz, "Bishop Volonteri,"; Sanchez Fuertes, "Rizal, Cavite and the Franciscans," elsewhere in this volume.

55. Coria, *Memoria*, 18-19.

56. *Noli*, 237-238.

57. For example: "It was written that Fr. Herrero was the composer of this work, D. Vicente Barrantes cooperating in it. We think rather that in this statement the names were interchanged." See Gregorio Santiago Vela, O. S. A., *Ensayo de una biblioteca ibero-americana de la orden de San Agustín* (Madrid, 1917), VIII, 632. This is questioned. On page 209 of *Apuntes*, speaking of certain liberals and extreme conservatives, its author (or authors) mentions ". . . Barrantes, no less exaggerated," I do not think Barrantes would dedicate to himself such an "eulogy." Neither does the style correspond to that of Fray Casimiro, in my opinion, much less certainly the affirmations—nay, confessions—of liberalism which are found in more than one page of this work.

58. *Apuntes*, 43. Italics mine.

59. *Noli*, 198. Italics mine.

60. *Apuntes*, 205.

61. *Noli*, 156.

62. *El Correo de España* should not be confused with another periodical of the same name appearing in Madrid in 1857 which soon changed its name to *El Correo de Madrid*. The first was established by Rafael M. de Labra and Manuel Regidor in 1870, as can be seen in its 16th number, apparently part of the second year of publication. In this number—the only one I was able to consult—there is an index of the first fifteen numbers of the review, listing the various essays on Philippine reforms by Regidor. By October 1871, Labra and Regidor had planned a new publication, but because they failed to collect the needed funds, they decided instead to increase the issues of *El Correo de España*. See Tormo Sanz, 1872, 113. Even if now Manuel Regidor is a little familiar to the reader, it will be good to recall that he was the son of Cristobal, Spanish surgeon residing in Manila. The date of Manuel's birth is unknown, but it is known that with his brother Antonio, he transferred residence to

Madrid after the 1868 revolution, that he was "profoundly radical in his political ideas and quickly joined the most progressive elements," that he was an "implacable enemy of the regular clergy," whom he made the permanent target of his press campaigns in Madrid. Towards the end of 1869, Segismundo Moreta named him a member of the Consultative Board on Philippine Reforms, before which he proposed the most audacious and radical ideas. In 1873, he succeeded in being elected deputy for Quadrillas, Puerto Rico, after which he was soon swallowed in silence, except when he had to appear in court for a financial case in 1890. It seems he died a little after. See *Enciclopedia universal ilustrada europeo-americana*, XXIX, 160.

63. The carriage was in the nineteenth century the normal vehicle of transportation for all the ecclesiastics, even of recreation, and not just for Franciscans. Here is passage from a source earlier than the *Noli*, which is nevertheless just as interesting: "The Spaniards generally take the carriage, just as the parish priests of the Philippines, diocesan clergy or friars. So much so that there is no friar who, besides keeping one or two carriages for recreation with four or six horses to pull them, does not have also one or two excellent horses for riding. Although to avoid inconvenience they never put their foot on the stirrup, that is, they consider them a luxury." Antonio Garcia del Canto, *Misterios de Filipinas* (Madrid, 1859) I, 287.

64. *El Argos*, I: (3 October 1871) 27.

65. *La Cruz*, I (1872), 242. The acrimonious debates occasioned by the newspapers articles written mainly by Labra, Regidor, and Arriaga, gave place to a heated parliamentary discussion during the sessions of the Cortes held on 11 July 1871. Lopez de Ayala, Overseas Minister, faced Rafael M. de Labra and Patricio de la Escosura. The last explained his position in the debate on the native Filipino clergy in these terms: ". . . member of the commission on the alienation of the goods of the clergy from 1855 to 1856; I defended that law, and today I profess the same doctrine on that matter which I supported in the year 56. I believe that in this day the religious orders have no reason for existing I do not understand their way of life in actual society, because it seems to me they are a contradiction to modern society, just as it seems to me that they have performed for this civilization very important services in other epochs Who but those men [the missionaries] who can speak in God's name would be capable of making the natives adore the Castilian name as they adore God's name. . . ? What influence do you want to substitute for this? It is impossible to find something else." *La Cruz* II

(1872), 70-71. This was the typical posture of the republican government during the liberal period with regards to the problems of Spain, but conservative in regards to the Philippines. The friars supported one another again and again, perhaps with little intelligence, using this and similar declarations in defense of their intransigence. The question is whether Rizal had a copy of Escosura, or something like it, when he puts in a woman's mouth shortly after the San Diego plot the following words: "To tell the truth, up to now I couldn't bear friars and Constabulary officers; they're so ill bred. . . . But now that I have seen how useful and vulnerable they are, I'd almost marry any one of them with pleasure. I'm a patriot." *Noli*, 372.

66. *El Debate*, I (Saturday, 16 September 1871) 202.

67. *La Armonia*, II (Saturday, 23 September 1871) 91. Fr. Agustín de Consuegra Moraleda Almansa was born in Consuegra, Toledo in 1816. He was professed in the Franciscan province of San Jose, and after the exclausturation and he was still a student of theology, he transferred to the Philippines in 1839. After serving as parish priest in the towns mentioned by Arriaga, he was transferred to Obando. See Eusebio Gomes Platero, O. F. M., *Catálogo bibliográfico* (Binondo, 1880), 696. I am not fully convinced of the objectivity of the document Arriaga published against Fray Agustín. I have the impression that, granting certain regrettable incidents in his life, they were exaggerated by his brothers in the cloth disagreeing like Arriaga with the internal Franciscan situation in the Philippines, and used by the latter in revenge because Fray Agustín was the president of the board of Franciscans which decided on his expulsion from the order on 4 January 1870. See *Archivo Franciscano Ibero-Oriental*, 279/2. Unfortunately, in his reply to *El Debate*, Arriaga was not satisfied with ventilating the dirty linen of his opponent, but tried to show the insignificant or non-existing missionary activities of the Franciscans in the Philippines (using Joaquin de Coria's *Memoria* which he rebuts with *ad hominem* arguments) and revealed a series of presumed irregularities in the behavior of many other Franciscans, without offering any details. He limited himself, simply, to *insinuations* of serious violations of the fundamental norms of religious life, which could be more damaging even to prove or deny them.

68. *El Eco Filipino*, II: 11 (22 January 1872).

69. Tormo Sanz, 1872, 99. Federico Lerena must have been of a group of criollos, among whom would perhaps be the Regidor brothers, born in the Philippines but residing in Spain around 1868 and the following years. Pedro

Gutierrez y Salazar refers to it with the enigmatic expression, "escapees from here (from what they and we know)." See *Las Proscripciones de Sila*, 86.

70. *El Eco Filipino*, II: 16 (16 April 1872). In a letter to his brother-in-law, Jose Ma. Basa, Federico Lerena himself graphically describes the purpose of the newspaper, saying that what it intended was to "aim at the enemies of progress," the friars, in the Philippines. See Tormo Sanz, 1872, 99.

71. *El Eco Filipino*, I: 2 (18 September 1871).

72. *Op. cit.*, II:14 (4 May 1872). Italics mine. On 18 May 1872, Federico Lerena writing again to Jose Ma. Basa, clearly expressed his attitude towards the events in Cavite: "The leaders of the uprising in Cavite, whatever be the pretext for launching such a horrendous crime, or likewise any bedevilled individual who incites the least insurrection in the Philippines, cannot be pardoned by God or by men, because the situation of that country will unflinchingly turn any armed fight into an immediate bloody racial question, the most terrible calamity that can befall a colony as backward and heterogeneous as the Philippines." See Tormo Sanz, 1872, 100.

73. *El Eco Filipino*, II: 14 (4 May 1872).

74. Tormo Sanz, 1872, 115.

75. *Op. cit.*, 111.

76. The Archbishop of Manila did it on 19 February 1872. See C. H. *Reseña que muestra el fundamento y causas de la insurrección del 20 de enero en Filipinas . . .* (Madrid, 1872), 95.

77. *El Eco Filipino*, I: 6 (14 November 1871). Italics mine.

78. *Noli*, 58.

79. EJR, VII, 99.

80. Ferdinand Blumentritt, *El Noli me tangere de Rizal* (Barcelona, 1889), 8-9. The first word I italicized, the rest Blumentritt.

81. *Noli*, 288.

82. Elviro J. Perez, O. S. A., *Catálogo bio-bibliográfico de los religiosos agustinos de la provincia del Santísimo Nombre de Jesús de las Islas Filipinas* (Manila, 1901), 478.

83. Casimiro Herrero, O. S. A., *Frutos que pueden dar las reformas en Filipinas*, 6.

84. *Op. cit.*, 5.

85. *Op. cit.*, 15.

86. *Op. cit.*, 23.

87. *Noli*, 6.

88. C. H., *Reseña*, 47. Herrero again refers to the rattan cane as an instrument of punishment in his *Filipinas ante la razón del indio*, 138, to which we shall return later, repeating the words we are quoting. Still, we must not forget that Antonio Garcia del Canto in his *Misterios*, 171-173, already includes a very long comment on the rattan used for the same purpose by distinct social classes of the period in the Philippines, although he mentions specifically the excesses of precisely an Augustinian missionary.

89. C. H., *Reseña*, 86-111. Italics mine.

90. *Op. cit.*, 126. Italics mine.

91. *Noli*, 367.

92. Bartolomé Alvarez de Manzano, O. P., *Compendio de la reseña biográfica de los religiosos de la provincia del Santísimo Rosario de Filipinas* (Manila, 1895), 916-917. Throughout the book, Manrique Alonso Lallave transcribes various dialogues between him and "Mr. B. . ." in Singapore when the ex-Dominican returned to Spain in 1871. Would he perhaps be referring to John Bowring, author of a work which we mention later in section 10?

93. Manrique Alonso Lallave, *Los frailes en Filipinas*, 12.

94. *Op. cit.*, 73-74.

95. [Casimiro Herrero, O. S. A.,] *Filipinas ante la razón del indio*, 111.

96. *Op. cit.*, 129.

97. *Noli*, 372.

98. C. H., *Reseña*, 78. Italics mine. Passages containing similar ideas are found in the same author's *Filipinas ante la razón del indio*, 14, 16, 120, 167, 288-293.

99. *Noli*, 312-313.
100. Herrero, *Filipinas ante la razón del indio*, 277.
101. *Op. cit.*, 289-290.
102. *Op. cit.*, 291.
103. *Op. cit.*, 293.
104. *Noli*, 159. Italics mine.
105. EJR, I, 2-2, 602.
106. EJR, II, 1, 63.
107. T. H. Pardo de Tavera, *Biblioteca Filipina* (Washington, D.C., 1903) No. 491.
108. Francisco Cañamaque, *Recuerdos de Filipinas* (Madrid, 1877), 267.
109. Francisco Cañamaque, *Recuerdos de Filipinas*, (Madrid, 1879) Segunda parte, 75. The idea, however, has already appeared before in very similar terms in Manrique Alonso Lallave, 72.
110. Francisco de P. Entrala, *Olvidos de Filipinas* (Manila, 1881), 111.
111. Jimenez Lozano, *Los cementerios civiles*, 84-102.
112. *Op. cit.*, 95.
113. *Op. cit.*, 102-105.
114. Schumacher, *The Propaganda Movement*, 51.
115. EJR, VII, 282.
116. Gomez Aparicio, *Historia del periodismo español*, 12, 144-145. Similarly, Melchor Fernandez Almagro, *Historia de la España Contemporánea* (Madrid, 1972), I, 32.
117. See, for example, the review of the work in *La Ciencia Cristiana* (1884), 745, where the adjectives used of it are "impious, irreverent, and heretical."
118. Eugene A. Hessel, *The Religious Thought of Jose Rizal* (Quezon City, 1983).
119. Francisco Pi y Margall, *Las Luchas de Nuestros Dias* (Madrid, 1884), 137-139; see *Noli*, 210-211.

120. I ask the reader to read again Rizal's article published in *La Solidaridad* (15 and 30 November 1890: EJR, VII, 271-282), under the title "Las Luchas de Nuestros Dias, por D. F. Pi y Margall," and carefully compare what he says there regarding the book with the vision of the religious phenomenon found in the *Noli* in order to prove what I have said. Jose Rizal bought the book from Pi y Margall in 1884, although the edition he cites in his articles seems to be of a later date. It is therefore surprising that someone should write, without any distinctions, that "Rizal was one of those gifted men in history who was ahead of his times. His book [*Noli*] contains nothing that an educated Catholic of today could find fault with." See P. Cushner, S. J., *Spain in the Philippines* (Quezon City, 1971), 224.

121. Gomez Aparicio, *Historia del periodismo español*, 120-121.

122. Morayta's lecture occasioned strong condemnations from the Archbishops of Zaragoza and Granada, the Bishop of Avila, the administrator of Toledo, who banned it, since they considered the author had written it "using rational and anti-Christian norms." See *La Ciencia Cristiana* 4:72 (1884), 72. A writer even went so far as to solicit that the Government should bar from their professorial duties "whoever used it to corrupt with anti-Christian teachings our Catholic youth in the public institutions of teaching." *Op. cit.*, 742. Similar condemnations appeared in *La Cruz* (November 1884), 599-610; *Revista Popular* 20:725 (30 October 1884), 309-312.

123. It is known that in his letter to F. R. Hidalgo, May, 1887, Rizal mentions that the title of his novel *Noli me tangere* are words taken from the gospel of Saint Luke." This is wrong since the words are from the gospel according to Saint John, 20:17. Rizal, however, uses them in a sense that has nothing to do with their original biblical context, but rather in the sense intended them by *La Reforma*. It is even more probable the Philippine national hero chose this title *after* having read the newspaper or after its contents had been communicated to him by Miguel Morayta, including the biblical phrase.

124. Ante Radaic, *Jose Rizal romántico realista* (Manila, 1961); Antonio Abad, "El tema de Rizal," *Rizal Anthology* (Manila, 1961), 334-335.

125. Schumacher, *The Propaganda Movement*. 81.

126. Jose Rizal, *Diario de Madrid*. 1884 (Ed. Pedro Ortiz Armengol, Madrid, 1860), 99.

127. Donald L. Shaw, *Historia de la literatura española. El siglo XIX* (Barcelona, 1979), 198.
128. Federico Sainz de Robles, in Benito Perez Galdos, *Obras completas* (Madrid: Aguilar, 1969), IV, 413.
129. Schumacher, *The Propaganda Movement*, 81.
130. *Op. cit.*, 108.
131. Horacio de la Costa, S. J., "Nascent Philippine Nationalism," *Philippine Historical Review*, 3 (1970), 168.
132. Wenceslao E. Retana, *Archivo del Bibliófilo Filipino*, IV, 278.
133. Wenceslao E. Retana, "Revista de Filipinas," *Nuestro Tiempo*, 8: 116 (1908), 179-180.
134. George Orwell, *1984* (Barcelona, 1981), 280.

RIZAL, CAVITE, AND THE FRANCISCANS

1. Wenceslao E. Retana, *Vida y escritos del Dr. Rizal* (Madrid, 1907); Rafael Palma, *Biografía de Rizal* (Manila, 1969); Leon Ma. Guerrero, *The First Filipino* (Manila, 1974); Austin Coates, *Rizal Philippine Nationalist and Martyr* (Hongkong, 1968).
2. Isagani's words in *El Filibusterismo* (Guerrero's English translation), 195-196. Unless otherwise stated, quotations from Rizal's two novels are from the translations by Guerrero: *Noli me tangere* (London, 1961), *El Filibusterismo* (London, 1962²).
3. Miguel de Unamuno, "Epiflogo al libro Vida y escritos del Dr. Rizal, de W. E. Retana," *Obras completas* (Madrid, 1966), 968.
4. Jose Rizal, *Noli me tangere*, 6.
5. *El Filibusterismo*, 82.
6. *Noli me tangere*, 241.
7. This observation on the internal squabbles of the Order regarding the original Franciscan ideal is surprising. I do not know the source Rizal used,

but it agrees with those who know this history. Fray Elias of Cortona imposed on the Order a line of conduct not completely in accord with the mind of their founder, punishing their founder, punishing severely those opposed to him. One, Fray Caesarius of Speyer, was jailed and died from abuses. See Gratien de Paris, *Historia de la fundación y evolución de la Orden de Frailes Menores en el Siglo XIII* (Buenos Aires, 1947), 144. Various works relating to Saint Francis have been published in the Philippines, including a brief biography of the saint, but it is improbable they would mention this. It is more likely that Rizal read about this thorny problem in Rénan's work when he settled in Germany, or in one of the writings of Pi y Margall or Morayta.

8. The *celadora* (in Spanish), or "*hermana mayor*" was in charge of a group of Franciscan tertiaries in a definite geographic area. She served as the link between the members and the priest in charge of directing the activities of the association. Among her duties, the most important are to make sure the rule is faithfully observed, to encourage fraternal union among the tertiaries, and make sure no sick sister is neglected either materially or spiritually. See *Regla y ordenaciones municipales de la V. O. T. de penitencia de N. P. S. Francisco*. (Sampaloc, 1828) 115-118.

9. This hypothesis is based on the fact that Meisic was a barrio of Sampaloc, a town then on the outskirts of Manila, and the seat of the Franciscan Third Order for all the Filipinos. At that time, it was the most flourishing religious association in the Philippines.

10. Paciano to Jose, Calamba, 29 December 1882: EJR (Manila, 1961) II-1, 1, 72. This letter from Paciano and others of a later date provide enough information to enable us to say with great probability that the procession described in *Noli*, 240-243, as well as the exchange between the Franciscan and Dominican tertiaries, or similar episodes were nothing else but recollections of scenes Rizal witnessed in his birthplace, Calamba.

11. Rizal to Paciano, Madrid, 13 February 1883: ER, II-1,1, 101.

12. Letter dated 13 February 1883, mentioned above.

13. Teodora Alonso to her son, Calamba, 27 November 1883: *Loc cit.* 151.

14. Teodora Alonso to her son, Calamba, 11 December 1883: *Loc. cit.*, 170. Could Rizal be thinking of this letter from his aged mother when, a few moments before he died, he turned to Fr. Estanislao March, S. J. and said the

following words: "All that the Jesuits have taught me were good and holy. It was in Spain and in foreign lands that I was lost . . . My pride, Father, has brought me here." See Pio Pi, *Muerte cristiana del Doctor Rizal* (Manila, 1909) 32.

15. Jose to Paciano, Madrid, 1885: *Loc. cit.*, 175-176.

16. There was a serious rift between the Rizal family and the native priest, Don Ambrosio Villafranca, pastor of Biflan, Laguna. When Don Leoncio Lopez, parish priest of Calamba, died, Villafranca had certain brushes with Francisco Mercado, brushes which Paciano relates to his brother in a letter dated 26 March 1883: *Loc. cit.* 111-112. About these dates, conflicts arose between the Rizal family and the Dominicans, which Paciano described in this same letter. But previously, on 19 January 1883, his brother-in-law, Silvestre Ubaldo, had written him: "I am informed that those of the white shirts hate you because of what you did when you were in Barcelona, and because of what you published in the *Diariong Tagalog*. You must therefore take care of yourself there. It is always better to be careful now that it seems you are in their list": *Loc. cit.*, 87. But this same year, Paciano advised his younger brother in an undated letter that, considering the favors the family had received from the Dominicans, he ought to try not to displease them in the least. In June 1885 riots in the Calamba hacienda broke out, and these Paciano detailed for his brother in a letter dated 16 July 1885: *Loc. cit.*, 191-192. This problem will not end until it is decided in 1891 by the Supreme Court of Madrid in favor of the Dominicans.

17. *Noli me tangere* was officially banned in the Philippines on the petition of the Archbishop of Manila, Pedro Payo, O. P. and of the Provincials of the religious orders who based their judgment on the censure emitted by the Commission established by the University Council of the University of Santo Tomas (20 August 1887) and the sentence of the Permanent Commission on Censorship signed by Fray Salvador Font, O. S. A. (29 December 1887). The sentence and the solicitude of prohibition were presented during the governorship of General Terrero (1885-1888), but the ban was not made public until the government of General Weyler (1889-1891). EJR II-2, 2, notes, 60-61.

18. Antonio de Morga, *Sucesos de las Islas Filipinas* (Mexico, 1609). This work is considered the best and most authoritative account of the Philippines in the sixteenth century.

19. Morga-Rizal, *Sucesos* (Paris, 1890) 341, n. 3. I believe Rizal's other observations are even more gratuitous and devoid of objectivity. He suspects, for example, that Fray Juan de Plasencia could have misrepresented certain historical facts (p. xxxv, n. 2), and tags Fray Jeronimo de Jesus "deceitful" (149, n. 1), and a "vulgar diplomat" (152, n. 1).

20. EJR I, 235-236.

21. Rizal to Blumentritt, 22 October 1891: EJR, II-2, 3, 774-774. Italics mine. The Franciscan from Tyrol mentioned by Rizal is Gaspar Fuchs. He belonged to the Province of Saint Leopold of Tyrol. Born in Innsbruck on 1 July 1848, he entered the Franciscan order on 12 July 1866 and was ordained to the priesthood on 8 January 1871. He had already been in China before (1875-1889), and the second time he went there he stayed for seven years (1891-1898). From China he went to the Holy Land (1898-1899) and he finally died in Bolzano on 12 June 1906. The last time he went to China, to which Rizal alludes, he seems to have gone in the company of six other Franciscan missionaries, all of them Italians, according to the Franciscan sources. See *Acta Ordinis Fratrum Minorum*, 1892, 27. I owe this information to Fr. Florentin Nothegger, O. F. M.

22. Rizal never doubted the morality of his enterprise: the restoration of the dignity and freedom of his people. He did doubt, on the other hand, and frequently, his own motivations, especially the ethical goodness of his novel the *Noli me tangere*, despite his protests to the contrary in his letters to Fr. Pablo Pastells, S. J. His almost pathological anxiety to meet persons who would approve his writings and the extreme importance he gave to the very few opinions that were voiced in his favor (practically only that of Fr. Vicente Garcia, a Filipino secular priest) are the greatest proof of his interior insecurity. Unamuno already succeeded in inventing one of his phrases that synthesize entire pages of research when he described Rizal as "Quixote doubled by Hamlet": *Obras completas*, VIII, 939.

23. Leandro Tormo Sanz, "Volonteri: Fellow Passenger of Rizal," in this volume.

24. Rizal admitted in his letter to Juan Zulueta dated 14 August 1891: "... I ... have created only one Fray Damaso and one Capitan Tiago ...": ER, II-3, 2,697.

25. *Diario*: ER, I, 241.

26. *Loc. cit.*, 242.

27. *Loc. cit.*, 244-245.

28. *Loc. cit.*, 247.

29. *Loc. cit.*, 250.

30. Wealth, together with corruption, ignorance, pride, disdain for the Filipinos, and the violation of celibacy, is one of the complaints Rizal more frequently airs against the Franciscans. For example, he repeats the charge in *Noli me tangere* and *El Filibusterismo*, as well as in *Los Sucesos de las Islas Filipinas*, 346, n. 2. Against Morga's observation about the Dominicans and the Franciscans, unlike what was happening in the case of the other religious orders, as the Augustinians, the Jesuits, etc., Rizal notes: "This could be true in Morga's time, but it seems that since then, these orders changed, because today they own property . . ." Rizal knew the subject well. He had studied the primitive legislation of the Dominicans and investigated their comfortable economic situation in Hongkong, but I do not know if he did the same about the Franciscans. It is understood these owned not a single *céntimo* in Hongkong when Rizal passed by that English colony in 1888, and he does not, as a matter of fact, mention them when speaking of Dominicans and Augustinians. As for the Franciscan properties, these were limited only to their convents in Manila and in San Francisco del Monte, then an inhospitable and unhealthy location a few kilometers outside the city [i. e., Intramuros today]. Nonetheless, the Franciscans do not seem to have had a reputation of being poor, as Felix Huerta himself admits: Archivo Francisco Ibero-Oriental (formerly Archivo de Pastrana), 248/4-2. Why? In reality, as a corporation they could not have been in an enviable financial position in 1898, when the Philippines fell. They were unable to pay the fare of the missionaries expelled from the country, and to obtain the needed funds they were forced to toy with the idea of selling the convent of San Francisco in Intramuros which housed the Provincial curia. No other order found itself in such financial penury. It is possible Rizal may have known the bankruptcy of the most powerful corporation in the Philippines, Russel and Sturgis, when he was still studying in Manila. Among its creditors were, besides others, the Procurator of the Franciscans and a certain number of pastors of the same Order, a scandal to the residents of Manila which was denounced by the Franciscans themselves: AFIO, 2297, 4-2. Still, Rizal was perfectly aware the economic clout of the Franciscans was minimal compared with that enjoyed by the Dominicans, Augustinians, Recollects, Jesuits, etc.

31. *Diario*: ER, I, 252-253.
32. *Loc. cit.*, 258. Italics mine.
33. *Diario de Viaje. De Dapitan a Barcelona. 65 días sin tocar tierra de Barcelona a Manila. 31 de Julio a Noviembre, 1896*: ER, I, 284.
34. *Lista de Obras de arte de Rizal*: ER, X, 93-103.
35. Lorenzo Perez, O. F. M., *Cuaderno de Notas*: AFIO 215/49, fol. 11.
36. The subject has been studied only by Pedro Ruaño, O. F. M., "The Franciscans in the Writings of Dr. Jose Rizal, *Philippiniana Sacra* 13 (1978) 209-210, although not with the balance and depth we would expect.
37. Jesus Cavanna y Manso, C. M., *Rizal and the Philippines of His Days* (Manila, 1957) 99.
38. Ante Radaïç, *Jose Rizal, Romántico Realista* (Manila, 1961) 216.
39. Leon Ma. Guerrero, *The First Filipino* (Manila, 1961) 136.
40. The date 1878 was not arbitrarily chosen. Rizal dates the action of the *Noli* this year for reasons we do not know. He began studying medicine this year at the University of Santo Tomas and started his first retrospective diary on the same date, using the pseudonym of "P. Jacinto" and the title *Mémoires of a Student in Manila. 1878*. See EJR I, 1, 31.
41. The references to the events at Cavite are more than enough to remind the reader of the mutiny. For example, Don Rafael Ibarra is "under accusation because of letters and a picture of a priest executed for complicity in rebellion (*Noli*, 25). On passing by Bagumbayan, Crisostomo Ibarra recalls "an old priest" who "had died on a scaffold on that hill" (*Noli*, 46). In describing the atmosphere in San Diego after the discovery of the alleged conspiracy, Rizal writes: "For others, a dark cloud had risen on the horizon, from whose grey depths emerged the black shadows of prison bars, chains, and even the sinister scaffold. Interrogations, the screams of the tortured, verdicts of guilty, were in the air; and the affrighted eye glimpsed, as if through a tattered and bloodstained veil, the vision of exile to the Marianas or death upon the scaffold in Bagumbayan. Fish and fishermen were in troubled waters." (*Noli*, 365) Capitana Tinchang tries to convince her husband to present himself to the authorities, and the two hold this dialogue:

". . . you should offer your services anyway; those who did so in 1872 saved themselves."

“But so did Father Bur—”

But he was unable to finish uttering the name
His wife leaped to cover his mouth with her hand.

“Go on! That’s right! Say his name so they’ll string you up in Bagumbayan tomorrow morning! Don’t you know it’s enough to pronounce his name to get yourself condemned without trial? Go on, say it!” (*Noli*, 369)

42. Rizal to Mariano Ponce, 18 April 1889: ER, II-3, 1, 356.

43. Manuel Jerez Burgos, *Declaraciones al diario REPUBLICA FILIPINA*, 30 December 1889. See Retana, *Vida y escritos del Dr. Rizal*, 19.

44. Rizal, “La Verdad para todos,” *La Solidaridad*, 31 May 1889: ER, VII, 99.

45. Francisco Cañamaque, *Recuerdos de Filipinas*, I (Madrid, 1877), 150-153, 210-215; II (Madrid, 1879), 71-85, 224-256.

46. Rizal to Felix Resurreccion Hidalgo, 5 March 1887: “*Noli me tangere*,” words taken from St. Luke’s gospel, mean ‘Do not touch me.’ The book contains, therefore, things no one among us has spoken about until now; they are so delicate no person can touch them. In my case, I have tried to do what nobody wanted. I wanted to answer the calumnies which for so many centuries have been heaped on us and our country . . . I uncovered the hypocrisy cloaked behind religion which has been impoverishing and brutalizing us. I distinguished true religion from the false and the superstitious, that which trades on the holy word to squeeze our money to make us believe in sorcery, of which Catholicism would be ashamed had it knowledge of it The facts I relate are all true and have taken place: I can provide proofs . . . what cannot be doubted is the impartiality of my narratives”: ER, II-3, 1, 91. Rizal expressed himself in similar terms to Blumentritt in a letter dated 21 March 1887: ER, II-2, 1, 106.

47. Fidel Villaroel, O. P., *Father Jose Burgos, University Student*. (Manila, 1971); John N. Schumacher, S.J., *Father Jose Burgos, Priest and Nationalist*. (Quezon City, 1972).

48. John N. Schumacher, S.J., *Revolutionary Clergy*. (Quezon City, 1981) 37-40.

49. John N. Schumacher, S. J., "The Cavite Mutiny. An Essay on the Published Sources," *Philippine Studies* 20 (1972) 603-632; Leandro Tormo Sanz, "Bishop Volonteri: Fellow Passenger of Rizal," in this volume; "La Huelga del arsenal de Cavite en 1872," *Anuario de Estudios Americanos* 35 (1978) 283-378.

50. *Manifestación patriótica del 27 de febrero de 1888 por los hijos del suelo filipino ante el gobierno general de las islas*: AFIO 109/20, 30.

51. *Viva España, viva el Rey, viva el ejército, fuera los frailes* (Hongkong, 1888), 20. Both the Coria-Burgos polemic and Antonio Ma. Regidor's role in this matter have been the subject of analysis in John N. Schumacher, *Jose Burgos, Priest and Nationalist*, 26-28; *Revolutionary Clergy*, 19-20. Burgos' letters are reprinted in Schumacher's first-mentioned book, and in Tormo Sanz in his essay on Bishop Volonteri elsewhere in this volume.

52. *Viva España, viva el Rey, viva el ejército, fuera los frailes*, 27-28.

53. Schumacher, *Revolutionary Clergy*, 40.

54. Antonio Ma. Regidor, *Filipinas ante Europa* (28 de Febrero 1900) 73.

55. *Ibid.* Italics mine.

56. *Op. cit.*, 75.

57. Antonio Ma. Regidor feels a special abhorrence for the Franciscans for reasons we do not know until now. Proof are his two more important writings: *Filipinas ante Europa*, no. 9 (referred to in preceding notes), and *El pleito de los filipinos contra los frailes* (Madrid: J. Corrales, 1901?) and published in English in *The Independent* (New York), 7 February 1901. Here he cites as an example of a corrupt missionary in the Philippines: "Fr. Marañon, who it has been proven with some certainty had established a harem of 160 women and sired 500 children. This caused such a stink that the Provincial was forced to transfer him to the superiorship of the convento of the nuns of Santa Clara": *El Pleito*, 8. It so happens that in the Annals of the Franciscans in the Philippines there is only one Dionisio Marañon (1829-1875), who was neither a priest nor could he ever have been and, so, unlikely to be presented as Superior of Santa Clara.

58. "Barrantes is the man I speak of in chapter 52, 'Charges,' the one-handed . . . Barrantes also the one who refused to defend that querulous nun, of whom I speak in the Epilogue"; EJR, II-2, 1, 29. See some interesting

observations on this point in Ante Radaïç, *Op. cit.*, 176-190; Antonio Abad, O. F. M., "El tema de Rizal, *A Rizal Anthology* (Manila, 1964) 253-286.

59. Thus, for example, if San Diego is identified with Calamba, certainly probable but not free of ambiguity, Fray Coria would not correspond with the theme of the novel, since the Franciscans never administered the town of the author of *Noli me tangere*. Much less is our doubt clarified by Fray Damaso's statement that he had "lived 23 years on banana and boiled rice," that is, of staying in the Philippines (*Noli*, 6), since Coria was 33 years in the colony. Nor does the place of his death, Tayabas, harmonize with his biography, for he died in Spain.

60. Coria, *Memoria apologética sobre la utilidad y servicios prestados a España por los religiosos misioneros de Filipinas redactada por un religioso franciscano* (Madrid, 1879) 54.

61. *Op. cit.*, 51.

62. *Op. cit.*, 39.

63. *Op. cit.*, 18. Italics mine.

64. *Op. cit.*, 18-19.

65. *Op. cit.*, 83.

66. *Noli me tangere*, 337-338.

67. EJR II-2, 2, 602.

68. Leandro Tormo Sanz, *1872* (Manila, 1983) 121.

69. Leandro Tormo Sanz, "Bishop Volonteri," in this volume.

70. Felix Huerta, O. F. M., *Necrologia*, II, 51: AFIO G/3.

71. Thus, for example, a certain Fray Vicente Martinez, self-confessed and found guilty of homicide, was expelled from the Franciscan Order and condemned to imprisonment with hard labor in May 1876; AFIO 286/86.

72. I am unaware of any Franciscan who served in the archdiocese of Manila in the second half of the nineteenth century, and, consequently, of one who could have forbidden any stage presentation. On the other hand, Eugenio Netter, Capitular Vicar of the Archdiocese, did forbid the stage presentation of the comedy *Les cloches de Corneville*. Yet Rizal attributes these two acts to a Franciscan, Fray Salvi. Netter himself issued a *Pastoral Letter of His*

Excellency, the Most Reverend Ecclesiastical Governor of the Archbishopric of Manila, sede vacante, on the Anti-Religious Propaganda (Manila, 1889), many of whose paragraphs are clearly aimed at the *Noli me tangere*.

73. EJR, II-3, 1, 90.

74. EJR, II-2, 2, 602.

75. W. E. Retana, *Biografía del Dr. José Rizal*, 127-128.

76. Especially pages 99-191.

77. *La Iberia* (13 January 1869). The telegrams exchanged between the Overseas Ministry and the Governor of the Philippines are published in this daily and on this date, probably with the intention of answering those who were accusing Jose de la Gándara of non-collaboration in the revolutionary cause when he refused to introduce into the Philippines the changes that had taken place after the triumph of the revolution.

78. This can be easily proven from the correspondence between the Franciscan Provincial and the Commissar and the rectors of Spain preserved in *Libro de cartas de España*: AFIO 9/2, fols. 10-123.

79. Letter of Fray Benito Romero de Madridejos to Fr. Joaquin de Coria, Santa Cruz de Bay, 16 June 1869: *Libro de cartas de España*, fol. 124 v. On the Governors of the Philippines in 1868-1872, see Jose Montero y Vidal, *Historia general de Filipinas* (Madrid, 1895), III, 473-602.

80. *Libro de gobierno*, 1849-1880: AFIO, 295/2, 276-277. Italics mine. This *Libro* is a thick volume containing the correspondence exchanged between the Governors of the Philippines and the successive Franciscan Provincials on various matters.

81. *Op. cit.*, 278.

82. *Op. cit.*, fol. 282.

83. The Governor to the Provincial, Manila, 10 February 1869: AFIO, 219/31.

84. On the government of Carlos Ma. de la Torre, see Antonio M. Molina, *The Philippines Through The Centuries* (Manila, 1960), I, 310-318; Jeremias Rebanal y Ras, "El gobernador de Filipinas, Carlos Ma. de la Torre y Navacerrada," *Misionalia Hispánica* 38 (1961) 95-128, 171-226, 305-316.

85. Carlos Ma. de la Torre, *Manifiesto al país sobre los sucesos de Cavite, y Memoria sobre la administración y gobierno de las islas Filipinas* (Madrid, 1872), vii.

86. *Libro de cartas de España*, fol. 132.

87. Letter of Benito Romero de Madridejos to Vicente del Moral, Obando, 13 March, 1870: *Libro de cartas de España*, fol. 153. The Spanish is not clear: "Cuando llegó este general hubo algunos recelos de que algunos tienen que hacer [sic], pero después vieron los que toleran [tuvieran?] intención de crear disgusto a S. E. aquí lo que a todo lance cree conveniente es sostener la recta moralidad y el principio de autoridad, así es que bajo estos principios se marcha bien."

88. The Governor to the Provincial, Manila, 6 September 1869: AFIO, 219/51, and in *Libro de gobierno*, fols. 291-292.

89. The Governor to the Provincial, Manila, 23 November 1869: AFIO, 219/5-1.

90. *Libro de gobierno*, fol 293.

91. The entire expedient is in AFIO, 219/5. Following the same approach, but for different reasons, de la Torre also exiled a secular priest, D. Salvador Martín Amedo, from the Philippines. See Jose S. Arcilla, S. J. "The Exile of a Liberal in 1879, or Fr. Amedo's Case," *Philippine Studies* 19 (1971) 373-419.

92. The Governor to the Provincial, Manila, 1 August 1879: *Libro de gobierno*, fols 304-305; AHN, *Ultramar*, 5152.

93. The Provincial to Vicente del Moral, Manila, 31 December 1870: *Libro de cartas de España*, fol. 178.

94. The Provincial to del Moral, Manila, 1 May 1871: *Loc. cit.*, fol. 180.

95. The Provincial to Gregorio Aguirre, 14 March 1871: *Loc. cit.*, fol. 183.

96. de la Torre, *Manifiesto*, 8-9. After some kind of narrative describing the demonstration organized by the most progressive elements in the Philippines to manifest their joy at de la Torre's appointment, *El Eco Filipino* (17 October 1871) expressed disillusionment over the way de la Torre governed, since it did not correspond to their expectations. On 14 November,

it blamed his failure on “the monastic orders who saw approaching in gigantic strides the end of their despotic control.” In the editors’ opinion, the governor should have stopped being a “toy” of the religious orders.

97. *Loc. cit.*, 19.

98. *Loc. cit.*, 21.

99. The Provincial to del Moral, Manila, 21 April 1871: *Libro de cartas de España*, fol. 183 v.

100. The Provincial to del Moral, Manila, 4 December 1871: *Loc. cit.*, fols. 214-215. This paragraph seems to contradict what other sources seem to say about Carlos Ma. de la Torre’s attitudes and the censorship of the press during his term in the Philippines.

101. The Provincial to del Moral, Manila, 8 January 1872: *Loc. cit.*, fol. 217.

102. The Provincial to Gregorio Aguirre, Manila, 19 February 1872: *Loc. cit.*, fol. 218.

103. Of these letters, the first two were reprinted fully by the conservative review *Altar y Trono* on 13 October 1869, 393-396.

104. These were reprinted in Schumacher, *Father Jose Burgos*, 135-193. Burgos published a fifth letter in *La Armonía*, 11 and 14 February 1871 in answer to an anonymous letter published in *Altar y Trono* (5 September 1870), 315-316. In this the writer laments the campaign against the religious orders, which is joined by the Spaniards themselves and some priests, and adds: “There is the case of a certain Jose Burgos, pastor of this Cathedral. Unfortunately, he published in *La Discusión* three inflammatory articles. . . .” He ends with the following: “P. S. His Excellency, the Governor, who seems to be enjoying good health, came to Navotas from Salomboy [sic] and had remained there for fifteen or twenty days now.

105. *La Discusión*, 18 September 1869.

106. Besides numerous articles published in Madrid and Manila, Rafael Garcia Lopez also published: *Origen e historia del Jardín Botánico y de la Escuela de Agricultura de Filipinas* (Madrid: Imprenta de Juan Iniesta, 1872), and *Manual teórico-práctico para el cultivo y beneficio del tabaco en Filipinas* (Madrid: Impr. de G. Moliner y Cia., 1875)

107. "Famous Filipino juriconsult, he was one of the deputies to the Cortes for his native land when the Constitution was in force even in the Philippines. Lecaroz was General Camba's lawyer, and his attorney charged with his defense during his traditional *juicio de residencia*. The Spaniards persecuted Lecaroz as a filibuster." T. H. Pardo de Tavera, *Biblioteca Filipina* (Washington, 1903) 231. This defense was published in a pamphlet titled *Juicio de residencia del Excmo. Sr. D. Andrés Garcia Camba o las tres piezas que comprenden lo sustancial del juicio: el pliego de cargos, su contestación y la sentencia* (Madrid: Imp. de D. M. Sanchez, 1843).

108. Cayetano Sanchez Fuertes, O. F. M., "Rizal frente a los Franciscanos," *Archivo Ibero-Americano* 38 (1978) 548-555, 562-565, and its English translation by Bruce Cruikshank, "The Franciscans in the Life and Writings of Jose Rizal," *Philippine Quarterly of Culture and Society* 11 (1983) 27-33, 38-42.

109. Sebastian Moraleda to Gregorio Aguirre, Manila, 20 August 1870: *Libro de cartas de España*, fol. 169

110. Francisco Arriaga, *Historia de la provisión de una cátedra* (Madrid: Imprenta a cargo de J. E. Moreta, 1871).

111. A catalogue of his printed works is in Apolinar Pastrana Riol, "Bibliografía francisco-filipina," *Missionalia Hispanica* 39 (1893) 278-281. Coria left besides numerous manuscripts, among which sermons are abundant, some of them in Tagalog. They are preserved in AFIO.

112. Eusebio Gomez Platero, *Catálogo biográfico* (Manila, 1880), 565-657.

113. *Libro de cartas de España*, fol. 235.

114. Gomez Platero, *Op. cit.*, 691-692; Valentín Marín y Morales, O. P. *Ensayo de una síntesis de los trabajos realizados por las corporaciones religiosas españolas en Filipinas* (Manila: Imprenta de Santo Tomas, 1901), II, 603-606.

115. Antolin Uy, S. V. D., *The State of the Church in the Philippines, 1850-1875* [Tagaytay Studies, 3] (Tagaytay City: Divine Word Seminary, 1984), 139-198.

116. See Gomez Platero, *Op. cit.*, 647-648.

116. Felix Huerta, O. F. M., "Carta al gobernador de Filipinas sobre conflictos entre el párroco de Tayabas y el alcalde mayor Sr. Damper." Manila, 7 de enero, 1872: *Libro de gobierno*, 146-147, 157-158. This same year a case will be filed against Fray Jose Urbina, pastor of Lucban, accused of collecting "higher parroquial fees than allowed." We do not know how it ended. But we do know that Fr. Vicente Garcia, a secular priest and famous for his defense of Rizal's *Noli*, in his capacity as provisor for Camarines, regretted the incident, as he wrote to the Provincial on 13 February 1862, accusing the alcalde of undue interference in ecclesiastical affairs beyond his competence, and of not even having read the schedule of fees in the diocese. See *Dos informes, el uno del provisor de Camarines y el otro del provincial, contra el alcalde de Tayabas*. 1862: AFIO, 8/25.

118. Felix Huerta, O. F. M., "Carta al comisario general de la orden franciscana." Manila, mayo de 1862: AFIO, 248/2-2. Fray Francisco Moreno de Montalvanejo published in *Diario de Manila* (16 April 1866) an article in which we can detect a denuntiation of the abuses by the politico-military commander of Morong. Governor Juan de Lara of the Philippines summoned Fray Francisco to come immediately to the Franciscan convent in Manila and await his orders (21 April). On the 28th, the Governor peremptorily ordered the Provincial that the parish priests of Morong (Fr. Montalvanejo), Baras (Fr. Casimiro Martin) and Tanay (Fray Francisco Rosas) "procure and obtain a canonical change of their parishes with others in a province or district of this archbishopric other than Morong, where they have merited heavy censure for their conduct." See "Carta del gobernador Juan de Lara al provincial de los franciscanos." Manila, 28 de abril, 1866: *Libro de gobierno*, fols. 245-247. In his reply on 12 May, Fray Felix Huerta communicates to the governor that these friars are already in Manila, and they hope the Archbishop will nominate them to parishes. But he, Fray Felix, cannot ask in obedience the change of their parishes since, according to the law, this ought to be "free and voluntary," otherwise, it would be null. *Op. cit.*, fols. 247v-248. In 1870, in his explanation to the Franciscan Commissar in Rome of the reasons for deciding to expel Fray Francisco Arriaga and Fray Mariano Pardo from the order without going through the usual procedure in such cases, Fray Agustin de Consuegra gives, among other reasons, "the risk they faced in the circumstances, the lack of protection for the religious orders at the moment." AFIO, 222/1-4.

119. *Libro de gobierno*, fols. 251v-254v, 257v-260v, 285v. Fr. Benito de Madridejos complains about this whole situation to Joaquin de Coria in a

letter dated Manila, 26 August 1869: *Libro de cartas de España*, fols. 93v-94, 136v.

120. The Provincial to the Governor General, Manila, 23 January 1866: *Libro de gobierno*, fols 221-224.

121. The Commissar General to the Apostolic Delegate, Manila, 17 December 1865: AFIO 222-1-2, 219/27-2.

122. AFIO 197/19-1, 72/5.

123. AFIO 3/19.

124. AFIO 195/18-3.

125. AFIO 219/5-1. A good part of this document was published by Francisco Arriaga in his pamphlet already mentioned above, *Historia de la provisión de una cátedra*, 8-11.

126. EJR, I, 38. Italics mine. Of the persons mentioned by Rizal, Pardo could be Bernardino Pardo, a watchmaker in Manila, while Buil could be Emilio Buil, former official in the telegraph office in Manila. See Ramon Gonzalez Fernandez, *Manual del viajero de Filipinas* (Manila, 1875), 579, 359.

127. Ferdinand Blumentritt, *Sobre la diferencia de las razas*: EJR, VII-2, 645.

128. Retana, *Vida y escritos del Dr. Rizal*, 274.

129. EJR II-1,1, 166-168.

130. *Escandaloso, horrendo y punible delito perpetrado en el monasterio de Santa Clara por un fraile franciscano, vicario de la misma* (Hongkong, 1884).

131. EJR, II-1 1, 258.

132. On the popularity of certain religious practices introduced by the Franciscans in the Philippines see Joaquin Martinez de Zúñiga, O. S. A., *Estadismo de las Islas Filipinas*, ed. W. E. Retana (Madrid, 1893) I, 593; Tomas Ortiz, O. S. A., *Práctica del ministerio*, published as Appendix A to Zúñiga's work, 18-19, 22-27. With regards to Rizal's excessive faith in science, the following complaint against an alleged defect in the Gospel is significant: "... direct man by his emotional side, never by his intellectual;

recommend to us confidence in the morrow, without ever trying to stimulate our energy; recommend obedience and submission; prefer the poor in spirit, without any word of love for the men who dedicate themselves to cultivate the intelligence in order to be useful to their brothers—here are certain lacunae in the religion of the Nazarene”: EJR, VII, 227. These phrases of Rizal perhaps explain the absence of Jesus in almost all of his writings. Not strange, therefore, that on more than one occasion, Rizal logically described Saint Francis as ignorant and naive, and bore down on the Franciscans in the Philippines with cutting words like the following, directed to the young women of Malolos in 1889: “. . . the *habit* or *cassock* by itself does not create wisdom; even if clothes are piled upon the captured wild man, he will always be wild, and will fool only the ignorant and weak-willed. To make it even more convincing, buy a Franciscan long habit, dress a *caraballa* with it. You will be lucky if it does not become lazy because of the habit”: EJR, II-3 2, 314.

133. EJR II-2, 2, 372.

134. Lorenzo Perez, O. F. M., “Sublevación de los chinos en Manila en el año de 1603,” *Archivo Ibero-Americano* 25 (1926) 149-150.

135. Antolin Abad, O. F. M., “Los franciscanos en Filipinas,” *Revista de Indias* 24 (1964) 439.

136. Gabriel Casanova, O. F. M., “Carta abierta al Excmo. Sr. D. Segismundo Moret sobre las causas de la rebelión tagala,” *Política de España en Filipinas* (15 de enero de 1897) 4.

137. Juan de Dios Villajos, O. F. M., *Cuaderno de apuntes*, V, 277-279: AFIO, 586/6.

138. In his story of the origin and the organization of the masonic lodges in the Philippines, Antonio Ma. Regidor, using the pseudonym of Francisco Engracio Vergara, says that the Spanish masons “founded the lodges in Cebu and Iloilo under the Spanish Grand Orient, by telling the natives, ‘No, Spain is not the friars. Hate them, but love Spain and the Spanish liberals and masons who also detest the monastic institutions, as shown in the year 1836 during the general massacre of the friars in the peninsula.’ This served as a formula of the oath of admission of every neophyte.” Francisco Engracio Vergara, *La masoneria en Filipinas. Estudio de actualidad: apuntes para la historia de la civilización española en el siglo XIX* (Paris, 1896), 20. It is not strange, therefore, that on witnessing the infamy of the religious orders in the

Philippines at the end of the nineteenth century, a Spanish author would make this observation: "The detractors of the friars say that these abuse the people with their authority but what authority and what prestige *had we left them for the last few years?*" José Caro y Mora, *Mis notas sobre la "Revolución Filipina"* AFIO, 66/23, note 26.

139. Villajos, *Op. cit.*, 397-403: AFIO 586/6.

140. Schumacher, *Revolutionary Clergy*, 135-140.

UNDERSTANDING THE *NOLI*

1. *El Filibusterismo*, Guerrero transl. (London, 1969), 218.
2. *Op. cit.*, 6-7.
3. *Noli me tangere*, Guerrero transl. (London, 1961) 2.
4. John N. Schumacher, *The Propaganda Movement: 1880-1895* (Manila, 1973) 86 ff.
5. *El Filibusterismo*, 1.
6. *El Filibusterismo*, 299.
7. *Noli me tangere*, 1.
8. *Op. cit.*, 10.
9. *Op. cit.*, 198.
10. *Op. cit.*, 26.
11. Dedication of *Noli me tangere*.
12. *El Filibusterismo*, 5.
13. *El Filibusterismo*, 248.
14. *Op. cit.*, 251.
15. *Noli*, 173-174.
16. *Noli me tangere*, 86.
17. *Op. cit.*, 85.
18. *El Filibusterismo*, 224.

19. *Op. cit.*, 224-225.
20. *Op. cit.*, 71-76.
21. *Noli me tangere*, chapters 23-24. Italics added.
22. *Op. cit.*, 268.
23. *Op. cit.*, 269.
24. *Op. cit.*, 393.
25. *Noli me tangere*, dedication.

PASTELLS AND RIZAL

1. Retana, Rizal's early biographer, drawing from information given him by Pastells, believed that the correspondence lasted till May 1893. Wenceslao E. Retana, *Vida y escritos del Dr. Jose Rizal* (Madrid: Libreria General de Victoriano Suarez, 1907), p. 270. However, internal evidence suggests that Rizal's fifth and final letter was written in June. This letter, not included in the *Epistolario Rizalino*, has been preserved in transcription in the Jesuit archives in San Cugat del Vallès, Barcelona, Spain.

2. Rizal-Pastells, 9 January 1893, *Epistolario Rizalino*, edited by Teodoro Kalaw (Manila: Bureau of Printing, 1936), IV, 85.

3. Raul J. Bonoan, S. J., "Tasio *el filosofo* and Padre Florentino: An Inquiry into Rizal's Prophetic Vision," *Budhi Papers*, No. 8.

4. For many details of Pastells' life, particularly his early years as a Jesuit, the account that follows is dependent on Salvador Sedó, S. J., *Rdo. Padre Pablo Pastells, S.J., Notas biográficas* (Barcelona: Editorial Libreria Religiosa, 1933).

5. *Ibid.*, pp. 11-12.

6. "El R. P. Pablo Pastells, S. J.," *Cultura Social*, XIX (October, 1932), 506.

7. This is from a letter which Pastells wrote to Retana. Retana, *Vida y escritos*, p. 22 n.

8. Rizal-Pastells, 1 September 1892, *Ep. Riz.*, IV, 37.

9. Pastells-Rizal, 12 October 1892, *Ep. Riz*, IV, 44.
10. Rizal-Pastells, 9 January 1893, *Ep. Riz*, IV, 85.
11. [Pablo Pastells, S. J.] *La Masonización de Filipinas, Rizal y su obra* (Barcelona: Libreria y Tipografia Católica, 1897), p.7. Retana has attributed the authorship of this anonymously published pamphlet to Pastells. *Vida y escritos*, p. 22. This view is confirmed by Father Schumacher's researches into the Jesuit letters kept in the Archives of the Tarragona Province of the Society of Jesus in San Cugat del Valles, Barcelona, Spain. See John N. Schumacher, S. J., *The Propaganda Movement: 1880-1895. The Creators of a Filipino Consciousness, the Makers of Revolution* (Manila: The Solidaridad Publishing House, 1973), pp. 30n, 90 n.
12. Rizal-Blumentritt, 28 November 1886, *Ep. Riz.*, V, 29. Italics mine. See also Leo Cullum, S. J., "Francisco de Paula Sanchez, 1849-1928," *Philippine Studies*, VIII (April, 1960), 334.
13. These assignments appear in the Catalog of the Aragon Province for 1876. He is also listed as confessor for the students, visitor at the hospitals and the prison, religious instructor of the househelp, and consultor of the Philippine Mission.
14. Sedó, *Pastells*, p. 13.
15. The Catalogs of the Aragon Province from 1877 to 1887. For details, see the 10-volume series, *Cartas de los PP. de la Misión de Filipinas* (Manila, 1875-1894)
16. "Pastells," *Cultura Social*, XIX (October, 1932), 506.
17. Cullum, "Francisco de Paula Sanchez," 344.
18. Rizal-Pastells, 1 September 1892, Jesuit Archives in San Cugat del Vallès.
19. Rizal-Pastells, 9 January 1893, *Ep. Riz*, IV, 85.
20. [Pastells], *Rizal y su obra*, pp. 28-29.
21. Pastells, *Misión de la Compañía de Jesus*, II, 473.
22. "Pastells," *Cultura Social*, XIX (October, 1932), 506.
23. Pablo Pastells, S. J., ed., *Labor evangélica de los obreros de la Compañía de Jesús en las Islas Filipinas por el Francisco Colln de la misma Compañía*. 3 vols. (Barcelona: Henrich Compania, 1900-1902).

24. Pablo Pastells, S. J., *Misión de la Compañía de Jesús de Filipinas en el siglo XIX*. 3 vols. (Barcelona: Tip. y Lib. Editorial Barcelonesa, 1916-1917).

25. Pablo Pastells, S. J., *Historia General de Filipinas*. 9 vols. (Barcelona: Compañía General de Tabacos de Filipinas, 1825-1934). The last two volumes were published posthumously. Pastells' historical narrative constitutes the first part of each volume, the second part being the *Catálogo de los documentos relativos a las Islas Filipinas existentes en el Archivo de Indias de Sevilla*, prepared by Pedro Torres y Lanzas and Francisco Navas del Valle.

26. Retana, *Vida y escritos*, 271n.

27. Roger Aubert, *Le Pontificat de Pie IX, 1846-1878* (Paris: Bloud et Gay, 1952), 219; Edgar Hocedez, S. J., *Histoire de la Theologie au XIX^e Siècle*, I (Bruxelles: L'Édition Universelles, 1948), 15-19.

28. Denzinger-Schonmetzer, *Enchiridion Symbolorum*, 2980.

29. Aubert, *Le Pontificat de Pie IX*, 220.

30. Schumacher, *The Propaganda Movement*, 18-19.

31. The discussion on Traditionalism and Integrism is derived from John N. Schumacher, "Integrism: A study in Nineteenth Century Spanish Politico-Religious Thought," *The Catholic Historical Review*, XLVIII (October, 1962), 343-64.

32. *Ibid.*, 354.

33. *Obras de Ramón Nocedal*, II (Madrid, 1907), 38; quoted Schumacher, "Integrism," 350-51.

34. Pastells-Rizal, 2 February 1893, *Ep. Riz*, IV, 106. Italics mine.

35. *Ibid.*, 106-07. Italics mine.

RIZAL AND VIOLENCE

1. *The Reign of Greed*, Charles Derbyshire transl. (Manila, 1912) 242.
2. *Ibid.* Also Leon Ma. Guerrero transl., *Subversion* (London, 1965) 200 f.
3. For the text of the statement, see "The People's Power," *Newsweek* (February 24, 1986) 22 ff.
4. This was brought about by members of the Church, nuns, priests, and lay-workers, whose active support of the opposition movement was essential in the NAMFREL (National Movement For Free Elections), as well as in the critical first hours of the revolution after February 22. All available accounts from eye witnesses and news agencies agree on this.
5. Claro M. Recto, "Introduction," *The Young Rizal* (Leon Ma. Guerrero, ed.) (Manila, 1951) 1.
6. Ruth Ailene Roland, "The Rizalista Cult in Philippine Nationalism: A Case History of the 'Uses' of a Nationalist Hero," Ph. D. dissertation (New York University, 1969) 34.
7. *Op. cit.*, 57 ff.
8. Renato Constantino, "Veneration Without Understanding," Rizal Lecture, 30 December 1969 in *Third Annual Rizal Lectures* (Manila: National Historical Commission, 1970) 1-23.
9. R. A. Roland, *Op. cit.*, 17.
10. Leon Ma. Guerrero, *The First Filipino* (Manila, 1969) 44 f.
11. John N. Schumacher, S. J. *Father Burgos: Priest and Nationalist* (Quezon City, 1972); *Revolutionary Clergy* (Quezon City, 1981) 13-32.
12. These events in Rizal's life are well known. For particulars, see Guerrero, *First Filipino*, 14 ff, 67.
13. *Op. cit.*, 113.
14. *Op. cit.*, 313.
15. *Letters Between Rizal and the Members of His Family* (Manila, 1962) 75. ff

16. Letter to Paciano, 1885: *Op. cit.*, 83.
17. *Op. cit.*, 87.
18. For a documentary history of this question, see Jesus Ma. Cavanna y Manso, C. M., *Rizal's Unfading Glory* (Manila, 1983, 4th edition).
19. Chapter 46, "The Oppressed," *Noli me tangere*, Guerrero transl. (London and Hongkong, 1961) 283 ff.
20. See, for instance, Gerald Brenan, *The Spanish Labyrinth* (Cambridge, 1967) 157 ff.
21. *Op. cit.*, 44 ff.
22. Cited Vivencio R. Jose, "Jose Rizal and Antonio Luna: Their Role in the Philippine Revolution," *Philippine Social Sciences and Humanities Review* 43 (Quezon City, 1979) 140.
23. *Noli*, chapters 50-51. Guerrero transl., 306 ff, 320 ff
24. *Noli*, chapter 62. Guerrero transl., 385 ff.
25. Cfr., for instance, Guerrero, *First Filipino*, 140; Leonard Casper, *New Writings from the Philippines* (Syracuse, 1966) 30.
26. *The Rizal-Blumentritt Correspondence* (Manila, 1961) I, 44. Henceforth RBC.
27. *Op. cit.*, letter dated Geneva, 19 June 1887, Rizal's birthday, 105.
28. Cited R. A. Roland, *Op. cit.*, 72 ff.
29. *Op. cit.*, 77.
30. *Ibid.* See the Guerrero translation of *El Filibusterismo* (London and Hongkong, 1965) 195.
31. Cited R. A. Roland, *Op. cit.*, 73
32. See Guerrero, *First Filipino*, 180 ff; Austin Coates, *Rizal, Philippine Nationalist and Martyr* (London, Hongkong, et al., 1968) 138 ff.
33. Rizal's letter to Blumentritt, Hongkong, 20 December 1891: RBC II, 433 ff.
34. Jose Rizal, *Historical and Political Writings* (Manila, 1964) 130 ff, 143, 162 ff.

35. *El Filibusterismo*, Guerrero transl., 261 ff.
36. For the most important characteristics of Isagani, see *Op. cit.*, 216 ff., 230, 272 ff.
37. *Op. cit.*, 295.
38. *Op. cit.*, 297.
39. *Op. cit.*, 298.
40. Reynaldo C. Ileto, *Pasyon and Revolution. Popular Movements in the Philippines, 1840-1910* (Quezon City, 1979) 10 ff.
41. Cfr. the review by John N. Schumacher, S. J., "Recent Perspectives on the Revolution," *Philippine Studies* 30 (Quezon City, 1982) 445-492, particularly 454 ff.
42. On the belief in the Ratu-Adil see, for instance, Sartono Kartodirdjo, *Protest Movements in Rural Java* (Kuala Lumpur and London, 1973) or the first chapter of my *Sukarno and the Struggle for Independence* (Ithaca, New York, 1969).
43. For this see E. Sarkisyanz, *Buddhist Backgrounds of the Burmese Revolution* (the Hague, 1965).
44. Ileto quotes a Sakdal doctrine from 1935 as follows: "The leader of a subject country should be the first in making the sacrifice and suffer the pangs of hardship. No liberty was ever obtained happily . . . nobody ever triumphed without passing over Golgotha and being nailed at the cross of Calvary. The leader who amasses wealth should be abhorred" *Op. cit.*, 254.
45. RBC II 373.
46. RBC II 416 (letter dated 22 September 1891).
47. RBC II 419 (letter dated 22 October 1891).
48. Guerrero, *First Filipino*, 322: "Despujol had cast Rizal's dice for him."
49. Rizal, *Historical and Political Writings*, 144.
50. See his memorandum for defense: "I have always been opposed to the rebellion . . .," elaborating the same ideas in December 1896 shortly before his trial. Cited Guerrero, *First Filipino*, 424 ff.

THE ROLE OF BLUMENTRITT

1. The Rizal-Blumentritt Correspondence (Manila, 1961), Part I.
2. *Österreichische Monatsschrift für den Orient* (Wien, 1888).
3. *Unsere Zeit* (Leipzig, 1889).
4. The Rizal-Blumentritt Correspondence (Manila, 1961), Part II.
5. *Ibid.*
6. *Philippine Studies* 2 (1952) 85-101.
7. The Rizal-Blumentritt Correspondence (Manila, 1961), Part I.
8. Bibliothek des Museums für Volkskunde, Vienna. See also "Rizal in Retrospect," *Historical Bulletin* (Manila, 1961).
9. Appendix to the Rizal-Blumentritt Correspondence, II.
10. *Op. cit.*
11. *Op. cit.*
12. *Op. cit.*
13. *Op. cit.*
14. *Op. cit.*
15. *Op. cit.*
16. *Op. cit.*

CONTRIBUTORS

JOSE S. ARCILLA, S. J., Ph.D. (Madrid) teaches history at the Ateneo de Manila University, and is the archivist of the Philippine Province Archives of the Society of Jesus, Quezon City. His *An Introduction to Philippine History* has been recdited more than once, and he has contributed frequently to professional historical reviews.

RAUL J. BONOAN, S. J. Ph. D. (Ateneo) was the former Dean of the College of Arts and Sciences, Ateneo de Manila University. His dissertation analyzed the Rizal-Pastells controversy on faith and reason.

BERNHARD DAHM, Ph.D. (Dillenburg/Hessen) specialized in Indonesian studies. His doctoral dissertation was published with the title *Sukarno and the Struggle for Indonesian Independence* (Ithaca, N. Y., 1969). He is also the author of *History of Indonesia in the 20th Century* (Praeger, N. Y., 1971). He is now Director of the Southeast Asian Studies Program at the University of Passau, West Germany.

CLARITA DATILES-TAGASA is the chief librarian in the Special Collections Room of the Ateneo de Manila Rizal Libraries.

CAYETANO SANCHEZ FUERTES, O. F. M. is the curator of the Province Archives of the Franciscan Province of St. Gregory the Great (Archivo Franciscano Ibero-Oriental, Madrid). He has published a number of studies on the history of the Franciscans in the Philippines.

HARRY SICHROVSKY, a professional journalist, is a member of the ORF-Australian Radio, TV, and press. He has published several books on Asia, the last being *Der Revolutionar von Leitmeritz* (Vienna, 1983) and a biography of Rizal's friend, Blumentritt, edited in English with the title *A Biography of Ferdinand Blumentritt* (Manila, 1987).

LEANDRO TORMO SANZ, Ph.D. (Madrid) teaches at the Instituto de Cooperación Hispanoamericana (formerly known as the Instituto de Cultura Hispánica), Madrid. He is also a fellow of the Instituto Toribio Mogrovejo, a section of the Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas (Madrid). He has published a number of books and articles on Philippine history.

JOHNNY VILLANUEVA is a staff member of the Ateneo de Manila Rizal Libraries.