

Dr. Jose Rizal
Beyond the Grave

By Ricardo F. Pascual



THE COVER DESIGN

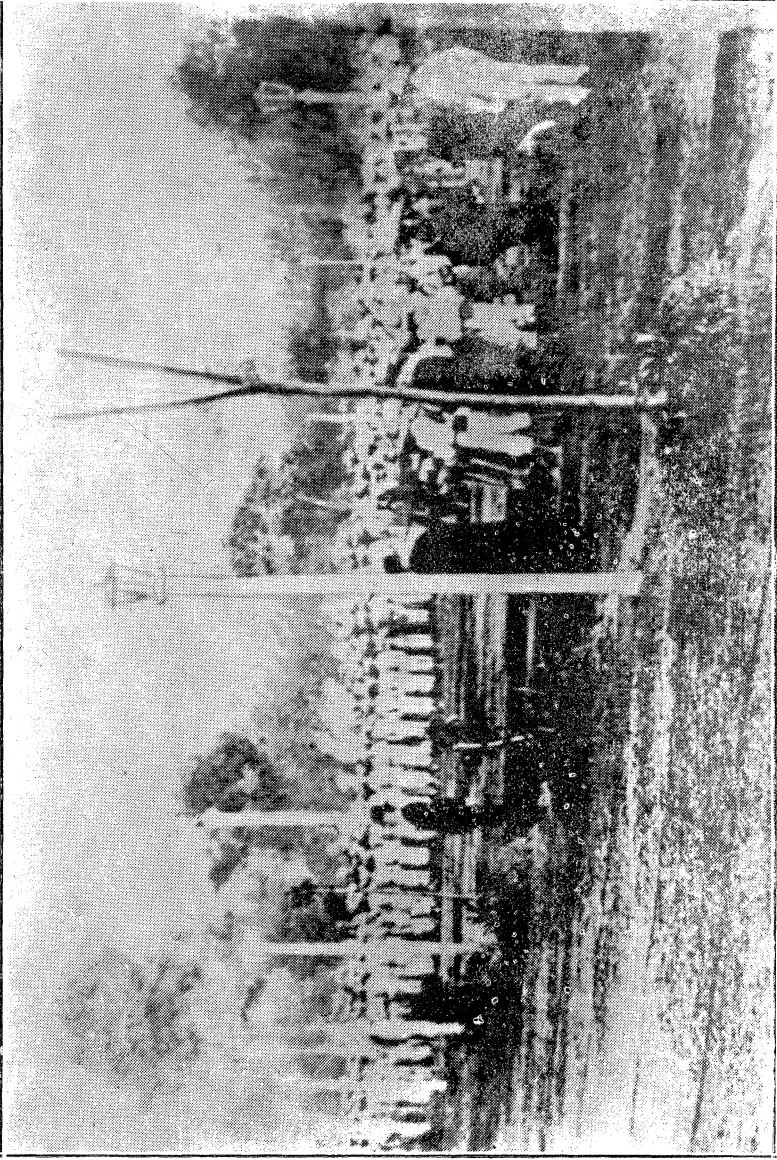
We cannot neglect giving due recognition among these pages to a very inspiring composition of the cover design, as a piece of art, submitted to us by Dr. Toribio Herrera, Secretary of the School of Fine Arts, University of the Philippines, without feeling a sense of incompleteness for this work. The ideas conveyed to the canvas were inspired by the two following stanzas of Dr. Rizal's immortal *Ultimo Adios* which portray the sterling character and the essence of the firm conviction and undying faith of the greatest Filipino Hero.

“Si sobre mi sepulcro vieres brotar un día
Entre la espesa yerba sencilla, humilde flor,
Acércala a tus labios y besa al alma mía,
Y sienta yo en mi frente, bajo la tumba fría,
De tu ternura el soplo, de tu hálito el calor.

* * * * *

“Entonces nada importa me pongas en olvido,
Tu atmósfera, tu espacio, tus valles cruzaré;
Vibrante y limpia nota seré para tu oído,
Aroma, luz, colores, rumor, canto, gemido
Constante repitiendo la esencia de mi fé”

DULCE ET DECORUM EST PRO PATRIA MORI



The execution of Dr. Jose Protacio Rizal in the Fields of Bagumbayan, Manila,
in the morning of December 30th 1896.

**Dr. Jose Rizal
Beyond the Grave**

A VINDICATION OF THE MARTYR OF BAGUMBAYAN

By

Ricardo Roque Pascual, Ph. D.

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TO THE MEMORY
OF
THE FILIPINO MARTYR
DR. JOSE RIZAL

Executed at Bagumbayan, December 30, 1896.

When you dedicated the belated leaves of your immortal novel to the three venerable martyrs of 1872, you then took the oath to number yourself among the immortalized sons of our fatherland. And so you are!

When in your life could be traced the attempted endeavor of a fervent lover of freedom, a patriot in deeds, a thinker unslaved, who dared the risks of life and all by voluntarily stepping into the trap of his enemies only to be near his country, as a physician risking dangers only to reach his patient, you indeed set an example for every youth of our fatherland. If for any motive your enemies beneath amatorial cloak should besmirch your stainless memory by any irresponsibility attributed to your name, then should all the youth of this our native land join hands and swear to make their watch that not an unclean hand shall ever defile your sacred memory!

As belated wreaths, therefore, these pages are dedicated to you, the Filipino Martyr, who was at once the enemy of hypocrisy, intolerance, slavery, disunion, irresponsibility, and every other curse on humanity!

PREFACE

It has always been said that the question of Dr. Rizal's Retraction is the inevitable battle-ground between Catholics, on one hand, and the Masons and non-Catholics, on the other. At least it has been so for almost thirty nine years since it was alleged that Dr. Rizal retracted, before he died, his anti-Catholic writings and propaganda as well as his affiliation to Masonry. While the Catholics claimed that Dr. Rizal retracted but they could not, prior to the time of the recent discovery, present the document of Dr. Rizal's Retraction, those of the opposing camp had been demanding for that long lost document which they, thinking that there was none, believed could not be discovered at all, but they are now taken aghast because the alleged document had been discovered. The Catholics, however, now believe that such a discovery will end the battle in their favor while the opponents could not admit that they are losing their ground but yet they could not find arguments to belie the Catholics' claim. From this observation it is clear that the question is not simply ended here. This discovery is just the beginning of a more fundamental question which, when truly answered to the best of human capability as helped by every legitimate method and means science can avail us, will enable us to clarify our befogged ideas concerning the same.

The writer believes to all good intents and purposes that the discovery of the document in question affords us the greatest opportunity of solving this question once and for all—but if we wish that this question shall forever and ever remain obscure it is better that such document should not have been discovered at all—unless, of course, even science cannot help us in its solution. But because at present science has so far advanced in the field in which this question must be solved and where various similar questions have actually been solved, there is no doubt that human ignorance can no longer prevail here. Such an assurance is an apology that the writer could offer for the present undertaking.

While human work may be done with error, since, as it is commonly believed, "to err is human," the writer has always endeavored, as far as possible, to avoid illogical and unnecessary inferences. He holds that logical necessity—the exclusion of impossible inferences, thus leaving only the possible and the true ones—is the rigorous rule to be applied here as in any other

scientific undertaking. As an honest and sincere attempt, therefore, the present work is offered to the public in clarification of the question about Dr. Jose Rizal's Retraction. We cannot now afford to let prejudice take the better of us. For that reason, the writer has endeavored to present facts and evidence for his proofs—preferring the factual and mute evidence to testimonies—in the honest persecution of the modern tendency both in legal procedure and scientific research. One virtue, if it were a virtue at all, that the writer claims for this work is that he has refrained to speak for his evidence, for he avoids theories before facts are gathered, but has always let his evidence speak for him. If there be a science in fact, that science must have for its foundation facts and evidence, and evidence should speak for itself and for the scientist, rather than that the scientist should speak for his evidence, in order to avoid the danger of letting belief produce circumstantial evidence, just so that circumstantial evidence would produce true knowledge.

The writer is more than aware of the possibility that the present work would have cost too dearly had it been written during the time when our Hero lived, both for him and his family, but times have changed and things must change with them, too. That no such persecution could ever occur even under different cloaks in these days the writer is quite skeptical, because nobody is ever master of every circumstance in which he "lives and moves and has his being." But why did he write it, nevertheless? Because he is ever hopeful, too, that the spirit of Modern Age would not allow the repetition of ruthless tyranny, intolerance, and hypocrisy in modern times. Nevertheless, if in this so called Modern Age, men would still, even unconsciously—unconsciousness is a very vicious but quite a fashionable excuse for a directed and aimed Action fruitful of destructive results—manifest its atavistic tendency to narrowness, fanaticism, persecution, and the like, feasting over the slain bodies of its victims who would rather perish than yield, believing that such jubilation is the will of God—which belief, if it be true, would make that God the God of the godless—, and celebrating such achievement to be the only way to consecrate civilization, even calling unto the Almighty to keep them strong to effect such ruthless destruction of freedom of thought, conscience, and worship, if, I repeat, this Modern Age would allow the repetition of such *curse on humanity*, which ought by now to be matters of history, then it is high time for us, all of us, to disillusion ourselves regarding this Age

in which we live. It would not be Modern but Medieval, nay, Savage.

The one lesson that makes the writer persevere in the exposition of what he honestly believes to be the truth is the unfaltering devotion to conviction, stainless example of doing what he preached, and the manliness to die for his convictions of our beloved Martyr and Hero, herein spoken of, Dr. Jose Protacio Rizal.

I trust that there is no better introduction to make then to tell the simple and plain truth that this work deals with the beloved Martyr and Hero of our Pearl of the Orient Seas. With the name of Dr. Jose Rizal writ large upon the pages of any book, no patriotic Filipino could ever neglect to pick up that book and to read it. This dictate of our patriotism, I trust, will invite every inquiring mind to delve into the contents of this humble work.

Acknowledgment is due to the Archbishop of Manila who allowed the writer to see and study the original document in question and even gave him a nice photograph copy of the same, for which he owes no little gratitude; to the Director of the National Library, Mr. Teodoro M. Kalaw, who lent him the negatives (films) and photographs of the document of retraction and allowed him to study the genuine writings of Dr. Rizal in the Filipiniana Division, thru the courtesy and kind assistance of the personnel therein; to the Librarian of the University of the Philippines, Professor Gabriel Bernardo, who allowed the writer to use the references cited in this work and also read a portion of the proofs of this work; to the Dean of the College of Liberal Arts, University of the Philippines, Dr. Leandro T. Fernandez, who read the whole proofs and gave the writer as well some useful advice and suggestions; to a Professor of Psychology in the College of Education, University of the Philippines, Dr. Sinforoso G. Padilla, who made a special reading of the chapter on "The Psychological Aspect of Dr. Rizal's Conversion" and wrote, upon request of author, some notes on that chapter which is published in the appendix of this work; to the Head of the Department of Spanish, University of the Philippines, Professor Jaime de Veyra, who gave the author his kind permission to use his valuable collection of "El Renacimiento" and other books dealing with Dr. Jose Rizal's Conversion; to the Head of the Department of Botany, University of Michigan, and at present the acting Head

of the similar department in our State University, being an exchange Professor, Dr. Harley H. Bartlett, who also read with interest the proofs of the present work and gave the author some valuable suggestions; to a Professor of Modern Languages, University of the Philippines, Professor Agustin Llenado, who has read a portion of the proofs; to Professor Guillermo Tolentino of the School of Fine Arts, University of the Philippines, who introduced the author to Dña. Trinidad Rizal, the sister of the Martyr; to Dr. Toribio Herrera, secretary and Professor of the same School, who made the composition of the cover design; to Dña. Trinidad Rizal, the sister of the Martyr, who willingly gave the author valuable statements of facts regarding her brother in an interview and also lent him some books for reproduction; to Mr. Aquilino Y. Argosino of the Library of the University of the Philippines, who helped the author in proof-reading the materials and sketched the Cemetery of Paço. I wish also to acknowledge my indebtedness to those authors from whose works I have borrowed quite liberally; the sources of my quotations are immediately mentioned at the footnotes in almost every page. And lastly, I wish to extend my gratitude to my friends, co-members of the "Filipiniana", a pro-Philippine culture fraternity, and principally to my life-partner, who all have encouraged the author to double his effort in this undertaking. Without those valuable assistance the present work would not have been in existence.

RICARDO R. PASCUAL

Manila, Philippines
November 15, 1935.

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ERRATA

Errors	Corrections
p. 23, 4th line ... not only not broken ...	— ... not only broken ...
p. 42, 15th line ... there ...	— ... their ...
p. 54, headline ... GARVE ...	— ... GRAVE ...
p. 56, 18th line ... narration ...	— ... narrations ...
p. 57, 31st line ... "My Pride ..."	— ... "My great pride ..."
p. 62, 14th line ... interment ...	— ... internment ...
p. 66, 24th line ... informaton ...	— ... information ...
p. 75, 38th line ... affect ...	— ... effect ...
p. 79, 6th line ... over throw ...	— ... overthrow ...
p. 107, 30th line ... judgement ...	— ... judgment ...
p. 144, 35th line ... intevirew ...	— ... interview ...
p. 148, 35th line ... anything ...	— ... anything ...

DR. JOSE RIZAL BEYOND THE GRAVE

A VINDICATION OF THE MARTYR OF BAGUMBAYAN

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION.

On May 18, 1935, a document was discovered in the vault of the Archbishop of Manila by Father Manuel Gracia¹. This document, among others, is the much debated "original" of Dr. Jose Rizal's retraction of his anti-Catholic writings and propaganda as well as his affiliation to Masonry. With its discovery, the Church and her devotees claim with proud mien that this document supposed and believed to have been mislaid was in fact lying all the while in this "providential vault"—a very providential omission according to the Catholics—only to be brought to light in this "providential hour." Thanks to the Providential Hand that directed the events that way. It only seems too "providential" all the way through.

Upon this discovery also, many of the opposite opinions suggest some attending circumstances that may discredit the execution "in good faith" of this priceless document. Some say it was forced upon Rizal, and there are examples of forced retraction which are cited as proofs. The usual answer is that force is not fitting in the character of Rizal as a means to make him do something against his will. This contention that force cannot be used upon Rizal, because that hypothesis does not fit itself with the character of Rizal, who simply cannot be coerced by force to do something much against his will, is an ingenious argument, for indeed Rizal was a person of manly character. But it is also to forget that despite his manly character, Rizal succumbed to force, however much he hated it. The proof of which is his own forced death, which he protested against with his innocence. In the words of Retana²:

"Early in the morning of December 29, Judge Dominguez went to Fort Santiago to communicate officially to

¹ *Cultura Social*, Julio 1935, p. 309.

² *Vida y Escritos del Dr. Jose Rizal*, p. 415.

Rizal the sentence arrived at in the trial. The secretary read the entire death sentence, the instruction of the Auditor, Peña, and the approval of General Polavieja. Rizal, having understood and 'protesting against what has just been read to him,' signed, as a previous requirement, at the bottom of the judicial diligence."

That no instance in the life of Rizal could be forced is, as we have shown, not always borne out by facts. The theory of force is therefore possible but I do not say final nor even probable at the absence of facts to corroborate the theory and which the theory must explain. *But that is a mere indirect proof, and hardly a logical proof at all.*

Others simply say that Rizal might have written it for mere complacency to his old professors who were the fathers attending him in this questioned event, since the Church had been interested in his *retraction* ever since he was exiled in Dapitan in 1892³, but most especially when in 1895 he sought marriage with Josephine Bracken⁴. This conjecture of Rizal's motive is designed to discredit the execution of this document in "good faith." But if we can take the Jesuits' words for an exact account of what happened on that eventful night, we read a quotation of what Rizal said to Father Balaguer before he performed the said retraction, when the fathers presented to him two formulae to choose from. It reads⁵:

"Look, Father, if in order to satisfy you, I would say yes on everything and sign all that you present to me, without feeling nor believing in it, I would be a hypocrite and I would offend God."

But if we thus take their words for the exact description of the event in question, there is then no more discussion, since they further claim that there was such a document and that document is this one under question. And yet this is the very point in consideration. Therefore, the conjecture on one side discrediting the document and the quotation on the other side made by the priest or priests are no amount of reliable proof as evidence of Rizal's intention. They are at best opinions only and not proofs. The other opinion as to the desire of Rizal to save his

3 Craig, A., *Life and Labors of Dr. Jose Rizal*, p. 197.

4 *Ibid.*, p. 213.

5 Retana, W., *Archivo del Bibliófilo Filipino*, Vol. IV, "El Doctor Rizal y su Obra", p. 339.

family the trouble of persecution, thereby implying a threat that unless he retracted, his family shall not remain in peace, is a dramatic gesture without proofs. That also is a witty conjecture, for the simple fact is that even after Rizal's death the family was not left in peace. On the other hand, the claim that the document with the signature of Rizal cannot lie, is no proof, *in a questioned document*, that it is really the genuine writing of the person concerned or that it was genuinely made as supposed. At best the claim has the value of stating the problem. IS THE DOCUMENT GENUINE OR NOT?

At the absence of the document the question does not arise, for there is no document to be questioned. That there is the document is no proof either of genuineness, for the same document is questioned. The question of its genuineness therefore is the REAL QUESTION and is still UNANSWERED, despite our howling about this or that irrelevant matter.

The insistence of some, particularly of Mr. E. F. Lumba, the editor of *La Defensa*, that there is no contradiction in the acts of the martyr, were he to retract, nor does the retraction belittle the figure of Dr. Rizal as the National Hero is a thought-provoking opinion, for to agree with the author is to forget that almost half of Rizal's writings is about Religion, so also is it to forget that the greatness of Rizal *is not merely in his death*—for that would make us a blood-thirsty cannibal of modern times under the garb of civilization, valuing a man only for his death—*but principally in his work*—“words, writings, books, and conduct”—which he hoped to “crown by his own death” as he himself thoughtfully wrote in his letter of apology to his parents for taking the dangerous step of abandoning himself into the trap prepared by evil hands⁶. But we cannot afford to forget that Rizal was not only a martyr who died by force but a thinker—a thinker during his life-time, unlike many of us who think only at some (perhaps, rare) times of our life,—who thought the uncommon in his generation for which he earned enmities not only from the Church but also from the State, the two Powers that gambled the fate of Man. But all these surmises are just stumbling blocks in the *moral possibility* of retraction but are by no means proofs or disproofs of the genuineness of the document.

⁶ Letter of June 20, 1892, at Hongkong; Retana, W., op. cit., pp. 242-243.

The quotation made by many zealous writers to the effect that the Director of the National Library pronounced the document as “authentic, definite, and final”—an exaggeration, two points over the fact, made by the over-enthusiasts—is beyond logical tolerance, if it is designed to be offered as proof. This practice is strictly unscientific, indefinite, and logically fallacious and in all appearances without factual proofs. I have the assurance of Mr. Teodoro Kalaw⁷, himself, the Director of the National Library, that he pronounced the document of retraction to be “authentic”—minus “definite and final”—as a mere opinion, not with the authority of a handwriting expert, for he claims to be none, but simply by the first impression upon looking at the document and trusting that his memory of Rizal’s writing did not fail him. To show only the great difficulty of committing to memory the handwriting habit of another person, without making it one’s own habit by continuous practice, or even so, is to try to find whether one does fully memorize his own handwriting habit without actually writing first and then to write a specimen whereby he avoids all those handwriting habits of his. It shall be found generally that one cannot easily avoid those unconscious habits that characterize the individuality of one’s writing differentiated from another’s, and especially if he does not know the habits to be avoided.

The above consideration, in strict logic, shows that our question is not answered yet. Hence, my humble attempt to study and make the comparison of the questioned document with the genuine handwritings of Rizal. Let us not simply refuse to consider it in this light, because we fear of an adverse verdict, for our fear is a moral admission of doubt as to the genuineness of the retraction. In fact, if the document is genuine, why should we be afraid to find after scientific investigation that it is really genuine? Let us not refuse to study it as a questioned document for the reason that we insist, it is unquestioned, as Mr. Lumba

⁷ The director’s letter to the present writer on July 26, 1935, reads:

My Dear Mr. Pascual:

Referring to your letter of July 25, 1935, please be informed that in my interview with Mr. Carlos P. Romulo, I told him, as a mere opinion, that it was my belief that the document purporting to be Rizal’s retraction from Masonry was authentic, but I did not say that it was definite and final for I am not an authority on handwriting.

Very respectfully,
(Sgd.) TEODORO M. KALAW
(Director)

claimed, for that is now the very question. Besides, to refuse to treat it as a questioned document is not a proof that it is unquestioned, but in fact a ground for doubt as to its authenticity. Let us undertake this study as a cold, logical, scientific investigator withholding our verdict till the facts—not opinions—are gathered and classified to the best of our ability. With this atmosphere, I trust that some result shall be arrived at. Let us also be morally courageous to accept whatever reasoning from facts leads us to, despite our previous theory to the contrary, trusting that the facts shall not err but opinions without proofs *may and do*.

In studying this question I follow the scientific technique and method, the ideal of the experts, and I submit my method and findings to the consideration of whoever will scrutinize. Let us not be ruled by prejudice and passion.

The criterion that guided me in this work is a technical opinion of an authority on evidence, Mr. Wigmore, the author of "Wigmore on Evidence" in his introduction to Mr. Albert Osborn's book, "Questioned Documents". It says in part⁸:

"The feature of Mr. Osborn's book which will perhaps mark its most progressive aspect is *its insistence upon the reasons for an opinion—not the bare opinion alone*. If there is in truth a science (and not merely an individual empiricism), *that science must be based on reasons, and these reasons must be capable of being stated and appreciated.*"

It follows therefore that the opinions of any individual, expert or layman, must be evaluated upon the weight of the reasons and evidence for each opinion and not simply nor even in the least upon the individual reputation of each person. That experts at times, if not most of the time, give contradictory verdicts is not the reason why one opinion is as good as another. Surely they are equally worthless, if both are gratuitous opinions—*gratis affirmatur, gratis negatur*. That they do disagree is the very unhappy deadlock which *the insistence upon the reasons and evidence* of an opinion is designed to avoid and to clarify. I trust that the above guide shall clarify any possible misunderstanding and shall take away dormant prejudices.

⁸ Op. cit., p. viii; unless otherwise stated, all italics in the quotations of the present work are of the present writer.

29 Dec 96

31

Me declaro católico y en esta Religión
en que nací y me educué quien vivió y moró.

Me retracto de todo corazon de
cuanto en mis palabras, cuentos, impresos
y conducta ha habido contrario à mi efali-
dad de bôp de la Iglesia Católica, Breve
y profeso cuanto elle enseña y me someto
à quanto elle manda. Aborresco de la
Masoneria, como enemiga que es de la Iglesia,
y como sociedad prohibida por la Iglesia.
Pido el Prelado Diocesano, como Autoridad
Superior Eclesiástica hacer pública esta
manifestacion espontánea mia por cesar
el escándalo que mis actos hayan podido
causar y por que Dios y los hombres
me perdonen.

Manila 29 de Diciembre de 1896

Francisco Mijang
El Sr. del Ayuntamiento
El Ayuntamiento
El Ayuntamiento
Mig Mijang

Fig. I. A reproduction of the retraction, reduced in size. This copy was given to the author by His Grace, the Archbishop of Manila.

CHAPTER II

THE DOCUMENT

The document, Figure I, is written on a folded double sheet of Catalan paper (papel catalán), measuring 32 centimeters long and 22 centimeters wide. The edge except that on which the double sheet is folded shows irregularity, slight tear, and slight soiling and crumpling. In color the paper shows but slight tint of yellow. About the upper left corner of the document and on the letter "C" of "Creo" are holes bored by bookworms. About the middle of the document there is a lengthwise folding made in such a way as to place the writings within the fold. The paper bears the water-mark of "Hijo de J. Jover y Serra" continuously marked across the two leaves. Above this water-mark is a trade mark of a scale with three stars below, all enclosed in a loop that appears like a ribbon. Below this trade mark is also a loop within which are number "2" and small type capital "A" forming the sign "2A", perhaps to designate the class of the paper.

WRITING—On the heavy lines in the document the ink shows black color, while the fine lines are faded and show yellow shade. There are some ink spreads on some letters that the latter just look like solid ink marks, but are recognizable nevertheless, such as, "d" of "de" in the first line of the second paragraph, "a" of "Catolico" of the fourth line in the same paragraph, "a" of "cuanto" and "enseña" of the fifth line, same paragraph, "a" of "manda" of the next line, "r" of "reparar" of the eleventh line in the same paragraph, and "a" of "hayan" of the following line.

On the upper most part of the left half of the document are the following writings, "29 Dbre 96 or 97" with the "6" a little heavier than the "7" of the last figure, written in red pencil, probably one of the "corrector's red pencil" (see Figure I). This writing, according to the Archbishop in one of my interviews with His Excellency and which He later reiterated⁹, was found written on the document when the latter was discovered. The number "31" on the upper right corner was added to mark the subsequent pages in their series of occurrence as found. About the middle of the document on the left side is an ink stain which I do not know whether it was on the document before or after its discovery.

⁹ Archbishop's answer, dated July 29, 1935, to the author's letter of July 26, 1935.

However, it does not affect the document vitally. As could be verified in Figure I, the document is written closer to the right than to the left. The margins at the top and bottom are quite symmetrical. The alignment of the writings is quite straight, perhaps, the best that could be done under the conditions, since the paper is unruled.

ANALYSIS OF THE DOCUMENT—If we would turn back to Figure I, and make a little more detailed observation, anyone cannot fail to notice the following varieties of forms of capital letters. In Figure II, I have reproduced the capital letters, that vary from each other, taken from the same document. Thus the capital “C” of “Creo” differs from that of “Catolica”, the former being that of the graceful round-hand while the latter is that of the bold and shaded modified “vertical system” of later date which is not as graceful as the former. The upper part of “C” in “Creo” is made with a loop whose initial stroke is far to the left of the letter and crossing the downward stroke. It ends in a round loop terminating at the point of contact with its origin. There is however no shading in any of its visible part. We must remember that the black spot on that letter is the damage done by bookworms as previously observed. The “C” of “Catolica” however is made with the initial upward stroke and then coming down to the shaded downward stroke to complete the letter, thus forming an angular apex. It ends without a loop.

The capital “D” in “Diocesano” and “Diciembre” are quite alike but both of them differ from the “D” in “Dios”. While the former two “D’s” are made by swinging the pen to the left and making a small arc after the initial downward stroke in making its shaft and then reversing the swing to the right, without however completing the circle, but describing another arc in the same hemisphere, before describing a bigger arc upward to complete the form of “D”, the “D” of “Dios” is made without that “arc tail” of the shaft, but neither swinging to the left nor right, the pen is made to retrace an upward stroke and suddenly making a downward stroke to make a “U” turn upward to complete the body of “D”. They differ in the stroke producing the lower loop of the shaft.

In the case of capital “A” we shall note a similar parallelism of difference. The “A’s” of “Abomino” and “Autoridad” differ in the termination of the downward stroke after completing the right side of “A”. In “Abomino” the pen retraces an upward

stroke before breaking into a connection with the following letter. But in "Autoridad" the pen swings to the left, though not exactly describing an arc which is suddenly reversed to the right almost retracing the former in an arc, but not completing it into a circle before making the connection with the following letter. Both of them begin at an initial point. Also the top of "A" in "Abomino" is angular, while that of "A" in "Autoridad" is round.

The variation in form is noticeable not only in the case of capital letters but also with the small letters. In Figure III, I have the noticeable variations in the form of the terminal "a". On the left side are "a's" distinctly formed, while on the right side are the "a's" indistinctly formed, having a close affinity with the formation of letter "e". Yet both kinds have the appearance of continuous and unhesitating movement. Could we take them to be habitually formed? Yet both seemed to be produced by the same muscular movements, only in one case, those of distinct form, the movement is quite controlled as to have time for the delicate swings in forming "a" quite distinctly, while in the other case of the indistinct "a's", the movement gives the appearance of careless abandon and speed as to leave out as indistinct the delicate swings that complete the appearance of "a" and yet in some instances of the same class, there are traces of slight tendency to form those swings.

In Figure IV, we have a variety of initial "h". On the left side are "h's" formed with the angular top of the bar while the "h's" on the right side have the tendency for the same top to form a symmetrical loop save the shading on the left side of the loop. If we are to follow the tendency of the movement producing the "h's" on the left, we shall find it to be clockwise, while that of the "h's" on the right is counter-clockwise. We must therefore not neglect this variation of forms and strokes.

In Figure V, we have the variety of "o's" as the last letter of the word. The first four words at the left from the top of the list are examples of the terminal "o's" with a sort of a tail made by a horizontal side-stroke from the top of the letter "o". The last two words on the same (left) side and all of those on the right are examples of words ending in "o", but which finished by a flying swing to the left. Sometimes, the "o" is open, sometimes it is closed. The tail of the first class of "o's" is produced by a sudden reversal into a horizontal stroke towards the right just

at the beginning of a tendency to swing to a curve towards the left from the bottom of "o", thus making a small bulb.

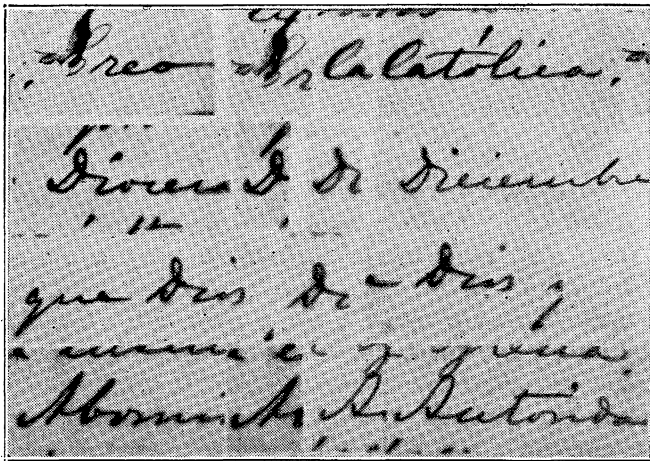


Fig. II. Varieties of forms of Capital letters found in the retraction.

In Figure VI, we have a variety of "p" as the initial letter of the words. On the left side, we have the "p's" whose finishing stroke produces a knot by curving to the left in a downward stroke from the top of the bar and then reversing this direction by producing another arc—counter-clockwise—without completing into a circle. On the right side is the other class of "p's".

CHAPTER III

COMPARISON OF HANDWRITINGS

STANDARDS OF COMPARISON—The standards for our comparison must be the handwritings of Rizal that bear the date as near as possible to the date in question. The date under consideration is December 29, 1896. About this time there are, however, enough writings that we can take for our standards. There is the poem posthumously entitled “Ultimo Adios” written in black ink about his last days although the composition of the poem may have been begun previously. Some say it was about the twelfth or the fourteenth of December of the same year. This is not exactly known. There is, nevertheless, no conjecture that fixes the date earlier than the twelfth. However, we are interested in the “writing” and not in the “composing” of the poem. This poem is in the National Library. We are here reproducing this priceless poem in Figure VII. There is also a letter of Rizal entitled “To My Countrymen”, dated December 15, 1896, at Fort Santiago, but the original of which cannot now be located. Probably it is or it has been in the archives of the Spanish Government. There is also another document, now in the National Library, bearing the date of December 12, 1896. This is the “Defensa”, Figure VIII, written by Rizal, himself. On December 25, the day before he faced the Council of War that condemned him to death, he wrote a letter to D. Luis Taviel de Andrade, his defender. This writing is here reproduced in Figure XIII. There are also minor writings of Rizal on the morning of his death; one to his wife, Josephine Bracken, in a book, “Imitacion de Cristo” (Figure IX), another, a farewell addressed to his mother (Figure X), another “Imitacion de Cristo” (Figure XI) bearing his signature was given to his sister, Josefa, and still another book, “Ancora de Salvacion”, with his signature also, was given to his sister, Trinidad (Figure XII). The first two bear the full signature of Dr. Jose Rizal, while the last two bear only the signature “Rizal”. So also does the “Defensa” contain his signature, but more especially are this long defense, the “Ultimo Adios”, and the letter to Andrade valuable as specimens of his extended writings about the date in question.

One or two words of criticism about these standards of handwritings are in order. With respect to the “Ultimo Adios”, the story about which we are more or less familiar, the internal evi-

dence, as Father Angel Bachiller has forcefully demonstrated in the Graphic issue of June 29, 1933, leaves no doubt as to the authorship of Rizal. It might be objected that the authorship is Rizal's but that the writing is not necessarily his. Indeed, but whose writing is it? Besides, the story of its having been found in an "alcohol stove", *given by Rizal to his sister*, the ignorance of the recipient of the priceless content of the stove until later date, the remark of Rizal that "there is something inside,"¹⁰ in English, to elude the suspicious vigilance of the Civil Guards, all point to the authorship of Rizal as to the writing. There is nothing, however, in moral, nor in internal evidence, as well as in handwriting that is contrary to this presumption. The "Defensa" is clearly his, in style, spirit, and intention, for he was then under trial. This document came from the hands of Lete, an associate of Rizal, and it is now in the National Library. Dr. Jose Abad Lopez has the "Imitacion de Cristo" that was given to Josephine Bracken according to Dr. Castor T. Surla in his article in *La Vanguardia* on January 3, 1933. Facsimiles of the farewell to his mother and of the book given to Josephine are also found in Craig's "Life and Labor of Dr. Jose Rizal."¹¹ The two books given to his sisters, Trinidad and Josefa, are in their respective owners. The letter to Andrade was also reproduced very finely in Retaña's "Vida y Escritos del Dr. Jose Rizal."¹²

PHYSICAL CONDITIONS—The kind of paper of this discovered document, Figure I, is the same as that of the "Defensa". They bear exactly the same watermark of "Hijo de J. Jover y Serra" placed quite uniformly across the folded sheet. The other water-signs are exactly the same. The crumpled and soiled edges are quite alike in both documents. They measure equally in length and breadth. The color of the paper is almost the same, perhaps because that kind of paper is not easily faded or tinted with yellow. Only in the case of the "Defensa", there are no holes made by bookworms unlike that of the document in question. Certainly, these physical conditions are genuine marks of "authenticity as to the age" of the paper. There is then no question as to this matter of age of the paper, but that does not yet bear all the phases of the question. The "Ultimo Adios" was written

10 Craig, A., *Life and Labor of Dr. Jose Rizal*, p. 240; Retana, W., *op. cit.* p. 421.

11 *Op. cit.* p. 421.

12 *Op. cit.* pp. 392-393

on a "piece of ordinary commercial paper, with blue lines ruled crosswise and lengthwise, measuring nine and a half centimeters wide and fifteen centimeters long; the verses were written on both sides of the paper."¹³ At present, the lines on the paper could hardly be visible and the paper is yellowish in color.

As to writing, the "Defensa" was written in pencil, while the "Retraction" was in ink. Therefore, this standard writing can be useful only as to form of letters but not as to line quality, emphasis or pressure as a habit, and other slight but important marks bearing with the case, without due allowance. The "Ultimo Adios" was, however, written in ink but the writing is quite small, due to economy in paper so as to facilitate its concealment. Nevertheless, the latter can very well serve for form, distinguishing features in Rizal's handwriting made in ink which if found in the small writing must of necessity be found in the bigger and regular one, except under some very extraordinary conditions, if both are done in ink by the same hand.

Regarding the margin, the "Defensa" has quite a comparatively small margin at the left, in comparison with that of the "Retraction" which leaves off more than one fourth of the width of the paper for that margin. The "Ultimo Adios" has a narrower margin at its left side than at its right, probably because this is a poem so that it was necessary that a certain number of words be written in one line. But in the case of the "Defensa" the margin at the left is narrower than that of the "Retraction" though both are not poems, nor was it necessary in both of them to write a given number of words on a line. The wider margin of the "Retraction" must therefore be explained, else this difference must remain as it is. To argue, however, in the case of the "Retraction" that, wide margin is requisite to neatness, that is why it is wide, is to defeat itself, since at the right side of the same document the margin is almost *nil*. It may be dismissed on the ground that during that time, petitions and other state papers left off a big margin at the left, sometimes, even one third of the paper. But in so doing, it must be explained that this document has the character of such official state papers. It must also be borne in mind that the size of the margin in the habitual writing is quite habitual too, unless affected by other forces at the time of writing. Is it a wrong presumption to make that in this dis-

¹³ M. Ponce's observation in Retana's "Vida y Escritos del Dr. Jose Rizal", p. 473.

puted document the spacing for margin was quite habitual to the person who wrote it, and so also was that of the "Defensa"? If not, then under what condition, that must be great enough to arrest the habit of the person, was this disputed document written? But if both were habitual to the person or persons concerned in the two documents, how can we explain the difference in the two habits? If only one person wrote both documents then we must show that both habits existed in that person. As far as I could determine, in the examination of Rizal's writings previous to the date in question¹⁴, his margin did not exceed one fifth of the width of the paper used. This noted difference in margin spacing is of course quite minor only.

SLANT—We shall now compare the slants of the retraction with those of the genuine writings of Rizal. The slant of writing is sometimes variable with some persons and with others, a little less variable. With some, the limits of variation are pretty close, that is, the slants of letters are very near to each other. With other people, however, the limits of slants are quite wide, so that the variation is great. But this great variation is not simply great variation and in it any slant is not just possible. Within certain limits, *i.e.*, between the most vertical and the most slanting letters, any variation in slant is possible with a given writer. In so far as the genuine standard writings of Rizal as near to this date as possible are available, we can say that the slants in the writings of Rizal are variable. But it is not simply variable. It is variable within certain limits. Now, it is absolutely wrong to conclude that because the writings of a certain particular person are variable in slants, that therefore, *any variation in slants is possible therein*. The variability of slant in writing is, within given limits, determined only by the examination of the various writings of that person. In Figure XIV, we have the variable slants of Rizal's writings, both formal and informal, in ink and in pencil, which described the possible limits of the slants in Rizal's writing. In this illustration, I have measured in degrees the slants of the long letters of Rizal's writings, as they occurred in the writings illustrated in the various figures above. The first graph in this Figure is that of the slants of Rizal's "Defensa" written in pencil. The second is the slants of his letter to his defender, Andrade,

¹⁴ I have seen and measured the margins of various writings of Rizal, some dated 1896, 1893, 1892, 1890, including letters, diaries, post cards, thru the courtesy of the Filipiniana Division of the National Library.

on December 25, 1896. The third one is the slants of the retraction in question. The graph below illustrates the slants of the words to Josephine Bracken and the farewell to his mother, both of December 30, 1896. I have also drawn the lines that traverse the corresponding averages of these variable slants in the writings. The "Defensa" as we could see in the graph has a constant average slant of 63.25° . The letter to Andrade, done in ink, has an average slant of 55.66° . The dedication to Josephine Bracken has an average slant of 57.6° , while the Farewell to his mother has an average of 56.4° . On the other hand, the average slant of the retraction is 52.14° . That while all of our standards give averages not lower than 55.66° , the average yielded by the retraction is 52.14° . This means that the slants in our standards vary from an average of 63.25° , in a pencil writing, or higher as could be seen also in the case of the "Ultimo Adios,"¹⁵ to an average of 55.66° in a writing done in ink. That another average of a certain writing shall fall below this lower limit is an evidence of difference, between that writing, which is the questioned retraction, on one hand, and the standard writing, on the other, which difference cannot just be ignored in this question. But it is not simply a question of difference in the average slants of the writings examined. Our graph tells us unequivocally that while in the standard writings we have as the lowest slant, meaning, the most slanting letter, 47° in four instances in Rizal's farewell to his mother and 51° in Rizal's letter to Andrade, the lowest slant of the retraction is 40° , 44° , 45° . It tells further that while the highest slant, meaning the most vertical letter, in the standard writings is 73° in the case of the "Defensa" written in pencil, 65.5° in Rizal's letter to Andrade, 70° in the dedication to Bracken, and 66° in the farewell to his mother, the highest in the retraction is 60° in one occasion and 59° in two occasions.

Let us analyze our graph more closely. If there will be any similarity at all in slants between the retraction and any of the standard writings, it will be between the former and the letter to Andrade, both of which, let us observe, were done in ink and were formally written, with practically four days difference only, the former being written on December 29, while the latter, on December 25, both of 1896. The difference between the averages of

¹⁵ In the case of the "Ultimo Adios", as could be seen in Figure VII, the slants are more vertical than even that of the "Defensa", hence its average naturally will exceed that of the latter.

these two writings is quite small, only 3.52° . Considering the fact that the difference among the averages of the genuine writings of Rizal considered as standards is greater than this noted difference between the questioned document and one of these standard writings, an observer may hastily draw the conclusion that since there is not much difference in their slants, therefore they

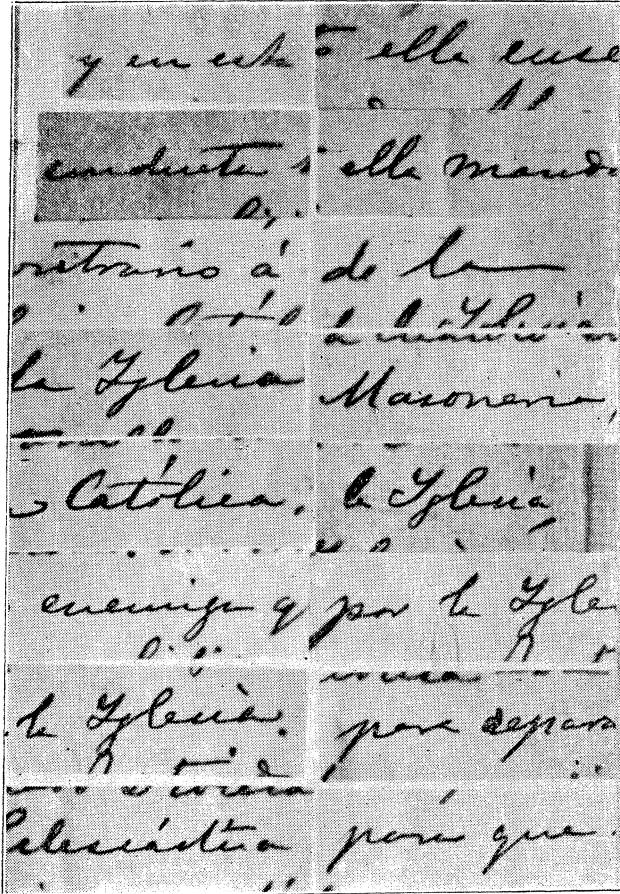


Fig. III. Variations in the form of letter "a" found in the retraction.

were the writings of one and the same person. That reasoning is in error in one presupposition, which when put into language sounds more or less like this:

“Since between two standard writings of one man the difference is great, therefore his slants are variable, and the fact that the slants are variable warrants the conclusion that the man writes many forms of slants. Since the difference between the average of the slants of the writing in question and that of a standard writing is small, even smaller than the difference between genuine writings, therefore it falls within the scope of probability to consider that the questioned writing has an affinity with the genuine writing.”

I say that the above errs, because it simply considers the fact that because a writer writes variable slants, therefore he could write, or better he writes any slant. This is false, because the variability of a writer's habitual slants falls within limits, as determined from his various writings, which we have done in our graph. I shall repeat, within these limits, a writer makes variable slants, because the hand of man is not a mechanical thing that makes constant forms of whatever it writes. It also forgets the fact that the standard writing we compared with the questioned document has the lowest average limit of the slants available. That the questioned document shall yield an average lower than this lowest average is suspicious, for it falls beyond the range of the writer's determined variability. If only it falls above this average, there will be no question for it will then fall within the limits of the said variability.

If we shall look closely at the graphs of the two writings more closely compared, we shall find that while the tendency of the genuine writing is to have the greater variation above the average, that is, towards the more vertical slants, the tendency of the retraction is to have the greater variation below its own average, that is, towards the more slanting position. That these two tendencies shall exist between writings, that have close average slants, is a stumbling fact in the conclusion that they were written by the same hand, unless it can be demonstrated factually that such tendencies really exist in that particular hand in question.

The fact that among the standard writings themselves the difference is wide is not an argument to negative the difference we observed immediately above, but in reality the fact that determined for us the limits of Rizal's slants, which naturally exclude any average below or above these limits, unless it is extended far below or above by a genuine writing of Rizal to the date or as near the date in question as possible. We must here remember

that the degree of reliability of a standard is inversely proportional to its distance in time to the date in question, *i.e.*, the nearer the standard is, the more reliable it is, and the further it goes the less reliable it becomes, unless proved that the person concerned does not change his handwriting habits.

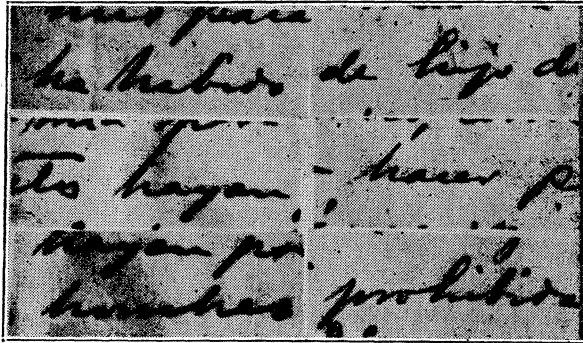


Fig. IV. Variations in the forms of letter "h" found in the retraction.

WRITING HABIT—It must be borne in mind that writing as well as many other actions of human beings is done in an habitual, almost automatic, manner. The above observation applies to writings done by person or persons who are quite adept in the art of writing and not to the writings done by the novices who are just beginning to wield their pens. Considering the fact that Rizal was not a beginner in the art of writing, neither was he an infirm old person at the time that he was said to have written the retraction, we can therefore presume that he wrote at that time, if ever he wrote anything, with his habitual way. This is not only a matter of speculation but principally an observation, for if we are to study and analyze the genuine writings of Rizal, we shall find an almost fixed habit manifested in all of them. I say, almost fixed habit, because as everybody knows, or can know by a simple test, the hand of an individual is not a typewriter or a printing press that prints in the same way. The human hand admits of variations, slight or marked, depending upon many factors such as time, person, surrounding circumstances, etc.

Let us now consider the handwriting habits manifested by the hand which wrote the retraction. If we shall analyze the

strokes that made the words I grouped together in Figure XV, we shall find that in the "p's" of "palabras", "por", and "publica"; in the "I's" of two "Iglesia's"; in "s" of "someto" and "S" of "Superior"; "A" of "Autoridad"; in "D" of "Diocesano" the pen after making the downward stroke swung to the left in a curving fashion and then came back with the reverse direction to the right, sometimes making the pen almost retrace the first curve to the left but did not complete this curve into a small circle by continuing its direction. This tendency is clearly seen in the downward finishing strokes of the "p's", in the finishing stroke after making the staff of "I's", in the terminal stroke of "A", in the last stroke of both the small "s" and capital "S" and in the stroke after making the staff or standard of "D" in the words cited above. This, however, was not consistently maintained in all the words that had similar strokes, and had it been so, it would be easy to determine this characteristic which happened to be different from that found in the genuine writings of Rizal. If we shall turn our attention to the letter of Rizal to Don Luis Taviel de Andrade, Figure XIII, we shall find that the similar letters such as the "S" in "Sr." occurring three times, in the first, third, and ninth lines, and in "Santiago" which did not appear for the lack of space; "D" in "D. Luis", first line, "Defensor", second line, and "Deseandole", fourteenth line, so also in "Diciembre" which also did not appear for the same reason; "I" in "Instructor" occurring twice in the third and ninth lines; "A" in "Andrade" of the first line; or "p" which occurred quite often, did not have the same characteristic noted in the retraction. In all of them, we find that the corresponding stroke in those letters showed a different habit. Instead of retracing the left curve, by a reverse stroke to the right, it completed itself in its direction into an elliptical stroke. This characteristic stroke in this letter was very much elucidated in the letter "L" of "Luis", first line, and "Le", fifth line. The staff of "L" here turned to the left but the return stroke instead of retracing the former rather completed into an elliptical figure, so that it could be said that the loop produced was a bulb.

In the strokes that made up the different letters, we can here observe the following points: In the capital "C" of "Catolica" and "Creo" of the retraction, Figure XVI, we find the two forms of capital "C" manifested in the retraction. The "C" of "Catolica" began with a slight upward stroke, but instead of curving at the apex, it formed an angle. On the other hand, the "C"

of "Creo" was different in form and in initial stroke. In comparison with the "C" of the genuine writings of Rizal as found in "Consejo" in his letter to Andrade, also illustrated in the figure, in "Convocar" of the "Defensa" (see Figure VIII) line 5, and various "C's" of the same writing, and also in the "Ultimo Adios" and many others about this date in question, we shall find that form very well illustrated in "Consejo". It began with an initial point, well emphasized by working the pen right at that point without moving it very much and then it made the upward curve at the top, rather than an angle, and shaded the downward stroke. So we see that in form and stroke the retraction differed from the genuine writings of Rizal as to Capital "C".

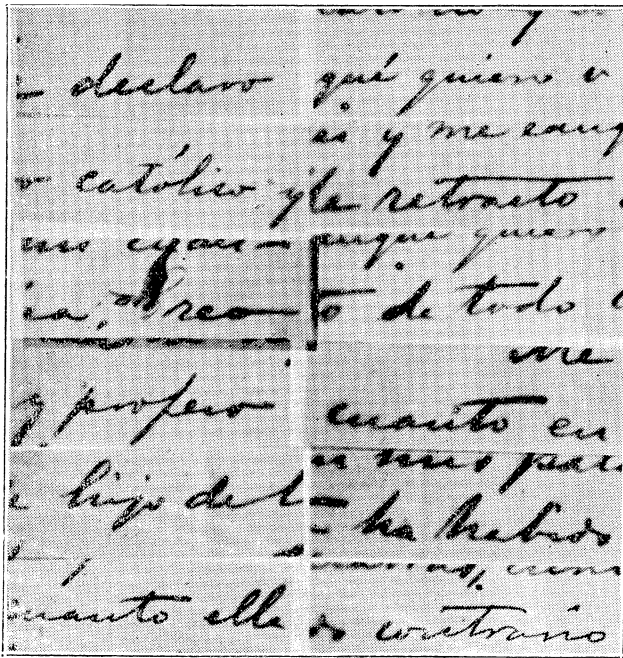


Fig. V. Variations in forms of terminal letter "o" found in the retraction.

Even in the small "c" as found in "corazon", third line, "cuanto", fourth line, "conducta", "contrario", "cualidad", fifth line, "cuanto" seventh and eighth lines, "como", ninth and tenth lines, and "causar", fifteenth line of the retraction and the corresponding small "c" in "causa", fifth line, "como", ninth and fif-

teenth lines of the letter to Andrade, and the "c" of "comprendo como", second line, "convocado" and "casa", third line, "cuando" and "conozco", fourth line, "conocia", fifth line, "conozco", "casa", and "conozco", sixth line, and many other words in the "Defensa", we shall notice a manifest difference. While the small "c" of the retraction began just in the simple and very short upward stroke which then reversed to a downward stroke, and sometimes, they began just in the downward stroke, the "c" of the genuine writings of Rizal as mentioned began with a manifest initial point before it went up curvingly and came down to the downward stroke to make the body of the letter "c". The curve was manifested at the top of the "c". This cannot just be ignored. It follows what we have observed about the capital "C".

In the forms of "d" found in "sociedad", line 10, and "Autoridad", line 11, of the retraction and the "d" of "vida" and "encantada" of the "Ultimo Adios", all illustrated in Figure XVII, and in that occurring in "Madrid" appearing twice, lines 20 and 27, and "Solidaridad" occurring thrice, lines 22, 25, and 30, in the "Defensa", we find a manifest difference. That while the terminal upward stroke of "d" in the retraction ended in a stroke turning to the right, the corresponding terminal of "d" in the genuine writings mentioned turned to the left. I had not found any "d" as those of the retraction in the genuine writings of Rizal here considered. How could we explain this difference?

In Figure XVIII, we have illustrated the difference found in the letter "z" occurring in "corazon" of the retraction and in "esparza" and "azada" in the "Ultimo Adios". If we would turn our attention to "Juez" in the third line of his letter to Andrade and to the words "conozco", fourth and sixth lines, "moralizar", twenty-eighth line, and "fiscalizar", thirtieth line of his "Defensa", we will find a great difference in form and appearance. The "z" of the retraction had the appearance of the clerical writing; with the manifest characteristic of speed, while the "z" of Rizal was made out with the detailed stroke. Only in the case of "moralizar" was there a slight affinity, but even here the difference in form was also marked. It must here be remembered that this writing was done in pencil which was not as flexible as a pen, so that the absence of the detailed stroke could easily be explained by that condition. On the other hand, if in spite of the inflexibility of the lead pencil, the writing yet contained characteristic that could be found in the flexible pen writing, as manifested by the other words in this same

writing, that characteristic must never be neglected. It must here be remarked that in the same hand the writing of a given letter may give a difference accordingly as it is written in the signature of that person or in a writing other than his signature.

With these differences in the habit of making the strokes, forms of letters, and other characteristics herein noted, it is quite impossible to repress the understanding from looking for the explanation of those noted differences. The only plausible rule at this point is never to neglect these marked differences. It is yet premature to speculate a theory to explain them. Let us investigate some more.

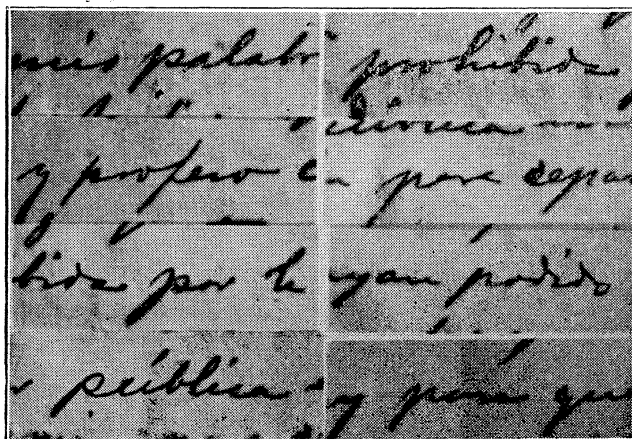


Fig. VI. Variations in the forms of the initial letter "p" found in the retraction.

SIGNATURE.—We have now come to the most important phase of our analysis, the signature of the document in question. An examination of this signature under magnification, as in Figure XIX, to avoid much straining of the eye, although the same is also visible in the ordinary reproduction, shows that the return up-stroke of the lower loop of the "z" in "Rizal" was not a continuously-made line but broken at the point (see No. 6) when the upward stroke mentioned crossed the down-stroke from the body of the letter "z". A careful attention at this point of contact reveals that the pen in this upward stroke was lifted as soon as it reached this point of contact, otherwise, how did it happen that the same pen, if it were unlifted, could trace lines that were

not continuous? Look at the illustration from below such that the line of sight is following the direction of this up-stroke of the "z", following the arrow A, and it will be very evident that this upward stroke was not only not broken, *i.e.*, bent at the point of contact, but that where the lower lines ended was not exactly the place where the upper line began, which is just another way of saying that there was a pen-lift at this point. Why the pen would have been lifted at this point, we shall try to explain after having examined further the character of this signature. An attentioned scrutiny of this same signature will reveal to us these, besides: That the connection strokes between the "R" and "i" (No. 4), between the latter and "z" (No. 5) were angular, while in that of "Jose" in the same signature the connections were round. It further reveals that the connection stroke between the "a" and the "l" in "Rizal" (No. 7) was a horizontally extended stroke before it inclined upwardly to the "l". This observation can be verified even in the ordinary reproduction only.

In comparison with the three fully written and two partially written genuine signatures illustrated in Figure XX, we observe the following points:

1. That in the signatures of Rizal to his farewell to his mother and the letter to Andrade the connection strokes between "R" and "i", between the latter and "z" were also a little angular like the characteristic observed above in the signature of the disputed retraction. But they were not just alike. They likewise differed in these further characteristics in connection with the same angular connection. While these two genuine signatures of Rizal were angular in those connections yet the former of the pair of letters between which existed the angular connections ended in an almost straight line downward. Thus the "R" and the "i" of both signatures ended in a straight downward stroke, while the lower terminal stroke of "R" in the retraction was not straight but beginning to manifest a little curvature to the right (see No. 3, Fig. XIX). In the case of the other genuine signatures of Rizal, the connections produced were round and not angular. This difference is not simply an angular connection as against a round one. That the noted connection in the retraction should be angular despite the tendency to manifest a curve can only be explained by pen stops as clearly noted upon the examination of the *facsimile* of the enlarged signature.

2. That in none of the five standard signatures of Rizal was the "z" so elaborately made as that of the "z" of the retraction, thus giving the appearance of elaborate signature in the case of the latter, while the five signatures gave the impression of careless abandon. In this connection also we must repeat the fact that the upward stroke from the lower loop of "z" was not a continuously-made line as could be supposed in an habitual writing, but a broken one at the point (No. 6) of cross-contact with the down-stroke from its body. It was not only a broken line but that they were two lines unconnected, though attempt has been made to make them appear one, made only when the pen was lifted at the point indicated and then coming to it again it was moved to make them appear apparently continuous. If we shall turn our attention to the character of the shading in the "J", we shall find that the "J" of the retraction (No. 1) was very finely shaded, gradually increasing at the beginning and likewise decreasing at the end of the downward stroke, while the shading in the three signatures lacked this additional characteristic. This adds to the elaboration and skill of the penman of the retraction. The shading of the staff of "R" (No. 2), however, was quite compatible with the corresponding part in the standard signatures.

3. That in the five signatures that serve as our standards, the pen after finishing the "a" in "Rizal" made a little curve and curvingly inclined upwardly to produce the staff of "l" without further delay. In the corresponding part of the signature of the retraction, we find that the pen wandered to the right in a horizontal plane (No. 7) and then inclined upwardly to produce the staff of "l" after making an extended horizontal connection. This only shows a wandering tendency in the case of the retraction but was absent in the genuine signatures.

4. That the shading of the "l" in the five standard signatures began when the pen was making the downward stroke of the staff of the "l" which was only natural when the nibs of the pen faced downwardly, while in the retraction the shading began even at the right side of the loop of "l" (No. 8) which was only possible when the pen nibs faced the left. The shading was extraordinarily bold too. That the shading thenceforth should be uniform, as could be seen in the illustration, was possible only by slowly rotating the pen in such a way that the plane of the pen nibs was always facing the direction of movement while also maintaining uniform pressure, or else, this shading was not a pressure shading

but a “drawing shading” found only in cases of forgery, except when the habit of the person was to draw his signature rather than to write it, or that the pen used was not a nib pen but a stub pen, which was not the one here used.

5. As a consequence of the immediate inclination of the stroke after making the “a” in “Rizal”, as above noted in the genuine signatures, the down-stroke in “l” met this upward stroke at a point above the base line as could be verified in the five signatures. In the signature of the retraction, however, the downward stroke crossed the horizontally wandering stroke on the base line rather than above it (No. 9).

6. That in proportion the signatures related to one another in the manner computed in the table below¹⁶:

Ratio	Bracken's	Mother's	Andrade's	Average	Retraction's
$\frac{L}{s. l.}$	11.98	12.42	12.14	12.18	14.23
$\frac{L}{s. s. l.}$	15.27	17.49	15.77	16.18	26.30
$\frac{L}{c. l.}$	4.24	3.33	2.66	3.41	3.22
$\frac{L}{l. l.}$	7.77	7.23	7.35	7.45	6.64
$\frac{L}{\text{"l"}}$	7.22	7.73	7.21	7.39	8.8
$\frac{L}{\text{"z"}}$	8.424	6.8	7.49	7.57	5.33

The three standard signatures were pretty constant in their various values differing but slightly. The deviation of the individual signatures from the average value was quite small, so that the standards were reliable standards. But the deviation of the

16. The abbreviations under the column “Ratio” mean:

$\frac{L}{s.l.}$	=	$\frac{\text{length}}{\text{small letters}}$;	$\frac{L}{s.s.l.}$	=	$\frac{\text{length}}{\text{short small letters}}$
$\frac{L}{c.l.}$	=	$\frac{\text{length}}{\text{capital letters}}$;	$\frac{L}{l.l.}$	=	$\frac{\text{length}}{\text{long letters}}$
$\frac{L}{\text{"l"}}$	=	$\frac{\text{length}}{\text{letter "l"}}$;	$\frac{L}{\text{"z"}}$	=	$\frac{\text{length}}{\text{letter "z"}}$

Adios, Patria adorada, region del sol querida,
Perla del mar de Oriente, nuestro perdido Eden!
Adarte voy abego la triste mustia vida,
Y fuera más brillante, más fresca, más florida
Tambien por ti la diera, la diera por tu bien.

En campos de batalla, luchando con deliro
Otro te dan sus vidas sin dudas, sin pesar,
El sitio nada importa, ciprés, laurel o lino,
Cadalso o campo abierto, combate o cruel martirio,
Lo mismo es si lo piden la patria y el hogar.

Yo muero cuando ves que el cielo se colora.
Y al fin anuncia el día tras lóbrego capuz;
Si gozara necesitas para tener tu aurora,
Vierte la sangre mía, derrámala en buen hora
Y dónale un reflejo de su nasiente luz

Mis sueños cuando apenas muchacho adolescente,
Mis sueños cuando joven ya lleno de vigor,
Fueron el verte un día, joya del mar de oriente;
Secos los negros ojos, alta la tersa frente,
Sin ceño, sin arrugas, sin manchas de rubor.

Encuentro de mi vida, mi ardiente vivo anhelo,
Salud, te quita el alma que pronto va a partir!
Salud! ah que es hermoso caer por darte vuelo,
Morir por darte vida morir bajo tu cielo,
Y en tu encantada tierra la eternidad dormir.

Si sobre mi sepulcro vieras botar un día
Entre la espesa yerba sencilla, humilde flor,
Acércala a tus labios y besa al alma mía,
Y sienta yo en mi frente bajo la tumba fría,
De tu ternura el soplo, de tu hábito el calor.

Deja a la luna verme con luz tranquila y suave;
Deja que el alba euvre su resplandor fugaz,
Deja gemir al viento con su murmullo grave,

Fig. VII. The poem of Dr. Jose Rizal, posthumously entitled "Ultimo Adios", found in the "alcohol stove" that the Martyr gave to his sister Trinidad Rizal.

disputed signature from this average is quite big. Our figures give us the fact that in the disputed signature the length of the signature, measured from the staff of "J" in "Jose" to the end of "l" in "Rizal" on the base line of the signature in proportion to the average height of small letters, is greater than the corresponding ratio of the three signatures, the former giving a value of 14.23 as against the latter average value of 12.18. The same length in proportion to the average height of the short small letters—minus the "l" and the "z"—is much longer in the retraction than the corresponding ratio in the three signatures, the former giving a value of 26.3 as against the average value of 16.18. This means that the signature of the disputed retraction was more proportionally extended than the three constant signatures. The same length in proportion to the average height of capital letters gave fair values with negligible differences. The same length in proportion to the average height of both "l" and "z" gave the ratio of 6.64 in the retraction lower than any of the corresponding ratio in the other three signatures having an average of 7.45. This means that in proportion, the "l" and "z" of the retraction were longer than the respective letters of the three signatures. With the "l" alone, as the figures show, the retraction gave a higher value than the other figures, which means that the "l" of the retraction was shorter in proportion than the "l" of the other signatures. In proportion with the "z", the value for the retraction was smaller than any value of the corresponding ratio of the other signatures. This means that the "z" of the retraction was longer than the "z" of the other signatures.

That the value obtained in the computation of the ratios of certain values of the signature of the retraction gave us a wider difference in comparing them with the average values of the three standards than the relative difference of the three individual signatures from their average value, except only in the ratio of the length to the average height of capital letters, cannot be overlooked in this attempt to determine the character of this document of retraction.

That the signature of the retraction was more extended than the three signatures is the interpretation we can legitimately draw from our computations. That this was so, is explained by the fact that if the writer of the signature of the retraction was only copying, his attempt to put into his copy every visible characteristic of the original he was copying would make his writing

extended in their connection strokes thus making the signature proportionately extended. Hagan, an expert in handwriting, puts it more strikingly in this quotation¹⁷:

“...and still another characteristic of forged signatures that are not traced from a genuine signature is that they are written with greater length in proportion to the width and height of the letters than occurs in the genuine signatures from which they are copied in imitation. This want of proportion occurs generally from making the lines connecting the letters of the signatures longer than those of the copy.”

It is also to be noted that the ratio obtained when we computed the length in proportion to capital letters and long letters was not very much different from the standard value. This is explained again by the fact that the simulator's eyes could easily detect the want of proportion in the case of those letters since they were big in size proportionally but not so when the letters were quite small, as was evident from our figures. That the “z” of the retraction was longer in proportion than those of the other three signatures is explained by the fact that it was written out in full, which was not found even in the formal letter of Rizal to Andrade, his defender.

7. That the five signatures should agree in shading the downstroke finish of the “R” in “Rizal” as is evident in the illustration, while the corresponding part in the retraction signature (No. 3) is left unshaded, despite the heavy shading in other parts that were overemphasized, is another point that sustains the conclusion that the retraction signature was not genuine. This discrepancy is an evidence that the habits of writing these signatures were not the same. While the five signatures were written by the same habit of shading, the retraction signature was written by another habit, although it simulated and even overemphasized the other manifestations of shading.

The points of differences between the standard signatures together, on one hand, and the signatures of the retraction, on the other, are not just differences. The (1) perception of unnatural stops in the retraction but absent in the genuine signatures, (2) the presence of elaborate attempt in the writing of letters in the retraction and also the elaborate writing out fully of the “z” unlike

¹⁷ Treatise on Disputed Handwriting, p. 92.

in the five standard signatures at the same time, (3) the wandering movement in the retraction as evidence by the connection between "a" and "l", (4) the overemphasized shading of the "l" of the retraction signatures which was very unnaturally done, and absent from any of the standards, (5) the foreign habit of making the "l" intersection in "Rizal" of the retraction not found in the genuine signatures, (6) the greater extension of the signature of the retraction in proportion to the uniform length of the standard signatures, (7) the absence of the characteristic shading of the down-stroke of the "R" in the retraction but consistently present in the genuine signatures are all traits of simulated forgery as regards this production of the signature of the document in question. In interpreting these points of differences, we have discovered, between the retraction, on one hand and the standard signatures, which agreed with each other very faithfully, on the other, we must not be unmindful of the fact that the characteristics possessed in common by our standard signatures are not simple coincidence merely, but resemblances whose evidential weight is very aptly put by Mr. Charles Reade thus¹⁸:

"I speak within bounds when I say that a genuine double coincidence, proved beyond doubt, is not twice, but two hundred times, as strong, as one coincidence, and that a genuine treble coincidence is many thousand times as strong as one such coincidence. But when we get a five-fold coincidence, real and proved, it is a million to one against all these honest circumstances having combined to deceive us"

It follows therefore that our standard signatures which possessed those characteristics in common as against the retraction signature without them make *real materials* for our painstaking comparison.

The unnatural stops as well as the pen lifts, especially in the "z", as noted above in the retraction, could only occur when the writer was not writing continuously and this is explained by the fact that the writer was a forger for the forger had to stop at those indicated places in order to determine the form of the succeeding letter or to inspect the result already made. In the words of Albert S. Osborn, a questioned document examiner, it is clearly explained¹⁹:

¹⁸ "The Doctrine of Coincidence", a supplementary volume to his "Readiana" as quoted by Albert S. Osborn, op. cit. p. 232.

¹⁹ Op. cit. p. 130.

“As ordinarily produced, they— simulated and traced forgeries—also both require frequent slowing up of the motion or actual stops to look at the copy or inspect the result or to change the position of the hand.”

In the two Helen Huellen disputed signatures²⁰, the stops and pen lifts were among the noted points in the expert testimony of Albert D. Osborn, document examiner of new York, that returned a verdict that the two signatures were not genuine from a jury after sitting for ten minutes only.

The elaborate attempt that shows a skilful penmanship in the questioned document much more than in any of the standards is a point too important in this question. In the opinion of the United States Supreme Court in *Sharon vs. Hill*, 26 Fed. 337 (1885)²¹:

“ . . . and besides, and over and above all these particulars, there is a difference in the general effect and appearance of the signatures that is more readily felt than expressed . . . The disputed signature is evidently the work of a skilful penman . . . I very much doubt if he (Sharon) could write such a signature as the one in the declaration . . . ”

This amounts to the statement that skill in the questioned writing as compared with the standard is evidence of forgery. But of course this evidence is directly proportional to the amount of skill of the disputed document over the standard signature. In the case at hand, the more carefully elaborate character of the retraction over the standard signature is very evident upon comparison, hence the opinion of the Honorable Court cited above has its timely application. I do not say that Rizal could not write such a skilful signature, for he might if he would, but what I do insist upon is the fact that in his signatures we used as our standards, he did not write a skilful signature similar to the one in question. This is the fact and no amount of “he could . . .” or “he might . . .” or “he would . . .” could controvert it. Of course it does not alone carry the burden of the decision upon the question.

The horizontally wandering movement and the misplaced intersection of the down-stroke of the “l” in the retraction, not found in the standard signatures, are very well paralleled reversely in the once famous “Gordon Will Case”, involving some seven to ten

²⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 283.

²¹ Cited in Albert S. Osborn’s *op. cit.* p. 895.

million dollars, in 1892, in New York, as described in the words of William E. Hagan, a handwriting expert in that city²²:

“In the genuine Gordon writing, from the terminal ‘n’ a broad curve extends downwardly to the right, and therefrom in lineal projection curves upwardly to be finished by a down-stroke of the pen forming a loop; the down-stroke of the pen thus actuated crossing the bottom curve near its vertical center at the base-line and in close proximity to the bodypart of the letter ‘n’ while in the disputed signature there is extended from the letter ‘n’ a nearly straight line inclining upwardly to the right, and the heavily shaded down-stroke at a point horizontally in line with the top of the ‘n’ instead of at the bottom, as in the genuine signatures of Gordon when formally written; thus making this terminal in a manner that was compatible with the writing of the simulator, but very different in form from its production when written by Gordon’s habit.”

I say that they were parallel only in the reverse way, because what stood for the simulation in the case cited was the genuine in the case at hand, and what stood for the former’s genuine standard was the simulation in the latter. But at any rate, the cardinal point here evident is the difference in the writing habits in the compared signatures.

The difference in the position of the pen, as determined from the shading in the writing, between our standards and the retraction was also paralleled in the famous “Rice-Patrick Will Case”, an “Attempt to Secure the More than Six Million Dollar Estate That Founded the Celebrated Rice Institute of Houston, Texas”, where the position of the pen was determined by the lateral shading in the disputed will²³. The heavy shading of the “l” in the retraction was a manipulation of the pen from the lateral shading at the top of the loop of “l” to the down-stroke shading.

The greater extension of the retraction signature in comparison with the standard signatures is another evidence of forgery having a parallel precedent case. In the above cited signatures of Helen Huellen receiving a verdict of their being forged, the two large size was one of the six points that carried that verdict²⁴.

²² Op. cit. p. 263, (see note 17).

²³ Albert S. Osborn’s op. cit. pp. 122, 131, 330-331.

²⁴ Loc. cit.

¿Falso que yo fuera el ~~instigador~~ ^{instigador} del ~~Masón~~
~~conspirador~~ que no lo comprendo cómo pudo yo
 haber convocado a los individuos que se permitieron en la casa
 de Orzjuegos cuando yo no conozco a la Mayor parte de
 ellos, ni conocía al Sr. Orzjuegos. Convocar a personas que
 no conozco en casa de otra que tampoco conozco? Es raro
 Pedro Serrano y Finestilo Paz fueron a buscarme en
 Butacañ ^{el otro día} sin haberles y invitado, cuando viajé en ferrocarril.
Masonería
 Es falso que haya yo dado órdenes a Pedro Serrano para
 introducir la Masonería en Filipinas. Serrano tenía más
 grados que yo en la Mas.; y no pasé del grado 3º; mientras
 que Serrano tenía 30 ó 33, y esto se prueba por la carta
 que después él me dirigió estando yo en Hong Kong, carta
 que acompaña a la Causa, en que él me nombra
 Venecable como un gran cosa. Si yo era el jefe, cuando
 un oficial se permite llevar la categoría de mi Capitán
 general? Era carta prueba lo falso de la asercion.
 Además Serrano y yo nos separamos en Europa bastante
 enemistados. Me marché de Madrid el Enero 5
 Febrero de 1891 y desde entonces dejé de escribir y tomar
 parte en la política de la Solidaridad y me di de tuya en la Causa
 Es falso también que yo fundara la Asociación hispano-
 filipina: esta existe mucho antes que fuera a Madrid.
 Igualmente respecto a la Solidaridad; esta la fundó
 Marcelo H. del Pilar, y siempre fué dirigida por
 él. = La que fundó en Madrid no tenía más objeto
 que moralizar a los filipinos, obligarles a ir a
 clase, no contraer deudas, etc. Y cuando yo quise
 fiscalizar los actos de la Solidaridad, Marcelo H.
 del Pilar se opuso, como así lo confirma una de
 sus cartas que acompañan el proceso. Esto prueba
 que la parte política no ha estado nunca sometida
 a mi dirección. Ahora que usaran de mi nombre para
 Estre las declaraciones sus fines, y para embucar a
 incautos, esto no lo podía impedir.

Fig. VIII. The "Defensa" which Dr. Rizal wrote for the use of his defender,
 Don Luis Taviel de Andrade. The date of this document
 is December 12, 1896.

This examination and analytic comparison of the signatures alone are sufficient to render a verdict that the retraction signature was a forgery. And when the signature was forged, then the retraction as a document is a forgery, for it is now claimed to have been written and signed by a person who never signed it, since the signature was not his own signature, though the name was his. If this conclusion is wrong, then certainly, Rizal in signing this retraction must have studied and copied his own name signed by another, as if he was copying another's name.

INTERNAL EVIDENCE

What evidence could we yet find in the document itself to show characteristics of forgery? Let us refer to Figure XXI, where we have the reproduction of the lower portion of the retraction. Translated, it reads:

Jose Rizal

The Chief of the Picket

The Adjutant of the Plaza

Juan del Fresno

Eloy Maure

The signature of Jose Rizal was supposed to have been written by Rizal, himself, and the signatures of the witnesses with their corresponding titles above their names were supposed to be written by each individual witness, himself.

Let us now observe closely these writings of the witnesses. What do we find? Observe that each witness was writing with equal economy of strokes at the end of each word. Look at the "l" of "El", "e" of "Jefe", "l" of "del", and "e" of "Piquete" of Juan del Fresno and compare this observed economy with that of "l" in "El", "e" of "ayudante", "a" of "Plaza" of Eloy Maure. Do we not find that both these writers were very economical in their last strokes? They were not just economical but that their economy was almost identical. And yet in the signature of Fresno we find the most extravagant strokes in the curve lines he wrote over his name and with Maure the last heavy stroke, marked "5", seemed to be out of harmony with this observed economy of strokes. Let us not be particular about the disharmony between economy and extravagance in these strokes, because it is really true that everybody is not always consistent and methodical, especially in writing, and besides, that was the custom of the time. But let us here note that the presence of almost the same

amount of economy in those two hands in this instance of witnessing the same document is really very important, now that we are determining the character of this document. Compare such economy of strokes with the economy in the body of the retraction (Fig. I) and the identity is surprising. The words "esta", first line, "de", third line, "he" and "mi", fifth line, "de", sixth line, "ella" and "mi", seventh line, "ella", eighth line, "que" and "de", ninth line, "la", tenth line, etc. are in point. How can we explain this identity in economy of strokes? By mere chance coincidence?

Next, we observe rather closely the angularity of connection between letters in the words of each witness. What do we find? Do they not have the same angularity of letter connections? If we will inspect further the connection strokes in the body of the retraction above, we shall find out that they are all surprisingly similar in having angular connections. Indeed, the sameness in angularity of those connections are facts that we cannot here neglect.

Let us then inspect the ellipticity of the strokes as far as there are elliptical strokes. Compare the upward stroke of "J" in "Jose", marked No. 1, with the upward stroke in the extravagant curves over the signature of Fresno, marked No. 2. Observe that they were both upward strokes. Look at this illustration with the line of sight almost parallel to the plane of the page and follow the direction of the arrow A, while looking at these upward strokes Nos. 1 and 2. Do we not find them almost parallel to one another? Does this not indicate the sameness in ellipticity?

Let us now shift our line of sight, this time following arrow B, while constantly looking at the downward strokes in the body of "J" in "Juan", No. 3, and the downward stroke from the "l" in "Rizal", No. 4, and again we here find almost the same parallel lines even in the direction of their double curvatures. With these things before our very eyes, can we ever afford to neglect them in our analytical study of this document?

Again look at the downward stroke of this "l" of "Rizal", No. 4, and compare the shading here with that of another downward stroke after the signature of Maure, marked No. 5. What do we see? Do they not appear to be almost of equal width? And when we seek their explanation, what do we find but that they were produced by almost the same weight of pen-pressure. What

hands could produce almost the same pen-pressure, where the rest of the writings of one of them, *i.e.*, of Maure, were almost without shading? Surely, it was only one hand that produced these two instances.

When we try to examine the form of "l" in "plaza" written by Maure and the "l's" of "del" and "El" of Fresno, do we not find the same form, that is, the upward stroke on the right of the loop of "l" was curving upwardly to the left and then from the apex it came right straight down? How do we explain the identity of form of the same letter in these writings of two supposed witnesses?

Look at the writings of the two supposed witnesses. Do they not show the same tendency to go "down hill" as they are written? It seems quite, nay, very strange that both of the witnesses, who were supposed to be different persons, should write in almost exactly the same tendency of going down in the alignment of their writings, short as they were, in the same document. What great, hence improbable force must have been acting upon them to have them write in that same tendency? I could not conceive of that force acting upon *two persons* to make them behave in similar manner. It follows, therefore, that they were *two persons* is very improbable, though possible but reduced to its remotest degree bordering upon impossibility. The only simple, most probable, and very evident explanation for this marked similarity is the fact that *only one person* wrote *these writings* claimed to have been done by *two persons*. Is there anything strange in finding the same tendency manifested by the same hand, especially in the writings done in almost the same instant? No, nothing! The only thing strange here is the fact that the forger forgot to vary his ways of committing this forgery. But even in this there is nothing strange since the forger is a human being devoid of omniscience, besides the fact that "truth wills out" and "crime leaves a track behind its course."

Again we ask, is there anything in the body of the retraction that had similarity in the writings of the supposed witnesses? Let us refer to Figure XXI again. Look at the "d", minus its extravagant loops and curves, of "ayudante" and compare it with the "d's" in "conducta" at the beginning of the fifth line from the top of the retraction, of "habido" in the same line, the final "d's" of "sociedad" and "prohibida" at the tenth line, and the two

“d’s” of “podido” at the end of the fourteenth line. Do we not also find, at least in form, similarity of “d’s”?

Now look at the “f” in “Jefe” of Fresno’s writing and compare it with the “f’s” in “profeso” in line seven, and “manifestacion” in line thirteen, and we shall find the same form and the same stroke in the connection towards the next letter. This connection stroke is the little curve from the staff of “f” to the following letter. What do these indicate?

The “q” in “Piquete” written by Fresno and the “q’s” in “eduqué”, in line two, and many other “q’s” in the body of the retraction as can be verified by observation indeed show a great affinity to one another, except in the upward stroke to connect with the following letter. This also must not be neglected.

The crossing of the “t’s” in “Piquete” and “ayudante” with the concavity facing downward, is very similar to the “t” crossings in the retraction above them, especially that of “catolico” in the first line, “conducta” in the fifth line, “Catolica” in the sixth line, “someto” in the seventh line, “Eclesiastica” in the twelfth line, “actos” in the fourteenth line, etc. That two or three hands shall produce such concavity in crossing “t’s” is really very surprising.

Could we afford to neglect here the fact that the “r” of “Fresno” and the “r” of “Maure” are almost the same in form and in the manner of production as the “r’s” in the body of the retraction? Again, is it not but logical to observe that the “a” of “Plaza” written by Maure was produced in the same manner as the “a’s”, say, in “catolico” and “esta”, first line, and many others in the body of the retraction?

Another fact that must not here be forgotten is the slant of the supposed writings of three different persons. In the accompanying diagram, Figure XXII, we have the graphs of their respective slants. We here find that the slant of Maure’s writing and the signature of Jose Rizal are almost the same, and there is affinity between the slants of the signatures of Maure and Fresno.

Are not all these points evidence that this document is a one-man document? If not, how shall we explain the sameness in economy of finishing strokes, ellipticity, angularity of connections, forms of many letters, even width of shaded and pressed strokes, in tendency to go down in the alignment, and even slant? To

argue that all these are just *chance coincidence*²⁵ is indeed an unbelievable chance, which is beyond mathematical possibility in a case of *three hands and in only one instance*. There might be such chance coincidence of one instance in a thousand times or probably more, but not so in only *one instance out of one instance* and among *three hands*. Chance coincidence here is not only improbable but impossible. With these facts before our eyes, let me draw your attention to the already cited "Gordon Will Case" as described by William E. Hagan in his afore-mentioned book. It reads²⁶:

"With the forged signature of Gordon to the alleged will, and the pretended signatures appended to it as witnesses, arranged in close proximity, . . . the general appearance of the writings seems to be the same in all of them. There is manifested the *same slant, ellipticity of curves, the same measure of pen pressure*; and when the *habitually written parts of the signatures* as to form are dissected out and compared with each other and the writing of Henry G. Adams (the forger) in the body of the pretended will, the *likeness becomes very strong in delineation.*"

This is only to cite precedence which was determined to be identical by the characteristics which we now find to be the case with the document we are now considering. Add to this the criterion of interpreting coincidence, as well said by Reade, that in ". . . a five-fold coincidence, real and proved, it is a million to one against these honest circumstances having combined to deceive us . . ." ²⁷

Is it strange that this forgery was done by one hand? No, for the above case, the "Hunter Will" case, described by the same author, and many other cases are cases of one-man forgery. This is only too natural, for if there be any forgery and more man than one will be involved, and in the case such as ours now no visible financial return was forthcoming for it was not a will, then it is only imprudent to employ more mouths and hands than one person's to be witness to the act, hence only one was responsible. To determine the forger is beyond my ability and intention and at present I have absolutely no positive knowledge.

Shall we reason out that because the forger is not apprehended or even determined that therefore there is no forgery? That is an *argumentum non sequitur*. I do not wish to commit such blunder!

²⁵ See notes 18 and 27.

²⁶ Op cit. p. 275.

²⁷ See note 18.

CONCLUSION

Now we ask candidly before we close this chapter on handwriting, "Do we not have more than sufficient evidence from mute facts to prove that this retraction is not genuine but really a forgery?" How about the difference in the forms of letters, slants, habits of writings, distinct characteristics in the signatures between the genuine writings on one hand and the retraction on the other, and the closed affinity between the writings supposed to be done by different persons in the same document? What do they mean? How should they be interpreted?

To quote Osborn again²⁸:

"Qualified scientific writers on the subject recognize this distinction between human testimony and fact evidence and practically agree that a sufficient combination of inanimate facts or circumstances comes *nearest to demonstration of any kind of proof*. It is of course, essential in this proof that the *facts actually exist*; that they are *sufficient in number* and that they *permit of but one interpretation*."

Have we not demonstrated factually in this chapter that our facts actually exist, that they are more than sufficient in number, and that they all mean just one interpretation, and that is, that the retraction is not genuine? Then does not the combination of these inanimate facts come nearest to the demonstration of our proof that the retraction is a forgery? Our facts have but one answer, *i.e.*, the retraction is not genuine, hence a forgery!

²⁸ Op. cit. p. 9.

CHAPTER IV

TEXTUAL CRITICISM COMPARATIVE CRITICISM

Fortunately enough, this question of retraction has been a big problem, long before discussed by laymen and clericals alike. In 1897, this question has been treated in a book "La Masonización de Filipinas" with the subtitle, "Rizal y Su Obra" written by an unknown author. In 1909, thirteen years after the alleged execution of the original document and perhaps due to the provocations of his contemporary skeptics, Father Pio Pi, the head of the Jesuits at the time of the event under consideration, treated this subject in his pamphlet, "La Muerte Cristiana del Doctor Rizal". In one of the footnotes, he observed²⁹:

"The retraction, written entirely by the hand of Rizal and signed by him and two senior Officers, was handed to the Archbishop, Nozaleda, a copy of which remained with the Jesuits."

This they knew by "proper knowledge"—*ciencia propia*³⁰, which perhaps is better understood by a more literal translation into "their own way of knowing". Elsewhere³¹ in the same work, while dealing with the comparison of the circumstances attending the writing of the "Ultimo Adios" and the retraction which we shall touch shortly, he intentionally wrote:

"The text of the retraction is perfectly uniform in all the copies that have been published, except some minimum variations, which does not affect the sense, and which is naturally explained by (faults of) telegraphic transmission and typographical reproduction."

For the material proof of the first part of this quotation we shall here reproduce the versions of the fathers. Father Pi states³²:

"Me declaro católico y en esta religión, *en que nací y me eduqué*, (sic) quiero vivir y morir.

"Me retracto de todo corazón de cuanto en mis palabras, escritos, impresos y conducta ha habido contrario á

29 Op. cit. Ed. 1909, p. 10; Piñana, G., "Murió el Doctor Rizal Cristianamente?", 1920, p. 115.

30 Idem.

31 Op. cit. p. 13.

32 Op. cit. p. 36.

mi calidad de hijo de la Iglesia. Creo y profeso cuanto ella enseña, y me someto á cuanto ella manda. Abomino de la Masonería, (como sociedad reprobada por la Iglesia) *como enemiga que es de la Iglesia y como sociedad prohibida por la misma Iglesia* (sic).

“Puede el Prelado Diocesano, *como autoridad superior eclesiástica* (sic) hacer pública esta manifestación, *espontánea mía* (sic), para reparar el escándalo que mis actos hayan podido causar; y para que Dios y los hombres me perdonen.

“Manila 26 (sic) de Diciembre de 1896—Jose Rizal
El Jefe del piquete Juan del Fresno
El Ayudante de plaza Eloy Maure”

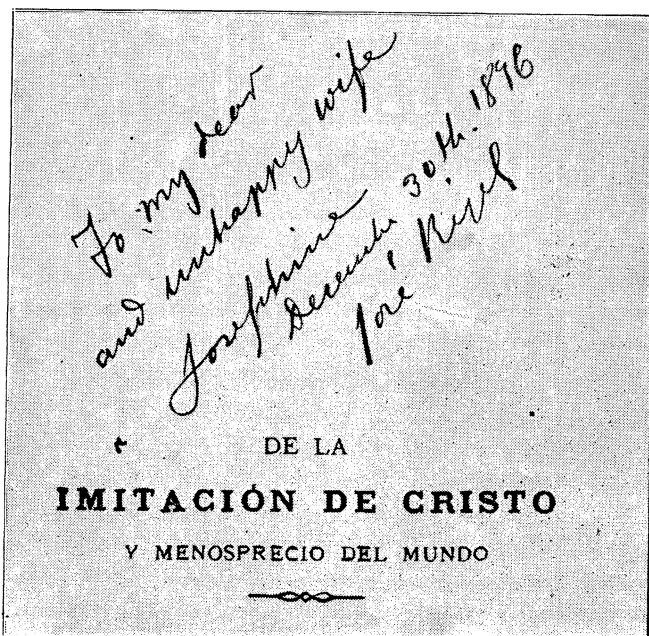


Fig. IX. The small book given to his wife, Josephine Bracken on the morning of Dr. Rizal's execution.

Father Balaguer, the priest who administered the retraction to Rizal, states³³:

³³ Notarial declaration of the said priest before D. Jose Soriano Cano, Aug. 8, 1917, cited in Piñana, G., op. cit., p. 155.

“The text copied literally from the original says:

‘Me declaro católico y en esta religión en que nací y me eduqué quiero vivir y morir. Me retracto de todo corazón de cuanto en mis palabras, escritos, impresos y conducta ha habido contrario a mi calidad de hijo de la Iglesia. Creo y profeso cuanto ella enseña; y me someto a cuanto ella manda. Abomino de la Masonería como enemiga que es de la Iglesia y como Sociedad prohibida por la misma Iglesia. Puede el Prelado diocesano, como Autoridad superior eclesiástica, hacer pública esta manifestación espontánea mía, para reparar el escándalo que mis actos hayan podido causar, y para que Dios y los hombres me perdonen. Manila 29 de Diciembre de 1896: Jose Rizal.’”

The versions of Archbishop Nozaleda³⁴, then Archbishop of Manila, and that of “Rizal y Su Obra”³⁵ are verbally the same as the above immediately preceding. It may be of interest to note that this version in 1897, scarcely a year after the event, did not mention the two witnesses who were supposed to have signed the document, while that version of Father Pio Pi in 1909 made mention of them.

The above four examples of faithful copies of the original document are pretty alike in textual wordings, except minor variations of punctuation and capitalization, which are pardonable only if the texts were *copied from memory* but certainly not when they were claimed to be *literal copies* of the same original. Nevertheless, we can make some allowance for typographical errors, thus giving grounds for the fear of Father Pi in our earlier quotation.

A glance back at our Figure I, a reproduction, not merely a type-written copy or a verbal copy put into writing of the original document discovered at the Archbishop's Archives, will convince us of glaring differences. We will overlook the differences in punctuation, capitalization, spelling, which certainly are not minor if we are to be analytically critical, for there are more important differences to deal with. The word—the big word—“Católica” after “Iglesia” in the phrase “hijo de la Iglesia Católica” of the disputed document (Fig. I) did not appear in all of the *bona fide* copies cited. So also did the word—the emphatic word—“misma” before “Iglesia” in the phrase “prohibida por la misma

³⁴ Ibid, p. 127.

³⁵ Reprinted in Retana, W., Archivo del Bibliófilo Filipino, Vol. IV, pp. 97-174

Iglesia" in the *bona fide* copies, not appear in the disputed document as could be verified in Figure I. That these four copies agreed in one and the same omission of the word "Católica" and also in one and the same commission of the word "misma", both words altering the emphasis in meaning, hence the sense of the text, proves conclusively that the four *bona fide* copies were faithfully copied from one and the same original, and furthermore, that this original from which these copies were made appears (now) certainly different from this disputed document recently discovered. Otherwise, *how can anyone explain the irreconcilable discrepancies?* If it were only a case of omission as in the first fault, it might be negligible, but as it is, there was also commission, so that the matter becomes too serious to be neglected. I am not here saying that there were two originals, one, the present retraction, and the other, the retraction which they copied; but what I doubt is there identity having in view the discrepancies noted above. The view that they are identical has, first of all, to explain satisfactorily the cause of these discrepancies. To deny the discrepancies is unpardonable since that would imply poor eye sight and mal-observation, defects that are to be avoided in the analysis of questioned documents. Besides, it would be sheer narrow mindedness! Of course, I do not deny that there were two formulae³⁶ prepared, one by the Archbishop, the other by the Jesuits' Superior, Father Pio Pi, but the discrepancies above noted are found, not in those formulae which surely also differed in texts, but *between the supposed original and the disputed document newly discovered.*

The formula prepared by Father Pi reads³⁷:

"Me declaro católico y en esta religión quiero vivir y morir. Me retracto de todo corazón de cuanto en mis palabras, escritos, impresos y conducta ha habido contrario a mi calidad de hijo de la Iglesia. Créo y profeso cuanto ella enseña y me someto a cuanto ella manda. Abomino de la Masonería, como Sociedad reprobada por la Iglesia. Puede el Prelado diocesano hacer pública esta manifestación para reparar el escándalo que mis actos hayan podido causar, y para que Dios y los hombres me perdonen. Manila 29 de Diciembre de 1896."

This formula, prepared by Father Pi, being simpler and shorter than the one prepared by the Archbishop, was admitted to be

³⁶ Piñana, G., op. cit. p. 112.

³⁷ Ibid., p. 113.

the model or pattern, in fact it was admittedly dictated to Rizal, for the actual retraction which just contained some insertions of modifying phrases as confessed by Father Vicente Balaguer³⁸, the priest who administered the retraction. The formula of the Archbishop was longer and more detailed, but which we could not now verify as no publication heretofore was made of it that I know.

INTERNAL CRITICISM

I should like to apply some literary criticisms to the document in question in order to find out whether its veracity is really established in every point. In this connection, what we must attempt to determine is whether what the text says is true to facts or not. This is the one test that every critic should not forget.

The retraction reads:

“Me declaro católico y en esta Religión en que nací y me eduqué quiero vivir y morir.

“Me retracto de todo corazón de cuanto en mis palabras, escritos, impresos y conducta ha habido contrario á mi cualidad de hijo de la Iglesia Católica. Creo y profeso cuanto ella enseña y me someto á cuanto ella manda. Abomino de la Masonería, como enemiga que es de la Iglesia, y como sociedad prohibida por la Iglesia. Puede el Prelado Diocesano, como Autoridad Superior Eclesiástica hacer pública esta manifestación espontánea mia para reparar el escándalo que mis actos hayan podido causar y para que Dios y los hombres me perdonen.

“Manila 29 de Diciembre de 1896

JOSE RIZAL

El Jefe del Piquete
JUAN DEL FRESNO

El ayudante de Plaza
ELOY MAURE”

If we recall the formula of this retraction as prepared by Father Pio Pi, we shall find that they differ only in some inserted phrases. I shall here quote the statement of this Rev. Father³⁹:

“They (priests) dictated him (Rizal): ‘I declare myself a Catholic and in this religion I wish to live and die,’ and

³⁸ Ibid pp. 149-162.

³⁹ Op. cit. p. 35.

after the word 'religion' he (Rizal) added, 'in which I was born and educated' and commenting upon the addition he said, 'because it is evident that in Spain, I was lost!'"

On this point Father Balaguer, the priest administering the retraction, makes a different observation as to why Rizal added such phrase. To wit⁴⁰:

"Dr. Rizal said to me, 'Add (and he was already writing after the word *religion*) in which I was born and educated', as he wanted that his Catholic education should be made evident . . ."

A mi muy anciana madre
 Sr. D. Teodora Alonso
 a las 6 de la mañana del
 30 de Diciembre 1896
 José Rizal

Fig. X. The Doctor's farewell addressed to his aged mother, Dña. Teodora Alonso, on the morning of his execution.

It follows evidently from these quotations that Dr. Rizal was the author of such phrase. We shall overlook the little discrepancy between the observations of the two priests on the comment of Rizal in inserting this phrase. We must now determine whether such phrase "in which I was born and educated" was true factually or whether in the life of the Doctor there were many facts that should controvert such phrase. It is true that Dr. Rizal was born in the Catholic Church, as almost all of the Filipinos were, at that time, born in it. Retana, the biographer of Dr. Rizal, said on this point⁴¹:

⁴⁰ Piñana, G., op. cit. p. 154.

⁴¹ El Renacimiento, special edition, December 29, 1908, Year VIII, No. 96.

“Rizal was reared in Catholicism, in the same manner that, during the Spanish domination in the Philippines, all of his countrymen, were reared. He was a Catholic because he had to be so necessarily, seeing that in his country, above the fact that no other tolerated cults existed, free-thinking was not admitted in any manner. He was therefore a Catholic because he could not, nor ought he to be anything but a Catholic. And he was so, besides, for the the reason, which nobody is ignorant of, that he was a personal friend of the Jesuit Fathers. He was so until the year 1882 when he went to Spain.”

Well, it was indeed true that Rizal was born a Catholic and was for some time a Catholic, *but not simply a Catholic, nor even in any manner that many of us are reared as Catholics today*, because the time element which is very essential in this question cannot here be ignored. Until 1882, he was born and educated in the Catholic Church as a matter of *necessary course*, and he was twenty-three years old then. His Catholic education therefore was inculcated in him from his infancy till about the end of his adolescence. After 1882, when he arrived at Spain, he felt differently. In the words of Retana⁴²:

“In Spain, the Filipino Catholic (Rizal), hardly breathing the atmosphere of real liberty of free Europe, feels that his spirit evolves, and immediately his reason makes him separate resolutely from the religion that until adolescence he had *necessarily* (sic) professed. Rizal in Europe did not confess, never heard mass, nor did he cultivate the association with any Jesuit father. He was a fugitive from Catholicism, *not through indifference*, like many others, for having their spirit fallen into a state of lethargy in which all religious sentiment remains mortified. Rizal separated from Catholicism *because he considered that it is in every point incompatible with Science*; a profound conviction, the *fruit of the study of Philosophy without hindrances*, he resolutely arrived upon free investigation, though like a rationalist that he was, having an orientation about the radical protestantism, principally that of Strauss, which begins by denying the divinity of Jesus, the virginity of Mary, and many other dogmas of the Roman Catholic Church. And the most admirable is that *this devious one*, this superior spirit who through conviction shook off the ideas that they (priests) inculcated in him from childhood till adolescence, *had at bottom a profound religiousness* even to the extreme that there hardly exists a writing of his in which he would not intrust all to the Justice of God.

⁴² Idem.

“In 1887 Rizal returned to his country. He visited the Jesuits, his former professors, and before whom he did not hide that he did not profess anymore the miracle-monger Religion which they had taught him; a declaration that cost Rizal the closing of the doors of the Ignatian houses to him. Rizal returned to Europe, and secured his religious convictions in every point contrary to Catholicism. And he returned once more to the Philippines, and in this occasion, we see him for four years in Dapitan, exiled without abdicating his ideas. From the middle of 1892, till the middle of 1896, Fathers Pastells, Oback, and Francisco Sanchez did everything humanly possible to *convert* (sic) Rizal; and Rizal, from day to day, discussing with them in writing and in speech, maintained his contention. Rizal in Dapitan never went to mass, Rizal did not confess, Rizal did not do the most trifling demonstration that would be indication that he might have changed. . . .”

In short, Rizal for fourteen years was educated in an atmosphere different from that of Catholicism. And this was in the *best years of his life when he achieved the greatest and most of his works*. Against this training, his childhood and adolescence were spent under the tutelage of the priests but that was during the time of *minority* when an individual was scarcely responsible for all his acts. Besides, this training was *not voluntary* on his part but *of necessity*, due to the condition of the time and circumstances, the Philippines then was under Spain and Spain was a Catholic imperialist, whereas his education abroad after his adolescence was all voluntary on his part, for it was he who wanted to go outside the Philippines then.

From the mouth of Rizal, himself, we shall hear the manner in which he was educated. In his first letter to Father Pablo Pastells, dated September 1, 1892, he said:

“Regarding self-love, I confess candidly that for a long time I have earnestly asked God to deprive me of it, but He who knows better what is good for us has conserved it in me. I now understand that a man ought never to be deprived of this sentiment, although he ought never to exaggerate it. I have for me that self-love is the greatest good that God has given to man for his perfection and purity, saving him from many base and ignoble acts, when the precepts learned or inculcated are not remembered. Precisely for me, self-love when it is not passionate is dignified, like the sap that impels the plant towards the top in search for the sun, the force that launches the boat in its course, which the judgment ought to moderate. For

me, man is the master-piece of creation, perfect within his conditions, that it is not possible to deprive him of any of his components, both in the moral and the physical, without disfiguring him and making him miserable. I do not know how you will take these perhaps very independent ideas of mine, but I am so, *I have been educated so*, and I would do you an offense if upon writing you I would lack the sincerity. I do not believe that pride dictates them to me, neither do I know whether I am proud or not, only God who cannot err in his judgment could say so."

This was the manner in which Rizal was educated, the manner which he was proud to own even to the Father with whom he was in correspondence. It was really a shock for the Fathers to know that despite their many years of influence upon him, still Rizal would say that as such he was educated. This independent spirit of Rizal, the manner of his education, was really and still is in opposition to the Catholic spirit. What a shock upon the pride of Catholic education!

Could we now truly say that Rizal was born and educated in the Catholic religion? Yes, we could, if we should forget the RIZAL who travelled abroad, the RIZAL who stirred the hornet's nest when he wrote his novels, when he came back to his country, and when he opened the eyes of his people, the RIZAL who discussed with the priests about the Catholic doctrines, the RIZAL who was educated in independent ideas as opposed to dogmatic Catholicism, in other words, the RIZAL that was great, the RIZAL who was our NATIONAL HERO. That he was "educated in the Catholic religion" was factually true, if we are talking of and referring to Rizal, the young and adolescent student, this young man that remained and died like a young man only, which was not true to Rizal's life. But if we are talking of and referring to Rizal who left Catholicism fourteen years before his execution in 1896 and was educated in the free atmosphere of the civilized world, it follows that such a phrase was not true to facts, facts that could not now be altered, unless we want to invent bedtime stories and not record events. I just wonder if Rizal forgot his own life history, principally the best years of his life, at the time that he was said to be writing *that phrase* which he inserted voluntarily. Because it was not the truth and we could not expect Rizal to write something that was not true, I cannot believe that Rizal inserted that phrase.

It may be argued, as Father Balaguer observed, that the phrase was inserted by Rizal, for he wanted to make evident his Catholic education. But what for? So that God may know it? How absurd! Or, so that the retraction should easily be believed by any one who knows the life history of Rizal? How childish! Or just to insert that phrase so that the retraction would appear to be in Rizal's style, for as Father Balaguer said, Rizal wanted to write the retraction in his own style so that all people may not disbelieve it? How gratuitous! It really seemed so childish, that to take the retraction as genuine, we would all believe that the Rizal who made it was the child, the adolescent member of the Marian Congregation, as the Fathers would like him to appear in this conversion and retraction affair⁴³. For that matter, I could not believe that the Filipino People could be duped to take their MARTYR AND HERO *for such an irresponsible child!*

Upon arriving at the subject of Masonry, the Father dictated the formula⁴⁴, "I abominate Masonry, as a society disapproved by the Church," which Rizal hesitated to accept for some reasons. Let us see what the Father said about the reaction of Rizal on this point. To wit⁴⁵:

"It seemed to him that the Sect (Masonry) was not intrinsically bad, although, as he believed, many masons might be bad; that those whom he dealt with in London, where he had been affiliated were decent persons; that Masonry in the Philippines was not opposed to Catholicism, and that to many masons of low grades (of which Rizal seems not to have passed) (sic), no act that would imply apostasy of the Catholic Religion is exacted

"Father Balaguer proposed to him to change some words in this form: 'I abominate Masonry, as an enemy of the Church and prohibited by the same'; and he agreed finally, although there is very little difference between one and the other mode of expressing the thought."

This episode of the writing of the retraction was really so funny. Rizal objected to the phrase, "as a society disapproved by the Church" but agreed to write the phrase "as an enemy of the Church and prohibited by the same." Is that not funny and childish? This is like "leaping from the frying pan into the fire." The

43 Fr. Pio Pl, op. cit. pp. 36-37.

44 Ibid., p. 35.

45 Idem.

substituted phrase is worse to the position of the prisoner, he being a Mason until that time, but better for the position of the Church, the interested party that gained in this transaction. What, did not Rizal object to the first phrase, because *it seemed to him that Masonry was not intrinsically bad, although there were many bad masons, for those he dealt with in London were decent persons, that the Masonry in the Philippines was not an enemy of Catholicism and that no act that manifested apostasy to the Roman Catholic Church was exacted from the members of low grade?* And yet he agreed to write that Masonry was an "enemy of the Church" which is the exact opposite of the reason he gave as an objection to the first phrase, and "prohibited by the same" and not merely disapproved by the Church. It was rightly commented by Father Pio Pi that "there is very little difference between one and the other mode of expressing the thought." Yes, indeed, there was very little change if we are thinking of the possible loss of the Church, in conceding to the change; on the contrary, what a monstrous gain it was for the Church to effect such a change! From *being disapproved to being an enemy and a prohibited society by the Church*, was that not a great change? What change could have been greater? Poor Rizal, he lost his wit when he was made to write this part of the retraction! Poor innocent child that he was, for not knowing the value and import of the change in words! BUT NO, the real RIZAL that he always was, he could not appear so childish and ignorant as that, a toy in the hands of the priests! It is enough that the great majority of our *early Filipinos* were duped in the change of words, but not this MAN, this real FILIPINO, this immortal MARTYR! The facts defeat the assertions regarding this phrase. Let the modern Filipinos no longer be duped like the ancients.

They next came upon the question of making public this manifestation. "Father Balaguer continued dictating: 'The Diocesan Prelate can make public this manifestation.' Rizal wanted to add after the word 'Diocesan Prelate' these: 'as the highest ecclesiastical authority.'"⁴⁶ Here, it seems that the fathers themselves, principally Father Pio Pi, who wrote the formula, forgot that the Diocesan Prelate was the *highest ecclesiastical authority*. It appears therefore that of the Church affair, Rizal had one point over the fathers who assisted him in this questioned event. We shall not question whether the Diocesan Prelate (The Archbishop)

46 *Idem.*

is the highest Ecclesiastical Authority, for that is strictly the Church affair. What I do not comprehend in this is that the Fathers who were, as always, the zealous guardians of the *integrity* and *authority* of the *Church dignitaries*, would forget to put that qualifying phrase "as the Highest Ecclesiastical Authority" and that *it would take a Rizal*, who was not himself a priest, *to remind them* of it! This is too glaringly simple and too religious to be true!

The last phrase that Rizal was said to have wished to add was the word "spontaneous" to qualify the word "manifestation". The narrator continues⁴⁷:

"And better disposed for the moments and even bragging generously of the liberty and sincerity (which some in vain pledge to deny), the word 'manifestation' being written, he (Rizal) wanted to add 'spontaneous and voluntary', saying with liveliness, 'because, Father, you know me and learn that I do not wish to make a comedy: If I would not feel what I sign neither you nor anybody could succeed to make me sign it.' 'Well,' said the father, 'just put spontaneous'."

What a *spontaneous thing* all this *dictation* really was! The formula was dictated, the prisoner was supposed to write and so he *did*, as was supposed, but not a word was changed except in the case of "disapproved" which was changed to something much graver and in fact, many things, said to have come voluntarily from the prisoner, were added. But what an addition! Does this seem really spontaneous? If by *spontaneous we mean something* characterized by impulsive action, regardless of whether impossible or not, or contradictory or not, irresponsible or thoughtful, or true or false, then this really sounds *too spontaneous* as we have already seen above. But if by *spontaneous* we mean a *voluntary action without force or intervention*, then *it must first be shown that this retraction was really done by Rizal and done in such a free manner* (but it was dictated?) which we have shown in the previous and present chapters not to be so, but the contrary.

As far as we can verify by textual criticism there are things that are faulty in the very text of the document itself and in what it purports to be. We cannot be too blind to ignore this point so vital to our present task.

⁴⁷ Ibid., pp. 35-36.

CHAPTER V

BY WAY OF DISPROOFS

That we may not be charged with incompleteness and partiality in analyzing this case of Dr. Rizal's conversion, we shall here deal with evidence that shall disprove their improbable claim. This is done, so that it could be said in the end of our wearisome search for the truth that we not only *proved* our conclusion but also *disproved* by facts the hypothesis contrary to it.

Let me here call to witness the sister of Dr. Rizal, Miss Trinidad Rizal, to testify not as to the genuineness of Dr. Rizal's writing, for that is not the proper scientific procedure, but as to the facts and events that happened in relation to the questioned conversion of her brother. Let it be said here with the candidness of the researcher for truth that Miss Trinidad Rizal does not belong to any sectarian organization, as she herself claims, so that she has no interest to serve but the truth of what happened to her brother. If there must be a characteristic to be possessed by a truthful or what is to be a truthful witness, that characteristic must be the *non-partisanship*, which is undoubtedly undeniable with our star witness. It is not enough that someone saw the event, it is imperatively necessary that she must tell it without prejudice or color, except that due to the inevitable fact that the testimony must be put in human language. This statement, however, does not apply to every member of the Rizal family, for many of them belong to the Church, except only when they say something against the interest of their party.

I have in my possession statements of Miss Trinidad Rizal, done in the form of cross examination concerning the event in question, signed last August 17 of the present year, in the presence of Mr. Guillermo Tolentino as a witness. It must not be supposed, in the least, that this statement of Miss Trinidad Rizal is made just now, for Mr. Hermenegildo Cruz had already secured the same to which he referred in his articles in *La Vanguardia*, January 3, 1913. I shall quote what that writer said about this testimony:

“If Miss Trinidad Rizal did not make such statements before it was because there was no sufficient motive for it. And that she makes it today (1913), in view of the offence inflicted by the Jesuits and Friars upon the sacred memory

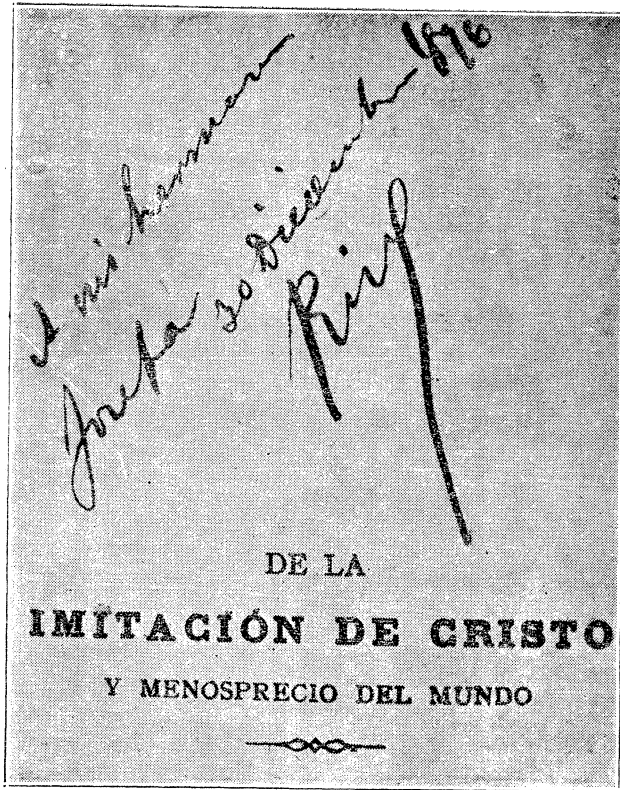


Fig. XI. The "Imitacion de Cristo" as a remembrance to his sister, Josefa Rizal, on the morning of his execution.

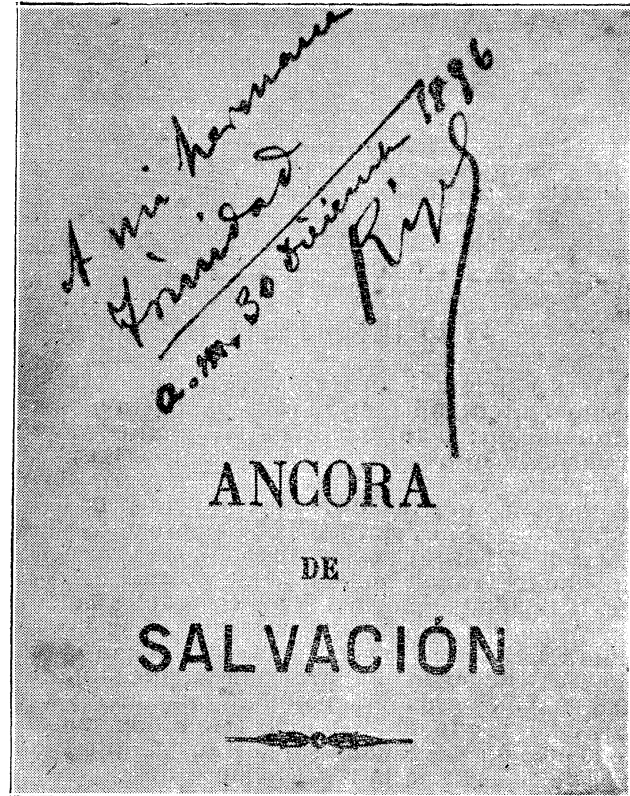


Fig XII. The "Ancora de Salvacion" given as a remembrance to his sister, Trinidad Rizal, on the morning of his execution.

of the Martyr proves that nothing had moved her but her love for truth."

I shall here quote the questions and answers as translated to English⁴⁸:

- "Q. When did you see your brother last?
 A. I saw him in the Chapel on December 29, 1896, between seven and eight o'clock in the evening.
 Q. In your talk that evening, did your brother ever mention of his intention to return to Catholicism and

48 The statements were done in Tagalog which I am here reproducing *verbatim*:

- "T. Kailan po ang huli ninyong pagkikita ng inyong kapatid?
 S. Noong a 29 ng Diciembre, pagitan ng a las siete at a las ocho ng gabi sa Capilla.
 T. Sa inyong paguusap, nabangit po ba niya sa inyo ang tangká niyang pagbabalik sa Catolicismo at ang tangkang pakasal kay Josephina sa simbahan?
 S. Wala, walang anoman pang nabangit sa akin tungkol sa dalawang bagay na iyan.
 T. Ano po ang inyong huling napagusapan sa Capilla?
 S. Naitanong niya sa akin, 'Bakit ka umiiyak?' Naisagot ko ay, 'Mangyari ay papatayin ka na nila. Nagiisa ka ay napakarami ng kalaban mo.' Naitugon niya, 'Bayaan mo na, sapagka't hindi pababayaang ng Dios na malaglag ang isang dahon nang hindi niya kaloob. Ako naman ay hindi mamamatay, mamamahinga lamang ako. Ako'y pagod na, ako'y nagiisa't wala akong katulong.'
 T. Mayroon pa ba kayong masasabi sa amin?
 S. Noong a 26 ng Diciembre, unang pagdalaw ko, ay sinabi niya sa akin, 'Hihingin mo ang bangkay ko kung ako'y patay na. Sa aking sapatos ay mayroong kayong makukuha sa loob.' Nguni't dala ng malaking kapanganiban ng pagkuha ng sapatos niya ay hindi namin nagawa ang kanyang bilin. Hindi ipinagkaloob man lamang sa amin ang bangkay.
 T. May nabangit po ba sa inyo ang mga fraile, samantalang buhay pa ang inyong kapatid, tungkol sa retractacion?
 S. Noong buhay pa't na sa Capilla ang aking kapatid ay hindi man lamang nabangit sa akin ang pagretracta ng aking kapatid. Noon nga lamang na mamatay na siya at saka nabangit ang tungkol sa retractacion.
 T. Ano po ang masasabi ninyo tungkol sa retractacion noong mga panahong iyon na kamamatay lamang ng kapatid ninyo?
 S. Sa ikasiam na araw na pagkamatay niya, ay naghandog ng isang misa tungkol sa kaluluwa ng aking kapatid. Pagkatapos na makasimba kami sa maraming misa at papaalis na, ay nilapitan kami ng isang lego, na nagsabi, 'Hindi pa po iyan ang 'misa de oficio' para sa inyong kapatid. Samantalang ginagawa ang misa ay kinukuha naman ang retractacion sa Orzobispado, kaya't antayin na ninyo.' Kami ay nagantay nguni't natapos ang misa at lahat, ay wala man lamang naipakita sa amin kahit na ano. Mula noon ay hindi man lamang nakita ang retractacion na iyan. Baki't ngayon ay saka lilitaw iyan?
 T. Ano po naman ang masasabi ninyo sa retractacion?
 S. Walang katotohanan ang bagay na iyan, sa aking kurokuro. Iyan ay panglilinlang lamang at pagupasala pati sa isang patay na walang magagawa na.

Upang maalaman ng lahat ang katotohanan ay nilagdaan ko ang bawa't isang sipi ng kasulatang ito ngayong á 17 ng Agosto, 1935, a las 3:30, p.m.

(Fmd.) Trinidad Rizal"

- desire to marry Josephine in the Catholic Church?
- A. Nothing, there was nothing mentioned to me about these two things.
- Q. What was your last talk in the Chapel about?
- A. He asked me 'Why do you cry?' I replied, 'Because they are now going to kill you. You are alone and your enemies are too many.' But he retorted, 'Let it be so, for God does not allow a leaf to fall without His Will. I am already tired, for I am alone without helpers.'
- Q. What else can you tell us?
- A. On the 26th of December, the first time I visited him, he said, 'Ask for my corpse when I am dead already. In my shoes you shall find something.' But because of the great risk of getting his shoes, we were not able to carry out his wish. They did not even give us the corpse.
- Q. Had the friars mentioned to you, while your brother was yet alive, anything about the retraction?
- A. When he was yet alive and in the Chapel, nothing was mentioned to me about his retraction. It was only when he was already dead that mention was made about the retraction.
- Q. What do you know about the retraction after your brother was dead?
- A. At the ninth day after his death, there was a mass said for the soul of my brother. After we had already heard many masses and were about to go home, a layman came to us and said, 'That was not yet the mass of offering for your brother. While the mass is being performed the retraction is to be secured from the Archbishop's Palace, so you better wait.' We waited, but the mass and all were finished, and yet there was nothing shown to us. From then on, that retraction was not even seen. But why would it come out now?
- Q. What can you now say about the retraction?
- A. That (the retraction discovered) has no truth, in my opinion. That is only a trick and an insult even to a dead man that cannot do anything anymore."

Such is the interview that the present writer obtained voluntarily from Miss Trinidad Rizal. The fact that Rizal had not mentioned to his own sister his intention or desire to retract so also to be married with Josephine at the hour between seven and eight on the eve of his execution shows that at that time Rizal was firm in his rationalistic principles. And yet, Father Visa made a notarial statement to the effect that "at six o'clock in the morning

(of Dec. 29, 1896) he went with Father Saderra y Mata, then Rector of the Ateneo, to Fort Santiago, with the object of offering spiritual service to Doctor Jose Rizal. When they arrived, the death sentence was being read, hence they waited outside. Then the Chaplain of the Artillery of the Fort came, and told them that Doctor Rizal courteously requested the Judge to send for the Jesuit fathers, his old professors . . ."⁴⁹ And Dr. Rizal sent for Fathers Visa and Saderra y Mata because he (Rizal) "before (his) death *wanted to be married*, complying with the word he gave to Josephine, with whom he had lived", says Father Pio Pi⁵⁰. And Sr. Mataix, the Madrid correspondent then in Manila, claimed to have talked with Rizal, before the poor defendant entered the chapel⁵¹ when the latter manifested to the former his desire for marriage with his lover—Josephine Bracken—in *articulo mortis*, notwithstanding, the claims of Retana that Mataix obtained entrance that morning to the chapel where he found Rizal very quiet and normal⁵².

It seems very strange that Rizal, since the early morning of the 29th of December, would express to *anyone* his desire to be married to Josephine and yet, in the evening of the same day, he did not even mention such intention and desire to his very sister to whom he could confide his secrets. As I say, this is all very strange! But considering the fact that all those people, who claimed that Rizal desired to be married, belonged to the Catholic Church, that all of them, thereafter, claimed that Dr. Rizal was actually married hence he retracted, that all of them had some interest to serve, then we could easily see our way through such strangeness! To make matters easy to believe, *they had to make Rizal desire marriage*, but that is quite another story altogether.

Again, the fact that the friars did not even mention the retraction to Rizal's sister while the doctor was yet alive, that is, between seven and eight o'clock in the evening, although they had been endeavoring to make the prisoner retract since six o'clock of that morning is again a strange fact. Couple with it the fact that when the doctor was already dead and the supposed retraction must have already been consummated, and also the fact that they had promised to show it to the unfortunate family of the deceased, but they did not show anything then till almost thirty nine years

49 G. Piñana, op. cit. pp. 105-106.

50 Op. cit. p. 30.

51 Retana, W., Archivo del Bibliófilo Filipino, Vol. IV, No. 96, p. 68.

52 Vida y Escritos del Dr. Rizal, p. 417.

thereafter, on the pretext of "providential" misplacement, the strangeness becomes miraculous, and hence unbelievable. *Unbelievable*, because the miracle is *man-made*, superstitiously attributed to Providence!

Let us here mention another fact. "The day before (on December 28), about dusk, the Archbishop had sent his secretary to the author (Father Pio Pi) of this story, in order to advise our priests (the Jesuits) of the spiritual assistance of the prisoner, an instruction which he reiterated the following morning to Fr. Francisco Javier Simo, present at the palace when His Illustrious Excellency received the news that Rizal was in the Chapel."⁵³ A more frank way of putting it is found in the already cited "Rizal y Su Obra". It reads⁵⁴:

"Upon knowing that Rizal had been condemned to death, the Archbishop told the Reverend Father Francisco Javier Simo, of the Society of Jesus, who was in the palace to advise the Fathers to assist him (Rizal)"

We shall overlook the apparent discrepancy in the narration and shall note their points of agreement. So by the Catholic priests' own testimony we know that the Archbishop sent the priests to attend to Rizal, only on the 29th of December of 1896, the date when the irrevocable "sentence of death" was communicated to Rizal. The sentence, however, was pronounced by the Council of War on the 26th day of December⁵⁵. But Dr. Rizal was imprisoned in Fort Santiago since the 3rd of November⁵⁶. Now we ask for further clarification. "Why did the Archbishop send the priest to Rizal for his spiritual assistance only on the 29th day of December of 1896? Yes, why? Was it because, previous to that day, the Doctor was not yet condemned to death, that was why he did not need spiritual assistance for the same is only for those who are to die but not for those who are to live? How ridiculous! What have they been doing before that day? Or is it our business to ask that question now? It is only because we are interested to know whether they were really interested to give him spiritual assistance. If they were interested in the soul of the man, why did they not send the spiritual assistance between

⁵³ Op. cit. p. 29.

⁵⁴ Chap. XVII, p. 31.

⁵⁵ Retana, W., *Vida y Escritos del Dr. Rizal*, pp. 408-409.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 354.

the first day of his imprisonment and the 26th day of December, a span of almost two months? Or was it necessary that the order should come from the Archbishop before they could voluntarily assist *this particular prisoner*? Why would all of them be interested and even pretend to offer themselves to be executed in the place of Rizal (recall Father Balaguer's offer to Rizal⁵⁷) *on that day* when Rizal had already signed the *death sentence*, as previously required? What motive, selfish or charitable, had they in offering their assistance, nay, in covetously endeavoring to have Rizal make the retraction on the day before his execution and not immediately after his imprisonment or even before the *death sentence* was pronounced on him? WHY?

If we may venture an answer to all these questions and at this point we can sufficiently see the apparent motive behind such *concerted actions* of the fathers, we can say these: They must not attempt to convert Rizal before the death sentence was made known to Rizal (between November 3 and December 26, an ample time for a man to reconsider and make amends to any error, *if he would so regard his own life work*) because, the Master Minds or Mind, whoever he was I do not know, of the WHOLE ACTION was afraid that Dr. Rizal *might retract* and having retracted the only wrong or error for which he was condemned and to be executed, despite the claims to the contrary which are only moonshine, the defence might *use that retraction* as a plea for the absolution from the penalty incurred upon such error, although the retraction would be a virtual admission of guilt, thus strengthening the madness of his enemies to insanity. But as Henry W. Bray confessed, "One of the hangmen, that is, one of those who formed a part of the court martial, told me that *they had to condemn Rizal (to death) by superior orders*"⁵⁸, because as Dr. Rizal himself said among his last words, "My Pride (self-love and private judgment that he wrote about and affirmed against any dogmatism to Father Pastells, the pride which impelled him to write his novels, and novels that earned him enemies), Father, has brought me here (execution),"⁵⁹ which words point clearly to

57 Piñana, G., op. cit. pp. 153; Here is the exact statement of Fr. Balaguer: "Consider yourself very sincerely and believe that if giving our blood and life would procure your salvation, at this moment we would give them offering ourselves to be executed in your place."

58 Blumentritt, Ferdinand, "Rizal y Las Razas" with annotation of J. P. Bantug. Revista Filipina de Medicina y Farmacia, June 1926, Vol. XX, No. 6; note 13

59 Fr. Pio Pi, op. cit. p. 43.

the *cause* of that *order of the superiors*. Therefore, his enemies could not risk an opportunity for Dr. Rizal to get out of their trap, though a double-door trap, it really was. *They must have him dead, but before he dies they must also have him sign a retraction, hence the priests had to go and offer spiritual assistance at a time after his condemnation to death but before his execution.* What date was more fitting but the 29th of December, just the *very day* when and *at the hour* after the death sentence was communicated to Rizal but a day before his murder⁶⁰? I could not conceive of a better and more probable hypothesis to fit the facts.

Let us note another fact. From our source we read⁶¹:

“The fathers retired, for Father Saderra found something delicate . . . Then Father Antonio Rosell went to be with the prisoner for a short while, but he came back badly impressed. . . . Neither did Father Faura find where to subjugate that spirit yet rebellious to the solicitation of faith, so much so, that the Father retired sorrowfully affected, advising him not to repel the calls of God . . . In the afternoon Rizal was also assisted for a short while by Fathers Villaclara and Estanislao March; the latter had been known by the young student (Rizal) years before in the Ateneo (while the former was a former Professor of Rizal). Neither did a great thing advance then by the zeal of these fathers.”

To make a long story short, Rizal was convinced and converted finally by Father Vicente Balaguer. But who was Father Balaguer? He was a missionary to Dapitan, where he knew Rizal⁶². So it is made very apparent that Rizal was converted not by his professors but by a missionary, whom he knew while he was exiled to Dapitan. But why? In this narration, we are led to think that the supposed conversion *was not merely for complacency to the professors* because *these professors were not the ones who converted him*, aside from the expressed quotation supposed to have been said by Rizal on this point. Why did the narrator avoid making the professors the ones to convert Rizal? Because, the *public, knowing who Rizal was, could not but discredit* the conversion as a spontaneous act, but merely a simple complacency to them, hence *even if genuine, the retraction would not be morally and religiously valid.* But Dr. Rizal must be converted and the retraction must

⁶⁰ The word is suggested from Unamuno's in Retana, op. cit. p. 491.

⁶¹ Fr. Pio Pi, op. cit. pp. 31-32.

⁶² Testimony of Fr. Vicente Balaguer in Piñana, G., op. cit. p. 150.

not appear to be a mere complacency to the professors, hence the narration had it that Dr. Rizal was converted by a missionary and not by his former teachers. This is a very ingenious plot. This scene avoids, it is true, the color and prejudice that the people might impute and are now imputing upon the story. But we ask, "If the former professors, for whom Dr. Rizal had much regards and respects, as Father Balaguer himself admits⁶³, and who were the mentors of the unfortunate prisoner while he was still a student in the Ateneo, could not convince and convert Rizal, how could the missionary convince and even defeat (as Father Balaguer proudly brags⁶⁴) Rizal?" An appeal to the miraculous is itself too miraculous and cannot here help us. This affair is only too human and let us not mention the name of God in vain. No, the story is innocently told, but it unawaresly commits many blunders. Avoiding the alternative that the public might take the conversion as a mere complacency to the professors, hence discreditable, the narration turns to be more improbable by committing a great blunder, hence it is not true. "Father, pardon, them, for they know not what they do."

Do they claim that Rizal was canonically married? Where is the record of such marriage? We are here asking exactly the same question as was asked about the retraction before the latter was discovered. It was claimed that: "The record of marriage has been stated to be in Manila Cathedral, but it is not there..."⁶⁵ says Craig. Besides, "also the sister, Lucia, who was said to have been the witness of the marriage is not positive that it occurred having only seen the priest at the altar with his vestment,"⁶⁶ and that "she (Lucia) did not see any act resembling the nuptial ceremonies. Neither did she see Rizal kneel before Josephine (and she (Lucia) did not stay away from the latter as she might faint) neither did these two (her brother and Josephine) give out their hands, acts that are required in the ceremony of marriage, neither did she see any of the two sign any document."⁶⁷ Is it now argued in defense, as Father Pi once employed such argument, that the absence of the record now does not annul any act of which it is the record? Of course, generally speaking

63 Idem.

64 Ibid., p. 153.

65 Op. cit. p. 243.

66 Idem.

67 Article of Mr. Hermenegildo Cruz in *La Vanguardia*, third installment, Jan. 6, 1913.

it does not, but when the question is proving the previous act by its record and the record cannot now be found, perhaps because there is none, is that not a fact that negatives the claim that there was once the record or that the previous act once happened? There are two alternatives at the absence of the record of marriage: either there was no previous act (marriage) of which there must naturally be no record now, so that to look for it (record) is like looking for a black cat in a dark room where it is not, or there was the act without record, which is very highly improbable, knowing, as we do, that such act as marriage must always have a record. But the record cannot now be found. It must therefore be explained whether or not there was such a marriage. When the event of marriage is the one questioned, it cannot be simply assumed to have been. Begging the question is not a profitable weapon, except for the charlatans and the fanatics. But we cannot afford to be either, in this age of enlightenment.

What are the facts concerning Rizal's death that disprove the claim of the Church? In the first place what was the Cemetery of Paco? Was it a Catholic Cemetery? According to Montero y Vidal's "Historia de Filipinas" it was founded and built by the municipal council in 1820⁶⁸. We next ask, "Were all the persons buried in that cemetery given canonical burial?" Mr. Hermenegildo Cruz in the second of the aforementioned series of articles in *La Vanguardia* had answered this question categorically by citing facts. Examining the "Books of Burial" bearing the title "For Adults—Old book of the years 1887 to 1899 of Paco Cemetery, he found that "on page 203, appear the following annotations: 'Month of February of 1887. Don Juan Pericas was buried *in unconsecrated ground of this Cemetery* by the order of the Vicar of Manila, according to the definitive decree of the office of the Vicar of February 10, 1887—(Sgd.) Adriano Zafra.'" Therefore it follows that, because a man is buried in this Cemetery *he is not at once understood to have been buried canonically*. In other words, his burial in this Cemetery is not at once a proof of his canonical burial simply.

We shall here simply ask why the Martyr was buried outside the inner circular wall, the ground inside which was used for internment, and on the ground at the place where the priest martyrs of 1872 were buried according to Craig⁶⁹? Why was

68 Vol. II, p. 457.

69 Op. cit. p. 202.

he also buried without the coffin prepared for him? We shall reserve the full discussion of this point in a later chapter⁷⁰.

And regarding the record of his death, what do we find as circumstantial evidence? I shall here reproduce the findings of Mr. Hermenegildo Cruz:

“The annotation in the said book corresponding to the *month of December of 1896* (sic) are fifteen and they occupy a good part of page 147. The last entry of the said month of December of 1896 corresponds to the 29 of the same month and it says:

‘29th day, Quiapo—Parcel. 12—4—D. Genaro Chirapazo, Peninsular Spaniard, married, 32 years of age, native of Almidaca (?) province of Vizcaya, from the parish of Quiapo.....’

“Here end the annotations for the month of December, 1896. Then the annotations for the following year and month of January 1897 open thus:

29th Day, Dilao, Parcel 7, niche 6—Eulogio Velez, native, married, 25 years of age, native of Dilao, province of Manila, from the parish of the same.’

“On page 202 there is an annotation saying: ‘1st note: On the 30th of the month of September of 1897 (sic), was received in this general cemetery of Paco a service of the Judge of the First Instance of the District of Intramuros, by whom was ordered the deposit in the common ossarium of the said cemetery the mortal remains completely carbonized of Santiago Casas, to which was given immediate fulfilment.’”

On the following page, 203, as was already quoted, was found the annotation on the burial of Don Juan Pericas, who died of suicide, *the reason why he was not buried in sacred ground. On page 204 was found the annotation of Dr. Jose Rizal's burial!*

STRANGE, isn't it? That was why Mr. Cruz asked:

“Why was the annotation corresponding to the *ecclesiastical burial* (sic) of Rizal found in the last page of the book marked 204? Why was his burial not noted on page 147 (or thereabout) on which are found noted the corpses buried in the Cemetery of Paco, during that month of December of 1896? What was the motive? . . . To what is

⁷⁰ Since the purpose of the present chapter is to present evidence and questions rather than to argue this matter fully to its logical consequence, we deem it wise to refer the readers to a later chapter on “Some Clarifications” under the heading “Retana's Chain of Deduction” where this matter is more fully argued.
a

the fact that the annotation of the burial of Rizal was found in the *last page* (sic) of the book after a dead man completely carbonized (without having any chance to have confession) and a suicide due? Why was it not put after the annotation of the 29th day of December of 1896 (after which any burial on the 30th, if it is canonical, very logically enters) which is found on page 147?"

If we may attempt again a hypothesis after all the facts as to the place of burial, manner of burial, and records of burial of Doctor Rizal are fully appreciated and at this point we could say that we have done so, we can say that on December 30, 1896, the executed Martyr was not given ecclesiastical burial in fact. But finding that to claim him as having been given canonical interment was beneficial, they (I could not say who, for I do not know) thereafter that date claimed his ecclesiastical burial, and recently a document, *signed by the same parish priest who noted his burial among those not buried in sacred ground*, testifying that he (Rizal) was given Christian burial, was even discovered with the retractions. By whom and when was this *colossal idea* conceived and then claimed to have actually occurred, I do not know.

Again, we have here another fact. In a footnote of "El Renacimiento", December 29, 1908, the editorial staff wrote:

"Reliable persons inform us that they had gone to the Archive of the Archbishop's Palace in order to look for this document (retraction) and there they were told that it was not found. The Jesuits have failed to demonstrate it also."

And Father Pio Pi insisted in the footnote of his book that:

"In the Archbishop's Palace it seems that, although they (documents of retraction) were looked for, they have not been found."⁷¹

So therefore the document could not be found after their search in the Archives of the Archbishop. Such a very important document, why would it be lost or even misplaced then? And yet, where did they find this newly discovered one? "In the Archive of the Archbishop's Palace of Manila on May 18, 1935," says Father Manuel Gracia⁷², the discoverer. Now we inquire, "What happened to that document in 1908 or 1909 *when they*

⁷¹ Op. cit. p. 10.

⁷² *Cultura Social*, loc. cit.

were looking for it in the same place but could not find it there?" And in 1935, "when they were not looking for it", they found it in the *same Archives* of the Archbishop. What might have happened within these years between 1909 and 1935, a span of about 26 years? Where was this document all that time lying? Or was it in existence prior to that time? Or was it in the Archives prior to 1909? Let the readers form their own conclusion as to these questions.

These therefore are the facts that disprove the pretext that Dr. Jose Rizal was converted, that he retracted, that he was married canonically, that he was buried Christianly. They must all first be explained thoroughly and satisfactorily before we can accept the hypothesis that Dr. Jose Rizal returned to the fold of the Catholic Church before he was executed. This is not an easy job.

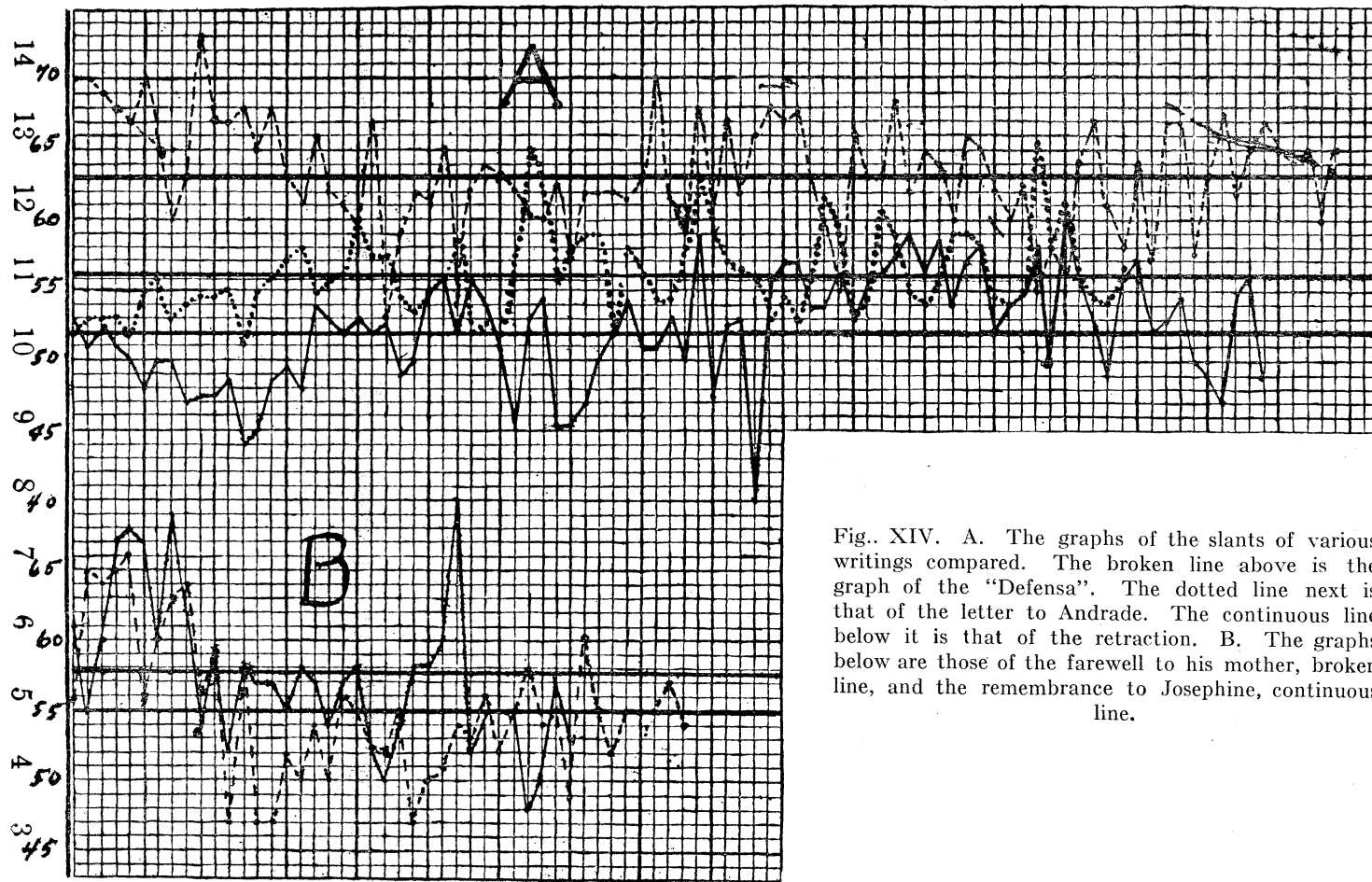


Fig.. XIV. A. The graphs of the slants of various writings compared. The broken line above is the graph of the "Defensa". The dotted line next is that of the letter to Andrade. The continuous line below it is that of the retraction. B. The graphs below are those of the farewell to his mother, broken line, and the remembrance to Josephine, continuous line.

CHAPTER VI

THE QUESTION OF HISTORICITY

Father Pio Pi, who was at the time of Rizal's last moments the Head of the Jesuits, referred to the question of historicity of Rizal's conversion in the title of the third chapter in his work "La Muerte Cristiana del Doctor Rizal". It reads:

"Those Who Deny the Conversion of Rizal
Deny an Unquestionable Historical Fact."⁷³

We clearly see here the point of historicity to be the subject in question, yet it was all the time assumed by the Father to be an established fact. The situation could be stated in this way: Some people doubt the historicity of Rizal's conversion, that is, they doubt if Rizal's conversion had actually taken place. To answer such a problem, the Father says that *since the conversion is a historical fact, therefore to deny conversion is to deny a historical fact*. We could clearly perceive even with slight effort that the father has not met the demand of the question "How is it proved that Rizal's conversion is a historical fact?" To justify further his claim in the title of the chapter, Father Pio Pi resorted to the appeal to the multitude, in such wise:

". . . but that there might be someone who in good faith denies together the apparent facts which constitute what we opportunely or inopportunely (we would not now discuss it) call the conversion of Rizal, for little that from him might be heard spoken, (and) if he is in his perfect judgment, it could not be admitted. No, *in the Philippines there is no adult person, knowing who Rizal was, who would not know that before death* (sincerely or not, which we repeat, we would not now discuss) *he (Rizal) was converted. And he who would deny this denies the light of the sun*. It could well be doubted if some other fact has occurred in the Philippines, which within and without the Islands would have obtained greater and more uniform publicity after its realization, and henceforth, more common assent."⁷⁴

I am just wondering now if these words prove or even justify the Father's stand on this question of historicity. I wish they would, but . . . The fact that nobody would not know the

⁷³ Op. cit. p. 10.

⁷⁴ Loc. cit.

D. D. Luis Favre de Andrade.

1

Mi muy distinguido Defensor:

El Sr. Juez Instructor me ha manifestado que mañana se vería mi causa ante el Plenario. Le he estado esperando esta mañana a V. para hablarle de un asunto importante pero sin duda sus ocupaciones no le permitieron venir como esperaba el Sr. Juez Instructor. Si V. tuviera tiempo disponible, desearía hablarle antes que me presente al Consejo; yo le agradecería mucho, esta tarde, esta noche ó mañana.

Desándole a V. felices Pascuas, me repito como siempre su más atento afmo R. S. y defendido

y b. s. m.
José Rizal

Fig. XIII. The letter to his defender, D. Luis Favre de Andrade, on Christmas day of 1896, five days before his execution. Reproduced from Retana, W., "Vida y Escritos del Dr. Rizal".

that it would do so, but to consider a supposed historical event and when so tested the event would satisfy the inquiring mind as to its authentic occurrence, then its historicity would have been well considered.

Secondly, we ask, "What are the possible sources of information as to the historicity of this event of Rizal's conversion?" First, we have the eye-witnesses of the event, such as the two officials who were supposed to have signed the document, the priests who assisted Rizal, then the historical documents recounting this questioned event, and now, the one circumstantial evidence, the lone survivor of that past event—the retraction. The most that these witnesses could do would be to testify. In the enlightened discussion of the book "Historian and Historical Evidence" where this question of historicity is considered we get this modern tendency in history as a science:

*"The tendency of legal procedure is to give less and less weight to the provative value of testimony and more and more to realistic or circumstantial proofs. 'It must be admitted,' writes a high authority on criminal psychology, 'that at the present day the value of the testimony of even a truthful witness is much overrated. The numberless errors in perceptions derived from the senses, the faults of memory, the far-reaching differences in human beings as regards sex, nature, culture, mood of the moment, health, passionate excitement, environment— all these things have so great an effect that we scarcely ever receive two quite similar (sic) accounts of one thing; and between what people really experience and what they confidently assert, we find only error heaped upon error. Out of the mouths of two witnesses we may (sic) arrive at the real truth, we may form for ourselves an idea of the circumstances of an occurrence and satisfy ourselves concerning it, but the evidence will seldom be true and material; and whoever goes more closely into the matter will not silence his conscience, even after listening to ten witnesses As the science of criminal investigation proceeds, oral testimony falls behind and the importance of realistic proof advances; 'circumstances cannot lie,' witnesses can and do."*⁷⁸

This lengthy quotation hardly needs explanation. It at once gives a scientific perspective as to the provative value of the proofs at our disposal. With due regard to impartiality and honest assignment of value to sources of our information as to the historicity of Rizal's conversion, we shall now consider each source.

⁷⁸ Op. cit. pp. 48-49

Who are those two officials? One, Eloy Maure, the Adjutant of the Plaza, and the other, Juan del Fresno, the Captain of the Picket. Have they testified anything? As far as the present writer could ascertain, they have not testified anything, simply that their signatures are now found attached to the supposed lost but now discovered document. But as we have shown in the previous chapter, even these signatures are not genuine. Don Gonzalo Piñana, in his book "Murió El Doctor Rizal Cristianamente?", attempted to secure written statements from these witnesses, and the only things he got for these two officials were their death notices attested by the notary public⁷⁹. This attempt of Piñana was in 1917, twenty-one years after the event.

We will now consider the other witnesses. They were Fathers Balaguer, Vilaclara, Viza, Pi, and Archbishop Nozaleda. There is no necessity to say that they were all *priests*. It is quite unnecessary, too, to recount here their good faith and intention, integrity of character, and perhaps *truthfulness as a personal characteristic*, for that could very well be admitted, *as we expect no less from the "priests of God."*

As to the first point of our admission that they were all priests, we can no less than quote in the chapter on "The Technique of Historical Criticism" a very timely observation:

"In historical studies doubt is the beginning of wisdom. Unless one shakes off the credulity of the natural man and the disposition to follow authority—especially the authority of the written and printed word— *he can never attain new and independent points of view* in history. It is only by resolutely questioning the authenticity and value of sources that a mastery of historical facts can be won . . . : Nearly all the medieval chroniclers were propagandists, and even some modern historians have consciously or unconsciously become the defenders of a faith or a sect, a principle or a party."⁸⁰

There is then no gainsaying in the statement that the priests—for being all priests—were partisan of a sect of which they were priests. Now, in this question of the historicity of Rizal's conversion, it cannot be denied, except only gratuitously, that the Catholic Church—of which our witnesses were priests—had a vital interest at stake. I shall not argue here just how much of

⁷⁹ Pp. 163-168.

⁸⁰ Op. cit. p. 50.

the fathers' testimony might be due to such vital interest, for I really do not know. I could simply point here to the undeniable fact connected with the case in point, which, in historical criticism, is at least something, for unless we doubt what is presumed about it, we "can never attain new and independent points of view in history." To wit:

"The personal characteristics that made a writer a trustworthy witness or the reverse are of first importance. Hence the nationality of a writer should be ascertained—no very difficult matter ordinarily, but of some importance where political or diplomatic (let us add religious) issues are involved. Vocation or official position often determines the nature of testimony. A burger of Mainz would be likely to have a different outlook from the bishop; a priest in the retinue of Count Raymond of Toulouse would narrate the events of the First Crusade with a different emphasis from the anonymous crusader who wrote the *Gesta Francorum*. Party affiliations deflect testimony . . . And in all times and places religious predilections have colored accounts of the relations between church and state (and in the case at hand, may it not only be too true?)"⁸¹

And furthermore:

"Partisanship or some strong emotional bias (and in this case, could these be absent?) might deflect the testimony of two (or even more) witnesses so as to produce a general agreement which would be false to the facts."⁸²

Regarding the second admission that their good faith and intention as well as integrity of character are doubtless, that is beyond question. That from this admission to the conclusion that therefore their accounts were authoritative is indeed a long invisible stride with a touch of magic. Let us vividly perform the feat (!) again. We quote:

"It is rather extraordinary that while the best treatise on the principles of legal evidence (here reference is made to the compilations by John Wigmore) gives a large place to these empirical facts, no treatise on historical method has applied them to its peculiar problems. Far too much stress has been laid on the honesty or candor of historical witnesses and far too little upon their probable apperceptive

81 Ibid., pp. 58-59.

82 Ibid., p. 147.

powers and the conditions under which they exercise them."⁸³

That is a surprise and a regret of a historical critic, because:

" . . . the absence of dishonesty or any pathological symptoms in a witness is ground for holding his testimony to be true. *This is really begging the question*, for the fundamental question is not the honesty of the witness but the accuracy of his perceptions. It is faulty psychology which assumes that a normal healthy person can never make a mistake."⁸⁴

palabras,
Ylenia
me cometo
Ylenia.
Autoridad
Superior
bida por la
publica
Divorcio

Fig. XV. Words taken from the retraction.

Therefore, to admit their integrity of character, good faith and intention, or even personal characteristic of truthfulness is not to admit *in toto* their authority as to the historicity of this questioned event, for to do so is to beg the very question. If there had been no precedents, if history had not taught us that *pious frauds* were committed, still it is not safe for us to deny that it might be committed in modern times and in this particular case at hand. But since history taught us the contrary and further, that such *pious frauds* abound in the *Catholic Church*, and that the present question concerns the same Church, then our fear that it might here be committed, although by whom is positively unknown and nevertheless immaterial, is empirically founded. Says the *Catholic Encyclopedia*—with-

out doubt the *Catholic revealer of Catholic facts*:

"Nevertheless, the *forging of papal letters* was even more frequent in the Middle Ages than in the early Church. Innocent III (in c.v,x, De crimine falsi, V, xx) refers to *no less than nine methods of falsification*."⁸⁵

⁸³ *Ibid.*, pp. 25-26.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 143.

⁸⁵ Vol. IX, p. 203, c. 1.

Again the Donation of Constantine (Donatio Constantini) "is understood, since the end of the Middle Ages, (as) a *forged document* of Emperor Constantine the Great . . . The *document concludes with maledictions* against all who dare to violate these donations and *with the assurance that the emperor has signed them with his own hand (!) and (even) placed them on the tomb of St. Peter (!) . . .* This document is without doubt a *forgery*, fabricated somewhere between the years 750 and 850. As early as the fifteenth century *its falsity* was known and demonstrated."⁸⁶

There is no use here to multiply instances of *pious forgery*, though there are plenty, the "Forgery in Christianity" by Joseph Wheless, drawn from different authoritative sources as *Catholic Encyclopedia*, *Encyclopedia Britannica*, *History of European Morals*, *Ecclesiastical History*, etc. is a monumental record of them.

I have no wish here to enter into the details of this dirty matter, but they are recalled because we are involved in a question of principle in evidence. Do not these facts warrant our fear and demand more for our care as to this question at hand? This is the only justification for this unhappy citation.

We must now consider each individual witness to evaluate very closely his provative authority on this question of historicity. As far as I know and could verify, Father Vicente Balaguer, the priest who was said to have defeated Rizal in the religious controversy at the Chapel, convinced Rizal to retract, and officiated his canonical marriage, made a written testimony under the authorization of a notary public as early as, if not earlier than August 8, 1917. This happened to be twenty years and a half after the event in question. I shall not deal so much into the details of what this father testified. If to the above fact, we shall apply the recognized rule of historical criticism, the only alternative open for us if we are seriously engaged in the question of its historicity, I cannot fully estimate how much provative value such testimony has. The rule referred to is:

"After a lapse of time, *the most candid* narrator of events is often tricked into interpolations of details by fancy (what might have or ought to have been), by suggestion (during the interval of time), by emotion, or by those subtle impressions which seem to lie just below the threshold of consciousness."⁸⁷

⁸⁶ Vol. V. pp. 118 (d)—119 (a).

⁸⁷ Op. cit. p. 38.

Because, as John Dewey was quoted to have said at this point, "Memory is vicarious experience in which there is all the emotional value of actual experience without its strains, vicissitudes, and troubles . . .,"⁸⁸ hence rectification of actual unfavorable happenings might be interpolated into a report made after a lapse of a long time since the occurrence of the event.

Realizing therefore the danger and shifting basis of this belated testimony upon which we are to deduce the historicity of this event, we cannot but refer to a testimony made by the same witness earlier, if any. Such testimony is referred to by another work, to which we shall later apply our minds.

The above reasoning cannot less than recognize the demand for its application to the late testimonies of the other Father-witnesses to this same event, because the dates of such notarial documents are as follows: Father Luis Viza y Marti⁸⁹ on May 22, 1916, Father Pio Pi⁹⁰ on April 7, 1917; Father Silvino Lopez Tuñon⁹¹ on April 23, 1917; and Archbishop B. Nozaleda⁹² on July 6, 1917. With such facts before us, we can only resort to the earlier testimonies of these witnesses, if there were any. And their earlier testimonies, which happened to be their earliest, were oral testimonies, which we shall deal with later.

What earlier documents therefore could we secure in this study? The earliest work that we can refer to and which deals with this question quite liberally and extensively is "La Masonizacion de Filipinas" with a subtitle "Rizal y Su Obra" published in 1897 by an unknown author. This work, however, is referred to by W. Retana⁹³ as the work of the Jesuit Missionaries, and probably that of Father Pastells according to Manuel Artigas⁹⁴. It follows that as long as the authorship of such a work cannot be determined beyond a mere conjecture, it cannot be used as an *authoritative work* in a controversial question as this, because,

"The personal characteristics that make a writer a trustworthy witness or the reverse are of the first impor-

88 *Idem.*

89 G. Piñana, *op. cit.* pp. 105—110.

90 *Ibid.*, pp. 111-117.

91 *Ibid.*, pp. 119-123.

92 *Ibid.*, pp. 125-128.

93 *Vida y Escritos del Dr. Rizal*, pp. 25, 31.

94 *Los Sucesos de 1872*, p. 172.

tance . . . (and) the identity of the writer becomes a matter of secondary interest"⁹⁵

The prohibitive value of this rule is not to assume authority in a work the personal characteristics of whose author or even the author himself could not be determined. As far as the two writers who made allusion to the author of this anonymous "Rizal y Su Obra" are concerned, they are unanimous in pointing to a priest or priests as the author. This gives us a little clue as to his personal characteristics. But, being a priest, the author could not then escape the historical criticism earlier referred to here. If he were a priest, he cannot be a source of evidence as to the historicity of this event, without allowance for his religious profession. Since we could not be sure, we ask, "Why did he write anonymously?" We shall not attempt to guess its hidden motive. What we can only do is to determine whether such unknown author, besides being unknown, has written something in this work that has suffered deflection from veracity. According to Artigas, in his already cited work this unknown author in this anonymous work commits such lapses as:

"Speaking of *La Solidaridad*, it says, 'The Hispano Filipino Club needed an organ in the press (and why not?) and such was the infamous periodical publications called *La Solidaridad* in which are sustained the ideals pursued by the mentioned association.' Here is another: 'Morayta accepted the presidency of the *Hispano Filipino Association* and was made proprietor of the periodical *La Solidaridad*.' What a very great error! The good Don Miguel never had the least participation in *La Solidaridad*."⁹⁶

Now with this fact before us, and were we to apply another valuable historical criticism, as "An author who betrays his willingness to sacrifice the truth in one instance *can hardly be trusted in another*,"⁹⁷ what can we say to this unknown author and his work? Surely, the strict application of those prohibitive rules so as to avoid unproved conclusions would simply over-rule the assumed authority in this piece of work.

Now we turn to Father Pio Pi's work, "La Muerte Cristiana del Doctor Rizal", first published in 1909. This may be considered as the earliest written and public testimony of Father Pio

⁹⁵ *Historian and Historical Evidence*, pp. 58 61.

⁹⁶ *Op. cit.* p. 172.

⁹⁷ Johnson, Allen, *op. cit.* p. 81.

Pi. But even then, this was almost thirteen years after the event in question. The criticism as to time interval between the event in question and the writing of its record cannot here be ignored. It weakens its value.

Aside from this we must not forget to ask whether this is a primary source or a secondary one merely. In the words of this author himself, we read:

“ . . . and although the writer (Father Pio Pi) of this (work now quoted) did not visit the prisoner, neither did he (Father Pi) know him (Rizal) personally, for being then the Superior of the Jesuits in the Philippines residing also in those days in Manila, he (Father Pi) had, for reason of his position, to know everything that his subordinates were going to do and everything that was occurring to them in their spiritual assistance to the prisoner.”⁹⁸

From this, we do not need to infer, for we are already told, that this document or record is a secondary source. The primary source of which was the oral testimonies to him of his subordinates immediately (?) after the event. But whether such testimonies were based upon notes or not, I fail to ascertain, although it was also claimed by Father Pio Pi that the fathers had notes. Whether also there were or no notes made of those oral reports by Father Pio Pi, the later publication of *such story* being written and based upon those notes, the author failed to inform us. With this omission before us, leaving us in the dark, can we assume that there were notes and that this secondary source was based upon them? Certainly not, if we are seriously upon the track of a sincere historical critic, for “the logical rule that applies (here) is simple enough: an inference is valid only when it is a necessary inference—when all other possible inferences have been excluded as logically impossible.”⁹⁹ The assumption that we are to make, were we to make any, is not to assume anything at the absence of evidence for it.

Aside from the question as to its possible relation to notes that might have been made, what other sources could be open for Father Pio Pi? We are here to leave no stone unturned if we are to undertake this Herculean task of proving the historicity of Rizal's conversion. I wish to turn back your attention to that anonymous work¹⁰⁰ we earlier discussed. Is there anything here,

⁹⁸ Op cit. p. 28.

⁹⁹ Jonhson, Allen, op. cit. p. 146.

¹⁰⁰ “Rizal y Su Obra”

as evidence, which we could relate to Father Pio Pi's work? We take chapter XVII of this work and the corresponding chapter VII in Father Pi's work. Both recounted the same anecdote of how Rizal asked for the "Sacred Heart of Jesus" which Dr. Rizal carried while still a student in the Ateneo Municipal, and which Father Viza, having previously remembered and put it in his pocket, gave to Rizal. The unknown author of "Rizal y Su Obra" wrote:

"Although the action of grace, in inviting Rizal in order to be saved, was little less than visible; *nevertheless, in the heart of that unfortunate has been rooted an impiety of a very cold, calculated, and skeptical manner, which resisted tenaciously the grace of God, causing no little pain to those who, with great zeal, desired his salvation, during the day and a part of the night that precedes his death.*"¹⁰¹

On the other hand Father Pi wrote:

"Probably the struggle between the beliefs and sentiments of his revived adolescence and the ideas and affection of the man removed from God, between self-love and divine grace had already begun; *nevertheless, a criterion of freezing skepticism predominated yet; so that the conversation did not then give an appetizing result.*"¹⁰²

After both had told that and how Dr. Rizal retracted, "Rizal y Su Obra" gave as an emotional observation of its unknown author:

"He got up at one thirty; he had slept a little while and passed the rest of the time praying and meditating. In those hours, *he was no longer the rebellious rationalist and the former obstinate wrangler; he was the former secretary of the Marian Congregation of Manila . . .*"¹⁰³

For his part, Father Pi wrote:

"He got up at one thirty and was in prayer . . . He rested again a little while, was again retired in meditation, and returned to confess, remaining silent and humble. *The penitence of heart, the grace of the sacrament of Penitence, the light of eternal truth which would already enter in that soul without hindrance, the interior consolation of the reconciliation with his God, had just completed to effect*

101 p. 32.

102 pp. 30-31.

103 p. 37

*a complete satisfactory change in our condemned (martyr) to death. Many and such were the spontaneous and candid signs which he was yet giving, in the remaining hours, of having revived in that heart the former faith and piety and even the fervor of the member of Marian Congregation which . . .*¹⁰⁴

“Rizal y Su Obra” commented:

*“The military men were astounded, the fathers profoundly affected, and all admired that very beautiful spectacle agreeable to angels and men.”*¹⁰⁵

Apropos to which, Father Pio Pi wrote:

*“But Rizal was not satisfied with merely signing the afore-said acts of faith, hope, and charity, but in continuation he gave to those present a very edifying and intimately affecting spectacle . . . Invisibly would have assisted the angels of heaven full of joy.”*¹⁰⁶

Regarding the marriage, the author of “Rizal y Su Obra” observed:

*“Father Balaguer married them and these husband and wife were separated forever (para siempre), Rizal giving his wife advice of resignation and piety, and asking the Fathers who assisted him to help her to retire to a convent (?) to end there her days.”*¹⁰⁷

For his part Father Pio Pi wrote:

*“They were married with brevity before Father Balaguer, authorized by the Prelate; and the recently married were separated forever (para siempre), Rizal dominated the natural signs of intense pain but did not forget to give his wife advice of resignation and piety, and instructed her to see how she could live secludedly in some religious house (?)”*¹⁰⁸

I have here attempted to select parallelisms not in the sequel and facts of narrations, which could only be natural if both authors were dealing with the same narration and yet unnatural for them to tell in identical manner, even supposing them to be

104 pp. 36-37.

105 p. 38.

106 p. 38.

107 p. 39.

108 p. 39.

both truthful, but parallelisms in the reactions and commentary expressions of the author's emotion, which are the *aside speeches* as it were in the drama. And here we see the faithful parallelisms that will only be explained by the following point in historical criticism, to wit:

*“Two persons, as every one knows, or may assure himself by simple tests, rarely see complicated happenings in exactly the same way. Never will they tell what they have seen in exactly the same language. Consequently if the details in a complicated series of events appear in the same order in two sources, one is probably derived from the other or both from a third. If in addition to these resemblances there is an identity of literary form, the above conjecture becomes a certainty.”*¹⁰⁹

How much more certain would the theory be when the natural emotional reactions of one author are the same as the reactions of the other, only in a modified form, but with identical contents and reference? No one could deny the greater certainty in this case, because of the above parallelism, parallelism in sequel of events, in the use of phrases and even of words. Now, considering that Father Pio Pi's work was written in 1909 and the anonymous work, in 1897, we could only deduce that the latter is the more original one. Could it be possible that the two were drawing from a third source? If there be a third source it could not be a written published document, for the time of the publication of the work after the event, was so short, less than a year. The time element negatives a third written published source. But could they not be drawn from the same notes and memoirs? As far as the narrations are concerned they might be, but when the parallelisms we noted are considered the memoirs and notes must have been too elaborate to contain even the intimate personal element of their author's emotions prior to a long writing of the same. Besides, the individual authors concerned never allude to such third source. If it could be proved therefore that there was a third source, prior to these two, which contained the same things to explain the parallelism in the latter, then these later two works would be a case of plagiarism. Indeed, the probability of the matter points to the absence of a third source. But if so, then the later publication of the event loses an independent original authority, since, "If A is an original source and B and C are derived from it, the weight of evidence is no greater than

¹⁰⁹ Johnson, Allen, op. cit. p. 62; see also p. 146.

that contained in A.”¹¹⁰ Having already analyzed the nature and authority of this original anonymous work to be just a little more than an absolute absence of entertaining story, but without a historical authority, and the secondary one is no more than this one, then it stands to reason beyond cavil that the historicity of the conversion of the Doctor cannot be established by the so-called written sources of this event. And yet, later contemporary writers have used these sources very uncritically, without even entering into the nature of their authoritative value, a practice that is too vicious in a scientific question like the present!

Let us now come to the question of circumstantial evidence. Let us test if the circumstantial evidence could verify what the historians say. This again is one way of testing the veracity of the historian’s story. Father Pi points to this:

“To one of the sisters, it seems, was destined the prayer-book where Rizal had subscribed to those acts of faith, hope, and charity, of which we have made mention above.”¹¹¹

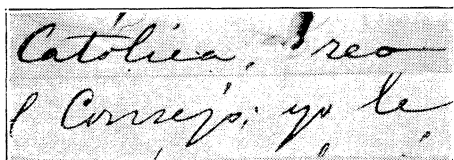


Fig. XVI. The first line is from the retraction, while the second is from the letter to Andrade.

But it is proven by the recent discovery in the Archbishop’s Palace that this prayer-book was bound in the same bundle with the retraction. Does this not show ground of doubt as to the facts of our historian,

or better, regarding the conjectures made by him?

Again, Father Pi testified that what he had was a copy of the retraction attested by a notary public¹¹², when asked what evidence he had to prove the existence of the retraction. Then he argued at length that such an attestation is admitted in courts all the world over, hence the copy is a reliable copy. We have already shown in an earlier chapter where we compared the version of the discovered document with the earlier versions of the supposed *bona fide* copies and we found out that the copy of Father Pi, that one he said was attested by a notary public and hence to be supposed as *faithful* to the original, was *not a faithful copy* of the

¹¹⁰ *Idem.*

¹¹¹ *Op. cit.* p. 40.

¹¹² *Ibid.*, p. 12.

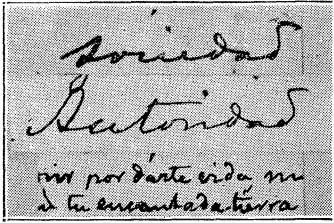


Fig. XVII. The first two words are from the retraction, while the rest are from the "Ultimo Adios".

that facts must be had first and then testimony, being of secondary importance, next.

Now we come to the last circumstantial evidence that can be verified. We have already discovered the document of retraction. Is the discovery enough to establish the historicity of conversion? Far be that cock-sureness from us! And when the document turns out to be a forgery, what happens to this only circumstantial evidence, so also with the claimed conversion? The demand in fact to determine by known scientific tests and method if the document is genuine is very imperative and that was what we have first done and we found reliable and verifiable evidence rather than mere testimonies proving and warranting the conclusion that the document is not genuine. This is the importance of testing belief and testimonies by circumstances that can be verified. To quote again a very appropriate remark of our historical critic; "It may happen that instead of circumstances producing a belief, belief produced the circumstances. Even supposititious miracles, when reported by the Fathers and commonly believed, proved the general prevalence of faith at the time."¹¹³ This is what I suspect in this whole business after coming across with the more than sufficient evidence. I am afraid belief in this case produces circumstantial evidence, that is why the document as proved is not genuine.

At this point we still again apply another criticism, before we close this chapter. "In the absence of records and remains there

one recently discovered. Is this not an instance again as well as a demonstration that cock-sureness on things not verified is a dangerous practice? Does it not also overthrow that practice of the Father to prove a thing not by looking for and at it, but by having the attestation of a notary public? Here we reiterate with the permission of the readers

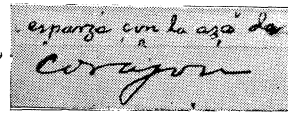


Fig. XVIII. The first line is from the "Ultimo Adios" while the last word is from the retraction.

¹¹³ Johnson, Allen, op. cit. 113.

is no history."¹¹⁴ Now, we ask with the candid spirit of a scientific and historical investigator, "Is the historicity of Rizal's conversion—whatever Father Pio Pi meant by it—established, at the absence of reliable records and genuine circumstantial evidence?" I fail to see that it is, through our strict mental discipline. The appeal to the mob is childish; it has not even an iota of respect in Science. Can we really now grant that "Those who deny Rizal's conversion deny an unquestionable historical fact?" Must we not say that "all that is merely assumed to be an unquestionable historical fact must really be denied, *for its being a mere assumption?*" Then we can say, "He who can deny the supposed historical fact, for the lack of evidence, can really deny the conversion of Dr. Rizal, and he who can deny such must deny that the same is an unquestionable historical fact." Q. E. D.

114 Ibid., p. 153.

CHAPTER VII

THE PSYCHOLOGICAL ASPECT OF DR. RIZAL'S CONVERSION

Wishing to deal with this matter in a scientific way, we could not afford to neglect its psychological aspect. The question here is, "What is the psychological significance of Dr. Rizal's conversion?" We shall here distinguish between the old traditional psychology that is quasi-metaphysical arguing "a priori" and supported by casual unmethodical observations from the general uncontrolled experience and the modern experimental type dealing with real and actual cases, classified and analyzed. The latter advanced standing of psychology is the one to be called to bear in this case, because there is here more certainty in the conclusion arrived at by scientific induction than in the former.

It must here be admitted that the retraction—written document—if any, will be just the outward physical manifestation of an internal aspect of this case. This internal aspect is Rizal's conversion. Let us waive at this point therefore the question as to the outward manifestation, which we have already dealt with in an earlier chapter, and let us consider the more significant aspect—the psychological phase—of which the document is just a visible manifestation.

To begin with, we shall here define what is meant by conversion. We will, however, exclude the type of conversion practised by the church as in baptizing small infants, because it has practically nothing or very little psychological aspect in it, though the Divine Grace is thought to be involved. Frankly speaking, we are here involved not in the Divine Grace descending to an individual, and by the way that question is beyond scientific psychology, but in the psychological possibility of conversion from the side of the convert.

"Conversion applies to a marked 'change of heart', an emotional regeneration, typically sudden in its advent or consummation, affecting radically the outlook, the inner adjustment and habits of life of an individual,"¹¹⁵ says Professor Jastrow in the *Encyclopedia of Social Sciences*. Professor James Pratt thinks that, "... the essential thing about conversion is just the uni-

¹¹⁵ Op. cit. 1929, Vol. IV, p 353.

fication of character, the achievement of a new life . . .”¹¹⁶
Even the *Catholic Encyclopedia* says:

“The return of the sinner to a life of virtue is also called a conversion. More commonly do we speak of the conversion of an infidel to the true religion, and most commonly of the conversion of a schismatic or heretic to the Catholic Church.”¹¹⁷

In the *Encyclopedia Britannica*, we read the statement of Rev. Alan Coates Bouget, as:

“ . . . true moral conversion is an actual overturning of values and involves a species of new creation. It has been defined as ‘a mutation of life occurring under the impulse of an ultra-terrestrial ideal’ (De Sanctis). Or again as ‘a reaction taking the form of a psychological surrender to an ideal and issuing in moral development’ (Underwood).”¹¹⁸

Professor Ames says, “Conversion designates the more sudden, intense, and extreme emotional experience.”¹¹⁹

Now, these definitions of *conversion* are the ones meant in this case of Dr. Rizal as we find it in the *reported story* of his conversion. We shall here quote this reference:

“He frankly declared himself a rationalist or a free-thinker, admitting no other criterion of truth but the individual reason, but upon attacking him with the logic and evidence of the Catholic truth, I told him vigorously that if he would not surrender his understanding and his reason for the sake of faith, he would then go to appear before the judgment of God and would be condemned very surely. Upon hearing this threat of mine, he cried and replied: ‘No, I will not be condemned.’ Yes, I replied, you will go to Hell, for whether you like it or not, *extra Ecclesiam Catholicam nulla datur salus*. Yes, outside the Catholic Church there is no salvation . . . Before such reprehension, he told me, much disturbed, ‘Look, father, if for complacency to you, I would say yes to everything, and sign what you present me without feeling it, I would be a hypocrite and would offend God.’ Certainly, I told him, and we do not want that; but believe that it is a pain without a second to see a person whom you love (?), obstinate in error (?), and to see him condemned(?) without being able to re-

116 Religious Consciousness, 1930, p. 123.

117 Op. cit. 1909, Vol. IV, p. 347.

118 Op. cit. 14th Ed. Vol. VI, p. 353.

119 Psychology of Religious Experience, 1910, p. 257,

medy it. Consider yourself sincerely, and believe that if giving the blood and life would attain your salvation, at this moment we would give it offering ourselves to be executed in your place. 'But Father!' he replied sentimentally, 'what do you want me to do, for it seems that I cannot defeat my reason?' Offer, I answered him, offer the sacrifice of your self-love to God, and although *it would be contrary to the voice of your reason*, ask from God the grace of faith, which is a gift of God, which he offers plentifully and which is attained infallibly with a humble and persevering prayer. It is only necessary that you do not repel it. 'Well, Father,' he said, 'I promise you that the remainder of my life-time I shall employ asking God the grace of faith.'"¹²⁰

To make a long story short, he was said to have retracted.

In this lengthy citation, it is clearly demonstrated that the conversion of Dr. Rizal referred to was his change from being a "heretic rationalist and free-thinker" to being "a faithful son (?) of Catholicism." Having now determined precisely what phase of the critical event in the eve of his execution was meant by his conversion we then proceed to the determination of its psychological basis.

Let us now determine by the present facts of empirical psychology the veritable psychological factors to be considered in this religious-psychological phenomenon called conversion. At what age do we find conversion effected? is indeed a fitting question to ask at the outset. We shall not here simply assume any answer, but rather give statistical figures that may serve as clues to the solution of our problem. In an article on "Conversion" in the "Encyclopedia of Social Sciences", above cited, Professor Joseph Jastrow gives us valuable facts in this question. He says:

"Conversion is predominantly a phenomenon of adolescence. A recent survey by E. T. Clark, *The Psychology of Religious Awakening*, (New York, 1929), bears out the conclusion derived from general observation. It indicates that the average age of those who experience the change as a crisis is *about seventeen* (years), but it is lower by three or four years if milder types of emotional stimulation are included in the definition . . . A marked decline in the frequency of conversion in recent years is indicated by the fact that 35.8 percent of those *over forty years of age* recorded

¹²⁰ Fr. Vicente Balaguer's notarial testimony on August 8, 1917, in Piñana, G., op. cit. pp. 152-153.

a critical conversion; interestingly enough the same proportion held for those of younger age groups who have been subject to a stern theological training."¹²¹

In the afore-cited article in the "Encyclopedia Britannica", we read:

"It is said that the phenomena (of conversion) belong *almost exclusively* to the years between the ages of 10 and 25, and that the *number of instances outside that range appear few and scattered*; in other words, that conversion belongs distinctively to the years of adolescence. The American psychologist, Starbuck, holds that the event comes earlier in general among females than among males, and most frequently at the age of 13 to 16, while among males it occurs most frequently at the age of 17 or immediately before or after. . . . The most that can be said is that the period between the ages of 15 and 25 is the time when the greatest changes occur in human personality, and that therefore this is the most propitious epoch for the occurrence of decisive events in the history of individuals. Adolescence is only an extrinsic or indirect cause, a provocative stimulus to an intellectual and ethical transformation which requires for its completion the additional presence of a psychic factor."¹²²

Professor Pratt, whom we have already quoted, specifies the field of conversion in the following words:

"... in one sense, indeed, the whole moral and religious process of the adolescent period may well be called conversion."¹²³

"In regard to age, adolescence is the period of most conversions, but within this time there are three points at which the phenomena of conversion take on different aspects,"¹²⁴ says Professor Ames.

So we see that conversion, that psychological-religious phenomenon is very evidently and clearly in the adolescent period of human life, beginning from the age of twelve to twenty-five. And this type of conversion is one of voluntary not forced nor violence conversion. It is even clearly guarded by Father Ba-

¹²¹ Op. cit. p. 354.

¹²² Op. cit. p. 354.

¹²³ Op. cit. p. 122.

¹²⁴ Op. cit. p. 264.

laguer, himself, in telling the story of Dr. Rizal's conversion to have it as one without force, hence the exact type considered by the psychologists quoted above. It must also be borne in mind that the greater our range below and above the age of adolescence the less is the susceptibility to conversion *except the emotional suggestible type* mentioned by Professor Jastrow. We must also put as an exception the individuals converted at *the age over forty*. From the work of E. T. Clark, cited by Jastrow, the latter gives startling facts as to the conversion of persons over forty. He says:

“...A marked decline in the frequency of conversion in recent years is indicated by the fact that 35.8 percent of those over forty years of age recorded a critical conversion; interestingly enough the same proportion held for those of younger age groups (adolescent) who have been subject to a stern theological training.”¹²⁵

Such facts gathered by painstaking observation by earnest students of the psychology of religious experience furnish us basis to work upon. Considering now the age of Dr. Rizal at the time in question, we find that the doctor was thirty five (35) years, having been born in 1861. So we see that he was *ten years* older than the upper limit of adolescence, at which upper limit it must also be observed that conversion is less and less numerous than at the average age for adolescence. We also find that Rizal was *five or more years* younger than the old age at which conversion also takes place. Therefore at the age of Dr. Rizal, at this time in question, we find that age to be least, if not never susceptible to conversion. It is not scientific but hasty to argue that because men have been converted at some age, therefore, *any man at any age* can likewise be converted, that because they can be converted, therefore, Dr. Rizal was converted. This, I say, is hasty and unscientific, because it leaves the age out of account in this phenomenon of conversion. And age is a principal factor in this case. We cannot now afford to be blind.

What are the factors essential to conversion? We shall here first quote the traditional religious doctrine about conversion, to wit:

“The same Council (Vatican Council) teaches that faith is a gift of God necessary for salvation, that it is an

125 Loc. cit.

act of the intellect commanded by the will, and that it is a supernatural act. The act of faith then is an act of the understanding, whereby we firmly hold as true whatever God has revealed, not because of its intrinsic truth perceived by the natural light of reason, but because God, who can neither deceive nor be deceived, has revealed it. It is in itself an act of the understanding, but it requires the influence of the will which moves the intellect to assent."¹²⁶

We shall also quote the doctrine of the Church of England on this matter, to wit:

"The condition of man after the fall of Adam is such that he cannot turn and prepare himself by his own natural strength and good works to faith and calling upon God: wherefore we have no power to do good works pleasant and acceptable to God, without the grace of God by Christ preventing us that we may have a good will, and working with us when we have that good will."¹²⁷

These are the traditional doctrines that have no backing from the scientific world today. That faith, so also conversion, is not a natural act but a supernatural and divine phenomenon is just well that it be, but it is beyond scientific investigation. That the most essential factor here, as the traditional theology would have it, is a supernatural grace is just to say that we do not know it, for no one can seriously affirm that he knows the divine way of God. On the contrary, conversion is a human phenomenon, which admits of scientific investigation. As a matter of fact, it is a rich field for psychological sciences, and at present pretty good evidence has already been acquired by empirical method on this subject.

Many examples of conversion, which we cannot ignore, could be found, such as, the conversion of St. Augustine, St. Paul, Bunyan, Tolstoi, Roberto Ardigo, Ramakrisna, Maharshi Davenport Tagore (the poet's father), Brainerd, and sometimes, Pascal. Pascal is a doubtful convert, for as Father Pio Pi said in his contrast between Rizal and Pascal, the latter "although he experienced interior excitements, such vacillations, and strong impulses to be converted to God, he did not arrive according to all appearances to retracting like Rizal(?), to being converted like Rizal (?), to being reconciled to the Church like Rizal (?), dying tenaciously

¹²⁶ Catholic Encyclopedia, loc. cit.

¹²⁷ Quoted by Rev. A. C. Bouget, Encyclopedia Britannica, loc. cit.

in the errors of his condemned writings."¹²⁸ St. Paul was a pagan persecutor of Christ and was suddenly converted to Christianity by an improbable miracle, so say the Christians. The story could not be credible for scientific investigation. But the rest¹²⁹ were converted in their search for the central goal or ideal of life to which they shall thereafter devote their effort. In the case of Dr. Rizal we are not told, neither could we find evidence, that at the time of his death, he was still seeking for the goal of his life. No, in fact, years before yet, he had already devoted his life and all to his country, to the upliftment of his people not only politically and socially but likewise religiously and scientifically. We know that in 1886, he dedicated his masterly "Noli Me Tangere" not to his parents, who were to him venerable beings on earth, nor to his sweet-heart, but to a greater, nobler sweet-heart and parent, THE PHILIPPINES, saying:

"Wishing thy health . . . I shall do with thee what the ancients did with their sick; expose thee on the steps of the temple so that each devotee coming to worship the Divinity may suggest a remedy."

" . . . I shall lift the corner of the veil which conceals thine infirmity, sacrificing everything to Truth, even my personal feelings, because being thy son, I am necessarily afflicted with thy malady, sharing thy shortcomings and weakness."¹³⁰

On November 11, 1892, he wrote to Father Pastells from Dapitan:

"Life is very short, and the happiest (life) is very much full of bitterness, that in truth, it is not worth the pain of sacrificing a conviction for pieces of metal, rounded (money) or in the form of a cross (!)."

In 1892, he wrote a farewell address to his countrymen saying:

"Besides, I wish to show those that deny us patriotism that we know how to die for duty and principle.

"What matters death, if one dies for what one loves, for native land and those dear to one?

" . . . Always have I loved our unhappy land, and I am sure I shall continue loving it until my last moment,

¹²⁸ Op. cit. p. 26.

¹²⁹ An adequate summary account of them is given by Pratt, op. cit. pp. 122-147.

¹³⁰ Translated in Basa-Benitez, *Noli Me Tangere*, 1933, p. XXV.

in case men prove unjust to me. *Life, career, happiness I am ready to sacrifice for it (country).*"¹³¹

And to his parents, on the same day, he wrote:

"A man ought to die for his duty and convictions.

"*I hold fast to every idea I have advanced as to the condition and future of our country. I shall willingly die for it, and even more willingly die to secure for you justice and peace.*"¹³²

And finally in his last moments after knowing that his end had come, he secretly and deliberately disposed his farewell poem, the "Ultimo Adios", in which he reaffirmed his life-ideal, saying:

"*Farewell, dear Fatherland, clime of the sun caress'd,
Pearl of the Orient seas, our Eden lost;
Gladly now I go to give thee this faded life's best,
And were it brighter, fresher, or more blest,
Still would I give it thee, nor count the cost.*"¹³³

Are all these not enough to show us conclusively that Dr. Rizal was not, at the time considered, looking for his life-ideal, because he had found it long before? And DID HE NOT REALLY DIE FOR SUCH LIFE PRINCIPLE AND IDEAL, as a matter of fact? There is only one answer to such question and our facts categorically give it.

It might, however, be argued that what is here meant is not such an ideal as Dr. Rizal's, but a sort of a religious insight, the truth or religious light, so to say. We shall not evade this objection, though we can here retort that such an objection is only word-quibbling, and here again we shall show from Dr. Rizal's own words whether or not he had already seen such light. In his letter to Father Pastells, dated November 11, 1892, Dr. Rizal said:

"I have glimpsed a little of light, and I believe I ought to teach it to my countrymen . . . (What more do we want?)"

This little light (see how modest and unpretentious the martyr was!) he patiently expounded in those four invaluable letters to that Father Jesuit. We shall have occasion to expose the "little light",

¹³¹ Translation by Craig, A., op. cit. pp. 176-179.

¹³² Idem.

¹³³ Translated by Derbyshire, in Craig, A., op. cit. p. 256.

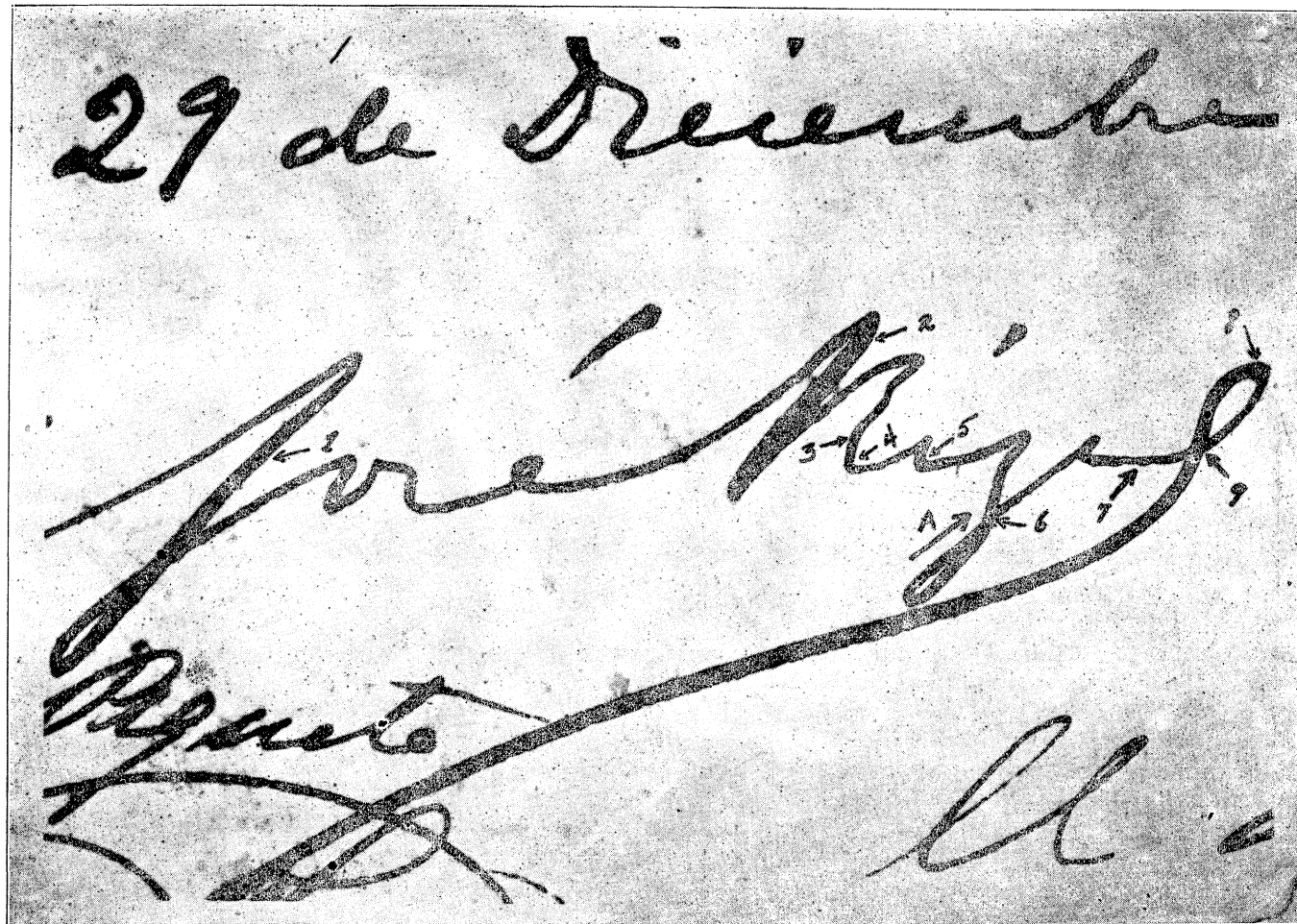


Fig. XIX. The enlarged reproduction of the signature of the retraction. This is done in order to show clearly characteristics that might escape detection by naked and unaided vision. The numbers are added in order to help the readers find the points herein discussed.

that is really too colossal, contained in those letters when we deal with the philosophical import of this questioned event. Right at this point, we can say this much, that the *little light* Dr. Rizal referred to was the rationalistic and scientific principles as opposed to narrow dogmatism. Let us also here observe that the same principles were embodied, only in a different but more sarcastic cloak, years before, in his novels, particularly in *Noli Me Tangere*, qualified by Father Salvador Font, O.S.A., as "The Attacks upon the Religion of the State" and by Father Jose Rodriguez who discussed this matter in eight pamphlets which he called "Questions of Great Interests". These points are more elucidated in later chapters where we seek to clarify befogged ideas.

Besides the above, we could very well see that in the "Farewell" poem, Rizal reaffirmed his belief in the existence of God who reigns in the land after death and the faith in whom does not kill. We shall quote:

*"For I go where no slave before the oppressor bends,
Where faith can never kill, and God reigns e'er on high!"*¹³⁴

Therefore it is beyond a mere probability to say that Rizal, at this time in question, had no trouble of looking for the ideal, be that what it may, for he had already found it long before. From what and to what then could he be converted? He believed in the existence of God! He had his life-ideal! He had seen the *little light*! What more could he be in want of? In fact, he had not any bit of doubt as to how and with what he would face God. Father Balaguer himself, corroborated by Father Pio Pi, testified that:

*"He (Rizal) came to tell me that he was guided by the reason that God had given him, adding with prudence that freed the blood (?), that as such he would go before the Tribunal of God, tranquil for having complied with the duty of a rational man."*¹³⁵

Let us dismantle this testimony of all its pretense. Let us here face the facts, and we shall find that Rizal had no inkling of doubt as to his own faith and the absence of trouble in his conscience, despite his fate, before his death, and in reality with all the assurance of a rational thinking man, he resigned his soul

¹³⁴ Derbyshire's Translation; *ibid.*, p. 258.

¹³⁵ Piñana, G., *op. cit.*, p. 152.

to God. His conscience was, as it were, a peaceful and tranquil sea of oil, despite the raging storm of persecution, cruelty, and injustice all cloaked with hypocrisy! What then was the conversion for? No! we could not here twist the facts only to gain mere interest!

What are the conditions necessary to effect conversion? Psychologically speaking, we here have the following conditions. In our reference to the *Encyclopedia Britannica* we are given these conditions:

“(1) The presence of general religious tendencies derived either from heredity, from the family or from early impressions.

(2) An habitual tendency of the intellect towards absolute convictions.

(3) A tendency of the individual spontaneously to fix the attention beyond and above the realities of the senses.

(4) A richness of affective potential or psychic energy held in suspension by the individual.

(5) The tendency of the individual to transfer his chief interests to questions of origin, purpose, destiny, and so forth.

(6) The recurrence of painful experiences.”¹³⁶

As to the first point, the general religious tendencies of Rizal, not derived from the family but in fact despite the family, were, as we know from his biography and writings, at odds with the Church. We could, therefore, say that he had no Church tendency. He was, as a small boy and in adolescent years, devout but these childhood and adolescent fanciful ideas he already had outgrown in his intensive thinking, aided by his liberal education abroad, during the best and mature years of his life.

The second point is not just tendency to absolute conviction. Rizal had a tendency to conviction, but knowing how helpless human ways of knowing was he gave his more or less guarded convictions. In the second letter to Father Pastells, Dr. Rizal wrote:

“It is clear that I admit that the Supernatural (divine) light is much more perfect than human reason . . .

“I imagine man in the study of truth as the students of design who copy a statue. Sitting around it (statue) some

¹³⁶ Loc. cit.

much nearer, others much further, some from certain height, some from below, they see it in different manner . . . Those who copied directly from the original are the thinkers, founders of the schools or doctrines that differ from each other, for coming from different principles. A great number for being far, for not seeing well, for not being very capable for laziness, or other like cause are contented to copy from other copies, from those that are near, if they have good will, from those that appear better to them, or that which passes for being better. To these copyists correspond those partymen, those active sectarians of an idea. Others, more lazy still, and who do not dare to trace a line for not committing any barbarity, buy a ready-made copy, perhaps a photograph or a litograph and are seen contented and conceited and to these pertain those passive sectarians, those who do believe all for not thinking. Well then, who has to judge those of others taking for the standard his own?

“From this manner of mine, I infer that nobody can judge the beliefs of others taking for the normal (standard) his own.”

We find here that Rizal therefore had no such tendency to absolute convictions but rather an expressed relativity of convictions as is seen from his own analogy. He was not a man who simply believed everything; no, on the contrary, he thought first what he was to believe and believed. He was not the intolerant and narrow-minded dogmatist.

For the third point, we have the facts of Dr. Rizal's life before us as our guide. He was a practical idealist. Why such a paradoxical combination? Idealist, because he thought and imagined the uncommon and the necessities of his people ahead of his time. The proof of which is his “The Philippines a Century Hence”. Practical, too, because his conclusions and idealism were based upon scientific proofs. He was a scientist, by the way, a doctor by profession, a naturalist by inclination. Only a diligent perusal of his novels and writings, which must be an indispensable part of the culture of an educated Filipino, will convince us that he was not an idle dreamer who talked of things above the realities of the senses.

The fourth condition is not found in him, either. It was true that he had much affective or emotional potential or psychic energy, *but they were not held in suspension*, for he had them expressed in his life-work—novels, writings, and art.

As to the fifth condition, we could say this utterance, as supported by his writings, that he did not center his attention on questions of origin, purpose, and destiny—the meat and drink of the metaphysicians. He believed in evolution, and made fun of the ways of the suggestible hysteric types of women in the Philippines who are over-credulous and religiously fanatic like his character, *Hermana Penchang*, etc.

Painful experiences were plenty in his life but he was not made an emotional, suggestible, hypnotic type thereby. In his own words in the cited second letter to Father Pastells, he said:

“Yes, in various occasions I have been treated with marked injustice; yes, against reason they have unheard my complaints, though I was young yet I pardoned more readily than what I do now, and the wounds were profound but at last they healed, thanks to the *good disposition* that Nature has gifted me. There were, therefore, no ‘irritated wounds’, no ‘thorns that have gone deep’.”

We have here therefore done full justice to the application of those conditions in the case of Dr. Rizal. But what we found is the impossibility of Rizal’s conversion under them.

Professor Jastrow gives other conditions, to wit:

“*Many individuals are immune to the experience (of conversion), some through the lack of sensibility to the invisible and the spiritual, others through temporary inhibitions which disappear later in life. James regarded as the psychological component of susceptibility to conversion the temperament with a large potent subconscious life as opposed to those whose direction is dominantly conscious and reflective with meager margins for subconscious activity. The temperament favorable to conversion also favors automatism in other directions. In marked instance the phenomenon is definitely hypnotic, allied to trance states, and may induce hallucinations and motor disturbance, convulsive or passively ecstatic. Moreover the techniques for producing automatic and hypnotic phenomena are similar to that employed in stimulated conversion.*”¹³⁷

Professor Ames wrote:

“The first stage, the one in which the person feels keen dissatisfaction with himself, has been intensified in many denominations by the prevalent doctrine of the natural sinfulness of human nature . . .

¹³⁷ Op. cit. p. 354.

“The second moment in the conversion experience is the turning point at which the tension, confusion, and strife between the old and new are overcome.”¹³⁸

I do not say that Dr. Rizal lacked sensibility to the invisible and spiritual or that he had temporary inhibitions. But I would say that his sensibility to the invisible and spiritual was his faith which was not just faith but a result of thinking. We hear him speak for himself:

“Well then, my ‘faith’ in God, *if the result of thinking could be called faith*, is ‘blind’, blind in the sense that I know nothing. Neither do I believe nor not believe in the qualities that many attribute to Him.”¹³⁹

This type is clearly the “dominantly conscious and reflective with meager margin for subconscious activity” type as opposed to the “temperamental type” with a “large potent subconscious life” which is “the psychological component of susceptibility to conversion” according to James. *He was not the suggestible hypnotic type who could be easily converted by mere suggestion or hypnotism.* In fact, a better and more powerful type of suggestion could not prevail with him. The German influence is in point. He said in the already cited second letter to Father Pastells:

“As regards the ‘German Inspiration’ I will tell you that I am sorry to see the illustrious Father Pastells confounded in this point with the multitude who believes everything it hears without previous investigation. It is true that I have read German works but it was already when I discussed what I read, but to suppose that the Germans would have any influence is not to know the German people, their character and aspirations.”

No the facts do not bear out any of the conditions necessary for conversion. In fact, the suggestible type is the picture Father Balaguer would like Rizal to appear in his narration. That is why he makes Rizal childishly reply, “No, I will not be condemned,” upon being told that he was going to Hell, for outside Catholicism there is no salvation, and to implore the priest, “Father, what do you want me to do if I cannot dominate my reason?” But this fictitious story is not compatible with the facts of modern empirical psychology as well as with the facts of the true life of Rizal. Because, as Professor Pratt puts it, “Before the new

¹³⁸ Op. cit. pp. 258-260.

¹³⁹ Fourth letter to Father Pablo Pastells on April 4, 1893.

ideals come to unify and dominate the life they must be *accepted* (sic) and *loved* (sic): they can subjugate the old purpose and passions only by a change of emotional values."¹⁴⁰ Could the new ideal be *accepted* and *loved* when the "reason", which was to accept, "cannot be dominated"? No, under the circumstances it was not psychologically possible. Again, *contra factum non valet argumentum*.

Considering now the fact that Dr. Rizal was about to die the next day, could it not be possible that he was at that time nervous and brooding over his untimely death? And as such, afraid of death, might he not retract to save his soul? In the first place he had not a bit of nervousness because, as we have already alluded to, he was prepared to die since 1892, yet. In the second place, we have the accounts of his behavior in the morning of that day, when the death sentence was communicated to him in prison, testifying that he signed the "death sentence as a previous requirement," after protesting against it with his innocence, with the same bold hand he used to sign with¹⁴¹. His spirit was that of a contented, decided martyr who wrote the two valuable letters of farewell since 1892. For the second question, we could only repeat the account of Father Balaguer that Rizal told him that "he (Rizal) was guided by the reason that God had given him, adding with prudence that froze the blood, that as such he would face the Tribunal of God, *tranquil for having complied* with the duty of a rational man." Does the above, from the mouth of Father Balaguer himself, not prove that Rizal was not afraid, at that time, of death? For what was the supposed conversion then?

The psychologists have also found the accompanying facts of conversion. Jastrow writes:

"A more recent writer, Schou, points out the pathological nature of some of the manifestations, such as that of the depression period preceding exaltation, particularly in the case of youthful subjects."¹⁴²

And the *Encyclopedia Britannica* adds:

"It is marked by an ecstasy of joy, a sensation of heat or fire in the breast, or the consciousness of a bright

¹⁴⁰ Op. cit. p. 124.

¹⁴¹ Retana, W., op. cit. p. 415.

¹⁴² Loc. cit.

light (technically called a photism), great bouyancy and light-heartedness, a feeling of peace and release from perplexity, a sense of newness of life extending even to the external world surrounding the converted individuals, voices or auditions which appear to be sensorial automatisms produced by the excited physical and mental condition of the subject, and above all (except, perhaps, in Buddhism) a sense of being under divine control so that the conversion seems something given rather than achieved and is, in fact, felt to be the product of divine grace, not of human energy."¹⁴³

There was no depression period for Rizal because he had no sense of guilt or sin before his *supposed conversion*. Neither did he feel sorry for his death, nor did he accuse himself of anything that might produce depression in him. In fact, in the letter often referred to, which he wrote to his parents, he said:

“Gladly do I go to expose myself to peril, not as an expiation of misdeeds (for in this matter I believe myself guiltless of any), but to complete my work and myself offer the example of which I have always preached.”

There was none of the psychic accompaniment after conversion. In fact, Father Pio Pi said, after Rizal signed (supposedly) the retraction:

“Rizal had already given perhaps the most difficult step of his conversion (the signing of the retraction).

“This affair being finished, it was arranged that the prisoner should rest, and *he slept, in fact, peacefully a while.*”¹⁴⁴

According to the statement of Don Luis Taviel de Andrade, Dr. Rizal, while being conducted to the place of his execution, “walked peacefully, serenely, with the presence of mind truly wonderful without any air of arrogance and pride.”¹⁴⁵ And when he was about to be shot, a military doctor, surprised at such a possession of one’s self, asked him for his pulse. The doctor found out to his bewilderment that Dr. Rizal’s pulse was normal¹⁴⁶.

There was therefore no psychic nor neurological disturbances in Dr. Rizal, if we could take the Father’s statement for what happened. The supposed conversion was not verified in circum-

¹⁴³ Loc. cit.

¹⁴⁴ Op. cit. p. 36.

¹⁴⁵ Piñana, G., op. cit. p. 173.

¹⁴⁶ Russell and Rodriguez, *The Hero of the Filipinos*, 1923, p. 309.

stantial evidence, in point of fact. There was therefore the least probability in it. It remains to be a mere possibility and at this point what is not possible? Even the *non-conversion* is also possible.

Many, however, especially the over-credulous and fanatic, just uncritically give examples of conversion and reason out that because such conversions were effected, therefore Rizal might have possibly been converted. *Then from this mere possibility they usually jump at the illogical conclusion that therefore Dr. Rizal was converted.* And many, too, do not recognize the illogical character of such a leap.

The examples usually given are those of St. Paul and St. Augustine. But Professor Ames, criticizing the uncritical consideration given by some about these examples, said:

“Their personal experience has been regarded as of superior value because it has been assumed uncritically that their moral characters and achievements were determined by the manner of their conversion. But when it is recognized *that Paul was probably a neurotic, and that Augustine was a sensualist with a highly developed nervous temperament*, it becomes apparent that there were very special individual reasons for their dramatic conversions. It also appears that the forms of their conversions are accidental and not essential in spiritual development.”¹⁴⁷

I need not tarry any more at this point. I shall not repeat but only remind the readers about the “conversion of Pascal” what Father Pio Pi, himself, said of it, for I trust that they are not so soon forgotten. It amounts to saying that Pascal was a doubtful convert.

We shall now unfold before us the often mentioned examples that were perfectly analogous to Rizal’s *conversion*. The “conversions” of Galileo, Voltaire, Thomas Paine, Ingersoll are in point, because like these people, except Galileo, Dr. Rizal was a strong enemy of hypocritical pretension. Like these people Rizal was a free-thinker, philosopher, and scholar. Moreover, Dr. Rizal was audacious. And like these people who were the lone champions during their time, Rizal was the single star that rationalism had for its champion in this country then.

Speaking of Galileo Galilei, we know that he proved by scientific process the Copernican system of astronomy, very much re-

147 Op. cit. p. 265.

puddiated by the *theologian of the Holy Church*. "In Feb. 1616 the consulting theologians of the Holy Office characterized the proposition that the sun is immovable in the center of the world and that the earth has a diurnal motion of rotation as *heretical*. Shortly afterwards Galileo was admonished by the pope, Paul V., not to 'hold, teach, or defend' the condemned doctrine. This injunction he promised to obey."¹⁴⁸ Despite all efforts, Galileo failed to secure a revocation of this decree. In 1630, he finished his *Dialogo del due massimi sistemi del mondo*, of which "towards the end of August (1632) the sale was prohibited; on Oct. 1, the author was cited to Rome by the *Inquisition*. He pleaded his age (he was at this time 68 years old) and infirm health, but no excuse was admitted . . . He was finally examined by the *Inquisition* on June 21 (1633) under the menace of torture which was not carried out and which it was never intended to execute. The following day Galileo recanted and was sentenced to *incarceration* at the *pleasure of the tribunal*, and by way of penance was enjoined to recite once a week for three years seven penitential psalms."¹⁴⁹ He died on January 8, 1642. Such was the life of that unhappy man.

When such a thing happened with Galileo at the age of 68, could we now jump at the conclusion that it was also possible to happen to Dr. Rizal at the age of 35? We could admit the mere possibility, which means nothing. We could not and we should not be hasty, because we must also consider the time and place as well as the condition and person in which this phenomenon occurred. We must not also forget the age of both. There could not be found any parallelism in both. Then the analogy fails.

A man, before Galileo, Giordano Bruno in person, that first martyr of Science on the stake, was claimed by the *Catholic Encyclopedia* to have retracted in this wise:

"Failing to obtain from Bruno the secret of his 'natural magic', Mocenego denounced him to the *Inquisition*. Bruno was arrested, and in his trial before the Venetian inquisitors, first took refuge in the principle of 'two-fold truth', saying that the errors imputed to him were held by him 'as a philosopher, and not as an honest Christian': later, however, he solemnly abjured all his errors and doubts in the

148 *Encyclopedia Britannica*, Vol. IX, 14th Ed. p. 980; see also *Catholic Encyclopedia*, Vol. VI, pp. 344-345.

149 *Idem*.

matter of Catholic doctrine and practice (Berti, Docum. XII, 22 and XIII, 45) . . .”¹⁵⁰

And continuing the account of his foul death, our source says:

“ . . . in February, 1573, Bruno was sent to Rome, and for six years was kept in the prison of the Inquisition . . . In the spring of 1577, the trial was begun before a commission of the Roman Inquisition, and, after the accused had been granted *several terms of respite in which to retract his errors* (which he did not, lest he would not be burned; and showing further that the first retraction was not only not enough, but that it was not really meant) he was finally condemned (January 1600) (sic) and handed over to the secular power (8 February) (sic); and burned at the stake in the Campo dei Fiori in Rome (17 February) (sic).”

And very interestingly confesses our narrator:

“Bruno was not condemned (why not say burned?) for his defence of the Copernican system of astronomy, nor for his doctrine of the plurality of the inhabited worlds, but for his *theological errors*, among which were the following: that Christ was not God but merely an unusually skilful magician, that the Holy Ghost is the soul of the world, that the devil will be saved, etc.”

That was true martyrdom for the cause of principle, and martyrdom made more lustrous by no retraction.

Let us now take Voltaire. This versatile French satirist, whose true name was Françoise Marie Arouet, was a enemy of hypocrisy. His career was an undying fight for freedom and attempt to free minds from the shackles of slavery. Nevertheless, he was claimed by many a fanatic to have also retracted and converted to the Church. In the *Encyclopedia Britannica*, we read this:

“But such proceedings (Academic meetings) in the case of a man of eighty-four were impossible. To keep himself up, he exceeded even his usual excess in coffee, and about the middle of May (1791), he became very ill. On May 30, *the priests were once more sent for— to wit, his nephew, the Abbé Mignot, the Abbé Gaultier, who had officiated on the former occasion, and the parish priest, the curé of St. Sulpice. In a state of half-insensibility he petulantly motioned them away, dying in the course of the night. The result was a difficulty as to burial, which was*

¹⁵⁰ Op. cit. Vol. III, p. 17.

compromised by hurried internment at the abbey of Scellières in Champagne, anticipating the interdict of the bishop of the diocese by an hour or two."¹⁵¹

A curious question is here in point, to wit: Does not the life of Voltaire demonstrate that a man may not retract and yet be buried in an abbey, in whatever manner? That is to say, a man's body may be buried in an abbey but yet it does not mean he retracted?

Let us tarry a little by quoting what Dr. Rizal, himself, knew about the last moments of Voltaire. In his "The Vision of Fr. Rodriguez", Dr. Rizal made St. Augustine speak to Fr. Rodriguez about Voltaire thus:

"Voltaire who knew what tale you told about his death comes to me and with a fine smile extends to me his hand and gives me his thanks.

'Why,' I ask him.

'Your sons, my dear Doctor of the Church,' he answers, 'proved and continued to prove with facts what I sustained with words . . .'

'And what did you sustain then?'

'That they were, besides being ignorant, liars.'

'I could not but be silent, for he was right. Know that he died at the age of 84, conserving such lucidity of intelligence that when they (priests) came to wrest from him a confession, 'Leave me in peace,' he answered and expired. But I do not scold you for that; you only have lied through what others say. What is worse is that Voltaire has been asking God that *you* (Father Rodriguez) be taken to Heaven alive and in habiliment. And when asked why he wanted so, he (Voltaire) replied: 'In order to divert us!'"

What a recommendation for a priest of God to God! Remember that it was Dr. Rizal who said and wrote that.

Let us hasten to Thomas Paine. I shall not attempt to parade the biography and achievement of this great defender of freedom and slanderer of superstitions. It is enough to recall that he was the author of the immortal "Age of Reason", "Rights of Man", etc. It is said by Sir Leslie Stephen in the "Dictionary of National Biography" that: "

¹⁵¹ Op. cit. Vol. 23, 14th Ed. p. 250.

“Paine was more or less ‘ostracised’ by society during his last stay in America. Political and theological antipathies were strong, and Paine, as at once the assailant of Washington and the federalists and the author of the “Age of Reason” was hated by one party, while the other was shy of claiming his support.”¹⁵²

And yet such a great man, thinker, and leader was said to have retracted his “Age of Reason” in this Age of Reason, but to which Sir Leslie Stephen replied:

“Various stories circulated to show that Paine repented of his opinions on his death-bed were *obviously pious fictions* meant to ‘serve the cause of religion.’”¹⁵³

The Claim was unfounded and a simple pious fraud.

And now we spare not Ingersoll, that vigorous and indefatigable thinker and speaker, a great enemy of superstition and hypocrisy, the author of “Mistakes of Moses” and a great many other works. Frederic Logan Paxson, in the “Dictionary of American Biography” calls him a “lawyer and lecturer, (who) was best known to his contemporaries as ‘the great agnostic’” and “one who questioned the bases of the Christian religion.”¹⁵⁴ We shall not recount here the story of his deeds and battles but simply answer the calumny heaped upon his memory by making him do a thing that he did not do. Do they say that this man retracted before his death? How could he when “less than three years later (than 1896) he died at Dobbs Ferry, N.Y. of an affection of the heart.”¹⁵⁵ That was why Clarence Darrow, that eloquent American criminal lawyer emphatically said, “I have heard of Bob Ingersoll’s repenting before he died, and yet the very people that lied about him knew that he didn’t have time to repent, for he dropped dead.”¹⁵⁶

No, we cannot here go on inventing fictions, pious though they are, only to perpetuate pious frauds. History, however, is full of such calumnies multiplied many times. They are numerous and bad enough. Shall we add to the number of such calumnies this case of Dr. Jose Rizal? No, Reason forbids!

¹⁵² Op. cit. 1909, Vol. XV. p. 77.

¹⁵³ Ibid., p. 78.

¹⁵⁴ Op. cit. 1935, Vol. IX, pp. 469, 470.

¹⁵⁵ Idem.

¹⁵⁶ *Is Religion Necessary?* a debate. Haldeman-Julius Pub. p. 22.

Considered psychologically, therefore, Rizal's conversion as reported by the Jesuits was beyond probability. How could it be actual then? Only the words of the priests, priests of the Catholic Church as they are, and Catholic Church that has a vital interest at stake in the matter, tell us of this retraction. But the evidence tells quite a different story altogether! Shall we close our eyes, throw away evidence, make the sign of the cross and prayerfully murmur, "Jesus-Maria-Jose, nevertheless, do not believe the evidence of your senses nor reason but only have faith?" Indeed, "unless you be like one of these little children, you shall not enter the kingdom of heaven." All childishness leads to heaven!

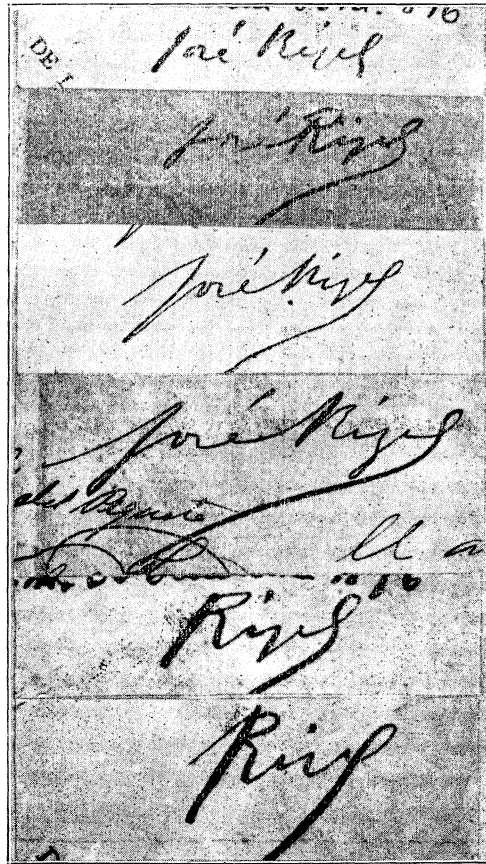


Fig. XX. The juxtaposed arrangement of the various signatures of Dr. Rizal with the signature of the retraction for the purpose of comparative study. The first signature is that of Josephine's "Imitacion de Cristo", the second is that of the farewell to his mother, the third is that of his letter to Andrade, the fourth is that of the retraction, the fifth and the sixth, which are both partial signatures, are those of the remembrances to Trinidad and Josefa respectively.

CHAPTER VIII

THE PHILOSOPHICAL CONTROVERSY

It would be the greatest injustice to Dr. Jose Rizal, himself a philosopher, and a glaring mark of incompetence on the part of any writer if the philosophical problem involved in the so-called *retraction*, or what Father Pio Pi called *conversion* of the Martyr is not given proper treatment among these pages. It is the greatest injustice, because Dr. Jose Rizal was principally a thinker, a philosopher, and an educator who paved his way to Martyrdom not through rocket shooting, nor opportunism, but by thinking and philosophizing to the best of human reason and judgment he was endowed with—thinking and philosophizing that earned him enemies, enemies who executed him, and execution that crowned his work and made his already beloved name dearer still to the hearts of his sincere countrymen and enlightened people of the world. Therefore, to ignore such philosophical aspect of this question is ignoring the fundamental part of and essential question in real and genuine conversion. It is as well the incompetence of any writer to neglect such aspect, because it will clearly show us that he has not analyzed such religious-philosophical problem to its real root, which negligence is exactly the mark of an incompetent writer on question he has not analyzed correctly and fully. Therefore, our present chapter needs no apology for its being, but on the contrary, has all the imperative demand to be dealt with.

It is not our purpose here to disturb those who are asleep, principally, Dr. Jose Rizal (*requiescat in pace*), but paradoxically to awaken those who are awake so that those who are asleep may not be disturbed. A paradox that is all the more necessary, because of the present confusion among the living about the dead. The only and best way out of such a confusion is to make the dead live in their immortal thoughts that speak silently but very effectively to the understanding of those who can and want to understand. That is why in the present chapter I am trying to resurrect the *religious controversy* that was said to have or might

This chapter is reprinted, with major amplification of the materials for the Catholic side of the controversy and revision towards a more precise and stronger conclusion, from the author's article in "The Philippine Social Science Review", July, 1933.

have occurred in the Chapel on December 29, the day before the fatal execution that sent the Doctor Martyr to eternity.

The more fundamental question, if we are speaking of the *religious controversy*, is not whether Dr. Rizal was *converted*, or *not*, to Catholicism, but whether he was *convinced*, or *not*, during their controversy, for if Dr. Rizal was *convinced* he was surely to be *converted* but if he was *converted*, it is *doubtful* if he was *convinced*, unless proved so. This is not a predetermined hypothesis but one which is brought out by facts as we shall later see, *assuming* that the *testimonies* of the *fathers*, who witnessed the supposed occasion, *are true*.

It is therefore logical that the difference, whatever, between *convincement*¹⁵⁷ and *conversion* be drawn, at least in this hypothesis, otherwise the hypothesis itself is nothing. It is not merely a matter of definition, although definition is forced out by the distinction made by the hypothesis, for, as we have said, the hypothesis is eked out by the facts. Let us then define our terms. Of course, generally speaking, for those who would think other than the conclusion of this chapter, *conversion* includes *convincement* and they would conclude therefrom that if the Doctor was *converted*, that is, granting that he was converted, he was surely *convinced*, not considering into account the facts of this particular case. I, however, think otherwise, and this particular case of Dr. Jose Rizal, as we shall see later, will afford us an exception, perhaps a timely opportunity to re-define our terms. Before Dr. Rizal was said to have signed the retraction, he was also said to have insisted to Father Balaguer, "But, Father, what do you want me to do, if I cannot dominate my reason?"¹⁵⁸ If in spite of what is implied, if not otherwise expressed in that innocent sounding question—of wonder, or ridicule, or whatnot?—Dr. Rizal was said to have been *converted*, I doubt his *convincement*. Does this fact not proved, therefore, the logicity of the distinction between *conversion* and *convincement* in this case of Dr. Rizal at least? No? I could not see *how not*. *Convincement* (from to be convinced) then would mean the act or state of being overcome or subdued, thus producing *conviction* (quite akin to opinion) by the argument of the adversary, while *conversion* (from to be con-

157 The word *convincement* is advisedly preferred to *conviction* in order to avoid ambiguity that the latter might have acquired through use and also to emphasize by contrast the *formal character* of *conversion*.

158 Father Pio Pi, op. cit. p. 34.

verted) means the overt act or acceptance of the formal rituals of a Church or religion with or without *conviction*. *Convincement*, therefore, is an appeal to reason and intellect, and when one's reason would not give way, that one is surely not *convinced*, if we are not to speak of the miraculous. However, were *conversion* to mean and not merely to suppose or imply *convincement*, hence *conviction*, then there would be no quarrel as to the use of our terms, but the inference or implication must not be supposed merely but shown, I repeat. Nevertheless, as I shall always insist for our better understanding, if *conversion* could merely imply, or if from *conversion* we are only to infer *convincement*, hence *conviction*, it is high time for us to realize that this is begging the question, since we are trying to determine if Dr. Rizal was really *convinced or not*, when he was *supposed to have been converted*. To assume what we are to look for is to make us all beggars! But let us shun such poverty of understanding!

With the foregoing logical distinction before our mind's eye, let us array the facts by which we are to arrive at our judgment. It is now therefore the intention of the present writer to revive the religious controversy that Dr. Rizal had with Fathers Viza and Balaguer before the former's execution. Since the detailed account of that discussion is wanting, even in the very testimonies of Fathers Viza and Balaguer, themselves, for some suspicious cause (reason?) that may shake the "self-styled" assurance of the said fathers as to the defeat of Dr. Rizal, we are left to judge for ourselves as to what happened. But thanks to the little testimonies of these fathers, that are too one-sided, too careful to give only their own parts in the discussion, and some fragments of what everyone who knows Dr. Rizal would expect the same to reply, and to the latter's invaluable letters to Father Pastells, that we can recount what Dr. Rizal might have answered in that religious-philosophical controversy. I frankly admit that my assumption on this reconstruction of the debate is that the Fathers' contentions were based upon the Church doctrines, unchanging since then, or even since the beginning till our time, and that Dr. Rizal at the time of their discussion had not yet forgotten what he had thought out and taught as his religious ideas which he put into writing particularly in the four letters sent to Father Pablo Pastells, S.J., on September 1st and November 11th of 1892, January 9th and April 4th of 1893 respectively, the delicate "rough drafts" of which, in Rizal's own handwriting, are now conserved in the National Library, the author had had occasion to verify through

the kind permission of the director. This assumption is not without foundation. Thus writes Retana¹⁵⁹, quoting the anonymous "Rizal y Su Obra", Rizal's impiety of a very cold manner, characterized with reservation and skepticism has taken root in his heart which resisted with tenacity the grace of God, causing no little pain to those who desired his salvation, *during the whole day and a part of the night before his death*. This is only to say that Rizal held on to his skepticism, in the sense that his belief was different from that of the father, and therefore to his beliefs which we shall find exposed in those famous letters almost always referred to here. Again, we have here the words of Father Pio Pi to the effect that "to all these (referring to the subject matters discussed between Dr. Rizal and the priests) the poor defendant (Rizal) is not given as convinced."¹⁶⁰ In fact these citations are superfluous, for the fact that there would have been no discussion had Dr. Rizal not held on to his un-Catholic beliefs; but simply for conventionality we have to cite quotations sometimes. Now, is not our assumption well founded?

It was said that when Fathers Saderra and Viza¹⁶¹ went to visit Rizal, the latter upon seeing them inquired about the image of the Sacred Heart of Jesus which he carved in his early years in the Ateneo. Father Viza having anticipated, as he confessed, something in connection with this image, had put it in his pocket before going to Rizal¹⁶². To such an inquiry of the prisoner, Father Viza replied taking the image from his pocket, "Here it is, look, the Sacred Heart comes to console you."¹⁶³

According to Father Viza, Rizal spoke with him about many things among which are Masonry, which Rizal did not take as a bad thing and Rizal's recognition of the intervention of the Divine Providence—of which we shall later seek his thoughts—which made him affirm it to be his luck to die as he would die, that is, at the scaffold, releasing his heavily burdened breast, before he was alleged to have been converted, "Well, the other way would not save me, but now (he had already read the sentence of death upon himself, but had not yet retracted) I will be saved." The father owned that he disproved Rizal's contention that Masonry

¹⁵⁹ Op. cit. p. 416.

¹⁶⁰ Op. cit. p. 33.

¹⁶¹ The account of Father Viza is in G. Piñana, op. cit. pp. 105-109.

¹⁶² Retana, W., op. cit. p. 416.

¹⁶³ Fr. Pio Pi, op. cit. p. 30.

is not a bad thing. According to Father Pio Pi¹⁶⁴, Rizal believed that Masonry is not intrinsically bad, although many Masons were bad, that the Masons he (Rizal) dealt with in London, where he had been affiliated, were decent persons, that the Masonry in the Philippines was not opposed to Catholicism, and that from the Masons of lower grades were not required acts that would imply apostasy to the Catholic Religion. But Father Viza contended that Masonry is a bad thing for having been condemned by the Church. But shall we not allow that Rizal, an acute thinker and a subtle logician too, as he was, which we shall later see, must have seen the round-aboutness of the Father's argument? Masonry is a bad thing for it was condemned by the Church, but it was condemned by the Church because it must have been bad—the expression to which any “side-tracking” will amount—not that because the Church simply condemned it, otherwise the Church shall appear to be unrational—not irrational—condemning right and left for no reason at all. That the Church is unrational may be admitted in order to escape the vicious circle; for it may be further contended that the Church is a “faith-founded institution”, so that whatever it pronounced as so and so must only be accepted without question by virtue of faith, not realizing that to establish this thesis of faith, *reason* and *not faith* must be resorted to. But I could not see how Rizal, who until that time still denied the infallible authority of the Church, could be given as defeated or even convinced that his contention was disproved by the father on the ground of faith in the Church. I could not also comprehend in my humble way of understanding how Rizal, who in his first letter to Father Pablo Pastells, dated at Dapitan on September 1, 1892, after due and deliberate reflection wrote and cast his lot as he wrote, that the *individual judgement* or *reason* is the lantern that God gives to each of His sons, and the disownment of which is an offense to God for disdaining *His most precious gift*, could then leave unrefuted, if he took their controversy as serious, such a consequential admission that the Church is unrational. With this simple analysis before us we are therefore forced to demand from the Father to show the badness of Masonry other than for being condemned by the Church—unconsciously projecting ourselves in the place of Rizal—for that statement that it is simply condemned by the Church would not do, used as we are no more to dogmatism and obscurantism. And yet the fathers

164 Ibid., p. 35.

claimed that Rizal was defeated in arguments . . . What a claim! But since nothing was said by the said father as to that point, let us then pass to the next event, bearing in mind that Rizal's spirit was one of "philosophical resignation"¹⁶⁵—paradoxically characterized by struggle—and not one of fanatical resignation that says *amen* to anything said.

Let us come to the more vital and necessary points subtracting those unnecessary ones. Fathers Villaclara and Balaguer came at about ten o'clock in the same morning, testifies Retana¹⁶⁶. According to Father Balaguer's own testimony¹⁶⁷, Rizal greeted them warmly and had a conversation with them, talking of many things. Father Balaguer then *requested Rizal to give accounts of his ideas about religion* (what a nice cloak to hide the skin of Inquisition!). For certain phrases in which Rizal manifested love for Jesus Christ, the Father saw immediately in Rizal's reply the latter's being a protestant, insufficient though the evidence was, to warrant such a hasty conclusion. On the contrary, Rizal was not a protestant as his second letter to Father Pastells dated November 11, 1892, would clearly show us. To quote a translated portion of it:

"If you would know what I have lost for not declaring myself a protestant, I would not say any similar thing. Not always to respect the religious ideas, to take for me religion as a science of convenience or as an art of being well in this life, instead of being a poor deported, I would now be rich, free, and you would see me heaped with honors. Rizal, a protestant! A loud laughter dances merrily within my breast that only the respect for what you said can contain."

This only shows to us that Father Balaguer did not know at the time of their discussion, the four letters of Rizal to Father Pastells. As such it would not be surprising therefore to find this reverend Father to be speaking and assuming too much, as if Rizal had not written his religious ideas in those invaluable letters. Here is also the danger of simply seeing some apparent similarities between Rizal's and the protestant's way of talking and then to conclude therefrom that therefore Rizal was a protestant. We cannot now be dogmatically hasty in our conclusion.

¹⁶⁵ Rizal's second letter to Father P. Pastells, Nov. 11, 1892.

¹⁶⁶ Op. cit. p. 417.

¹⁶⁷ Piñana, G., op. cit. pp. 152-154.

According to Father Balaguer, Rizal pronounced more or less explicitly that the latter's rule of faith was the words of God contained in the Sacred Scriptures; and the Father claimed to have made Rizal see what is false and unsustainable in such a criterion, and that is, that without the authority of the Church, the authenticity of the Sacred Scriptures or of the books truly revealed by God could not be evident to him. This alleged criterion of Rizal is truly a protestant doctrine¹⁶⁸. In the words of Rev. Bertrand L. Conway¹⁶⁹:

"The reformers of the sixteenth century declared that the Bible only, understood according to an individual's private judgment, was the complete source and organ of revealed truth for man's salvation. They had denied the divine, infallible authority established by Jesus Christ, and so in words at least, endeavored to substitute an authority equally divine and infallible . . .

"Catholics, on the contrary, hold with St. Paul, that 'faith cometh' not by reading, by 'by hearing' (Rom. X 17): that the gospel of Christ is to be learned from a divine, infallible living voice—the Catholic Church, which guarantees to everyone not merely the written word, but also the unwritten teaching of divine tradition (2 Thess. II, 13, 14) . . .

"Deny the Church's infallible witness, and lo! the bible is reduced to the level of mere Oriental literature full of errors and utterly devoid of divine inspiration (and its priests, to the status of magicians and medicine men of uncivilized tribes!). The Catholic Church alone guarantees infallibly the authenticity of the Latin Vulgate, the contents of the Canon, and the inspiration of all the seventy-two books of the Holy Writ."¹⁷⁰

Or in the words of Archbishop James Cardinal Gibbons¹⁷¹:

"The Church, as we have just seen, is the only Divinely constituted teacher of Revelation.

"Now, the Scripture is the great depository of the Word of God. Therefore, the Church is the divinely appointed Custodian and Interpreter of the Bible. For, her office of infallible Guide were superfluous if each individual could interpret the Bible for himself (but what of it?) . . .

"The task of preparing a new edition of the Scriptures was assigned to St. Jerome, the most learned Hebrew (Catholic) scholar of his time. This new translation was

168 Catholic Encyclopedia, Vol. XI, p. 496.

169 The Question-Box Answers, 1903, New York.

170 Op. cit. pp. 45, 47.

171 The Faith of Our Fathers, 1917, Baltimore.

disseminated throughout Christendom, and on that account was called the *Vulgate* (sic) or the popular edition.”¹⁷²

Such was precisely the argument of Father Balaguer, in substance, based upon the Church’s doctrine, on this question of the rule of faith, since he could not, as no priest could overthrow the doctrine of the Church without also overthrowing his priesthood. Shall we not again allow Rizal, a subtle thinker that he always was, to have noted the vicious circle in this refutation of what Rizal was alleged to have said? How? The authenticity of the Sacred Scriptures is based upon the infallible authority of the Church, because as Reverend Gibbons says, “when you accept the Bible as the Words of God, you are obliged to receive it on the authority of the Catholic Church, who was the sole Guardian of the Scriptures for fifteen hundred years.”¹⁷³ But the Church infallibility was founded upon the words of Jesus Christ, as Reverend Conway said in the above quotation. These words of Jesus Christ are the famous Petrine text, the ground, among other texts, of the doctrine of the infallibility of the Church, which according to Archbishop Gibbons is the “. . . keystone in the arch of Catholic faith . . .”¹⁷⁴ The text reads:

“Thou art Peter; and on this rock I will build my Church, and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it.

“And I will give to thee the keys of the kingdom of heaven. And whatsoever thou shalt bind upon earth, it shall be bound also in heaven; and whatsoever thou shalt loose on earth, it shall be loosed also in heaven.”¹⁷⁵

We shall not deal with the question of whether or not this famous Petrine text is an interpolation, a pious fraud so to say, but we shall here consider only that according to Archbishop Gibbons such texts are the foundation of the doctrine of Church Infallibility¹⁷⁶. So it follows that the infallible Church was established by the Sacred Scriptures—whether in book-form or not is immaterial—without yet the infallible authority of the Church at the time when there was no such Church. And yet the authenticity of the Sacred Scriptures is based upon the infallible authority of the Church

¹⁷² Op. cit. pp. 77, 91.

¹⁷³ Ibid., p. 83.

¹⁷⁴ Ibid., p. 125.

¹⁷⁵ Matth. XVI: 18-19, Douay Version, quoted also by Archbishop Gibbons, op. cit. p. 125.

¹⁷⁶ Ibid., p. 125.

as Father Balaguer argued. Does this argument not mean that before there was this infallible authority of the Church, there was first the Scripture which created the Church, which creature in turn, mysteriously or miraculously—*i.e.*, for no human reason, and what reason is not human for that matter?—becomes the infallible authority of the Scriptures, its creator? Does it mean to say that before there was this infallible Church, the Scriptures were not authentic? Well then, where was the authenticity of the creation of the Church from the Scripture taken or better, where was the authenticity of the doctrine of Church infallibility taken? Somehow and somewhere authenticity must be given to it. If so, why deny now to each thinking and reasoning individual and grant it only to the Church? The defense of Rev. Conway to the effect that there is no vicious circle here, because “the Church is proved by the historical authority of the New Testament; but the historical value of the New Testament is not proved by the Church; therefore there is no fallacy in our reasoning”¹⁷⁷ would not do, because we are here dealing not with the historical value but with what Father Balaguer called authenticity or inspiration of the Sacred Scriptures, for, as it is always claimed, every text of the Holy Writ must be inspired, therefore the Petrine text must not be an exception.

But that is a little beside the fact I want to give although it is not out of the question. In the first place, I wish to deny, not by denial simply, that Rizal said that his rule of faith was the *Words of God in the Sacred Scriptures*. In his third letter to Father Pastells, dated January 9th, 1893, he seriously wrote his own reflections thus:

“Penetrated with that vague but irresistible sentiment before the inconceivable, the superhuman, the infinite, I leave its study (the study about God) to clearer intelligence; *I listen in suspense to what the religions say; and incapable of judging what overcomes my forces, I content myself in studying Him in His creatures, my brothers; and in the voice of my conscience that only can proceed from him.* I endeavor to read and guess His Will in what surrounds me and in the interior mysterious sentiment that I feel within me, whose purity I procure above all things in order to act according to it. *Many religions* (Christianity not exempted) *pretend to have in their books* (example, the Sacred Scriptures) *and dogmas* (for instance, Church Infallibility) *His Will to be condensed and written, but apart*

¹⁷⁷ Op. cit. pp. 67-68.

from many contradictions, from varied interpretations regarding the words, from many obscure and unsustainable points, my conscience, my heart cannot admit. How could He, who has foreseen very wisely and paternally for His creatures what are necessary in this life, go to conceal what is necessary for eternity *in the mists of a language, unknown to all the rest of the world, obscured by metaphors and facts* (pretended) *contrary to His own laws?* (This last italicized clause explains the confusion there is in Christendom about this word of God). He who makes His sun shine for all and circulates the air to all parts to substantiate the blood; He who has given to all *intelligence and reason* to live in this life, could He hide from us what are necessary for Eternity? What would we say of a father who heaped for his sons dainties and toys but would give food only to one, educate him, and support him? And if it results afterwards that his elected one rejects that food while the others die looking for it?"

I quote further from the fourth letter dated April 4, 1893:

"I do not believe that Revelation is impossible; before, I believed well in it, *but not in the revelation or revelations that each religion or all religions (Christianity again not exempted) pretend to possess.* Upon impartially examining comparing, and scrutinizing them, one cannot less than recognize in them all the human 'finger prints' and the stamp of the time in which they were written."

Still further, Dr. Rizal spoke his immortal words in the same letter:

"*I believed in the revelation but in that living revelation of Nature that surrounds us everywhere, in that voice, potent, eternal, incessant, incorruptible, clear, distinct, universal, as the Being from whom it proceeds; in that revelation that speaks to and penetrates us since we are born till we die.* What books can reveal to us better the goodness of God, His love, His providence, His eternity, His glory, His wisdom? *Coeli enarrant gloriam Domini et opera manum ejus annunciat firmamentum*—The heavens relate the glory of God, and the firmament announces the work of his hand. What more Bible and gospels does Humanity need? Ah! Father . . . *Do you not believe that men have done wrong in looking for the Divine will in parchment and temples instead of looking for it in the works of Nature under the magnificent vault of Heaven? Instead of interpreting obscure passages or ambiguous phrases that provoke hatred, wars, and discussions was it not better to interpret the works of Nature to fashion better our life to her inviolable laws, to utilize her forces for our perfection? When have they begun to make men brothers, besides,*

when have they consulted the first page of the work of God? Like the prodigal son, who blind before the happiness of his paternal home, has to look for other strangers, humanity has roamed miserably and was full of animosity through many centuries."

Are all these quotations not enough yet to prove my denial about the alleged rules of faith of Dr. Rizal, which the Father claimed to have combated? Do they not prove to us beyond doubt that the *rules of faith of Dr. Rizal* are those *Words of God written in Nature* and *not in the so-called Sacred Scriptures*?

If the above quotations, lengthy and wearisome as they are, are not yet enough, then bear with me once more in consulting and invoking Dr. Rizal himself to speak. In his "The Vision of Fr. Rodriguez" we will find exactly what he says of the Bible and the gospels.

"It is well that he (one of the friars), like all other fanatics, believe that they (Bible and gospels) form only one thing, *but I, who have studied the Bible in the Original Hebrew*, know that it (the Bible) does not contain the gospels; that the Bible being a Jewish creation, history, treasure, and patrimony of the Jewish people, here the authority is the Jewish people, who do not accept the gospels, that the Latin translation (Vulgate) being inexact in some points, wrongly would the Catholics give here the law, they who pretend to possess themselves of that which is not theirs, and to interpret in their manner, for their favor the translation, altering the spirit of the texts. The gospels, less that of Matthew, besides being written in Greek, are of late and in essence as in fact, they cast away the laws of Moses, the proof of which is the enmity between the Christians and the Jews. *Why, then, knowing all this have I to speak as a fanatic and an ignorant friar?* I do not exact that a friar should speak as a free-thinker (is this not a frank admission of his stand?); that they should neither exact that I should speak as a friar."

Do we still doubt Dr. Rizal's position as to his belief about the Sacred Scriptures? If Rizal believed, and his beliefs were founded on facts of his own investigation, that the Bible is a Jewish creation, history, treasure, and patrimony of the Jewish people, I could not understand in my humble way of judgment how he, too, could believe the same to be the words of God, notwithstanding his own statement as to what he positively believed as the *Words of God*.

But in spite of all these proofs to the contrary, we still find that the father had asserted such. But why so? Either Rizal

had really uttered that statement or not. If he really said that his rules of faith were the words of God in the Sacred Scriptures, he must have been a protestant and not a rationalist. But the fact is that Father Balaguer, himself, admits that *Rizal had frankly declared himself a rationalist without admitting other criterion than the individual reason*, which we also proved from Rizal's letters, while the same father testifies that *Rizal came to tell him more or less explicitly such rule of faith as the above*. At such a *conflict between the testimonies of the same father*, I, for one with proofs quoted from Dr. Rizal, himself, who up to the time in question had not given up his being a rationalist and a free-thinker as well as his denial of being a protestant, believe that he did not say that his rule of faith was as the Father alleged.

If that was not said by Rizal then the reason for its being alleged by the Father is not difficult to see. Did we not read above, and which we have disproved through Rizal's own words, not mentioning the uncited statement of Father Pi to the same effect, that Father Balaguer saw in Rizal's reply the latter's being a protestant even at the beginning of their conversation? Then inferring from that, everyone, not alone the Father, would think that Rizal's rule of faith must be that of the protestant, that is, his rule of faith must be the Sacred Scriptures alone in the light of one's understanding. From this, therefore, we see at once that it was the Father's own inference and imagination that he himself treated to disprove rather than the rule of faith of Dr. Rizal.

But even granting that Rizal had said that, in order to give the Father the right to his own refutation, still I could not see how he could make Rizal see the falsity in that, by alleging the truth of the infallible authority of the Church—a genuine Catholic doctrine. In the first place, Rizal did not believe in the revelation written in books but in the genuine work of God which is Nature. For the next point, let us quote him again from his fourth letter to Father Pastells who must have endeavored to prove the same Church infallibility to Rizal three or four years earlier.

“All of the brilliant and subtle arguments of yours, which I do not treat to refute for I would have to write a treatise—not that Rizal could not refute them—cannot convince me that the Catholic Church would be the one endowed with infallibility. In her also are the human ‘finger prints’; she is an institution more perfect than others, but human to the end, with the defects, errors, and vicissitudes of the works of men. She is wiser, more ably guided than

other religions, as she is the direct heir to the religious, artistic, and political science of Egypt, Greece, and Rome; she has her foundation in the hearts of the people, in the imagination of the multitude, and in the love of women; but like all, she has her obscure points which she cloaks with the name of mysteries, childishness that sanctifies miracles, divisions or dissensions that are named sects or heresies."

With this frank dissertation about Rizal's belief on the infallible authority of the Church, I could not honestly speak in the same assurance as that of Father Balaguer when he claimed to have refuted Rizal's argument. Empty pride is the root of sin.

It was next claimed by the Father that he made Rizal see that the individual reason cannot in any way interpret by his (individual's) free will the words of God. This argument is partly inapplicable since Rizal did not treat to interpret the *claimed God's words* but the *veritable works of God*. Can anyone interpret by his free will the *works of God*? Does anyone, who interprets, interpret such works of God according to his free will? Quotations from Rizal's letter will clear all doubts away. In his second letter dated November 11, 1892, he unequivocally expressed his belief. To wit:

"I imagine men in their study of truth as the students of design who copy a statue. Sitting around it (the statue), some much nearer, others much further, who from certain height, who from below, see it in different manner, and how much more are they polished in being faithful in their designs as much as they are distinguished from one another."

Just as the artist interprets according to his free will and capacity and sense of perspective what he is copying, so also does anyone in his study of truth interpret the works of God freely. What is the statue he analogically referred to? From the previous quotations, did he not unerringly point to Nature as the veritable Works of God and to the individual conscience as His voice speaking to everyone? That would readily be admitted if we only recall what we have read above. From this last quotation, can we not believe that for Rizal each one can interpret the works of God, as each painter can copy the design from his point of view? And were each to interpret the works of God, which is Nature, what will he use in such an undertaking? In the first place, the *judgment*. In his first letter, he said, "For me, the judgment is a lantern that the Father gives to each of his sons before a pere-

grination through rough and winding paths." Then, *conscience*. In his fourth letter, he frankly deduced, "He (God) ought to create me for a good end, and for this (end) I do not have any other better thing to guide me than my conscience, my conscience only that judges and qualifies my acts." And then again, in the same letter, he said, "But these (moral precepts of absolute necessity and utility) God has put in the heart; in the human conscience, its better temple, and for this I adore more that good provident God who has gifted each one with what is necessary for his salvation, that he has opened for us continually and always the book of his revelation, his priests speaking incessantly in the voice of our conscience." As regards *reason*, Father Balaguer, himself, in his own testimony says that Rizal told him that he (Rizal) was guided by his reason which God has given him, adding with prudence that freed the Father's blood, that as such he (Rizal) would give account before the Tribunal of God, peaceful for having complied with the duty of a rational man¹⁷⁸. All these facts therefore point us beyond doubt to the idea that for Rizal, the faculties (if judgment, reason, and conscience could rightly be called faculties) with which man seeks to interpret the works of God are God-given faculties. Now, let us come back to our question. "Does the individual then in interpreting the Works of God interpret it according to his own free will?" Apparently he does, for God does not come down to us to tell us, in the literal sense of the word, how to interpret. But in reality, Rizal's God is not aloof from humanity, although He does not literally come down here in the visible form, for the faculties that the individual loves to call and believes his own are God's gifts. Therefore the individual interprets God's works in his free will, which is the will of God, since *vox conscientiae est vox Dei*. In the sense therefore that the free will of the individual is the Will of God or that it is dictated by God, could the individual be said to interpret God's works according to his free will and to God's. But this idea the Father could not grant, since he wanted to show, so that his objection may be in place and apparently tenable, that the individual's free will is entirely different from the will of God which he believed is given only to and through the Church. But here at this point, an objection to Rizal's position may be raised, that is, if God speaks in our reason, judgment, and conscience and this God is the source of truth or that He is truth itself, He could not therefore speak falsehood—an unconscious

178 Piñana, G., op. cit. p. 152.

limitation of the Unlimited— and therefore men would not err. But men do err. The objection here is that we would know too much and only the truth, how then shall we explain errors? Explain them away? No! In his second letter, he said, "In the social, moral, and political question, we walk very blindly (I speak for myself) that often times we confound the truth with our conveniences (self-interests) when we do gag it (truth) for speaking to our passions." Rizal therefore recognized our conveniences as a source of errors. And in this particular question of Dr. Rizal's retraction, who will deny that convenience plays a very important role for the partisan of a Church, organization, or vested interests?

Rizal frankly declared himself a rationalist and a free-thinker who admits no other criterion of truth than the individual reasons, testifies his opponent, Father Balaguer. The latter owns that he demonstrated to Rizal what is false and absurd in rationalism by the lack of instruction of the immense majority of human lineage and the absurd and monstrous errors professed by the many sages of Paganism. We see here, that the refutation offered by the Father is that rationalism is absurd for the immense majority of humanity is uninstructed. Since the majority is uninstructed, therefore the majority does not and cannot know the truth. The assumption here is that truth is open to the instructed which implies an instructor to make possible the instruction and this instructor must of course be the Catholic Church, the Father being a Catholic priest. It is further assumed by the father that truth must appear to be one for all human beings, for the implied difference between the instructed and the uninstructed is that the former knows and can know *the truth* while the latter does not and cannot know it. But all these hidden assumptions upon which the Father's contention was based were not admitted by Dr. Rizal in his letters to Father Pastells, much more in this controversy assuming that Rizal did not forget what he had written three or four years before, for he was not a simple "dumb anthropoid".

As regards the assumption that truth is available only through instruction by the infallible instructor, a pausing consideration of what Rizal had written in his second letter will show us nothing but his denial of the mentioned assumption. He said:

"It is clear that I admit with you that the supernatural divine light is much more perfect than human reason. Who will doubt that Torch when we see in this world the effect of the little embers conceded to humanity? What

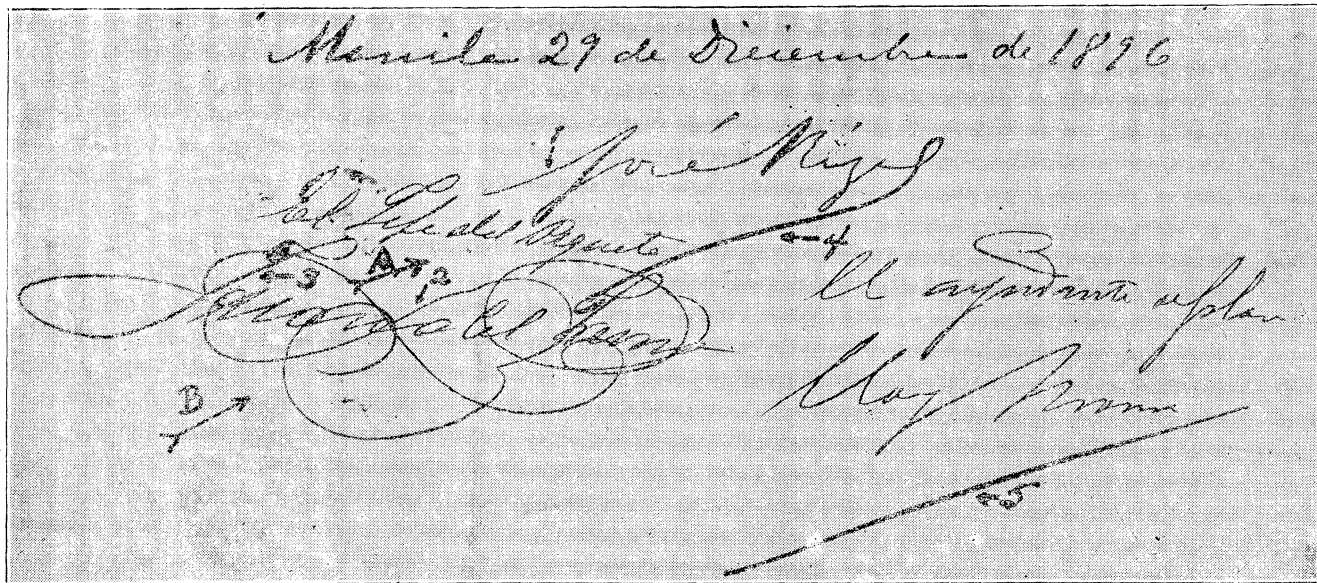


Fig. XXI. The reproduction of the lower portion of the retraction including the various signatures of three persons for the purpose of comparative study. This is a little larger than the reproduction in Fig. I. No. 1 is the upward stroke of the "J" in "Jose". No. 2 is the upward stroke in the curves and lines written over the signature of Juan del Fresno. Arrow "A" is the direction by which the characteristics of 1 and 2 can be appreciated. No. 3 is the downward stroke of the "J" in "Juan". No. 4 is the downward stroke of the "l" in "Rizal". Arrow "B" is the direction by which the characteristics of 3 and 4 can be appreciated. No. 5 is the shaded downward stroke made by Maure after signing his signature.

reason will not be that of the Creator whereas I am surprised at that of the inhabitants of a little world launched by Him in space as a shell in the midst of a gigantic sea? *But who 'with a just reason' can be called in this our little planet the reflector of that light?*"

Is this not a flat denial of the instructor from whom truth—reflection of the Light is available? The last question of Rizal is a rhetorical question that leaves no doubt whatsoever as to his denial of that reflector—instructor—"with a just reason". If the instructor is denied, I could not see how the "instruction by that instructor" as the only way for attaining truth could not be denied likewise. In fact Rizal gives his idea of men's study of truth in his analogy with the students of design copying a statue—truth. He then asked after giving the analogy., "Well, then, who has to judge the work of others taking for the normal—standard—his own?" If there is anybody, that would be a case of selfishness and self-interest and therefore a mere convenience, the things we most confound with truth, said Rizal.

As regards the assumption that truth must appear to be one for all, you will see Rizal's denial of the same if you would bear with me in some more quotations. We read:

"And do not tell me that the truth seen from all points of view always presents the same form; that would be for Him who is in all parts. For us, only the mathematical truths are presented in that manner which are like plane figures. But the religious, moral, and political (truths) are figures of extension and profundity, are complete truths and the human intelligence has to study them through parts. And if it is very difficult to be placed in the same point of view of others in the material world, how much more in the moral, which is complicated and hidden? From this manner of looking, I infer that nobody can judge the beliefs of others taking for the norm his own."

These are precisely his words in his second letter.

Having undermined the assumptions upon which the Father's refutation was based, we would see how the contention that rationalism is absurd for the immense majority of humanity is uninstructed is itself absurd, for, says Rizal in his first letter:

"And I speak as such (referring to his defense of individual judgment and self-love) because I figure that God, upon giving to each one the judgment he has, has done what was most convenient to him and *God does not wish*

that he who has less should think as he who has more and vice versa, such as one ought not to digest with the stomach of his neighbor, but as machines, perfect, varied, and well adapted to the end that God knows, each one ought to consume such coal in its furnace, to run so many miles, and to have such velocity."

It was also claimed by the father that he showed the absurdity of rationalism by pointing to the absurd and monstrous errors professed by the many sages of Paganism. Did the Father mean here to imply that Paganism and rationalism are one, so that when he showed what was absurd in the former he showed also what was absurd in the latter? But how absurd is that meaning! This is just like the old Greek notion that all non-Greeks are barbarians—all non-Catholics are pagans and since all rationalists are non-Catholic, hence all rationalists are pagans. This syllogism is good. But from this to the conclusion that the errors of paganism are the errors of rationalism so that the absurdity of the former is the absurdity of the latter is indeed a logical lapse, because all pagans are not rationalist. Does he not also wish to imply that the religion of Rizal, let alone his rationalism, is pagan, otherwise he does not need to show the absurdity of the pagan sages? Well, then, Rizal himself did not admit that implication. In his "The Vision of Fr. Rodriguez", he said, "Tell them (the friars) that *Paganism in its widest and most corrupt sense only signifies polytheism; neither my religion* (precisely, the religion which Rizal stood and died for), *nor that of Moses nor that of Mohammed were pagan religions."* I do not think that by showing the absurdity and monstrous errors of the sages of Paganism the Father had shown the absurdity of rationalism itself, unless those errors were the doctrine of rationalism. If they were the errors that were inherent solely in the person of those pagan sages, I could not see how their refutation was the refutation of rationalism, unless we took the shadow for the real thing. It must therefore be nothing but the very thesis of rationalism which is to admit of no other criterion of truth than the individual reason, in order to deny that the Father missed the point. Which was indeed absurd in the mind of Rizal, this thesis or the Catholic criterion? In the conclusion of his last letter to Father Pastells, Rizal's attitude was very clearly manifested. He wrote, "You call ignorant pride that of the rationalists. A question occurs to me yet, *who is more ignorantly proud he who is contented to follow his own reason* (rationalism) *or he who pretends to impose to others what his reason does*

not dictate him but only because it seems to him to be the truth (Catholicism)? What is reasoned out does not appear to me ignorant and that pride has been manifested in the idea of superiority." Does this not show us precisely and in plain terms that Rizal could not be made to see the absurdity in rationalism because there is no such thing? On the other hand, could we not say that Rizal must have seen the other way, that is, that the criterion of the one who wanted Rizal to see the absurdity in the latter's own was the one absurd? Let us not involve ourselves into further absurdity by denying this.

Then continued the Father, "I procure to prove him with indisputable arguments that there is nothing that can be more rational a criterion (*más criterio racional*) than the supernatural faith and the divine revelation guaranteed by the infallible authority of the Church." We shall leave the second half of this *more rational criterion*, for we have already treated it somewhere else. What is that supernatural faith? Is it something supernatural that comes from above as a gift to the individuals or is it merely the faith or belief in the supernatural? If it means the former I could not see how it would be a property of only a few and not of all, if God is a just and a perfect One. Or if it is given to each one, I could not see how each faith could vary from one another, or if it is really given to all and that each individual faith varies from one another, or each group of faith from others, I could not see how, when one faith is right, the rest would not also be right. And if all of them were right, I could not see how the Father could procure to prove that one faith is more rational than the other, without feeling embarrassed. If it means a faith or belief in the supernatural, *a distinction between faith or belief as a result of reasoning and a faith or belief as mere belief is evident*. What Rizal called "faith" and what the Father called "faith" are precisely the two kinds of faith referred to. In Rizal's fourth letter, it was written, "Well then, my 'faith' in God, *if the result of thinking could be called faith*, is 'blind', blind in the sense that it knows nothing (about the nature of God)." What the Father called "faith" was, of course, different from this *rationalistic faith*, otherwise, the Father's objection to rationalism was altogether useless. Before such a distinction as that, it would now be our turn to ask, "Now, which is a more rational criterion, to believe or have faith without any reason for so believing or to believe with reasons that compel you to so believe?" The former or the latter? The former? Why . . . ? I did not know that you would attempt to reason

why. Then you are unconsciously giving your reasons for being unrational. Surely, *there is nothing more rational than reason*—the complete reverse of the Father's criterion. In fact, when the Father proved to Rizal that "unreasoning criterion" is *more rational* than "rationalism", he must have used *reason*, otherwise it was not proving at all. Then unconsciously or consciously to prove that faith is more rational than reason, the Father *reasoned out*. I could not see how the Father could avoid *reasoning out* the "unreasoning criterion".

The information as regards the other points of the discussion was given merely in enumeration with the qualifying phrase "a thousand times refuted with indisputable arguments". Among which are the power of doing miracle, purgatory, the extension of redemption, etc. I presume that the stand of Father Balaguer was the doctrine of the Catholic Church. The *Catholic Encyclopedia* says:

"In analyzing the difference between the extraordinary character of the miracle and the ordinary course of nature, the Fathers of the Church and theologians employ the terms *above, contrary to, and outside nature* (sic).

"A miracle is said to be above nature when the effect produced is above the native powers and forces in creatures of which the known laws of nature are the expressions, as raising a dead man to life, . . . A miracle is said to be outside, or beside, nature when natural forces may have the power to produce the effect, at least in part, but could not of themselves alone have produced it in the way it was actually (?) brought about . . . In illustration we have the multiplication of loaves by Jesus . . . A miracle is said to be contrary to nature, when the effect produced is contrary to the natural course of things . . . But every miracle is not of necessity contrary to nature; for there are miracles above or outside nature . . .

"Hence the miracle is called supernatural, because the effect is beyond the productive power of nature and implies supernatural agency . . .

"It is sufficient that the miracle be due to the intervention of God, and its nature is revealed by the utter lack of proportion between the effect and what we called means or instrument."¹⁷⁹

We may add what Rev. Conway says. "God in creating the world did not subject Himself to the laws of His creation. A

¹⁷⁹ Op. cit. Vol. X, pp. 338-339.

miracle, however, does not destroy any law or even suspend its working, but merely in a particular instance supposes the intervention of God to prevent a certain law from having its ordinary effect . . .”¹⁸⁰ All these statements amount to saying, in the least, that although God does not suspend a certain law, forever, yet in particular instance whenever he makes miracle he suspends the operation of some laws of nature that might give a contrary effect to the one He might desire, and yet, at most, it may even be *contrary* to natural laws. To such dissertation on miracle, Rizal replied in his fourth letter, thus:

“Regarding the explanation you give about miracles, that He who dictated the laws does not contradict himself upon suspending them (laws) for determined period, in order to pursue some ends, I imagine that if He does not contradict Himself, He is inferior to that who can accomplish the same ends, without suspending anything nor altering anything. A regular governor only gets rid of the step of suspending the efficacy of the laws, a good one governs in peace without altering or upsetting anything.”

Therefore, for Rizal, either miracle is impossible or that the God who makes miracle is inferior to Him who can accomplish the same ends without suspending or altering anything, because He has foreseen everything necessary since the beginning, and He does not work to glorify Divine Vanity. If we must have a God and since that miracle-making God is inferior to One who is miracleless, no one would have Him for his God, except the really superstitious, fear-eaten souls. Therefore, Rizal denied the possibilities of miracles, hence the power of doing them, for that is incompatible with God’s attribute of Superiority and Sufficiency and Perfection. The real question, therefore, is only the patching together of the supposed attributes of God, equally supposed.

We may not deny such inexplicable phenomenon which the Catholics and others call miracles, but what Rizal wished to deny was the explanations given by the Catholics to the scientifically inexplicable of today. We may not be able to explain such phenomenon through the aid of science today, but that does not warrant us to explain it mysteriously, as such, by calling it a miracle with a supposedly mysterious explanation. In the first place it must be ascertained in reality whether such a phenomenon is a *fact or not*. And when such is recognized as a fact, why not own

¹⁸⁰ The Question-Box Answers, pp.28-29.

our inability at present before such a phenomenon? Why do we not wait till we know it? Not that we should not struggle to know its explanation and true nature, but that we must not assert what we do not know as our knowledge, to avoid further confusion in our present confused condition.

Let us now reconstruct the arguments regarding Purgatory. The *Catholic Encyclopedia* writes:

“The faith of the Church concerning purgatory is clearly expressed in the Decree of Union drawn up by the Council of Florence (Mansi, t. XXXI, col. 1031), and in the decree of the Council of Trent which (Sess. XXV) defined: ‘Whereas the Catholic Church, instructed by the Holy Ghost, has *from the Sacred Scriptures and the ancient tradition of the Fathers* taught in Councils and very recently in this Œcumenical Synod (Sess. VI, cap. XXX; Sess. XXII, cap. ii, iii) *that there is a purgatory*, and that the souls therein detained are helped by the suffrages of the faithful, but *principally* by the acceptable Sacrifice of the Altar (how much?); the holy Synod enjoins on the Bishops that they diligently endeavor to have the sound doctrine of the Father in Councils regarding purgatory everywhere taught and preached, held and believed by the faithful.’”¹⁸¹

We shall again add the statement of Rev. Conway to the effect that:

“There are, moreover, proofs of the doctrine (of Purgatory) in the New Testament, as we learn from the interpretation of the Fathers of the early Church, viz., Matth. XII, 32, in which Christ speaks of slight sins being forgiven in the world to come; I Cor. III, 13-15, in which St. Paul mentions ‘the fire which shall try every man’s work, and through which he himself shall be saved;’ I Peter II, 18-20, in which St. Peter tells how our Savior preached the fact of His redemption to ‘those spirits that were in prison.’”¹⁸²

As against this doctrine of Purgatory and its interpretation by the Catholics, Rizal contends in his “The Vision of Fr. Rodriguez” in which he spoke of the nonsense of Fr. Rodriguez. He said:

“He (Fr. Rodriguez) produces me a citation to prove Purgatory; ‘Saint Matthew’, says he, ‘chapter twelve, verse thirty six,’ and he cites wrongly. Because from this verse

¹⁸¹ Op. cit. Vol. XII, p. 575.

¹⁸² Op. cit. p. 399.

purgatory cannot be deduced, nor anything that appears like it; but let us see. The Hebrew text says: 'Wa'ebij 'omar lakam kij 'al kal dbar req aschar idabbru 'abaschim yittbu heshboun biom hammischphat;' the Greek text is: 'Lego de hymin hoti pan rema argon, ho ean lalesosin hoi anthropoi, apodosousi peri autou logon en hemera kriseos.' This is translated to Latin saying: 'Dico autem vobis, quoniam omne verbum otiosum quod locuti fuerint homines, reddent rationem de eo in die iudicii,' and to Spanish: 'Y digoos, que toda palabra ociosa, que dijeren los hombres, daran cuenta de ella en el dia del juicio.' (The English translation renders: "But I say unto you, that every idle word that men shall speak, they shall render an account for it in the day of judgment"¹⁸³) As you see, Doctor, from these four texts, nothing could be deduced but that Fr. Rodriguez will have to give on the day of judgment a very large account, that perhaps the session would be prolonged till the next day, because he bears many such nonsense. But I already see that your son, like the one who heard the chimes, has wanted to cite verse thirty two, which says: 'And whosoever shall speak a word against the son of man, it shall be forgiven him; but he that shall speak against the Holy Ghost, it shall not be forgiven him, neither in this world, nor in the world to come.' From this they had wanted to deduce Purgatory. What a deduction!

"That because St. Irineo, St. Clemens of Alexandria, and Origen (St. ?), *three in all and who were not the first Christians, might have some remote idea of Purgatory*, this does not mean that the Christians of the first centuries would have believed in it (Purgatory), as it could not be established that three mean the totality, although in the totality there might be ideas entirely contradictory. And the proof that it is not so is that you, yourself, Saint Doctor (St. Augustine), that you are their Father, that you flourished in the Fourth and Fifth Century, and that you are the greatest of the Fathers of the Church, you denied explicitly in various parts the existence of Purgatory, for you said in your sermon CCXCV . . . these decisive words: '*Nemo se decipiat, fratres! Duo enim LOCA sunt et TERTIUS non est ullus. Qui cum Christo regnare non meruerit, cum diabolo ABSQUE DUBITATIONE ULLA perebit*—Nobody should deceive himself; because there are only two places and the third does not exist. He who did not deserve to reign with Christ shall perish without any doubt with the devil.' And then you said in *de Consolatione mortuorum*: '*Sed recedens anima quae carnalibus oculis non videtur, ab angelis suscipitur et collocatur aut in sinu Abrahae, si fidelis est, aut in carceris inferni custodia si peccatrix est*—But

183 Douay Version, John Murphy Company, Baltimore, Maryland, 1914.

the departing soul which is not seen by the carnal eyes is received by the angels and placed in the bosom of Abraham, if it is faithful, and in the infernal prison, if it is sinful.' And I can cite you even a multitude of your texts, because for you Purgatory was only a thing not impossible (*impossibile non est*) and this you had denied finally: *tertius non est ullus*—the third is not any. You add that St. Fulgencio who flourished after you, in the V and VI Century said in Chapter XIV (*de incarnatione et gratia, etc.*): '*Quicumque regnum Dei non ingreditur, poenis aeternis cruciatur*—All that shall not enter the kingdom of God shall be tortured in eternal punishment.'

It seems that Rizal was the better teacher of the Fathers as to the Church tradition and early Fathers' belief, so also in logical deductions from Biblical citations regarding Purgatory. We are not here concerned as to whether or not Purgatory exists, but only with the question of whether Rizal was really defeated in arguments about this question. The arguments of Rizal, we find, were based upon strict logic, the first requisite in argumentation, and opinions of early Church Fathers whose ideas certainly cannot now be altered except by forgeries and interpolations. Does it appear that Rizal was defeated, moreover convinced? Let us not simply flatter our religious and sectarian vanity. Let us be frank.

Let us now come to the last and most important question that they discussed. The extension of redemption is in point. Only Rizal's clear and well defined ideas on redemption would convince us more as to his *convincement* in this religious controversy. If Rizal believed in the mission of Jesus Christ, it would not be hard for us to believe that in his last hours, the time when he badly needed a Savior or Redeemer, he must have sought for Christ. On this point, the Catholic doctrine is very well stated by Rev. James Cardinal Gibbons:

"We believe that Jesus Christ, the second Person of the Blessed Trinity, is perfect God and perfect Man. He is God, for He 'is over all things, God blessed forever' (Rom. IX. 5). 'He is God of the substance of the Father, begotten before time; and He is man of the substance of His Mother, born in time (Athanasian Creed).' Out of love for us, and in order to rescue us from the miseries entailed upon us by the disobedience of our first parents, the Divine Word descended from heaven, and became Man in the womb of the Virgin Mary, by the operation of the Holy Ghost. He was born on Christmas day, in a stable at Bethlehem . . .

“On Good Friday He was crucified on Mount Calvary and thus purchased for us redemption by His death. Hence Jesus exclusively bears the titles of *Savior* and *Redeemer* (sic), because ‘there is no other name under heaven given to men whereby we must be saved (Acts. IV 12).’ ‘He was wounded for our iniquities; He was bruised for our sins, . . . and by His bruises we are healed.’

“We are commanded by Jesus, suffering and dying for us, to imitate Him by the crucifixion of our flesh, and by acts of daily mortification. ‘If any one,’ He says, ‘will come after Me, let him deny himself, and take up his cross daily and follow me (Luke IX. 23).’”¹⁸⁴

And to quote Rev. Conway, we read:

“The Church has defined that ‘Christ is the mediating cause of salvation, inasmuch as through His death, as a sin-offering, He has merited our salvation, and making satisfaction for us to God, has blotted our sin. In other words, His merits and satisfaction, as being those of our Representative and Mediator, have obtained for us salvation from God’ . . . ‘The Council of Trent several times insists upon the merits of Mediator; *e. g.*, by the merit of the one Mediator original sin is taken away (Sess. V., can. iii); the meriting cause of our justification is Christ, who for us made satisfaction to God, the Father’ (Sess. VI., ch. VII; Wilhelm-Scannell, *A Manual of Catholic Theology* Vol. ii., p. 183; cf. *ibid.* p. 181-207; Oxenham, *The Atonement.*)”¹⁸⁵

But the belief in such a redemption is precisely what Rizal had denied. In his fourth letter, Dr. Rizal frankly states:

“I cannot believe that before the coming of Jesus Christ, all of the people would be in profound hell of which you speak; precisely they are not there, Socrates who died for declaring the existence of one God, the Divine Plato, the virtuous Aristides, Focion, Milquiades, Zarathustra, the founder of the religion of force, Kung-Sien, the founder of the religion of reason, the legislator of China.”

All of these amount to the statement of Rizal’s objection to the doctrine of Redemption. The doctrine postulates that Christ was the only Redeemer of humanity from sin and its punishment. “Go and preach ye the gospel to all the world, he that shall believe and be baptized shall be saved, and he who does not believe shall

¹⁸⁴ Op. cit., pp. 1, 2.

¹⁸⁵ Op. cit., p. 44.

be condemned forever.”¹⁸⁶ There were those people who did not believe the Gospel for it was then an impossibility, since they lived long before the one they should believe came to existence on earth. Since the doctrine of redemption condemned them, not for what they had done, but for their misfortune of living at their time, Rizal could not accept such a cruel and irrational doctrine.

The real efficacy of Redemption, let alone its irrationality, was even doubted by Rizal. In the same letter he said:

“Neither could I believe that after Jesus Christ all would have been light, peace, and happiness, that men for the most part would have turned just; no, there are the battle-fields, the fires, the blazes, the prison cells, the violations, the torments of Inquisition (and if he could only speak after his death, he would have said, *my very unjust death*) to give you the lie; there are the hatreds that the Christian nations profess to one another for little differences, there is the tolerated slavery, besides being sanctioned by the Church for eighteen centuries; there is the prostitution . . . there is, in the end, a great part of society hostile to the very religion. You will tell me that all this exists because it has been separated from the Church; but when has it dominated the latter? What has not had these evils? Perhaps in the Middle Ages when all Europe was a field of Agramante? In the first three centuries, when the Church was in the catacombs, groaning like a prisoner and had no power? Then, yes, was peace; she (Church) never had it either; it was not due to her, for she did not decree it (peace). Ah, no, my dear Father . . . , I am glad to see men like you, full of faith and virtues and lamenting on the *actual disgrace of humanity* (mark the word, it is not original sin or whatnot), because that proves a love for it (humanity) and that, generous spirits like you watch its future; but more am I glad when I contemplate humanity in its immortal march, progressing always in spite of its aberration, for this demonstrates to me a glorious end; it tells me that it has been created for an end better than for being a pasture of flames; that fills me with confidence in God, who will not let his work be lost in spite of the devil and our foolishness.”

It may be objected here that this denial of the efficacy of redemption rests upon a misunderstanding of the doctrine which operates not in this life but in the next life, if any. True, if such

¹⁸⁶ Mark XVI: 15; cf. Cath. Ency. Vol. XII, pp. 677, 678, 679.

is the doctrine, but we now see that Rizal was not of the dreamy type who would think of the next life when he did not yet know what was at hand, but rather that of the realist type who mastered the real situation at hand and thought of the would-be-next from what were real and actual. So far, these were Rizal's objection to the Catholic doctrine of Redemption.

For ordinary cases, the above quotations may be enough to prove our point. But a far more complete exposition of the facts vital to this question will only the more convince us as to the conclusive stand of Dr. Rizal on Redemption. His denial of Redemption or rather the extension of Redemption rests upon his *belief* or *disbelief* on the *Divinity of the Redeemer, himself*, for if he doubted *His Divinity*, I do not see how he could not doubt too *His Power of Redemption*. Only God, whose laws have been transgressed, could redeem the sinners. A human being, who from the very doctrine itself, naturally inherits the supposed sins of humanity, could never redeem humanity. A sinner could not be a redeemer in the sense that the doctrine of Redemption gives us to understand. This is the most vital point in our discussion, for on it rest the previous quotations from Dr. Rizal on this question. From his fourth letter, let us quote at length:

“Regarding the contradictions of the canonical books, of the miracles, I am confident that the question is very trite and vexatious to repeat. All is explained when it is desired and all is accepted when it is wanted. The will has an enormous *power* over the imagination and vice-versa. As such, I shall speak to you not of the contradiction in the genealogy, nor of the miracles in Cana that Christ performed, in spite of having said that his hour has not arrived yet, nor of the bread and the fish, nor of the temptation, etc. (do these not show that Rizal knew many objectionable things about Christianity and not only on Catholicism?); all these things do not belittle the virtue of him who pronounced the Sermon on the Mount and who said the famous, ‘Father, pardon them.’ What I shall deal with is something more transcendental. *Who died on the Cross? Was he God or was He Man?* If he was God, I do not understand how God can die, as a God conscious of his *mission* can exclaim in the garden (of Gethsemane), ‘*Pater, si possibile transeat a me calix ista*’—Father, if possible, pass over me this chalice (is this not a regret, nay a virtual retraction from Christ’s mission?)—and to return to the exclamation on the Cross, ‘My God, My God, why have you abandoned me?’ This cry is *absolutely human*, the cry of a *man* who had faith in the justice and goodness of his cause;

minus the *Hodie mecum eris*—Today, you shall be with me—all those cries of Christ in the Calvary announced a man in torment and agony; but what a man! *For me, Christ the Man is greater than Christ the God.* (What a rational paradox!) If he would have been God, He who had said, ‘Father, pardon them, for they know not what they do,’ those who have put hands on him ought to have been pardoned, lest we would say that God appears to certain men to say one thing and then do another.

“Another objection that I encounter in the miracles of Christ is the apostasy of his disciples and their incredulity before his resurrection. Those, to have been the witnesses of many marvels and the resurrection, would not have forsaken him very cowardly and would not have doubted his (Christ’s) resurrection. He who can return life to others can well give himself the same (life).”

And yet in spite of these indubitable quotations from Rizal, himself, only showing us his strong conviction about the most delicate subject—the divinity and power of redemption of Jesus Christ—which gives us an insight into the great sterling character of the Man, Father Balaguer reported him as a child who cried with falling tears, “No, no, I will not be condemned,” only upon being energetically told that *if he*—he (Rizal) who guided only by reason would give account before the Tribunal of God, peaceful for having complied with the duty of a rational man and who did not believe in the self-appointed mission of Christ in redeeming humanity from sin and therefore who denied the very Catholicism—*would not surrender his understanding and reason for the sake of faith*—making us understand that when a man surrenders to the divine faith he is without reason and understanding which is tantamount to saying that he is without his own mind—*he would go to give account before the judgment of God and would surely be condemned.*
CAN YOU BELIEVE THAT?

It may be surprising to some Christians who have faith in Rizal to know what Rizal thought about redemption and other articles of Christian faith, but that is the fact which I did not bring out to shake off their faith either in Rizal or in Christ but rather to make the “Sun of Truth” shine forth, because, as Rizal himself wrote in his second letter, “in the midst of darkness that (now) reigns in my (our) country, I (we) do not look for the shade, I (we) prefer the light,” so that the unnecessary weeds may wither, on one hand, and the worthy plants may become more robust, on the other. At the face of such evidence with which we attempt

to reconstruct what might have occurred on that 29th day of December of 1896, can we not now doubt his *convincement and therefore his alleged conversion*? And if we were to grant for the sake of granting that Rizal was converted, can we not say with Don Miguel de Unamuno with equal reservation, "Defeated, yes, perhaps converted, but convinced, no. The reason of Rizal did not enter in this work for nothing"¹⁸⁷? Can we not say that such a man as Rizal, who in his letter to his family from Hongkong on June 20, 1892, said, among other things, that "a man ought to die for his duty and conviction"¹⁸⁸, and in the second letter to Father Pastells said, "I have glimpsed a little of light, and I believe I ought to teach it to my countrymen" and in the same letter, lamenting over the brevity and bitterness of life, he sighed, "it is not worth the penalty of sacrificing a conviction for pieces of metal rounded (money) or in the form of a cross," because "He (God) created the intelligence, not in order to enslave it, but that in the wings of intelligence, man may be happy and be able to rise to Him (God)"¹⁸⁹—with such an immortal principle of life and after life—could not have been convinced nor even defeated by Father Vicente Balaguer by mere dogmatism which must have taxed so much the patience of Rizal? Can we not say that Rizal, who, in his *El Filibusterismo*, wrote his ideas about retraction (precisely a very essential point for our discussion) in a very passionate conversation between Isagani and Father Fernandez, thus:

" . . . Ustedes por lo que he oido, han tenido anoche una cena, no se excuse usted

"!Es que yo no me excuso! interrumpio Isagani.

"Mejor que mejor, eso prueba que usted acepta la consecuencia de sus actos. Por lo demas, haria usted mal en retractarse" ¹⁹⁰

must have had that fire of youth yet in him, at this time in question, to believe as he had previously believed that when a man does not deny what he has done, his admission is a proof that he accepts the consequence of his acts, and having accepted the consequence of his acts, as such, he would have done *wrongly to retract*? Must we not say that because Dr. Rizal, having already accepted

187 Retana, W., op. cit. p. 496.

188 Ibid, p. 242.

189 The Vision of Fr. Rodriguez.

190 Op. cit. p. 214.

and signed the death sentence, the consequence of his life's work, on the morning of the 29th day of December, did not then retract on the evening of the same day, because he would have done wrongly to do so? Can we not, nay, must we not now say, nay, shout that such a man like Rizal, who had conceived such a high but practical idealism, must be the man too, who would refrain from doing what is wrong without a stronger reason for so doing? His *very reason* would not give any *reason* at all for his retraction, how could he retract then? His alleged retraction on this account alone is already very impossible. NO! A THOUSAND TIMES, NO! HE WAS NOT CONVINCED, THEN HE WAS NOT REALLY CONVERTED BEYOND A MERE LIE, HOW THEN COULD HE RETRACT? Q.E.D.

CHAPTER IX

SOME CLARIFICATIONS

RETANA'S "CHAIN OF DEDUCTION"

In an article in "El Renacimiento" on December 30, 1909, and the same in "El Dia Filipino" on December 30, 1925, Don Wenceslao Retana wrote:

"The conversion of Rizal has two aspects, historical and psychological.

" . . . The fact of conversion of Rizal is from every (historical) point unquestionable. Rizal confessed, Rizal heard mass, Rizal received sacrament, and Rizal was married canonically. If Rizal would not have been converted, the sacrament would not have been administered to him, nor would he be married canonically inasmuch as to be married by the Catholic Church it is an absolutely necessary condition to belong in fact to the Church. Therefore, Rizal, at six o'clock in the morning of December 30, 1896, had been converted, for if he was not converted, they would not have married him.

"That he heard mass, confessed, received sacrament, and was married canonically, numerous persons, the great majority of whom still live (in 1909) and there is no person even for casualty who would deny what he saw with his own eyes during the night of the 29 to the early hours of the next morning of December (1896). (Here we omit a destructive admission on the part of Retana as to his reasoning). It could be added that if Rizal did not die a Catholic, he would not have been buried, as they buried him, in the Catholic cemetery of Paco."

At the outset let me correct the last assumption of Retana as to the nature of this cemetery of Paco. It is a cemetery founded and built by the Municipal Council of Manila in 1820 according to the accounts of Montero y Vidal in "Historia de Filipinas" as already cited.

As could be understood from such a chain of reasoning, everybody, who understands logic, can say that that is "reasoning from effect to cause", but not effect and cause simply but *supposed effect* and *supposed cause*. Though everybody, except he who does not know, knows that "the same cause produces the same effect" yet "the same effect is not necessarily produced by the same cause." To reason from cause to effect is reliable, but since

in the case considered by Retana the cause is the one unknown and to be sought for, then the most that he could do was to reason backwardly, *i.e.* "from effect to cause", an inevitable circumstance that lessens the probability of the conclusion if there are variable causes that may give rise to the same effect, which must therefore be shown whichever is the case. Besides, in this reasoning we must determine whether the *facts taken as facts* are really facts. The argument offered by Retana to sustain his premise that "Rizal heard mass, confessed, received sacrament, and was married canonically" was an appeal to the eye-witnesses. This is very dangerous and unreliable a procedure. In the case of "Baird vs. Shaffer" (101 Kans. 585, 168 P. 836) where "three witnesses swore they saw the signature signed to (the) will"¹⁹¹ and "People vs. Storps" (207 N.Y. 147, 100 N.E. 730) where "six alleged eye-witnesses testified they saw it (will) signed"¹⁹², they were both found out by the respective juries of twelve thinking men in each to be forgeries. So we see here the viciousness of simply calling witnesses, without employing evidence to ascertain the testimony. What can be safely trusted is that, besides the witnesses, the same conclusion must be proved by circumstantial evidence attendant to the case. But the witnesses that could be had in this particular case were priests and Spanish officials, including Josephine Bracken¹⁹³, all of whom belonged to the Catholic Church, the principal party to this controversy whose interest has been at stake. It might be interesting to quote in this connection, as regards the Catholic sworn statements, the dictum inherited from the Greek Fathers and defended by Cardinal Newman in his *Apologia* that if for "self-defence, charity, zeal for God's honour and the like" which are thought to be a "justa causa" by virtue of which "an untruth need not be a lie."¹⁹⁴ Now, since the honor of the Catholic Church, or the zeal for that Church's honor, is the honor of God as every sincere Catholic would insist beyond tolerance, because the head of the Catholic Church, being the Pope, is the *Vicarius Filii Dei* on earth, then an "untruth need not be a lie", hence not sinful but intentionally a virtue

191 Osborn, Albert, "Questioned Documents", p. 308.

192 *Ibid.* p. 76.

193 According to the signed statements of Miss Trinidad Rizal in the possession of the present writer, as already hinted, Josephine played a more serious role than a mere devout Catholic in the life of Dr. Jose Rizal—the specific character of which role, as confessed by our informer, we deem it imprudent to reveal as yet.

194 Quoted in Chowdhuri, D., "In Search of Christ", p. 90.

at times. *I am not saying, however, that this is actually the case with all the Catholic witnesses.*

Let us now attempt to prove by circumstantial evidence if what Retana regarded as facts were *really facts*. It was said that Rizal was married to Bracken. Where is the proof? About two years ago, more specifically on January 3, 1933, in *La Vanguardia*, Dr. Castor T. Surla gave as evidence of Rizal's marriage with Josephine the dedication of Rizal to her, written on the title page of "Imitacion de Cristo" where Rizal called Josephine, his wife (see Figure IX). If this is the only kind of evidence to be shown, it cannot carry conviction beyond a smile. Here quibbling is often resorted to extract from the word "wife" the conclusion that "therefore Rizal was married canonically" by the *hocus pocus* of *literal meaning* of the word *wife* without considering other circumstances bearing with the point. A resort to the life of Dr. Rizal is necessary to find better explanation, which is simpler, naturalistic, and without quibbling, and less pretentious. We cannot take the word wife literally to prove that he was married canonically from the fact that Rizal called her a wife. To such a conclusion it is but necessary, a condition *sine qua non*, to take the word "wife" *literally as implying previous marriage*, much more, *canonical marriage*. But this is the point in question. Was he married, just for that word "wife"? The fact that Rizal lived with Josephine as *man and wife*—let us take this word in the more unsophisticated sense of *not implying previous marriage* but only that "they had done everything that a man and a wife could and would do"—despite the fact that they were not married either in civil court or in the Church according to his sister, Dña. Trining, could not here be ignored. Their life in Dapitan is the silent evidence of this fact. Of course, *if Josephine were not thus related to Rizal previously*, such a dedication "To my dear and unhappy wife" could only mean *canonical marriage*, provided, there was no other marriage possible, since it would be strange that of two *unrelated people* (which was not the fact) one would call the other *wife* without being married previously. No! literal quibbling here would not do to explain this thing.

Besides if they were married where is the record of the marriage? We shall here repeat at the danger of overemphasis our principal proofs in point. Professor Craig has in his book the fact he himself, as he claimed, verified. It reads:

“The record of the marriage has been stated to be in the Manila Cathedral, *but it is not there*, and as the Jesuit in officiating would have been representing the military Chaplain, the entry should have been in the Fort ‘register’, now in Madrid.”¹⁹⁵

The latter part of this quotation is not a statement of fact but a supposition which, since Craig wrote it, has not been verified.

Besides, the supposed eye-witness, Josephine’s companion that morning, who was the sister of Rizal, Lucia, could not be sure if that marriage took place. In the words of Craig, again:

“Also the sister Lucia, who was said to have been a witness of the marriage, is not positive that it occurred, having only seen the priest at the altar in his vestment.”¹⁹⁶

Therefore, that Rizal and Josephine were married on the morning of that fatal day is very doubtful at the absence of evidence to prove it (see also the chapter “By Way of Disproofs”) and at the presence of negative evidence to belie it. And yet, that is one of the supposed facts which form the first links of Retana’s *chain of deduction*. It is really to de(re)duce! We could only say that it is an *argumentum non sequitur*. Let us recall that our evidence in connection with this marriage question forms a part of our *disproofs*.

Coming to the point of Christian burial, we even have now before us another document proving that Rizal was given Christian burial. This document was signed by Adriano Zafra, the parish of Paco. Thus says the document. It may be of interest to note and certainly relevant to this matter that this document reads as if it were an inquiry of the recipient of that letter about what was done with Rizal. Or was it a report of the parish to the Archbishop? Then, must we not assume that the said parish used to make reports of all the corpses that were buried in that cemetery? Then, where are these other reports of all the burials in it? At their absence, is it wrong to presume that the Archbishop was interested only in the burial of Rizal? But why must he be interested *only in Rizal*? Or, why must the Archbishop be interested *to secure and preserve only this report on the burial of Rizal*? I shall not venture to answer for someone *whose motive I do not know*. The fact that this document reads:

¹⁹⁵ Life and Labor of Dr. Jose Rizal, p. 243; any quotation, citation, or fact hereafter repeated is done for the readers’ convenience.

¹⁹⁶ Idem.

“CEMENTERIO GENERAL
DE
DILAO

Exemo. e Illmo. Sñr.
En cumplimiento de la superior Orden de V.E.I. esta mañana, se dio cristiana sepultura, en este Cementerio, y fuera de nichos, el cadáver de D. Jose Rizal y Mercado.

Dios gue. á V.E.I. ms.
as. Cementerio Gral. de Dilao 30 de Diciembre del 1896.

Exemo. e Illmo. Sñr.
(fmd) Adriano Zafra

Exemo. e Illmo. Sñr. Arzobispo de esta Diocesis.”¹⁹⁷

may mean that it could have been written on any day but the thirtieth of December of 1896, despite the presence of the date in it. If so, for what interest it might serve I shall not venture to guess. This document, nevertheless, says one thing as to the Christian burial of Dr. Rizal.

But the facts of the same burial were described by Craig as:

“Rizal’s burial, too, *does not indicate that* he died in faith (Catholic), yet it with the marriage has been used as an argument for proving that the retraction must have been made.”¹⁹⁸

I have the assurance of Rizal’s own sister, Dña. Trining, that her brother was buried without the coffin which was ordered especially for him, because it was the order from the authorities, an order whose execution was assured by the presence of many spies and civil guards at the time and place of burial. This was similarly, if not exactly, the experience of the corpse of Don Rafael Ibarra in the novel of Dr. Rizal, himself.

An inspection of the said cemetery, the present writer actually made one at the time of writing this, reveals to us exactly where Rizal was buried. It is now marked by a cross bearing the date “December 30, 1896” at the the foot of which in a rectangular

¹⁹⁷ *Cultura Social*, reproduction, Julio, 1935, p. 308.

¹⁹⁸ Op. cit. p. 243.

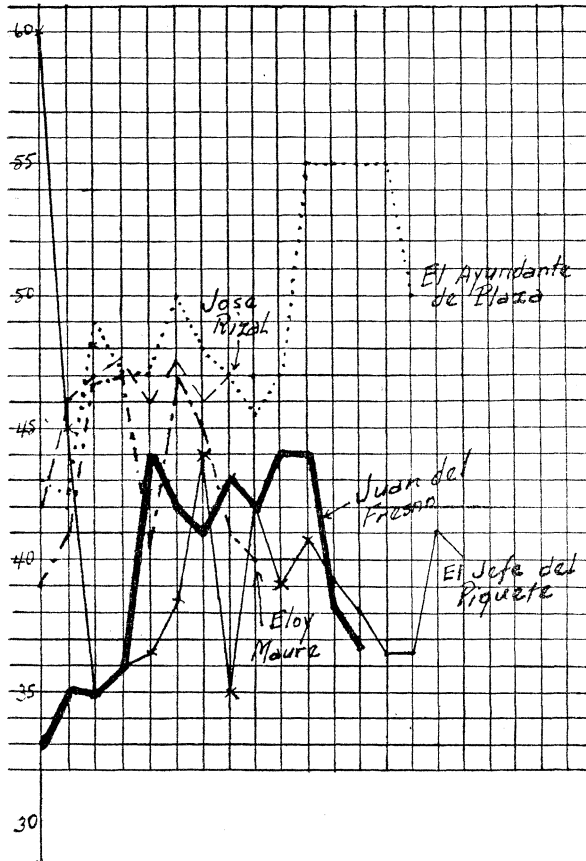


Fig. XXII. The comparative slants of the writings of the lower portion of the retraction as reproduced in Fig. XX. The dotted line is the "El ayudante de Plaza", the broken line is the signature of Jose Rizal, the alternate dots and broken lines are the signature of Eloy Maure, the heavy lines are the signature of Juan del Fresno, and the continuous line is the "El Jefe del Piquete".

glossy marble are engraved the initials "R.P.J.," which is on the ground, not in any of the holes or niches and exactly on the outside of the inner circular wall.

At this point a description of this very cemetery is very essential to understand the value of evidence now at our disposal. In volume 51 of "The Philippine Islands", compiled by Blair and Robertson, is reprinted the description of this "Cemetery of Dilao, commonly known as Paco." It reads:

"It consists of two concentric circular walls about ten feet apart and fourteen in height, both surmounted with a balustrade. The inner wall forms the periphery of a circle of about 250 feet in diameter, and is pierced with three rows of small semi-circular arches, which form the entrances to as many arched, oven-like receptacles formed in the space betwixt the walls, and of a size just calculated to receive a coffin, to which purpose they are appropriated.

"There are from two to three hundred of those receptacles; and when occupied the entrances are walled. The *plot of ground in the center* (within the inner circular wall, mind you) is crossed by two broad stone walks, the border of which are planted with flowers and shrubs; *the remaining space* (on this ground) *is used for internment.*"¹⁹⁹

Now, the fact that can be verified is that Rizal was buried on the ground outside this inner circular wall (See Figure XXIII), the ground within which, according to our quotation, is used for internment; that he was buried on the ground on the same place where Father Burgos was buried, says Criag²⁰⁰; that he was buried without a coffin as proven by the fact that by August of 1898, about a year and a half after the burial, when the Revolutionaries, being triumphant, disinterred the remains, the body was already dissolved²⁰¹, which would take more years than one and a half to dissolve were the corpse buried in a wooden coffin. And we know pretty well that the three venerable priests, Gomez, Burgos, and Zamora and Rizal were wrongly executed for pretended "filibusterism"—the crime of being patriotic. Recall here that "One of his (Rizal's) last statement was: 'My great pride, Father,

199 Loc. cit. p. 172. The title of the work is "Remarks on the Philippine Islands and on their Capital Manila." 1819 to 1822. By an Englishman, Printed by the Baptist Mission Press, Circular Road; and sold by Messrs. W. Thacker and Co. St. Andrew's Library. 1828.

200 Life and Minor Writings of Jose Rizal, p. 202.

201 *El Renacimiento*, Sept. 4, 1905; amplified by the interview of the present writer with Dña. Trinidad Rizal.

has taken me here (execution)."²⁰² And according to the past history of this country under the Church and State rule then, the filibusters were not buried on consecrated grounds for their filibusterism, as was the experience of Dagohoy in a rebellion, where he was slain and "Morales (the Jesuit Father) refused to bury it (the corpse) in consecrated ground."²⁰³ Recall with these, the facts about the record of Rizal's burial signed by Adriano Zafra, himself, which Mr. Hermenegildo Cruz found out in 1913 (See Chapter V.) and what do we find? Surely, the more secured basis for our conclusion, hinted above. *What the motives of the authorities then were to do all these things to the corpse of Rizal, after, as it is now alleged, he retracted (supposedly), I fail to see, except to over-rule now their contention that Rizal died a Catholic.*

This same conclusion could be arrived at in another way. The fact that the parish priest of Paco, Father Adriano Zafra, had to report to the Archbishop *that Christian burial was given to Rizal in that Cemetery*, and not simply *that Rizal was buried in that Cemetery*, the latter presuming that every burial made in this place was a Christian one, and which Retana presupposes in his argument, gives us the understanding that in the mind of the parish and of the Archbishop, since it had to be reported yet as qualified as such, and therefore the state of affair then, there is a difference between *being given Christian burial in that Cemetery* and *merely being buried in it*. In fact there were burials not canonical as cited in our earlier chapter. And recalling at this point the facts, as attested by circumstantial evidence, that do not lie, concerning the burial of Rizal, we have now pretty fair grounds of doubt as to the alleged Christian burial given to Rizal. On the one hand is the *circumstantial evidence*, which in the new historical criticism is more reliable than the unverified written documents, and on the other is *the document of a priest to his superior*. Here a question that cannot be laid aside any longer now arises. Between the evidence of facts and the evidence of a written document by a partisan priest, which shall we believe? Of course, the former, which is more scientific in principle than the old legal superstition that "when there are eye-witnesses (whether truthful or not does not matter) to the event, never mind what your senses and reason can reveal to you." When we disregard the exact place of burial, its details, its significance, its records, and all that, but *simply*

²⁰² Pi, Pio, Fr., op. cit. p. 43.

²⁰³ The Philippine Islands, Blair and Robertson, Vol. 48, p. 147.

assume that whoever was buried in the Paco Cemetery must be a Catholic for it was erroneously thought that it was a Catholic Cemetery, which it was historically not, then we can hastily and erroneously generalize that "Rizal, being found in this cemetery, was buried canonically." I repeat, the place, details and significance, and records of Dr. Rizal's burial cannot be disregarded since they are the only evidence that could not lie while testimonies of human beings, capable of lying, may and do. This is but a scientific procedure.

After these astray meandering in our search for actual facts, let us come back to Retana's "chain of deduction". The canonical marriage and the Christian burial are doubtful; strictly speaking and carefully weighing the evidence, they are even less probable to have occurred. This "chain of deductive reasoning", as we all know, *is no stronger than its weakest link*. But in fact, we have here two, and not only a single link, which are falling even at their own weight. The verdict, therefore, that disinterested reasoner can here give is, "Retana's deduction is an *argumentum non sequitur* and *contrary to facts*."

WITH REFERENCE TO PROFESSOR AUSTIN CRAIG

Professor Austin Craig, himself a Rizalist, was quoted in the Herald issue of June 17, 1935, as saying:

"Way back in 1912, I already made reference to the retraction. For I was sure then that Rizal signed such a retraction. The text as I know it is identical to that recently published in the Herald which two days ago reported the discovery of the original document."

When asked by the Herald Staff member, Mr. Salvador Lopez, who reported such an interview, "How did you find out about the first retraction? Did you yourself see the document?" the professor answered in the next paragraph:

"The *fact of the matter* is that Rizal first signed this (?) retraction way back in 1894, two years before his execution. He wanted to marry Josephine Bracken, but the parish priest of Dapitan would not marry him unless he abjured Masonry and returned to the bosom of the Church. He signed a retraction, but due to the opposition of Josephine's adopted father (Mr. Taufer), the marriage had to be called off. Josephine went with her father to Manila

but when she reached the capital she decided to return and marry Rizal in Dapitan.

“The text of the retraction which Rizal signed on the eve of his execution is practically identical to that which he signed in Dapitan. I have not seen the recently discovered document but it is probably genuine because the text resembles that which he signed two years before.”

I could not see in the above quotation that the Professor has answered the questions put by Mr. Lopez. How did Professor Craig come to know of the first retraction? Did he see that document? These questions are so clearly evaded by the Professor by his dogmatic assertion that “The fact of the matter is . . .” as if whatever he says needs no proofs, which when wanting deprives the statement of its logical veracity. In the same year, 1912 or 1913 when Professor Craig made reference to the retraction written on the eve of Rizal’s death, he wrote:

“No one outside the Spanish faction has even seen the original, though the family nearly got into trouble by their persistence in trying to get sight of it, after its first publication.

“The foregoing might suggest some disbelief, but in fact they are only proofs of the remarks already made about the Spanish carelessness in details and liking for the dramatic.”²⁰⁴

In fact when he criticized Retana, the writer he referred to in this work, he said:

“The writer believes Rizal made a retraction, was married canonically, and was given what was intended to be Christian burial.”²⁰⁵

This means that in the mind of the professor there was a wide distinction between belief and fact. But when he said, that “The fact of the matter is . . .” we are bound to ask whether he saw the original or not. Turning to his work of 1912, published in 1913, to which he referred for his opinion today on this matter, we read this passage about the retraction which he said Rizal signed in 1894, while seeking marriage with Josephine:

“The priest was asked to perform the ceremony, but said the Bishop of Cebu must give his consent, and offered

²⁰⁴ Life and Labor of Dr. Jose Rizal, p. 243.

²⁰⁵ Idem.

to write him. Rizal at first feared that some political retraction would be asked, but when assured that only his religious beliefs would be investigated promptly submitted a statement, *which Father Oback says covered about the same ground as the earliest published of the retraction said to have been made on the eve of Rizal's death.*"²⁰⁶

In another passage in the same work he said:

"The first retraction (1894) is written in his style, and it certainly contains nothing he could not have signed in Dapitan. In fact, *Father Oback says* that when he wanted to marry Josephine on her first arrival there, *Rizal prepared a practically similar statement.*"²⁰⁷

Both of these passages from the work of Professor Craig, since 1913 and retained in the revision of the same in 1928, proved that the Professor knew that and what Rizal was said to have retracted, not through his own eyes, but *by being told by Father Oback* which he clearly reveals in those passages by referring always to *what that priest said* as the source of his information, as an act of courtesy. That fact, too, easily explains why Professor Craig evaded the question of how he came to find out the first retraction and whether he saw it, because he really did not see as his *statements proved*; the contrary to which must be made before anything could be presumed to such an effect. Now, in plain language and simple thinking, could such a one speak of "The fact of the matter is . . ." as if it is the truth and nothing but the truth? I cannot take it so, for I am anxious to give the real value to every claim. Since it claims more than it is worth, the claim must be denied.

And yet in the last part of the interview the Professor said:

" . . . I am not saying that the document recently discovered is fake; it probably is genuine because it tallies with that *which I actually saw in Dapitan.*"

In this last quotation, and more specifically in the portion I italicized, we get a straight statement made in 1935 by Professor Craig, that he actually saw the retraction in Dapitan at the time, naturally, when he went to Dapitan. But when he wrote in 1913 after coming from Dapitan for the purpose, he did not say he

²⁰⁶ Ibid., p. 213.

²⁰⁷ Op. cit., p. 244.

actually saw it, for *he was simply told by Father Oback about it*. Now, plainly speaking, when did Professor Craig go to Dapitan and see the first retraction? Certainly after Rizal was already dead. It could not therefore be in 1896, but sometime after that year. In 1913, the year of the publication of his book we already quoted, he spoke prudently and frankly, and at that time *he always referred to what Father Oback told him*. The truth of what he said depended upon the authority of that Father then. But now in 1935, some twenty-two years later than 1913, he spoke of *having actually seen the retraction in Dapitan*. How strange!

In this book we are quoting the Herr Professor said in another place:

“This document (retraction of 1894), inclosed with the priest’s letter, was ready for the mail when Rizal came hurrying in *to reclaim it*. The marriage was off, for Mr. Taufer had taken his family and gone to Manila.”²⁰⁸

So Rizal came hurrying back to reclaim his retraction, *i.e.*, to retract back what he had supposedly retracted. But did he reclaim it? If he got it back then Rizal had the retraction and certainly Professor Craig could not have seen it when he went to Dapitan at the time when Rizal was already dead. But the Professor was silent again on this point. He did not say whether or not, Rizal got it back. If Rizal did not get it, he might have seen it in Father Oback’s possession. But when he spoke of what this father told him, it is quite evident that he wanted to disown authority for the statement, because he had no basis. Did he see the first retraction? I just wonder . . . This is where we must be prudent in giving real value to a given claim. Besides, the facts that Rizal came to reclaim what he retracted, if ever he did, and that in actually living with Josephine, the only reason given why he would retract, he did not repeat the retraction, in point of fact, are strong negative evidence against the supposition that he retracted the same thing for the same reason of seeking marriage with the same woman, he already regarded as *a wife in fact*.

In another passage in the referred to interview, the professor said:

“He found that the revolutionary movement had disowned him, and he knew, too, what suffering his persistence

208 *Ibid.*, p. 213.

would cause his family and relatives. His activities and writings had already laid them open to persecution by avengers, and he did not wish to add any more to their misery."

To this he adds:

"I do not think there was any intimidation used when Rizal wrote (?) his retraction. He did it with a free will."

Really? In the first place, I doubt the statement that the revolutionary movement had disowned him. Some traitors to the revolutionary cause and to him disowned him, yes! Secondly, Rizal knew the suffering that he had caused his family by his persistence, while still alive, that was why he wanted to end it all by his death, but still sticking to his convictions and principles. Thirdly, Rizal did not want to add any more misery to his relatives. In fact, he wanted to save them all the trouble and persecution and to give peace and tranquillity in turn, by his death and not by simple retraction. We shall presently elucidate on this point.

In 1913, the professor clearly expressed:

"Furthermore, his work for a tranquil future for his family would be unfulfilled were he to die outside the Church. Josefina's anomalous status, justifiable when all the facts were known, would be sure to bring criticism upon her unless corrected by the better defined position of a wife by a church marriage (?). The aged parents and the numerous children of his sisters would by his act be saved the scandal that in a country so mediævally pious as the Philippines would come from having their relative die 'an unrepentant heretic'."²⁰⁹

All these amount to suggesting that Rizal retracted because he wanted to save his family the trouble of persecution. Yes, if Rizal could die for his countrymen, could he not retract for the peace of his family? Of course, he could, if only it was his plan. In his letter to his family on June 20, 1892, Rizal's testament "to be opened after his death", he wrote:

"With pleasure then I risk my life to save so many innocent persons—so many nieces, and children, too, of others who are not even friends—who are suffering on my

²⁰⁹ Ibid., p. 246.

account On the other hand, there are many individuals, filled with hope and ambitions, *who perhaps might all be happy were I dead, and then I hope my enemies would be satisfied and stop persecuting so many entirely innocent persons.*"²¹⁰

On the same date in his letter to his countrymen, he said:

*"I hold duties of conscience above all else, I have obligation to the families who suffer, to my parents whose sighs strike me to the heart; I know that I, alone, only with my death, can make them happy, returning them to their native land and to a peaceful life at home."*²¹¹

From these Rizal's own words which were to be opened only after his death, he clearly stated *what* he, himself, thought to be the means of peaceful life and happiness for his family, and *that was his own death*, than a mere retraction as Professor Craig invents for Rizal's motive! So we see here the danger of an assertion without verification—factual proofs.

When we consider what Rizal himself created in the plot of his master-piece—*Noli Me Tangere*—we feel quite embarrassed to think that Professor Craig forgets that he is making Rizal forget what the latter thought, observed, and even put into his immortal novel, regarding this tranquillity of the descendants even when the priced "man-wanted" is dead. I did like to present here the case of Don Rafael Ibarra, the father of Don Juan Crisostomo Ibarra, who thirteen years after the narration in the "*Noli Me Tangere*" became the disguised Simoun in the "*El Filibusterismo*". In the mouth of an old lieutenant, Rizal spoke of Don Rafael Ibarra as:

" . . . a very upright man, more so than many of those who regularly attend confession and than the confessors, themselves. He had framed for himself a rigid morality and often said to me, when he talked of these troubles, 'Señor Guevara, do you believe that God will pardon any crime, a murder for instance, solely by a man's telling it to a priest—a man after all and one whose duty it is to keep quiet about it—by his fearing that he will roast in hell as a penance—by being cowardly and certainly shameless into the bargain? I have another conception of God,' he used to say, 'for my opinion one evil does not correct another,

²¹⁰ Op. cit., p. 177.

²¹¹ Ibid., p. 178.

nor is crime to be expiated by vain lamenting or by giving alms to the Church. Take this example: if I have killed the father of a family, if I have made of a woman a sorrowing widow and destitute orphans of some unhappy children, have I satisfied eternal Justice by letting myself be hanged, or by telling my secret to one who is obliged to guard it for me, or by giving alms to priests who are least in need of them, or by buying indulgences and lamenting night and day? What of the widow and the orphans? My conscience tells me that I should try to take the place of him whom I killed, that I should dedicate my whole life to the welfare of the family whose misfortunes I caused. But even so, who can replace the love of a husband and a father? Thus your father reasoned and this strict standard of conduct regulated all his actions, so that it can be said he never injured anybody. On the contrary, he endeavored by his good deeds to wipe out some injustices which he said your ancestors had committed."²¹²

A case was brought against this fine gentleman which caused him to be imprisoned prior to his conviction, since justice was so slow during that time.

"When the case was almost finished and he was about to be acquitted of the charge of being an enemy of the fatherland and of being the murderer of the (brute) tax-collector, he died *in prison* with no one at his side."²¹³

That he was about to be acquitted *speaks of his innocence*, only he died and did not realize it. And yet *his descendant*, Juan Crisostomo Ibarra, was never left in peace, which naturally would not be expected if only this country was not ruled with such arbitrary injustice.

"Simoun (thirteen years earlier was Don Juan Crisostomo Ibarra, the only son of Don Rafael Ibarra) related his sorrowful story: How thirteen years before, he had returned from Europe, filled with hopes and smiling illusions, having come back to marry a girl whom he loved, disposed to do good and forgive all who had wronged him, just so they would let him live in peace. *But it was not so . . .* Name, fortune, love, future, liberty, all were lost and he escaped only through the heroism of a friend."²¹⁴

Here the *death* of a man so innocent, only with many enemies,

²¹² Noli Me Tangere, annotated by F. Basa, 1929, pp 24-25

²¹³ Ibid, p. 28.

²¹⁴ Reign of Greed, C. E. Derbyshire, pp. 356-357.

(*could we say an iota less of Rizal?*) did not even put an end to the persecution of his family. This fact was clearly borne in the mind of Dr. Rizal when he wrote his sealed testament. If we would refer to the letters we quoted above, we would observe that Dr. Rizal said:

“On the other hand, there are many individuals, filled with hope and ambitions, *who perhaps might all be happy were I dead* and then *I hope my enemies would be satisfied* and would stop persecuting so many entirely innocent people.”

In these words, Dr. Rizal was not sure that they will all be happy upon his death, that was why he merely said “who perhaps might all be happy . . .” He was not sure either that his death will stop his enemies from the devilish persecution of his family, that was why he merely said, “I hope my enemies” When he wrote in the other letter that “I, alone, *only with my death*, can make them happy” he realized that *short of his death*, his enemies would not stop persecuting the innocents. But *with his death*, he *only hoped that they should stop*, but he could not, as no one could, limit what the devil could and would do. He merely hoped, which was then hoping against hope.

Now a man who knew by actual experience of his own and observation from others that nothing short of death could give tranquillity to his family, though even that may not give such at all, could he believe that *a retraction* could do such? What a miracle would it be, if he could, a miracle that only the over-credulous mind can believe! Only those who gain by such arrangement could and would believe that Rizal substituted the retraction for his death to secure peace for his family! But Rizal died also, we say. That is more reason why he could not substitute the retraction for his death to secure such peace, for he knew that he was to die. But the fact that he knew he was to die, any way, could he not do anything besides, that is, could he not retract likewise? If Rizal were a simple-minded, fear-of-death intoxicated man, inconsistent, unthinking out of his mind, as many of the sudden converts, unmethodical, unscientific weakling were; yes, he could do anything since he was already to die. But, no, he was not and had never been so!

Besides, we have to ask, “If Rizal retracted, as he was supposed to have done, to give tranquillity to his family, did the latter get such peace?” Only the members of his family could testify.

According to the sister of Rizal, Dña. Trinidad, on the day of the execution of her brother till the next day they were not even allowed to stay at their own home, because there were spies and civil guards that annoyed them, that in their life after the death of the martyr they were not given peace and tranquillity. Now, where is the evidence for such a wise invention? None, absolutely nothing at all, and yet facts are the test of theories. Therefore, there are two alternatives left, either Dr. Rizal did not retract, the proof of which are unequivocally given and illustrated in the earlier parts of this work, or that if he retracted, it was not, as Professor Craig supposed, to secure the tranquillity of his family, which is contrary to facts and therefore impossible. Then, if it was not for the latter, what then did he retract, if ever he did, for?

Here again we see the danger of an invented, unsupported conjecture and hasty generalization that because sudden conversion under similar conditions happened with other human beings and that Dr. Rizal was human, therefore, he would also do the same. The only explanation, a back-door excuse than a reason, for Professor Craig to admit such a motive, is the *fact that he asked before for the original of the said retraction at the time that it could not be found, and when today the same is discovered, he is at a loss to deny, though he had not seen yet the original at the time of his statement.* In 1913, he wrote practically the same thing, perhaps because he feared then that some day the document may come to light, and he had no other course to verify, therefore, he invented an ingenious motive designed to weaken the real value of retraction as executed in "good faith". But they are all clearly seen to be conjectures.

To argue that Dr. Rizal retracted only to save his family from further persecution is to admit that Rizal was exposing to the world how bad and cruel the authorities were then, that unless a man retracts, his family and all should also be persecuted. Then it is also to admit that Rizal knew about the authorities that much. But would that be all? No, he would also know that the authorities being that bad and cruel would not also leave his family in peace, as was the fact, despite his retraction, if any. Besides, that because of his retraction, he was admitting that he had thought and taught falsely before, that he really was guilty of a sin against the Church, that his teachings were all false, thus strengthening the madness of the Church against him and his family, which the Church has been eager to accomplish. Was

he a simple minded, mental weakling to be tricked and decoyed into such a simple bait? I could not think so! It is very repugnant to the facts of Rizal's whole life! Others who have done less and are victims of the "delusion of grandeur" could think him as simple as such. But I shall not venture a path that "angels themselves are afraid to tread upon."

SOME ERRORS OF MR. E. F. LUMBA

In the *Cultura Social* here cited, Mr. E. F. Lumba, the editor of *La Defensa*, in his article, "The Sincerity of Rizal", wrote of the "spontaneous"—a word found in the document—retraction of Rizal, with reference to Father Pio Pi's book, we have already cited. It is quite true, that *the writer of this retraction* spoke of it as *his* "spontaneous manifestation." A mere reading of this retraction, especially when we take for granted its genuineness, as Mr. Lumba did, thus begging the question, will leave such impression of "spontaneity" in our mind. But when we understand the circumstances attendant to this supposed historical event, it shall present to us a modified picture of what actually occurred, granting that something occurred at all. We will take the book referred to by Mr. Lumba. Father Pi wrote:

"Then Father Balaguer begun to dictate him the other formula (that prepared by Father Pi), already approved before by the Archbishop, which is much more brief, although expressive and definite and which after some objections were subdued, he (Rizal) accepted entirely, desiring very uniquely of his own initiative to insert some little and brief phrases, which did not add to the document expression or value . . ."

Now, what actually happened, in writing that finished retraction? In the next paragraph, Father Pi wrote:

"They (priests) dictated him: 'I declare myself a Catholic and in this religion I wish to live and die,' and after the word 'religion' he (Rizal) added, 'in which I was born and educated' and commenting upon the addition he said, 'because it is evident that in Spain, I was lost.' In such manner did they dictate him and he wrote the two following clauses, without any discussion; and the Father continued (dictating), 'I abominate Masonry as a society disapproved by the Church,' and here Rizal desisted them. It seemed to him that the Sect (Masonry) was not intrinsically bad al-

though as he believed, many masons might be bad; that those whom he dealt with in London, where he had been affiliated were decent persons; that Masonry of the Philippines was not opposed to Catholicism, and that to many masons of low grades (of which Rizal seems not to have passed) no act that would imply apostasy of the Catholic Religion is exacted . . . Father Balaguer proposed to him to change some words in this form: 'I abominate Masonry, as an enemy of the Church and prohibited by the same,' and he agreed finally, although there is very little difference between one and the other mode of expressing the thought. Father Balaguer continued dictating: 'The Diocesan Prelate can make public this manifestation.' Rizal wanted to add after the words 'Diocesan Prelate' these: 'as the highest ecclesiastical authority.' And better disposed for moments and even bragging of his liberty and sincerity (which some in vain pledge to deny), the word 'manifestation' being written, he wanted to add 'spontaneous and voluntary', saying with liveliness, 'because, Father, you know me and learn that I do not wish to make a comedy. If I would not feel what I sign neither you nor anybody could succeed to make me sign it.' 'Well,' said the Father, 'just put spontaneous'."215

We have quoted at length in order to give justice to the facts of the case as presented by the Catholics themselves. If this sounds still "spontaneous" then certainly in our endeavor to assign the real value of evidence, we can say that it does not have the same impression as when we merely read the word "spontaneous" in the text of the retraction itself without knowing the circumstances attending the event. It is trite to point here the religious controversy that transpired between the HERO and the priests, which certainly must be made in full to explain in the natural phenomenal way the retraction, if any. But perhaps the Church being a lover and exponent of mystery does not want this to be as clear as light, but prefers to have it in the obscurity of darkness, which—obscurity of darkness—in a scientific undertaking as this, is the foremost enemy of truth there ever has been.

I shall not deal, however, with a by-path open at this point. The question arises, "Do these inserted phrases make the retraction appear in the style of Dr. Rizal, the novelist?" This question arises because of the quotation made by Mr. Lumba of what Rizal said to Father Balaguer:

215 Op. cit. pp. 35-36.

“Look, Father, although I should sign this nobody will believe that it is mine. You know my style, which is very distinct. Give me the pen, and you dictate what I ought to express.”

And so it was dictated and he wrote with those insertions. It might be premature here to commit an opinion or another as to the answer to such question. *But certainly any answer must be based upon the writings*—all writings—of Rizal to which he, himself, referred in speaking of his distinct style. Short of this conditions no one can venture any reliable answer.

We have already observed elsewhere the character of the presupposition committed by Mr. Lumba (see preliminary discussion). I shall only point out here the full import of the arguments of Mr. Lumba in giving and explaining the alternatives left to the poor martyr *after all this retraction*. He wrote in his article in *The Sunday Tribune* of June 30, 1935, entitled “Rizal’s Retraction” and published in Spanish in the *Cultura Social* with the title “No Hay Contradicción—There is No Contradiction”, in which he gave the points of and possible ways of escape from the *seeming contradiction* between the *fact of retraction* and the *fact of Rizal’s heroism*, to wit:

“1. If Rizal was not sincere in signing the retraction, but did so only because he was intimidated by some means or other, and induced to do so for the love of his family, then he was not heroic as we believed, for he thus committed intellectual dishonesty, denying all his teachings under pressure while still believing in their truth; for thus he betrayed himself to save his family.”

This point he dismissed by pointing to the fact (?) that forced action is not fitting into the past character of Rizal. This hasty generalization, we have already pointed out, had not always been borne out by facts (see preliminary discussion). Besides and principally, this answer already presupposes that the retraction is genuine. But I shall always be glad to repeat that this is the real point in question. The escape advocated therefore is begging the question, since it assumes what is to be proved:

“2. If Rizal was sincere in signing the retraction then he was faithless to the work of his whole life; he betrayed his countrymen; he was therefore no hero, as his heroism arose from his work and teachings for his country’s welfare.”

This point, Mr. Lumba dismissed by simply reminding us that the retraction was "for the Church and not for the State; for his soul, not for his body." Let us be reminded that in a scientific discussion, the manner, I insist, in which this question must be dealt with, *every point considered as a fact must be a verifiable fact* and not a mere supposition. Let it be admitted that the retraction was for the Church and not for the State, does it not follow that "he was faithless to the work of his whole life . . .?" Of course it might not be faithlessness to the *whole work* of his *whole life*, for certainly he was not supposed to have retracted all his works.

I do not wish to argue with anyone as to whether the Catholic Church is the only infallible Church. If it could be pointed out, *except as a possible inference from the questioned retraction now under consideration* (I put this exception because the rule of logical evidence prohibits us from the fallacy of begging the question in a straight thinking), that Rizal believed that the Church is infallible, then one stumbling block shall be taken away from the path of the Catholics as to this question. On the other hand, I shall here quote again from Rizal what he expressedly and thoughtfully wrote, and not what he might have miraculously and hysterically done as supposed, in answer to a religious controversy, where the factors at play were the genius and mind of each party concerned. I refer to the already quoted portion of the fourth letter to Father Pastells on April 4th, 1893, while Rizal was exiled to Dapitan *for a religious complication*—funny enough such a cause was considered a crime then and here in this country, for *the lack of freedom of worship and conscience and thought* and the insistent intolerance of the Catholic Church then²¹⁶. It reads:

"All of the brilliant and subtle arguments of yours, which I do not treat to refute for I would have to write a treatise, cannot convince me that the Catholic Church would be the one endowed with infallibility. In her also is the human 'finger prints'; she is an institution more perfect than ours, but human to the end, with the defects, errors, and vicissitudes of the works of men. . . ."

This quotation from Rizal, himself, bears out my contention.

²¹⁶ Craig, A., op. cit. pp. 170-189. Retana, W., op. cit. pp. 253-256. Rizal was exiled principally for having in his possession framed up pamphlets "Poor Friars", having written against, and having attacked the religion of the State and other *funny business* as judged by us today.

Again let me remind the readers that Rizal's work for his country was not merely political. In fact it is now a moot question whether he was working for the complete separation from Spain then. Evidence could be had to the negative statement. But one thing is sure, and that is, that he was working for his country (not simply *with* her) in obtaining and protecting her welfare. In a passage in his second letter to Father Pastells dated, November 11, 1892, he said:

“I have glimpsed a little of light, and I believe I ought to teach it to my countrymen. . . .”

These are the words of Dr. Jose Rizal when writing about religious matters to a Church Father. Could we say that Rizal was not sincere in these letters? Far be that blasphemy from us! When in June 20, 1892, he wrote to his parents:

“The man ought to die for his duty and conviction. I sustain all the ideas that I have revealed regarding the state (or status or condition) and the future of my country and I gladly die for her and more still for procuring for you justice and tranquillity,”

did he merely mean the political ideas? What did he mean by the “state (not capitalized State) and the future of my country and I shall gladly die for her?” Surely, all the convictions, principles, and ideas for the good of his countrymen! Surely, the little light that he saw, which he believed he ought to teach to his countrymen! And that light is the convictions (shall we not say the truths?), ideas, and principles expounded in these four immortal letters to Father Pastells, and many things more, besides. The convictions and principles revealed in his work, *which the Church has been and still is so anxious to destroy at any cost*—I refer to the dirty facts of some religious persons' attempts to such an end, any biographer of Dr. Rizal will tell us—are here qualified by Father Salvador Font, O.S.A., in his censure of the “Noli Me Tangere” as “The Attacks Upon The Religion of The State,” enumerated in this wise:

“On Page 32. *He denies the Catholic dogma of the Communion of the Saints, and he ridicules the mediation of these before God, in favor of the militant Church.*

“On Page 67. *He denies explicitly the existence of Purgatory, and develops the Lutheran and Calvinistic theories about this matter, which as it is known, are in complete con-*

tradition with our national (Catholic) beliefs.

“Page 68. *He doubts the goodness and justice of God and denies the eternal rewards and punishments, involving in an absolute doubt or in a Voltairian satire on all that refers to a future life.*

“Page 74. *He ridicules the indulgences conceded to the Bull of the Holy Crusade.*

“Page 164. *He ridicules the eternal cult, and mocks the procession and all the public manifestation of the Catholic Cult.*

“Page 179. *He denies the fundamental dogma of Catholicism, the Sacred Eucharist.*

“Page 186. *He puts limits upon the Omnipotence of God and denies miracle.*

“Page 191. *He does not admit the ecclesiastical hierarchy and makes fun of the Pope, Bishops, and priests. All that he treats in religious matter are impregnated with Lutheran and Calvinistic doctrines, a decided firmness being seen in all the work, by inoculating in his readers protestant ideas, as these following lines (p. 273) prove, which involved an invective and general censure upon Spain, her laws, her religion, her customs; he puts in the mouth of one of the characters (Elias) the following words:*

“ Do you say that they have given us the faith and have gotten us from error? Do you call faith those external practices, religion and truth those miracles and myths that we hear everyday? Is that the law of Christ? For this it did not need a God to be crucified, nor to oblige us to an eternal gratitude; the *superstition* existed many years before, we only need to perfect and to raise the price of the merchandise. You tell me that though yet imperfect, our religion today (Catholic Christianity) is preferable to that we had had (faith of the early Filipinos): I believe and agree with it, but it is very dear, because through her we have renounced our Nationality and our Liberty.”

This last quotation is the statement of Elias to Ibarra. Do not all these show that Rizal's work is not really to be divided like physical things as if one part is political, another is religious, etc? That is the danger of the lack of understanding and appreciation of Dr. Jose Rizal's works.

The lengthy charge of Father Salvador Font upon Rizal's novel was not a fictitious charge at that time, when such things, as were enumerated, were enough to make the *pious* and *devotee* shiver and hypocritically feel sorry for the soul of such bold and free-thinking writer. At present, when one still sees any pious

soul feel that way for a bold thinker, as Rizal, he is sure to be embarrassed, so that he would cover his mouth with his hand for he might burst into a loud laughter. At this age of real and free thinking, such charge is the best recommendation to our generation that loves to think. It is a commendation than an indictment!

So we see from Father Font, himself, that Rizal's work was principally *anti-religious* and when he said *anti-religious* he meant anti-Catholic, as all zealous Catholics do. And Rizal's greatness rests upon such work, as also upon the "crowning of that work by his own death." Shall we not be frank to admit that if he retracted them, then the basis of his greatness is gone? But as Mr. Lumba puts in the third alternative:

"3. Therefore with the fact of the retraction before us, we come to the conclusion that Rizal was no hero, that he was not of such a sacrificial character as we had believed. *But* (here comes what has singularly disturbed many minds) *he is* (a hero) . . . His whole life was an unselfish dedication to the cause of his country (but what cause?) . . ."

Now, if we shall just stop at this point without asking some more questions to bring to light hidden facts, we will of course arrive at the conclusion of Mr. Lumba, that "There is no contradiction" in the acts of Dr. Rizal. But let us remember that it is only because we forget to ask more questions. It is to be admitted that Rizal's life was a sacrificial one for his country, for that was the fact, but how did he sacrifice for his country?

Tracing back his biography, we find these facts. According to his own testimony, in his second letter to Father Pastells on November 11, 1892, Rizal wrote:

"Yes, in many occasions, they have treated me with marked injustice; yes against all reasons all my complaints were not heard, I was very young yet then, I pardon very readily than I do today, and though profound were the wounds, they healed at last, thanks to the good disposition which Nature has gifted me. There were, therefore, no 'irritated wounds', no 'thorns that have gone deep'; what was there was a clear vision of the reality in my country, the living memory of what passes in her, and the sufficient ability to judge the etiology of such a manner that I not only could paint what occurred, but that I also prophesied the future, although even now I see being realized with great exactness what I (merely) called a novel, and I could say that I help the representation of my work taking part in it.

“ . . . Half of ‘Noli Me Tangere’ was written in Madrid, a fourth in Paris, and the other fourth in Germany; witnesses are those fellow countrymen who saw me worked.”

Here we see that such a great sacrifice was done for the sake of writing a book, a novel, which we have already shown from the pen of the Catholic father, to be qualified at that time as the “Attacks upon the Religion of the State” by no less an opponent of Rizal as Father Font. Let us add here that another priest, an authoritative representative of “God’s Religion” on earth, Fr. Jose Rodriguez, wrote eight pamphlets in answer to Rizal’s work thus qualifying the latter, too. Here are the titles of such pamphlets under the general heading of “QUESTIONS OF GREAT INTEREST”:

- I. WHY I (meaning YOU) DO NOT HAVE TO READ THEM?
- II. BEWARE OF THEM! WHY?
- III. AND WHAT DO YOU TELL OF PEST?
- IV. WHY THE IRRELIGIOUS TRIUMPH?
- V. DO YOU (meaning I) REALLY BELIEVE THERE IS NO PURGATORY?
- VI. IS THERE OR IS THERE NO HELL?
- VII. WHAT DO THESE LIBELS (Truths) SEEM TO YOU (meaning ME?)
- VIII. EITHER CONFESSION OR CONDEMNATION”³¹⁷

In an anonymous letter published in *La Epoca*, December 27, 1891, we read this:

“Rizal has inspired among his countrymen hatred to the Catholic Religion, and its most devoted have abandoned all religious practices, complying faithfully with what the *Noli Me Tangere* teaches”²¹⁸

All these mean, without quibbling, what Dr. Rizal’s principal work really was. Religious!

The same conclusion, *aside from the perusal of Rizal’s works*, can be attested by the influence of his works. In the letter of Carnicero, his superior in Dapitan, to Despujol, Rizal remembered what his friends advised him upon immediately setting his feet in Manila, before his deportation. Here are some:

²¹⁷ Cited in Retana, W., op. cit. p. 161.

²¹⁸ Quoted in Retana, W., *ibid*, p. 141.

“Rizal, leave immediately by any boat. The *priest of Tondo* has paid men to assassinate you whenever they find you.”

“Do not eat in the Hotel (Oriente) in which they bribed the owner to poison you.”

“*All the friars* have just met and cast lots. *to kill you, etc.*”²¹⁹

These un-Christianlike attempts, as implied by the warnings, give us an insight into the far reaching effect of Rizal’s work. Can we not here see the religious character of Rizal’s work, which if he retracted, would surely give us the contradiction between his sacrifices and retraction? Blind that we are if would not see that!

Let us now turn to his exile to Dapitan. Here is the case filed against Rizal:

“OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY OF THE GENERAL
GOVERNMENT OF THE PHILIPPINES
YEAR 1892

CASE (CONFIDENTIAL)

INSTITUTED, IN CONSEQUENCE OF ANTI-RELIGIOUS
AND ANTI-PATRIOTIC CAMPAIGNS OF EDUCATION
AGAINST JOSE RIZAL AND HIS DISCIPLES
BEGUN, JUNE 21, 1892”²²⁰

The principal evidence was his novels and the bundle of papers “Poor Friars” framed up and inserted in his luggage²²¹. I had occasion to write elsewhere (the present author’s thesis under preparation) in this connection:

“But even granting that Rizal had them (“Poor Friars”) in his possession, that would not prove that he was the author. And even granting still that he was the author, such thing would not warrant his confinement in Fort Santiago as a prisoner and his deportation to Dapitan as a dangerous citizen, unless this country then was not a country but a convent, its government, not a political body but a bishopric!”

²¹⁹ Ibid., p. 278.

²²⁰ Craig, A., Rizal’s life and Minor Writings, p. 136.

²²¹ For the account of this event, see Isabelo de los Reyes, *Sensasional Memoria*, pp. 63–65. *Nuevo Regimen*, Madrid, Dec. 3, 1892, cited in Retana, op. cit. pp. 259–260. *La Solidaridad*, Sept. 30, 1892. Rizal’s letter to Carnicero, Aug. 30, 1892, in Retana, *ibid.* p. 261. All of this grave charge, Retana observed, was not answered by anybody that he knew.

Do we not see here that his sacrifices in being deported were religious sacrifices? Let us not close our eyes any more! It is already daytime!

Again let me repeat that while in Dapitan he wrote his very valuable letters to Father Pablo Pastells on religious beliefs, fragments of which I had occasion to use in this work.

Coming to the most bitter part of this heart-rending task of ours, we will recall the death, itself, of the Martyr. I shall here not recount the whole trial, but we can only describe it as a mockery of justice, the procedure a satire on "evidence", the judges, the tools of greater interests, the prosecution, a personification of what a young barrister was advised to do, as "if you have no case to argue, just obvert, convert, and contrapose", and some of the witnesses, a specimen of a type sworn in the name of the Devil and Injustice "to tell the lie and nothing but the lie, so help me Satan!" Despite that, he died! BUT WHY? I shall leave this point to the speculation of the readers, bitter as the account is if we have to narrate it, but reminding them only of "one of his (Rizal's) last statement (which) was: 'My *great pride*, Father, has taken me here (execution).'"²²²

After all this wearisome narration of the sacrifices of the Martyr, *sacrifices principally religious and no less political*, can we conclude with Mr. Lumba that, "There is no contradiction" between the fact of the retraction of his anti-Catholic principles, writings, words, conduct and the fact of the sacrificial character of Rizal's life? We shall here repeat, "such conclusion of Mr. Lumba is arrived at only upon the ignorance of the instances of the sacrifices of the life of the Martyr." Oh, Rizal, "pardon them for they know not what they say!"

Such explanation is an anticipation of this quotation from Mr. Lumba:

"As to his (Rizal's) criticism of the acts, mistakes, and policies of the civil government and of the individuals in both the civil and ecclesiastical administrations, we can say that they were not subjects included in the retraction. As our civil government (today) does not necessarily condemn as traitors against its institution and existence those who happen to find fault with its officials, so the Catholic Church does not (now?) declare as anathema those of her

²²² Pio Pi, op. cit. p. 43.

children who should find fault with the individual practices and morals of other men, or of her own officials.”

Very ingenious, very ingenious, but this ingenuity forgot that he is talking of the Church and Government of 1935 and supposing the trial of Rizal to have happened in 1935 and not in 1896. Let him show *facts, not words of his own*, from the life history of Rizal—the very case now under consideration—as to the truth of every claim in this quotation! With appalled spirit, bowed head, and bursting breast, my emotion cannot help but exclaim, “Nevertheless, they killed, nay, murdered him! Such a MAN!” No, Rizal could not retract and then be great at the same time! No, Rizal cannot be great and at the same time retract! BUT HE WAS, HE IS, HE SHALL ALWAYS BE GREAT! Q.E.D.

APROPOS TO FATHER JUSTO DE LOS REYES

In a little booklet, “Si Dr. Jose Rizal at si O’Connel”, a Tagalog translation from the Spanish original, Father Justo de los Reyes showed that martyrdom and Catholicism are not incompatible to one another. He wrote:

“The recognition of the Catholic Religion by or the being a Catholic of a Hero does not lessen nor does it blur the heroism of a man; on the contrary, it *ought* to add to his honor or the greatness of his popularity . . . Marshal Foch was a kind and humble Catholic and a devout observer of his duties as a Catholic and *because of that* (?) as well as his being a good soldier of the Nation and the good administration of his soldiers *he became great, well acclaimed, and Hero of his Country.*

“King Louis of France, who later became St. Louis King of France, though he was a king, was not ashamed of frequently going to mass, with all humility and fervent desire of his heart and self . . . Therefore it is possible that one can be a king and pious even here on earth.

“The well-known King Constantine *became triumphant through the sign of the cross of the Savior* (?), was not ashamed of this thing, and in fact he made it (cross) the sign of his banner and arms of his army . . .

“Daniel O’Connel became a great defender and savior of his country, Ireland, against the persecution that she experienced under the protestant Government of England. He was a real, kind, and humble Catholic. He did not hesitate to observe privately or publicly his duties to Catholicism . . .

“He made a very valuable testament in making public his last will, and the contents of that testament ought to be engraved in the heart of every Catholic. Here are his very valuable words: ‘MY BODY IS FOR IRELAND, MY HEART IS FOR ROME, AND MY SOUL IS FOR HEAVEN.’

“Thomas Moore who was once a Chancellor of England was a real and devout Catholic . . . (Napoleon Bonaparte was also mentioned, but it was not stated whether he was a Catholic or not. It simply said that in his last days, Bonaparte pronounced the power of Jesus Christ and the latter’s difference from the other founders of Nations and Religion.)

“Now, shall we be surprised that Dr. Jose Rizal embraced, in the last moments of his precious life, and pronounced the Divinity of Christ and the reality of His Holy Religion as well as the proper authority of his own Holy Church?”²²³

We here quote at length so that we shall not be charged of partiality in this case. One thing is really very evident and that thing is the thesis of the author that Catholicism and Heroism are not incompatible. But the other thing that is equally evident, if not more glaringly so, is that the same author missed the whole point in this question. *It is not the question* whether Dr. Rizal as a National Hero and the same Dr. Rizal as a Catholic, if he were one, would be incompatible, nor is it the question whether the embracing of Catholicism by Dr. Rizal, if ever he did, would belittle his being a National Hero, *thinking him to be simply a man like those mentioned*. I repeat that this is not the question! And yet the whole thesis of the Father centered around this point that is not even asked. The *real question* that must be answered by the Father in this connection is *whether Dr. Rizal, who became great when he was not a Catholic by thinking and doing things un-Catholic, would still be as great a Rizal as that, were he to retract as the Father wants him to do*. Were Rizal like these men whom the Father put in record as the Catholics who were, at the same time, Heroes, yes, it would not be surprising if he too would embrace Catholicism in his last moments. But *Rizal was not so*, that is why it is very surprising if he did that sort of thing. On the contrary, Rizal was an un-Catholic sort of man at the time that he was paving his way to fame and greatness, when the bitterest

223 Op. cit., Manila, 1934, pp. 1-11.

enemies that he had were the friars, to say the least, and, to say the most, the very Church, because of her practices and abuses, and in fine, her articles of faith.

Is it not equally evident that the *Heroism or Greatness and un-Catholicism or even Non-Christianity* are equally compatible? How about the heroism and greatness of those people who were not Christian nor even Catholics? Shall we say that they are not great nor heroes because they are not Christians? That is self-ridicule! Yes, how about these great men whom Rizal, himself, enumerated to Father Pastells in his last letter on April 4, 1893, men like "Socrates, who died for declaring the existence of only one God, the Divine Plato, the virtuous Aristides, Focion, Milquiades, Zarathustra, the founder of the religion of force, Kung-Sien, the founder of the religion of reason, the legislator of China", men like Voltaire, Thomas Paine; Franklin, Lincoln, Bruno, who were great and yet were not Catholics? This fact puts the thesis of the father on its footing.

In an article entitled "The Sincere Conversion of Dr. Jose Rizal to Catholicism" in *La Vanguardia* on July 5, 1935, the same Father wrote:

"Those who live subsequently to an event which they have not witnessed personally, could only have recourse to either written documents, if there is any, or verbal testimonies of persons, or eye or attending witnesses who were present at such event from the beginning till the conclusion of that same event, in order to prove a thing connected to the same, or the reality or veracity of the existence of the same thing."

This is the criterion applied by the said Father to the question of Rizal's retraction. Let us analyze it to give more justice to the author. The logic of action, I mean the *natural possibility and order of action under the circumstances*, for a man living subsequently to an event is to have recourse to those possible sources that Father de los Reyes enumerated. These sources of knowledge, however, require strict and clear explanation, because we are here concerned with *the sources of evidence* regarding a *historical question*. In the first place, we are given written documents, if there is any. What kind of written documents shall serve as a valid instrument to be admitted as a source of evidence? Simply any written document would not do. At the outset, we could say that a document executed subsequently to the date in

question cannot be absolutely valid except when the document bears a date close to the date in question. But even then, this written document has evidential weight inversely proportional to the difference it bears with the date of the event in question. That is, the further away from the date in question the date that the written document bears is, the less is its value and vice-versa. Besides this, however, a part of its weight depends upon the capability of the author of the document, here supposed, giving allowance to his prejudice due to his *religion or sect, because we are here dealing with an event wholly centered in that matter of religion*. It must also be verified—when I say verify, I mean scientific verification, strictly applying the canons of logical and scientific induction, the ideal, if not yet the exclusive method of every scientist—whether it is the genuine writing of the author supposed to have written it. Short of the above consideration the document presented to give evidence to the event lacks the character or logical import to give weight to its evidence. The above is in contemplation of a document written by an eye witness other than the principal person concerned in the event and besides the document that is the result of such an event under consideration.

On the other hand, if the document to be made use of as source of evidence is one supposed to have been executed by the principal person concerned and a result of the event in question, as is the retraction we are here clarifying, it cannot be at once accepted as a *prima facie* evidence, until its genuineness is established when considered as a *questioned document*, because it is brought out in an age when forgery is not unknown. The fact that science has availed us of methods and technique makes the demand for scientific investigation and research more imperative. And the fact too that the question is not squarely met when we merely evade to determine the character—whether genuine or forged—of the document now discovered makes us fully aware that this one source of evidence cannot, prior to such an investigation, yield us the desired evidence. This qualification of that possible source of evidence compelled the present writer to make a study of the genuineness or forgery of the document in question as we have already presented before. I thought at first that Father de los Reyes had this in mind, when he wrote in the first paragraph his criterion. But throughout his article, I failed to see that he had endeavored to make this reference and its subsequent study.

The written document that this said author had in mind was one written by another, than the person concerned in the event,

to prove and give evidence to the questioned event. He expressedly referred to Father Pio Pi's "La Muerte Cristiana del Dr. Jose Rizal" the first edition of which came out in 1909—thirteen years after the event—then again in 1928, the author of which supposedly "narrates with all good faith and impartiality or with veracity all those facts and connected acts referring to the sincere, real, and true conversion and abjuration," as Father de los Reyes qualified such work. I wish to remind this author what Father Pio Pi himself, his authority, said in that book. It reads:

"And although the writer (Father Pio Pi) of this (work now cited) did not visit the prisoner, neither did he (Pi) know him (Rizal) personally, for being then the Superior of the Jesuits in the Philippines residing also in those days in Manila, *he (Pi) had, for reason of his position, to know everything that his subordinates were going to do and everything that was occurring to them* in their spiritual assistance to the prisoner."²²⁴

Whether from this confession Father Pio Pi could "narrate with impartiality or with veracity all those facts and connected acts referring to the sincere, real, and true conversion and abjuration," I cannot be as sure as Father Justo de los Reyes. There is no doubt that *for reason of his position*, he being the Head of the Jesuits then, Father Pio Pi *had to know everything that his subordinates were to do, and everything that was occurring to them*. But whether he *really and actually knew everything that actually occurred* in that event, I cannot say so for Father Pi. Evidence does not bear out such claim. I wonder, too, if Father Pi would say so, since he did not visit the culprit, that is, he did not go to the chapel, to witness the event in question, nor did he know the culprit personally, that is, he could not check whatever he wrote with the influence and life of Rizal, and he had the courage to confess that such qualifications he *lacked!* We could also admit that whatever Father Pio Pi knew about it then must have come from his subordinates who were witnesses to the event in question. But what I do not know and am in doubt of is, if *all that Father Pio Pi knew about the event in question really and actually happened* (when I say *actually* I mean *actually, physically occurring, not supposedly*). What I also do not know and am in doubt of is, if *all that happened in that night was known to Father Pio Pi and recorded in his particular book*. We say the above at the risk of

²²⁴ Op. cit., p. 28.

repetition since we have already discussed this matter in connection with the historicity of the event.

It follows from the consideration of the above that we have to revert to the "personal testimony of persons or eye or attending witnesses who were present at the event in question" If we have to rely upon the witnesses, who were those witnesses? At the bottom of the document we read the names of Juan del Fresno and Eloy Maure. They are now both dead according to the record of Don G. Piñana in "Murió El Doctor Jose Rizal Cristianamente?"²²⁵ What other witnesses could we get? Father de los Reyes was always mentioning Father Pi, but according to his criterion this Father could not be a source, for he was not an eye witness as we know by the Father's very confession. The priests, who were present, however, according to Father Pio Pi's narration were Fathers Villaclara and Balaguer. I am not sure if they were the only ones present. But at any rate they were at least there. They therefore could testify. But we ask, why were they not allowed to sign at the bottom of the retraction? *Whatever reason there was for that prohibition is also the reason why they cannot now testify orally or writtenly*, because they did not then witness, in the solemn (supposed to be) writing. A certain rule of conduct was applied when they did not sign the "retraction", hence the same rule must be applied when they would testify, should they care to, or should we want them to do so. I shall not deal with the question of whether the priests *can sign or not* a document to show that they are witnesses. Let us leave that question to the Church Authorities. Whatever prohibition there was, (and if there were none why did they not sign on the retraction as witnesses?) I repeat, we shall also demand in the case that the same priest shall be asked to testify orally or writtenly on the same event. That is but conforming to the logical and impartial rule of evidence— consistency and impartiality.

We shall now deal with the other points of contention. That Rizal said, "We are going on the way to Calvary. Now, the passion of Christ is well considered. Mine is little; He suffered very much more; They nailed him on the Cross; the bullets will nail me in the cross that the bones of my shoulder form," does not necessarily prove, as the Father author assumes, that "they are words of a sincere believer in Christ, or of a fervent Christian"

²²⁵ Op. cit., pp. 163-168.

if by Christian or believer in Christ he means a Catholic, as the Father is. In connection with these words we have to consider many things; first, that Rizal still remembered at his last moment, that his "Way to Calvary" was the "Way to Injustice", because he fully realized as many, if not all of us now realize that the charge

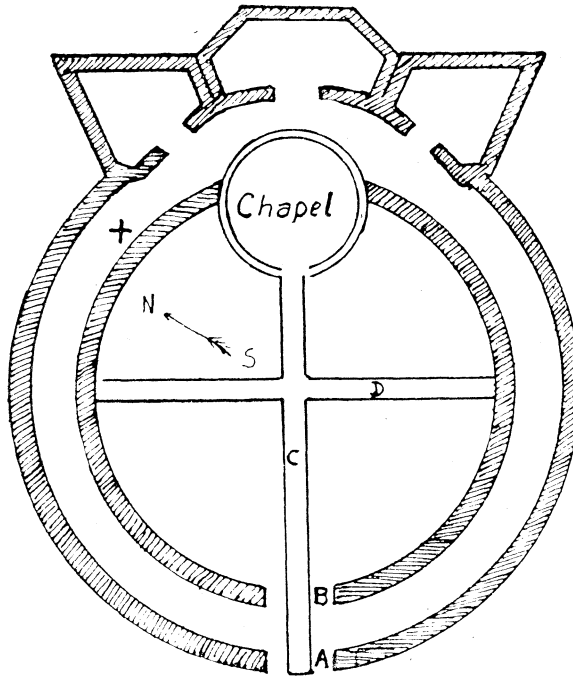


Fig. XXIII. A sketch of the Cemetery of Dilao commonly known as Paco Cemetery. The shaded parts are the walls wherein niches are located. A and B are the gates leading to the interior of this graveyard. C and D are the cement walks in the form of a cross within the inner circular wall. The spot marked "X" is the ground outside the inner circular wall where Dr. Rizal was buried, marked by a stone bearing the initial "R. P. J."

against him was a frame-up, the witnesses just a band of unreliable witnesses, the trial a mockery on justice, and the judges . . . oh, well, skip it! He also knew that the "Way to Calvary of Christ" was also the same "Way to Injustice", for the reason that THAT INNOCENT paid for a crime not his own, or that

HE died for no crime at all. Now, it was really true that at that moment the "passion of Christ is well considered" and that "we (they) are going on the way to Calvary" because it was exactly the same way—"Way to Injustice". Shall we now think that Rizal forgot these facts about his own case, his own way, his own Calvary, and his own passion? Oh! far be it from us to tell such unpardonable nonsense! Bearing the above in mind—that Rizal realized even unto the last moment, his own case (a case of the INNOCENT dying for other INNOCENTS in an UNJUST WAY)—we can now point to the fact that Rizal might have said the above as a reiteration of the satire on Justice that Man knows on earth, that he complied with it *to show to Man, himself*, his own "Way to Injustice". But even considering that these words were not satire it does not necessarily follow that he was a Catholic. He might be a Christian but a Christian is not necessarily a Catholic, for he still might be a Protestant, or any other than Catholic, or a Christian rationalist—a rationalist believing in Christ. For the lack of evidence therefore he cannot necessarily be called a Christian Catholic. The Catholic may claim, and even send to Hell those who would disagree, that they are the only Christian, but as long as we see it *a fact* that other people who are not Catholics, unless the Catholics claim them too, claim themselves Christian, strict logic can only say to that Catholic's claim, "lack of evidence". *Contra factum non valet argumentum.*

"The country of the Christians is of two kinds, one is temporal and the other is eternal. The celestial and blessed Country, where eternal and complete felicity is enjoyed forever, is the *principal* and eternal country of the *true sincere Christians* (let us add Catholic)." Such are the words of a sincere Christian Catholic like Father de los Reyes. But when we ask frankly, "Did Rizal die for such an eternal country or for this temporal country called the Philippines?" we readily see clearly the real situation befogged by many irrelevant discussions. We will quote from Rizal himself, again at the danger of repetition:

" . . . Always have I loved our unhappy land (the country above cannot be unhappy), and I am sure that I shall continue loving it *till my latest moment* in case men prove unjust to me (there could not be any last moment nor any unjust men in the country above). My career, my life, my happiness, all have I sacrificed for love of it (country). Whatever my fate, I shall die blessing it and longing for

the dawn of its redemption (there cannot be any redemption for the country in heaven)"²²⁶

Does this not prove that the country he had constantly in mind was the temporal, physical, material country on earth called the "Philippines"? If, as the said Father said, the true and sincere Christian believes that the *principal country is the eternal celestial one*, while *Rizal died for the temporal*, not in order to obtain the celestial country, *but to free this temporal one*, then to conclude that he was a Christian Catholic is to argue *per petitio principii et non sequitur*. "Lack of evidence" again!

The fact that in his farewell poem, Rizal mentioned the verses:

"And in the still evening a prayer be lifted on high,
From thee O my country, that in God I may rest."²²⁷

proves it is true that he believed in God. "He knew too that the Christian ought to pray to God for the dead . . ." Well and good, those are logical inference. But when from the statement "that every Christian is a believer in God" another statement that "every believer in God is a Christian" and still further that "every Christian is a Catholic" are inferred, *that is indeed poor logic!* Every believer in God is not necessarily a Christian; so also, are all non-Christians not necessarily atheist; he may be a Buddhist, Mohammedan, Hindu, Confucian, rationalist, and free thinker, etc., and still all of these may believe in God. Again to infer from the statement that "Every Christian ought to pray to God for the dead" one that "because Rizal asked his country and fellowmen—be they Christian or not—to pray for his soul, therefore, he was a Christian Catholic" is again a symptom of an illogical reasoning. Everyone who prays for the dead and asks to be prayed for, when dead, is not necessarily a Christian, much less a Catholic, because, Mohammedans, Buddhists, even pagans do pray in their own way for their dead. The only verdict again for such a conclusion of the Father is "lack of evidence". If the Father acting for the prosecution will rest this case then in the hand of an incorrupt judge, the latter will simply take up his gavel and pound upon his table irritably saying, "The case is dismissed for lack of evidence, next case . . ." Laughter in the court-house!

²²⁶ Letter to his countrymen on June 20, 1892; Craig, A., op. cit., p. 179.

²²⁷ Translated by Derbyshire; Craig, A., *ibid*, p. 257.

IN JUSTICE TO REV. MANUEL A. GRACIA

I should like to do justice to what Rev. Father Manuel Gracia, C.M., the discoverer of the document of retraction of Dr. Rizal, says. In the *Cultura Social*, July 1935, he wrote an article "The Retraction of Dr. Jose Rizal" in which he gave a dilemma, which I would like here to analyze for the sake of clarification. He said in reference to the hypothesis of Dr. Fernandez which was understood by the Father as that Rizal might have retracted, and still was a Mason, simply for the sake of the future of his family:

"To his (Dr. Fernandez') hypothesis we have a dilemma:

"(Either) RIZAL DID NOT DECEIVE ANYBODY WITH HIS WRITING; certainly let us admit such as it sounds, would that it be bitter to us.

"(Or) RIZAL DECEIVED EVERYBODY WITH HIS RETRACTION; writing what within himself, in his conscience did not exist; a cursed honor is that which they render with such to the National Hero. He would be to us a vulgar hypocrite, who says what is contrary to what he thinks and feels."²²⁸

These two horns of the dilemma are indeed destructive to accept, but the acceptance of which seems unavoidable, only if we do not understand the presupposition upon which the whole dilemma is based. This presupposition, however, is the very point in question, in fact, the big and real question at the outset of this work. This dilemmatic argument presupposes that the retraction was genuinely written by Rizal, for the second alternative states that, "Rizal deceived everybody with his retraction. . ." which clearly demonstrates in wording and sense the mentioned presupposition. Of course, *if Rizal retracted*, which we already have shown that he did not, *he would be a hypocrite*, unless he was just playing the game of his enemies, a game of double-crossing in vulgar parlance. It would further result that if he retracted seriously, we are just "honoring a vulgar hypocrite who says what is contrary to what he thinks and feels." Well, that is . . . if *Rizal retracted!* So we see here another difficulty that must be surmounted by the hypothesis that the document of retraction is genuine, and certainly it is not a small job to overcome this difficulty. But the father would prefer the second of the horns,

²²⁸ Op. cit., pp. 309-310.

thus invalidating the valuable teachings of an honorable man. But what a shallow motive, that contains too much religiousness in it!

The first alternative states that "Rizal did not Deceive Anybody With His Writing . . ." That certainly sounds logical for the man had those writings (not simply the writing of the retraction) as the living monument of his life career and achievement. But for him to retract, though not all, but a great portion of that colossal life-time work, of which, by the way, in his letter to his countrymen from Hongkong in 1892, Rizal said he would gladly do the same thing, that is, to repeat the same life-time work, is really for him to appear a BIGGER, MORE GLARING HYPOCRITE in the eyes of the world and his countrymen—except to some of the faction which gained by the retraction. Would we not be misplacing the honor undeserved upon a Man who built an edifice and destroyed it, himself, at the instigation of some envious ones, when about to witness the glory of his work? Indeed, we would commit such error, and in this I agree with the Father. But it is only because, we here always presuppose that he retracted for the simple reason, perhaps, as in this article referred to, it was contended, that there is the document, with the words and signature(?) of Jose Rizal that could prove(?) that he retracted. And this presupposition is the real issue in question. To presuppose what you are to answer is to beg the question. Beggars that we all are! But as I have already observed elsewhere in the preceding pages, in a *questioned document*, whose character we are to determine, the document in question is not a *prima facie* evidence to be taken as genuine, short of scientific investigation. But this condition of scientific investigation is the one condition wanting in the presupposition of the Father's dilemma. We are here concerned not in any legal presumption practiced in court, but in a scientific investigation, where we cannot presume one way or the other, that is, we cannot be prejudiced. It is not only a question of proving it a forgery, if the retraction is considered so, the failure to do so for lack of evidence does not necessarily mean in a scientific spirit that it is already genuine, but also a case of proving its genuineness, if it is so considered, the failure to do so scientifically does not spell forgery. The inability to disprove one contention is no amount of proof for it, or vice-versa. Such is the requirement of strict canons of the logic of scientific induction.

On the other hand, we can here give the real and more exhaustive alternatives in the question, without involving ourselves into an unwarranted assumption. In the first place, "Either Rizal retracted or he did not retract." If he retracted, then the dilemma of the father could be given, thus involving ourselves into difficulty, bordering even at begging the question. And that is so, *if Rizal retracted by assumption. If he did not retract*, the other alternative, where is the dilemma of the Father? There is really no dilemma because we still could avoid meeting any of the horns by pointing, as here pointed out, that there is another alternative, besides the one presupposed by the Father, thus making the dilemma a simple scare-crow, because it is a *petitio principii*.

There is another point of interest in this cited article which I would like to give full justice to. In answer to a certain contention of Mr. Godofredo Rivera, that all the glory of Rizal takes repose in the fact of his conversion to Catholicism, the Father said:

"But, would we not have Dr. Rizal more in conformity with his people returning to the faith 'in which I (Rizal) was born and educated?' It is unquestionable that the Filipino people were then, and are now in the great majority almost all Catholics; therefore, Dr. Rizal conformed more with his people, in returning to the bosom of the Holy Church and turning his back to the Masonic sect."

I am here not arguing principally for Mr. G. Rivera or for the Masonry. But I shall only analyze the argument to do full justice to the clarification of this befogged question.

In the first place, it is to be admitted that the great majority of our people here are Catholics, but it is likewise undeniable, beyond cavil, that *of the total*, not only of the great majority of the Filipino People, *there had been only one Dr. Jose Rizal, in name, spirit, achievement, etc.*, and *Dr. Rizal had been so when he was outside the Church*, while the rest of the people were and still are just as they were. Secondly, if Rizal were to conform with his people only in faith, it would be an outward show, devoid of basis *drawn from the responsible life of the Martyr*. While he was yet alive, he believed differently from the great majority of the Filipinos. In fact, a great many of the Filipinos, if not all of them, looked unto him for their beliefs and even reasoning. The proof of it is the effect and influence of his work, even upon our contemporary leaders of thought in this country. Thirdly, Rizal's

philosophy of life was not just simply to conform with his people, but to be with his people by following the more hazardous trail of leading them than the bitten path of least resistance of following them, the vice of the lazy and the mediocre. Here lies the difference between a great man and a mediocre, a genius Rizal and any of those great majority of the Filipinos whom the Father is proud to brag as Christian Catholics! In this very important insight into Rizal's life and philosophy of life, the Father errs.

The Father involves himself here upon a false scent of the martyr's principle of life. It is true that Rizal gave his life and all for his country and people. But from this great and sacred trust, it is not to be deduced without error, that therefore he wanted to conform more to them, much less, that since they (people) are almost all Catholic, therefore, he also would try to be a Catholic, just for conformity. NO! that cannot be done, for it would mean an unpardonable absurdity that, because during that past time of the Spanish domination, when the Church and State were united, the great majority of the Filipinos were slaves, physically and mentally, therefore Rizal would conform to such slavery, hence he would want to be a slave himself! That is easily admitted if we are not only on the side of the slaves but of the oppressor! That is an *argumentum ad absurdum*, unbecoming the genius mind of Rizal.

To quote further, "And we Catholics should rest upon the laurel of victorious truth." If the Catholics could still rest upon this laurel of "victorious truth," I could not, much less if I were a Catholic, and lesser still if I am looking for the truth, as I do in this question. This is only giving justice to the import of Father Manuel Gracia's reasoning.

CHAPTER X

RÉSUMÉ

At last we have come to the end of our trail, not unmindful of many a pitfall along the wearisome and winding course of our way. The peak is reached and yonder is the Sun of Truth so bright and dazzling that we have to shade our mortal eyes with our hands. Or, why should we speak in figures? Alas! There is Truth which the eyes of Reason alone can appreciate and the painstaking labor of research has availed us to experience. How beautiful! There is nothing so alluring, so enticing, so firm, so reliable a basis for our faith, belief, opinion, or reason than the very Truth, Itself. Bitter is Truth when we are yet looking for It, or when we are not in Its side when we find It, but sweet is Truth when we begin searching for It with an open unprejudiced mind and sweeter still when the finding of It compensates us in our search.

From this highest peak of labor, research, and reason reached, and where the mind shall never wish to descend from, for it is from there alone that Truth is glimpsed, every veil is lifted, the fog that beclouds the reality vanishes, and everything is visible in its true color and light. It was Rizal who always said that "to know all is to understand all and to understand all is to forgive all." Yes, indeed, when we know everything, then we understand everything, and we forgive everybody. But it is only in the end that we come to such a knowledge.

Let us then begin our résumé by asking questions. What do our study of the handwriting of the retraction and the genuine writings of Dr. Rizal, their comparison in forms of various letters, in habits of writing, in slants of letters, and comparison of the genuine signatures and the disputed one, in their various marked and verifiable characteristics, measurements, tendencies, etc., our comparison of the writings in the retraction supposed to be made by three different persons, their similarity in slant, in forms of various letters, in tendency in alignment, in ellipticity of curves, in width of pressure, in economy of terminal strokes, our analysis of the document itself show? What do they mean? Repetition here is only too trite. Certainly, that Dr. Jose Rizal never wrote that retraction! He had yet to rise from his grave and descend so low so as to make that retraction a genuine one.

What does our textual criticism of the retraction mean? What do our comparative and internal criticisms mean? The fact that the texts of the earlier versions and of the "true" version recently discovered are different in two very serious faults—commission and omission of important words—not to say of other minor variations, shows that even the texts of the *same retraction may change*. The fact that by internal criticism the retraction and the report of how it was supposedly done made Dr. Rizal write very childish things that were never true to his life, things that would pull him down from the pedestal of geniuses by the envious hands of his enemies, things that would degrade him from the worship of his people as the MARTYR GENIUS to the pity as upon the irresponsible child and member of the Marian Congregation as the friars insisted him to once more become, shows that the whole thing was a frame-up and a foul scheme of some of his enemies who do not want the name, work, and spirit of the MARTYR move his PEOPLE. No, Dr. Rizal did not write such degrading irresponsibility!

What do our facts on disproofs prove? Surely, these facts that cannot be controverted are stumbling stones that block the otherwise smooth way of the factions of the retraction. But since they are facts which cry out aloud to our sense of justice and truthfulness, they can never be surmounted by mere denial. They likewise prove that that Dr. Rizal retracted was a logical impossibility. No, he did not make that retraction.

What does our study on the question of historicity prove? The fact that partisan authority cannot be relied upon in a religious question as this compels us to deny the assumption that the conversion of Rizal is a historical fact. It may be a hysterical fact. The fact that the authorities had in this matter are bias, one unknown, others always prejudiced, and the principal ones having committed some lapses in their statements of facts, as we have all shown, compels us to deny cocksureness and fanaticism in matters like this. No, that Dr. Rizal was converted and that he retracted are not and had never been historical facts.

What does our study on the psychological aspect of conversion mean? Oh, that . . . nothing but that psychologically Dr. Jose Rizal, *who never was* a hysterical, suggestible, hypersensitive, emotional, irresponsible, unthinking, absent-minded, mental weakling, *cannot be converted by arguments long before that time exploited and exploded* by his (Rizal's) own study and

thinking. No, Dr. Jose Rizal could not be psychologically converted, how could he retract? He did not retract; he was not converted!

What does our reconstruction of the philosophical controversy in the chapel show? Nothing but that to claim, as Father Balaguer did, that *Rizal was here defeated* is not to know the meaning of *defeat* and to suggest suspicion as to the mental perspective of Dr. Rizal's opponent. I shall not speak for my facts; no, my facts shall speak for me. Our reconstruction of the philosophical controversy once more parades to us the *inherent superiority as a thinker* of our beloved MARTYR and HERO, whom Blumentritt eulogized as "the greatest MAN the Malayan Race has ever produced" and to which we can add, "and greater still than his own white tutors, the priests!"

Then, does not our attempt on clarification of current ideas finally add the finishing touches upon the honest portrait we are sincerely making of our beloved Dr. Jose Rizal? Whose is the vile hand to stain this portrait?

There may be many a pious though honest but unknowing soul who would express regret that Dr. Rizal did not return to the fold before his death. The regret may be genuine and sincere but misdirected. That attitude on life and death is the very attitude that our beloved THINKER corrected, since for him a man need not be bound by any creed or belief, his reason need not be enslaved by any fetters, for "God does not wish that he who has less (talent) should think as he who has more (talent) or viceversa." If there is to be going to heaven, and Dr. Rizal did not unreasonably falter in such a belief, Dr. Rizal surely would be there, for his disinterested works for his countrymen earned for him not only the admiration of his own people and the hatred of his enemies—the unerring marks of a truly great man—but surely the credit for his soul. In the words of Retana:

" . . . I believe that if there is heaven, and it is better that there be, Rizal did not need to be *converted* (sic) in order to win it. He shall win it by the virtues of his whole life, by the goodness of his soul, by the altruism of his ideals, and not because he confessed or he received the sacrament."²²⁹

²²⁹ *El Renacimiento*, special edition, Dec. 29, 1908.

Let therefore our soul worry about *its own salvation*, and would that every soul have done what Dr. Rizal had done and everyone be like a Rizal, rather than worry about the salvation of this Great One. It is to our *shame and self-ridicule* that we are having so much compunction upon the soul of a truly GREAT MAN, a MASTER, to touch the soles of whose sandals we are not even fit. It was he who said, "I die with a tranquil conscience" (See Fig. XXIV and appendix). Let us then through him see the emptiness of our lives, beliefs, deeds, and ideals, so also the childishness of our creeds, practices, and pomp. Let it be remembered and remembered long that the mind of Dr. Rizal was not the vulgar, the mediocre, the common mind to which the show and the pomp, to cover up the emptiness of the contents, appeal. No, his is the intellect that has outgrown such childishness. Let not the elevated and the progressive come down to the common level but that the low and the degraded strive upwardly to a higher level.

Lastly, let me awaken in all of us that sense of *patriotism* and *love of our own* which many times we irresponsibly throw away by force of creed, stomach, or convenience. Let us regain the prestige of the intellect of a Rizal, the force of conviction of a Rizal, the manliness to stand for one's conviction of a Rizal, and the example of *living* and *dying* for what one preaches of a Rizal! Let it be a living and truly inspiring ideal for every Filipino to achieve the virtues and deeds of an immortal Dr. Jose Rizal. May these words be a humble tribute to Him—Dr. Jose Protacio Rizal!

APPENDIX A

NOTES ON THE PSYCHOLOGICAL ASPECT OF
DR. RIZAL'S CONVERSION
BY
Sinforoso G. Padilla, Ph. D.

Author's Note—Professor Sinforoso G. Padilla of the College of Education, University of the Philippines, was requested by the author to make a special reading of the chapter on "The Psychological Aspect of Dr. Rizal's Conversion" and to write some notes that he, as a Professor of Psychology, might add or comment thereto. In spite of his pressing work, the Professor had had time to write the following notes in response to the author's request.

The writer has read with interest the chapter on the Psychological Aspect of Dr. Rizal's Conversion sent to him for comments, and found that the subject has been so thoroly treated that he has little to add thereto. However, permit him to add his own views as a student of the Science of Psychology.

Psychologists regard conversion as essentially a psychological phenomenon; that is, subjectively, it is a purely mental process. The objective manifestations, in this case, the signing of a retraction, would be meaningless, unless there is an accompanying subjective feeling. What must have been the subjective feeling of Dr. Rizal before, during, and after his supposed conversion? For an answer we may turn to the sworn statements made by Father Balaguer before a Notary Public over twenty years after the incident.

According to Father Balaguer "Rizal was obstinate in his errors and refused to surrender his reason to faith, until he (Father Balaguer) threatened him with God's condemnation, and that he (Rizal) would surely go to hell, for outside the Catholic Church there is no salvation." The picture of Dr. Rizal's conversion, as portrayed to us, was that of a man, who, upon hearing the condemnation, cried and said, "No, no, I would not be condemned." If this were true, then we have a picture of a man from whom reason had suddenly taken flight, when confronted with the fear of eternal damnation. Subjectively, then, Dr. Rizal was going thru an experience of fear so great as to render him incapable of reason. This is apparently what the Psychologists call the crucial moment in the process of conversion. In the words of Father Balaguer Dr. Rizal was much disturbed, and if he was converted at all, it must have been at

this point, for it was only the next step to the end, when Dr. Rizal was reported to have said, "Well, Father, I promise that the remainder of my lifetime I shall employ asking God the grace of faith." The irony of it all was that he did not have much of a lifetime left in which to make right the wrongs he was supposed to have committed by words and deeds against the Church.

The picture is indeed very interesting for it challenges one's credulity. The facts as actually described to us do not seem to fit into the puzzle picture when analyzed in the light of modern psychology. Students of the Psychology of Religious Experience generally agree that there are three stages in conversion; namely, the initial or preparatory stage, the crucial moment, and the after effect. The preparatory stage is usually a period of much mental disturbance, of conflict of ideals or of beliefs, a growing conviction that the past was wrong and that there is need for a change. This period is usually accompanied by a depressing emotion. In the second stage, the conviction becomes actually dominant, the change takes place and the individual lapses into the third stage when relief comes, and there is a feeling of joy.

In the reported conversion, there seemed to be no initial stage, for Dr. Rizal had no conflict of ideals or of beliefs. How then could a conversion be effected? What was the motive behind the conversion? Let us first look into the life of Dr. Rizal as his biographers tell us. Here was a man in the prime of life, or thirty-five to be exact, condemned to die for a crime of which, he maintained to the last, he was innocent. Since he left his country for Europe for the first time in 1882, he had rejected the Catholic faith, and became a free thinker and a Mason. Nor was Dr. Rizal content with merely rejecting the Catholic faith. He wrote vigorously against the practices of the Church, especially against those who represented it. His rejection of the Catholic faith was not based on any emotional upheaval. It was for him the triumph of reason over faith. If there had been a genuine conversion in the life of Dr. Rizal, it must have been when he rejected the Catholic faith and became a free thinker. And yet, here was a man who, if his reported conversion is true, during the last moments before facing his executioners was reported to have retracted all that he said and wrote against the Catholic Church, abandoned his reason, and returned to the Catholic faith. And for what reason? Because he was afraid of eternal damnation, for "outside the Catholic Church there was no salvation."

This then was the apparent motive behind Dr. Rizal's conversion, his fear of eternal damnation. Viewed from the standpoint of modern Psychology, the motive suffers from its insufficiency. To a man of the type of Dr. Rizal, the fear of Hell and of eternal damnation would be insufficient to overcome reason. When one considers the fact that Dr. Rizal was a man of strong convictions, that he was past the age of adolescence when conversion would have been a normal phenomenon, and that he was not of the neurotic type as to be emotionally unstable, it is difficult to see how a man of his type could cry as a child in fear of eternal damnation. It is difficult to picture him as one who would be so overcome with the fear of hell as to cry, "No, no, I would not be condemned." It would have been nearer the psychological truth to say that Dr. Rizal was converted because his reason dictated it, rather than that the fear of eternal damnation dominated him.

Then, again, consider the fact that in Dr. Rizal there was no conflict of ideals or of beliefs that would necessitate a conversion. His religious convictions were settled, and all thruout his incarceration, in fact, thruout his deportation in Dapitan, there was never a doubt as to his religious beliefs. If there had been any during those last few days prior to his execution, he would have called for his religious advisers. But if the story of his conversion is correct, the Jesuit Fathers came of their own accord, and thru the order of the Archbishop, and not because they were requested to come by Dr. Rizal. The reported conversion of Dr. Rizal appears to be without an initial stage, without any reasonable motive on his part. How then could it take place?

There are other aspects of the conversion that need more critical analysis from the point of view of Psychology. Consider this fact. The Jesuit Fathers certainly knew that Dr. Rizal was condemned to death on December 26. If they really were interested, as they so claimed, in having him die a Christian, why did they not come to him earlier instead of waiting until the last moment before attempting to convert him? And why was it necessary to have an order from the Archbishop before they came to the spiritual aid of a doomed man? As it was, the report of Dr. Rizal's conversion was made public after his death, when he could no longer affirm or deny it. In the interest of truth, why was he not converted earlier and then have his retraction published before his death so that it would be placed beyond suspicion? This would have given him time to either affirm or deny it. Is this a case of "dead men tell no tales?"

Considerable weight is placed by those who believe in Dr. Rizal's retraction upon the fact that all the metropolitan papers published the news about his conversion. One, however, may raise the question as to who gave out the information to the papers. Certainly it was not Dr. Rizal, nor was it any disinterested party. Whoever profited most by the reported conversion and retraction gave out the information. As it appears, the Catholic church was more interested in the conversion than Dr. Rizal seemed to have been. For, consider this. If Dr. Rizal himself was interested in being converted he would have taken the initial step, but as it was, he did not even call for his religious advisers. These came without his bidding, and at the last moment, too! If the Church was not so much interested in the conversion, why did they require Dr. Rizal to sign a retraction? Was not a conversion enough without the signing of a retraction? Either the retraction as signed was important or it was not. If it was not, why was it required at all? If it was important, why was it not recorded and kept so that there would not have been so much mystery and doubt concerning it? And one wonders why so important a document should be lost only to be "accidentally" discovered some thirty-nine years later?

Then again, consider another fact in the supposed conversion. All the evidence thus far presented, aside, from the "accidentally discovered" document, consists in notarial statements made by the different Jesuit Fathers Balaguer, Viza, Tuñon, and others who were supposed to have been eye-witnesses to the signing of the retraction. One who reads these signed statements as presented in Piñana's book, is at once struck with an unusual situation. The statements, even the very words supposedly from the lips of Dr. Rizal, were identically reported by the different witnesses. Stranger still is the fact that both Archbishop Nozaleda and Father Pi, who by their own admission were not eye-witnesses to the event, should have given statements identical in many respects to those given by the supposed eye-witnesses. One wonders what a remarkable memory these people must have had! For, remember that these witnesses were making those notarial statements some twenty years after the incident. Even the normal process of forgetting was stayed during all those long years! To a student of Psychology, this fact is phenomenal, and can only be explained under two causes. One is that these people possessed what the German Psychologist, Jaensch, called *Eidetic* memory type, a sort of an abnormal memory in which an

individual can reproduce exactly a past experience. It should be possible for one person to have this abnormal *eidetic* type of memory, but surely, it is too much to expect that all the witnesses to the same event should have the same symptoms of abnormal memory. The only other explanation for the similarity of the notarial statements made by the different witnesses in different places and at different times, is that they had the same source of information. Under normal situations, no two people can describe all the details of a certain event in an identical way, because no two minds ever run exactly alike. Yet these notarial statements are so remarkably alike, even in their errors, as to raise some grave doubts as to their validity as evidence. Of course, one always escapes this dilemma by saying that it was a miracle that made all witnesses say the same thing, but in these days of Science, and as far as Psychology is concerned, such a miracle does not happen. One can also resort to the old belief that a priest can tell no lie, but while this may be a saying, it is not a psychological fact.

Briefly, then, the picture presented before us is that of Dr. Rizal, the man, a scientist and rationalist, who wrote vigorously against the Catholic Church, and who ridiculed the idea of hell. A few hours before his execution, when threatened with eternal damnation he became suddenly "disturbed" and cried like a child, "no, no, I would not be condemned." Assured by Father Balaguer that he certainly would go to hell if he did not retract and return to the Catholic Church, the fear became greater, his reason capitulated to faith, and he exclaimed, "Well, Father, I promise that the remainder of my lifetime I will employ asking God the grace of faith." Whereupon he signed a retraction in which he disowned all that he ever said and wrote against the Church, and "abominated" Masonry. After taking three successive communions, he was led to the place of execution and there he died a Christian.

This picture, if true, is certainly too much for one's credulity. It taxes one's "will to believe." Viewed from the standpoint of modern Psychology, the supposed conversion and retraction of Dr. Rizal as thus portrayed to us leaves so much room for doubt. Too many of the supposed facts brought out in the way of evidence when pieced together do not seem to fit psychologically into the picture.

Herrn Prof. Ferdin. Blumentritt

Ich habe dir die Karte vom Ausbruch

Mein lieber Bruder:

Wenn Sie

diesem Brief erhalten hat, bin ich schon
todd. Morgen um 7. Uhr werde ich
verhört werden, bin ich aber unschuldig
des Verbrechens der Rebellion.

Hilf mir sterben gewissensruhig.

Lebe wohl, mein bester, liebster
Freund, und denke nie übel von
mir

Festung des Santraq, den 29ten Decem 1896

Jose Rizal

Güsse der ganzen Familie der
Josef, Rosa, Loleng, Curt, und Friedrich

Fig. XXIV. The last letter of Dr. Jose Rizal to Prof. Ferdinand Blumentritt.

APPENDIX B

We take this occasion to add in this appendix the observation on the last letter of Dr. Jose Rizal to his very true friend, Professor Ferdinand Blumentritt. We are doing this, because we happened, in our research, to come across this very valuable piece of document quite lately, that was why it was impossible for us to include our observation on this letter in the general discussion devoted to the subject.

This letter, translated from our reproduction on Figure XXIV, reads thus:

“Prof. Ferdin. Blumentritt

My dear brother:

When you have received this letter, I am already dead. Tomorrow at 7 o'clock I shall have been shot; I am, however, innocent of the crime of rebellion.

I die with a tranquil conscience.

Good-bye, my best, dearest friend, and never think evil of me.

Fort Santiago, December 29th 1896.

Jose Rizal

Greetings to the whole family, to Madam Roza, Loleng, Curt, and Friedrich.”

On the margin he added, “I leave you a book in remembrance”

According to Retana²³⁰ this letter was written after writing the testamentary disposition of his property. He also wrote another letter to his own brother²³¹.

Since the retraction was alleged to have been made at eleven o'clock on the night of the 29th of December, this letter no doubt was written on the same day (not night) ahead of the retraction. Yet in this letter we read the exact statement of Dr. Rizal that “I die with a tranquil conscience.” This statement confirms our observation that Dr. Rizal had no worries or misgivings prior to his alleged retraction. Moreover, he died innocent of the crime

²³⁰ Op. cit. pp. 420-421.

²³¹ Ibid.

of rebellion. For what then was his retraction? It only shows the utter lack of necessity, morally and religiously, of the retraction for Dr. Jose Rizal.

The study of the writing of this letter shows that its slants are more vertical than those of the retraction, thus confirming our conclusion about the same. We could not very well enter into the detailed study of some of the letters here, because this letter was written in the German language.

The study of the signature of this letter gives the following observation. In measurements, the following proportions are found:

$\frac{L}{s. l.}$	$\frac{L}{s. s. l.}$	$\frac{L}{c. l.}$	$\frac{L}{l. l.}$	$\frac{L}{"i"}$	$\frac{L}{"z"}$
9.00	11.15	2.7	5.3	6.00	5.64

In comparison with those of the retraction these figures²³² mean that the signature of this letter is shorter in proportion, thus confirming our finding about the nature of the retraction signature.

Next, we observe that the connection between the "a" and the "i" of "Rizal" is not horizontal nor does it wander, but unlike that of the retraction, and like the genuine signatures, this connection curves immediately upwardly.

All other particulars in the observed characteristics of the genuine signatures of Rizal are to be found in this particular signature. Hence, this additional fact furthermore reiterates our conclusion. Repetition is only too trite here.

²³² See note 16 and the table on page 25.

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Rizal, Jose

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La Vision de Fr. Rodriguez.

Russell, Charles Edward

The Hero of the Filipinos; the story of Jose Rizal . . . by Charles Edward Russell and E. B. Rodriguez. N. Y. Century, 1923.

Various other booklets with the handwriting of Dr. Jose Rizal.

Manuscript

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The "Defensa" which Dr. Rizal wrote for the use of his defender, Don Luis Taviel de Andrade. 1896.

Rizal, Jose

Ultimo Adios.

Various other letters bearing his signatures.

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Noli Me Tangere, anotado por Dr. F. Basa. Manila, Oriental Commercial Co., Inc., 1929.

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