

**A Calendar of Letters:
Agustín Ruiz de Santayana y Reboiro to George Santayana,
October 3, 1873–May 27, 1893**

English 689
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May 7, 1988

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Acknowledgment

I wish to acknowledge the assistance of Dr. Herman J. Saatkamp Jr., who provided copies of the letters of Agustín Ruiz de Santayana y Reboiro and information on the letters and on both father and son. Also, thanks go to Dr. Corliss Lamont and Mr. Bernard Lohf, Librarian for Rare Books and Manuscripts at Columbia University, for additional information on the letters and to Ms. Elsa Saeta for vetting this paper.

II. Introduction

A. Background on George Santayana's Life

George Santayana's parents first met in the Philippines. Agustín Ruiz de Santayana y Reboiro was appointed governor of Batang around 1847, replacing the deceased José Borrás y Bufurull, George Santayana's grandfather. Josefina Borrás, George's mother, had accompanied her father to the Philippines. After his death, she marries George Sturgis, member of a wealthy Boston merchant family, in 1849. They had three children who survived infancy—Susana, Josephine, and Robert. Susana becomes the family member to whom George remains close throughout life.

In 1857 George Sturgis dies and Josefina takes her three children to Boston, fulfilling a promise to her deceased husband to raise the children in America. Robert Sturgis, one of George Sturgis's brothers, assists Josefina financially, giving her ten thousand dollars.

When Josefina makes a return visit to Spain in 1861, she again meets Agustín Santayana. They marry in 1862 and on December 16, 1863, George Santayana is born in Madrid. His father is fifty-one and his mother around thirty-seven.

In 1866 the family moves to Ávila. Shortly thereafter Robert is sent to school in Boston. In 1868 Josefina takes her daughters and returns to Boston, leaving George, age five, with his father in Spain. Other members of the Santayana family also live with father and son, but when the family situation becomes increasingly unworkable, his parents decide that it would be best for George to be raised and educated in America. The educational opportunities available in America as compared with those in Spain were a major factor in their decision. George and his father sail for Boston in 1872. Agustín stays in Boston for several months, but his situation in

America doesn't work out, and he returns permanently to Spain. Rather than return to Ávila without George and to the family problems there, he goes to live with his sister María Ignacia, who is the principal of a girls' school in Cuellar.¹

George attends grammar school and in 1874 enters the Boston Public Latin School, where he will spend eight years. During the 1880's he attends mass with his sister Susana at the Church of the Immaculate Conception in Boston.

In 1882 George Santayana enters Harvard. Following his sophomore year, he returns to Spain to see his father for the first time in eleven years. He spends the summer of 1886 with his father before beginning graduate studies in Germany that fall. He spends two years abroad and then decides to complete his doctoral work at Harvard.

Santayana becomes an instructor in the philosophy department at Harvard after completing his dissertation in 1889. In 1892 his sister Susana marries Celedonio de Sastre of Ávila, a widower with six children.

In the summer of 1893 he again travels to Ávila and is with his father when he dies at the age of seventy-nine.²

B. The Letters

George Santayana's is a complex, frequently misunderstood personality. Near the end of his life, in answer to a question on the relation of his family to that in *The Last Puritan*,

¹ Cuellar is a small town between Segovia and Valladolid. See *George Santayana: A Biography*, by John McCormick (New York: Knopf, 1987), 20.

² This brief sketch is based on Santayana's autobiography *Persons and Places: Fragments of Autobiography*, edited by William G. Holzberger and Herman J. Saatkamp Jr. (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1986). See also *George Santayana: A Biography*, by John McCormick (New York: Knopf, 1987).

Santayana himself stated that “the absence of affection all round was the same in both mothers and in both husbands and in both sons.”³ And as recently as March 1988, he was described as “the unloved child of a bad marriage,” which led in adult life to “a kind of emotional hibernation . . . running away from illness and death and dangerous entanglements of friendship or love.”⁴ The marriage may have been bad, but the child was certainly loved.

While the expression of physical affection was undoubtedly missing, the surviving letters of Agustín Santayana display love, concern, and interest in the welfare of his son. Although between the ages of eight and eighteen the only contact George Santayana had with his father was through their correspondence, evidence of the father’s lasting influence on the boy, and on the man he was to become is evident in these letters.

Soon after Agustín returned to Spain, he began sending Spanish periodicals and newspapers to Boston. The father was apparently continuing an already established relationship of shared intellectual interests, albeit geared to the age of the child. Repeatedly Agustín encourages his son in his schoolwork and advises him on subjects which he feels are particularly important for a “man of letters.” In reading through the letters, it is marvelous to note the change in tone, in the style of addressing the child, in the vocabulary used, and in the depth of discussion the father undertakes as the child grows older. It is clear that even at long distance, Agustín Santayana is sensitive to the growth and development of the child, following him from childhood through adolescence to young collegiate before they again see each other.

³ In a letter to Bruno Lind 29 November 1951, published in Bruno Lind, *Vagabond Scholar* (New York: Seven Sirens Press, 1962), 159.

⁴ See Jonathan Lieberson, “The Sense of Santayana,” *New York Review of Books*, 35.5 (March 31, 1988), 49, 55. What Lieberson doesn’t reveal to the reader is the other side of the man—a man who was with his father when he died, who anonymously came to the aid of Bertrand Russell in the 1930’s when he was broke, who also gave financial aid to Robert Lowell, and who assisted Daniel Cory for years.

As George grew older, he, in turn, sent his father the American publications which he frequently read, including *The Nation* and *Harper's Weekly*. George sent his father school papers he had written, and later, copies of the poetry he composed. They also exchanged and discussed translations of poetry and other works of literature (December 1, 1883 and November 7, 1886). Agustín asked George, when he was working on his graduate studies, to tell him the theme of his dissertation, “even if only the title or epigraph, since I shall take great pleasure in thinking, ‘What will George have to say on this topic?’” (January 26, 1888).

Agustín’s emphasis on a combination of education and patronage as the best means for poor young men to find a place in the world, was not lost on George. The Boston/Sturgis connection was certainly a valuable one, and one that, increasingly, the father recognized as the best opportunity for his son. Although he hoped that George might find a diplomatic or law career in Spain, he recognized that he had neither the money nor the contacts in a country where one of a young man’s most valuable assets was “an uncle” (April 21, 1885). This concern with gaining patronage and influential friends is repeated in the letters and certainly the wealthy and influential friends Santayana choose in adult life seem to reflect the father’s emphasis.

In regard to religion his father seems to have been a major impetus in provoking George’s intellectual exploration. The following quotations from his letters illustrate this most effectively. “The only thing I would dare tell you is not to adhere systematically, or merely through sympathy, to any inflexible persons—no matter how dear they may be—not to any extreme or absolute opinion, but instead try to instruct yourself in religious history and geography so that when you become a man you will be able to form your own enlightened and sensible judgment of what you should believe and practice with regard to religion” (January 19, 1876). “I am firmly convinced that the time is not far off when man will no longer be able to believe in anything supernatural,

and that all religions are the inventions or creations of man himself, like poems” (December 17, 1884). “Our understanding fails to grasp, nor can it ever manage to comprehend, the first causes of what we see, and that all religions are the fruit of our imagination and invention” (December 6, 1887).

As might be expected, toward the end of his life the emphasis of Agustín’s letters shifts to the illness and death of family members and his own very great fear that he will die without seeing George again. It is only in this final stage of his life that the Agustín’s letters indicate a kind of emotional “blackmail” absent in the earlier letters. In a November 2, 1891, letter he writes to George, “You may be sure that your annual visits lengthen my life, and this must be a great satisfaction and powerful stimulus to you. If I could only have done something to lengthen my father’s life!”

III. Note on the Text

A. Transmission of the Letters

Dr. Corliss Lamont arranged for the purchase of Agustín Santayana's letters from Daniel Cory, the literary executor of George Santayana's estate. Dr. Lamont also hired Mary Redmer Josephson to translate the letters into English, and the letters and translations were given to Columbia University. Ms. Josephson, Dr. Lamont's secretary, translated the letters dated between October 3, 1873, and December 16, 1888, and Mr. Ward Dennis translated the letters dated between December 4, 1889, and May 27, 1893. Dr. Lamont stated that Ms. Josephson was an accomplished Spanish speaker and able translator. However, he wasn't aware that Mr. Dennis had done part of the translations. He surmised that Columbia might have hired Dennis to complete the translations, as Ms. Josephson had left Dr. Lamont's employment around that time.⁵ In reply to a query for information on the letters, Mr. Bernard Lohf, Librarian for Rare Books and Manuscripts at Columbia, wrote that the letters were given to Columbia in 1954, but he made no mention of Ward Dennis. He noted that these letters have not been microfilmed, and he included Xeroxes of a brief statement of provenance and a two-page index of the letters. (Apparently compiled at the time these letters were given to Columbia, the index is dated February 4, 1960, and the statement of provenience gives the acquisition date as February 1960.)⁶

Dr. Eustacio Fernandez of the Modern Languages Department at the University of Tampa examined these translations and attested to their accuracy.⁷ An initial examination of the

⁵ Dr. Corliss Lamont. Telephone interview. 19 April 1988.

⁶ Bernard Lohf. Letter to the author. 14 April 1988.

⁷ Dr. Herman J. Saatkamp, Jr., General Editor of the Santayana Edition, asked Dr. Fernandez to look over these translations as part of the preparation for publication of "Do Not

translations has revealed that a phrase in letter 6 was not translated.

B. Physical Description of the Letters

The 110 holograph letters from Agustín Ruiz de Santayana y Reboiro to his son are in Correspondence: Box One, George Santayana Collection, Rare Books and Manuscripts Library, Columbia University. The originals of the letters are in Spanish, with the exception of a special birthday letter in English (December 16, 1879). In examining Xeroxes of these letters, it appears that they were written on various weights of paper, as a shadow of the writing on the reverse side sometimes comes through in the Xerox. The sheets of paper vary in size; some appear to be lined and some not. When a letter is three or four pages long, the sheet is folded in quarto format. The letters are in ink, and in one letter Agustín laments the deterioration in quality of the ink he can purchase.

These letters cover a twenty-year period. The handwriting in the beginning is quite legible, somewhat elongated with a slant to the right, with very even, well-formed letters. In the later letters, the handwriting becomes smaller and somewhat cramped, the letters not nearly so well-formed as earlier, but still fairly legible. Agustín begins most of the letters with a heading which gives the place and date of composition. In the upper corner (right or left) of one of the pages of each letter is written in another hand the word “Father” and the date of the letter (ceases after the May 28, 1888 letter). Bernard Lohf surmises they were dated by Daniel Cory.⁸ However, enclosed in square brackets at the beginning of the translation of letter 17, Ms. Josephson notes

Forget Your Loving Father: The Letters of Agustín Santayana to His Son George Santayana.”

⁸ Bernard Lohf. Letter to author. 14 April 1988.

that the letter is “Undated, but in George Santayana’s hand, 7/17–83.”⁹ Since it is unlikely that Daniel Cory would have been able to date the letter, and the writing does resemble Santayana’s later hand (with which I am familiar), the author agrees with Ms. Josephson that the dates were written in by George Santayana.

Since there aren't a large number of textual cruxes, they are discussed here. An ‘s’ at the end of a word has a tail like a ‘j,’ and the ‘j’ and ‘g’ sometimes look the same. In letter 23, the word ‘maliciaba’ should be ‘maliciado’.

C. Calendrical Procedures

Since all the letters were handwritten by Agustín Ruiz de Santayana y Reboiro to George Santayana, the information for nearly every entry begins with the date, followed by the place the letter was written, and ends with the number of pages. For those letters which do not have either the place or date, information is supplied by the editor in a footnote based upon information within the letter. In those letters which can only be dated according to the notation (“Father” and the date) mentioned previously, the date is followed by an asterisk. The letters are numbered in chronological order.

While these letters have been quoted from and examined by a number of scholars, none of them have been published. Quotations from the letters appear in George Santayana’s autobiography, *Persons and Places: Fragments of Autobiography* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1986) and in John McCormick’s *George Santayana: A Biography* (New York: Knopf, 1987). McCormick notes that he either translates quotations from Agustín’s letters directly or revises the

⁹ It appears that Ms. Josephson mistook the slash mark for a one and that the date should read “7/7–83.”

translations of others (521). While they do not follow word for word the translations of Josephson and Dennis, his translations are almost identical to theirs. Quotations appearing in these sources are designated in the calendar as follows: enclosed in editorial brackets following the description of the contents of the letter, the symbol for the work (see list below), is followed by the page number on which the quotation occurs.

IV. Editorial Symbols and Abbreviations

[]	Editorial brackets
*	Date written in by George Santayana
n.p.	No place of composition in heading
GS	George Santayana
AS	Agustín Santayana
PP	<i>Persons and Places: Fragments of Autobiography</i> , by George Santayana. Edited by William G. Holzberger and Herman J. Saatkamp, Jr. (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1986).
MC	<i>George Santayana: A Biography</i> , by John McCormick (New York: Knopf, 1987).

A Calendar of Letters:

Agustín Ruiz de Santayana y Reboiro to George Santayana, 1873–1893

1. 3 October 1873, Cuellar, 2 p.

Agustín gives his son encouragement in his work at the Brimmer School, letting George know that he doesn't expect him to be first in class, but that he also expects George not to be last. He hopes George will learn to write “a good English hand,” as that is the style used in commerce.¹⁰ [MC, 25]

2. 16 November 1873, Cuellar, 2 p.

Agustín commends George's progress in writing to his father in English. He sends news of Aunt María Ignacia and cousin Elvira. [MC, 20, 25]

3. 16 May 1874, Madrid, 3 p.

Agustín notes that on May 29, it will be one year since he left George in Boston, and he reminisces about an outing they had with his Uncle Nicolas, Aunt Engracia, and cousin Elivra three years ago. Referring to the *Spanish-American Illustrated* and the Madrid newspapers he sent to George, Agustín laments the news concerning this Spanish civil war and describes his experience of the previous one, 1833 through 1840. [MC, 11, 397–98]

¹⁰ On the index of letters (Columbia), item 1 is a marketing account in AS's hand.

4. 1874*¹¹, n.p., 2 p.

Agustín renews the subscription to *Ilustración hispano Americana* for the family in Boston. He has been packing to leave for Cuellar, where he will live with his sister María Ignacia.

5. 29 August 1874, Cuellar, 4 p.

Agustín encourages George in his drawing and most particularly in his learning of languages now that he is about to enter Boston Public Latin School. He stresses that Latin, Greek, French, and German are the most important to learn and tells George that whoever knows languages has an immense advantage, even over a more talented person who knows only his own language. [MC, 25]

6. 27 September 1874, Cuellar¹², 2 p.

Agustín sympathizes with George about the prospect of brother Robert's possible move to Manila, but points out that when boys become men they have to earn their own way in the world.

7. 3 and 15 December 1874, Cuellar, 4 p.

Agustín sends this birthday letter and tells George about his study of Latin when he too was eleven. He urges George to work on his drawing by copying from originals, warning, "He

¹¹ Although this letter has "Father 1874" written in the upper right corner of the second page, it possibly precedes letter 1, since in the body of the letter AS says he is preparing to leave for Cuellar and that he will be living with his sister María Ignacia. If so, the letter was probably written in Ávila.

¹² The place is not written in the heading, but since the following letter is from Cuellar, it is very likely this one was also written from there.

who will not imitate, will never be imitated; he who never translates will never be translated.”

[MC, 25]

8. 15 March 1875, Cuellar, 4 p.

Agustín mentions his promise to send a drawing or photograph of Cuellar and to tell George about drawing and painting. He also says that an old friend, now Governor of Ávila province, has asked about George.

9. 11 August 1875, Ávila, 4 p.

Agustín tells George that he is now living in Ávila.

10. 19 January 1876, Madrid, 4 p.

In responding to George’s description of the arguments between Susana and Robert over religion and politics, Agustín explains that Robert represents American ideas—Emerson and Mark Twain—while Susana represents what the Jesuits have taught her. He advises George to study religious history and geography so that he can form his own “enlightened” belief on these subjects. [MC, 527]

11. 11 September 1876, Ávila, 4 p.

Agustín tells George that at 14 he entered the University of Valladolid to study philosophy, but that his course of study wasn't very well organized. George is more fortunate—the times are more enlightened, and in America education is encouraged.

[MC, 522]

12. 16 December 1879, Ávila, 2 p. [written in English]

To celebrate George's sixteenth birthday, Agustín writes him in English and lets him know that he is still receiving *Harper's*. [MC, 30]

13. 16 December 1880, Ávila, 3 p.

Again acknowledging George's sixteenth birthday, Agustín philosophizes upon life in response to an earlier letter of George's in which he told his father that he saw no complete happiness in this life. [MC, 30–31]

14. 20 June 1881, Ávila, 4 p.

Agustín explains to George that he follows the moral lesson of Oedipus, that is, don't become intoxicated with good fortune. He also encourages George to pursue his language studies and notifies him that he is receiving *Harper's Weekly* and *The Nation*.

15. 18 December 1882, Ávila, 4 p.

Agustín tells George he is glad that he may study German, explaining that it's necessary for a man of letters. He hopes that George has as much luck at Harvard as he has had at the Boston Latin School and promises to send a copy of modern Spanish poetry.

16. 7 July 1883*, Ávila¹³, 2 p.

¹³ The place is not indicated in the heading, but AS tells GS María Ignacia knew he was coming home, i.e. to Ávila.

Agustín tells George that he has arrived home. (Apparently he and George had been together, probably travelling, in Spain.)

17. 18 July 1883*, Ávila¹⁴, 4 p.

Agustín sends George, who is in Madrid, a money draft.

18. 20 July 1883*, Ávila, 3 p.

In response to a note from George expressing a wish to stay longer in Madrid, Agustín agrees but warns him this will shorten their time together. If the Marqués de Novaliches is in Madrid, he suggests that George let him know and he will arrange a meeting. He also gives George directions to the house where he was born and to the church in which he was baptized.

[MC, 5]

19. 24 August 1883, Ávila, 2 p.

Agustín reminisces about the conversations he and George had during George's visit.

[MC, 44]

20. 27 August 1883, Ávila, 2 p.

Agustín expresses concern over the state of George's health. [George is visiting relatives in Tarragona when he contracts a mild case of small pox.]

¹⁴ Although the heading reads "Wednesday 18," in the body of the letter, AS mentions his doctor in Ávila, Don Santiago.

21. 30 September 1883, Ávila, 2 p.

Agustín asks George to write and let him know when he leaves Antwerp to sail for America.

22. 9 and 10 October 1883, Ávila, 4 p.

Agustín teases George about missing a meeting with the “lady friend” he had met on his voyage to Europe because of his attack of smallpox. He suspects, however, that George has no regrets on that score. He goes on to give an amusing account of a falling out and reconciliation with his good friend Don Pelayo. [PP, 212. (In the quotation, GS gives the city as Cincinnati, but in the letter AS writes Cleveland.) MC, 45]

23. 19 November 1883, Ávila, 3 p.

Agustín fusses at George for not writing sooner to let him know how he’s doing. [MC, 45]

24. 1 December 1883, Ávila, 5 p.

Agustín writes an early birthday letter and sends George a Spanish translation of an ode by Horace which the two had discussed during George’s visit the previous summer. He closes by telling George to “count on the love of your father.¹⁵” [MC, 44]

25. 26 April 1884, Ávila, 4 p.

Agustín thanks George for the letter in which George describes his three friends: a Jew, a

¹⁵ Included in the letter was Don Javier de Burgos’s Spanish translation of Horace’s poem “To Pyrrha” (2 p.). Ms. Josephson also translated this into English from the Spanish.

half-Catholic, and “orthodox” Protestant. He asks George to write and explain this.

26. 17 December 1884, Ávila, 4 p.

Agustín ruminates on George’s explanation of the religious sects he had asked about. He says that George’s three friends represent forty centuries of religion and that George lacks only an agnostic—to represent the future. Agustín offers himself as the agnostic, prophesizing that soon men will no longer believe in the supernatural and that “all religions are the inventions or creations of man himself, like poems.” [MC, 45]

27. 21 April 1885, Ávila, 8 p.

Agustín replies to George’s inquiry about a possible diplomatic career by noting that the primary requirements for being employed are patronage and good luck.

28. 24 April 1885, Ávila, 3 p.

Agustín continues his discussion of George’s possible career choices in the diplomatic service or the law.

29. 23 May 1885, Ávila, 4 p.

Agustín is still sending George information on a diplomatic career. He answers George’s question about his views on religion by assuring him that he is “genuinely tolerant” as long as religion is not used “to tyrannize over society, to maintain armies of useless men, and, in Spain particularly, to promote civil war.” [MC, 8]

30. 26 May 1885, Ávila, 3 p.

Agustín continues the discussion of a possible diplomatic career for George. He also tells George that he was mistaken in thinking that George's Mama might come to Spain. He had read "between the lines" in one of her earlier letters, but in her most recent letter she made it clear to Agustín that she would not return to Spain.

31. 4 July 1885, Ávila, 4 p.

Agustín predicts that Susana's entry into a convent won't turn out well. He reminisces on his and George's trip to Boston thirteen years earlier. [MC, 18]

32. 23 July 1885, Ávila, 4 p.

Agustín discusses the difficulties of a career in Spain, which George had outlined in an earlier letter to his father. [MC, 46]

33. 8 October 1885, Ávila, 6 p.

Agustín marvels at the influence religion has on people and nations and wishes that he had a chance to learn more about it. He consoles himself by knowing that George will make up for his "deficiencies in this as in everything."

34. 11 January 1886, Ávila, 4 p.

Agustín acknowledges receipt of George's translation of Alfred de Musset. He describes to George the educational system in Spain.

35. 25 January 1886, Ávila, 4 p.

Agustín sends George some verses of Campo Amor and talks about George's sonnets.

[MC, 24]

36. 16 August 1886, Ávila, 2 p.

Agustín acknowledges George's letter from Paris and gives him news of the family. He asks George to be frank with him regarding his financial situation.

37. 1 September 1886, Ávila, 3 p.

Agustín asks George to write; he is concerned about his health.

38. 9 September 1886, Ávila, 1 p.

Agustín received George's letter and scolds him for not writing more often. Since George is now studying in Germany, the other family members in Boston can no longer pass along news of George.

39. 10 September 1886, Ávila, 4 p.

Agustín sends George a map he has asked for. In turn, he asks George to send printed material that he has read if he has no news to write to his father. [MC, 60]

40. 17 September 1886, Ávila, 3 p.

Agustín asks about George's studies in Berlin and requests that he send an account of his yearly expenses since he never received the letter in which George had originally sent them.

41. 31 September 1886, Ávila, 4 p.

Agustín tells George that his mother, in response to their request that she come to Spain “is resolved to die in Boston.” [MC, 60]

42. 7 October 1886, Ávila, 3 p.

In response to George’s description of his studies in Germany, Agustín advises him to determine his course of study and see it through. [MC, 60]

43. 14 October 1886, Ávila, 4 p.

Agustín is still hoping that George’s mother and sisters may come to live in Spain, although he acknowledges that she doesn't want to come. He says everything “depends upon the will” which is always subject to change.

44. 21 October 1886*, Ávila¹⁶, 4 p.

Agustín tells George that in corresponding with his mother, they have agreed that George’s future lies in America.

45. 28 October 1886, Ávila, 2 p.

Agustín tells George about the family in Spain and asks George to send him photographs of German celebrities, particularly military.

¹⁶ In the letter, AS says that the day is October 21. Both the letter before and after this one are from Ávila, and since they are only a week apart, this one is probably from Ávila also.

46. 29 October 1886, Ávila, 2 p.

Agustín thanks George for his letter and tells him how much he likes receiving letters which describe his daily activities.

47. 4 November 1886, Ávila, 2 p.

Agustín tells George that he has received a letter from his mother. She declares that she'll not leave Boston where the future of all her children lies.

48. 7 November 1886, Ávila, 7 p.

Agustín describes the improvements in Spanish education and goes on to discuss the impossibility of adequately translating *Don Quixote*.¹⁷

49. 11 November 1886, Ávila, 4 p.

Agustín encourages George's plan for a trip to London and acknowledges that while his studies prevent time for reading at the present, George will have time for reading in the future.

50. 18 November 1886*, Ávila¹⁸, 1 p.

Agustín informs George that he has received his letter with the portraits of Bismarck and the Emperor.

¹⁷ Included with this letter is a copy of George Santayana's matriculation at the University of Frederick Wilhelm in Berlin of October 8, 1886, signed by Paul Kleinert.

¹⁸ In the letter, AS says that the day is November 18. Both the letter before and after this one are from Ávila, and since they are only a week apart, this one is probably from Ávila also.

51. 25 November 1886, Ávila, 2 p.

Agustín acknowledges receipt of George's letter containing portraits, a map, and guidebook, and says he has shared these with his friends.

52. 2 December 1886, Ávila, 2 p.

Agustín acknowledges receipt of both George's letter and one from his mother which George passed on to him and notes that his mother agrees that George should complete his studies in Berlin.

53. 10 December 1886*, Ávila¹⁹, 3 p.

Agustín discusses Germany's expansionism and hopes that there will be no war in Europe. He tells George of his difficulty in understanding *Faust*.

54. 18 December 1886, Ávila, 4 p.

Agustín, Manuel, Manuela, and Don Pelayo celebrated George's birthday on the sixteenth. He is sending copies of the *Liberals* so that George can follow the debates in the Spanish Congress. He discusses George's suggestion that Goethe represents a second renaissance.

55. 23 December 1886, Ávila, 3 p.

Agustín discusses the debates in the Spanish Congress and gives George some

¹⁹ In the letter, AS says that the day is December 10. Both the letter before and after this one are from Ávila, and since they are only a week apart, this one is probably from Ávila also.

background on those involved in the debates. He also is sending him a copy of the *Globe* so that George can read what the other side has to say. He deplores the clericalism in Spain, which he feels has caused the two previous civil wars.

56. 6 January 1887, Ávila, 4 p.

Agustín is pleased that George had Christmas dinner with Professor Ebbinghaus's family. He assures him that his German will improve, and he will be able to complete his doctor's degree in Germany.

57. 13 January 1887, Ávila, 2 p.

Agustín asks for photographs of George's friends. Noting that Berlin's climate is milder than Ávila's, he concludes that the people there reproduce more frequently and are more robust.

58. 19 January 1887, Ávila, 4 p.

Agustín tells George of family news. He complains that his English dictionary doesn't have the words he looks up. He then goes into a long description of a cartoon he saw in *Punch* in 1872 or '73 to illustrate his point that, as compared to a youth like George, it is very difficult for an adult to learn a new language well.

59. 20 January 1887, Ávila, 4 p.

Agustín replies to George's remark that three years in Germany is a long time, telling George about his travels and work in the Philippines. He encourages George to finish his degree in Germany. [MC, 7]

60. 29 January 1887*, Ávila²⁰, 3 p.

Agustín is glad that George may come in the summer. He describes two books written by one of George's ancestors.

61. 3 February 1887, Ávila, 3 p.

Agustín responds to George's report of a conversation with a German lieutenant who said that France and Germany would soon go to war. He notes this is contrary to what the German emperor recently said.

62. 10 February 1887, Ávila, 4 p.

Agustín continues his comments on the possibility of Germany starting a war. He asks about George's plans for his trip to London. He laments Susana's continued discontent and tells George that he used to fear that Susana would inhibit George's intellectual growth through religion.

63. 17 February 1887, Ávila, 4 p.

Agustín is still discussing the possibility of war and Russia's role in the speculations concerning war.

64. 24 February 1887, Ávila, 4 p.

²⁰ In the letter, AS says that the day is Saturday the 29th and that GS's letter arrived "at Ávila today."

Agustín advises George to take the shortest sea route, via Antwerp, to London, since George suffers sea-sickness. He also sends him a guidebook for the Crystal Palace.

65. 5 March 1887, Ávila, 3 p.

Agustín asks George to write him as soon as he reaches London. One of Agustín's brothers has received a pension which relieves him of financial obligations to his brother's family.

66. 9 March 1887, Ávila, 2 p.

Agustín received George's letter from Bremen. He asks if George received without difficulty the money he had sent.

67. 13 March 1887, Ávila, 2 p.

Agustín was relieved to hear from George that he had arrived safely in London.

68. 31 March 1887, Ávila, 1 p.

Agustín sends a note that he has been sick but is better. He asks George to write two lines, since he knows how busy he is in London.

69. 12 April 1887, Ávila, 3 p.

Agustín agrees that it would be fine for George to remain in England to complete the academic year, if it doesn't affect his chances for a fellowship. He asks if George needs additional money to do this.

70. 10 May 1887, Ávila, 2 p.

Agustín received George's letter from Oxford. In a letter from George's mother, Agustín has heard that Susana may come to Spain.

71. 25 May 1887, Ávila, 3 p.

Agustín tells George about family problems and quarrels which have upset him. He is pleased that George is doing well in England and seeing "people of quality."

72. 27 May 1887, Ávila, 2 p.

Agustín tells George that the family quarrels seem resolved. He advises George to wait on the settlement of the fellowship before making any definite plans.

73. 5 June 1887, Ávila, 3 p.

Agustín asks George to come to Spain if he is not seeing anything of particular interest in England.

74. 4 November 1887, Ávila, 4 p.

Agustín describes the trip he and Susana took to Alba de Tormes.

75. 6 November 1887, Ávila, 2 p.

Agustín sends family news and asks George for information on the details of his life in Berlin.

76. 15 November 1887, Ávila, 4 p.

Agustín asks for a copy of Kant in English. He tells George that he believes his “destiny lies in America” and adds, “The whole world is a man’s homeland, and the best country, the one where all goes well with him.” [MC, 72]

77. 6 December 1887, Ávila, 4 p.

Agustín tells George about a review of a book by Darwin’s son. He says that since the age of eighteen, he has agreed with what Darwin had to say regarding religion, i.e. “that all religions are the fruit of our imagination and invention.”

78. 12 December 1887, Ávila, 2 p.

Agustín acknowledges George’s upcoming twenty-fourth birthday. He has had news that Uncle Russell Sturgis died and hopes that George’s mother may receive an inheritance.

79. 23 December 1887, Ávila, 4 p.

Agustín responds to George’s remarks on religion saying that an educated man ought to accept the wonder of nature without succumbing to the myths religion uses to explain these wonders.

80. 5 January 1888, Ávila, 3 p.

Agustín has received copies of Aristotle, Kant, and Spinoza from Susana, and will let George know how Kant strikes him. He continues his reflection on what George has said about

the effects of wonder and of fear and desire in connection with religion. [MC, 75]

81. 26 January 1888, Ávila, 4 p.

Agustín asks George, when he chooses the theme for his Harvard work, to let him know so that he can think about it.

82. 11 February 1888, Ávila, 3 p.

Agustín suggests that if George's fellowship is not renewed he try living for a time in Spain. Susana is in Madrid with family friends, and it might be possible for them to fix up a room for him there.

83. 2 March 1888, Ávila, 4 p.

Agustín tells George that he can help him financially for his trip to Italy in the summer. He mentions that Celedonio Sastre went to visit Susana in Madrid. [MC, 76]

84. 15 March 1888, Ávila, 4 p.

Agustín read an article in *The Nation* by President Eliot about Harvard. He asks if George can count on the fellowship for another year.

85. 4 April 1888, Ávila, 4 p.

Agustín writes that if George doesn't get the fellowship, he would like him to come to Spain. He wrote George's mother and told her this. She wrote back, disagreeing because Agustín has little influence in Spain. He says he will write and insist on his views, then leave it up to

whatever happens. [MC, 76]

86. 21 April 1888, Ávila, 3 p.

Agustín tells of his visit to Madrid to see Susana and the Escaleras (family friends). In responding to a letter from George, in which he spoke freely concerning his future, Agustín promises they will have time to talk this over when he visits in the summer. Then they will see if things work out as Agustín wishes.

87. 4 May 1888, Ávila, 3 p.

Agustín is pleased that George is seriously considering a long stay in Spain if the fellowship doesn't come through. He informs George that Susana's arrival in Ávila has been delayed.

88. 11 May 1888, Ávila, 3 p.

Susana has arrived, and also a letter from George's mother. She doesn't want George to lose time in Spain. Agustín notes that Spain has improved and since they are all Spanish, that shouldn't be ignored.

89. 22 May 1888, Ávila, 2 p.

Agustín tells George they will wait to discuss his mother's concern about his wasting time if he comes to Spain.

90. 28 May 1888, Ávila, 4 p.

Agustín has received *The Nation* and *Anna Karenina* from George. He says that he and Susana are getting along and hopes that she will remain in Spain. [MC, 76]

91. 12 November 1888, Ávila, 3 p.

Agustín is glad George arrived safely in Boston and asks about the fellowship. He tells George that Susana has gone to Madrid, and that she is seriously considering marriage to Celedonio Sastre.

92. 16 December 1888, Ávila, 2 p.

Agustín writes George on his twenty-fifth birthday, the age of majority in Spain. He asks about George's fellowship.

93. 4 December 1889, Ávila, 1 p.

Agustín sends an early birthday letter.

94. 29 January 1890, Ávila, 4 p.

Agustín writes that he may not live much longer and gives George instructions upon his death. He also sends instructions for collecting the widow's pension to George's mother.

95. 14 June 1890, Ávila, 2 p.

Agustín says that soon George will be with him and Susana.²¹

²¹ On the index of letters (Columbia), item 96 is AS's will, dated June 4, 1890.

96. 16 June 1890, Ávila, 2 p.

George's sister, Susana, recounts time spent with their father and his health. She asks George to pick her up a dress skirt if he goes shopping in Paris.²²

97. 2 December 1890, Ávila, 3 p.

Agustín is not feeling well, but he plans to celebrate George's birthday by going to lunch at Vico. He says that other family members are not well either.

98. 14 June 1891, Ávila, 2 p.

Agustín is looking forward to George's arrival. He says he has fallen out with all the women in the family except Elvira.²³

99. 15 June 1891, Ávila, 2 p.

Agustín asks George to get him a suit, and he will repay George.

100. 19 June 1891, Ávila, 2 p.

Agustín notes that George will soon be at Maidenhead visiting Lord Russell and expresses the hope that it won't be long before he sees him in Spain.

101. 10 August 1891, Ávila, 1 p.

Agustín asks George to pick up a lens for him. He fusses at George for being so long in

²² This letter not written by Agustín; it was written to George by his sister, Susana.

²³ Following AS's letter, a letter from Susana is written on the sheet.

getting to Spain.

102. 29 August 1891, Ávila, 1 p.

Agustín is forwarding George's mail.

103. 10 September 1891, Ávila, 2 p.

Agustín is awaiting news of George's arrival in Boston. He says that he now lives alone, with his sister visiting each day.

104. 11 October 1891, Ávila²⁴, 2 p.

Agustín asks for a letter from George. He says his health is good.

105. 2 November 1891, Ávila, 4 p.

Agustín hopes this birthday letter arrives on George's twenty-eighth birthday. He says he's doing well, and his sister, María Ignacia, is living with him again. Susana will marry Celedonio Sastre if Celedonio's daughter marries and leaves her father's home. [MC, 108]

106. 4 February 1892, Ávila, 2 p.

Agustín writes his daughter, Susana, to ask her about herself and the rest of their family in Boston. He then tells Susana about letters from the bank and a man named Celada who Agustín apparently hired for some service. He mentions Susana's cousin, Reus and his work as a notary. He then tells Susana how much he would enjoy her company and then signs off for

²⁴ In the letter, AS talks about renovations to his house (which is in Ávila).

dinner.²⁵

107. 9 May 1892, Ávila, 4 p.

Agustín asks George if he's coming to visit in the summer. He assures George that he can count on his father's "little yearly present."

108. 11 July 1892, Ávila, 4 p.

Agustín mentions Lord Russell's lawsuit. He regrets that George didn't come to Spain during his time in England and fears he will not see him again. He asks George to write more often.²⁶ [MC, 108]

109. 2 February 1893, Ávila, 4 p.

Agustín is looking forward to George's visit in the summer. George will have the opportunity of visiting with Susana, who is much happier since her marriage. They can go to Zorita, the Sastre family farm. He will be able to give George a comfortable visit and the usual present, plus a little extra. María Ignacia lives in another part of the house, and they seldom see each other. He hopes this will not disturb George.

110. 14 May 1893, Ávila, 3 p.

Agustín asks George to bring the portraits of Robert and Josephine that he (Agustín)

²⁵ This letter is written from Agustín to his daughter Susana.

²⁶ This letter was probably written in September or October. In the body of the letter, AS mentions receipt of a letter from GS dated September 3. On the index of letters (Columbia), item 107 is a letter from AS to Susana Sturgis, dated February 4, 1892.

painted. He sees Susana occasionally; Elvira more often.

111. 27 May 1893, Ávila, 1 p.

Agustín asks George to notify him when he lands in Gibraltar and urges him not to tarry too long in his trip from there to Ávila.

112. No date, n.p., 5 p.

The last will and testament of Agustín Ruiz de Santayana y Reboiro.

113. No date, n.p., 1 p.

A list of groceries and their prices in an unnamed market.