



THE 1762 BRITISH INVASION OF SPANISH- RULED PHILIPPINES: BEYOND IMPERIAL AND NATIONAL IMAGINARIES

Proceedings from the Annual
Philippine Studies Conference
SOAS, University of London

EDITED BY
Maria Cristina Martinez-Juan

*The 1762 British Invasion
of Spanish-Ruled Philippines:
Beyond Imperial
and National Imaginaries*

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Alegoría de la defensa de Filipinas por el alavés
Don Simón de Anda y Salazar. 1762-1763.
Inventory No. 0050, in the Museo de Bellas Artes de Álava.
Oil on Canvas. 236 x 335 cm.
Painted after 1772 by an anonymous artist.
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Vitoria-Gasteiz

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Introduction

THIS VOLUME MARKS the fourth in a series of publications arising from the Annual Philippine Studies Conferences at SOAS, University of London. Previously, South East Asia Research (Taylor and Francis) released three Philippine Studies special issues exploring the Philippine Cordillera in 2020, Mindanao in 2022 and the Visayas in 2023. This edited volume, published by the National Historical Commission of the Philippines, is a compilation of selected papers proceeding from the 2022 annual conference that this time focused on central Luzon and its environs from the vantage point of a single historical event: the British occupation of Manila and Cavite from October 1762 to June 1764.¹ The two-day conference, held on 16 and 17 of September, convened scholars, writers, and artists in London to explore an understudied historical event, sometimes considered inconsequential in the grand narratives of global histories.

The convenors of the conference conceptualised the event as a generative response to the most commonly held historiographies of the British occupation of Manila and Cavite. These historiographies often inhabit two types of imaginaries: one is tethered to the narrow, inter-imperial wranglings between Great Britain and Spain, with their competing explorations of might or blame, haggling over unpaid ransoms and valuations over winning and losing. In the case of the Filipinos, this event is mostly linked to a vague yet powerful sense of plunder and loss. Philippine websites, textbooks, and historical markers of many of the churches in Luzon, persistently, and almost exclusively present the British occupation as a culprit for the loss of beautiful architectural structures, precious religious art, rare artefacts, and objects of knowledge like maps, and manuscripts. And it usually stops there.

1 For historical precision and to prevent anachronism, we chose to use the term “British” (following the Acts of Union of 1707) instead of “English.” This choice encompasses not only the English but also incorporates the Scottish, Welsh, and Irish aspects of the occupation. Likewise, we utilize the term “Spanish-ruled Philippines” to represent the geo-political context of the Philippine islands during the specific historical era of Spanish colonial rule. Furthermore, we avoid employing “occupation of the Philippines” to specify that the invasion was confined to particular regions in Luzon.

The SOAS Annual Philippine Studies Conference sought to move beyond these narrow or mythologizing narratives by programming a series of lecture discussions that emphasised the critical use of both Spanish and British primary source materials and used them to explore more productive ways of historicizing the occupation by centring on issues of Philippine agency and resistance, non-European trans-imperial conditions and contexts, and on-the-ground repercussions, especially in relation to Philippine material culture, socio-economies, and local histories. Starting with a keynote lecture by John D Blanco (UC Davis) on *Evacuations and Reoccupations of the Political Imaginary*, ca. 1762-64, the rest of the two days were packed with plenary presentations on atypical takes on, among others, The Silang Revolt, the native militia, the recruiters and deserters of the Philippines in the 18th century, the Recollects in Cavite during the occupation, and even an analysis of modern parish registers of Lubao, and the impact of Spain's paper empire on the lives of 'ordinary' people.²

The conference also scheduled roundtable discussions, redirecting academic discourse toward more pragmatic strategies for addressing the undeniable loss of lives and material culture resulting from the British occupation. One of the components of the conference was a micro-exhibit titled 'A Cabinet of Missing Things,' which served as a visual inventory of objects that were displaced during the invasion. The featured objects in the exhibit were meticulously traced and provenanced, offering more precise details to help concretize this vague sense of colossal loss.

A transcription workshop that Christina Lee led during the conference was an interactive session that went through a specific text, one of the manuscripts looted by the British and now held at the Lilly Library in Indiana, and introduced resources and transcription aids designed to assist participants in navigating the intricacies of 16th-18th century Spanish texts.

The conference also featured art events directly linked to the 1762 British occupation. The screening of "Ta Acorda Ba Tu El Filipinas" directed by Sally Gutierrez, was followed by Candy Gourlay's reading of Rogelio Braga's "Elephant and Castle," a novel-in-progress that traces the story of a group of migrant Filipinos in London looking for an antique figurine, a relic from

² Abstracts of all the presentations are available online at <https://conference-2022.philippinestudies.uk/speakers/> and recordings of the presentations at <https://www.youtube.com/playlist?list=PL-QpgacgOyRj6lJSzXvLgKY4hldup2EKb>

the British occupation of Manila. Both extended artistic interventions into the legacies of colonisation by the Spanish and the British, exploring their enduring consequences in the lives of the Filipino people and emphasising the significance of grounded archival research in artistic production. Toward the conclusion of the first day, the entire group travelled to Marylebone to witness four transnational artists perform “Chasing the Human and Non-Human Senses: an Homage to Pedro Manuel.” A form of historical activism, the collaborative piece retraced Pedro’s life as a hydrographer, sailor, and Alexander Dalrymple’s “faithful servant and friend” through the streets of Marylebone’s 18th century terraced houses, churches and graveyards.

The Impetus

The research impact on the three-year UK-US funded 1762 archive project³ directly influenced the selection of the conference theme. The intention was to integrate the tradition of the Annual Philippine Studies conferences with the goals and initiatives of the project as it sought out scholars and artists who were working within the same time period, engaged in the event’s historical contexts and primary sources and most importantly, in the critical methodologies that the 1762 project sought to implement. The ransacked library of the convent of San Agustin⁴ is central to the archival project, and both the conference and this edited volume specifically sought out relevant scholarship and practice that would contribute to a further understanding of the library’s contents and contexts.

The story of the lost library is in itself mesmerising. From 1607 to 1762, a secluded room on the upper level of the cloister of the Convent of San Agustin in Manila was a quiet repository of more than 1,500 rare manuscripts, maps and early printed materials all linked to the Philippines and other Asian regions targeted by Spanish missionaries for conversion to

3 The official title of the project is “A Digital Repatriation of a Lost Archive of the Spanish Pacific: The Library of The Convent of San Pablo (Manila, 1762),” and is funded by the UK Arts and Humanities Research Council (AHRC) and the US National Endowment for the Humanities (NEH) Office of Digital Humanities, for its New Directions for Digital Scholarship in Cultural Institutions programme. Its two Principal Investigators are Maria Cristina Martinez-Juan of SOAS and Christina Lee of Princeton University.

4 We alternately refer to the convent as that of San Pablo and the more commonly recognized designation, San Agustin. It is important to note that the materials from the library as early as 1759 already used both designations simultaneously.

Christianity. During the British siege of Manila, the treasures of the Convent were ransacked and its library collection pillaged. The items were sorted and picked through, some auctioned off on site and others abandoned. Towards the conclusion of the British occupation, the majority of the materials fell into the hands of the Scottish Hydrographer, Alexander Dalrymple (1737-1808) who very briefly became the Governor General of the Islands as he replaced the notorious Dawsonne Drake. When Dalrymple died without an heir, his extensive collection of books and manuscripts, including what is now known as ‘the Manila Papers,’ was auctioned off. From this mother lode began the gradual dispersal through a series of auctions that led to the collection’s fragmentation across three continents. Following the project’s initial assessment, it appears that a small portion of the original library’s inventory remains at the Convent. However, the majority of items are dispersed, with some found at various locations such as the Lilly Library of Indiana University, the Lopez Library in Manila, the British Library, SOAS and King’s College in London. Additionally, there is a possibility that some materials are housed in an as-yet-unidentified university library in Japan.⁵

The 1762 archive project seeks to digitally repatriate the books and manuscripts that were taken from the archives of the Convent of San Agustin. Using the original index of the contents of the library, the Spanish and British accounts of the use and dispersal of the library’s contents, the records of auctions, library acquisitions and provenance records, the project has pieced together a virtual reconstruction of the materials in the library as close to as it might have been in 1762.

Beyond the digital reconstruction of the archival corpus, the “return” of the library involves a broader vision that encompasses the reimagining of the library’s original systems of knowledge production, modes of access, and use. This virtual archive is envisioned to serve as a gateway for the examination of Spanish colonialism in the Pacific, specially in relation to its impact on the native population. Employing digital technologies that facilitate iterative scholarship, collaborative effort across institutions, and curated crowd-sourcing, the digitally reconstructed library will incorporate dedicated spaces

5 Charles Boxer. ‘A collection of documents looted at Manila in 1762-1764,’ *Philippine Historical Review*, 1 (1970), 120-26. See also ‘A Catalogue of the Philippine Manuscripts in the Lilly Library,’ Asian Studies Research Institute, Occasional Papers No. 2 (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University, 1968).

for transcribing, translating, and annotating the materials. This approach aims to provide a multifaceted and interactive platform for engaging not only with the reconstructed content of the library, but also with the socio-historical contexts of the assembling and subsequent disintegration of the collection and the consequences of its loss.

The Edited Volume

Working along the same historiographical and methodological trajectories as the conference, this volume has put together a variety of articles that hopes to represent the richness and groundedness of the content and practice generated by the event. This compilation cannot of course fully recreate the whole conference experience. For various personal and technical reasons, we could not include all the presentations at the conference, but we have tried to put together a volume that we believe is a significant contribution to the body of discourse that transcends prevailing historical imaginaries of what is often considered as a relatively brief and inconsequential event.

Like the Conference call for papers, the edited volume sought articles that went beyond the conventional narratives derived from “objective” chronicles produced by centres of power and the perspectives of central imperial figures. Who were the silenced in this two-year occupation and how does one re-inscribe these voices into the historical narratives? Who were the other players, aside from the British and Spanish officials? What effect did the event have on Philippine material, architectural and visual cultures, and the dispersal of Philippine objects of knowledge? What were the inter-imperial realignments, socioeconomic reversals and new opportunities leading to and after the invasion? What were the transregional movements and effects of the invasion in relation to the rest of the Philippine islands and to South East Asia in general and how did this affect global history and the history of ideas?

The articles in this volume answer these questions in varying and unexpected ways. The volume opens with Ian Christopher Alfonso’s analysis of a series of ‘testimonias’ in the Archivo General de Indias. These documents relate how natives from Bulacan and Pampanga helped Anda run his rebel government beyond British-occupied Manila and Cavite. Moving away from nationalist tendencies to focus on local rebellions fuelled by the perceived weaknesses in the Spanish empire, the article points out the pivotal role of ‘loyalist’ indios in preserving Spanish rule in the Philippines. It also explores

the participative elements of Anda's governance and highlights the strategic significance of the riverscape in the troops' successful strategy.

This is followed by three articles that investigate the role of the religious orders in the British occupation. Roberto Blanco Andrés' article is a commissioned translation of a condensed version of a rich resource for research into the Order of St. Augustine's crucial role during the siege of Manila and its later resistance in the provinces. We specifically asked him to include, from the original Spanish, his review of the main Augustinian archival sources regarding the siege and to highlight the role of the Philippine natives in the occupation. The article by Ericson Borre Macaso, OSA, is a revised version of his presentation at the Conference and focuses on the life and works of Fray Agustín Maria de Castro, OSA, the librarian of the convent of San Agustin at the time of British invasion. Aside from providing additional historical context for the 1762 archive project, Fr. Borre's article, stemming from his deep familiarity with the materials housed at the San Agustin Library in Valladolid, Spain, offers a compilation of texts that have been referenced in historical books but are presently unaccounted for in any of the Augustinian library collections. The list is provided in the volume as a further reference point for the continuing compilation of the original contents of the 1762 San Agustin archive. In Ino Manalo's contribution titled "The British Occupation and the National Archives of the Philippines: A Survey of Records," he not only explores the reasons for the almost absent use of the National Archives of the Philippines (NAP) in current historical accounts relating to the British occupation, but he also introduces Fray Roque de la Purificacion, a friar belonging to the Franciscan order. On April 21, 1763, Fray Roque wrote a letter to Simon de Anda, offering an intimate portrayal of the actions and perceptions of townspeople on the periphery of the metropole during that period. Manalo includes a reproduction and English translation of the original document in his article and proactively begins the long and difficult process of providing greater levels of accessibility to primary source materials housed in the Philippines.

Continuing in a similar vein, two practice-based research articles try to reintegrate even more occluded voices into the collection. Hana Qugana's, "Unknown Soldiers, (Un)wanted Pasts: Remembering the Seven Years' War Sepoys in Britain and the Philippines," recounts her journey to Cainta in search of the Indian sepoys, lascars, and topasses alleged to have settled there after many of them deserted the British East India Company. An experiment in

ethnography and history, the article tries to make audible the voices of Cainta's sepoys descendants through its municipal repositories and civic life. Cristina Martinez-Juan's "Incidental Validations: Translating Pedro Manuel," introduces the spectre of one of the earliest named migrant workers to London, uprooted and emplaced as a direct result of the British Occupation of Manila in 1762.

The subsequent four articles use novel perspectives on the themes of plunder and loss during the British occupation. Kristie Patricia Flannery's "Scorched Earth: War and Loss in Manila and Luzon, 1762-1764," both grounds and expands the critical analysis of the magnitude of this loss, not only in material culture but also in the number of lives from all sides. With an astute use of primary sources, Flannery gives an inventory of this loss, but even more significantly, she widens the range of perpetrators from not only the British, but also of the looting done by the native insurgents, the sepoys and the militia. Florina Capistrano Baker's "Taking a Long View of the British Invasion of Manila: Replication and Commodification of Objects of Knowledge," looks at the lives and afterlives of looted things, specifically the Niño Dormido from William Draper's former collection of Philippine objects at the Manila Hall, and the Manila-printed Murillo Velarde Map now housed at the British Library, through the lens of patronage and circulation of luxury goods and the complicated long-term impact of the British invasion on the production, replication, and circulation of Philippine material culture. Regalado Trota José's "The Military Uses of Mathematics, According to Juan Dominguez Zamudio (1766, Manila)" is an interesting use of a mathematical treatise published by the Jesuits, by using it to tease out the military preoccupations of the Spanish Empire in the Philippines in the context of post-British invasion of Manila. The article also provides a good synopsis of the entire text and is a useful resource for future study. Lastly, Juan José Rivas Moreno's "Strangling the Silver Stream: The Impact of the British Occupation of Manila on the English East India Company's Trade with Canton," analyses the understudied bankruptcy of Manila's religious legacy funds (*obras pias*) after the British occupation and the effect this had on silver specie trade in intra-Asian trade routes.

The edited volume closes with two articles that look into the geopolitical consequences that proceeded from the inter-imperial and regional realignments during and after the occupation. In "The Batanes and Babuyan Islands in Eighteenth Century British and Spanish Maritime Projects,"

Guadalupe Pinzón-Ríos uses post-occupation maps and navigational descriptions from both Spain and the British to show the intentions of both empires to devise projects to occupy the northernmost islands of Luzon. The article shows how both the Batanes and Babuyan Islands became an important strategic position in the mercantilist and/or expansionist endeavours of Britain and Spain after the Seven Years War. Similarly, Crailsheim and Hölck's work, "The British Occupation of Spanish Manila and the Sulu Sultanate: Considerations on Diverging Interests in Southeast Asia (1749-1775)," examines an extensive collection of primary sources. The study highlights the importance of the Sultanate of Sulu both during and after the British occupation, particularly in its connection to the commercial concerns of the East India Company in the Sulu Sea.

An Addendum: Visualising the Margins

As a supplement to the introductory text in this volume and in keeping with the goal of providing access to multi-modal source materials for historical events, we conclude with a reproduction of a prominent set of images used at the conference. The *Alegoría de la defensa de Filipinas por el alavés Don Simón de Anda y Salazar (1762-1763)* is a large-scale 18th-century painting meant to honour one of the key Spanish figures during the British occupation of the Philippines. Despite its obvious hagiographic take on the life of the erstwhile Governor-General, we were attracted to the painting because of its rare depiction of native scenes and characters from the period. With the generous permission of the Museo de Bellas Artes de Alava, we append the full visual narrative in sequence paired with a transcription and an exploratory English translation of the text as supplementary source material for further study.

A DESCRIPTION. The canvas, which is slightly more than 10 by 7 feet in size, depicts a celebratory portrait of Simón de Anda y Salazar (Subijana de Álava, 1709 - Cavite, Philippines, 1776) at pivotal moments in his life, highlighting his role during the British occupation of Manila.

At the top centre is an effigy of Anda, adorned with a pinned medal of the Order of Charles III. On March 22, 1772, the King conferred on Anda the Knighthood of the Distinguished Order of Charles III, which involved a pension of 4,000 reales per year. Anda's conferment was one of 23 in the Departamento

de Indias. The medal of the Order pinned on Anda has been used to date the painting to at least 1772, and most likely, the occasion of its commissioning.⁶

An angel carries this effigy of Anda along with a banner with the Latin words: “Legibus suis onetur, armis vindicatur” (He is bound by his own laws, he is avenged by arms). Below Anda’s effigy and vying for equal centrality in the whole composition, is a map of the Philippine Islands, drastically repositioned to show the route of the Galleon Filipino with its annual situado of silver from New Spain. In red pigment, the ship’s route is traced (Rumbo de la Nave Philipina) as it enters Philippine waters through Samar until it finally rests on the shores of a lake situated between Bulacan and Pampanga. A note on the map triumphantly declares that “Noticioso el Yngles, de que la Nave Philipina venía con el caudal del Rey de la América, procura apresarlo, y no lo logra. (The English receive news that the Philipina ship was coming with the wealth of the King of America, tries to capture it, but fails).

Aside from the central image of the saved ship, the map also has markers for places of revolt and locations of forts presumably depicting loyalist forces for Spain. There are red saturated areas around Bohol (see panel) and Panay, red marks dotting the northern coast of “Isla de Mindanao” and a few forts of varying sizes including a major one on the peninsula across Basilan. Positioned just below Mindanao is a simple cartouche topped by a single shell, with what seems to be a convention in 18th century maps. The text in the “cartela” is an almost exact copy of an earlier iteration in the significantly more elaborate cartouche of the Carta Hydrographica y Chorographica de las Yslas Filipinas. A few differences between the two texts are mostly miscopied words or numbers, and two new words inserted in the Anda text.

Surrounding the map are twenty-three numbered panels depicting historical events with a special reference to Anda’s group of Spanish loyalists. A rectangular cartouche opposite Anda’s effigy gives brief descriptions of each event in sequence. Similar to the text in the ‘cartela,’ these seem to have been copied over from earlier numbered chronicles. Simón Anda’s papers in

6 Curiously however, Tomas, the son of Simon de Anda, in a visit to the King’s court in 1769, mentions among many things, a painting where the gentlemen are portrayed with the insignias of the Governor and Captain generals. He says that in this painting, all the battles and most particularly the events that occurred during the war with the English who took Manila in 1762 are painted as in a historical plan. Could this have been the *Alegoria*? Or was it just an earlier example of the genre of historical paintings used as effigies? See *Escritura de Don Tomás* – December 13, 1769 Folder 17 Ayer MS 1921. Newberry Library, Chicago, IL.

THE 1762 BRITISH INVASION OF SPANISH-RULED PHILIPPINES





IMAGE 1.

Alegoría de la defensa de Filipinas por el alavés Don Simón de Anda y Salazar. 1762-1763.

Inventory No. 0050, in the Museo de Bellas Artes de Álava. Oil on Canvas. 236 x 335 cm. Painted after 1772 by an anonymous artist.

This image, along with all succeeding detail images, is under copyright by the Photographic Archive of the Museum of Fine Arts of Álava.

the Ayer Collection at the Newberry Library has two versions, one of which was perhaps written by Anda himself. The differences in the written texts in the Ayer collection at the Newberry Library and the final texts inscribed in the painting's legend provide an interesting source for triangulation between the manuscript and the significantly faded text in the painting. It also shows contrasting incentives in the writing of both texts, as exemplified in the absence of any mention of Santiago Orendain in the manuscript, as opposed to the constant vilification of the same man in the painting. There also seems to be a greater number of named personas in the painting's text.

One interesting character is mentioned in the painting's legend (and also in Anda's papers) but seems to have been passed over in almost all the other narratives around the historical accounts of the Diego Silang Revolt. In the painting, an indigenous woman named María Lenore Josepha, said to be a member of the *principalia*, is celebrated for her deed of loading the musket of the Spanish-Ilocano mestizo named Miguel Vicos, who pulled the trigger and killed Diego Silang (See panel 10).

PROVENANCE. According to the Museum's accession records, the work was donated to the Álava Provincial Council by Ricardo Agustín (1875–1965) in 1941. Agustín was a lawyer from Madrid but had Álava roots and was a descendant of Simón de Anda on his maternal line. He was the owner, along with his wife, Elvira Zulueta (1871–1917), of the Agustín Zulueta Palace, built in 1912 in Vitoria-Gasteiz. They later sold the palace and, with it, donated the painting along with other works, such as a half-length portrait of Simón de Anda and some furniture and objects that were in the house. The palace was transformed into the Museo de Bellas Artes de Álava when it was sold to the Álava institution. Throughout the years, Ricardo Agustín had tried, but failed, to repatriate the remains of Simón de Anda, currently buried in the Manila Cathedral, back to Álava.⁷

The painter, while unknown, is characterized by Spanish art historian Olano as 'naïve neoclassical' and is attributed to an amateur painter of Basque origin or a painter in the style of Spanish colonial paintings.⁸ We have

7 Personal Communication with Ana I. Tomé Díaz de Otalora, curator for Museo de Bellas Artes de Álava, 22 January 2022.

8 Edorta Kortadi Olano. "Homenaje a un neoclásico ingenuo" En *Los Vascos y América*, 1990.

no other information about the painter except that his style is considered 'technically naïve' and not of the same calibre as Goya, Velázquez, or Murillo. The painting exhibits some tropic and stylistic similarities, for instance, with an 18th-century anonymous oil painting on wood depicting a scene from the 1762 British invasion, now housed at the San Agustin Museum in Intramuros. Another comparison can be made with an engraving of Simón de Anda and his son Tomás (who wears a distinctive patterned coat in both), found among Anda's papers in the Ayer collection at the Newberry Library.



1. *Día 4 de Octubre a las 10 de la noche, estando sitiada la ciudad d Manila pr los Yngless salio de esta el Oidor Dn Simon de Anda y Salazar con Dn Ricardo Villaseñor, abogado Fiscal, y Joseph de Villegas Flores, Essno. Rl. Con Rl. Provisión de Juez, Visitador General de todas las Provincias, y Teniente de Gobernador, y Capitán general.*

(On the 4th of October at 10 o'clock at night, while the city of Manila was besieged by the English, the Oidor Don Simón de Anda y Salazar, with Don Ricardo Villaseñor, Fiscal Lawyer, and Joseph de Villegas Flores, Royal Notary, left the city with Royal Provision as Judge, Visitador General of all Provinces, and Lieutenant Governor and Captain General.)

2. *El día 5 en la Provincia de Bulacan, inteligenciado de haber tomado por Asalto el Enemigo Yngles la Ciudad de Manila declara conservarse y continuarse en el solo la Rl Audiencia, y que a esta correspondia el Gobierno, y Capitanía General.*

(On the 5th, in the province of Bulacan, having learned that the English enemy had taken the city of Manila by assault, he declared to maintain only the Royal Audiencia and that it was its responsibility to govern and act as Captain General).



A. A. Da Ordⁿ la misma fecha para que el cancell^r de S. M. y de el Comercio, q trajo el Filipino y estaba(...) P(...) aquí por la Contra costa a Sa(...) fe con fig(...).

(The same day, the Chancellor of His Majesty and of Commerce, who brought the Filipino (also spelled La Nave Philipina in the same painting),

and was present here on the opposite coast, was ordered by the same authority to (...) safe with (...).



3. Declarado y publicado en 4 de Nobiembre el Consejo, y Gobierno Británico por rebelde a las dos Coronas Britanica y Catholica Repitio este execrable exceso por 2ª y 3ª vez ofreciendo cinco mil pesos a quien lo entregase vivo o muerto

(Declared and published on November 4 by the Council and British Government as a rebel to the two British and Catholic Crowns, this detestable excess was repeated two or three more times, offering five thousand pesos to whoever delivered him dead or alive.)

4. En contraposición la R^l Audiencia Gobernadora declara a el Gobierno, y Consejo Britanico de Manila por no Vasallo de su Soberano y ser Piratas, y ofreció diez mil pesos a el que prendiese a qualquiera de sus Yndividuos, o entregase sus Cavezas.

(In opposition, the Royal Audiencia declared the British Council of Manila as not a vassal of its sovereign, branding them as pirates. They offered ten thousand pesos to anyone who captured any of its members or delivered their heads.)



5. *Convoca a Junta Genl. a las dos Provincias de Bulacan y Pampanga en 7 de Dasse y resuelve en ellas conserbar el Pais en la Obediencia de S.M Catholica (...) la Poseso qe pretendía por la cesión violenta que se le havia heche.*

(A General Assembly was convened for the provinces of Bulacan and Pampanga on the 7th of (...), and it was decided to affirm their loyalty to the Catholic Majesty and resist the enemy's objectives.)

6. *Acamparon dos Regimientos de Yndios-Pampangos, Bulacanes en las cercanias de Manila, sitio de Maysilo, haviltades del Enemigo, hu(...)ron a testigo del Traidor Orendani, y los (...) huieron a Manila derrotados por D Joseph Bustos su caballero e Yndios destina.*

(Two regiments of Pampango and Bulacan Indians camped near Manila, specifically at the site of Maysilo. Enemy activities and their weaknesses were observed, as reported by the traitor Orendani, and they fled to Manila, defeated by Don Joseph Bustos, his knight, and the designated Indians.)

NOTE: The texts in the Ayer Collection does not mention Orendain at all: *Acampador dos regimientos de Indios de Pampango y Tagalo en las cercanías de Manila, sitio de Maysilo a visitados el Enemigo huieron aquellos pesto bolbio a Manila derrotados sin satenes, por quien.*



7. *Descubrese la Conjuracion de los Sangleys en Guagua, y en 22 de Diciembre. En Campal refriega son vencidos con muchos muertos de amb . partes, fueron presos más de 400 y por Consejo de Guerra padecieron la pena de deguello.*

(The Sangley conspiracy in Guagua is uncovered, and on December 22nd, in a field skirmish, they are defeated with many casualties on both sides. More than 400 are captured, and following a court martial, they were condemned to beheading.)

NOTE: In Ayer 1290: *Descubrese la Conjuracion de los Sangleys en Guagua y en 22 de Diciembre en campal refriega son vencidos con muchos muertos los Restantes quedaron presos y por Consejo de Guerra padecieron el ultimo suplicio.*

Año de 1763

8. *Procuran los Yngleses tener inteligencia con los Pampangos por medio d' Trai^r. Orendⁱ., descubrellos la R^l. Audiencia Gobernadora, y en 16 de Enero celebra Junta Prov^l. y en ella queda acordado padezca el que delinquiere en infidenz^{ia}. con lo quese evitó el peligro.*

(The English attempt to acquire intelligence of the Pampangos through the traitor Orendain. The Royal Audiencia Governor discovers this, and

on January 16th, agreed that those who engage in treason shall suffer the consequences. Thus, the danger was averted.)

NOTE: In Ayer 1290, again no mention of Orendain: *Procuran los Ingleses tener Inteligencia con los Pampangos inducen a algunos, Descubrellos la R Audiencia gobernadora, y en 16 de Enero celebra junta provincial y en ella queda acordado padezca el que delinquire en Infidencia con lo qual se evito el peligro.*



9. Tomo el Enemigo en 23 de Enero el Pueblo de Bulacan, p^a. haberse acabado la Polbora: el Alcalde Maior, Dn. Fran^{co}. Cavada, y Fr. Agustín de S^a. Ant^o, Agustino Reoleto y Dⁿ. Fran^{co}. Ybarra murieron matando: Fueron prisioneros pocos Españoles, e Indios, y entregados a la Crueldad de los Chinos para que los matasen. Quedan libres Dⁿ. Joseph Estaba, Dⁿ Joseph de (Dios?...) y Dⁿ. Fran^{co}. Galan y treinta Fusileros, con los quales y los Indios de la Pampangay Bulacan cerca? la R^l. Audⁿ.el Enemigo desampara este su puesto y huye a Manila.

(On January 23rd, the enemy took the town of Bulacan because the powder had run out. The Alcalde Mayor, Dn. Francisco Cavada, Fr. Agustín de San Antonio, Augustinian Recollect, and Don Franco Ybarra died fighting. A few Spaniards and Indians were taken prisoner and handed over to the cruelty of the Chinese to be killed. Don Joseph Estaba, Don Joseph de (...), and Don Francisco Galan, along with thirty fusiliers, survived, riflemen, together with the Indios from Pampanga and Bulacan. The enemy abandoned their post and fled to Manila.)

NOTE: Ayer 1290: *Tomo el enemigo en 23 de Henero el Pueblo de Bulacan por haberse acabado la Polbora; el Alcalde mr pocos españoles y Indios quedaron prisoners fueron entregados a los Chinos A que con crueldad los matasen cerca la Real Audiencia al enemigo le deshago la y también de Malolos y huye a Manila.*

10. *Rebelase la Prov^a. De Ylocos, Engañada por Diego Silan, nombran a este por Alcalde los Yngl^s. Espele al que estaba por el Rey, mata a los Españoles, prende al Obispo Yztariz, y Religiosos Agustinos para degollarlos, ofrece la R^l. Aud^a. Governadora mil pesos por la caveza del Traidor a Dⁿ. Miguel Geronimo Vicos, mata este al Tirano de un trabucazo cargado p^r D^a María Leonor Josepha Yndia principalia y Mujer de Dⁿ. Estevan de los Reyes natural de Cadiz a (...) en la primera Refriega.*

(Deceived by Diego Silang, the natives of Ilocos rebel. The English appoint him Alcalde Mayor, banishing the one appointed by the King. They kill the Spaniards, arrest Bishop Yztariz and the Augustinian friars are detained for execution. The Real Audiencia offers one thousand pesos for the head of the traitor. Don Miguel Geronimo Vicos, in the initial skirmish, kills the tyrant with a musket loaded by Doña María Leonor Josepha, an India principalia and wife of Don Estevan de los Reyes, a native of Cadiz.)

NOTE: Ayer 1290: *Revelase la provincia de Ilocos inducida por Diego Silan espele asu alcalde mayor mata los espanoles que en ella residian prende al Prelado Diozesano y Religiosos y ala hora que estaba determinado su dequello tomo la voz del Rey Don Miguel Geronimo Vicos que mato al tirano de un trabucazo cangado por Doña Leonor Josepha India principalia, y mujer de Don Estevan de los Reyes español que mataron en la primera refriega.*



11. Dⁿ Joseph de Busto, Dⁿ. Fran^{co}. Galan, Dⁿ Man^r. Cavanillas y otros hasta 13 Españoles contra mas de dos mil Chinos, Yngleses y Sipayes libertan al Cura del Pueblo de Quiapo a quie(...)(...) Crueldades, pero vencidos con perdida de muchos se retiraron pre-cipitadam^{te}. A Manila, llevando los nuestros las campanas del Pueblo a la Fundⁿ. de la Pampanga.

(Don Joseph de Busto, Don Franco Galan, Don Manr. Cavanillas, and others, up to 13 Spaniards (...)(...) along with more than two thousand Chinese, English, and Sepoys, liberated the Priest of the Village of Quiapo,

who (...) had been tortured, but, defeated with the loss of many, they retreated hastily. Towards Manila, our people carried the bells of the Village to the Foundation of Pampanga.)

NOTE: Ayer 1290: *Quinze Españoles contra mas dos mil Sangleys, Sipayes Ingleses libertan al cura del Pueblo de Quiapo que iban amatarle les quitanon las campanas, Después de hacen comitos muchas crueldades fueron vencidos con perdida de muchos, y se retiraron precipitadamente a Manila.*



12. E(...) Funz. de Malinta mandado por Dⁿ Joseph de Busto sale derrotado el Yngles, no obstante (...) en desmontd. (...) Artilla. y perdida la Formazⁿ. El Costado izquierdo Ocupado por una Comp.Pampanga.

(The foundry of Malinta which was commanded by Don Joseph de Busto, defeats the British despite their loss of artillery and formation. The left side is occupied by a Pampanga company.)

NOTE: Ayer 1290: *En la funcion de Malinta experimentan el Ingles nueva derrota no obstante haberse desmontado la Artilleria de las tropas del Rey y perdido la formacion el costado izquierdo al campana una compania Pampanga.*



13. *Revelase la Prov. De Pangasinan y embia (...) R^l. Aud^a. Governadr^a. A D^{on} Fernando de Araya a a pacificarla: les gano el Estandarte en Bayamban y se fingen reducidos p^a. q^e. Se retirase la tropa Española: Reinciden con más furor en la Revelⁿ. procura la R^l. Aud^a. Atraherlos de paz, les ofrece en Rehenes a DⁿThomas de Anda, su hijo, no le admiten matan al Justicia mayor, pegan Fuego al Conv^o. de Calasiaoen cura Torre se liberto el Alcalde con dos Español^s. embia la R^l. Aud^a. a Dⁿ. Pedro Bonardel, y a Dⁿ. Manuel Arza y Urrutia con tropa y orn de llevarlo todo a Sangre y Fuego, como se ejecuto libertando al Alcalde y Gobernador de la Provincia con el castigo de muchos (...)*

(The province of Pangasinan rebels and the Royal Audiencia (Rl. Auda.) sent Governor Don Fernando de Araya to pacify it. He won over the insurgents in Bayamban, and they pretended to be subdued in order for the Spanish troops to withdraw. They, however, resumed the rebellion with even greater fury. The Royal Audiencia tried to attract them to peace, offering Don Tomas de Anda, his son, as a hostage, but they did not accept. They killed the Chief Justice, set fire to the convent of Calasiao, and in a cura tower, the Mayor was liberated along with two Spaniards.

The Royal Audiencia sent Don Pedro Bonardel and Don Manuel Arza y Urrutia with troops and equipment to bring everything under blood and fire, as was executed. They liberated the Mayor and Governor of the Province, punishing many in the process.”)

NOTE: Ayer 1290: *Revelada la Provincia de Pangasinan : fue Don Fernando Araia a pacificarla: en Biamban le gano el Estandarte: fin. giorome reducidos por la se retirase la tropa Española, reinciden con maior furia de la revelion, procura la Ri Audiencia atraherlos de paz ofreceler en rener a Don Tomas de Anda su hijo no le admiten matan la Justicia Maior pegan fuego al combento de Calasiao en cura torre se liberto el alcalde con dos Españoles: Embia la RI a don Pedro Vonardel, y a de Man! de Arza y Urrutia con tropa y orn. de llevarlo todo a sangre y fuego Así de executo: escento: Libertaron al alcalde, y con el castigo de muchos de sosego la Provincia.*



14. *Esta (...)ª. Governadª. su residencia en Bacolor Capital de la Pampanga y pª. la defensa de (...) Yslas, y Fabricas de Polvra. dispone medios de beneficiar Salitre, con que consgª. hacer polvora de mejor calidad que la de los Yngleses.*

(The Royal Audiencia Governor establishes his residence in Bacolor, the capital of Pampanga, for the defense of (...) Islands and gunpowder factories. He arranges means to extract saltpetre, producing gunpowder of better quality than the English.)



15. *Emprehen(...) Fundición de Artilleria y lo Consigue y Establece (...)p^{ria} p^a. el mismo efecto.*

(He sets up the artillery foundry and achieves it, establishing it for the same purpose.)

16. *Forma Herrerías para la construcción y composiz^{on}. de armas y sustim^{to}. (...) Obras Reales.*

(He sets up blacksmith shops for the production and assembly of weapons and supplies for the Royal Works.)



17. *Consigue (...)ar un lucido Exercito de Infanteria y Cavalleria Española, con Regi-mientos (...)ringos Bojolanos y Tagalos, con que se formo el R. Campo en el pueblo de Po-lo a ci(...)es de legua de Manila, a el comande de D^o. Joseph Busto.*

(He manages to form a splendid army of Spanish infantry and cavalry, with regiments of Boholanos and Tagalos, forming the Royal Camp in the town of Polo, a few (...) miles from Manila, under the command of Don Joseph Busto.)

18. *Formadan del Principado y Cuerpo de amparo en Guagua Pueblo de la Pampanga bajo el mando de Don Fernando Araya.*

(Formation of the Principality and security force in the town of Guagua, Province of Pampanga under the command of Don Fernando Araya.)

19. *Toman los Yngleses el Conv^{ento} De Orion en la Prov. de Batan y son rechazados por los Españoles y naturales de esta comandante D^o. Pedro Bonardel.*

(The English take the Convent of Orion in the Province of Bataan and are repelled by the Spaniards and locals under the command of Don Pedro Bonardel.)



20. *Van los Yngleses a Biñan en la Laguna de Bay, y son tambien Rechazados por los Españoles e Yndios.*

(The English go to Biñan in Laguna de Bay and are also repelled by the Spaniards and Indios.)

21. *Entra el Ejercito del Rey a tomar posesión de Manila y a su frente el Oidor Dⁿ. Simon de Anda y Salazar con Dⁿ. Joseph de Busto.*

(The King's army enters to take possession of Manila, led by the Oidor Don Simón de Anda y Salazar, with Don Joseph de Busto)

22. *En virtud de la cesion de las Yslas hecha a favor de los Yngleses (...) estos Señores de (...) do titulos de alcaldes y (...)res de servidumbre del Rey de Ynglaterra: lo que resiste (...)nitentem^e . la Real Audiencia. Go(...) (...) S. M. (...) titulos que(...).*

(By virtue of the cession of the islands made in favor of the English, these gentlemen assume titles of mayors and (...)s of servitude to the King of England. This is staunchly resisted by the Royal Audiencia, (...) (...) to His Majesty, (...) titles that (...).)



23. *Declarado (...)e Anda por rebelda a las dos Magestades, despachan los Yngleses (...) Persona, quien para evitar el peligro, aunque dio en audiencia, a todos fue con la precaución de dos pistolas amartilladas y bayoneta sobre la mesa.*

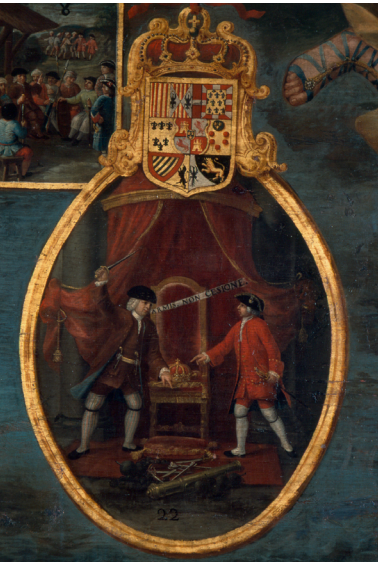
(Once Anda was declared a rebel by the two Majesties [King Carlos III of Spain and King George III of Great Britain], the British sent a person who went with the precaution of two cocked pistols and bayonet on the table, although he granted audience to all in order to avoid any danger.)

NOT(...) Los Militares vestid(...) d encarnado son Yngleses: los demás Españoles o Yndios.

NOTE: Those dressed in red are English military; the others are Spanish or Indios.



LA LEYENDA: A 10 de Agosto de 1519 salio de Sevilla Hernan Magallanes llegó a Zebu a 7 de Abril de 1521. Le mataron en Mactan. Vino D. Manuel de Legazpi, dichas así por el Sr. Don Phelipe II. Son estas Yslas muchas y abundantes, tienen oro, cera, azúcar, miel, tabaco ajengibre, añil, brasilete y varios colores, fegilez, balate, cacao...azufre, brea, palo maria...Tamarindo, pepitas de calbadogan....arroz, sal, trigo de quina, maíz, limones..., platanos y muchas frutas y raices comestibles, ...muchas maderas de palinas, ebano, tirodalo y excelentes maderas para navíos. Caballos, gallinas y muchos pescados, búfalos, bacas, puercos...perlas, ambar, tumbaga y fiero. La tierra es capaz de mucho si tuviera cultivo. Tiene la isla Arzobispo y tres obispos, una chancilleria, tres gobiernos, 21 provincias o jurisdicciones, 18 presidentes, fundición de artillería, fabrica de polvora, imprentas...Los clerigos tienen las 4 diocesis, 142 pueblos, 131.279 Almas. Sto Domingo en.. Paganisan y Caga... pueblos 1206 Almas, San Agustin tiene en Tagalos, Pangasinan, Ysocos y Lonay, 133 Pueblos,



25297 Almas. La Compañía tenia en Tagalos, Bisaias y Mindanao 88 Pueblos, 160199 Almas. Los PP. Recolectos tienen en Mindanao, Caraga, Bisaias y Calamines, los 5 pueblos 53384 Almas. Los nativos o Indios son de buen cuerpo, bien afeitados, color bazo, muy aficionados a la Religión y a los españoles, son hábiles y salen buenos escribientes, pintores, escultores, lamineros, plateros, bordadores, molineros... Y los Padres Franciscanos tienen en Tagal y Camarines 63 Pueblos y en ellos 1200 Almas.

(Legend: On August 10, 1519, Hernan Magallanes departed from Seville and arrived in Cebu on April 7, 1521. He was killed in Mactan. Don Manuel de Legazpi came, as stated by Mr. Don Filipe II. These islands are numerous and abundant, they have gold, wax, sugar, honey, tobacco, ginger, indigo, bracelets, various colours, precious stones, balate, cotton, cocoa, sulfur, tar, sandalwood, tamarind, seeds of calbadogan, rice, salt, quina wheat, corn, lemons, bananas, and many edible fruits and roots. Many types of wood, including palm, ebony, tirol, and excellent woods for ships. Horses, chickens, and many fish, buffaloes, cows, pigs, pearls, amber, tumbaga, and iron. The land is capable of much if cultivated.

It has an archbishop and three bishops, a chancellery, three governments, 21 provinces or jurisdictions, 18 presidents, artillery foundry, powder factory, printing presses.

In the dioceses, the clergy have 142 towns, 131,279 souls (providing data on the Company, the Recollects, etc.). The natives or Indians are of good build, well-shaved, bronze complexion, very devoted to religion and the Spaniards. They are skilled and become good scribes, painters, sculptors, engravers, silversmiths, embroiderers, sailors. And the Franciscan Fathers have in Tagal and Camarines 63 towns with 1200 souls.)



Filipino Natives in Simon de Anda's Government During the British Invasion of Manila, 1762-1764

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Abstract

LOYALTY is a recurrent theme when it comes to the military participation of the native Filipinos during the British invasion of Manila and Cavite from 1762 to 1764. In this period, the Tagalogs and the Kapampangans especially of north Manila Bay, defended the Spanish cause and Roman Catholicism against the British. Books about the invasion, however, are mostly biased toward Simon de Anda while the natives are often recognized as mere members of his heterogeneous army. But Anda did not deprive his native allies of their deserved recognition, saluting them as the only people who could be depended on while the constituted Spanish authorities were held captives by the British in Manila. A series of “*testimonias*” in the Archivo General de Indias related to the event is replete with attestations as to how the natives helped Anda run his government in the provinces of Bulacan and Pampanga, complete with the names of the native leaders. This paper

will discuss Anda's mixed governance of Spanish and native politico-military officials and his dependency on the natives of the said provinces. This is one way of giving voice to the natives, considering that Anda himself acknowledged in writing their crucial contribution to the preservation of the Spanish Philippines.

KEYWORDS: Kapampangan, Tagalog, Principalia, Bulacan, Pampanga, Bacolor, Apalit

Introduction

IMMEDIATELY north of Manila are the provinces of Bulacan and Pampanga. These are connected to Metro Manila via the North Luzon Expressway and the MacArthur Highway. But during the British Invasion of Manila and Cavite from 1762 to 1764, these provinces were accessible not via land but by sea through Manila Bay and the hundreds of rivers and creeks comprising the vastness of the Pampanga River Basin. Without a doubt, these two provinces mattered during the British Invasion. They were more than just hosts to Simon de Anda y Salazar, one of the remaining high Spanish officials uncaptured (“*que quedo libre*”) by the British during the Seven Years' War in the Philippines.¹

Anda's Mission

At the time of the British invasion, Anda was an *oidor* (judge) of the Real Audiencia, the predecessor of the present-day Supreme Court of the Philippines. Before the Spanish government surrendered Manila to the British on 5 October 1762, he was instructed by the Spanish War Council to

1 After the British surrendered Manila in 1764 and the new Spanish Governor-General, Don Francisco Javier de la Torre, took over, Anda submitted testimonies to the Real Audiencia about his activities while styling himself as Governor-General in Bulacan and Pampanga. In a notarized document dated 20 May 1764, the Manila government acknowledged his outstanding legal status as “*que quedo libre*,” “*oydor Solo*,” and “*Despacho dela Governacion y Guerra*.” Read the notarized attestation by Juan Pinpin, Joseph Mendoza dela Concepcion, and Estaben Gregorio de Mendoza in the latter part of Archivo General de Indias (AGI), “*Testimonio de las juntas que se han ofrecido desde el mes de octubre de 1762 en que recayó la real Audiencia gobernadora en la persona de Simón de Anda y Salazar hasta el 16 de marzo de 1764. Bacolor, 15 de marzo de 1764.*” *FILIPINAS*, 609, N. 42, 27b-28a.



IMAGE 1.

A depiction of the surrender of Manila to the British in Carlos “Botong” Francisco’s *Filipino Struggles Through History* (1968), from the National Museum of the Philippines.

escape to the north of Manila Bay. He ended up in Bulakan, then the capital-town of Bulacan province, on the midnight of 4 October 1762,² and later moved to Bacolor, then the capital of Pampanga.³ In his capacity as an *oidor*, he represented the *Superior Gobierno* or the Spanish colonial government in

2 AGI, “Carta de Simón de Anda y Salazar sobre la ocupación inglesa.” *FILIPINAS* 388, N. 51, 2a, 3b.

3 During the American period, the seats of government of these provinces were transferred to Malolos, Bulacan and San Fernando, Pampanga, respectively. The Ferrocarril de Manila á Dagupan played a vital role in the rise of these new economic and political centers (where Malolos and San Fernando are located) vis-à-vis the gradual decline of water-based transportation plying the rivers emptying into Manila Bay. Bacolor was dependent on the Guagua-Pasac River, a major thoroughfare of Pampanga along with the Pampanga River which in Spanish records was referred to as Lubao River or Betis River. This river empties into the bay via Sasmuan and Macabebe, Pampanga. This was why Sasmuan figured prominently in the strategic defense of Anda. On the other hand, Bulacan town was dependent on its own river system. Malolos, although a Manila Bay town like Bulakan, was fortunate enough to have inland territories the Ferrocarril passed through. The nearest station to Bulakan was Guiguinto, Bulacan, and to Bacolor, its 20th-century competitor, San Fernando.

the provinces with a mission to ensure the loyalty of the natives to the Spanish king and Roman Catholicism. However, Anda revealed in a report that the real intention of his mission was to prevent the natives from revolting against Spain. According to him, the natives had a “natural inclination to freedom and independence” (“*natural inclinacion a la libertad e independiencia*”) and “could easily rise up and endanger the Spaniards” (“*podrian sublebanse facilmente y peligrar los Españoles*”).⁴ He established a “renegade” Spanish government in Bacolor, styling himself the “[member] of the *Consejo de su Magestad, oydor, Alcalde del Crimen, y Presidente de la Audiencia*,⁵ *y Real Chancilleria de la Ciudad de Manila, Governador y Capitan general des estas Yslas Philipinas*.”⁶ He continued in his claim, despite the lack of any appointment from Madrid or Mexico nor acknowledgment from the constituted authorities in Manila, specifically the incumbent officer-in-charge of the Office of the Governor-General, Archbishop Manuel Antonio Rojo. Anda was declared a traitor and rebel both by the Spanish and British authorities in Manila and a bounty was placed on his head, dead or alive (“*ofrecia premio a quien me entregarse vivo o muerto*”).⁷

Despite Anda’s acknowledgment of their role in the defense of the Spanish flag and Catholicism against the British, most history books fail to cite or discuss the *active* participation, if not the influential role, of the *naturales* (native Filipinos, especially the *principalia* or the ruling class) in “Bataan, Pampanga, Bulacan, and Laguna” at that point in history.⁸ In contrast to the Ilocanos in the north of Luzon, the Kapampangans of Pampanga and the Tagalogs of Bulacan supported the anti-British cause. The two provinces gave Anda not only shelter but a united stronghold (“*alianza de las dos Provincias por unos el fin de ambas*”) in absence of “soldiers, weapons, and pewter” (“*la falta de soldados, armas, y demas peltrechos*”).⁹ In his report

4 AGI, “Carta... ocupación inglesa,” 2b.

5 In a document dated 16 November 1762, Anda claimed that a Real Audiencia was existing in Bacolor. He was the lone oidor or member of the said supreme court. Cf. AGI, “Testimonio de las juntas,” 7a.

6 An example of Anda’s self-styled designation can be read in the AGI, “Testimonio de las juntas,” 1a.

7 AGI, “Carta... ocupación inglesa,” 5b-6a.

8 AGI, “Expediente sobre prohibición de ir a Manila durante la guerra.” *FILIPINAS*, 609, N. 6, 1a.

9 AGI, “Carta... guerra y gastos,” 1b.

dated 15 March 1764, Anda expounded on his dependence on the natives, even involving them in the administration and decision-making process—things that were unprecedented in Philippine colonial history. After the war, he himself realized how extraordinary the circumstances were (“*encargos que por lo grave y estrano de mi carrera*”) and that these tested the limits of his capability (“*exceden infinitamente mir limitados alcanzes*”).¹⁰

The Nobles

During the period of the British occupation of Manila and Cavite, the capital of Bulacan was the town of Bulakan, from which the name of the province was derived. It is located several miles from Manila across the bay. Meanwhile, the capital of Pampanga then was the town of Bacolor. Despite being neighbors, the said provinces are home to two different ethnic groups speaking different languages. The people of Bulacan belong to the ethnolinguistic group called the Tagalogs, while those of Pampanga are called Kapampangans or in Spanish records, the Pampangos. Despite this multiculturalism, the two ethnolinguistic groups were somehow united because the ruling families here were related. In fact, when the Spaniards conquered Manila in 1571, the Kapampangans of Macabebe, now a town in Pampanga, and the Tagalogs of Hagonoy, now a town of Bulacan, were the first natives to resist the Spanish invasion in Luzon. But this sentiment was not shared by the entire clan: Their relatives ruling Manila and its nearby polity of Tondo supported the Spaniards. One of them was Lakan Dula, the Tagalog ruler of Tondo, now part of the City of Manila. Quite surprisingly, a son and two nephews of Lakan Dula joined the resistance to the Spanish invasion. However, those who defied the Spaniards were defeated in the Battle of Bangkusay in Manila Bay on 3 June 1571. Twenty-one days later, the Spanish government was established in Manila.

Because they supported Spanish colonialism, rulers like Lakan Dula and Soliman were given the privilege to remain as rulers of the natives. Each *barangay* or pre-colonial village was ruled by an autocrat called *datu*. Each *datu* was influential to his constituents, who were basically his relatives. In ancient Kapampangan society, the constituents of the *datu* were called *cabangca*, which literally means “of the same boat,” since *barangay* was derived from the

10 *Ibid.*, 1a.

name of a type of an ancient boat. The Spaniards introduced a new title for a *datu* under the colonial setup. This was the *cabeza de barangay* or the village chief. The ruling class, which was called *maguino* in Tagalog (from the root word *guino* or noble) and *mappia* in Kapampangan (which is the cognate of *mayap* meaning affluent or good), was called *principalia* by the Spaniards.

Like the rule of succession for a *datu* in pre-colonial times, the designation as a *cabeza de barangay* could be inherited by the firstborn son. In the 17th century, the Spaniards gave the *cabezas de barangay* another political opportunity in the colonial bureaucracy. This was the position of *gobernadorcillo* which today is equivalent to the municipal mayor. Back then, there were two types of *gobernadorcillos*: a *gobernadorcillo* of the *principalia* and a *gobernadorcillo* of the Chinese. They also enjoyed the title “Don” before their name. The Anda documents in the Archivo General de Indias (AGI) abound with these terminologies:

Pampanga		Bulacan	
Town	Capitan	Town	Capitan
Bacolor (Mestizos)	Don Francisco Faxardo	Calumpit	Don Lucas Perez
	Don Manuel de Estrada		Don Juan Tenorio
Bacolor (Naturales/ Natives)	Don Juan Yalong	Bocaue	Don Alonso Galvez
	Don Nicolas Odiong		Don Andres dela Cruz
Macabebe	Don Isidro Senteno Magat	Quingua ¹¹	Don Augustin Lahom
	Don Miguel Gamban de San Vicente)		Don Nicolas de Siderio y Lipana
Minalin	Don Nicolas Panguilinan	Malolos	Don Felipe Ventura
	Don Pedro Lopez Mercado		Don Pedro Francisco de Victoria

11 Now Plaridel, Bulacan.

Beyond Imperial and National Imaginaries

San Fernando	Don Luis Crisostomo Catacutan	Paombon ¹²	Don Juan Capolong
	Don Thomas de Aquino		Don Nicolas Magt. ^a (?)
San Luis Gonzaga alias Cabacsa ¹³	Don Juan Lacanilao	San Raphael de Buenavista ¹⁴	Don Lorenzo Montaya
	Don Juan Baptistta de Tavora		Don Lorenzo de Guzman
Lubao	Don Miguel Malit	Baliuag	Don Juan de los Angeles
	Don Manuel Sangalan		Don Domingo Cunanan
Candaba	Don Raphael Lacanilao Gulapa	Bulacan (Cabecera)	Don Augustin Borres Pilapil
	Don Santiago Cabigtin		Don Julian Simon de Mendoza
Betis ¹⁵	Don Diego Doetta	Guiguinto ¹⁶	Don Lazaro Ramos
	Don Miguel Sigua		Don Juan Martin de Barzelona
Sesmoan ¹⁷	Don Augustin Limin	Bigaa ¹⁸	Don Gabriel Calalang
	Don Manuel Flores		Don Teodoro Guillermo de Pilapil

12 Spelled today as Paombong, Bulacan.

13 Now shortened to San Luis, Pampanga. Its former name was Cabagsac.

14 This is a rare occurrence of the name. It is usually called Hacienda de Buenavista in various Spanish documents. It is now the towns of San Rafael and San Ildefonso, Bulacan.

15 Now part of Guagua, Pampanga.

16 The principalias of Guiguinto, Bigaa, and Angat joined the junta only later, probably due to the towns' distance from Apalit. Cf. AGI, "Testimonio de las juntas," 3a-3b.

17 Now Sasmuan, Pampanga.

18 Now Balagtas, Bulacan.

Arayat ¹⁹	Don Matheo Palencia	Angat ²⁰	Don Nicolas Boloran
	Don Miguel de Guevara		Don Andres Santiago
Mexico	Don Francisco Tolosa	Ovando ²¹	Don Diego Lazaro
	Don Anicetto Paras		Don Pedro de Azaga (?)
		Polo ²²	Don Pedro Alexandrino
			Don Pedro Catabaz
		Meycauaian ²³	Don Manuel Francisco
			Don Luis Feliz
			Don Bonifacio Garcia
			Don Felix Pasqual

Notice that aside from the terms *gobernadorcillo* and *cabeza*, the list also includes the term *capitan*. Fr. Diego Bergaño, the Augustinian lexicographer behind the *Vocabulario de la lengua Pampanga* published in 1732, explained that the term *capitan* was used by a *cabeza de barangay* during wartime. The idea can be both pre-colonial and colonial in nature. Fr. Bergano provided the indigenous Kapampangan equivalent for a wartime *capitan*: the word is *punsalang*, from the word *pun* which means head or leader, and *salang* or enemies.²⁴ It basically means ‘leader against the enemy.’ Whereas the idea of tapping the *principalia* to the Spanish Army began in 1602 when Governor-General Pedro Bravo de Acuña requested the provinces like Pampanga and Bulacan, to recruit people to quell the Chinese rebellion. The *principalia* also produced the soldiers who joined the Spaniards against several revolts

19 The principalias of Arayat and Mexico joined the junta only later, probably due to the distance from Apalit. Cf. AGI, “Testimonio de las juntas,” 4b.

20 The principalias of Obando, Meycauyan, and Polo joined the junta only later, probably due to the distance from Apalit. Cf. AGI, “Testimonio de las juntas,” 4a-4b.

21 Spelled today as Obando, which is in Bulacan.

22 Now Valenzuela City.

23 Spelled today as Meycauyan, Bulacan.

24 Diego Bergaño, *Vocabulario de la Lengua Pampanga* (Manila: Imprenta de Ramirez y Giraudier, 1732/1860), 292.

across the colony: the Dutch attacks, the conquest and defense of Maluku in present-day Indonesia, and the annexation of the Marianas and Formosa, now Taiwan, to the Spanish empire. Again, when the British invaded Manila in 1762, the *principalia* gave Spain their utmost support. It is no wonder then that Archbishop Rojo and his war council sent Anda to Bulacan on 3 October 1762 to ensure the loyalty of the nearby provinces. Another official was sent south of Manila via Laguna province, the Royal Treasurer Don Francisco Leandro de Viana (who recognized Anda's governorship of the Philippines on 28 January 1763). But of these two, only Anda had the audacity to proclaim himself the governor-general of Spanish Philippines while he was in Bulacan on 5 October 1762. This was for the obvious reason that all high-ranking colonial officials inside Intramuros had been captured by the British.



IMAGE 2. Bacolor Church, ca. 1902, from the Luther Parker Collection, National Library of the Philippines.

Because the capital-town of Bulacan was exposed to British attacks, Anda decided to transfer to Bacolor which was farther away from Manila Bay. Many have thought that because Anda moved to Bacolor, the town automatically became the capital of the Philippines. Various documents in the AGI show that Anda never regarded Bacolor as the capital of the Philippines but only

as his residence. In fact, AGI documents reveal that he frequently held office in Bulakan town. There is also a document in the AGI dated 24 December 1762 indicating Anda's address to be in Mexico, a town north of Bacolor. Nevertheless, it is safe to claim that most of the activities of Anda's renegade government happened in Bacolor, which was heavily fortified, to wit:

*En esta Capital de Bacolor, Provincia de la Pampanga, he fundido cuatro cañones de a seis, quatro morteros...; tengo almazenes, fusileria, y fabrica de polvora, herrerias, y otras cosas de que da se cuenta quando lo permita el tiempo ...*²⁵

(In this Capital of Bacolor, Province of Pampanga I casted four cannons of six [probably implying a measurement], four mortars...; I have warehouses, a stockroom of rifles, and a gunpowder factory, blacksmith workshops, and other things that will be realized when time permits...)

He also lived in the Convent of Bacolor Church.²⁶ Apparently, he chose to stay in Bacolor even after he led the retaking of Manila from the British in May 1764, as evidenced in a report dated 29 August 1764.²⁷

Participative Governance

The AGI records documented the extent of integration of indigenous leaders into Anda's administration in Bulacan and Pampanga. Anda acknowledged that the leaders were "broadly influential." With no one else to depend on aside from the few Spaniards who were officials and curates, he worked hard at gaining allies from Pampanga and Bulacan despite an apparent long-standing issue between them and the Spaniards. Anda wrote, "the locals of Bulacan, and Pampanga have had a long grudge against us and that's a problem." He regarded it as a "problem" and "seems irreconcilable." He formed an exclusive Junta with the *principalias* of Bulacan and Pampanga in Apalit, Pampanga on 9 November 1762. Aware

25 AGI, "Carta de Simón de Anda y Salazar sobre guerra y gastos." *FILIPINAS*, 388, N. 68, 1b-2a.

26 Eduardo Navarro, *Documentos Indispensables para la Verdadera Historica de Filipinas*, Vol. 1: 1762-1763 (Madrid: Imprenta del Asilo de Huerfanos, 1908), 82.

27 AGI, "Carta... guerra y gastos," 3a.

of the cultural differences between the two provinces, he noted that “before going to our meeting place, knowing that seating arrangements would be an issue, I persuaded the Pampangos to treat the Tagalogs as guests and to give them the seats of honor.”

On November 30, 1762, he once again visited Bulakan town with the intention of establishing a collaborative Junta General de Guerra that would involve both Bulacan and Pampanga. During this assembly, Anda expressed his sentiments, recognizing the diversity of his troops, the jurisdictional distinctions between the provinces, and their ethnolinguistic variations by allowing them to choose their respective commanders. He stressed, however, that the two provinces should strive for “unity and harmony” while actively avoiding any form of competition between them (“*y que se procure la union, y concordia, evitando competencias entre los de las de provincias*”).²⁸ To formalize the proceedings in Bulakan, all present parties present signed a protocol.

Meanwhile, on 14 November 1762, Anda formed a Junta de Guerra in Bacolor. It was composed of native and Spanish officials from even as far as Cagayan and Batangas:²⁹

Licenciado Don Joseph Ricaedo de Villasenor	Fiscal of the Real Audiencia
Sargento Mayor Don Fernando Anselmo de Robredo	Alcalde Mayor of Pampanga
Capitan Don Juan Antonio Panelo	Alcalde Mayor of Cagayan
Doctor Don Domingo de Lana y Arana	Lawyer, Real Audiencia
Don Nicolas Beaumontt	Royal Treasure of the Real Casa y Hacienda
Fr. Pedro Iri, OP	Vicar General and Father Provincial, Provincia dela Provincia Santissimo Rosario
Fr. Pedro Espineira, OSA	Prior, Augustinian Order
Fr. Sebastian Moreno, OSA	Parish Priest, Bacolor
Fr. Miguel Vivas, OSA	Lector Jubilado

28 AGI, “Testimonio de las juntas,” 19.

29 *Ibid.*, 5a-5b.

Fr. Francisco dela Virgen Magallon, OAR	Father Provincial, Augustinian Recollects
Fr. Joseph de San Buenaventura, OAR	
Fr. Gregorio Macaspac	Secular Priest
Capitan Don Raphael Carlos Reno	Gobernadorcillo of the natives in Bacolor
Capitan Don Simon de los Reyes	Gobernadorcillo of the mestizos in Bacolor
Capitan Don Paulino Lopez	Gobernadorcillo of Betis
Capitan Don Pedro Manalo	Gobernadorcillo of Guagua
Capitan Don Bonifacio Punsalan	Gobernadorcillo of Apalit
Sargento Mayor Don Miguel Tobias	Member of the Principalia of Bacolor
Don Juan Felex Bantaleuan	Members of the principalia from the Province of Taal y Balayan
Don Patricio Dimayuga	

Anda's Geopolitics

Traveling to Bacolor was deemed imprudent, particularly for residents of Bulacan towns such as Polo, Meycauyan, and Obando. This is because their river systems are not connected to the Pampanga River. The only available route for these towns to reach Bacolor was through Manila Bay, which was, unfortunately, controlled by the British, notwithstanding that Anda lacked a navy to patrol the waters. In this context, Apalit played a crucial strategic role for Anda. It's noteworthy that Anda chose to establish the junta of the *principalia* not in Bulakan or Bacolor, but in Apalit. This decision was influenced by Apalit's proximity to most Bulacan towns, making it a more accessible and practical location.

Another contributing factor was the apparent lack of enthusiasm among the *principalias* of Bulacan to make the effort to journey to Bacolor. In the neighboring town of Apalit, specifically in Calumpit, the Rio de Quingua (now known as the Angat River) connects with the Pampanga River. The Rio de Quingua passes through the towns of Baliuag and Quingua, while Hacienda de Buenavista, Malolos, Guiguinto, and Bigaa have streams connected to Baliuag and Quingua. Bulakan town and Paombong have streams connected to the rivers of Malolos, while Hagonoy is situated along the Pampanga River.



IMAGE 1. 1838 map of Pampanga including the extent of the Pampanga River Basin, from the Biblioteca Nacional de España.

With Apalit as the meeting point, the *principalias* of Polo, Meycauyan, and Obando may have traveled via Bulakan and Malolos. The complexity of the river thoroughfares north of Manila Bay could have been the reason why the *principalias* from these towns signed late in the Junta.

In the meantime, the *principalias* of Alta Pampanga (Upper Pampanga)—the soon-to-be province of Nueva Ecija—joined Anda’s Junta only on 16 January 1763. Once again, Anda was more accessible to the Alta Pampanga towns like Gapan via Apalit because the said region is located along the Pampanga River.

One key result of Anda’s endeavor to unite the people of Pampanga and Bulacan during the British Invasion was the assistance extended by the Kapampangan volunteers in recapturing the Bulacan towns of Bulakan and Malolos from the British in 1763. He claimed that “a close friendship” between the two provinces flourished³⁰ after the event. This observation by Anda was understandable, as the competition between Pampanga and Bulacan persists, with the latter not readily acknowledging the superiority of the former.³¹

The establishment of the junta of the *principalia* in Apalit was unprecedented in Philippine colonial history. It showed the importance of the native leaders in *acknowledging* Anda’s Governorship and Captainship of the Philippines. The AGI document on the establishment of the Junta listed down the commitments of the *principalia*, to wit:

1. Affirmation of their loyalty to Spain,
2. The acknowledgment that the British were enemies of the Roman Catholic Church (“*al Rey de la Gran Bretania, por con enemigo de la Santa Yglesia Catholica Apostolica Romana*”), and
3. They would be in defense of the Spanish cause “until the last drop of their blood” (“*las ultimas gotta de su sangre*”).³²

30 *Ibid.*, 2a.

31 Competition between Bulacan and Pampanga remained, as evident in the 1901 reorganization of the provinces by the Taft Commission. When the commission met the leading men of Bulacan on 26 February 1901 to discuss the salaries of local government officials, the latter argued why the salaries in Pampanga would be higher than in Bulacan. They kept on iterating that Bulacan was at par with Pampanga in terms of wealth. They did not want to reflect in the official record that Pampanga was ahead of Bulacan. Cf. United States Philippine Commission, *Report of the United States Philippine Commission to the Secretary of War for the Period from the December 1, 1900 to October 15, 1901*, part 2 (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1901), 38-41.

32 AGI, “Testimonio de las juntas,” 2a.

Meanwhile, Anda failed to unite the two infantries of Pampanga and Bulacan. But at least, on paper, he recognized them under one name, “*Regimientos Reglados de Naturales de las Provincias de Pampanga y Bulacan*.”³³ one regiment composed of the Kapampangans from Pampanga and the other, of the Tagalogs from Bulacan, with six companies each. With this development, Anda created a Junta General de Guerra (General Council of War) composed of Bulacan and Pampanga officials on 30 November 1762 in Bulakan town.³⁴

Licenciado Don Joseph Ricardo de Villasenor	Fiscal of the Real Audiencia
Sargento Mayor Don Joseph Pasaron	Alcalde Mayor of Bulacan
Fr. Remigion Hernandez, OSA	Parish Priest of Bulakan
Fr. Martn Aguirre, OSA	Parish Priest of Malolos
Fr. Miguel Braña, OSA	Parish Priest of Tondo
Fr. Domingo Beoivide, OSA	
Fr. Anttonio Ruiz, OSA	
Fr. Vicente Perez, OSA	
Fr. Nicolas Sierra, OSA	
Fr. Joseph de San Buenaventura, OAR	
Fr. Alonso de San Juan Baptista [Bautista?], OAR	
Maestre de Campo Don Joseph Manalastas	Governor of the Forces (Governador de las Armas), Pampanga Infantry Regiment
Don Alexo (Alexandro?) Manalastas	Captain-Commandant, Pampanga Infantry Regiment
Capitan Don Tiburcio Balagtas	Pampanga Infantry Regiment
Capitan Don Juan Francisco Yabut	Pampanga Infantry Regiment
Capitan Don Francisco Tolosa Lacsmana	Pampanga Infantry Regiment

33 For the official name, cf. AGI, “Testimonio de las juntas,” 9a.

34 *Ibid.*, 18a-18b.

Capitan Don Lorenzo del Castillo	Pampanga Infantry Regiment
Capitan Don Pablo Binuia	Pampanga Infantry Regiment
Capitan Don Juan Mañago	Pampanga Infantry Regiment
Capitan Don Carlos Miranda	Pampanga Infantry Regiment
Capitan Don Lorenzo Benites	Pampanga Infantry Regiment
Capitan Don Carlos Ximenes dela Cruz	Quingua, Bulacan
Capitan Don Elacio Dias Faxardo	Agonoi, Bulacan (sic)
Capitan Don Marcos Vicente	Angat, Bulacan
Capitan Don Alonzo Barrientos	Calumpit, Bulacan
Don Santiago Ximenes	Commissary of Bulacan
Don Pablo Bernal	Captain, Fusiliers Company

The Junta de Guerra also adopted the idea of *socorro* (subsidy) as a form of compensation to the uniformed personnel,³⁵ in consultation with the *principalia* class:³⁶

Soldier	2 pesos
Sargento	3 pesos
<i>Alferez</i> and <i>tambor</i> (drummer)	4 pesos
Capitan	6 pesos
Capitan with the rank of commander	7 pesos
Sargento mayor	8 pesos
Maestre de Campo	12 pesos
Note: each had an automatic <i>razion</i> or food subsidy of <i>arroz limpio</i> or milled rice	

35 *Ibid.*, 8a.

36 *Ibid.*, 8b.

Note that the leader of the Kapampangan regiment was *Maestre de Campo* Don Joseph (or Jose) Manalastas.³⁷ During the siege of Manila in September 1762, the British praised him for his audacity in entering the tent of the British commander of Manila's occupation, General William Draper, to assassinate the latter. Manalastas was instructed by Anda to fabricate the flags of the Kapampangan regiment and the production of a certain tool called "asuay,"³⁸ 37 pieces of *azadores* (hoes), 27 *hachas* (axes), and 20 *bolos* (a type of blade),³⁹ probably for clearing or dismantling structures. Apart from Manalastas, Anda named Sargento Mayor Don Fernando Anselmo de Robredo, the then Alcade Mayor of Pampanga, as the Captain of the Kapampangan forces.⁴⁰ The Kapampangans also comprised the *Compania de Dragones* or horse-riding company armed with *dragon*, a type of firearm.⁴¹

Based on the *Ordenes Generales que guardaran los Regimientos reglados de Naturales de las Provincias de Pampanga y Bulacan que se han levantado con el destino de servir a su Magestad en defensa del Pais y opocision de las armas Britanicas* (General Orders for the Native Regiments under the Provinces of Pampanga and Bulacan duly organized for the service of His Majesty in defending the Country and fighting the British forces) promulgated by Anda from Bacolor on 22 November 1762, the regiments would pray the rosary every night and invoke the guidance of the Virgen del Rosario to keep them safe.⁴² The praying of Ave Maria was also part of their drill. In fact, up until now in Bacolor, the feast of the Virgen del Rosario is still observed. Per oral tradition, the said devotion in the town is traceable to the British Invasion.

Other Aspects of Anda's Government

To show further how self-assured Anda was with the natives, he allowed Don Francisco Carrion, the Gobernadorcillo of Mexico, to raise an important

37 *Ibid.*, 8b.

38 Although he did not mention the word in his *Vocabulario de la Lengua Pampanga* in 1732, Bergaño made a reference to the word "asuay" in his *Arte de la Lengua Pampanga* in 1736. Unfortunately, he did not provide any description of the word. Cf. Diego Bergaño, *Arte de la Lengua Pampanga* (Manila: Convento de Nra. Señora de Loreto, 1736), 116. Probably, it is related to the Kapampangan word *asual* which means crowbar. Cf. Bergaño, *Vocabulario*, 220, 282.

39 AGI, "Testimonio de las juntas," 8b.

40 *Ibid.*, 16a.

41 *Ibid.*, 7a.

42 *Ibid.*, 10a.

question. Carrion pointed out that the Junta needed a rule of succession in case something happened to Anda.⁴³ Anda recognized the question as valid and necessary. At that moment, he recommended that a Lieutenant Governor be identified as a successor but at the same time had Licenciado Don Joseph Ricardo de Villaseñor, the Fiscal Attorney of the Bacolor Real Audiencia, review the matter in consultation with the uncaptured bishops of Nueva Caceres (now Naga City) and Nueva Segovia (now Vigan City) and the Father Provincials of the Augustinian, Recollect, Dominican, and Franciscan Orders.⁴⁴

But there was an aspect of colonial governance, which Anda gave exclusively to the Spaniards: The Real Hacienda or the Royal Treasury. On 20 November 1762, Anda constituted the Junta de Real Hacienda (Royal Treasury) in Bacolor with the following members:⁴⁵

Fr. Pedro Espineira, OSA	Prior, Augustinian Order
Fr. Sebastian Moreno, OSA	Parish Priest of Bacolor
Don Nicholas Echaus Beaumontt	Royal Treasurer
Sargento Mayor Don Fernando Anzelmo de Robredo	Alcade Mayor and Captain of the Kapampangan Forces
Capitan Don Juan Antonio Panelo	Alcalde Mayor of Cagayan
Licenciado Don Joseph Ricaedo de Villasenor	Fiscal of the Real Audiencia

On 28 December 1762, the *alcades mayores* of Bulacan, Pampanga, and Partido de Bataan prohibited the entry of anyone from Manila to avert possible enemy infiltration.⁴⁶ This was later supported by a *bando* (order) of Anda—in Spanish, Kapampangan, and Tagalog⁴⁷—issued in Bacolor on 12 February 1764. The order suspended the food supply from Pampanga to Manila⁴⁸ and prohibited the people of the said provinces, including Laguna,

43 AGI, “Testimonio de la junta general,” 3a-3b.

44 *Ibid.*, 3b.

45 AGI, “Testimonio de las juntas,” 16a.

46 AGI, “Testimonio de la providencia,” 2b.

47 *Ibid.*, 5a.

48 *Ibid.*, 3b-4a.

in Manila, Cavite, and the suburbs, from visiting the Capital City,⁴⁹ unless approved by the *alcaldes mayores*, *gobernadorcillos*, and the ministers of Justice and of War.⁵⁰ Anda had to do this to “preserve the dominion” of his Catholic King (“*segun estoy obligado en conservacion de los Dominios a su Magestad Catholica*”).⁵¹ The following were the penalties:⁵²

Class	Punishment
Pilot and <i>bogador</i> (oarsman) of Royal Galleys and foundry	1-year imprisonment or more without salary from the Reales Galeras (Royal Galleys) and <i>fundicion</i> (foundry)
Spaniard	2-year banishment to one of the <i>presidios</i> (jails inside Spanish fortresses) and confiscation of the boat including its valuables
Native or mestizo of Royal Galleys and foundry	2-year imprisonment or more without salary from the Reales Galeras and <i>fundicion</i>

To monitor the movement of people in every town, Anda implemented a passport policy in those provinces. Each passport was valid for six days only to prevent counterfeiting unless extended by authorized officials (i.e., Justice Minister, War Minister). Persons found guilty of this crime would be sentenced to life imprisonment. Negligent *bantayes* or sentinels (from the Tagalog-Kapampangan word *bantay*, “to watch”) of a town would not be spared.⁵³

However, Anda’s greater concern lay with his fellow *oidor*, Don Santiago de Orendain. Orendain was infamous for his incompetence, deceit, and treachery. In January 1763, he invited several members of the principalia from Pampanga to a meeting with three British officials at his residence in Manila.⁵⁴ In response to this development, Anda reconvened his Junta de

49 *Ibid.*, 4a.

50 *Ibid.*, 5a.

51 *Ibid.*, 4a.

52 *Ibid.*, 4b.

53 *Ibid.*, 3a.

54 AGI, “*Testimonio de la junta general celebrada en la Pampanga para participarles a los pueblos que algunos principales de ellos, concurrieron a dos juntas que celebraron los consejeros británicos en la casa del doctor Santiago de Orendain*. Bacolor, 15 de marzo de 1764.” *FILIPINAS*,

Guerra in Apalit on January 16, 1763, with an expanded membership, using it as a means to assess and verify the loyalty of its members:⁵⁵

Capitan Don Andres Barrera	On behalf of the natives of Bacolor ("con poderes de los Naturales del Pueblo [de Bacolor]")
Capitan Don Nicolas Carrion	
Capitan Don Nicolas Odiong Catacutan	
Don Ysidro Yuson	On behalf of the Mestizos of Bacolor
Don Santiago Tapang	
Don Paulino Gopes	Gobernadorcillo of Betis
Capitan Don Gregorio Basilio Calara	Principales of Betis
Don Nicolas David	
Don Pedro Manalo	Gobernadorcillo of Guagua
Capitan Don Gaspar Carlos	Principales of Guagua
Maestre de Campo Don Geronimo Sampang	
Capitan Don Miguel Cortes	On behalf of the people of Sasmuan ("con poderes del Pueblo de Sesmoan")
Don Juan Navaro Garcia	
Don Eligio Paguio	Gobernadorcillo of Lubao
Don Juan Montemaioir	Principal of Lubao
Don Miguel de Herrera	Gobernadorcillo of Santa Rita
Don Domingo de Miranda	Principal of Santa Rita
Don Nicolas Capati	Gobernadorcillo of San Fernando
Don Luis Chrisostomo	Principales of San Fernando
Don Vidal de Arozal	
Don Thomas de Aquino	

609, N. 42 (Document 3), 2a-2b.

55 *Ibid.*, 1a-2a.

Don Guillermo Canlas	Gobernadorcillo of Minalin
Don Luis Chrisostomo (namesake)	Minalin (?) ⁵⁶
Capitan Don Pedro Mercado	Minalin ⁵⁷
Don Juan Salonga Macapagal	Gobernadorcillo of Macabebe
Maestre de Campo Don Ysidro Senteno	Macabebe ⁵⁸
Capitan Don Miguel Gamban de San Vicente	Macabebe
Don Pedro Morales	Macabebe (?) ⁵⁹
Don Bonifacio Punzalan	Gobernadorcillo of Apalit
Don Pedro Cato	Principales of Apalit ⁶⁰
Don Phelipe Covigan (?)	
Don Matheo Puyat	Gobernadorcillo of San Luis
Don Juan Calumpit	Principal of San Luis
Don Raphael Gulapa	On behalf of the Naturales of Candaba (" <i>con Poderes de los Naturales del Pueblo de Candava</i> ")
Don Santiago Cabigtin	
Don Juan Mañago	

56 Presumably a namesake of Don Luis Chrisostomo of San Fernando, although the document failed to recognize his origin, except that he is mentioned in between the two personalities from Minalin.

57 The document failed to mention his whereabouts, but he was earlier recognized as *capitan* from Minalin who recognized Anda's authority during the first meeting of the Junta of the *principales* of Bulacan and Pampanga on 9 November 1762. Cf. AGI, "Testimonio de las juntas," 1a-2a.

58 The document did not mention the towns represented by Maestre de Campo Don Ysidro Senteno and Capitan Don Miguel Gamban de San Vicente, but their names appeared earlier as *capitanes* from Macabebe during the first meeting of the Junta of the *principales* of Bulacan and Pampanga on 9 November 1762. Cf. AGI, "Testimonio de las juntas," 1a-2a.

59 He is presumably from Macabebe because he is clustered among the representatives of the said town.

60 The document states "con otros Principales" after the names of Don Phelipe Covigan of Apalit and Don Juan Calumpit of San Luis, implying that all principalia class in the said towns were members of the Junta.

Don Augustin Paruñgao	Gobernadorcillo of Gapan
Don Nicolas Sabat	Gapan ⁶¹
Don Nicolas Alonzo	
Don Manuel Guinto	
Don Francisco Carrion	Gobernadorcillo of Mexico
Capitan Don Aniceto Paraz	Principales of Mexico
Don Bartholome Oyton (?)	
Don Juan Quilala	Gobernadorcillo of Arayat
Don Matheo Palencia	Arayat
Don Miguel Guebara	
Maestre de Campo Don Joseph Manalastas	Governador de las Armas del Regimiento Pampango
Don Matheo Aguas	Sargento maior

Anda formed a “vehement assumption” that the said British meeting was about a planned attack on Pampanga.⁶² For him, the involvement of the Kapampangans in the meeting was an attempt to divide the province by destroying the unity of the Kapampangan people and their acknowledgment of the Catholic king of Spain (“*enganar e inducir a los Pampangos intente una facion ignominiosa contra el honor de esta Nacion Pampanga en perjuicio de los Pueblos de esta y en detrimento de los derechos de su Magestad Catholica*”).⁶³ He knew very well that Orendain, a master of deception, could have easily persuaded the Kapampangans. Nonetheless, his faith in the Kapampangan prevailed. In the said Junta meeting of 16 January 1763, he reminded the Kapampangan leaders of their “age-old loyalty [to Spain] and [sense of] honor [that had remained] unstained and free of any blot of indifference” (“*ya aunque dicho Señor Presidente Governador esta bien satisfecho de que*

61 The document is silent on their representations and origin but per recurring pattern, they could have been from Gapan.

62 AGI, “Testimonio de la junta general,” 2a.

63 *Ibid.*, 2b.

en la lealtad antigua y honor de los Pampangos no havia cavido la mancha y Borrón de la indiferencia).⁶⁴ His agony was reflected in the composition of his Junta compared to the previous ones: it involved not only the *capitanes* of the *principalia* but also the *gobernadorcillos* and as much as possible all the members of the *principalia* up to the farthest Pampanga town of Gapan, now part of Nueva Ecija. A protocol was signed by all the attendees pledging their utmost support for “*asu Patria asu Rey, y asu Religion*” (for Spain, the King, and Catholicism) and that whosoever was found guilty of treachery, be he a member of the *principalia* or a *timagua* or *plebeia* (ordinary people), would be meted “Capital Punishment according to law” with the addition that a *principalia* member would either face the consequence of banishment or execution by the sword (“*pasado a Cuchillo*”), and death by drowning for a *timagua*.⁶⁵ A *principalia* member, “including his direct lineage,” would also be “dispossessed of his status as *principal*,” their “assets ...confiscated,” and his “entire family ...expelled” out of Pampanga. The Junta also adopted Manalastas’ recommendation of humiliating a traitor on the street (“*maior infamia*”) to serve as an example.

Meanwhile, in his post-British invasion report dated 29 August 1764, Anda revealed that he became more anxious about the presence of the Chinese in almost all the major river thoroughfares in his bastion.⁶⁶ In fact, he suspected that the meeting of the British in Orendain’s house also included a plot to form a British-Chinese alliance.⁶⁷

Postscript

Writing from Bacolor in August 1764, Anda reported to King Carlos III the summary of what transpired from 1762 to 1764.⁶⁸ The natives were able to keep the Philippines intact despite the undeniable superiority of the enemy. With their support, Anda was able to keep the British “locked up” (“*encerrado*”) within Manila and Cavite. But Anda remained realistic: he knew his bastion of Bulacan and Pampanga could be destroyed instantly by the British if not for what he interpreted to be Divine intervention to preserve

64 *Ibid.*, 2a-2b.

65 *Ibid.*, 3a.

66 AGI, “Carta... guerra y gastos,” 1a.

67 AGI, “Testimonio de la junta general,” 2a.

68 AGI, “Carta... guerra y gastos,” 1b.

Catholicism (“*yo creo firmamente que es todo un continuado milagro de la omnipotencia, que no quiere se pierdan estas Christianidades*”).⁶⁹ Anda never left Pampanga and Bulacan out of fear for his life. The Kapampangans and the Tagalogs, on the other hand, never left Anda out of fear of being punished in hell because of how the Spaniards portrayed the British (and the Protestants) as forsaken by God. The British offers, such as freedom of religion, seemed ambiguous to the natives at this point. Nevertheless, in the ensuing century, Filipinos, with the Tagalogs among the prime movers, fervently advocated for freedom of religion, independence, and the establishment of a nation.

Anda addressed the disparate locations of the towns north of Manila Bay by making himself available in Apalit, located at the crossroads of rivers in the region. He also championed unity among his allied ethnic groups. He could not afford to lose these natives but to acknowledge the latter’s cultural differences and suppress what he called the natural tendency to be free. He did his best to make his government as inclusive as possible, even allowing the natives to express opinions.

However, more confidential AGI documents also show the duplicity of Anda as he mocked the natives’ capabilities. His governance was a show of force for the Spanish and British authorities in Manila, but he played it so well that it resulted in winning the natives, especially the traditional Kapampangan soldiers, to his side. The positive effect of Anda’s effort to expand the membership of his government was the empowerment of the natives. In a way, the British Invasion tested the rootedness of Roman Catholicism in Kapampangan and Tagalog societies and the influence of the *principalia* over the natives.

Accounts of the British Invasion often simplify Bulacan and Pampanga as loyal provinces. However, primary sources reveal a more nuanced role, depicting them not only as hosts to Anda but also as contributors of soldiers who formed a crucial part of the Spanish army resisting the British invaders. Nick Joaquin celebrated this collaboration between the Kapampangans and the Tagalogs as a steadfast bond that not only preserved the “form” now recognized as the Philippines but also gave rise to the Filipino nation.

Spaniards recognized that national unity would begin with the Tagalog-Pampango unity. It was these two tribes—the wicked accomplices—that determined the shape of our history and our

69 *Ibid.*

geography. The colony was maintained for almost four centuries only because Spain relied on the Tagalog-Pampango alliance. The empire of Spain could not have survived without the consent of these two tribes... The form now called the Philippines was maintained through almost four centuries of steady assault from within and without only because Spain... could rely on the Tagalog-Pampango alliance to keep the form...⁷⁰

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“Testimonio de las juntas que se han ofrecido desde el mes de octubre de 1762 en que recayó la real Audiencia gobernadora en la persona de Simón de Anda y Salazar hasta el 16 de marzo de 1764. Bacolor, 15 de marzo de 1764.” *FILIPINAS*, 609, N. 42.

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⁷⁰ Nick Joaquin, *The Aquinos of Tarlac: An Essay on History as Three Generations* (Mandaluyong: Cacho Hermanos, 1983), 15.

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The Augustinians and the British Invasion of the Philippines (1762-1764)

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Abstract

THE ORDER of St. Augustine played a crucial role during the siege of Manila and later in the resistance in the provinces. This article offers a review of the main Augustinian sources and their general contribution to the understanding of the British invasion of the Philippines. The objective is to contextualize and provide the necessary information to understand the important role played by the Augustinians during the war as well as their support of the Anda government.

The British attack on the Philippines in October 1762 was the most serious threat to Spanish sovereignty in the archipelago until 1898. Previous aggressions from abroad, such as that of the Chinese pirate Limahong (1574) or the war with the Dutch (1600-1648), never managed to seize Manila. The British only managed to take control of Manila and Cavite, in addition to some other points of the archipelago. But all in all, the presence of the British in the territory profoundly altered the geo-political composition of Spanish Philippines—

not only during the occupation itself but even well beyond their departure at the conclusion of the war.

The arrival of the British also had a profound impact on the religious communities of the archipelago. Life in the parishes and in the missions, especially in the provinces near Manila, underwent strong and unpredictable transformations and changes. Undoubtedly the Order of St. Augustine was among those who suffered the worst, if not the most. This was the case for two primary reasons. Firstly, it held significance as the largest religious order in terms of both membership and administration in Spanish Philippines. Secondly, a substantial portion of the war's theater, where the resistance led by Simon de Anda y Salazar unfolded, encompassed the provinces under the Augustinian order's spiritual care.

This article is an attempt to offer a review of the main Augustinian sources relating to the British occupation. The focus is on using these sources to highlight the role of the natives in the occupation under the specific guidance of the Augustinians.

Main Augustinian Sources on the British Invasion of Manila

THERE ARE certainly thousands of documents addressing the British invasion of the Philippines, with many remaining unpublished and awaiting scholarly examination. But the following should be mentioned in relation to Augustinian sources:

— *Toma de la plaza de Manila por los ingleses en 5 de octubre de 1762.* [The capture of Manila by the British on 5 October 1762.]

Replicated by Fr. Bernardo Martínez Noval as unpublished. It is anonymous, probably by an Augustinian author. It contains omissions and inaccuracies.¹

— *Exposición del Rector Provincial Fr. Remigio Hernández al gobernador general de Filipinas, D. Simón de Anda y Salazar, sobre daños que padecieron los*

1 Martínez Noval, Bernardo, *Provincia agustiniana del Smo. Nombre de Jesús de Filipinas. Apuntes históricos.* España, Imprenta de Gabriel López del Horno, Madrid 1913, 173-188.

agustinos en las islas Filipinas durante la invasión inglesa de Manila, 15 de julio de 1763². [Remigio Hernandez to the Governor General of the Philippines, D. Simon de Anda y Salazar, on the damages suffered by the Augustinians in the Philippine Islands during the British invasion of Manila, 15 July 1763.]

This document focuses on the material losses of the Province of the Augustinians in the Philippines (the convent of San Agustín and others near the capital, and damages inflicted on the friars). This *Exposición* was formally recognized and approved by the Real Audiencia through a superior decree. Said document contained the initials of Anda y Salazar, the signature of the prosecuting attorney and the seal of the royal notary José Villegas Flores.

— *Testimonio literal del pedimento por Fray Manuel Revollo, procurador del convento de San Pablo [San Agustín] de esta ciudad de Manila ante los señores compromisarios nombrados por el Superior Gobierno de estas Islas sobre que tomen información de testigos por la declaración hecha por los gefes británicos de traydores a ambas majestades, Cathólica y británica, y confiscándoles su bienes así oro, plata, bienes muebles y rayces, todos pertenecientes a su convento de San Pablo de Agustinos Calzados*³. [Literal testimony of the petition by Fray Manuel Revollo, procurator of the convent of San Pablo [San Agustín] of this city of Manila before the compromisarios appointed by the Superior Government of these Islands about gathering information from witnesses for the declaration made by the British chiefs of traitors to both majesties, Catholic and British, and confiscating their goods, as well as gold, silver, assets and property, all belonging to their convent of San Pablo de Agustinos Calzados.]

The referred testimony was made on 29 March 1764 in Binondo before the commissioners Nicolás de Echaz Beaumont and Francisco Xavier Delgado. All the witnesses agreed in their testimony that the Augustinians had suffered terribly during the war owing to their loyalty to the King of Spain.

— Vivar, Pedro del, *Relación de los alzamientos de la ciudad de Vigan, Cabecera de la provincia de Ilocos, en los años de 1762 y 1763* [Accounts of uprisings in the City of Vigan, capital of the province of Ilocos in 1762 and 1763]. Year 1764.

2 Reproduced in *Archivo Histórico Hispano Agustiniiano* 21 (1924) 158-162. A study of the same in Rodríguez Rodríguez, Isacio, *Historia de la Provincia Agustiniiana del Stmo. Nombre de Jesus de Filipinas. Bibliografía*, III, Manila 1967, 182-191; APAF leg. 346/5, 5 hrs. Fol.

3 APAF, leg. 346/8, 19 sheets in folio, unnumbered.

It is published in Medina, Juan de, *Historia de los sucesos de la Orden Nuestro Gran Padre San Agustín de estas islas Filipinas, desde que se descubrieron y poblaron por los españoles con noticias memorables*, [History of the events of the Order of Our Great Father St. Augustine of these Philippine Islands, since they were discovered and populated by the Spaniards with remarkable information.] (1630), tipo-litografía de chofré y comp, Manila 1893, 281-478.⁴

— *Relación sucinta, clara y verídica de la toma de Manila por la escuadra inglesa, escrita por el P. Fr. Agustín María de Castro y Amuedo, natural de la villa de Bañeza, Agustino calzado. Año de 1770* [Concise, clear and truthful account of the capture of Manila by the British troops, written by Fr. Agustín María de Castro y Amuedo, a native of the town of Bañeza, Augustinian. 1770]

This document is of exceptional value, inasmuch as its author was a witness to most of what it relates, both during the siege of Manila and during the events in the provinces. Agustín María de Castro (1740-1801) had to interrupt his work as a librarian precisely in the wake of the British invasion of Manila. Castro actively participated in the defense of the capital and later in the defense of Bulacan as well as Pampanga. He spent most of his time working in the extraction of saltpetre and in the manufacture of gunpowder in San Miguel de Mayumo⁵. The aforementioned account is in the archives of the Province of the Augustinians of the Philippines. It was partially replicated by Eduardo Navarro and, the parts not published by him because they were not related to the war against the British, by Manuel Merino.⁶ Castro enumerates the information channels he used to prepare his text in the introduction to his manuscript:

“Los documentos de que me he valido para su formación fueron: primeramente, los que yo mismo vi y observé como testigo presente, que me hallaba en la ciudad y en la muralla todos los días que duró el combate. Lo

4 Rodríguez, *Historia de la provincia*, III, 195-201.

5 Navarro Ordóñez, Eduardo, *Documentos indispensables para la verdadera historia de Filipinas*, I, Imprenta el Asilo de Huérfanos, Madrid 1908, 340.

6 The complete document is in APAF, leg. 234, f. 129. Eduardo Navarro published nine chapters: Navarro, *Documentos indispensables*, I, 46-92. Those which are not published here can be found in: Merino, Manuel, «Páginas misioneras de antaño», *Missionalia Hispánica* 9 (1952), 125-130.

*segundo, el informe de los cabos y oficiales de esta guerra, a quienes consulté varias veces. Lo tercero, la relación que compuso el docto P. Fr. Pedro de Vivar, de los alzamientos de Vigan sólomente. Lo cuarto, la relación del alzamiento de Pangasinán, compuesta por el P. Lector Fr Juan Bautista Arenos, ambos de mi religión. Lo quinto, un cuadernillo de epigramas latinos, del P. Bartolomé Sanguizin, cura de Quiapo, impreso en Manila en 1766. Lo sexto una relación de todo lo acaecido al Santísima Trinidad, hecha por un sujeto de los empleados en él, impresa con licencia en Manila en el colegio de Santo Thomás, año de mil setecientos y sesenta y quatro. Lo séptimo un cuadernillo de octavas reales, intitulado ‘Compendio histórico poético sobre los ilustres hechos de el señor Don Simón de Anda y Salazar’ dedicado al Ilmo y Rmo Señor Don Fray Joseph Ruiz de Lila, agustiniano, obispo electo de Guamariga, su author Don Alonso Jaen y Castillo, profesor de Philosophia y bellas letras en la ciudad de Cádiz su patria: impreso con licencia en Cádiz por Don Manuel Espinosa de los Monteros, impresor de la Real Marina, año de mil setecientos y sesenta y cinco. Lo octavo y último me he valido de los informes auténticos y jurídicos que la ciudad y religiosos de Manila enviaron al rey por su consejo de Indias. Estas son las fuentes en donde he bebido la verdad histórica, cronología y crítica”*⁷

[“The documents that I have used for its preparation were: firstly, those that I myself saw and observed as a present witness, since I was in the city and on the wall every day that the battle lasted. Second, the report of the corporals and officers of this war, whom I consulted several times. Third, the report composed by the learned Father Pedro de Vivar, about the Vigan uprising alone. The fourth, the account of the Pangasinan uprising, prepared by Fr. Lector Fr. Juan Bautista Arenos, both from my order. The fifth, a booklet of Latin epigrams, by Fr. Bartolomé Sanguizin, priest of Quiapo, printed in Manila in 1766. The sixth, an account of everything that happened to the *Santísima Trinidad*, made by a subject of those employed in it, and printed with permission in Manila at the Colegio de Santo Thomás, in the year 1764. The seventh is a booklet of real *octavas*, entitled ‘Compendio histórico poético sobre los ilustres hechos de el señor Don Simón de Anda y Salazar’ dedicated to the very Illustrious and most Reverend Señor Don Fray Joseph Ruiz de Lila, Augustinian, bishop-elect of Guamariga, its author Don Alonso Jaen y Castillo, professor of Philosophy and Arts and Letters in the city of Cadiz,

7 APAP leg. 234, fols 88 r-v.

which is his homeland: printed with permission in Cadiz by Don Manuel Espinosa de los Monteros, printer of the Royal Navy, year seventeen sixty-five. The eighth and last, I have made use of the authentic and legal reports that the city along with the friars of Manila sent the king through his council of the Indies. These are the sources from which I have drawn the historical truth, chronology and criticism”].

— *Carta del P. José Victoria, Rector Provincial de la del Santísimo Nombre de Jesús de Filipinas al Rey en nombre de todo el definitorio con motivo de las vejaciones de que fueron objeto nuestros religiosos por Don Simón de Anda y Salazar* ⁸[Letter written by Fr. José Victoria, Provincial Rector of the Order of the Most Holy Name of Jesus in the Philippines, to the King on behalf of the whole Province as a result of the humiliations to which our friars were subjected by Don Simón de Anda y Salazar] . *Manila 1772*.

As the title states, it is a report of the Augustinian activity during the British occupation. Fr. Victoria’s testimony tries to present the great sufferings of these friars between 1762 and 1764 in all its crudeness as opposed to the litigation that he was then experiencing with Governor Simon de Anda, formerly an ally and on his return to the Philippines as an enemy governor. Victoria’s exposition contributes to the purpose of providing factual knowledge of the war against the British as well as the role played by the Augustinians. Victoria’s memorial was recognized by Carlos III who disapproved the governor’s actions in the Philippines through a royal decree in 1773. Navarro published the document with corrections of style, accentuation and spelling, which perhaps due to the copyist’s nescience contains errors and some omissions.

— *Historia de las islas Philipinas compuesta por el R. P. Lector Fr. Joaquín Martínez de Zúñiga del Orden de San Agustín ex definidor de su provincia, calificador del Santo Oficio, y cura regular del pueblo de Parañaque* [by Fr.

8 Unpublished document reprinted in Navarro: *Documentos indispensables*, I, 11-45. Navarro had previously published it in *España y América* Año IV T.I (1906) 45-50, 122-129, 202-207, 294-301, 360-367, 454-458. A study in Rodríguez, *Historia de la Provincia*, III, 266-268; this same author reproduces in this volume the letter that Victoria wrote to Pedro Calderón Enríquez, member of the Royal Council and Supreme Council of the Indies in a letter dated 9 July 1771 in Manila. The file can be found in APAF, leg. 36, 30 hs. fol., (Rodríguez, *Historia de la provincia*, III, 267). Rodríguez, I, “la expulsión de los agustinos de la provincia de la Pampanga, 1771”, in *Archivo Agustiniiano* 73 (1989) 278-279, 283, 289, 396.

Joaquín Martínez de Zúñiga of the Order of St. Augustine, ex-Definitor of his Province, Qualifier of the Holy Office, and regular priest of the town of Parañaque], Printed in Sampaloc by Fr. Pedro Argüelles de la Concepción Franciscan Friar, year 1803.

This work by the Augustinian friar Martínez de Zúñiga contains abundant information on the war against the British, specifically in chapters XXXIII-XXXVII (pages 601-687). It is the first printed history as such written by an Augustinian friar in which the events of the war of 1762-1764 are recounted. Martínez de Zúñiga used the archives of the order in the convent of St. Augustine. In order to write his work, he had access to documents and to the official papers of Archbishop Rojo.⁹

— *Documentos indispensables para la verdadera historia de Filipinas*. With prologue and annotations by Fr. Eduardo Navarro, Augustinian of the Province of the Most Holy Name of Jesus, Imprenta del asilo de Huérfanos, Madrid 1908, two volumes.

The two volumes of Fr. Navarro constitute the largest documentary collection on the subject. The work is fundamental in order to have an in-depth understanding of the history of the British invasion of Manila and the subsequent actions, as well as the history of the Order of St. Augustine itself at that time. The two printed volumes total more than a thousand pages. It is still surprising how it is little known and used by Spanish and foreign historians¹⁰. This may have been influenced initially by its small print run (two hundred and fifty copies) or the inaccuracy of the two books' titles.

Father Navarro had planned to produce four volumes, but his illness and eventual death in 1910 prevented him from doing so, resulting in the publication of only two volumes and leaving the third halfway through.¹¹ Had the work been completely finished, it would have been excellent and comprehensive. The two books that were published contain everything related to the British campaign

⁹ Martínez de Zúñiga, Joaquín, *Estadismo de las islas Filipinas o mis viajes por este país*, (edition of Wenceslao Emilio Retana), Imprenta de la viuda de M. Minuesa de los Ríos, Madrid 1893, 354.

¹⁰ For this Augustinian: Blanco Andrés, Roberto, *Eduardo Navarro, un agustino vallisoleitano para la crisis de Filipinas*, Estudio Agustiniiano, Valladolid 2005, 218-223.

¹¹ See: Rodríguez, Isacio, *Historia de la provincia agustiniana del Smo. Nombre de Jesús de Filipinas*, Manila 1967, III, 157-180.

in the Philippines. They consist of a gigantic compilation of documents, many of them previously unpublished, which in many occasions include a dense annotation at the foot of the page. Navarro resorted to hiring people to copy those documents from different archives (mainly those of the Indies and Simancas) in order to transcribe all the reports, memoirs, dispositions, etc. concerning the Philippines.¹² Many of the documents from these two volumes were published in different issues of the journals *España y América*¹³ and *Archivo Agustiniiano*.

If volumes three and four had been completed, they would have covered issues concerning the real patronato and the diocesan visitation. The copies that Navarro had available were kept in the Augustinian house in Madrid, in Goya 87, until they were unfortunately lost due to the fires during the Spanish Civil War.

The enormous amount of printed documentation makes this work essential for anyone who deals with the subject of the British invasion. Apart from including the aforementioned memoirs of Castro and Victoria, it also presents other fundamental ones of Archbishop Rojo, of the Oidor Leandro Viana on the diary of the siege, together with hundreds of circulars, letters between members of the clergy or with Simón de Anda. The main protagonists of the conflict appear in this monumental documentation. Obviously, it was not only the Augustinian friars, or the Spanish officials, but also the Filipinos themselves who participated in the war. Their alliance and loyalty helped contain the occupation of the British to just Manila and Cavite and a few neighbouring villages.

As a more objectionable part, it should be noted that Navarro, in some of the referenced memoirs, introduced certain changes in style, and even cuts. On the other hand, his footnotes, although rich in erudition, suffer from excessive density and overly passionate delivery of judgments.¹⁴

12 Rodríguez, Isacio, *Historia de la provincia agustiniana del Smo. Nombre de Jesús*, Ediciones Montecasio, Valladolid 1974, IX, ix.

13 *España y América* includes various unpublished documents and articles by Father Navarro in its first issues. The issues referring to 1906 include the important reports of the Augustinians Victoria and Castro y Amuedo, plus the literal testimony signed by the Archbishop-Governor of Manila, Monsignor Rojo: *España y América* Year IV, T. I (1906): 45-50, 122-129, 202-207, 294-301, 360, 367, 457. I (1906): 45-50, 122-129, 202-207, 294-301, 360, 367, 454-458, 542-549; Year IV T.II (1906): 45-50, 134-141, 205-211, 285-294, 374-381, 436-443, 531-538; Year IV T.III (1906): 42-47, 123-131, 194-200, 274-282, 361-366, 457-463.

14 The original name of the journal was "Archivo Histórico Hispano-Agustiniano." According to the provincial chapter of 1913, its objective was to publish documents from the

The Philippines Enters the Seven-Year War

Spain's entry into the Seven Years' War (1756-1763) was an immediate consequence of the Third Family Pact between France and Spain, signed in 1761 between Carlos III of Spain and Louis XV of France. Spain intervened in a conflict, which had begun over various disputes concerning the control of Silesia, which was in its final stage. The two alliance blocs revolved around France and Great Britain.¹⁵

Both Spain and Great Britain declared war¹⁶ on each other in January 1762. London activated the plans of the Prime Minister, the Earl of Bute and Lord Anson of the Admiralty, to attack Spanish targets in Havana and Manila. The specific plan to attack Manila was approved on 6 January at a meeting between British government officials and admiralty officers. Lord Anson proposed the capture of the city of Manila in accordance with a proposal made by Colonel William Draper, then Chief of the General Staff. Draper's plan reminded him of the success and wealth he had obtained nineteen years earlier when he captured the *Nuestra Señora de Covadonga* galleon in the Philippines while returning from Acapulco. In addition, Draper explained that the occupation of Manila

Manila archive, seeking greater collaboration among members of the province distributed in China, the Philippines, and America. In a circular addressed to readers, Father Martínez stated, "In the report submitted to the last chapter by the Reverend Provincial Vicar of the Philippines, very beneficial observations are made regarding the desirability of bringing to light a large portion of the unpublished papers preserved in the Manila archive. The tireless historian Father Navarro had begun these tasks, but death surprised him before the publication of our historical documents could be completed. Continuing Father Navarro's work seems difficult; few feel called to complete what he has not done. But even when finished, this type of book has the not insignificant drawback of dryness; its reading itself is not without difficulties due to the natural fatigue it produces." [Reference: Martínez Noval, *Archivo Histórico Hispano Agustiniiano* 1 (1914) 5.]

15 A comprehensive monograph on the British invasion of the Philippines would be of great interest. Although the works of Fish and Tracy are valuable, both offer the history of the attack from the outside, meaning, from the perspective of the British crown and the East India Company, limiting themselves to providing little information on what happened in Spanish Philippines during the war. Fish, on the other hand, devotes several chapters to the history of the Philippines providing little bibliography and some value judgments. Fish, Shirley, *When Britain ruled the Philippines, 1762-1764. The Story of the 18th Century British Invasion of the Philippines during the Seven Years War*, Bloomington, IN, 2003; Tracy, Nicholas, *Manila Ransomed. The British assault on Manila in the Seven Years War*, University of Exeter Press, Devon 1995.

16 Fish, *When Britain ruled the Philippines*, 2.

would not entail great complications and would be very beneficial to both the British crown and the East India Company: on the one hand, it would facilitate access to a city considered to be very rich and opulent; on the other hand, the control of the port of Cavite would be an ideal stopover and repair point for ships; and finally, it could serve as a stepping stone for trade with China.¹⁷ The East India Company agreed to participate and showed great interest in retaining the island of Mindanao for itself, but nevertheless raised objections about the profitability of the endeavor.¹⁸ Their objective was not to conquer the entire archipelago: the idea was to damage Spanish power, and to retain Mindanao to facilitate the expansion of the East India Company's commercial interests.¹⁹ Meanwhile, the Philippines was oblivious to everything that was happening in Europe and was even unaware of the state of war. Likewise, it was unfortunate that the command of the government should suffer a long interim, which was then exercised by the Archbishop of Manila, Manuel Antonio Rojo, of New Spain. Monsignor Rojo, of whom the Augustinian Castro observed had "the gift of science, but not the gift of counsel," exercised full control for the next fifteen months, until the arrival of the British.²⁰

The Augustinians on the Eve of the War

At the time of the British invasion of the Philippines, the Augustinians oversaw a total of 378,057 individuals across 96 towns and 16 missions. This marked the highest number of administrations managed collectively by the regular and secular clergy during that period.²¹ The provinces served by the Augustinians were mainly those of Tondo, Bulacan, Balayan (present-day Batangas), Pampanga, Ilocos, Cebu, Iloilo and Panay. (See Annex 1)

The most pressing problem for the Augustinian friars before 1762 was perhaps the Moro attacks on the Islands of the Visayas. The persistence of these attacks and the lack of defenses became truly overwhelming in islands like Panay and Cebu. In 1754 the Augustinians of Antique and other towns like Miagao, Guimbal, Tigbauan and Oton had erected small fortifications, with stakes and bastions with falconets, pedreros (mortars) and small

17 Fish, *Ibid.*, 7.

18 *Ibid.*, 2-4.

19 *Ibid.*, 15-16.

20 APAF leg. 234, fol 91 r-v.

21 Rodríguez, *Historia de la provincia*, III, 140.

culverins to repel the frequent Moro offensives. In addition, the parish priests of the Order taught the natives how to use arquebuses and rifles. On 21 April, the Augustinian friar José Echevarría led his parishioners and repelled a Moro attack in Miagao. Another prominent friar in these operations was Father Agustín Alonso in Bugason, who seemingly defended the locality and carried out a great slaughter of the assailants. The Augustinians of this island dedicated resources for the purchase of rifles, lancets and gunpowder for the bastions, as well as rice for the sustenance of the islanders stationed there.²² In 1757 they even manufactured a Sloop-of-war, which would achieve the end of the siege of Dumangas.²³

However, the spiritual administration found its major difficulties in the missions of Benguet in the Cordillera and in Taal (Balayan). Pedro Velasco (1759-1762) encountered the continuous interference of the civil authority, which resulted in the devastation of the Tonglo missions as a result of the invasion carried out by the alcalde mayor of Pangasinan Juan Manuel de Arza between February and March 1759. Consequently, Fr. Velasco announced the abandonment of the mission of Benguet as a form of protest. In 1760, on the other hand, other missions were opened in Bana, under Augustinian friar Agustín Navarro, and in Tagudin, under Father Andres Carro.²⁴ The problems in Taal stemmed from the devastation caused by the 1754 eruption of the volcano of the same name. The Augustinian Province of the Philippines disbursed funds to improve the situation in the affected areas.²⁵

The government determinations of these years convey a concern for imposing restrictions on the religious orders.²⁶ The repetition of certain acts and warnings regarding habits, enclosure, and attire undoubtedly indicates this concern. Among the most recurring prohibitions were those preventing the

22 Martínez Noval, Bernardo, *Apuntes históricos de la Provincia Agustiniiana del Smo Nombre de Jesús de Filipinas. Filipinas*, Imprenta del Asilo de Huérfanos del S. C. de Jesús, Madrid 1909, 161-164.

23 *Ibid.*, 166-169.

24 Blanco Andrés, R., "Los agustinos en la cordillera filipina: las misiones de Benguet", *Archivo Agustiniiano* 102 (2018), 13-14.

25 Martínez Noval, *Apuntes históricos, Filipinas*, 167-169.

26 These words of writer Nick Joaquin can be placed in this context: «*It is said that several of the friar guerrilleros became so fond of fighting they did not return to their convents at the end of war but continued operating in the boondocks, this time as bandit leaders*». JOAQUIN, Nick, *The Bookmark, Inc*, Makati city 1999, 123.

friars from attending weddings or other celebrations in the homes of indigenous people and mestizos, under the penalty of spending a month of the week in the convent of Manila. There was also a requirement for modesty in attire, a prohibition on eating and staying outside the convent to respect enclosure, a ban on charging fees for confession certificates, and a restriction on having servants for those who were under 50 years old or not qualified for such assistance.²⁷

Other concerns of the time prior to the outbreak of the war with the British lay in the attention to the preparation of friars who joined the province and the seminary school of Valladolid, which was just starting.

The Arrival of the British

Although there was no official record of the state of war between Spain and England in the Philippines, there were indications of its existence. An English frigate that sailed through the archipelago in August 1761 raised many suspicions when people found out that it was mapping and shuttling between different points. The signs became increasingly apparent the next year when Armenian merchants from Madras, (now Chennai in India) notified the authorities in Manila about the imminent threat posed by an English squadron preparing to launch an attack on the Philippines.²⁸ Information similar to those received through these merchants was provided by several letters that arrived in the archipelago, such as one from a Filipino secular priest, or one received by the Augustinian Francisco Cuadrado, parish priest of Sarrat (Ilocos Norte). His father informed him that he had heard the news of the war between Spain and England.²⁹ However, the archbishop-governor did not consider it appropriate to take any defensive measures as no official communication had been received.

In time, a ship was sighted in the vicinity of Mariveles on 13 September.³⁰ Once its presence was reported to the authorities in Manila, they tried to find

27 APAF Libro de Gobierno 9, 55r-55v. Capítulo provincial 29.04.1762. Determinaciones 6^o, 7^a y 10^a.

28 Molina, Antonio M., *Historia de Filipinas*, Ediciones de Cultura Hispánica, Instituto de Cooperación Iberoamericana, Madrid 1984, I, 157. Rodríguez, Isacio, Álvarez, Jesús, *Al servicio del Evangelio. Provincia Agustiniiana del Santísimo Nombre de Jesús de Filipinas*, Editorial Estudio Agustiniiano, Valladolid 1996, 176.

29 Martínez de Zúñiga, *Historia de las islas Philipinas*, 601-603. APAF leg. 234, fol 91 r.

30 Ayerbe, marques de (Pedro Jordán de Urries), *Sitio y conquista de Manila por los ingleses en 1762*, Imprenta de Ramón Miedes, Zaragoza 1897, 33-34. Martínez de Zúñiga, *Historia de las islas Philipinas*, 601-602.

out which ship it was, initially thinking it was the galleon *El Filipino* (*Nuestra Señora del Rosario and San Juan Bautista*), which was expected to be returning from Acapulco. But when the time came and explanations were required, the ship refused to respond and left on 17 September. On this occasion the archbishop was put on alert. He ordered increased vigilance and sent warnings to the provinces.³¹ At half past five in the afternoon of Tuesday, 22 September³² a British squadron made its appearance in Manila Bay, heading for Sangley Point, looking in the direction of Pampanga.³³ The unofficial warnings were now inevitably proving to be true.

Brigadier General William Draper and Vice Admiral Samuel Cornish were in command of the British forces. The expeditionary force consisted of a squadron of fifteen ships in two divisions and a total of 6,389 men. They had left Madras on 1 August and on the 27th made their final run from Malacca.³⁴ The invading army had a multiethnic character, including a regular British regiment, the 79th, and a diverse mix of soldiers, such as Indian troops (Sepoys, some of whom stayed in the Philippines after the war), Malabar and French soldiers captured in Pondicherry.³⁵

31 Navarro, *Documentos indispensables*, I, 329-334. APAF leg. 234, fol. 104 r.

32 Martínez de Zúñiga, *Historia de las islas Philipinas*, 603; APAF leg. 234, fol. 93 r; Molina, *Historia de Filipinas*, I, 158.

33 Navarro, *Documentos indispensables*, I, 98, (Archbishop's report), 337.

34 Fish, *When Britain ruled the Philippines*, 28. The ships were: *Grafton, Panther, Elisabeth, America, Norfolk, Weymouth, Falmouth, Lenox, Argo, Seahorse, Seaford, Essex, osterly, Admiral Steevens y Southsea Castle*. Data on the English force with variations in: APAF leg. 234, fol. 93 v (four thousand landing men, "among whites, Malabars, Sepoys and other castes, and 400 Frenchmen who were taken as prisoners at Pondicheri". Martínez de Zúñiga reports the number of fifteen hundred soldiers; five hundred soldiers in Draper's regiment; of the Chamal volunteer battalion; two companies of artillerymen; three thousand European sailors with rifles; eight hundred "sepoy" riflemen, and fourteen hundred of the same for the fagina, which formed a brigade of six thousand eight hundred and thirty men (Martínez de Zúñiga, *Historia de las islas Philipinas*, 606). These figures roughly follow: Zaide, Gregorio F., *Philippine Political and Cultural History, (The Philippines since the British invasion)*, Philippine Education Company, Manila 1957 (revised edition), II, 3; Malo de Luque, Eduardo (pseudonym of Duke of Almodovar), *Historia política de los establecimientos coloniales ultramarinos de las naciones europeas*, Madrid 1790, V, 238); and Montero y Vidal, José, *Historia general de Filipinas*, II, 13; Navarro, *Documentos indispensables*, I, 343.

35 Tracy, *Manila Ransomed*, 17, 22-23. A perspective on the multiethnic character in: Flannery, Kristie Patricia, "The Seven Years' War and the Globalization of Anglo-Iberian Imperial Entanglement: The View from Manila" in *Entangled Histories of the Early Modern Iberian and British Empires*, edited by Jorge Cañizares-Esguerra (Philadelphia: University of

On the Spanish side, the forces were quite scarce, consisting mainly of the Regiment of the King, a unit that, since its creation, had twenty companies of one hundred men each, led by a captain, a lieutenant, and an ensign (it had never reached fifteen hundred men).³⁶ At the time of the English arrival, the strength ranged between five hundred fifty and five hundred sixty personnel. Deaths had not been replenished, and the regiment was diminished by desertions, with many members dispersed in Cavite, in prison cells, or serving on galleons.

The artillery forces had eighty men, mostly Filipinos, and according to Martínez de Zúñiga “not very skilled in the handling of the cannon.” Agustín María de Castro infers that the defenses of the capital had no more than five hundred soldiers and that they were inexperienced.³⁷ According to this author, the soldiers were mostly Mexicans, or Novo-Hispanics (about four hundred) and one hundred Filipino natives.³⁸ All sources, whether compiled by Augustinians or others, highlight the poor state of Manila’s defenses and artillery. Archbishop Rojo justified his lack of action, stating in a memorandum reproduced by Eduardo Navarro that “Manila never believed it would be invaded by European nations (...) and in this confidence, it was content to have the city capable of resisting the Moors and neighboring nations with little expertise in war.”³⁹

In addition to the mentioned forces, four militia companies of Spaniards—called the “comercio”—were formed, totaling three hundred men.⁴⁰ Clearly, these forces were insufficient, prompting the call for assistance from the provinces. Archbishop Rojo issued orders to contribute men, weapons, and provisions. He also sent a letter to all the convents in

Pennsylvania Press): 236-254. Also of great interest: Thomas, Megan C., “Securing trade: the military labor of the British Occupation of Manila, 1762-1764” *Internationaal Instituut voor Sociale Geschiedenis* 2019, 125-147.

36 A perspective of the armed forces in the archipelago at this time: Aguilar Escobar, Antonio, *La defensa de un enclave español en el Pacífico. El Ejército de dotación en Filipinas en los siglos XVII y XVIII*, Círculo Rojo Editorial, s.l. 2017.

37 APAF leg. 234, fol. 90 v.

38 *Ibid.*, fol. 92 r.

39 Navarro, *Documentos indispensables*, I, 97-98.

40 Ayerbe, *Sitio y conquista de Manila por los ingleses en 1762*, 35. Same data as Martínez de Zúñiga in: Montero y Vidal, *Historia general de Filipinas*, II, 13. About the companies: Navarro, *Documentos indispensables*, I, 338).

the capital, urging their friars to help in the defense of the city.⁴¹ Some five thousand Filipinos arrived from neighboring provinces during the following days, armed with arrows, boats and machetes. A thousand of them were from Pampanga, and we know through Agustín María de Castro, that they were lodged in the convent of San Agustín, where they received sustenance of beef and paddy rice sent from the haciendas of the Order.⁴² According to Martínez de Zúñiga those reinforcements “did not know how to fire a rifle” and “were of little use.”⁴³ Castro openly criticized the incompetence and ignorance of Monsignor Rojo in the management of the defense. According to him, upon the arrival of the British, the archbishop rejected the advice of the oidores Galbán, Villacorta and Viana to entrust the defense of the city to a professional military man with experience in Europe (which he attributed to Jesuit influence.)⁴⁴ He also censured the *maestre de Campo* of the Tercio, the Marqués de Villamediana, a Mexican, “an old, delicate and unskillful man,” and the sergeant major, Cristobal Ros⁴⁵, and the Mexican captains, who were the majority. Thus, according to Castro, there were only “six or eight brave and well-behaved European officers, but they were so isolated and neglected that they did not dare to show their faces and speak in public.”⁴⁶ He extended his disapproval to the residents of Manila about whom he said that “*más entendían de talegas que de bombas*”⁴⁷ [they understood more about moneybags than bombs].”

The regular communities were involved in the defense of the capital. The Jesuit Pascual Fernández, a mathematics teacher, worked most zealously during the siege. All the religious corporations participated in the defense tasks during the siege, serving at times as if they were soldiers on the walls.

41 Navarro, *Documentos indispensables*, I, 342.

42 APAF leg. 234, fol. 94 r.

43 Martínez De Zúñiga, *Historia de las islas Philipinas*, 606.

44 APAF leg. 234, fol 91 v: “... he would not listen to anyone because the Jesuits who were his instructors, wanted it that way”. He also said that they were double-faced, because on the one hand they were accommodating to the Englishman, and he did not get involved with them: on the other hand, they favored Sr. Anda, although the latter made a lot of fuss about them”.: (ibid., 234, fol. 112v).

45 APAF leg. 234, fol. 92 r.

46 *Ibid.*, fol. 92 r

47 *Ibid.*, 234, fol. 92 r-v.

The Augustinians swiftly collaborated with their parishes of Tondo, Bulacan, and Balayan. They sent goods and brought rice, cows and the fruit of the ranches to the city. Definitor Miguel Braña was very active in the mobilization of the Filipinos. According to Fray José Victoria, he was responsible for the arrival of a thousand Tagalogs in Manila, and for supplying the troops with rice and provisions.⁴⁸ Perhaps the most outstanding in the service on the wall was Fray Juan de Acosta.⁴⁹ In the Philippines since the time of the Marques of Ovando, with whom he had arrived as a captain of engineers, he had professed as an Augustinian during Arandía's time. During the siege of Manila, he cast cannons, culverins, mortars, and other war instruments, besides excelling in the defense of a bastion on the wall.⁵⁰

Landing, Siege, and Occupation of Manila

While Archbishop Rojo hastened to fortify the city and send reinforcements to the port and fort of Cavite,⁵¹ a sense of psychotic disorder began to spread among the Spanish authorities. There was not enough time to renovate deficient defensive structures or to train troops. Additionally, the absence of an efficient tactical concept hampered the overall effectiveness in organizing the defense from the very beginning (an example being the indecision regarding whether to occupy or demolish the defensive structures in the south of the city, which would ultimately be occupied by the English).

Monsignor Rojo ordered the removal of the saltpetre and gunpowder on 22 September from one of those points in the south, the San Antonio Abad (La Polvorista), so that it could be transferred to the interior of Manila. Captain Araya was sent that night to find out who commanded the armada and their intentions. The British responded at eleven o'clock the following day by sending two officers, who went with Araya, carrying a letter signed by Cornish and Draper warning of the state of war between Spain and England and demanding the surrender of the islands.⁵² Rojo rejected the demand and

48 Navarro, *Documentos indispensables*, I, 12-13

49 The testimony of this religious in: Navarro, *Documentos indispensables*, II, 21-47. Also consult: González Cuellas, Tomás, *Misioneros agustinos defensores de las islas Filipinas*, Editorial Estudio Agustiniano, Valladolid 1991, 3-53.

50 Navarro, *Documentos indispensables*, I, 13.

51 *Ibid.*, I, 12.

52 *Ibid.*, I, 338. The Marqués de Ayerbe calls officer Fernando Araya, and explains that

warned that he was ready to “lose his life for the honor of his Sovereign’s armies.”⁵³ Heading a little further south on the 23rd, the British landed between the Polvorista fort and the church of Malate⁵⁴ at about six o’clock in the afternoon. Counting on the cover of their ships, the attackers took the Polvorista without any problem, and the churches of Malate (administered by the Augustinians), Ermita, along with San Juan de Bagumbayan and Santiago in addition to the houses in those suburbs.⁵⁵ The Spaniards failed to capitalize on the challenges posed to the English by the rough seas and undertow of that day.⁵⁶ The main Augustinian sources that deal with this event state that this was a strategic error. Martínez de Zúñiga explains that the high command preferred not to risk at the moment of the landing because there were few troops available for the defense of the wall.⁵⁷ However, Monsignor Rojo preferred to order a sortie right after, when the British already had all those buildings in the south of Manila under control. The action was carried out at night by two indigenous troops commanded by Baltasar de Cosar and Bernardo de Iliberri, but the forces clashed against the enemy rifles, which fought off the attack from the church of Santiago.⁵⁸

Draper sent several embassies to demand surrender while his troops dug trenches.⁵⁹ On the 23rd, the British issued a communiqué calling for the loyalty of “Indios and mestizos” and promising the exoneration of tribute and freedom of worship.⁶⁰ On 24 September the bastions of San Diego and San Andrés opened fire without success. On that same day the galley *Santa Gertrudis* entered Manila

the mission was completely carried out on the 23rd. Ayerbe, *Sitio y conquista de Manila por los ingleses en 1762*, 36.

53 Martínez de Zúñiga, *Historia de las islas Philipinas*, 604.

54 Governor Arandia had called the attention years ago to the danger of maintaining such structures south of Manila. Montero y Vidal, *Historia general de Filipinas*, II, 14.

55 Martínez de Zúñiga, *Historia de las islas Philipinas*, 603-604. Montero y Vidal maintained the English date for the landing, which was one day ahead of the Spanish calendar. Montero y Vidal, *Historia general de Filipinas*, II, 14.

56 Navarro, *Documentos indispensables*, I, 339-341. Ayerbe, *Sitio y conquista de Manila por los ingleses en 1762*, 35, 37-38).

57 Martínez de Zúñiga, *Historia de las islas Philipinas*, 605.

58 Navarro, *Documentos indispensables*, I, 103. Ayerbe states there were fifty men in this force: Ayerbe, *Sitio y conquista de Manila por los ingleses en 1762*, 38.

59 APAF leg. 234, fol. 94 r.

60 A copy in: Navarro, *Documentos indispensables*, I, 342; Molina, *Historia de Filipinas*, I, 159.

Bay, unaware of the state of the siege of Manila. The British captured the galley. The galley had been dispatched by *El Filipino*, a galleon that had just arrived from Acapulco to the Philippines, which was then in Palapag. Previously the galley had been sent from Manila, together with another ship, to search for and assist the galleon if necessary. It was therefore seized when it arrived to announce the galleon's arrival.⁶¹ Some of the passengers of the *Santa Gertrudis* were miraculously able to escape the British, entered Manila and informed the archbishop that *El Filipino* was in Palapag. The rest were imprisoned, among them the archbishop's nephew, Antonio Sanchez Tagle. Rojo instructed that the galleon was to be warned in order to bring the silver to safety. With the capture of the galley⁶² the British knew of the arrival of *El Filipino* and that same night, without wasting time, they sent the *Panther*, of sixty-four cannons, and the frigate *Argos*, of thirty, as well as a vessel⁶³ in search of the galleon. But instead, on 30 October, they captured the galleon *Santísima Trinidad*, which, although it had left Cavite on 1 August 1762, after experiencing several storms that had dismasted it, it had decided to return to its point of departure when it was off the Marianas. For the British, the value of what was confiscated amounted to two million pesos. The seizure ruined "many families, churches, pious works, the wealth of the king of the fatherland".⁶⁴ Among the prisoners taken from the ship were the oidor Pedro Calderón and the Augustinians Juan Gutiérrez, rector of Valladolid, and Santiago Tobar, president of the hospice of Mexico.

On that same day, the 24th, Miguel Braña impeded the landing of four boats from a small fort erected in Bancusay by opening artillery fire.⁶⁵ That night, the Spaniards launched an offensive to expel the British from the churches in which they had entrenched themselves. The attack was led by the French (or Swiss) César Fallet and had artillery cover over the church of Santiago. The force was composed of fifty riflemen of regular troops, several militiamen, two

61 Ayerbe, *Sitio y conquista de Manila por los ingleses en 1762*, 42-42; APAF leg.234, fol 93r.

62 With this capture, the British obtained 30,000 pesos in cash and jewelry. (NAVARRO, *Documentos indispensables*, I, 343). Molina lowers the figure to 3,000 pesos and refers to the *Santa Gertrudis*, without referring to it by this name, as a Chinese sampan. (MOLINA, *Historia de Filipinas*, I, 159).

63 Martínez de Zúñiga, *Historia de las islas Philipinas*, 607. MONTERO Y VIDAL, *Historia general de Filipinas*, II, 15.

64 APAF leg. 234, fol. 106 r-v.

65 Navarro, *Documentos indispensables*, I, 12-13.

cannons of four guns with their respective artillerymen and eight hundred natives with lances. The battle lasted all night long. Fallet ended up taking cover in the church of San Juan de Bagumbayan from where he fired on the church of Santiago.⁶⁶ The Spaniards were able to retreat at nine o'clock in the morning of the following day thanks to the reinforcements of two companies of five hundred Tagalogs commanded by the regimental captain Pedro Iriarte⁶⁷. Draper demanded a new surrender on that same day, which was rejected by the Junta de Guerra summoned by the archbishop governor.⁶⁸

They opened intense fire on the night of the 25th on the British positions leaving several corpses on them.⁶⁹ Leandro Viana, the prosecutor, was given the task of arranging the storage of provisions for the upcoming siege. He also coordinated the shipments of rice and other supplies by communicating with

66 Some scholars believe that the church of San Juan de Bagumbayan and the Church of Santiago de Bagumbayan are one and the same. I believe that they are different as Ayerbe clearly explains the arrival of Fallet San Juan de Bagumbayan, and Busto to the church of Santiago: Ayerbe, *Sitio y conquista de Manila por los ingleses en 1762*, 44-45. "la misma noche salieron de Manila D. César Fallet, suizo de nación, establecido en ella, y D. José del Busto, con dos compañías de cincuenta españoles y más de doscientos indios y mestizos con lanzas, fusiles y dos cañones de a ocho [...] Llegados a la iglesia de San Juan se quedó Fallet allí con la mayor parte de su gente, y Busto fue a colocarse al costado de la de Santiago; pero habiendo caído en una emboscada preparada por el enemigo..." I have never seen San Juan cited as Santiago. This church - the first foundation of the Augustinian Recollects in the Philippines - has always been under the dedication of San Juan Bautista, and was only briefly under that of San Nicolás de Tolentino. See Navarro, *Documentos indispensables*, I, 344. Ayerbe, *Sitio y conquista de Manila por los ingleses en 1762*, 44-45.

67 Martínez de Zúñiga, *Historia de las islas Philipinas*, 608-609. Montero y Vidal, *Historia general de Filipinas*, II, 16; Navarro, *Documentos indispensables*, I, 344. Ayerbe, *Sitio y conquista de Manila por los ingleses en 1762*, 46.

68 Montero Y Vidal, *Historia general de Filipinas*, II, 16. Navarro, *Documentos indispensables*, I, 345-346 (text by Leandro de Viana): The junta was composed of the archbishop governor, the ministers of the Real Audiencia (Francisco Enríquez de Villacorta, Manuel Galbán y Ventura, Simón de Anda y Salazar and Francisco Leandro de Viana); the maestre de campo and governor of the garrison (marqués de Villamediana); Martín de Goicocoa, sergeant major of the king's regiment; Cristóbal de Ros, sergeant major of the plaza; representing the city, the marqués de Monte Castro y Llana Hermosa, Leandro Rodríguez Varela, alcalde ordinario; José Antonio Memije y Quirós, Alguacil Mayor; Antonio Díaz Conde, alcalde provincia de Hermandad; Alberto Jacinto Reyes, accountant; and Fernando Carabeo, royal official. Navarro's opinion on the lack of information on this board in note one on page 346 note 1; Ayerbe, *Sitio y conquista de Manila por los ingleses en 1762*, 47.

69 Martínez de Zúñiga, *Historia de las islas Philipinas*, 609. Montero y Vidal, *Historia general de Filipinas*, II, 18.

the *alcaldes* of neighboring provinces and procurators of the convents. The day of 26 September dawned with the flagship of the squadron firing at the bastion of the *Fundición* and the admiralty at the wall of the marina with 12 and 24-caliber bullets, but with little effectiveness⁷⁰.

A group of natives and mestizos, possibly around one thousand five hundred,⁷¹ without having explicit orders to do so—according to Martínez de Zúñiga—made a sortie against the British positions at eight o'clock in the morning of the 27th. Although they managed to expel several of the enemies from the most advanced positions, they had to retreat due to the arrival of three hundred riflemen and due to the warning from the bastion of San Andrés that they should leave open space for the artillery. One of the most controversial episodes took place at this moment of confusion. While all this was going on, a British officer with a white flag came out of the invaders' lines, accompanied by a man dressed in black, who turned out to be the nephew of the archbishop. Rojo's nephew was captured in the *Santa Gertrudis*, and was now presented along with the playing of the drums, as a gesture of good will. The artillery ceased but the Philippine troops pounced on those carrying the white flag. The officer and the drummer were killed and mutilated in the process, while the nephew of the archbishop, who tried to interpose himself between the attackers, was seriously wounded and died a few days later.⁷²

The next day, Draper demanded the surrender of the head of the English officer which the attackers had taken with them. Otherwise, he threatened to deliver the heads of all the prisoners he held. Monsignor Rojo offered his apologies, arranged for the demanded surrender, and blamed the *sepoys* for the incident, accusing them of not ceasing fire while the English advanced with a white flag.⁷³

On the 27th, the only two mortars in the square were installed. The Augustinian Juan Facundo Acosta played a significant role in the work. This friar had initially been assigned to the fortress of Santiago, but later, as the theater of operations shifted to the other end of the city, he was sent to the bulwark of *Fundición*. There, he had some differences with Captain

70 Navarro, *Documentos indispensables*, I, 347.

71 Martínez De Zúñiga, *Historia de las islas Philipinas*, 349.

72 *Ibid.*, 609-610.

73 *Ibid.*, 610-611.

Magallanes regarding the placement of the mortars.⁷⁴ On the afternoon of September 28, a ship opened fire from the beach for a long time. On this day, greater authority at the directive and executive levels in the defense was granted to the sergeant major of Cavite, Francisco Rodríguez, and the sergeant major of Manila, Cristóbal Ros. This was against the Maestre de Campo, the Marquis of Villamediana, a man with little military skill. To avoid any disrespect, the Marquis was left as an advisor to Monsignor Rojo. The archbishop summoned all members of religious orders who could serve in the defense to his palace in order to assign various missions.⁷⁵ We know that at ten o'clock at night, Braña received the order to lead a total of five hundred men for the defense of the square (three hundred) and to cover the Malosac causeway (two hundred), one of the points believed to be where the English would attempt to assault Manila.⁷⁶

The British intensified their bombardment in the remaining days of September. They added to the three mortars and battery they had emplaced behind the church of Santiago, another battery with three more mortars. In addition, on the 29th, the flagship and Admiral's ship fired on the city, but to no avail.⁷⁷ The defenders placed two mortars on the bastion of San Diego.⁷⁸

The cavalry stationed in Manila made a sortie on 1 October to try to seize a bombard and the supplies of several ships that had capsized the day before. Upon reaching their objective, they were repulsed by riflemen from the Malate barracks. On the second day of October, the British attackers concentrated the fire of a set of eight 24-pound canons, nine mortars and two boats on the bastion of San Diego.⁷⁹ To this intense bombardment was added

74 Navarro, *Documentos indispensables*, I, 348.

75 *Ibid.*, 350-351.

76 Navarro, *Documentos indispensables*, I, 12-13.

77 Before this happened, according to the Marqués de Ayerbe, the only source that cites him, on the morning of 29 September, 500 Indios, headed by the archbishop governor, ministers of the Audiencia and some vecinos, left Manila, but they had to retreat because of the British attack on the church of Santiago. The doubt arises when verifying that this author locates this fact on the same day as the tragic surrender of the nephew of the governor, about which it is known that it clearly happened three days before. Ayerbe, *Sitio y conquista de Manila por los ingleses en 1762*, 48.

78 Martínez de Zúñiga, *Historia de las islas Philipinas*, 611.

79 *Ibid.*, 612.

the fusillade from the tower of the church of Santiago.⁸⁰ Spanish casualties on the parapet were seven men and twenty wounded.⁸¹ They made no attempt to eliminate the fire from Santiago. The bombardment dismounted the artillery located in the bastion.

The most important offensive action taken so far was organized on 3 October. There were about five thousand Filipinos from the provinces in the interior of Manila. Two thousand Kapampangans were selected among them to make a sortie. Three columns were arranged to intervene at different points: the first, commanded by Francisco Rodríguez, aimed to reach the church of Santiago; the second, led by Santiago Orendaín, was to occupy Malate and Ermita; and the third, led by Eslava and Busto, had to move along the seaside supported by two pickets of riflemen. The clamor of all of them at their departure alerted the enemy, thus losing the element of surprise. Rodríguez's column, upon entering the enemy's field, initially appeared sluggish, but its commanders, especially Manalastas, managed to get them moving.⁸² The troops entered the church of Santiago, which the British had abandoned, climbed the tower and rang the bells. This small success was short-lived, because the British soon charged against them, causing them to flee. Orendaín's column arrived silently behind Ermita and engaged in combat by shouting, greatly confusing the enemy.⁸³ Even so, the British were able to fire diligently on the Kapampangans killing two hundred of them. The third column did not achieve any benefit or loss. It seems that during the action many riflemen who had helped the Kapampangans withdrew before the end of the offensive. When many of the latter realized the lack of cover, they went to ask for rifles.⁸⁴ It was one of the worst moments of confusion, an unforgivable strategic error that the brave Kapampangans did not deserve at all, which they tried to solve by trying to open fire from the wall, from the perimeter of the bastion of Recoletos to the Puerta Real. After the action many of these Filipinos, especially Kapampangans returned to their provinces,⁸⁵ as they were disappointed with the Spaniards.

80 *Ibid.*, 613.

81 *Idem*

82 Castro observes that Manalastas "made wonders of valor with his spear". APAF leg. 234, fol. 94 r

83 Zaide, *Philippine political and cultural History*, II, 4.

84 Navarro, *Documentos indispensables*, I, 355.

85 Martínez de Zúñiga, *Historia de las islas Philipinas*, 613-615.

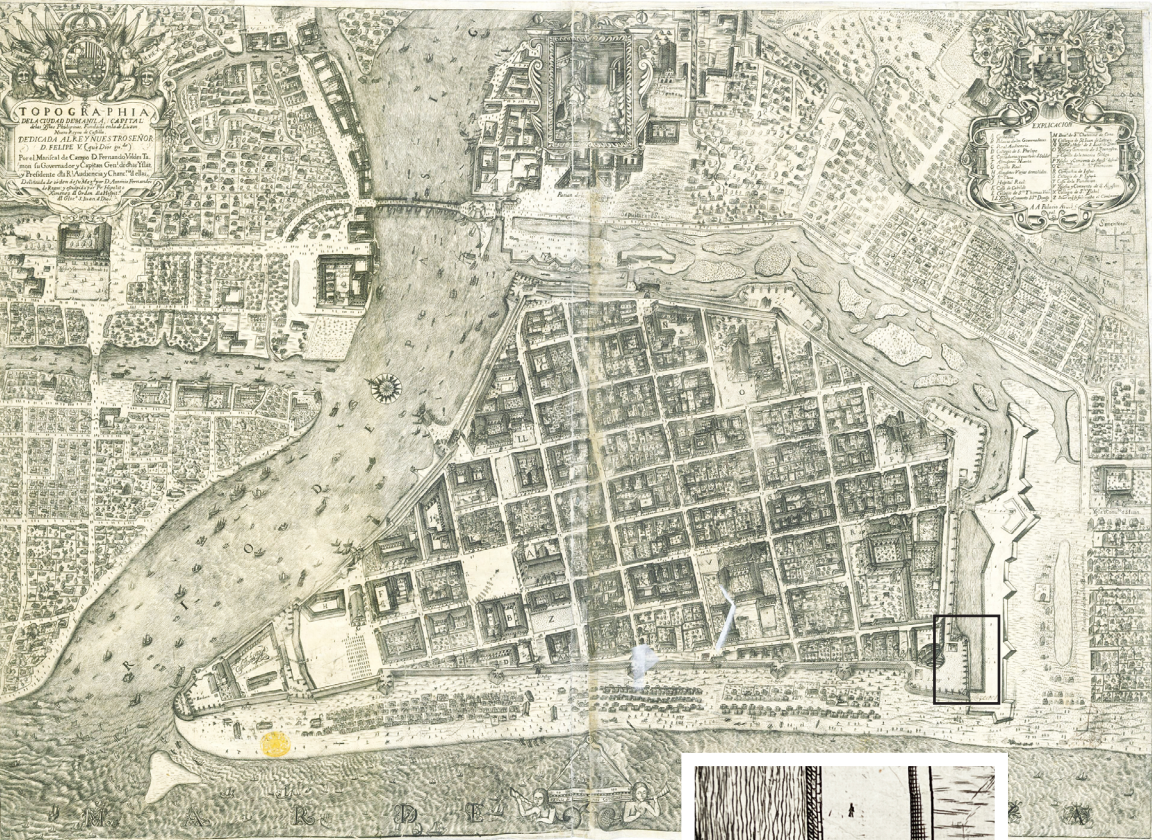
Following this offensive, there was an intensification of English artillery fire. The San Diego bulwark lost its entire front and the parapet, with the ruins blocking the moat. Additionally, at noon, a new battery began firing on the bulwarks of San Andrés and San Eugenio. The fire from these cannons was so intense that, within two hours, it dismantled the cannons on the flanks, destroyed the parapets, and killed several riflemen and workers. Two subsequent attempts to rebuild or reinforce them were in vain, as they were blown apart by English fire.⁸⁶

On the afternoon of 3 October, Monsignor Rojo summoned a Council of War. Military commanders, the Real Audiencia, the deputies of the city, the most distinguished merchants and the prelates of the religious orders attended. The military were in favor of capitulation, while the rest wanted to continue the defense while maintaining the repair of bastions and ditches. The second option was chosen, as Martínez de Zúñiga narrates, “the order was given to make these preparations, but it was not taken as an exception, because the few Indios that were left did not want to carry out these dangerous works, and the Spaniards were not trained for this kind of task.”⁸⁷ On the 4th, Martínez de Zúñiga relates that “the enemies began to send incendiary devices to the city, they set fire to some buildings, and the soldiers and inhabitants of Manila were already in great distress.” Fallet tried to ask for capitulation but was ignored. At one o'clock in the afternoon, the arrival of grenadiers was seen in front of the square in a very wide front, which made people fear the imminence of the assault. Many residents and religious decided to leave the city when they understood that the option of capitulating was not being considered. Finally, the British withdrew. On the night of the 4th, from the words of the same Augustinian historian, “the fire of the enemy was horrible” of cannons, mortars and rifles from the church of Santiago, until two o'clock in the morning when it ceased.⁸⁸ During the 4th the oidor Simón de Anda left the city as lieutenant governor and with the commission to organize the native population in the face of the invaders.

86 *Ibid.*, 615-616.

87 *Ibid.*, 616-617. It seems that in the Council the voice of Marqués de Monteclaro was the prevailing one to overrule the surrender attempts. Blair, Robertson, *The Philippine Islands*, XLIX, 124; Marqués de Ayerbe, Ayerbe, *Sitio y conquista de Manila por los ingleses en 1762*, 56-57; Montero Y Vidal, *Historia general de Filipinas*, II, 23-24.

88 Martínez de Zúñiga, *Historia de las islas Philipinas*, 618-619.



DETAIL OF Topographía de la Ciudad de Manila. Drawn by Antonio Fernández de Roxas, (in the Philippines 1695 until his death in 1729) and engraved by Fray Hipólito Ximénez, of the Hospitaller Order of San Juan de Dios (active c.1714-1729), dated 1717 but slightly revised under the governorship of Fernando Valdés Tamon (r. 1729-1739) Note the handwritten marker for the *Breach* written in English. Courtesy of The British Library, Maps K.Top. 116.40.



On Tuesday, 5 October 1762, about forty Frenchmen raided the moat of San Diego with the ruins of the bastion and gave the signal to the rest of the force.⁸⁹

The British forces advanced on the bastion at six o'clock in the morning. Four hundred men commanded by Major Felt climbed the breach with their rifles on their backs without encountering resistance. According to Agustín María de Castro, on the day of the assault, there were no Spaniards on the wall. The majority had fled in a great panic: some jumped outside the walls, because the gates were closed, while others jumped into the river, several of them drowning in it.⁹⁰ Once inside, Felt sent half of his forces through the marina curtain, and the other half in the direction of the Puerta Real, where he confronted the guard that protected it. Major Moore lost his life in the fight, while the defenders lost Sergeant Major Martín de Goicouria, from Vizcaya, in charge of that post, the artillery corporal Raimundo Luely, the Irish pilot Raymond Kelly, as well as two captains, two subalterns, fifty soldiers and thirty militia, fifty soldiers of fixed troop and thirty militiamen.⁹¹ The English estimated the Spanish casualties at nine hundred and forty-one, while the Spanish sources reduced them to eighty-five and three hundred dead Filipinos and four hundred wounded.⁹² According to Castro, everything, from the assault, clashes and the surrender of Santiago, happened in less than three hours.⁹³

Once the access was cleared, Draper could then enter through the Puerta Real, preceded by two field guns. The force marched in while firing,

89 APAF leg. 234, fol. 94 r. Montero y Vidal, following the Dominicans Ferrando and Fonseca, they holds Fallet responsible for facilitating the entry of the English through the Foundry. Montero y Vidal, *Historia general de Filipinas*, II, 27. Zaide, *Philippine political and cultural History*, II, 5.

90 APAF leg. 234, fol. 92v-93r.

91 Martínez de Zúñiga, *Historia de las islas Philipinas*, 625; APAF leg. 234, fol. 92v-93r (Castro confuses the pilot as Dutch and Irish). Also referred to in Zaide, *Philippine political and cultural History*, II, 5-6.

92 Montero y Vidal, *Historia general de Filipinas*, II, 35; Zaide, *Philippine political and cultural History*, II, 7. The archbishop estimated in his memoir the enemy casualties during the siege at around "more than a thousand men, of whom sixteen were officers" (Martínez de Zúñiga, *Historia de las islas Philipinas*, 624; Draper, for his part, lowered the figure to thirty-six dead, including six officers and one hundred and eleven wounded (Zaide, *Philippine political and cultural History*, II, 6).

93 APAF leg. 234, fol. 94 v.

along Calle Real, while two columns advanced along the wall, encircling the buildings in the city.⁹⁴ According to Martínez de Zúñiga, the English fired upon the defenseless residents of Manila who had jumped into the river, resulting in a great carnage.⁹⁵ Monseñor Rojo had withdrawn to Fort Santiago with the oidores, officers and the rest of the defending forces. Although he had a cannon with which he could sweep the Calle Real and hinder the advance of the assailants, he ordered that it not be used to avoid possible reprisals by the British.⁹⁶ Colonel Monson, at Draper's request, demanded the surrender.⁹⁷ Rojo presented capitulations that were not accepted, so he had no choice but to surrender when he was exposed to the threat of new hostilities. The archbishop left Fort Santiago accompanied by the *maestre de campo*. He delivered the capitulations, which were reduced to the security and respect of lives, inhabitants and property, the free exercise of religion, freedom of commerce and industry, the continuity of the Real Audiencia to administer justice, and the recognition of military ranks and honors of the chiefs of the Spanish garrison.⁹⁸ The British conferred on the points presented by Rojo and responded by accepting some concessions, including subjection to the king of England. Monsignor Rojo, the oidores and the British signed the act of capitulation. After being admitted, the archbishop handed over the keys of the fortress and the British raised their flag on the top of the fortress, which was answered by thunderous salvos fired from the ships in the bay.⁹⁹

94 Martínez de Zúñiga, *Historia de las islas Philipinas*, 602-621.

95 *Ibid.*, 622.

96 Zaide, *Philippine political and cultural History*, II, 6.

97 According to Castro, the invaders killed "one hundred of our people who were defending Fort Santiago." APAF leg. 234, fol. 94 v.

98 This is how Castro relates the episode of the surrender: "... said archbishop, with the greatest imprudence, he left the fortress [Santiago], without saying anything to anyone, and with the keys in his hand, he knelt down and surrendered to the said British commander [Draper], asking to protect lives, property and the Catholic Religion, without waiting for more signatures or solemnities, granting everything to the British by word of mouth, and with this he handed over the keys of the fortress, and with them the Philippine Islands, freedom, fame and Spanish honor." APAF leg. 234, fol. 95 r. Martínez de Zúñiga varies this version a little by relating that Monsignor Rojo "wanted to kneel down, and the Englishman prevented him, Rojo told him that he was giving up, and put the paper in his hand, in which he had written the capitulations" Martínez de Zúñiga, *Historia de las islas Philipinas*, 623; Montero y Vidal, *Historia general de Filipinas*, II, 29.

99 Martínez de Zúñiga, *Historia de las islas Philipinas*, 624.

Capitulation and Looting of Manila

After the capitulation, the brigadier general, citing the laws of war, granted his troops a three-hour license to plunder the city. Earlier, Archbishop Rojo had obtained from the English command the establishment of a guard at the Convent of Santa Clara and women's colleges. With these arrangements in place, the soldiers, the majority of them intoxicated, engaged in all kinds of looting, rapes, violence, and theft, in which both Chinese and prisoners who had been imprudently granted freedom participated. As if that were not enough, some of the Filipinos who had come from the provinces for the defense and who were in the neighborhoods of Binondo, Santa Cruz and others, according to Martínez de Zúñiga, also perpetrated much havoc.¹⁰⁰ According to different sources, the looting lasted well over three hours, lasting forty hours. Martínez de Zúñiga explains that Draper only interceded in stopping it after the insistent pleas of Monsignor Rojo. The British high command punished some excesses by hanging several of those responsible, including Chinese individuals. He also urged the return of stolen items to the churches, but only a few chasubles taken by the sepoys, who had dressed in them in mockery and climbed onto the wall, were recovered.¹⁰¹ The Spaniards denounced having lost more than a million pesos in the looting, of which only 26,623 pesos were recovered.¹⁰² The neighborhoods of Santa Cruz and Binondo were also looted.¹⁰³

100 "Although it is not really necessary to complain too much about the British soldiers, because they were quite restrained, with respect to what usually happens in such cases. The Indios were much worse than they were, because they declared to them where the riches of their masters were, so that they would be given a share. The mob, who left Manila, those who lived in the suburbs, and the prisoners of the jails, which the English had the audacity to release, were scattered throughout the houses of Santa Cruz and Binondo, and as if they were the victors, they plundered them, killed those who resisted them, and strangled women and children, They attacked women, and committed many other acts of violence, but where they were really so cruel was on the roads on countless people, who fled without knowing why, and fell into the hands of those outlaws, who killed them to rob them" Martínez de Zúñiga, *Historia de las islas Philipinas*, 626. Also in APAF leg. 234, fol. 103 r. "And so, everyone confesses that there was more havoc wrought by the Indios and Sangleyes than by the British themselves".

101 *Ibid.*, 626-627.

102 Zaide, *Philippine political and cultural History*, II, 7. Castro reports that the looting amounted to two million pesos. APAF leg. 234, fol 94 v. Another testimony of the plunder in: Ayerbe, *Sitio y conquista de Manila por los ingleses en 1762*, 66-67.

103 *Ibid.*, 73.

The convent of St. Augustine in Manila was plundered on 5 and 6 October.¹⁰⁴ It was an inexcusable mistake that the Provincial Definitory, which was urgently convened by Fr. Espineira when the English arrived, did not decide to take the entire treasury of their convent out of the capital;¹⁰⁵ only a part of the gold and the fine stones were saved thanks to the fact that Fr. Miguel Vivas moved it to Pampanga.¹⁰⁶ It seems that the community had hidden some jewels but the assailants found many of them. After 5 October the British government placed a guard of French sentries in the convent, but several soldiers and sepoy eluded the vigilance and stole what they could. The friars spent the rest of the following month and a half as prisoners in their own convent, with enormous restrictions on leaving the convent.¹⁰⁷ However, the worst was yet to come for the convent as they awaited the embargo decrees of 3 November and 8 December.

Moreover, the British invaders carried out ruthless mass executions. Those who were caught with gunpowder, lead or other supplies were executed. Agustín María de Castro himself witnessed some of these executions: “...the British hanged a great many without trial or official documents, as I saw several times in this now lost city, where I stayed for some months, and they did not need gallows, because they hung them in bunches like bananas from any window grille.”¹⁰⁸ On 6 October, in accordance with the capitulations, the English set out to take the port of Cavite and its fort of San Felipe. The Spaniard, Pedro Iriarte, who had been inclined to defend it, surrendered the place because the British had threatened to kill all the Spaniards if they did not do so.¹⁰⁹ Captain Kempfenfelt, Cornish’s officer,¹¹⁰ and his men entered Cavite

104 The Dominicans suffered the pillaging of their convent of Manila, whose losses were valued at 32,000 duros. They also lost their house-hacienda of Navotas, and the convent of San Juan del Monte. Montero y Vidal, *Historia general de Filipinas*, II, 72; Fernandez, Pablo, *Dominicos donde nace el sol (historia de la provincia del Smo Rosario de la sagrada orden de predicadores)*, Barcelona 1958, 281-184.

105 Rodríguez-Álvarez, *Al servicio del Evangelio*, 181.

106 MERINO, “*El convento agustiniano de San Pablo de Manila*”, 113-117.

107 Martínez de Zúñiga, *Historia de las islas Philipinas*, 638.

108 APAF leg. 234, fol. 109 v.

109 Martínez de Zúñiga, *Historia de las islas Philipinas*, 627.

110 Zaide, *Philippine political and cultural History*, II, 6.

“without a single shot being fired,”¹¹¹ all this while the troops abandoned their posts, the natives looted the arsenal and the Spaniard fled in a boat.

Another outcome of the capitulations was the demand for the surrender of the sovereignty of all the islands as well as four million pesos, a very high amount, all the more costly after having suffered a siege and looting that went unpunished.¹¹² The Spaniards of Manila had to promise to contribute two million in cash, indicating that the other two would be paid in Madrid by the Royal Treasury.¹¹³ In spite of the tremendous efforts to collect the amount agreed upon, it was not possible to reach even one million pesos. After Monsignor Rojo had resorted to all the silver of the pious works, the jewels of the churches, and the silver of his own property (rings and pectorals) it seemed that only 546,000 pesos was collected.¹¹⁴ The archbishop promised, somewhat impractically, to hand over the remaining three and a half million pesos from the funds of the Royal Treasury. On the other hand, it was considered that the amounts already obtained by the British exceeded the amount of four million pesos. This would include the amount paid by Monsignor Rojo, the estimate of more than one million pesos from the plunder of Draper’s soldiers and the estimated two million pesos from the value of the cargo of the *Santísima Trinidad*. The archbishop offered the wealth brought by *El Filipino* in case it had not been captured by the British. He also tried to obtain a quantity of money that had left Manila in the direction of La Laguna before its fall, but the Franciscans diverted it to the Ituy missions.¹¹⁵

On 23 October, the archbishop and other prominent Spaniards (military and distinguished persons) gathered in a meeting, signed the cession of the islands, according to Martínez de Zúñiga, “threatened by the swords of the British.”¹¹⁶ Among those who did not sign were Leandro de Viana and the

111 APAF leg. 234, fol. 94 v

112 Martínez de Zúñiga, *Historia de las islas Philipinas*, 676-677. Montero y Vidal concludes that Rojo acted more like “an imbecile than a traitor” (Montero y Vidal, *Historia general de Filipinas*, II, 67)”

113 Martínez de Zúñiga, *Historia de las islas Philipinas*, 646.

114 Quantities and details in: Martínez de Zúñiga, *Historia de las islas Philipinas*, 628. Montero y Vidal, *Historia general de Filipinas*, II, 33. Ayerbe, *Sitio y conquista de Manila por los ingleses en 1762*, 71. APAF leg. 234, fol. 95 v.

115 *Ibid.*, 630; Montero y Vidal, *Historia general de Filipinas*, II, 34; Cruikshank, Bruce, «The British Occupation of Manila», 10, (Academia Edu, 17.05.2015)

116 Martínez de Zúñiga, *Historia de las islas Philipinas*, 632.

superior of the convent of San Agustín, Father Calchetas. The provincial Espineira was not in Manila.¹¹⁷ Draper tried to establish their emerging dominion through a series of gestures. Similar to the proclamation of 24 September, on 7 October he again requested the collaboration and recognition of King George III by both natives and mestizos in exchange for protection and exemption from tribute.¹¹⁸ He then made an appeal to the friars, allowing them to return to the convents. Meanwhile, the East India Company, which had financed the expedition, assumed the government of the territory under English rule. On 2 November 1763 Dawsonne Drake, a member of the Company's Madras Council, was appointed governor of the Philippines. He was assisted by a four-man congress: John L. Smith, Claud Russel, Henry Brooke and Samuel Johnson.

Being an East India Company man, Drake's government in Manila was weighed down by constant clashes with the military commanders. He did not have good relations with General Draper, who left the archipelago on 12 November 1762, nor with Admiral Cornish, who followed on 1 March 1763, nor with the main British officers Captain Backhouse, Major Felt or Captain Brereton.¹¹⁹ As for the religious communities, after the entry of the English into Manila, they tried to cope or adapt to the new situation. It seemed that before the fall of the city the superiors of the Orders, among them that of the Augustinian Espineira, abandoned the city and only the Jesuits returned later.¹²⁰ Once the British had settled in Manila, Rojo wrote to the superiors of the Orders so that they would not abandon their convents and that they would accept the king of England as sovereign.¹²¹

The War in the Provinces: Augustinian Collaboration

Agustín María de Castro reports that the Provincial Espineira who was in Pampanga refused to respond to the public proclamation that demanded his

117 Rodríguez-Álvarez, *Al servicio del Evangelio*, 180.

118 Ayerbe, *Sitio y conquista de Manila por los ingleses en 1762*, 39-40.

119 Zaide, *Philippine political and cultural History*, II, 9. Drake was among those who enriched himself with the plunder of Manila. He plundered very valuable Spanish paintings.

120 Navarro, *Documentos indispensables*, I, 274-275. This author is especially critical of the Jesuits, of whom he states that after the occupation they maintained good relations with the British. Similar criticisms in: Montero y Vidal, *Historia general de Filipinas*, II, 36.

121 Cruikshank, Bruce, "The British Occupation of Manila", 7. The documents are dated 10 and 29 October (Martínez de Zúñiga, *Historia de las islas Philipinas*, 631).

return to Manila. This lack of collaboration was the reason why the members of his religious order were declared traitors and why action was taken against them with extreme forcefulness, as evidenced by the expeditious measures against their main convent, San Agustín de Manila, and the action against the friars themselves. They were persecuted, deported or killed during the conflict.¹²²

The reason for the punishment of the British authorities against the Augustinians was because of the fidelity and loyal collaboration they showed from the beginning to the government that Simon de Anda organized in Bulacan, a province under the administration of the Order of Saint Augustine. Simon de Anda had left Manila on 4 October with the appointment of “visitador” to the provinces to keep them in obedience to the crown. He left the city with a lawyer, a notary, 170 pieces of baggage and forty sheets of sealed paper.¹²³ He received the news about the fall of the capital the following day while he was in Bulacan.¹²⁴ Anda convened a meeting which was attended by Father Remigio Hernandez, who was acting as provincial in the absence of Espineira, Friar Martín de Aguirre, other Augustinian friars, the *alcalde mayor* of the province, José Pasvarin, Spaniards of the province and native authorities. He communicated the resolution that according to the circumstances of the war and the laws of the Indies,¹²⁵ since the rest of the *oidores* were absent and the governor was imprisoned, the offices of governor, captain general and examining magistrate of all the provinces fell on his person.¹²⁶ The Augustinians, headed by Remigio Hernández, was the first religious order to recognize Anda as Governor-general.

Remigio Hernandez issued a communication to all the friars for them to explain to their parishioners the obligation they had to recognize Simon

122 “Cogiéndole los Yngleses en donde venían Padres de las demás Religiones, solo a los Agustinos prendieron, y se los llevaron para Bombain, y a los demás dexaron y no les hicieron nada [The British caught him where the Fathers of the other Religious orders gathered, only the Augustinians were seized, and they took them to Bombay, but they left the others alone and did not do anything to them”]. APAF leg. 234, fol 98r.

123 Navarro, *Documentos indispensables*, I, 14 (report of fray José Victoria); Martínez de Zúñiga, *Historia de las islas Philipinas*, 634; Montero y Vidal, *Historia general de Filipinas*, II, 38.

124 APAF leg. 234, fol 96 r, y 97r.

125 Molina, *Historia de Filipinas*, I, 163. Zaide, *Philippine political and cultural History*, II, 11.

126 Martínez de Zúñiga, *Historia de las islas Philipinas*, 635-636; Montero y Vidal, *Historia general de Filipinas*, II, 38.

de Anda y Salazar as the only governor general of the islands. For Eduardo Navarro, Father Hernández was “the soul of the mass uprising of the whole province of Bulacan and part of Pampanga”.¹²⁷ The British put a price of 5,000 pesos on his head, as they had previously done with Simón de Anda.¹²⁸ The Augustinians then served twenty-one parishes in Pampanga out of a total of twenty-six, and ten out of sixteen in Bulacan. Most of them were from both provinces which for Castro was the “center and heart of the islands”.¹²⁹ It was in these two provinces where the resistance began to get organized.¹³⁰ In fact, the first arms that arrived in Bulacan after the capture of Manila were sent by the Augustinians at a time when war supplies were terribly scarce. According to Victoria, Anda only had four falconets, one small four-gun and four small cannons of two-gun that had been sent by Miguel Braña.¹³¹ Fray José Victoria explained in his memorial that the Augustinians found many objections among the Kapampangans because of the casualties they had suffered during the siege of Manila and because they considered that the Spaniards had betrayed them in the disastrous attack on the British positions. Sebastián Moreno, vicar provincial of Pampanga, was outstanding in the work of convincing and recruiting.¹³² Anda created the first volunteer companies in Bacolor with the newly arrived Bulaqueños and Kapampangans.¹³³ In time, about two hundred French deserters also arrived. Infantry, cavalry and archer units were slowly formed. They were led by Filipino commanders, such as Field Marshal Francisco de San Juan or Colonel Santos de los Angeles.¹³⁴ Anda also had a personal guard of lancers. His objective was to prevent the British from dominating the rest of the provinces and to intercept supplies from the provinces, especially from Laguna. José Pedro Busto was his most capable military man. This Asturian became a scourge of the British forces in

127 Navarro, *Documentos indispensables*, I, *Ibid.*, 16.

128 *Idem*.

129 APAF leg. 234, fol 97v.

130 *Ibid.*, fol 96 r.

131 Navarro, *Documentos indispensables*, I, 22.

132 *Ibid.*, I, 15.

133 APAF leg. 234, fol. 101 v.

134 Zaide, *Philippine political and cultural History*, II, 12.

the guerrilla warfare that was practiced in the early stages. Busto had actively participated in the defense of Manila, where he had gone from Angat with his workers from the iron mine of that locality.¹³⁵

There are several friars who acquired great notoriety in the tasks of resistance and assistance to Simón de Anda. The most representative ones were Miguel Braña and Facundo Acosta. The former, who had played a prominent role in the walls of Manila during the siege, created and directed gunpowder factories, which were also headed by the Augustinians Eugenio Garrido, parish priest of San Miguel de Mayumo (Bulacan) and Agustín María de Castro, preacher of San Agustín.¹³⁶ Acosta also built stakes, forts and dug moats in Pampanga.¹³⁷ Braña who was the definator and prior of Tondo excelled in logistics and was named quartermaster of troops by Simón de Anda. During and after the siege of Manila, he sent cows, rice, wheat and clothes for the troops. In his operations, he arranged sentries to watch the British, thanks to which he was sometimes able to anticipate their steps, as was the case with the capture of the so-called *maestre de campo* Lana in Balantong (Quingua, presently Plaridel), who had committed himself to the British.¹³⁸ Braña collected three thousand silver pesos to help Anda.¹³⁹ Other Augustinian friars, who were less known, contributed in the tasks of fortification of Bulacan, closing river bars with stakes, arranging obstacles in the points where the enemy could access. They looked for lead, stones and rifles in the suburbs of Tondo to send to the resistance, and they contributed, according to Victoria, as many weapons as they had, even weights of the clocks to make bullets and pages of the books for cartridges.¹⁴⁰ Some of them served as nurses, as in the case of Friar Juan Galbán, who attended to the wounded in the battle of Malinta.¹⁴¹

135 *Ibid.*, II, 11.

136 APAF leg. 234, fol. 101v; MONTERO Y VIDAL, *Historia general de Filipinas*, II, 39.

137 Navarro, *Documentos indispensables*, I, 22.

138 *Ibid.*, I, 28.

139 According to Fray José Victoria, with this money “all the serious need that your governor and captain general had so that he could pay the people was remedied” Navarro, *Documentos indispensables*, I, 21- 22.

140 Navarro, *Documentos indispensables*, I, 22.

141 APAF leg. 234, fol. 100r.

The authorities in Ilocos were known to have expressed their gratitude to Fray Francisco Maldonado, prior of Laoag, and other religious men in the Visayas.¹⁴² The Augustinian Bartolomé Pillado, parish priest of Tigbauan (Iloilo), sent donations of rice and silver, collected from religious of his Order, for the support of the presidios of Dapitan, Misamis, Calamianes and Zamboanga, all of them lacking means and with their soldiers unpaid.¹⁴³ Several Augustinians in Panay aborted a conspiracy of alcalde Quintanilla, who had planned to hand over the province to the British. The parish priests Tadeo de la Consolación from Cápiz, and Francisco de Valenzuela from Panay gathered other priests and local leaders and presented the information they had about the alcalde's intentions. They all imprisoned Quintanilla and locked him in the dungeon of the Capiz Fortress. The friars handed the command to Maestro Barle, a priest of Aklan.¹⁴⁴ In Cebu, friars of the Order collaborated in the pacification of a rebellion that acclaimed the chief Tupas as king. Castro reported that the Augustinians, in collaboration with Alcalde Labayen, worked for peace.¹⁴⁵ They fought "the rebels" and proclaimed Carlos III as the true king. Tupas, according to Victoria, came to his senses and put an end to the disturbance.¹⁴⁶ The Augustinian sources denounced the lack of defensive work in Bulacan and Pampanga in the first weeks of the war. It appeared that Anda y Salazar entrusted the Augustinian defintor Miguel Braña with the leadership of the commanders of the forces obtained in Bulacan and Pampanga.¹⁴⁷ Braña received 500 pesos and rice for the expense of the thousand men who were recruited, while the Augustinians contributed the cows necessary for the provision of the troops.

A war council was created to direct the operations, oriented at first to hinder the supply of provisions to the British and to impede communications with other provinces. The council was formed by Anda y Salazar himself, the Augustinian religious, the alcalde mayor of the province and some

142 *Ibid.*, 100v- 101r.

143 Navarro, *Documentos indispensables*, I, 36.

144 APAF leg. 234, fol. 113 r

145 *Ibid.*, fol. 113r

146 Navarro, *Documentos indispensables*, I, 35.

147 *Ibid.*, I, 18.

indigenous captains. It was decided to send troops to Malinta and Maysilo to block supplies from Manila. The thousand soldiers commanded by Braña and led by their respective local chiefs took up positions at their assigned points. Five hundred Tagalogs were stationed in Malinta (house owned by the Augustinians), and five hundred Kapampangans in Maysilo, belonging to the Jesuits. The Tagalog and Kapampangan forces hindered the supply of Manila from these locations. Braña tried to gather more men and put other nearby towns on alert, a task in which the Augustinian friar Vicente Pérez¹⁴⁸ excelled.

The Tagalog-Kapampangan conglomerate soon sprang into action even if they were inexperienced. The British tried to clear Maysilo, but in the confrontation the Tagalogs, in spite of the Kapampangan retreat, were able to hold the positions and expel the attackers.¹⁴⁹ For this battle, they had only a rifle, arrows, machetes and spears. The understanding between the Kapampangan, Creole and Tagalog leaderships was crucial for the survival of the Spanish dominion.¹⁵⁰

The first British initiative after the occupation of Manila and Cavite was projected on the town of Pasig, under Augustinian administration. This town was targeted because of its strategic and commercial importance in its communication with the great Laguna de Bay. The town had been prepared for defense, with troops and cannons at the expense of the convent, headed by the Augustinian lector Juan Bernaola and the Spaniard Andres Blanco. The British column was made up of five hundred men commanded by Thommas Backhouse. On 8 November they attacked Pasig from the left hand where they received fire from a militia of Cagayanés led by Busto.¹⁵¹ The British responded and Busto's men retreated to Marikina. In so doing, the access to the locality was cleared. Backhouse demanded the surrender but the gobernadorcillo refused. The British then began the attack by opening fire with two field cannons, which hastened the defenders in their retreat. Among the prisoners was the king of Jolo, who had previously fled Manila.¹⁵² According to Victoria, the British had gained access to Pasig by land and water

148 *Ibid.*, I, 19-20.

149 *Ibid.*, I, 20. Molina, *Historia de Filipinas*, I, 167.

150 Joaquín, Nick, *Culture and History*, Anvil publishing Inc., Pasig City 2003, 594.

151 Ayerbe, *Sitio y conquista de Manila por los ingleses en 1762*, 87.

152 Martínez de Zúñiga, *Historia de las islas Philipinas*, 639-640.

and had the support of many natives through some Jesuit parishioners.¹⁵³ Pasig remained in British hands until the end of the war. Backhouse later took Cainta and Taytay, where he left a garrison of sepoys.¹⁵⁴ Later, when news of *El Filipino's* arrival was received, Backhouse resumed his campaign. The Filipinos in Taguig tried unsuccessfully to hinder his advance across the lake by sinking his boats. Backhouse met fierce resistance in Pagsanjan, which he burned after a bitter fight and then headed for Batangas. In Lipa, he learned that the shipment of *El Filipino* had reached Simon de Anda. He sacked the town, administered by the Augustinians and returned to Pasig.¹⁵⁵ Some supporters of the British assassinated Father Francisco Hierro, parish priest of San Pablo de los Montes, and Father Andrés Enríquez, parish priest of Tanauan.¹⁵⁶ The Augustinian Miguel Arias was also killed in Tayabas.¹⁵⁷

The British tried to mobilize various groups in the provinces to undermine the Spanish defense. This was the case of the Chinese community, among others. The invaders already had a good part of their support after the capture of Manila. The Chinese of the Parian collaborated with important economic aid and as auxiliary troops. Later they sought the support of the rest of the archipelago. It is the case of what happened in the town of Guagua (Pampanga), under Augustinian administration, where the British intended, according to Castro, to give coverage to an insurrection from Sesmoan and Lubao.¹⁵⁸ After the fall of Manila, numerous sangleyes from different parts of the territory had converged in the Guagua's parian. Their most prominent leaders prepared a rebellion for 24 December 1762, on the eve of Christmas. While the services were being celebrated, the rebels were supposed to kill the Spanish clergy, the governor and the Filipino principales. But the plan was truncated because a Filipino heard the plot and communicated it to the Augustinian Fr. Fabián Astorga, who in turn warned Simón de Anda y

153 Navarro, *Documentos indispensables*, I, 17.

154 Zaide, *Philippine political and cultural History*, II, 13.

155 *Ibid.*, 13; APAF leg. 234, fol 98r-v.

156 APAF leg. 234, fol.112v; Martínez de Zúñiga, *Historia de las islas Philipinas*, 649. Jorde Pérez, Elviro, *Catálogo bio-bibliográfico de los religiosos agustinos de la Provincia del Santísimo Nombre de Jesús de Filipinas*, Establecimiento tipográfico del Colegio de Santo Tomás, Manila, 1901, 244, 282.

157 APAF leg. 234, fol.112v.

158 *Ibid.*, fol. 108 v.

Salazar.¹⁵⁹ The governor wasted no time and left Mexico with three hundred men for Bacolor. He conferred here with the Augustinian vicar provincial Sebastián Moreno and, the following day, went in the direction of neighboring Guagua, where the Sangleyes were in arms. Castro estimates that there were two hundred of them.¹⁶⁰ The governor, who had been unsuccessfully shot by the rebels, commissioned the Augustinians Moreno and Acosta to mediate against the rebels, but they did not even let them enter.¹⁶¹ Anda disregarded Moreno's advice to seize the parian, but following his proposal, he summoned more men from neighboring towns for the assault. With new reinforcements gathered in Bacolor the following day, they stormed Guagua. The last insurrectionists took cover in the church and the convent where they were subdued. They were then tried and summarily executed.¹⁶² On 18 January 1763, the British ordered an expedition to Malolos commanded by Grenadier Captain Sleigh. Four hundred Englishmen, three hundred Malabar blacks and two thousand Chinese collaborators embarked in Manila on ten ships.¹⁶³ On the 19th they entered through the Pumarau River bar until they reached Malolos. The few forces available for defense left in stampede.¹⁶⁴ According to Victoria, for several days the British used spies, Chinese and mestizos, to know the disposition and size of the Spanish forces and to attack them.

The British continued their offensive, now heading towards Bulacan. Busto, who followed their movements closely, arrived in Bulacan and tried unsuccessfully to convince the defense commanders of the futility of resisting the attack and that they should burn the convent and flee. Soon the British arrived. The scarce Spanish troops had taken cover in the convent and church of Bulacan. For defense they had installed several bamboo bulwarks in the four corners of the courtyard and in the sacristy, which faced the opposite

159 Martínez de Zúñiga, *Historia de las islas Philipinas*, 652.

160 APAF leg. 234, fol. 108 v.

161 *Ibid.*, fol. 108.

162 Navarro, *Documentos indispensables*, I, 24-25. APAF leg. 234, fol. 108v-109r. Martínez de Zúñiga, *Historia de las islas Philipinas*, 652-653. Contrary to the belief, which has been transmitted by some Spanish sources of the time, including the Augustinian ones, there were Chinese who collaborated with the Spanish government against the British: Flannery, "The Seven Year's War and the Globalization of Anglo-Iberial Imperial Entanglement" (chapter 12).

163 Martínez de Zúñiga, *Historia de las islas Philipinas*, 643.

164 Navarro, *Documentos indispensables*, I, 26.

side of the courtyard, and falconets in the windows. In total they had three small cannons and six falconets, but most of the weapons were spears and arrows carried by the natives.¹⁶⁵ The Augustinian sources do not agree on the numbers of the defense. According to Castro it was integrated by nineteen Spaniards, three hundred Indios, a cannon without determining caliber, six falconets and three and a half arrobas of gunpowder;¹⁶⁶ while Victoria clarified that the troop was directed by the *alcalde mayor*, the lieutenant general Francisco Cavada (or Cábaos), a company of thirty Spaniards between riflemen and artillerymen, a captain general or constable, and four companies of Bulaqueños. Because there was not enough space inside the church and convent, the Frenchman Francisco de Bretania (or Brittany) and twelve soldiers, José de Busto with some Spaniards and Cagayanes, and the five hundred of the *intendant* Braña, who although he was stationed at the siege of Maysilo had been summoned to Bulacan,¹⁶⁷ were left outside the church and convent.

Over and above the differences provided by the sources, the force of Bulacan was small in any case compared to the British troops coming from Malolos. Once the Hispano-Filipino units were located, the British left in lines of three on the road to Bulacan.¹⁶⁸ When they arrived in front of the convent, they deployed artillery, rifles and cannons to open fire. The defenders used a four-barreled cannon, efficiently manned by the Biscayan Agustín Ibarra. The Augustinian sources do not agree on its location either: was it the tower, the door of the church or in the street? In any case, all of them agreed that this cannon caused numerous casualties among the besiegers, until a bullet in the head killed the one who commanded it.¹⁶⁹ The combat intensified. *Alcalde Mayor* Francisco Cavada and about a hundred soldiers fell in the scuffle. When the gunpowder ran out, the last defenders requested confinement while many Filipinos begun to desert. The British had refused the request and made a bloody entrance into the church, firing at everyone. They beheaded

165 Martínez de Zúñiga, *Historia de las islas Philipinas*, 642.

166 APAF leg. 234, fol 99 r.

167 Navarro, *Documentos indispensables*, I, 26.

168 APAF leg. 234, fol 99 r.

169 *Ibid.*, fol 99 v; Navarro, *Documentos indispensables*, I, 27; Martínez de Zúñiga, *Historia de las islas Philipinas*, 644. Ayerbe, *Sitio y conquista de Manila por los ingleses en 1762*, 97.

those they found inside, among them the Augustinian Recollect Agustín de San Antonio,¹⁷⁰ and the Augustinian chaplain and nurse José de Andrés.¹⁷¹ The British left about three hundred men in Bulacan, most of them sepoys, while the rest returned to Manila. Busto and Eslava added new forces and formed mobile columns of around two hundred men with which they practiced guerrilla warfare. After a while, the British decided to retreat to Manila. On their departure they burned the convent of Bulacan.¹⁷² According to Agustín María de Castro, after the British attacks on Malolos and Bulacan, the occupants hardly left the capital. The most notable were those of La Loma and Malinta, in which they experienced important losses. Malinta was an Augustinian hacienda where the Spaniards had established barracks. In May 1763 the British planned an offensive composed of five hundred Europeans and one thousand Chinese (data provided by Castro). After cautiously advancing, they arrived at the place and subjected it to artillery fire causing great damage to the defenders. In one moment of the battle, a French artilleryman hit the barrels of gunpowder of the adversary producing an incredible explosion. The attackers desisted from continuing and retreated. This was the moment in which those of Malinta came out of their positions and furiously attacked the British conglomerate from the sides. Leading the attack were the French of Sr. Bretaña together with Spanish-Filipino troops.¹⁷³ The Spanish forces and the French allies (deserters from the British forces) pursued the enemy in their retreat towards Manila. Participating in the operation were the companies of Busto, and of Captains Sandoval, Galindo, Espirós and Bernal plus an eight-hundred strong assortment of European and non-European men. The Filipinos turned the British retreat into an inferno. They shot at the British column with their arrows from the woods and the most unexpected points, and although they moved in an orderly fashion, they suffered greatly in these attacks.

170 Ruiz, Licinio. *Sinopsis histórica de la provincia de San Nicolás de Tolentino de las islas Filipinas de la Orden de Agustinos Recoletos*, Tip. Pont. De la Universidad de Santo Tomás, Manila 1925, I, 59-64.

171 APAF leg. 234, fol 99 r-v; Navarro, *Documentos indispensables*, I, 27). Martínez de Zúñiga, *Historia de las islas Philipinas*, 644.); Jorde, *Catálogo*, 301.

172 Martínez de Zúñiga, *Historia de las islas Philipinas*, 645

173 APAF leg. 234, fol. 100 r.

For Agustín María de Castro, this engagement discouraged the British from considering occupying other points outside of Manila.¹⁷⁴ Anda managed to finish organizing his forces with the proceeds from *El Filipino*.¹⁷⁵ Busto, his right arm (for Navarro “los dos brazos”)¹⁷⁶ was named alcalde mayor of Bulacan and lieutenant general, with the task of preparing a trained army, disciplined and prepared in the handling of weapons.¹⁷⁷ For this purpose, he turned Malinta, the Augustinian hacienda a league and a half from Manila, into the general headquarters, with the facilities of officers (stone houses), soldiers (barracks) and the French deserters under the orders of Captain Bretaña (“the most intelligent of those troops, it seems”).¹⁷⁸ From Malinta the force made numerous raids on the suburbs of Manila, in such a way that the British no longer felt safe. The most spectacular was the one that a squad carried out one night in Quiapo, to seize the bells of the church so they could melt them as cannons. It was an operation that could not be stopped by the British.¹⁷⁹ Anda declared the British governor Drake and his advisors as tyrants on 19 May 1763 and offered 10,000 pesos for each one of them, dead or alive.¹⁸⁰ In June 1763, Malinta’s forces had achieved such effectiveness in blockading Manila that its inhabitants began to suffer supply problems. On the 27th a large force of three hundred and fifty riflemen, cavalry and artillery left the capital for Malinta to relieve the pressure. Amidst artillery and rifle fire with the combatants divided by the Maysilo River, the British decided to return to Manila after a powder keg exploded. Busto, for reasons not well known, ordered the burning of the house in Malinta and proceeded

174 *Ibid.*, fol. 100.

175 *Ibid.*, I, 72. Note 1. Navarro estimates the value of the wealth brought by this galleon at 1,304,107 pesos. The Franciscans played a crucial role in transferring this amount until it was delivered to Simón de Anda. The mission of the Filipino Francisco de San Juan, from Pagsanjan (La Laguna) was also fundamental. For his merits in this war, he would later be named alcalde mayor of Tayabas. Among the Augustinians who participated in the work of the royal treasury were Manuel Villaba, parish priest of Arayat (Pampanga) and Pedro Martínez (*Ibid.*, I, 39).

176 Navarro, *Documentos indispensables*, I, 68.

177 Martínez de Zúñiga, *Historia de las islas Philipinas*, 646.

178 *Ibid.*, 651.

179 *Ibid.*, 651-652.

180 Montero y Vidal, *Historia general de Filipinas*, II, 61; APAF leg. 234, fol 99v.

to Meycauayan.¹⁸¹ Meanwhile, Anda later moved his headquarters to Polo, from where he continued to effectively hinder the British sorties.¹⁸²

Silang's Rebellion in Ilocos

At the same time as the arrival of the British in the Philippines, and with direct and indirect encouragement, other insurrections erupted in the islands. We focus on the one led by Diego Silang in Ilocos due to the significance this region held for the Augustinians: they managed more parishes there than in any other, a total of twenty-three.¹⁸³ Diego Silang who was a servant of a Filipino secular clergyman and carrier of correspondence and dispatches between Ilocos and Manila, was in the Philippine capital shortly before the British assaulted it. It seemed that upon his return to Ilocos, according to Navarro, after having been intimate with the “perverse and treacherous Chinese mestizo” Santiago Orendaín, he tried to spread the ideas of insurrection in the towns of Pangasinan and Ilocos itself. Upon arriving in Vigan on 14 December 1762, he participated in a rebellion against the alcalde mayor, Antonio Zabala, demanding greater freedom of trade and the abolition of tribute.¹⁸⁴ Temporarily the leadership was given to the priest of Vigan, Tomás Millán, but shortly thereafter, Silang appointed himself corporal superior of the government.¹⁸⁵ He placed himself under the authority of the British, who gave him the title of alcalde mayor in exchange for his recognition of King George's sovereignty.

On 25 May 1763, Silang imprisoned twelve Augustinians and the Dominican bishop of Nueva Segovia, Bernardo Ustáriz, after robbing them and seizing everything they had.¹⁸⁶ He locked them up in the Bantay convent and organized their execution. But on 28 May 1763, the Spanish mestizo Miguel Vicos, with the help of the infantry captain Pedro Buecbuec,

181 Martínez De Zúñiga, *Historia de las islas Philipinas*, 654. Almost the same: Montero y Vidal, *Historia general de Filipinas*, II, 61-62.

182 Martínez de Zúñiga, *Historia de las islas Philipinas*, 676.

183 For this rebellion we refer to the fundamental work of: Vivar, Pedro del, *Relación de los alzamientos de la ciudad de Vigan, Cabecera de la provincia de Ilocos, en los años de 1762 y 1763*. Year 1764. On this rebellion see: Palanco Aguado, Fernando, “Diego Silang's Revolt: A new approach” in *Philippine Studies* 50, n. 4 (2002), 512-537.

184 Montero y Vidal, *Historia general de Filipinas*, II, 84.

185 APAF leg. 234, fol.110 v.

186 Martínez Noval, *Apuntes histórico, Filipinas*, 195-196.

assassinated Silang with a blunderbuss shot and saved the lives of the friars and the prelate imprisoned in Bantay.¹⁸⁷ Once the province was partially pacified, the bishop, acting as lieutenant captain general, ordered the restitution of the expropriated land to its owners.¹⁸⁸ Then, Ustáriz moved to Pangasinan to establish the dominion and left the command to the provisor and vicar general, Tomás Millán, who in turn acted as *alcalde*. Upon his departure, Vigan again insurrected at the encouragement of Silang's former collaborators, led by his uncle, Nicolás Cariño. This second uprising broke out in the southern part of Ilocos, in the majority towns of secular administration (Vigan, Santa Catalina de Baba, San Vicente, Santo Domingo and Lapog). The northern part (Batac, Laoag and Paoay) not only did not respond to the insurrection incitements but, at the urging of the Augustinians, raised an army of six thousand men.

Meanwhile, some disturbances broke out in Cagayan committed by Silang's men. They centered Tugueragao and southward at the behest of Dabó and Juan Marayac.¹⁸⁹ Anda commissioned Manuel Ignacio de Arza y Urrutia from Alava to the area with the title of lieutenant general and provincial *visitador*. According to Castro, he left with a force of one thousand Calingas,¹⁹⁰ one thousand natives, twenty Spaniards and two hundred Kapampangans who managed to crush the insurgents.¹⁹¹ After these events, Arza joined the Augustinians and their militia in Vigan. The rebels were defeated and many of them summarily executed, like Silang's widow Gabriela.¹⁹² According to Victoria, more than a thousand of the rebels died.¹⁹³

With the pacification of Ilocos, a *Te Deum* was celebrated in Bacolor, the court of Mr. Anda, conducted by three Augustinians. The province had been totally pacified by October 1763, a task that the new *alcalde mayor*, José Pantoja,¹⁹⁴ helped to establish.

187 Navarro, *Documentos indispensables*, I, 30 note 2.

188 Martínez de Zúñiga, *Historia de las islas Philipinas*, 662. A more detailed account in Montero, *Historia general de Filipinas*, II, 84-106.

189 Montero, *Historia general de Filipinas*, II, 111.

190 Navarro, *Documentos indispensables*, I, 86.

191 APAF leg. 234, fol. 111v-112r.

192 *Ibid.*, fol. 112r; Navarro, *Documentos indispensables*, I, 84-85.

193 *Ibid.*, I, 30.

194 APAF leg. 234, fol.112r.

The last uprising that remained to be quelled was that of Pangasinan, which for Martínez de Zúñiga was the “most stubborn of all.” It had begun on 3 November 1762 in Binalatongan and it was headed by Juan de la Cruz Palaris. It was quelled in December 1763 but had ramifications until 1765.¹⁹⁵

Administration of the Augustinian Province During the War

After the occupation of Manila on 5 October 1762, the government of the Province of the Most Holy Name of Jesus of the Philippines moved to the provinces of Tondo and Bulacan, with its main seat in the convents of Quingua and Malolos.

After the death of the provincial Espineira on 21 March 1763, the new interim provincial government was constituted in the convent of Quingua on 13 April. On that day a plenary definitory was summoned where they discussed diverse points of view in agreement with the constitutions of the order. The ruinous state of the estates of the province, the convent of Manila and those of the provinces of Tondo and Bulacan were harshly exposed.¹⁹⁶ The chapter was finally summoned on 16 April 1763 in Quingua and Friar Remigio Hernandez was elected as provincial.¹⁹⁷ Economically, the war was a disaster for the province and left it so poor. The arrival of the mission of thirty Augustinians in *El Filipino*, miraculously saved from being captured by the British, meant unexpected expenses. The first was the transportation from Palapag (Samar), the port where the galleon first anchored, to Bulacan and Pampanga, which required a debt of 8,000 pesos. Once on land, they were welcomed by the Franciscans in their convent in Nueva Cáceres. After finally arriving in Bulacan, it soon became evident that it would be difficult to ensure their sustenance.¹⁹⁸ In view of the circumstances of the study required of the newcomers, they were divided between two convents: Lubao and Candaba, both in Pampanga. Most of them, who had not yet finished their two years of theology studies, were assigned to the convent

195 Martínez De Zúñiga, *Historia de las islas Philipinas*, 663-664; Montero y Vidal, *Historia general de Filipinas*, II, 77, 79, 80-81; Martínez de Zúñiga, *Historia de las islas Philipinas*, 666-667.

196 APAF Libro de Gobierno 9, 62r-64v.

197 APAF Libro de Gobierno 9, 67v-68v. Aparicio, Teófilo, *Misioneros y colonizadores en Filipinas*, Imprenta Agustiniiana, Valladolid 1965, 313-336.

198 APAF Libro de Gobierno 9, 69r-71r.

of Lubao. The students of Arts were assigned to the convent of Candaba. A “language vicar” (for the study of some of the languages of the Augustinian demarcations) was also sent there.

During the war, and especially after the arrival of the mission in *El Filipino*, in order to reestablish cloistered life, the friary of Lubao took on the functions of St. Augustine of Manila. In spite of the difficulties, the canonical rules were maintained, with the morning prayer at the established hours, the celebration of recited mass and in the afternoon the recitation of matins and vespers.¹⁹⁹ With Lubao as the head of the province, the superiors regulated the administration in order to safeguard their own funds. The silver and the different documents were guarded, according to the proper laws, in a box with three keys. At the same time, the jewels rescued from the convent of Manila were deposited in another box, with the key kept in the desk of the Provincial Rector Remigio Hernandez in the convent of Bulacan.²⁰⁰ Another of the provisions approved during this period was the establishment of an infirmary in the convent of Apalit, under the care of Fray Nicolás Serra, a friar versed in pharmacopoeia. The convent infirmary was to take care of the acquisition of medicines arriving from New Spain. The idea of the establishment was to attend to the friars of Pampanga and the Tagalog region, the conventual communities of Lubao and Candaba, but it was also intended for the Spaniards who needed it.²⁰¹

The war situation in the Philippines affected the college in Valladolid. The admission of novices was suspended until further notice due to the impossibility of continuing with the works and sending a mission²⁰².

One of the logical concerns of the provincial government was the issue about communications with the authorities and the warning to be extremely careful. Specifically, it was forbidden for any religious of the provinces of the Tagalogs and Pampanga to go without a permission to the town of Bacolor,

199 *Ibid.*, 71v-72v.

200 *Ibid.*, 73r-75 v.

201 *Ibid.*, 72v-73r.

202 The complicated circumstances of the work in Valladolid along with other litigation in: Rodríguez, Isacio, “El Colegio de Agustinos de Valladolid, Historia de la construcción,” *Archivo Agustiniiano* 66 (1982), 364-372. Paniagua, Ricardo, “La alimentación y la vida cotidiana en el Real Colegio-Seminario de los Agustinos Filipinos de Valladolid en el siglo XVIII,” *Archivo Agustiniiano* 88 (2004), 141-142.

the usual seat of the Court of Anda, to discuss any matter with the governor or other persons. It was emphasized that no friar should speak “...or write to another religious or secular about the present situation of the troops, about whether or not they are working on expeditions and military actions because it is such a delicate and hateful matter that it can only produce feelings against our Holy habit and order”.²⁰³ The collaboration of the Augustinians with Simon de Anda was smooth, constant and productive during the war. The friars responded quickly and enthusiastically to the agonizing demands for help from the friar from Alava. The government books and the different communications only warn of a small difference or reason for friction, referring to a certain distrust that the governor had with an Augustinian student, which in any case did not escalate.²⁰⁴

The most significant point of disagreement with Simon de Anda occurred in the final stretch of the war. It seemed that the somewhat ambiguous answer given by the Augustinian provincial Remigio Hernandez to a reserved communication that Anda had sent in September 1763 to the different superiors of the religious communities regarding his continuity in command, could have been at the origin of the hostility that Anda had towards the Augustinians when years later he returned to the Philippines to exercise his command as governor (1770-1776).²⁰⁵ The disagreement was undoubtedly due to the alignment of the

203 APAF Government Book 9, 75 v, Convent of Nuestra Señora de la Concepción of Malolos, 31.10.1763, Intermediate Congregation. Seventh resolution. The chapter of 29 April 1762 had already included a resolution on the control of the communications of the religious with bishops and *alcaldes mayores*, that with the exceptions for ex-provincials, retired professors, practicing or former provincials, they should have the approval of the provincial vicars or priors of the capitulars (APAF Libro de Gobierno 9, 58 r).

204 *Ibid.*, 72v-73r.

205 Fr. Hernandez said in his response, written in Bulacan on 28 September 1763: “ Unless my Laws forbade me from deciding on such matters, I could say on these points, bearing in mind the Laws of Epiqueya with the difficult appeal to the sovereign, what Your Lordship can serve, but since the high understanding of the Real Audiencia is so superior, with what Your Highness determines and resolves, I will conform to your opinion in the service of both Majesties and of Your Lordship...”. Navarro, *Documentos Indispensables*, II, 446-450. This same author expresses his opinion on Anda’s confrontation with the Augustinians: “But once Señor Anda was enthroned on the pedestal of Governor and Captain General of the Philippines, he was not the same man he had been during the war, neither for his intimate Busto, nor for the religious Corporations, especially the Augustinian which was the most helpful to him when it came to these, the refusal that some provincials, especially the Augustinian, had asked him in his famous letters about whether once peace had been made, the Government of the islands

Augustinians with the thesis of Oidor Villacorta (206).²⁰⁶ The frigate *Santa Rosa* arrived in Manila in March 1764 with the new governor of the Philippines, Francisco Javier de la Torre. By that time and for half a year the British had only controlled Manila and Cavite, and were struggling to avoid the total blockade to which Simon de Anda had subjected them. The ship set sail directly to Pampanga, without reaching Manila, to deliver the dispatches to Simon de Anda in the Augustinian convent of Bacolor. Anda recognized the new authority and handed him the command post. By then the war had ended with the Treaty of Paris, signed on 10 February 1763, in which the occupation of Manila was not even known. Spanish and British established a round of negotiations to proceed with the surrender of the city. Finally on 31 May Simón de Anda entered the capital of the islands and the British staged the surrender. The newly arrived governor excused himself from attending the act so as not to take the limelight away from Anda.²⁰⁷ For the Augustinians, the war left a terrible toll of hardship, destruction and death which would take time to recover. The worst off among the convents was undoubtedly the convent of St. Augustine. Once it was known that the Augustinians were collaborating with Anda, the British authorities approved more drastic provisions: the seizure was ordered by decrees of 3 November and 8 December 1762. Santiago Orendain, lawyer and vecino of Manila, was behind all these actions.²⁰⁸ On 3 November, about ninety bags of

should fall to the Archbishop or to the Audiencia; or if he was the one called to continue governing “by virtue of the rule of the epikeia or the law called Postliminio”, the refusal of the Augustinian Fr. Remigio Hernandez to the pretension of Mr. Anda because it was in opposition to what was disposed by the laws of the Indies and the Royal Decrees (...) excited the irascibility of Mr. Anda, who in this second stage translated all his acts concerning the Augustinians, into hatred accompanied by irreconcilable bitterness”. (*Ibid...* I, 68-62), I, 68-69).

206 “The Augustinian Fathers lost all these sacrifices to Sr. Anda, because some of their members in the disputes that arose over the succession of the government, after the death of the archbishop, followed the party of Sr. Villacorta, and when consulted by their provincial, Sr. Anda responded that this litigation should be sentenced by the Real Audiencia, and that he should abide by its decision. This way of proceeding of the Augustinians displeased him so much that he not only forgot all the services they had rendered him, but having returned as Governor with the frivolous pretext that they did not want to submit to the Visitation and Patronage, he sent soldiers to Pampanga; he confiscated all their goods, and brought all the religious to Manila as prisoners, substituting Indio clerics in their place”. Martínez de Zúñiga, *Historia de las islas Philipinas*, 685.

207 Fish, *When Britain ruled the Philippines*, 175.

208 Rodríguez-Álvarez, *Al servicio del Evangelio*, 181.

money of 1,000 pesos were found and expropriated in the prior's cell, which were destined for pious works, one part belonging to the religious and the other to vecinos of the city. The remaining friars were expelled from the convent and for a time they moved to the Augustinian Recollects. But they were not safe there either "because they were declared traitors and were subjected to many humiliations".²⁰⁹ The confiscated objects were bought by different merchants, who acquired from pallets to tombs, including the choir stalls, paintings, sheets from the sacristy, bells from the tower, beams and even the roof tiles.²¹⁰ In the event of the 8th, they particularly took books,²¹¹ frontispieces, candlesticks, axes, tabernacles, lecterns, lecterns, missals, archives, beams, organs, etc. The plundering was continuous and persistent.²¹² Castro who witnessed the event relates the British ravaged everything for "fourteen days as there were more than a hundred men and they could not almost finish taking everything."²¹³ Coinciding with this seizure, the deportation of twelve Augustinians from the convent was decreed, headed by their prior Calchetas.²¹⁴ The looting of the procurement department left many of the needs of parish priests and missionaries of the archipelago without funds. There are several numbers provided in relation to the figures relative to the losses of the convent of San

209 Merino, "El convento agustiniano de San Pablo de Manila", 110.

210 Navarro, *Documentos Indispensables*, I, 16; "And finally, they were so angry with us that they could not eat the houses that the convent of Manila had, so they tore off the boards and burned them". APAF leg. 234, fol 98r. A. M de Castro.

211 We recovered Castro's testimony about the library: "It was a large, clear and beautiful piece; it had twenty shelves of fine and exquisite wood, called narra, with many colorful moldings and an Augustinian Doctor painted on the top of each shelf. Each shelf had eight drawers or boxes, in each drawer, from twenty to thirty books with the label facing upwards; they were all very good books, ancient and modern, of all faculties and sciences (...) it also had two fine tables, large and beautiful chairs, ladders to climb to the last drawers, two globes, two spheres of Europe, several maps and other curiosities; all of which was estimated at thirty thousand pesos fuertes. I do not include the fine bookcases in the private cells of some conventual religious". Merino, "El convento agustiniano de San Pablo de Manila", 91.

212 Martínez de Zúñiga, *Historia de las islas Philipinas*, 683.

213 Merino, "El convento agustiniano de San Pablo de Manila", 113.

214 "After the fathers had embarked, the British entered their convent and plundered it and left nothing in it. They found six thousand pesos of coined silver that they had hidden in the garden, and the carved silver, which they had hidden when they tried to pay the million, without sparing the relics of the saints that they threw on the floor, to take the reliquaries in which they were placed" Martínez de Zúñiga, *Historia de las islas Philipinas*, 642.

Agustin of Manila. In this regard, the figures presented by the procurators of the province valued the losses at 222,963 *pesos fuertes*, 3 *reales* and 10 grains, after taking into account the 9,790 pesos of the goods that were later returned by the British.²¹⁵ Navarro, for his part, reproduced a testimony dated 7 June 1764 (“*testimonio de lo que perdió la provincia [de Agustinos] en invasión inglesa año de 1764*” [account of what the province [of the Augustinians] lost in the British invasion of 1764.]) in which the amounts are qualified as 416,752 pesos fuertes, 9 reales, and 10 grains. If we deduct the 9,790 pesos returned, we are left with 406,962 pesos.²¹⁶

The best description of the state of San Agustin at the time of its return is provided by Agustín María de Castro. Being faithful to his usual expressiveness, he affirms that “they left the convent in such a bad state that when we returned to recover it, which was in January 1764, or shortly before, we did not find a bench or board on which to sit or a nail on which to hang our hats.”²¹⁷ Other affected convents were those of Bulacan and Pampanga, some of whose facilities had been seriously damaged, if not destroyed, during the conflict; those of Guadalupe and Pasig, in the province of Tondo; and those of San Pablo de los Montes, Lipa and Tanauan (Batangas). The haciendas also suffered the effects of the war, especially those of Mandaloya, Pasay, Maysapaan and Alanguilan.²¹⁸ In addition, the capture of the *Santísima Trinidad* meant for the province the loss of many sacks of pious works that were sent to Acapulco, jewelry and clothes that were sent to the school of Valladolid.

However, the worst losses, as is the case with all wars, were obviously at the human level. These included the deportees, who numbered twelve in all. Seven were destined for Goa: Juan Gutiérrez, rector of the college of Valladolid and Santiago Tobar, president of the hospice of Mexico, both taken prisoner in the *Santísima Trinidad*. Eusebio Polo, José Calderón, who died in Goa in 1764, Manuel García de Santo Tomás, Tomás Belda and Nicolás Yaquer. While the remaining five ended up in London: Alonso Guerrero, procurator, Santiago

215 APAF Libro de Gobierno 9, 83r-v. Convento de Santiago de Quingua, 4.01.1764.

216 Navarro, *Documentos indispensables*, I, 211-215; see also: Rodríguez, *Historia de la provincia*, III, 182-188. Castro in his first assessment noted that the loss of the church and convent amounted to 237,753 pesos Merino, “*El convento agustiniano de San Pablo de Manila*”, 112.

217 *Ibid.*, 113.

218 *Ibid.*, 114.

Lucio, Sebastián Martínez, (these three died in the English capital), Francisco Javier Calchetas, prior of San Agustín and Antonio Blanco.²¹⁹ Those who died in operations related to the war or as a direct consequence of it must be added to the four who died as a result of the deportation, resulting in a total of six religious. Four have been cited as casualties in military operations: Francisco Hierro in San Pablo de los Montes, Andrés Enríquez in Tanauan, Miguel Arias in Tayabas, and José de Andrés in Bulacan. The other two were Tomás Sánchez Parada, prior of Taal, captured by the British and interned in the hospital of San Juan de Dios where he died²²⁰ and Eugenio de Moya who was shot by a British sentry in Manila after he was mistaken for a spy.²²¹ The war with the British brought about disruptions and changes on all levels. For one thing, Spanish sovereignty ran the risk of disappearing after one hundred and ninety-seven years of continuous domination. The participation of the regular communities in the action against the invader was decisive. Without their help it would have been very difficult to mobilize the indispensable participation of the Filipinos in the resistance, an obligatory and fundamental resource, because without them the scarce Spanish community could have done little or nothing. The Augustinians, together with the Franciscans, were involved at the highest level. Their actions in Pampanga and Bulacan, provinces close to Manila, provided the first reinforcements necessary to organize the embryo of what would become an army after a few months. The collaboration of the friars of the religious order was constant and effortless with the military authority during practically the entire war, both at the human and logistical levels. The sword and the cross as a

219 Navarro, *Documentos indispensables*, I, 16, 39. The date of deportation has been considered 2 March 1763. Montero y Vidal, *Historia general de Filipinas*, II, 55; APAF leg. 234, fol. 99 v.

220 Jorde Pérez, Elviro, *Catálogo*, 242.

221 Castro, Agustín María, *Misioneros agustinos en el Extremo Oriente 1565-1780*, edited by Manuel Merino, Instituto Santo Toribio de Mogrovejo, Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, Madrid 1954, 88-89. Victoria also refers to it in his memoir: "...The furious enemy committed yet another major attack: There was an insane religious man who was in San Juan de Dios (not even a convent was left in my province); he left the convent and strolled towards the Fortress; The sentries fired a bullet at him and he fell dead, and notwithstanding the fact that they had stated that he was insane, they hung him on the gallows and later buried him under it in disgrace and humiliation of the habit he wore, because of the hatred they had for his brothers and in revenge for the harm—they said—that they had done to them with these examples". Navarro, *Documentos indispensables*, I, 17.

constant formula in the history of the Philippines seemed to work once again. The Augustinian province acted with the double objective of maintaining Spanish sovereignty and the Catholic religion. It was understood that the one could not exist without the other in the Philippines. For the Augustinians, as for the rest of the religious corporations, a hypothetical British triumph would have endangered their centuries-old evangelical work in the country. For the civil-military authorities, the collaboration of the friars, a fundamental link in the intermediation with the Filipinos, represented one of the most successful guarantees tested in the past in the maintenance of sovereignty. For these reasons the Augustinian friars understood that their obligation was to be involved at the highest level, and for the same reasons the British acted decisively against them. Years later, after the time of litigation with Simon de Anda y Salazar and the royalist Archbishop Basilio Sancho de Santa Justa y Rufina, the royal patronage sought that the religious orders would retain the spiritual administration they had in the seventeen-sixties. This claim, which was conveyed through a series of royal orders that frequently collided with the rights legitimately claimed by the secular clergy, was their obsession until the end of the 19th century. Behind it was the geopolitical role that the patronage had deposited in the friars, which they had successfully assumed precisely during the time of the British invasion and which it was intended that they would always perform.

Annex 1. Appointments from the provincial chapter of the Augustinian province of the Philippines on 29 April 1762^[1].

CONVENTO DE SAN PABLO DE MANILA	
Prior	P. Lector Fr. Francisco Javier Calchetas
Subprior	P. Predicador Fr. Pedro Pérez
Procurador	Hermano Fr. Manuel Revollo
Lector de Teología	P. Fr. José Franco
Sacristán	<i>ad libitum</i> del provincial

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TONDO		Voto en capítulo
Tondo	Prior, P. Definidor Fr. Miguel Braña	X
Guadalupe	Prior, P. Lector Jubilado Fr. Juan Facundo Messeguer	
Pasig	Prior, P. Lector jubilado Fr. Juan Bernaola	X
Parañaque	Prior, P. predicador Fr. Manuel de Santo Tomás de Villanova	X
Malate	<i>ad libitum</i> del provincial: Prior Definidor Fr. Gerónimo Noreña	X
Taguig	Vicario prior, P. ex definidor Fr. José Calderón	
Tambobong	Vicario prior, P. Provincial Absoluto Fr. Pedro Velasco	
Las Piñas	Ministro P. Fr. Gregorio Giner	
Caloocan	Ministro P. Fr. Antonio de San Próspero	

PAMPANGA		Voto en capítulo
Lubao	Prior, P. Ex definidor Fr. Diego Noguero	X
Bacolor	Prior, P. Definidor Fr. Sebastián Moreno	X
Macabebe	Prior, P. Predicador Fr. Pedro Freire	X
Candaba	Prior, P. Lector Fr. Manuel Delgado	X
Guagua (Vava)	Prior, P. Lector Jubilado Fr. Manuel Carrillo	X
México	Vicario prior, P. Fr. José Sales	
Gapang	Vicario prior, P. Fr. Nicolás Ripoll	
Apalit	Vicario prior, P. Definidor Fr. Mariano Alafont	
Sexmoan	Vicario prior, P. Fr. Francisco Álvarez	
Betis	Vicario prior, P. Ex Visitador Fr. Antonio León	
Santa Rita y Porac	Vicario prior, P. Fr. Melchor Jamardo	

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Magalang	Vicario prior, P. Fr. Vicente Pérez	
Tarlac	Vicario prior, P. Fr. Manuel Serradel	
Arayat	Vicario prior, P. Fr. Manuel Villalba	
Minalin	Vicario prior, P. Fr. Ex Definidor Fr. Lorenzo Barreda	
Santor y Bongabon	Vicario prior, P. Fr. Juan Antonio Altalaguerri	
San José	Vicario prior, P. Fr. Benito Roza	
San Miguel de Mayumo	Vicario prior, P. Fr. Eugenio Garrido	
San Fernando	Vicario prior, P. Fr. Pedro Martínez	
Pinpin	Vicario prior, P. Fr. Agustín Pampliega	
Tayug y San Nicolás	Misionero P. Fr. Juan Arrigue [Juan del Rosario]	

BULACAN		Voto en capítulo
Bulacán	Prior, P. Lector Fr. Remigio Hernández	X
Malolos	Prior, P. Predicador Fr. Martín Aguirre	X
Calumpit	Vicario prior, P. Lector Jubilado Fr. Pablo Campos	
Hagonoy	Vicario prior, P. Fr. José León	
Quingua	Vicario prior, P. Fr. Domingo Beovide	
Bigaa	Vicario prior, P. Fr. Bernardo de San Guillermo	
Angat	Vicario prior, P. Fr. Francisco Tejado	
Baliuag	Vicario prior, P. Fr. Vicente Castañeda	
Guiguinto	Vicario prior, P. Fr. Francisco Bencuchillo	
Paombong	Vicario prior, P. Fr. Alonso de Salazar	

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ILOCOS		Voto en capítulo
Agoo	Vicario prior, P. Fr. José Torres	
Bacnotan	Vicario prior, P. Fr. Tomás Torres	
Cabatuan	Vicario prior, P. Fr. Santiago Rodríguez	
Aringay	Vicario prior, P. Lector Fr. Manuel Muñoz	
Balanac	Vicario prior, P. Fr. Fernando Rey	

CEBÚ		Voto en capítulo
Cebú (convento)	Prior, P. Definidor Fr. Jacinto Rico	X
San Nicolás	Vicario prior, P. Lector Fr. Alipio Avenia	
Argao	Vicario prior, P. Fr. Andrés Puertas	
Boljoon (Bolahon)	Vicario prior, P. Fr. Francisco Monesterio	
Opon	Vicario prior, P. Fr. Manuel Murguía	
Carcar y Toloyan	Vicario prior, P. Fr. José Porrozarri	
Talamban	Ministro P. Fr. Francisco Espina	

PANAY		Voto en capítulo
Panay	Prior P. predicador Fr. Francisco Valenzuela	X
Dumarao	Vicario prior, P. Fr. Pedro Resano	
Capiz	Vicario prior, P. Fr. Tadeo de la Consolación	
Dumalag	Vicario prior, P. Fr. Andrés de Izaga	

ILOILO		Voto en capítulo
Oton	Prior, P. predicador Fr. Luis Torreblancas	X
Jaro (Xaro)	Prior, P. Fr. Bartolomé Pillado	X
Dumangas	Vicario prior, P. Fr. Manuel Rodríguez	
Passi	Vicario prior, P. Lector Fr. Narciso Mañoso	
Laglag	Vicario prior, P. Fr. Vicente del Campo	
Antique	Vicario prior, P. Fr. Tomás Ruiz	
Tigbauan	Vicario prior, P. Fr. Francisco Jiménez	
Guimbal	Vicario prior, P. Fr. Joan Campos	
Igaras	Vicario prior, P. Fr. Juan Aguado	
Miagao	Vicario prior, P. Fr. Nicolás Gamarra	
Anilao	Vicario prior, P. Fr. Juan Ferrer	
Camando	Vicario prior, P. Fr. Francisco Cuesta	
Pototan	Vicario prior, P. Fr. Enrique del Castillo	
Lambunao y Calinog	Vicario prior, P. Fr. José de Santa Cruz	
Bugason	Vicario prior, P. Fr. Antonio Pardo	
Sibalom	Vicario prior, P. Fr. José Amorós	
Alimodian	Vicario prior, P. Fr. Andrés Solar	
Maasin	Vicario prior, P. Fr. Antonio López	
Matagub	Vicario prior, P. Fr. Ignacio Clapera	
Santa Bárbara	Ministro P. Fr. Felipe Ruiz	

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BALAYAN		Voto en capítulo
Taal	prior, P. Predicador Fr. Tomás Parada	X
San Pablo de los Montes	Vicario prior, P. Fr. Francisco Hierro	
Bauan	Vicario prior, P. Ex Definidor Fr. José Victoria	
Batangas	Vicario prior, P. Fr. Manuel Baceta	
Lipa	Vicario prior, P. Fr. José Montero	
Tiaong	Vicario prior, P. Fr. Lucas Prieto	

MÉXICO		Voto en capítulo
Hospicio de Santo Tomás de Villanueva de México	Presidente P. Lector Fr. Juan Otero compañero: P. Fr. Santiago Tovar	

ESPAÑA		Voto en capítulo
Colegio y seminario de Valladolid	Rector P. Predicador Fr. Juan Gutiérrez	
Comisario procurador de las dos curias de Madrid y Roma	Primero lugar: P. Ex Definidor Fr. Antón Mozo Segundo Lugar: P. Predicador Fr. Juan Gutiérrez	

^[1] APAF Libro de Gobierno 9, 54r- 59r

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A Librarian's Chronicle: The British Invasion and Fray Agustín Maria Castro

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Abstract

FRAY AGUSTÍN MARIA Castro, O.S.A., who lived during the British invasion, provides one of the most well-documented experiences of an Augustinian friar in the Philippines. He was the biographer and librarian of several Augustinian convents in the country, including that of San Agustín in Intramuros. He was in Manila and was its librarian when the British soldiers ransacked the convent and left almost nothing, “not even a single nail head where to hang a jacket” according to his narrative.

This article provides an analysis of the various works of Fray Agustín Maria Castro, now housed in the archive of the Augustinians in Valladolid, Spain. His papers provide detailed information about the convent, particularly the friars' library, and also discusses the active involvement of the Augustinians in the war against the British forces. This involvement ranged from manufacturing bombs to

recruiting local soldiers, and gives a wide-ranging chronicle of the event from the friar's perspective.

KEYWORDS: The Augustinians, British invasion, Fray Agustín Maria Castro, O.S.A.

Introduction

THE AUGUSTINIANS, being the first religious order to arrive in the Philippines, witnessed almost the entire history of the country—from the making of a nation in 1565 until today. They have been part of the lives of Filipinos since the foundation of the towns, beginning with religious formation and civic re-organization. They were also present in times of disasters, wars, and even religious struggles.

The British invasion of Manila in 1762, however, made a particularly significant mark in the history of the Augustinians in the Philippines. It was the first time that the Augustinians were expelled from their Provincial House in Manila, and many of the Order's treasures and heritage, which were lost during this time, were never recovered. This invasion was chronicled just a few years later by Fray Agustín Maria Castro, the librarian at the Convent of San Agustin in Intramuros.

The Augustinians in the Philippines

They arrived in the Philippines in 1565, together with the Adelantado Miguel Lopez de Legazpi, 44 years after Ferdinand Magellan was killed in Cebu. Being the chaplains of the fleet during the first years of conquest, the Augustinians were given the responsibility to be custodians of Philippine colonial material heritage, such as the image of the Sto. Niño de Cebu and the Ecce Homo¹.

Until the arrival of the Franciscans in 1578, the Jesuits in 1581, the Dominicans in 1587, and the Recollects in 1606, the Augustinians were the only group of missionaries serving in the Philippines. Even after the geographical division in 1594, the Augustinians obtained the largest and most profitable mission territory among the religious orders.

1 Aside from Fray Gaspar de San Agustin, who gave an account of the finding the Ecce Homo, only the *Memoria* written by Fray Martin de Rada, a report carried by Fray Diego Herrera to Spain, mentioned to King Philip II the findings of both images.

One of the most important convents built by the order was the San Agustin (also named the Church of San Pablo) in Intramuros, Manila, which served as the provincial house and the house of formation in the Philippines. It was built to accommodate several friars in charge of the provincial administration and those who arrived for the mission. Through time, the convent became a repository of different important objects accumulated and brought by the friars—documents and books, gold, silver, ivory, and even types of plants and insects.

The San Agustin convent has a storied past. The attack in Manila by Chinese Limahong in 1574 caused the burning of the San Agustin church and convent. In the same year, the Spanish civil authorities requested that the Augustinians contain the rebellion of the Manila residents. In 1600, when the Dutch attempted an attack, they served as chaplains of the troops. There were also four Augustinians who participated in the battle against the Chinese during their revolt in 1639. These priests voluntarily recruited Filipinos from their respective parishes, while the rest of the friars in Manila played their role by supplying food to the troops. The Order also contributed to the construction and fortification of the walls in Manila Bay.²

Given the direct or indirect involvement of the friars in these wars, it is noteworthy that the Augustinian Province in the Philippines issued the initial decree on banning guns and armaments in 1586. This decree was seen as aligning with the prohibition outlined in the Order's constitutions. Nevertheless, considering that the archipelago was a *campo or tierra de guerra*, the religious were allowed to carry guns.³ In 1601, the Provincial Chapter endorsed the authorization for friars to carry guns. However, this support was intended to be kept within the friars' circle and not disclosed to the public. Moreover, only a limited number of friars were permitted to possess guns, and these firearms were not to be used by them, even in situations of friendly fire.⁴

Fray Agustín Maria Castro (1740-1801)

Many friars who arrived in the Philippines were men of honor, commitment, and intelligence. Many of them immersed themselves in

2 Isacio Rodriguez. *The Augustinian Monastery in Intramuros*. Manila, 1976, 157-178.

3 *Libro de Gobierno* 1, 48. Archivo Provincial de los Agustinos Filipinos (APAF) 1. Real Colegio de Pp. Agustinos, Valladolid, España.

4 *Ibid*, 81

prayer, service, and studies. Although they devoted much of their time to the science of the divine, they also produced works of great value, worthy of human recognition, in the fields of the arts and humanities. Among those who labored in such an area was Fray Agustín Maria Castro.



IMAGE 1. A depiction of Fr. Agustín Maria de Castro painted by Reynaldo Punelas (2013), San Agustín Convent, Manila.

He was born on 16 August 1740, in the town of La Bañeza in the province of Leon, Spain. His parents were Pedro Andres de Castro and Juliana de Amuedo, renowned for their devoutness and exemplary lifestyle. He was raised under the guidance of his two uncle priests, who also acted as his godparents.

At the age of 16, he became a member of the Augustinian Order by enrolling at the Colegio Seminario de Valladolid, an institution that trained individuals for religious work, specifically for missions in the Philippines and the Far East. On 29 September 1756, Fr. Jose Gonzalez, one of the founders of the College-Seminary, officially authorized his investiture of the Augustinian habit. Although the precise date of his departure from Spain is unknown, it is certain that by 1757, he had already arrived in Mexico and was employed at the hospice belonging to the Order. This hospice also accommodated those who were passing through on their way to the Philippines. He made his profession of vows on October 2 of the same year. Due to the unavailability of ships to transport him to Manila, he was compelled to remain in Mexico for an additional two years. During this time, he made use of the opportunity to pursue studies in Philosophy and Theology.

On his journey to Mexico, he visited various Augustinian communities in Spain, such as San Felipe El Real in Madrid, as well as convents in Cordoba and Cadiz. He even documented their historical background in his writings. In his later writings, he drew a parallel between the Augustinian Mexican convents and the San Agustin Convent in Manila.

In 1759, still about to finish his studies in Philosophy and Theology at the Convent of San Agustin, Fray Castro had his exposure to the Provincial archive and library, doing his research primarily on the matters of the history of the Augustinians in the Philippines. Just after he was ordained priest, he was immediately appointed as the librarian (1762) of the said convent, which he received with much enthusiasm as he found an opportunity to gather more data and notes for his historical endeavors.⁵

Fray Castro was in the convent of Intramuros Manila when the British forces anchored in Manila Bay in September 1762. Together with other Augustinians who escaped and resisted the British invasion, they manifested their loyalty to the Spanish crown and refused to surrender. While retreating to the provinces, north of Manila, Castro witnessed the contributions of his fellow Augustinians supporting Simon de Anda.

Fray Castro and the other Augustinians returned to the convent of San Agustin after the Treaty of Paris in 1763 and Manila's return to Spain, only to

5 J. Elviro Jorde Pérez. *Catálogo Bio-Bibliográfico de los Religiosos Agustinos de la Provincia del Santísimo Nombre de Jesús de las islas Filipinas, desde su fundación hasta nuestros días*. Manila: 1901, 313.

discover that the British soldiers had twice plundered it. The library, which he was very familiar with, was viciously robbed, and almost nothing was left.⁶ Since there was nothing he could do in relation to his work, and due to the lack of priests at that time in the provinces, he obediently transferred to various other assignments. In 1768, he traveled to the island of Cebu with the specific intention of fulfilling the role of priest in Boljoon. In addition, he oversaw the governance of Jaro and Ormoc in Leyte, as well as many other towns in Samar, throughout the subsequent years.



IMAGE 2. An undated bookplate with the iconic emblem of the Order of Saint Augustine of a flaming heart pierced by an arrow found in a majority of the materials currently at the San Agustin Library in Intramuros, Manila.

6 Castro, op cit., in *MIss. Hispan. VIII* (1951), 111-112.

Fray Castro repopulated the mostly empty library shelves with materials from Cebu, Iloilo and Leyte, creating a system of cataloguing according to numbered shelves and ex libris bookplates. A very commonly seen bookplate at the San Agustin library now for example (and not found in any of the materials in Valladolid nor in the dispersed materials in the U.S. or the U.K.), is a bookplate with the Augustinian emblem of a pierced heart over (in this case) an actual book. On each side of the emblem is the number of the drawer and the shelf (Cajon y Estante) of the material- reminiscent of the way materials were arranged pre-British invasion.

Also within this period, he started to write the *Osario Venerable*, a biography of the Augustinian missionaries in the Philippines and their missionary endeavors. He was again assigned to other parishes in Batangas, Bulacan, Pampanga, and Ilocos until 1778, after which he came back to Manila, where he continued writing the *Osario Venerable* and the *Historia del Convento de San Pablo* or San Agustin. Before his death in Manila on December 31, 1801,⁷ Fray Castro finished several pieces of writing that are significant in reconstructing the history of the Philippines, the Augustinians, and the British invasion in the Philippines. He finished writing the *Historia del insigne convento de San Agustín de Manila* in 1770, *La Conquista de Cebú é invasión del Santo Niño*, and the *Osario Venerable* in 1777. His other works are: *Vida de los Santos Barlaan y Josafat*; *Vida de San Agustín nuestro padre*; *Cartas edificantes de las Islas Filipinas*; *Viaje a Taal y Balayan*; *Historia de la Provincia de Batangas*; and *Memoria de todos los religiosos*.

In his work *Osario Venerable*, he states that he removed his pious predecessors from their graves and reverently placed them in a more suitable and dignified ossuary⁸. This work is a compilation of the biography of friars and notable individuals belonging to the Augustinian Province in the Philippines, recollections of the province's benefactors, a comprehensive list of all convents established by the Order, a Parishioner registry managed by the Augustinian Fathers, a Christian registry managed by the Augustinian Friars in China, several accounts detailing the state of the island of Leyte during its transfer from the Jesuits to the Augustinians, Maps depicting the Philippine provinces, contributions, and parishes under the administration

7 Jorde, 313.

8 Agustín María Castro. *Osario Venerable*. Madrid: CSIC, 1954, 15.

of the Augustinians, reports detailing the parishes and residences established by the Augustinian province in the Philippines, as well as those that were transferred to other religious orders at various times, and a list of friars who landed in the Philippines, arranged in alphabetical order. It also includes the *Biblioteca Idiomática* which contains a comprehensive list of secondary authors, sources, commentators, and translators. It provides information on the language in which these works were written, printed, or written, their quality, place of publication, and an index of notable discoveries. Additionally, it includes annotations on the animosities of the fathers in the first volume of Fray Gaspar de San Agustín's *Conquista de las Islas Filipinas*.

In addition to this, his *Historia del insigne convento de San Pablo de Manila* provides a detailed account of the friars' experience during the British invasion in the Philippines. This account was produced shortly after the invasion had taken place. It encompasses the historical account of the convent, including its distinctive attributes, valuable possessions, and intangible cultural assets. In this book, Fray Castro provided a comprehensive and specific account of the missing artefacts.

The Augustinians and the British soldiers

The news of the war between Spain and England in January 1761 reached the Philippines slowly. It began as a rumor, but it started to emerge often in certain personal communications and letters.

Among the Augustinian friars, Fr. Jose Cuadrado received a letter in which he was told about the declaration of war between Spain and England. Fray Agustín Maria Castro wrote, "Fray Jose Cuadrado, who was the Bishop of Nueva Segovia, learned about the declaration of war and informed Governor General Rojo, who simply ignored the threat, saying it was only hearsay."⁹

On 14 September 1762, a British fleet led by Admiral Samuel Cornish and Brigadier William Draper showed up in Manila Bay, demanding the city's surrender. The capitulation happened swiftly and sooner than expected.¹⁰ Several reasons were given for the easy surrender by Castro: the inadequacies and ignorance of state officials, the poor health of the archbishop and also Governor-General Rojo, the huge disparity in numbers of the Spanish forces,

9 Agustín Maria Castro. *Relacion Sucinta, clara, i veridica, de la toma de Manila por la escuadra Ynglesa*. Manila, 1770. APAF 324, 92. Also See. APAF 232, 3-b.

10 Castro, *Relacion*, 94.

and the observation that the Spanish citizens and their children were not the same as the Spanish in Spain when it comes to their courage in fighting against the enemies.¹¹ During the siege, the religious orders and the secular clergy cooperated in various ways to defend Manila.¹² The Augustinians maintained their loyalty to the Crown of Spain. Fr. Pedro Espinyera, the Augustinian Provincial Superior, warned the then auditor, Simon de Anda, of the British obsession with persecuting the religious and seizing the properties of the San Agustin convent in Manila and nearby provinces because of their unwavering loyalty to Spain and resistance to the British. A personal declaration written by Fr. Manuel Rebollo, Procurator of the San Agustin convent, provides us with information regarding the reason for the confrontation between the British forces and the Augustinians. It says:

“Literal testimony of the petition of Fr. Manuel Rebollo, procurator of the San Agustin convent of the city of Manila, before the commissaries, designed by the Superior Government of these Islands for the purpose of taking information from the witnesses regarding the British declaration of the Augustinians as traitors to both majesties, Catholic and British, and seizing their properties of gold, silver, personal property, and furniture belonging to their monastery of San Pablo (San Agustin) of the Calceated Augustinians.”¹³

Fr. Benigno Hernandez, who was the Rector of the Convent of San Agustin at that time, wrote a letter addressed to Simon de Anda about the state of the convent dated 18 July 1763, manifesting the courage of the Augustinian friars and the threat brought by their decision not to bow down to the British forces.

“That he knows for sure that a decree was issued by the Governor and British council to publicly condemn the calceated religious of the Order of St. Augustine as traitors, on grounds of their loyalty to the Catholic Majesty, and for opposing the seizing of the provinces, as they were much intent in doing, an operation to which was very opposed the most Illustrious Don Simon de Anda y

11 *Ibid.*

12 Pablo Fernandez. *History of the Church in the Philippines*. Manila, 1979, 197.

13 APAF 232, 2-b (Rodriguez old ref.: 341, no 8; the *información* was dated Binondo, March 29, 1764; for the persons who declared in the *Información*: Rodríguez, op. cit., III no. 340.

Salazar, whose wishes the religious favored with all their power; for this reason and due to their zealous dedication to the common good and the King, some religious of the monastery and others they could lay their hands on were apprehended; furthermore, they treated as public malefactors, as they tried to persuade them not to oppose their war plans; this strange conduct of civilized people (the British) shocked the population. Furthermore, they (the British) offered a reward to anyone delivering to them Rev. Fr. Remigio Hernandez, Prior of Bulacan, and Rev. Fr. Martin de Aguirre, former provincial, Prior of Malolos. The witness knows likewise that they embarked on the said religious of the above Order and led them into prison, no one knowing until now, from official sources, their fate... that the intention of the British was to exterminate the said religious Order in these islands, due to the fact that in the provinces of their administration they refused to acknowledge another King than his Catholic majesty and furthermore persuaded effortlessly the natives to do the same, as in truth they have really done keeping the name of the King in all of their acts, suffering, on account of this, persecutions, deaths, and loss of their properties.”¹⁴

In the same letter, Hernandez cited that aside from several friars who died due to their support for Governor Anda, many Filipinos from the provinces of Pampanga and Bulacan also died during the early stage of the fight, arming themselves only with spears, arrows, and machetes.¹⁵

The Resistance

After the death of Pedro Sanchez Espineyra, the new Augustinian Provincial Fr. Remigio Hernandez¹⁶ issued a decree to all the religious Augustinian parish priests, asking them to convince their parishioners to acknowledge and heed Simon de Anda as the Governor General of the Islands. The people of Bulacan and Pampanga answered their call and fought against the British forces. The resistance camped in Bulacan, using a monastery as

14 APAF 232, 2-b, 96-97. Rodrigues old ref.: *AVall, leg. 341, 8, fol. 10v.*

15 *Ibid.*, 93.

16 El P. Remigio Hernández fue elegido Rector Provincial en la congregación especial celebrada en el convento de Quingua (Bulacan) el 16 de abril de 1763, por muerte del P. Pedro Espineyra, Provincial titular: A P M LGP, VI, ff. 67v-68.

their headquarters. Although the British made a blockade of supply from Manila, the Augustinians, who had control of the sea route, could maintain the supply coming from the Visayas, especially from Cebu and Panay.¹⁷

At the beginning of the war, many of the friars had already served as guards, just like any other soldier. They believed that during the war, their first responsibility was to take up arms to defend the walls of the city.¹⁸ One of the most concrete examples of the role of the friars was that of Fray Juan Facundo Acosta, who came to the Philippines as captain of engineers for the Marquis of Ovando. He joined the Augustinians on 12 June 1752. He was instrumental in the resistance by spearheading the making of cannons, bombs, mortars, and all sorts of other military equipment. The rest of the parish priests were in charge of recruiting Filipino natives, recognizing Simon de Anda as the new Governor General, and fighting against the British forces.¹⁹ (See also Blanco's article on the same topic in the same volume).

The Aftermath

After another meeting of all the *Curas*²⁰ with the archbishop of Manila that discussed the total surrender of the Philippines to the British, the Augustinian Provincial maintained his position to never yield to the invading forces.²¹

Fray Castro narrates that both the monastery and the church were sacked and sequestered and finally brought to public auction on 3 November 1762.²²

“The British put to public auction the San Agustin monastery with all its properties, like the gold and silver of the church, the money from donations, the deposit coming from the monasteries and churches of the Augustinian provinces, choirstalls, paintings and engravings from the sacristy, bells from the belfry, infirmary, and storeroom furniture. Furthermore, they imprisoned the religious, taking some

17 APAF 232/1-a. Bulacan.

18 Eduardo Navarro. Documentos Indispensables para la Verdadera Historia de Filipinas. Tomo I, Madrid, 1906, 13.

19 *Ibid.*

20 It refers to all parish priests and parish administrators.

21 APAF 232/2-b. Provincia de Filipinas. Julio 18, 1763.

22 Agustín María Castro. Relación. APAF 324, 99-100. See also: Eduardo Navarro. Documentos Indispensables para la Verdadera Historia de Filipinas. Tomo I, Madrid, 1906, 286-287.

of them to Bombay and then to London, leaving others as ransom in Goa under the vigilance of Sr. Viso del Rey, who requested it.²³

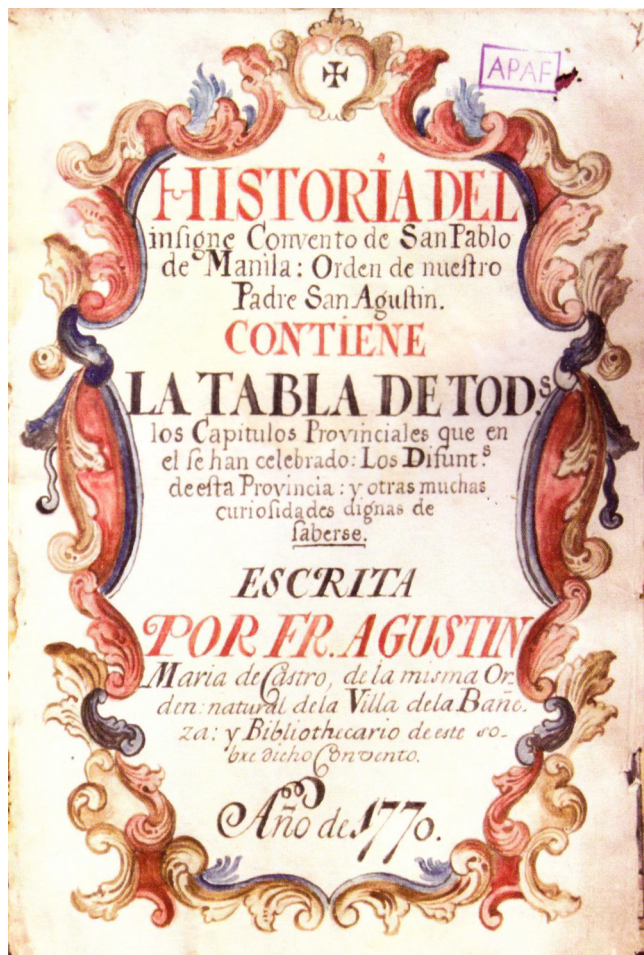


IMAGE 3. The title page of *Historia del Insigne Convento de S. Pablo de Manila*, Original Manuscript. Manila 1770, APAF, Agustinos de Valladolid, Spain.

23 Agustín María Castro. Relación. APAF 324, 99-100. See also: Eduardo Navarro. Documentos Indispensables para la Verdadera Historia de Filipinas. Tomo I, Madrid, 1906, 286-287.

They discovered ninety bags of cash that belonged to the Order, some Manila residents, and a religious organization. Much less was found inside the monastery's private rooms. On the next day, the soldiers searched the library, stealing all valuable collections and selling them to a Chinese mestizo, lawyer, and resident of Manila, Santiago Orendain, who also sold them little by little.²⁴ What happened to the Convent of San Agustin in Intramuros also happened to other Augustinian convents like Pasig, Malate, and Guadalupe.²⁵ Castro continues to narrate, "Furthermore, they stole the two archives²⁶ of the Monastery and Province and gave them to the said lawyer to be searched. It is true that they were recovered later, but many documents from the Province went missing."²⁷ Another consequence of the war was the deportation of many Augustinians whose numbers and destinations were unknown.²⁸

According to Fray Castro, it was impossible to make an accurate estimate of the loss due to the lack of an exact and necessary inventory of the missing objects. Yet, Fray Castro made a comment about what the library was like before the siege. He says:

I doubt if there is anything in the Philippines like the library that this convent had in the upper cloister. I was a librarian and its custodian in 1760, and so I will say clearly and plainly what I have seen. It was a big room, bright and beautiful; it had twenty shelves of fine and exquisite wood called *narra*, with many colors of blended moldings and an Augustinian Doctor painted as a finish on each shelf. Each shelf had eight boxes or rows; in each row were twenty or thirty books with the labels towards the top; they were all very good books, old and modern, of all faculties and sciences. There was also a smaller chained shelf with locks and keys; here were kept the reserved books and many manuscripts worthy of publication, which I can cite in my *Osario*. There were also two fine

24 *Ibid.*, 24.

25 *Ibid.*, 25.

26 The two archives are distinct from the convent library. The San Agustin convent had two archives, one pertains to provincial matters (as a provincialate house of the Augustinians in the Philippines, while the other pertains to the local conventual community.

27 *Ibid.*, 24.

28 Manuel Merino. *Agustinos evangelizadores de Filipinas 1565-1965*. Madrid: Ediciones Archivo Agustiniiano, 1965, xxi.

tables, big and beautiful, chairs and ladders to climb to the higher rows, two globes, two spheres of Europe, various maps, and other curiosities; the estimated value of all these was thirty thousand pesos. I do not include the decent book collections found in the particular cells of the conventual religious.²⁹

To give a sense of scale of the loss of manuscripts and books that were once in the library of San Pablo in Manila, I triangulate a list of materials that were cited or mentioned by prominent Augustinian friars as written before the ransacking of the San Agustin library in Intramuros by the British in 1762.³⁰ I have then compared this list of cited materials to what remains in the library of the San Agustin convent in Valladolid. These references and sources demonstrate the bibliographical and historiographical development of the history of the Augustinians in the Philippines and can be a basis for tracing the whereabouts of these works—whether they be in libraries in the United Kingdom or the United States or in private collections all over the world. In the recent cataloguing efforts of the new San Agustin Center for Historical and Archival Research in Manila, a few more materials have resurfaced from storage and can also be used to check for the existence of materials in this compilation. In the same way, the SOAS-Princeton project on reconstructing the contents of the Library of San Pablo up to 1762 can look to this compilation for other possible materials that need to be found.³¹

29 *Ibid.*, 9.

30 These are the Augustinian authors whose biographical works are used in this table. (1) Gaspar de San Agustín. *Conquistas de las Islas Filipinas*. Madrid 1698. (2) Gaspar Cano. *Catálogo de los religiosos de N. P. S. Agustín de la Provincia del Smo. Nombre de Jesús de Filipinas, desde su establecimiento en estas islas hasta nuestros días, con algunos datos biográficos de los mismos*. Manila, 1864. (3) Agustín María Castro. *Misioneros Agustinos en el extremo oriente (1565-1780) / Osario Venerable*. Manila. 1870 (4) Elviro Jorde Pérez. *Catálogo Bio-Bibliográfico de los Religiosos Agustinos de la Provincia del Santísimo Nombre de Jesús de las islas Filipinas, desde su fundación hasta nuestros días*. Manila: 1901. (5) Gregorio de Santiago Vela. *Ensayo de una biblioteca ibero-americana de la orden de San Agustín*. El Escorial: 1913-1931.

31 The convent of Valladolid which serves as the formation house of the Augustinian Province of the Philippines and is also the repository of important materials from the Philippines. Even before the Philippine Revolution in 1898, materials from the San Agustin Convent in Intramuros, Manila were slowly transferred to Valladolid. The second time the bulk of materials were sent was in 1939, just before the Second World War. Until today, the convent continues to secure copies of *Filipiniana*.

DOCUMENTS/MANUSCRIPTS/BOOKS	AUTHORS
Diccionario y Arte de la Lengua China (1575)	Martin de Rada
Vocabulario y Arte de la Lengua Cebuana (1569)	Martin de Rada
Memoria (Carta) (1572)	Martin de Rada
El Primer Arte de la Lengua Tagala (1580)	Agustín de Albuquerque
Catecismo de Doctrina Cristiana en Bicolano (1575)	Alonso Jiménez
Casos Morales (1597)	Alonso de Castro
Sucesos de la Orden de San Agustín en Filipinas (1591)	Juan de Montoya
Arte, Vocabulario y Confesionario en Pampango (1578)	Diego Ochoa
Arte y Vocabulario en Lengua Tagala (1581)	Juan Quiñones
Arte, Vocabulario y Catecismo en Ilocano (1593)	Pedro dela Cruz Avila
Ritual (1630)	Alonso Mentrída
Arte y Diccionario de la Lengua Igorote MS (1585)	Esteban Marin
Arte de la Lengua Zambala MS	Esteban Marín
Arte, Vocabulario y Catecismo en Lengua Ilocana (1593)	Pedro de la Cruz Avila
Derecho y Sucesión de las Encomiendas en Filipinas MS	Francisco de Bonifacio
Arte y Vocabulario de la Lengua Mórdica (1608)	Roque de Barrionuevo
Gramática y Diccionario en Ilocano (1607)	Francisco López
Libro a Naisuratan Amin te Bagas ti Doctrina Cristiana (1621)	Francisco López
Arte de la Lengua Iloca (1627)	Francisco Lopez
Relación del Martirio de Bto. Pedro Zuñiga (1632)	Bartolome Gutierrez
Vida de San Barlam y Josaphat en Ilocano (1617)	Agustín Mejía
Reglas de Locución Pampanga MS	Francisco Coronel
Platicas en Pampango MS	Francisco Coronel
Arte y Vocabulario en Pampango (1621)	Francisco Coronel

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Memorial de la Vida Cristiana (1647)	Juan Cabello
La Vida y Muerte de los Santos Martires Hernando de San Jose y Nicolas (1618)	Fernando Becerra
Vida de Pedro Zuñiga (1618)	(H) Fernando Becerra
Ang Pagcadapat - en Lengua Tagala (1639)	Pedro Herrera
Confesionario (1636)	Pedro Herrera
Postremerias (1623)	Pedro Herrera
Remillete de Flores MS	Pedro Herrera
Manual Devoto MS	Pedro Herrera
Memorial de la Vida Cristiana (1647)	Juan Cabello
Estrella MS	Juan Cabello
Historia de la Nación Tagala MS (1644)	Juan Cabello
Milagro de la Virgen de los Remedios MS	Teofilo Mascarós
Camino del Cielo en Tagalog MS	Teofilo Mascarós
Paraiso Verdadero en Bulacan	Teofilo Mascarós
Espejo Cristiano en Bisaya MS	Diego de Ordax
El admirable Excelente Martirio en el Reyno de Japón (1638)	Martin Claver
Compendio del Arte y Vocabulario de la Lengua Bisaya-Panayana (1619)	Martin Claver
Historia de la OSA en Filipinas (1654)	Martin Claver
Catalogo de Martires de la OSA (1628)	Martin Claver
Medicina del Alma (1659)	Juan de Borja
Catecismo de Nieremberg -Harayo MS	Marcos Gabilan
Los Abusos Bestiales de los Indios Bisayas en Castellano (1669)	Marcos Gabilan
Compendio de un Tratado en Bisaya (1614)	Pedro de Mesa
Memoria de la Rebelión de Pangasinan (1669)	Bernardino Marquez

Sermón Panegírico (1677)	Alvaro Benevente
Arte y Diccionario Pampango (1709) Available	Alvaro Benevente
Publico (1690)	Alvaro Benevente
Vocabulario de la Lengua China (1698) MS	Alvaro Benevente
Confesionario en Española y Tagala (1613)	Gaspar de San Agustín
Compendio de la Lengua Tagala (1703)	Gaspar de San Agustín
Nomenclatura MS	Gaspar de San Agustín
Catecismo del Cardenal Belarmino (1717)	Juan Medrano
Confesiones en Español y Pampango (1715)	Juan Medrano
Meditaciones MS (1715)	Juan Medrano
Los Gritos de las Almas del Purgatorio	Diego Alday
Los Gritos del Infierno	Diego Alday
Gritos de Cielo (1689)	Diego Alday
Viaje de Ida y Vuelta MS (1696)	Manuel de la Cruz
Plan Para Conducir Religiosos de España a Filipinas MS	Manuel de la Cruz
Memorial (1707)	Francisco Zamora
Compendio (1740)	Hipolito Casiano
Sumario (1740)	Hipolito Casiano
Narración (1697) MS	Juan de Aguilar
Resolución (1699) MS	Juan de Aguilar
Resolución Canónica (1709)	Juan de Aguilar
Declaración (1700)	Juan de Aguilar
Certificación (1704)	Juan Bautista de Olante
Informe (1705) MS	Juan Bautista de Olante
Milagros de Sto. Niño en Cebuano (1713) MS	Nicolas de Cuadra

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Oración Funebre (1715)	Sebastian Foronda
Vocabulario Pampango (1710)	Sebastian Foronda
Practica de Ministerio (1731)	Tomas Ortiz
Meditaciones en tagalo (1742)	Tomas Ortiz
Sumario de Indulgencias (1729)	Tomas Ortiz
Diccionario Tagalo-Español (1733)	Tomas Ortiz
Armamento Cristiano (1721)	Tomas Ortiz
Tratados de Hierbas (1707) MS	Alejandro Cacho
Origen y Costumbres MS	Alejandro Cacho
Catecismo de Doctrina Cristiana MS	Alejandro Cacho
Historia de las Misiones (1704)	Alejandro Cacho
Resolución (1707)	Baltazar Isasigana
Sermón (1710)	Pedro Castillo
Historia de la Virgen del Buensuceso MS	Pedro Castillo
Margarita Preciosa -en Panayana (1699) MS	Vicente Urquiola
Diferencia Entre lo Temporal y Eternal MS	Vicente Urquiola
Aprecio y Escritura de la Divina Gracia MS	Vicente Urquiola
Caso Moral (1727)	Francisco Montanilla
Controversias de las Misiones China MS	Vicente Urquiola
Impedimentos matrimoniales MS en Ilocano	Luis Marzan
Vía Crucis	Luis Marzan
Vidas de los Apóstoles	Luis Marzan
Vida y Novena a San Agustín MS	Casimiro Días
Questiones y Consultas Morales MS	Casimiro Días
Dibujo de Filipinas MS	Casimiro Días

Tortola Gemidora MS	Vicente Ibarra
Conferencias Misticas	Vicente Ibarra
Vida y Virtous -Manuel Davalos en Pampang MS	Vicente Ibarra
En Infierno Abierto (1740)	Juan Sanchez
Lactur nga Pagasoy (1718)	Juan Sanchez
Meditaciones en Bisaya MS	Juan Sanchez
Sumario de Indulgencias en Ilocano (1719)	Jacinto Rivera
Informes Sobre Patronado y Jurisdicción (1743) MS	Diego Bergaño
Meditaciones (1749)	Juan Carbia
Aprobación del Arte P. Bergano (1736)	Juan Carbia
Catecismo Predicable	Juan Carbia
Adagios Panayamos MS	Domingo Horbegoso
Frases y Aduciones Panayanas (1728) MS	Domingo Horbegoso
Comedias y Artes en Panayana MS	Domingo Horbegoso
Pureza de la Fe Cristiana (1732)	Domingo Horbegoso
Relación Breve de las Misiones Agustinas en China (1732)	Domingo Horbegoso
Breve Relación de la Misión en Igorrotes, Tinguines, Apayaos y Adanaes (1755)	Manuel Carillo
Varios Opúsculos MS	Manuel Carillo
Un Ceremonial de Convento de Manila MS	Manuel Carillo

Conclusion

The chronicles written by Fray Agustín Maria Castro, written so closely after the British Invasion of Manila and Cavite, present a captivating perspective on the historical narratives surrounding this pivotal event. Although it's important to acknowledge the inherent bias of the chronicles toward the Order and its affiliations, the account retains significant value due to its meticulous approach to note-taking and its compilation of inventories.

Beyond its potential partiality, Fray Castro's work stands as a valuable historical record that sheds light on the complexities and nuances of the British Invasion, offering insights that contribute to a more comprehensive understanding of the period. His dedication to detail in documenting the aftermath of the invasion enhances the credibility of the account and underscores its importance as a valuable resource for scholars and historians studying this critical chapter in Philippine history.

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The British Occupation and the National Archives of the Philippines: A Survey of Records

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THERE ARE SEVERAL published works on the British Philippine interlude in the 18th century. Among these is the popular 2003 monograph by Shirley Fish, *When Britain ruled in the Philippines, 1762-1764*¹ which provides an overview of the complex events of that fateful sojourn.

Then there are a number of comprehensive histories of the Philippines which make mention of the British years. Some of these are: Eufronio Alip's *Philippine History, Political Social, Economic* (1940),² Gregorio Zaide's *Philippine Political and Cultural History* (first published 1949, edition used 1972)³, Teodoro Agoncillo and Milagros Guerrero's *History of the Filipino People* (first published 1960, edition used 1973),⁴ Antonio Molina's *The*

1 Shirley Fish, *When Britain Ruled the Philippines, 1762-1764: The Story of the 18th Century British Invasion of the Philippines During the Seven Years War*. 1st Books Library, 2003.

2 Eufronio M. Alip, *Philippine History: Political, Social, Economic*. Eufronio M. Alip & Sons, Manila, 1954.

3 Gregorio Zaide, *Philippine Political and Cultural History*. (Manila, Philippine Education Co., 1972) Vol. 2, 1-16.

4 Teodoro Agoncillo and Milagros C. Guerrero, *History of the Filipino People*. (Quezon City, R.P. Garcia, 1973).

Philippines Through the Centuries (1960)⁵, and O.D. Corpuz's *The Roots of the Filipino Nation* (1989).⁶

Of the aforementioned, Molina and Corpuz discuss the interlude extensively. Meanwhile, Alip, Agoncillo and Zaide mention the British only in passing, in conjunction with the revolts of the period. Similarly, the English "country trade" with Manila prior to 1708 by Serafin D. Quiason mentions the British Occupation but is beyond the scope of the study.⁷

One may also come across publications on collections of records such as Nicolas Cushner's 1971 *Documents Illustrating the British Conquest of the Philippines, 1762 to 1763*⁸ as well as Horacio de la Costa's 1962 *The Siege and Capture of Manila by the British* which came out in the journal, *Philippine Studies*⁹. To these two may be added Zaide's collected records on the tumultuous episode which form volume 5 of his gargantuan *Documentary Sources of the Philippine History* published in 1990.¹⁰

Carlos Quirino had an article from 1968 entitled, *The Aftermath of the British Invasion of the Philippines*.¹¹ This brief article, it turns out, deals not so much with the effects of 1762 but rather with suggestions made in 1803 to occupy the Philippines yet again. The link with Britain's first excursion was the notion that the Spanish were likely to fail to defend their colony once more. Finally comes the 2021 article by Bruce Cruikshank, *The British Occupation of Manila, 1762 to 1764 through Franciscan Eyes*.¹²

5 Antonio Molina, *The Philippines Through the Centuries*. (Manila, UST Cooperatives, 1960) Vol. 1, 186-208.

6 Onofre D. Corpuz, *Roots of the Filipino Nation*. (Quezon City, Aklahi Foundation Inc., 1989) Vol. 1, 313-323.

7 Serafin D. Quiason, Serafin D. 1963 "The English 'Country Trade' with Manila Prior to 1708," *Asian Studies* 1: 65-83. 1966 and *English Country Trade with the Philippines, 1644- 1765*. Quezon City: University of the Philippines Press 1963.

8 Nicolas Cushner, *Documents Illustrating the British Conquest of Manila, 1762-1764*. (London, Office of the Royal Historical Society, University College, 1967).

9 De la Costa, Horacio, "The Siege and Capture of Manila by the British, September - October 1762" in *Philippine Studies*, Vol. 10, no. 4 (1962), 607-650.

10 Gregoria Zaide, *Documentary Source of Philippine History*. (Metro-Manila, National Book Store, 1990), Vol. 5, 400-510.

11 Quirino, Carlos, "Aftermath of the British Invasion of the Philippines" in *Philippine Studies*, Vol. 16, no. 8 (1968), 540-544.

12 Bruce Cruikshank, "The British Occupation of Manila, 1762 to 1764 through Franciscan Eyes," 17 May, 2015 (Retrieved from [https://www.academia.edu/12429534/ The_British_Occupation_o ...](https://www.academia.edu/12429534/The_British_Occupation_o...))

Interestingly, an initial survey will show that these publications do not seem to use as source materials records from the National Archives of the Philippines (commonly known by its somnolent acronym NAP) nor from its predecessor, the Records Management and Archives Office (RMAO).

This observation may well be the result of the fact that, as mentioned, the survey is preliminary. There was not enough time to review other publications such as the collection of Blair and Robertson for NAP records.

Then again some scholars had specific concerns and specific circumstances. De la Costa aimed to introduce records pertaining to the Siege found in the Archives of the Jesuit Province of Aragon kept in the College of San Francisco de Borja in the town of San Cugat de Valles outside of Barcelona. Aragon Province was in charge of the Philippine Mission from the mid-19th century to 1927, so many records from the Philippines ended up in San Cugat. Meanwhile Quirino only intended to work with the two documents that he had acquired from a London dealer.

One cannot help but wonder though why Shirley Fish, who carried out research on the British Occupation in archives in London and Manila, thanks only one institution in the Philippines: The Filipinas Heritage Library. Does this mean that she did not visit the National Archives of the Philippines?

In a similar vein, it may be noted that Dr. Cruikshank's goal is to demonstrate what was supposed to be the view or even the experience of the members of the Franciscan Order of the British interlude in the Philippines. Yet, it will be seen that practically all the documents he consulted are not from the Philippines but from the Archivo Franciscano Ibero-Oriental (AFIO) in Madrid.

At this point it must be clarified that this discussion is in no way meant to disparage the scholars mentioned here for not using materials from the NAP. After all, the survey undertaken for this paper may have missed NAP sourced records used in the publications under study. Secondly, a lot of the records discussed have in fact originated in the Philippines and brought elsewhere. Surely it is not being suggested that documents on the Philippines found in other parts of the world are in some way inferior to those located in the Archives of Manila. The argument presented in this paper suggests that numerous historical accounts detailing the British Occupation appear to have overlooked or not referenced the NAP collection.

There are certainly many reasons why this is so. One of the most obvious is that the National Archives collections are known to be difficult to use. For one thing, the Archives office and storage have constantly had to move quarters.

Also, there was no organized omnibus archives in the Philippines in the Spanish period. Each agency took care of their own records. At one point, many records were stored in the former Aduana Building later to be called the Intendencia Building. The Intendencia was built in 1823 then damaged and reconstructed on several occasions. As stipulated by the Treaty of Paris of 1898, records from different Spanish government offices were hastily put together for turn over to the Americans who then initiated an archives office.¹³ The documents gathered from the departing Spanish agencies form the nucleus of the NAP Spanish collection.

After its American beginning, the Archives began its long search for a home. The collection has been housed in such places as a panopticon in the old Bilibid Prison, an old ice plant, the University of the Philippines Library and the National Library. Many documents were lost or damaged during transfers.

The Archives collection has suffered much violence through the years. There is mention of archives being ransacked during the fall of Manila in 1762¹⁴. This was likely not a central repository but the documents storage of various government offices. One has to wonder why pillaging soldiers would dally among dusty records. Perhaps this ransacking was fueled by confusion and overpowering emotions. Then again it may be remembered that building designs, town plans and navigation charts provided essential information for invaders aside from providing fodder for trade espionage. Remarkably, it was these narratives of destruction that prompted an increase in attention paid to archival materials in Manila. Subsequently, a directive was issued by the Spanish government to evaluate the damage incurred during the British occupation. Where possible, extensive efforts were made by the Spanish to replicate files utilizing available records from alternative sources.¹⁵

Philippine archives are subjected to typhoons, earthquakes, and conflagrations. There are even stories of American soldiers using records as kindling. There is the bombing of the Intendencia during World War II when many documents were very likely destroyed. One also hears of pilfering as

13 "National Archives, past, present and future," *Archiviniana*, (1976), 3-4.

14 *Ibid.*

15 "National Archives at 75," *Archiviniana*, (1976), 50-51.

records came to be seen as collector's prizes. Finally, one comes across essays published in the 1960s and 1970s discussing the ills of neglect and the lack of official support.¹⁶ Given this abundance of negative feedback, is it surprising that researchers might have refrained from utilizing NAP resources?

Fortunately there are improvements. The Intendencia, long a ruin, is now being restored as the headquarters of the National Archives of the Philippines and as the home of the Spanish collection.

While the Intendencia is being readied, the temporary reading room at the Guazon street building in Paco, Manila remains open to serve digital copies as the originals are too fragile to be freely handled.

Despite its unfortunate past the NAP managed to retain many informative and beautiful documents. It is not unreasonable to assume therefore that it is worth searching its collections for records on the 1762 to 1764 British excursion.

The Spanish Documents Section or SDS is divided into 2 subsections. SDS 1 has 526 records series made up of 23,000 bundles totaling 14 million pages of information. SDS 2 has 2436 records series with also about 23,000 bundles amounting to another 14 million pages of information. This all adds up to about 28 million pages of information. Some record series are digitized while some are not.

Record series were picked out that included the years 1761 to 1770. This expanded period was used as it represents the time when records may have been generated which dealt with the British Occupation. This expanded period assumes that there may still have been relevant reports generated from about a year before the invasion and even from beyond 1764. The bundles of the record series were then examined to check for the occurrence of relevant words such as *ingleses* or *britanico*.

This process identified 54 pages of documents related to the Siege among the digitized records and 330 pages from the undigitized records. This is a total of 384 pages of records dealing with the British Occupation of 1762 to 1764. It must be noted that this is just an initial survey. Further searches in the future will certainly yield more results.

A quick sampling of the materials identified as having mentioned the British occupation yields some interesting materials. Various cedularios mention Don Santiago Orendain (SDS-13 Cedulario 0034) and Royal Orders

16 Francia, Beatriz R., "From Bodega to Archives," *Archiviniana*, (1972), 14-17.

that for example record a fine meted out to Santiago Orendain in July 22, 1764. There is a copy of a biography of Simon Anda y Salazar (SDS-43719) and silver objects collected from churches for the ransom of Manila with a report on looting (SDS-14427 Consultas 1764-1871).

But perhaps the most significant archival materials that are now digitised and findable through the NAP catalogs are the Erección de Pueblos record series. Dealing with the establishment of towns (sitios, barrios, visitas, parishes, and districts), the series is composed of 236 bundles of manuscripts, drawings, illustrations, plans, and maps. Of the series, the British occupation is mentioned in SDS-14063 Ereccion De Pueblos Pampanga 1752-1838 and SDS14005 Ereccion De Pueblos Laguna.

Fray Roque de la Purificacion to Simon de Anda dated April 21, 1763¹⁷

Within the materials found in the Ereccion de los Pueblos series of Laguna, there exists a noteworthy source that provides historical insights into the indigenous rebellions that were spreading across the area. The material, which has been transcribed and translated into English in this article, is a long letter. From the very start one has to wonder how this document ended up in the NAP. Did it ever get to Anda who at that time must have been in Pampanga? Or was it never sent? Was the letter an original 18th century document or a later copy since it is known that copies were ordered for records lost in the Siege? Interestingly, Bruce Cruikshank discusses Fr Roque in his article but does not include this letter among his sources.

Fr Roque was born on the 16th of August 1703 in Abenojar, a town near Toledo, Spain. He was professed in 1723 and served in the Philippines in the towns of Meycauayan in Bulacan and in Mauban and Tayabas as well as Nagcarlan in the Laguna and Tayabas area in the vicinity of Mount Banahaw. He must have become quite familiar with this region and his knowledge of the land may have helped him in the fight against the British. He was made Provincial of the Franciscan in 1762.¹⁸

¹⁷ See National Archives of the Philippines. SDS 14005, Ereccion de los Pueblos - Laguna, Series 221b.

¹⁸ Eusebio Gomez Platero. *Catalogo Biografico de los Religiosos Franciscano de la Provincia de San Gregorio Magno de Filipinas desde 1577 en que llegaron los primeros a Manila hasta los nuestros dias*. Formado por el P. Fr. Eusebio Gomez Platero por mandato del M.R.P. Ministro

Fr Roque appears to be writing from the mountain town of Lucban which is protected from the attackers by its elevation and its surrounding dense forests. At the time he was writing this letter, he had reportedly fled the Franciscan mother house in Intramuros in Manila to seek shelter on the slopes of Mount Banahaw.

He is obviously a supporter of Anda against the British and his letter reports on the movements of the enemy as they enter Laguna de Bay or the great Lake of the Mother at the very heart of Southern Luzon. He tells of two small ships or galleritas accompanied by 4 champanes or sampans entering the lake probably by sailing up the Pasig river from Manila Bay. They pass the ancient lakeshore communities of Pila and Bay and finally come to the town of Los Baños. After docking, presumably at Los Baños, the British forces march over land to San Pablo where they imprison the parish priest, a choir member, and two Spaniards indicating that the town may not have had many defenders. Eventually the British forces take Lipa in the neighboring province of Batangas. Fr Roque provides some information about the geography of Lipa before going on to note that the British have only two escape routes. The first is via Indang then Silang and eventually the port of Cavite which the occupying troops held. The second is to descend to Calamba, follow the coastline to where the lake drains into the Pasig river then take the river back to Manila. The good priest then urges Anda to ambush the British while they are making their escape.

What is remarkable about Fr Roque's letter are the many details he supplies. His report may be one of the few descriptions of sampans in Laguna de Bay—what a sight they must have been to behold. The priest also explains that one of the sampan captains came from Camarines indicating how the supporters of the invaders came from far afield. Moreover, one can discern that the captain of the sampan was very likely Chinese, thereby adding complexity to the various alliances of the Chinese and the naturales in dominant historical narratives. He discusses how there was much fear among the natives who think that the British may have wings like angels since they are able to move so fast.

What is perhaps most remarkable is the report that the people of the towns of Tayabas and Majayjay rose up and laid out special demands.

Provincial de la mismo Fr. Pedro Moya. Manila Imprenta del Real Colegio de Santo Tomas, a cargo de D. Gervasio Memije, 1880.

Though Fr Roque's narration is not very clear, it seems that the people of the two towns wanted more protection for those who were fighting off the British even as they were, themselves, helping in the defense of their Spanish overlords. The Franciscan does not specify what the townspeople actually did but it becomes more evident at the end of the letter that the residents had performed a marvelous act because Fr Roque praises them by saying that their manifestation of gratitude could not be easily found elsewhere. Notably, Tayabas and Majayjay are renowned for their vast Spanish-era infrastructure, including grand churches, numerous chapels, and impressive bridges. Was the construction of these structures a gesture of reciprocal gratitude?

To conclude, it is worth noting that the records mentioned by the historians in the earlier discussion reveal the harsh truths of geopolitics, portraying protagonists calculating a city's value in cold silver. However, documents like Father Roque's letter, with its intimate depiction of the actions and perceptions of townspeople at the edge of the metropole, demonstrate that sieges and sacks may not only be intertwined with battles and heroism but also with the flights of angels and gestures of gratitude.

SUCCEEDING PAGES: Translation by Teresita R. Ignacio, Ph.D. Research assistance: Chad Ragodon, Jacky Delgado, and NAP Archives Division headed by Teresa Pagaragan.

22161

para: e como se lo pido = Su Magestad
 Guax de à Señoría muchos años. De
 exce de Señoría de Luisan, y Abail,
 veinte y n.º, de mill seccientos sesen
 ta y tres == Muy Illustre Señor: Dese
 la Mano de Señoría p. n.º, à efecto de exi-
 cos y Capellan = Dny Roque de la Pe-
 rificacion, Provincial de san Francisco =
 Muy Illustre Señor Doctor Don Simón
 de Anzo y Salazar, Gobernador y Capitan
 General de esta Isla Philipinas =
 + Muy Illustre Señor = Aunque en lo que à
 compañía desta digo à Señoría, como tengo
 remiúdo ya los Decretos tocantes à la Il-
 tima Tinta = La mazon inglesa, que
 tenemos entre mano, y que n.º va toda de
 lexiónd en este Despacho, es el negocio de
 dya. Los Ingleses que Naviçaban en la
 Laguna, e en los Galenicas, y quatro Cham-
 panes, despues de haver sido algunos vta-
 tos en Pella, Day, y lo. Baños, despaxón
 aqui una Embaxacion, y n.º, à San
 Pablo: En este Pueblo, hicieron prisioneros
 al Rixor Piór, y á un Religioso Chouista,
 y á dos Españoles, y con la noticia se hallaron
 en Lita, la Gente que amercia en Cham-
 pan de la Provincia de Comarinas, con al-
 gunos Pelaxechos, y soldados, representaron
 en mandado, hicieron huir á los nuevos
 que hanuan venido en el Champán, y como

don quanto hauián trahido = ²²² Todavía se
 tales paxues ve conseruaron con la Cer.
 del Enemigo, y caeyendo e ue como Angeles
 en: en inuirtante poco en camina muchos
 Espacio, no hauió hombre que no meditare
 la Venidada como unico remedio seu desgracia
 dia imaginada. Certe trabajo se pexceber
 mas, quando nacesela Caxega, y como que
 no tienen los piez abitois, una deterea el
 curso seu médo, ni la mano halla medio
 para Decretar el necerario, y auir los muer
 tos de pexer, y vir gouierno nacen de poco =
 Acosta de pexer uacionen se deuolvió lo
 que debía vir deuuelto luego al punto de
 vanore Genue de entre Pueblo, de Talyaba,
 Allahuai, y se dispusieron otras cosas muy
 utrao, y quiere Dios nuesta Señora, que
 avian cercado los nuevatos al enemigo en
 Lipa. Nueva Taopa, se compone de mill
 y trecientos hombres, y entre ellos habia
 como ciento y cinquenta juvenes, aunque
 vor: muy del caso, estan por exaren, y
 haze mucho el estar parados en Am lances.
 La Gente del Enemigo dicen venian con Tre
 cientos, y no solo mar alentados, puen se de
 Jan encaxan por unos hombres de on. El
 unico consuelo que tenemos es, que Don Fran
 cisco Rodriguez, manda lo genue, y esta se
 compone a los Principales de entre Pueblo,
 ellos valieren confexion, pero el miedo tie
 ne sus tiempos, y no vabemov viles avalcara
 on la meyor ocagion, y vir que venos de
 taxar buelta. = Haze mucho año, el



220-61
 que el Enemigo tiene varios Asentamientos
 mayores, como Canonías, se aguaran, y
 de aver, y la Población de ella, esta en
 una Embarcación, desde donde se cubren
 de largo alov. Páñados, y los Españoles
 con el Cañón no les permiten acercarse =
 En este aprieto en que no puede sostenerse
 la desigualdad, la regularidad se extrae Pro-
 vincias, y infundirá en los Naturales un
 terror grande, se hace necesario el ir par-
 te a Península, para que vigilar prudentia
 y zelo, dispongan el mejor arbitrio al daño
 que amenaza. Hasta oy no se experimenta
 mayor cobardía en nuestra Tierra, antes bien,
 mucho aliento, y alegría, pero como hemos
 de obrar con zelo de lo que pueda suceder
 y de las Consecuencias que la desigualdad
 nos puede originar, se hace indispensable
 el participarlo a Península, para que arbitre
 lo mejor. Esta Resolución, se adelantará
 este Dia, se debe otorgar a Don Juan Avri-
 gueta, y con impaciente se irá parte a Pen-
 ñola, se hace extor con la Pluma en la mano
 de la voz de la noche = Participo a Península
 que los Enemigos, no tienen más de Dos
 Caminos para de retirada. El uno por
 Urdan, y el otro hacia Quique, y el otro
 por Calamba a Parig, y así qualquiera so-
 como que le parezca a Península conveniente
 se deberá conducir por dicho Páñado, y si
 antes cedieren una gran cantidad que tomaren
 razón de el. Cuanto se diga se lo guarde mejor
 la expedición = Permiso a Península
 la Repuesta, del Pueblo de Mahapay,

y para Venoncia les fue estantia. esta. (11)
 macion la favorecida de Venoncia, y si
 dificulta reballe en dno Pueblo igno
 agradecimientos. Mi recomendacion, y
 A Postor de la de Venoncia, y dice pas-
 cedis aq el Pueblo citales demoracion
 ciones que volas ellas le precedan de me
 ditan demui leal, Febr - En Paris,
 y se contempla, y mui poca, guaxacion,
 y dno que el Intendente que se va a
 li, devesa Inteligencia con Don Franzen-
 co Salgado, como habia participado a
 Venoncia Don Cereiro. Estan con las
 novedades que por aca omanen, y ov-
 jexamos en Dios vuestras Señora, que nos
 devesa todo auxilio contra estos insoler-
 tos. Corrijo = Su Magestad
 porope de Venoncia muchos años.
 De Ovea a Venoncia de Luchad
 y Abril, veinte y cinco, demil y setenta
 tos venoncia y tres = Mi Ilustre Señor
 Donn hermano de Venoncia de ma a pe-
 to venidor y apellan. Frax Rogue
 de la Intendencia, Provincial de Venon-
 Francisco. Mi Ilustre Señor Doctor
 Don Simon de Anca y Salazar, Co-
 venador y Intendant General de
 las Indias.

[Handwritten signature]



**ACAD-SDS 14005, Ereción de los Pueblos - Laguna, 1735-1883,
Exp.123, Page 221**

IT SEEMS TO be what is asked = May Your Majesty keep Your Lordship for many years. From Your Lordship of Lucban on April twenty-one, one thousand seven hundred sixty-three = Very illustrious Lord: I, your very affectionate servant and Chaplain, kiss the hand of Your Lordship = Fr. Roque de la Purificación, Provincial of Saint Francis = The Most Illustrious Lord Doctor Don Simon de Anda y Salazar, Governor and Captain General of the Philippine Islands _____

Most Illustrious Lord = Accompanied by documents, I say to Your Lordship that I have remitted already the minutes of the last Meeting = The very urgent issue that we have in our hands and to be acted speedily in this Office is the occupation of Lipa. The British who sailed to Laguna, in two small ships, and four junk boats, after passing by Pila, Bay, and Los Baños, left from here to return to San Pablo: in this Town, they imprisoned The Father Prior, a religious member of the Choir, and two Spaniards. Notifying that they can be found in Lipa, the person who sailed the junk boat from the province of Camarines, with some soldiers began to advance. Those who arrived in the junk boat caused our soldiers to flee.

THEY TOOK those who had been caught = Everybody in these places were shocked by the [] of the Enemies. Believing themselves as Angels, in an instance they were able to walk very far. All the men thought of withdrawing as the only remedy of their imagined misfortune. This action is perceived more when it comes from the mind since their feet do not want to remain for fear, nor the hand to find the means to Decree what is necessary, and, thus, the members dispersed. Without the government little can be done = At the cost of persuasions, the issue which ought to be resolved was resolved later. The people of this Town of Tayabas, and Mahaihai rose and laid out other specific matters.

They want God, our Lord, to help those who have gotten near the enemies In Lipa. Our troop is composed of one thousand two hundred men, and with them about one hundred fifty guns. Although they are ready, the guns are new and since then have not been used. They say the enemies are about three hundred although not so strong since the latter were surrounded

by some men. The only consolation we have is that Don Francisco Rodriguez orders the people who among them are the Chiefs of these Towns.

They left with fervor, but with fear during those moments. We do not know if they will attack at the least opportunity. We do not want them to deceive us = Ever since

THE ENEMY has various heavy arms, like small cannons by four, and by six. The Town of Lipa is at a high ground level from where they discover slowly the Sittadores. With the force of the cannons, they are not able to get near = In this difficult situation wherein, we can avoid the misfortune, the safety of these Provinces, and the sowing of great fear on the inhabitants are necessary for Your Lordship to be informed so that your great prudence and Zeal will give the best decision on the impending damage. Until now we do not feel any sign of fearfulness in our troops, although before, there was much encouragement, and happiness. But as we are mistrustful of what can happen, and the consequences of misfortune which can start, it is indispensable for Your Lordship to get involved to be able to make the best decision. This resolution to go on ahead with this mail is due solely to Don Pedro Astiguierta who impatiently wants to inform Your Lordship, and makes me write at twelve midnight = I inform Your lordship that the enemies do not have but Two Ways to retreat. One by way of Yndan, and Silan towards Cavite, and the other by Calamba to Pasig. Any help then that Your Lordship sees convenient should be directed towards said pieces. And if some guards precede, they are to take note of the condition in Lipa so that the travel will at best be beneficial = I remit to Your Lordship the response of the Town of Mahayhay,

WHICH YOUR Lordship believes having so much value, thus, favored by Your Lordship. [Although] the same gratitude is difficult to find in another Town. My secretary was the Bearer to Your Lordship, and says that he proceeded to that Town to show that only they could justify themselves to be very loyal and faithful. = Since Pasig is considered now having very little equipment, I believe that the Interpreter serving there desires a meeting with Don Franzisco Salgado who has participated in talks with Your Lordship Don Eusevio. These are new Developments that are happening there.

We hope that God, Our Lord, will grant us all the help against these insolent Enemies = May Your Majesty grant Your lordship many years. From

Your lordship of Lucban on April twenty-five, one thousand seven hundred and sixty-three. = Very Illustrious Lord I kiss the hand of Your Lordship, your most affectionate servant and Chaplain: Fr. Roque de la Purificazi3n, Provincial of Saint Francis: Most Illustrious Lord Doctor Don Simon de Anda y Salazar, Governor and Captain General of these Philippine Islands_____

Unknown Soldiers, (Un)wanted Pasts: Remembering the Seven Years' War Sepoys in Britain and the Philippines

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Abstract

AN EXPERIMENT in ethnography and history, this essay reflects on a journey between Britain and the Philippines, in search of the sepoys who settled in a town on the outskirts of Manila called Cainta after allegedly deserting the British campaign in the Philippines during the Seven Years' War (1756-1763). When the occupation of the city ended in 1764, the expeditionary forces departed with the spoils of war, but left behind many of the men that had originally set out from Madras. Seldom are the voices of these social actors audible in the official record, their fates equally nebulous and concealed in deep histories of the state. Consigned to archival alleyways—away from the light of the imperial optic—it has been through fragments of memory and myth preserved in Cainta's municipal repositories and civic life that the Manila expedition's sepoys have been cherished as men from afar. Both revered and reviled, they continue to serve key roles in local, national and diasporic identity formations today. Among Fil-Britons, these men and their descendants

have functioned as spectres of an imperial inheritance more broadly conceived, helping to inscribe them into the story of the British nation, past and present. Recast as a conduit of racial capitalism, religious sectarianism and environmental exploitation worldwide, ‘the sepoy’ is also a metaphor for the omnipresence of Filipinos, likewise unsung, yet resilient, in weathering global crises like the recent pandemic.

KEYWORDS: Seven Years’ War, British East India Company, sepoys, archival turn, historical memory, memorialisation, postcolonial commemoration, Filipina/o/x diaspora

TO THE WEST of Manilla Road, upon the hilly slopes that climb above the once bustling port-city of Bristol, stand a pair of monuments. Appearing to certain recent commentators as ‘some private and distant tribute,’ these solemn constructions—an obelisk and a cenotaph—occupy the southeast corner of Clifton Down, haunting it as ‘the residual ghost of a man, and of events, which in their time commanded the attention of the whole of the [British] nation.’¹ They were once nearly lost, salvaged from a stonemason’s yard and re-erected in their current location shortly after removal in the 1880s from their original home, on the grounds of a nearby hall that once stood on Manilla Road and gave the latter its name.² Styled after the military operation that had generated the £5,000 required to build it, Manilla Hall itself had been a monument, for a time reminding the man who commissioned it, Lieutenant General William Draper, of what he had gained as a protagonist in that campaign, but also, of those lost on the fringes of Britain’s Asian empire. Now the obelisk, honouring Draper’s patron William Pitt the Elder, and sarcophagus, symbolically interring the fallen under his command of the 79th Army Regiment of Foot, are all that remain of the larger complex, memorialising the British siege and occupation of Spain’s Philippine *perla*, the ‘Pearl of the Orient,’ during the Seven Years’ War (1756-1763).

1 James Dreaper, *Bristol’s Forgotten Victor: Lieutenant-General Sir William Draper K.B. (1721-1787)*, Historical Association pamphlet no. 94 (Bristol: Bristol Branch of the Historical Association, 1998), 1.

2 *Ibid.*, 24. See also John Latimer, *The Annals of Bristol in the Nineteenth Century* (Bristol: W. & F. Morgan, 1887), 485-6, and 516; and Stanley Hutton, *Bristol and its Famous Associations* (Bristol: J. W. Arrowsmith, 1907), 307-8.

It is tempting to interpret the story of Draper's monuments as one of neglect or dereliction. Indeed, given the typically dismissive attitudes towards the historical episode to which they pertain, it may seem strange to be discussing them at all. Although the counterfactual question of 'What if Britain had colonised the Philippines?' continues to reverberate across an archipelago still making sense of its complex colonial inheritances, the critical mass of existing scholarship on the Seven Years' War seems to be stultified by the mere fact that the occupation lasted less than two years (twenty months between 1762-1764) and never extended much past the canons of Manila and Cavite.³ As Michel-Rolph Trouillot often asked himself, 'what else is there to know? Is there more? Is there anything else that matters?'⁴

If the present volume offers any indication, however, it is that there *is* more to know, more to the story, and indeed, much else that matters. While the majority of contributions here grapple with the history of the campaign itself, this one considers its memorialisation in Britain and the Philippines. How certain aspects of the conflict have been remembered, and others not, tells us much about the motley, even mutinous nature of memory and mattering, but also what conventionally constitutes the bounds of 'serious' historical inquiry in the first place. As an experiment in historical ethnography testing these boundaries, the essay reinterprets the collective commemorative space of the Manila occupation as a 'contact zone,' in Mary Louise Pratt's sense of the term, 'where cultures meet, clash, and grapple with each other.'⁵ Anchoring his work in the aforementioned questions was Trouillot's way of commencing the act of active listening in such zones, for voices that others have not yet heard; this is to join that search in text, imagery, and sound.⁶ Continuing, ceasing, and

3 The work of another contributor to the present volume, Kristie Flannery, proves an exemplary exception. See Kristie Patricia Flannery, 'Battlefield Diplomacy and Empire-building in the Indo-Pacific World during the Seven Years' War,' *Itinerario* 40, no. 3 (2016): 467-88; *idem*, 'The Seven Years' War and the Globalization of Anglo-Iberian Imperial Entanglement: The View from Manila,' in *Entangled Empires: The Anglo-Iberian Atlantic, 1500-1830s*, ed. Jorge Cañizares Esguerra, ed. (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2018), 236-54.

4 Michel-Rolph Trouillot, *Peasants and Capital: Dominica in the World Economy* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1988), 182.

5 Mary Louise Pratt, 'Arts of the Contact Zone,' *Profession* (1991): 33-40, 34.

6 See e.g. Tina M. Kampt, *Listening to Images* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2017); meLê yamomo, *Theatre and Music in Manila and the Asia Pacific, 1869-1946: Sounding Modernities* (Cham, Switzerland: Palgrave Macmillan, 2018); and Hana Qugana, 'Savaging the Sonic: Tupaia, Indigeneity and Commemorative Dissonance,' in *Tupaia, Captain Cook and the*

sometimes resurging long after war's end, these are spaces in which *tsismis* (speculation) about the men and events that empire has forgotten serves the essential function of providing a tangible and thereby historical basis for creative pan-subaltern forms of resistance and resilience in the postcolony.

Why the memorialised aspects of the Philippine chapter of the Seven Years' War have received scant scholarly attention is complex. While Pratt acknowledges that contact-zone encounters often take place 'in contexts of highly asymmetrical relations of power, such as colonialism, slavery, or their aftermaths as they are lived out in many parts of the world today,' studies of such interactions tend not to travel past the camps of 'coloniser' and 'colonised,' as if social actors only remember and reminisce in relation to one easily identifiable other. In the case of the British campaign against Manila, however, who was 'occupier' and the 'occupied' is not always clear-cut; nor are the distinctions (if any) between 'victor' and 'vanquished' necessarily self-evident. The invasion was carried out jointly by the Royal Army, Royal Navy and the East India Company's quasi-sovereign armies, each with its own command structures and capabilities. This combined force had not seized a fishing village from a local potentate in need of commercial 'enlightenment,' but an already thriving, equally cosmopolitan port-city from its Spanish imperial rival under the pretext of a war started and ultimately centred elsewhere. Moreover, the British relied on thousands of Indian sepoys and lascars, topasses and coffreys⁷ to maintain and press the occupation beyond the capital.⁸

The integral part played in Britain's overstretched imperial enterprise by sepoys in particular⁹ contradicts any historical account that would (borrowing

Voyage of the Endeavour: A Material History, ed. Khadija von Zinnenburg Carroll (London: Bloomsbury, 2023), 187-97.

7 Coffreys, people of African origin either enslaved or employed as 'servants' by the EIC, are listed alongside sepoys in the Company papers as part of the Manila expeditionary force, but remain understudied; 'Letter from Council (Governor George Pigot, Admiral Samuel Cornish, Brigadier-General William Draper and Captain Richard Tiddeman) appointed to direct the Manila Expedition 1762,' IOR/H/77, folios 1-4, India Office Records and Private Papers, British Library, London, United Kingdom. For a brief discussion of the ambiguities surrounding coffreys in the early EIC's records, see Anna Winterbottom, *Hybrid Knowledge in the Early East India Company World* (Basingstoke and New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016), 165-6.

8 For a breakdown of military personnel, see tables in Alan Harfield, 'The British Expedition to Manila 1762-1763,' *Journal of the Society for Army Historical Research* 66, no. 266 (Summer 1998): 100-11, 102 and 103.

9 G. J. Bryant, 'Indigenous Mercenaries in the Service of European Imperialists: The Case

from Mark Whalan) ‘conflate an exclusive racial identity of Anglo-Saxon with national identity and national iconography.’¹⁰ And yet, it is the latter version of events that Draper’s monuments embody. In the absence of any such public gestures made by the British state, the hall (now gone) and its remaining structures on Clifton Down are virtually the only recognition there would ever be in the UK of any combatants in that operation. Ironically, however, the very existence, or performance of this collective dirge for the British soldiers in the 79th who made the ultimate sacrifice makes the absence of an equivalent for the sepoy of the EIC also more poignant.

David Harding and others have claimed that the marble panes of the Manilla Road sarcophagus announcing the muster roll of their fallen European (and possibly Eurasian) comrades-in-arms may have been something of an innovation insofar as it is likely to be the first regimental memorial to ‘record (some of) the dead by name.’¹¹ Great pains have been taken to restore names that have since rubbed off.¹² By contrast, the names of sepoy who perished serving the Company at Manila, Calcutta, Plassey or Pondicherry during the Seven Years’ War, cannot be found on this or any known cenotaph.¹³ Nor have we seen any remarkable interest taken in reinserting them into an Atlantic-centric narrative of the war already struggling to make sense of the Manila expedition, let alone its potential impacts on British culture and society.

of the Sepoys in the Early British Indian Army, 1750-1800,’ *War in History* 7, no. 1 (January 2000): 2-28.

10 Mark Whalan, “How did they pick John Doe?” Memory, Memorial, and the African American Great War,’ in *idem, The Great War and the Culture of the New Negro* (University Press of Florida, 2008), 191-240, 191-2.

11 David Harding, ‘1835. Officers’ Names on Draper’s Memorial to His 79th Regiment of Foot, Clifton, Bristol,’ *Journal of the Society for Army Historical Research* 85, no. 343 (Autumn 2007): 258-61, 259.

12 *Ibid.*, 260. There have been a series of local antiquarian and improvement societies since the late nineteenth century that have carried out restorations of the Clifton Down monuments. I discuss this history in the next section.

13 Finding references to specific sepoy in the Company archives is understood among British imperial historians as a labour of love. Before the nineteenth century, this level of evidence is largely thought to exist only in rare cases, for example, with the caveats of exceptional service (for which there are sometimes records of an award) or unusually devoted patronage by a European elite; e.g. David Veveers, *The Great Defiance: How the world took on the British Empire* (London: Penguin, 2023). If, however, one did wish to embark on such a journey, the intuitive places to look would be the Madras consultation books, G and H series of the India Office Records housed at the British Library in London.

In a day and age when silences long besieging the (after)lives of subaltern combatants in other contexts are being redressed,¹⁴ the case of these sepoy makes abundantly clear the power of what Eric Tagliacozzo has described as the ‘imperial optic’—but also, of subaltern subterfuge, emerging from the unevenness by which ‘certain areas’ have been ‘lit,’ and ‘others ignored’ by colonial and post-colonial states. In tandem with the literal ‘lighthouses, beacons, and buoys’ shoring up Protestant Europe’s imperial projects abroad in the late nineteenth century, remembrance became a powerful ‘tool’ by which imperial metropolises were ‘monitoring and channeling movements’ at home.¹⁵ If lighthouses themselves can be memorials, what happens when denizens of the former colonial world’s back alleys and dimly lit corridors seize the means of illumination, and commemorate how, what and crucially whom they want?

After briefly inscribing the Draper monuments in Bristol into a constellation of Britain’s public history and its imperial past, this essay travels to a nebula of localised memories of the Seven Years’ War, orbiting, in the first instance, around a municipality on the outskirts of Manila called Cainta. Within this community, sepoy Manilamen present uniquely as spectres of an imperial inheritance more confluently conceived, insofar as their apparition cannot be adequately explained through the lens of the Philippine archipelago’s Spanish and later, American colonial experience. Instead, the essay recasts these sepoys and their descendants, biological and intellectual, as conduits of global currents of racial capitalism, religious sectarianism and environmental exploitation. Relationships between the ‘national’ and the ‘local,’ and ‘homeland’ and ‘diaspora’ are thereby demarcated differently, and reveal forces exerted historically by the global British and Philippine worlds on one another, reanimating ‘the sepoy’ and breathing into him new life.

14 The Great War centenary in 2014–18, for instance, gave rise to a number of initiatives in Britain and the Commonwealth to recognise the ‘unremembered’ members of the military and labour corps from Asia, Africa and the Pacific. See e.g. Jennifer Wellington, *Exhibiting War: The Great War, Museums, and Memory in Britain, Canada, and Australia* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017); and Big Ideas, ‘The Unremembered: World War One’s Army of Workers,’ British Ministry of Housing, Communities and Local Government, 2018, <https://www.big-ideas.org/project/the-unremembered/>.

15 Eric Tagliacozzo, ‘The Lit Archipelago: Coast Lighting and the Imperial Optic in Insular Southeast Asia, 1860–1910,’ *Technology and Culture* 46, no. 2 (April 2005): 306–28, 307 and 321.

Manilla [sic]

The story of the Manila expedition in the British context has always been one preoccupied overwhelmingly with its legacies, immediate and longer term, competing, confluent, and yet fundamentally dislocated. In helping to tell this story, ‘Lieutenant General Sir William Draper’s Memorials’ (as they have been known officially since 2021)¹⁶ sit at a busy intersection of national and local interests, memory, manufacturing, and machines.

Unlike the Atlantic and even Indian Ocean theatres of war, events in the Pacific unfolded largely without the knowledge of the British, French and other European metropolises. Such was the state of navigation at that time, that when the peace ending the Seven Years’ War had been negotiated in Paris over 6,500 miles away, no one there knew Manila had even been taken. This episode, therefore, did not enter the popular imagination of the wider conflict ‘at home’ in the same way as others; it penetrated the culture that Carol Watts, Frans De Bruyn, Shaun Regan and others have demonstrated emerged around the Atlantic context in the mid eighteenth-century equivalent of real-time, only after the fact.¹⁷

Gabriel Paquette has asserted that the ease by which the British issued a ‘humbling defeat’ at Manila (and Havana) in 1762 ‘gave impetus to already stirring reform tendencies’ among Spanish statesmen, seeking ‘to erect a unified nation-state, subservient to a centralized monarchy and capable of inculcating a new patriotic spirit.’¹⁸ Within the British Empire, it came to represent a foundational moment of political cohesion prior to the French Revolutionary Wars, when (in the words of C. A. Bayly) ‘the strident and divergent interests of different groups of settlers and merchants could occasionally be beaten into line.’¹⁹ In

16 Clifton and Hotwells Improvement Society and the Feneley family, *Lieutenant General Sir William Draper’s Memorials*, 2021, information board, Clifton Down, Bristol, viewed 12 September 2023.

17 Carol Watts, *The Cultural Work of Empire: The Seven Years’ War and the Imagining of the Shandean State* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2007); Frans De Bruyn and Shaun Regan, eds., *The Culture of the Seven Years’ War: Empire, Identity, and the Arts in the Eighteenth-Century Atlantic World* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2014).

18 Gabriel Paquette, *The European Seaborne Empires: From the Thirty Years’ War to the Age of Revolutions* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2019), 89. The Spanish ‘debacle’, he writes, galvanised a ‘metropolitan bias’ and ‘drastic curtailment’ of creole-elite governance in its colonies like the Philippines; *ibid.*, 188.

19 C. A. Bayly, *Imperial Meridian: The British Empire and the World* (1989), 77. See also David Todd, ‘A French Imperial Meridian, 1814-1870’, *Past and Present*, no. 210 (February 2011): 155-86.

turn, this moment set the stage for a new national consciousness, increasingly and sometimes retroactively associated with metropolitan homages to British military prowess more broadly, from Blenheim Palace (erected 1705-22), to the late General James Wolfe's Spiers residence, renamed Quebec House (in 1759).

After their construction between 1763 and 1766, however, Manilla Hall and its cadet monuments did not automatically join this ascendant remembrance culture. Initially, they belonged to a wider 'pre-history' of commemoration in Britain, characterised more so by memorials private, individual and in other respects, local in scope.²⁰ Paralleling the 'lumpy' nature of the British Empire itself,²¹ it was the eventual rescue of specifically the monolith and empty sarcophagus by a group of local history enthusiasts in 1882 that placed these monuments more squarely within the public realm of remembrance, and set the stage for their transition from plausible recovery, to outright invention of the past.

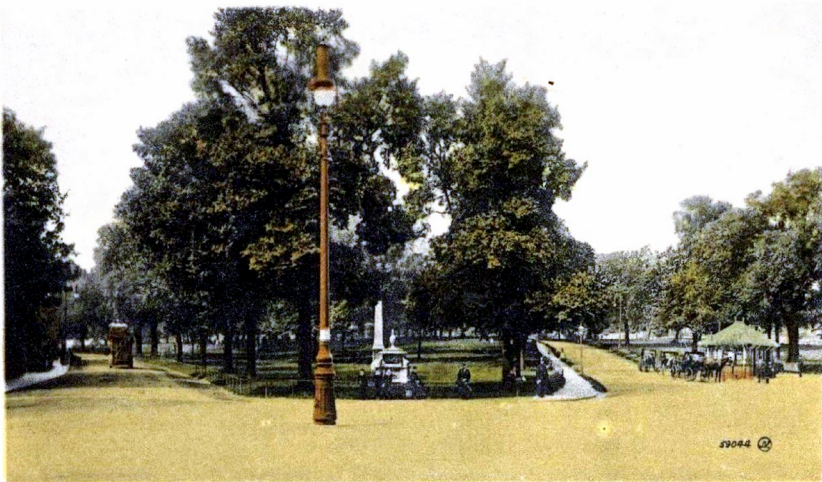


IMAGE 1. Postcard of Lieutenant General Sir William Draper's Memorials after relocation to their current home on Clifton Down, Bristol, United Kingdom, circa 1910, photo: Hana Qugana

20 Ian F. W. Beckett, 'Military Commemoration in Britain: A Pre-History,' *Journal of the Society for Army Historical Research* 92 (2014): 147-59, 154. Dreaper asserts that Draper's memorials were 'never intended for public viewing'; Dreaper, 'Bristol's Forgotten Victor,' 1.

21 Lauren A. Benton, *A Search for Sovereignty: Law and Geography in European Empires, 1400-1900* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 290.

In their original locale, these memorials had stood out from Blenheim, Nelson's Column and even the never-built Waterloo Palace (abandoned in 1822) in a critical respect: the Manila campaign had not proven itself to be an unequivocal 'victory' to 'celebrate,' but a more ambivalent episode in Britain's imperial narrative.²² Alternatively, the relocation of the neoclassical obelisk and cenotaph 115 years later happened at a time, writes Philippa Levine, when 'the powerful symbolism of [the Roman] empire guilty of its own destruction had obvious resonances for the Victorians,' whose 'antiquarian empire' Draper's monuments now very much occupied. 'Circumscribed only by the necessity of dealing with the objects and events of the past,'²³ even anachronistically, antiquarianism provided a powerful localised means of creating teleologies, or at the very least, a plausible backstory for an empire no longer at its zenith, but in its perceived 'decline.'²⁴ There was little room for sepoy in Draper's swansong in Bristolian popular memory. 'To the memory of those departed warriors of the 79th Regiment,' reads the dedication on the cenotaph, whose 'generous treatment of a vanquished enemy / Exhibits an illustrious example of true fortitude and moderation, [...] That future generations may know Humanity is the characteristic of / BRITISH CONQUERORS.'²⁵

If it is difficult to envisage Britain's warrior-conquerors, bearing the torch of civilisation across the world in any manner resembling the humane, harder still may it be to imagine the Company's unacknowledged legions of Manila sepoy fulfilling such a role for Victorian Britain's legions of antiquarians. Paradoxically, the allure of memorials to the 'unknown soldier' in the global North lies in their assumed universalism: that anyone could be buried, physically or metaphorically, within them, and that as an every(wo)

22 David Lambert, 'A Living Monument': Memorial Parks of the First and Second World Wars,' *Garden History* 42, Supplement 1 (Autumn 2014): 34-57. Lambert writes, 'Blenheim Palace and Nelson's Column are both war memorials, but they celebrate victory rather than the fallen,' 35.

23 Philippa Levine, *The Amateur and the Professional: Antiquarians, Historians and Archaeologists in Victorian England, 1838-1886* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), 98, and 16-7.

24 Jim Tomlinson, 'Thrice Denied: "Declinism" as a Recurrent Theme in British History in the Long Twentieth Century,' *Twentieth Century British History* 20, no. 2 (2009): 227-51.

25 As reproduced in 'Memorial: 79th Regt Manilla Monument, Clifton Down,' Reference 3168, War Memorials Register, Imperial War Museums, 2023, accessed 28 July 2023, <https://www.iwm.org.uk/memorials/item/memorial/3168>.

man, they deserve to be mourned. By participating in this ritualised act of remembrance, visitors perform their belonging to an imagined community, whether to all of humanity, a nation, race, class, gender, or potentially a cross-section from all of the above. But in reality, those responsible in the North for erecting these monuments have an ideal soldier in mind,²⁶ who resembles nothing like the sepoy.

Land of the Sepoys²⁷

Journeying east, by car, out of Metro Manila, on one of Luzon's most congested highways, brings the wayward traveller to a different kind of monument to the Manila expedition, entitled *Ang Sepoy at Maglalatik*. Crossing into the neighbouring province of Rizal, at the junction where the Ortigas Avenue Extension meets F. P. Felix and A. Bonifacio Avenues in the town of Cainta, the tall metallic figures of The Sepoy and the Sweets Maker toil together over a cauldron atop a red brick-columned plinth, making a batch of rice and coconut delicacies attributed to this avowed *kakanin* capital of Philippines.²⁸ Devoid of any distinctive facial features, yet sartorially gendered, this everyman and woman do not so much preside, as go intently about their work over an otherwise nondescript intersection, around which equally quotidian throngs and trappings of urban life on the edges of a tropical metropole ebb, flow and progressively spring up, much like the waterways—the Cainta River (to the east), and Buli Creek and Manggahan Floodway (to the west)—that delineate the boundedness of this border municipality.

One could be forgiven for thinking that these spectres had always loomed large in this town, assuming a pride of place in local lore and popular memory over successive generations. When the British East India Company ended its formal military occupation of Manila in 1764, the bulk of its forces departed with the spoils of war, but left behind a number of men that had originally set out from Madras, many of whom reputedly settled in and around Manila. It was

26 See e.g. J. H. Stocqueler, *The British Soldier: An Anecdotal History of the British Army* (London: Wm. S. Orr and Co., Amen Corner, 1857).

27 Rachele Requillo, 'A blast from the past,' *The Sepoys*, May-October 2016, 13.

28 Plaque text, *Ang Sepoy at Maglalatik*, public monument, c.2015, Cainta, Rizal, Philippines. For an introductory gastronomic, cultural explanation of *kakanin*, see Bianca Denise M. De Villa, Thea Mari M. Domingo, Rhema Jenica C. Ramirez and Jame Monren T. Mercado, 'Explicating the culinary heritage significance of Filipino *kakanin* using bibliometrics (1934-2018),' *International Journal of Gastronomy and Food Science* 28 (June 2022).

here, particularly in Cainta and Taytay nearby, that these sojourning soldiers are rumoured to have assimilated into new communities, entering unions with local women, and forging with them new lives as the premier purveyors of sweet Indian-inspired culinary delights like *suman*, *bibingka* and *latik*.

These *sumbingtik* have since become staples of Filipino cuisine and thereby mnemonics in the national imagination for a timeless, more universal tale of prosperous cottage industries and effortless cosmopolitanism to which ordinary Filipinos might aspire, anywhere in the world. It may come as a surprise then that *Ang Sepoy at Maglalatik* was erected only in the last decade. In reality, seemingly innocuous romanticizations of Cainta as a land flowing figuratively with *latik* and honey, and historic home to beloved sepoy-settlers vie for narrative space—alongside more contentious histories of Indian migration to the Philippines since the mid-nineteenth century,²⁹ and Cainta’s modernisation in the late twentieth century. Informed more by considerations rooted in more recent pasts than the ‘actual’ history, a more uncertain story about the memorialisation of the Company’s sepoys emerges. Nonetheless, this story is historical. As Matt Matsuda once wrote, “memory” is not merely a theme to search out in literary texts, nor a convenient trope to impose generically upon recollections, rituals, or remembrances.’ Even memory itself has a history, and ‘a truly historical project must be attentive to the ways in which “memory” is not a generic term of analysis, but itself an object appropriated and politicized.’³⁰

29 For an introduction to the history of South Asians and the Philippines, see Ajit Singh Rye, ‘The Indian Community in the Philippines,’ in *Indian Communities in Southeast Asia*, ed. K. S. Sandhu and A. Mani (Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 1993), 707-73; Stefan Aune, ‘Indian Fighters in the Philippines: Imperial Culture and Military Violence in the Philippine-American War,’ *Pacific Historical Review* 90, no. 4 (2021): 419-447; Chapters 27 and 28 by Lorraine Carlos Salazar and Joeje Santarita, respectively, in *Rising India and Indian Communities in East Asia*, ed. K. Kesavapany, A. Mani and P. Ramasamy (Singapore: ISEAS, 2008), 499-546; and Gilbert Jacob S. Que, ‘Languages in the Indian Transnational Community in Metro Manila: Preservation Efforts and Impact on Indian Identity,’ *Philippine Sociological Review* 64, no. 1 (2016): 79-108. For Southeast Asia more broadly, also see Hugh Tinker, ‘Indians in Southeast Asia: imperial auxiliaries,’ in *South Asians overseas: Migration and Identity*, ed. Colin Clarke, Ceri Peach and Steven Vertovec (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 39-56.

30 Matt K. Matsuda, *The Memory of the Modern* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 1996), 4 and 6.



IMAGE 2. *Ang Sepoy at Maglalatik* (The Sepoy and the Sweets Maker), Cainta, Rizal, Philippines, 19 June 2018, photo: Judge Florentino Floro, licensed under CC CO 1.0 DEED, https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:6075Rizal_Cainta_Roads_Buildings_Landmarks_20.jpg, accessed 16 December 2023

Sepoy de Cainteño

'You are not from Cainta if you don't know who this is,' reads a Facebook post by the official account of Cainta's Francisco P. Felix Memorial National High School from September 2014.³¹ The contention was made underneath a now somewhat ubiquitous photograph in cyberspace of a sepoy portrait at the Royal Military Academy Sandhurst in England.³² Painted around the

31 Francisco P. Felix Memorial National High School, 'Hmmm.. You are not from Cainta if you don't know who this is.. Anyone?' *Facebook*, 21 September 2014, <https://touch.facebook.com/fpfnhscainta/photos/a.10150621044197657/10152272024502657/?type=3&p=9>.

32 Anonymous, *Sepoy of the Indian Infantry*, Oil on canvas, circa 1900, National Army Museum Sandhurst, Camberley, England, <https://collection.nam.ac.uk/detail.php?acc=1978-06-17-1>.

turn of the twentieth century, there is nothing explicitly linking Cainta, or even the Philippines more broadly to this particular piece of art, let alone the unnamed Indian soldier in it. Many not belonging to either of these communities would be able to identify the subject of the portrait. But it is precisely in such anachronisms that the agency of subaltern memory lies—the power to engage with historical artefacts in different, perhaps surprising ways, while taking and recasting something plausibly universal, as one's own.

The subalternity of native Cainteños—or rather, those from a specific *barrio* (or neighbourhood) within the municipality called Dayap—is by now a well-established axiom, intimately tied to the sepoy and maglalatik. Sometimes referred to by its moniker 'little India beyond the sea,' Ajit Singh Rye asserted that by the turn of the nineteenth century, Dayap had become 'an isolated community,' owing to the 'colour and race' of its 'Indian settlers'; 'intermarriages outside of Dayap became difficult,' endogamy among the first mixed sepoy-native families became pervasive, and their progeny, having 'retained some of the racial distinctiveness of their forefathers,' experienced severe 'social discrimination.'³³ Echoing Black women's objectification as 'brown sugar,'³⁴ Cainteños themselves have quipped that the maglalatik were sweets makers of a different sort.³⁵ Rye linked these historic stigmas explicitly to negative impressions of the South Asian diaspora in the Philippines today.³⁶

Against what is ultimately a much broader, more complex backdrop of historical encounters between those hailing from the Indian subcontinent and a Philippine society that itself became increasingly racialised and gendered over centuries of European and American colonial rule, the lengths to which the community of Cainta has gone to positively identify with these marginalised figures make the various reinterpretations of its sepoy past all the more striking. When tasked with naming the English and Tagalog editions of their inaugural paper in 1978, Felixians (as students and staff at Felix Memorial High School

33 Rye, 'The Indian Community in the Philippines,' 713-4.

34 Mireille Miller-Young, *A Taste for Brown Sugar: Black Women in Pornography* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2014).

35 See e.g. Jean Trals, 'Steampunk Cainta: Ang Sepoy at Maglalatik,' *junk of the mind* (blog), 22 August 2018, <https://jeantralala.wordpress.com/2018/08/22/steampunk-cainta-ang-sepoy-at-maglalatik/>.

36 Ajit Singh Rye, 'The Indian Community in the Philippines: A Profile,' *Asian Studies Journal* 19 (1981): 56-64.

are colloquially known) chose *The Sepoys* and *Ang Maglalatik*, respectively. Trophies and other local and national awards, earned by subsequent editorial staff, line the top shelves of the library, attesting to the immense pride these young sepoy inheritors take in the periodical and Cainta's first public high school. Since 2014, the town has hosted an annual SumBingTik Festival honouring its gastronomic and other traditions, over which gold-painted papier mâché replicas of the *Ang Sepoy at Maglalatik* sculpture preside.

Observable in these various appropriations, from social to print media, public sculptures to sumbingtik, are intentional, intensely localised expressions of what Walter Mignolo has described as border gnosis. 'Knowledge produced from the perspective of colonial modernities in Asia, Africa, and the Americas/Caribbean,' 'knowledge conceived from the exterior borders of the modern/colonial world system'³⁷—there may be no greater way to subalternise what we know about the world around us and how we know it, than tampering with, or dissolving altogether the glue that holds 'philosophy' and 'epistemology' together: the global North's beloved 'history,' its way of ordering time itself. There are, after all, no known historical depictions of Cainta's sepoys. Seldom are the individual voices of the EIC's rank-and-file audible in official records, let alone the life stories of those that absconded to the Philippines.³⁸ The fates of their descendants, now dispersed throughout the archipelago and potentially all over the world, remain equally nebulous, concealed in deep histories of the state. None of this means these people did not exist. Nor does it invalidate the sepoy's centrality to Cainta identity. What other means are there to commemorate what is, at present, operationally inaccessible, but to seize the sepoy through imagination? And claimed him Cainteños have, defiantly, through myth and merrymaking, culture, art and sound.

37 Walter Mignolo, *Local Histories/Global Designs* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000), 13.

38 While the Company's records from the Madras Presidency contain references to sepoy infantry, calvary, 'officers' and 'deserters,' they are usually mentioned in passing (for instance, when identifying casualties in a particular encounter, garrison numbers, wider troop movements, local requests for disciplinary action to be taken, or a list of payments made or withheld), but, crucially, always appearing either as a monolith or nameless other; *Records of Fort St. George: Manila Consultations*, 10 volumes (Madras: Superintendent, Government Press, 1940-1946). <https://digital.soas.ac.uk/AA00000463/00001/allvolumes>.

Indias Beyond the Sea

What does a subaltern gnosis of the communal self sound like when it is constructed through another subaltern? Elsewhere, I have written about how such ‘unanimities can be imagined, and collective anti-colonial, anti-racist identities articulated sonically through (in Benedict Anderson’s words) “legitimate fictions and concrete illegitimacies.”’³⁹ In Cainta, this has happened on a much grander sensory scale, osmosing into nearly all aspects of civic life through the sepyo for the purposes of local community building, belonging and, in turn, resistance to domestic and other external forms of socio-economic and political pressure being exerted on Cainta and its people. Bending, sometimes breaking with historical authenticity altogether is required by this process, the consequences of which reveal more layers—other diasporic ‘Indias’ that have, like tectonic plates, converged to subduct Cainta’s sepyos, transforming the latter’s temporal littorals, seas and shoals.

The ‘real,’ or historic sepyos that would eventually remain in the archipelago at the end of the Seven Years’ War inhabited a world of ‘proto-globalization,’ a place where ‘for centuries,’ wrote Bayly, ‘it was not clear what was the “centre” and what the “periphery,”’ but at a time when ‘new and yet inchoate [forms of globalisation] emerging from Euro-American capitalism and the nation state’ began to displace longer-standing ones. Poignantly, it was the ‘continued utilization, or “cannibalization”’ of those very ‘archaic’ forms that made this subordination possible, he argued. Alongside “European expansion” before 1850,’ these older forms of globalisation ‘could even generate their own centripetal forces,’ namely, through ‘a Chinese diaspora [which] had been preceded by Arab and Gujarati Hindu diasporas.’⁴⁰

According to Rye, it was not the Gujaratis, but their neighbours to the north, from Sindh and Punjab, that catalysed the first substantial migration from the subcontinent to the Philippines. And although he traces this wave back only to British seizure of these two regions in the 1840s,⁴¹ it was not the first encounter Indians had had with the archipelago’s inhabitants, and certainly

39 Qugana, ‘Savaging the Sonic,’ 191.

40 C. A. Bayly, “Archaic” and “Modern” Globalization in the Eurasian and African Arena, c. 1750-1850, in *Globalization in World History*, A. G. Hopkins, eds. (London: Pimlico, 2002), 47-73, 50. For more on globalisation’s cannibalistic proclivities, see Arjun Appadurai, *Modernity at Large: Cultural Dimensions of Globalization* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1996).

41 Rye, ‘The Indian Community in the Philippines,’ 714.

not the first that mattered.⁴² Borrowing from Neferti Tadiar's analysis of the 'massive exodus' of women ('maids, nannies, nurses, entertainers, and sex workers') from the Philippine Republic in more recent times,⁴³ prior centuries saw the emergence of a vibrant poetics of Indian export across the Indian Ocean and Pacific worlds. At one end of the spectrum, this poetics was populated by itinerant male traders, who knew to abide by monsoon winds and local potentates, with some (like their Arab and Chinese counterparts) securing advantageous marriages and other privileges as professed descendants of the Prophet.⁴⁴ At the other were the men, women and children, bought, sold and transported alongside a plethora of other goods, silver and gold to port cities across the 'Spanish lake' between Asia and Acapulco.⁴⁵ Then, Southeast Asia was known as 'India beyond the Ganges,'⁴⁶ as if places like the Philippines were but extensions of a wider 'Indian' geography, whether its inhabitants were aware of it or not.

42 Much of the scholarship on the Indian diaspora in Southeast Asia assumes it only began properly in the second half of the nineteenth century. See e.g. Lorraine Carlos Salazar, 'The Indian Community in Metro Manila: Continuities, Changes, and the Effects of Rising India,' in *Rising India and Indian Communities in East Asia*, 499-524; A. Mani, 'Community Formations Among Indians in East Asia,' also in *Rising India and Indian Communities in East Asia*, 49-70; Rajeswary Ampalavanar Brown, 'Marketing and the Textile Trade: An Indian Success,' in *idem*, *Capital and Entrepreneurship in South-East Asia* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1994), 189-211. Exceptional in this regard is Claude Markovits, *The Global World of Indian Merchants, 1750-1947* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000).

43 Neferti X. M. Tadiar, *Things Fall Away: Philippine Historical Experience and the Makings of Globalization* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2009), 103.

44 Sunil S. Amrith, *Crossing the Bay of Bengal: The Furies of Nature and the Fortunes of Migrants* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2013); and Markovits, *The Global World of Indian Merchants*. For an account of Arab, and more precisely, Hadhrami migration to Southeast Asia, see Enseng Ho, *The Graves of Tarim: Genealogy and Mobility Across the Indian Ocean* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2006).

45 Enslaved people from the Indian subcontinent travelled to Manila mainly across Portuguese networks; see Tatiana Seijas, *Asian Slaves in Colonial Mexico: From Chinos to Indians* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014), chapters 1-3. For context on the relationship between slavery and colonial Spanish urbanisation, refer to Robert R. Reed, *Colonial Manila: The Context of Hispanic Urbanism and Process of Morphogenesis* (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1978).

46 R. W. Seale, *An Accurate Map of India beyond the Ganges with the Oriental Islands; generally call'd East India: From the latest Improvements*, in *Universal Magazine of Knowledge and Pleasure* (London: J. Hinton, 1743). Coincidentally, Seale passed away the year that the British East India Company landed on the very Philippine shores he had mapped here.

While it was not until the 1760s that the British laid claim to the archipelago under the pretence of the first ‘global war,’⁴⁷ that did not mean they had no presence there prior at all. As Lorraine Salazar notes, previously they had ‘engag[ed] in illegal trade by sending their goods through Armenian, Muslim, Hindu, or Parsi ships,’ any of which would have Indian sailors and militiamen in their employ.⁴⁸ Such was the porous and diffuse nature of this age of proto-globalisation. ‘Great Stores are transported and Vended into most places of note in India, Persia, Arabia, China, and the South Seas,’ wrote an English merchant named Thomas Bowrey at the end of the seventeenth century, but ‘more particularly Moneela [Manila].’⁴⁹

Not wholly exceptional, but certainly not the rule, the place of the sepoys, who settled in Cainta in the latter half of the eighteenth century, within this early Indian diasporic history has largely been construed as ambivalent, even peripheral. Dismissed by Rye, at one point, as party to a mere ‘chance encounter’ of ‘no historic significance,’⁵⁰ sometimes they are left out altogether.⁵¹ A reason for this might be ambiguity in their motives for remaining behind. Some had been taken prisoner by the Spanish or their local collaborators, never to be returned. Alternatively, the vast majority, tired of ‘liv[ing] on the charity and generosity of their British superiors’ (due to *batta*, the practice of advancing subsistence allowances before departure), simply ‘drifted into the countryside to escape.’⁵² Neither explanation makes for a particularly compelling migrant story.

Falling between the various aforementioned early diasporic groups has made these men especially difficult to pin down. While miscegenation in itself

47 Mark H. Danley and Patrick J. Speelman, eds., *The Seven Years’ War: Global Views* (Leiden: Brill, 2012); and Daniel Baugh, *The Global Seven Years War, 1754-1763: Britain and France in a Great Power Contest* (London: Routledge, 2011). For a critique of the predominantly Atlantic focus of this scholarship, see Flannery, ‘The Seven Years’ War and the Globalization of Anglo-Iberian Imperial Entanglement.’

48 Salazar, ‘The Indian Community in Metro Manila,’ 500.

49 Thomas Bowrey, as quoted in Amrith, *Crossing the Bay of Bengal*, 58.

50 Rye, ‘The Indian Community in the Philippines,’ 707 and 713.

51 Salazar, for example, asserts, ‘The Philippines was the only place in Southeast Asia where there was no settled Indian community by the mid-1900s’; Salazar, ‘The Indian Community in Metro Manila,’ 500.

52 Rye, ‘The Indian Community in the Philippines,’ 713. Also see *Records of Fort St. George: Manilha Consultations*.

was not grounds for marginalisation in the archipelago at the time, their native partners had mixed with those deemed to be inferior to other foreigners along racial, ethnic and socio-economic lines.⁵³ In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the whole of Manila had served as a bustling ‘emporium for slaves,’ writes Tatiana Seijas. ‘Slave auctions were held in the plazas found within the city’s walls. [...] Masters from throughout the Spanish Philippines knew to come to the capital to secure chattel property.’⁵⁴ And while she says it is difficult to quantify precisely how many enslaved people had passed through Manila (before the enforcement of bans on ‘foreign’ and indigenous slavery at the end of the seventeenth century), nearly half of her data sample is comprised of South Asians originating in India and Sri Lanka.⁵⁵ Preceded by the arrival of Indian missionaries, merchants, other soldiers, but above all, slaves, the sepoys and their children could plausibly have been mistaken for descendants of enslaved people, and treated accordingly.

Nor do these Caintamen fit neatly into the stories typically told about South Asian migration since the mid-nineteenth century. Unlike the enterprising Sindhi and Punjabi migrants that preoccupy most studies of the Philippines’ Indian diaspora, they had shipped out from Madras, on the eastern shores of the subcontinent. Meghan Thomas, Claude Markovits and others have suggested that the Company’s sepoys could have originated anywhere in India owing to a ‘coercive, if not technically unfree’ and thus increasingly ‘long-mobile,’ ‘cosmopolitan’ Indian mercenary force.⁵⁶ In

53 Not much has been said about the local women who had relationships with sepoys. It is therefore unclear how they benefitted from such arrangements. A starting point for future research on this topic could be church records documenting marriages between them and sepoys, in addition to baptismal records of the latter and their progeny.

54 Seijas, *Asian Slaves in Colonial Mexico*, 35-6.

55 *Ibid.*, Appendix 1, 251. The large proportion of enslaved peoples from the Indian subcontinent is also being substantiated by the ongoing work of the NWO-funded project ‘Forgotten Lineages: Afterlives of Dutch Slavery in the Indian Ocean’ (2023-2027), Nira Wickramasinghe (primary investigator), Universiteit Leiden, announced October 2022, <https://www.universiteitleiden.nl/en/research/research-projects/humanities/forgotten-lineages>.

56 Meghan Thomas, ‘Securing Trade: The Military Labor of the British Occupation of Manila, 1762-1764,’ *IRSH* 64 (2019): 125-47, 127-8; and Claude ‘Armed Cosmopolitans? Indian Sepoys and their Travels in the Service of the East India Company (1762-1815),’ in *Cosmopolitismes en Asie du Sud: Sources, itinéraires, langues (XVIe-XVIIIe siècle)*, ed. Corinne Lefèvre, Ines G. Županov and Jorge Flores (Paris: Éditions de l’École des hautes études en sciences sociales, 2015), 207-22. See also Dirk Kolff, *Naukar, Rajput and Sepoy*:

contrast, later arrivals self-identified as having departed from ‘Bombay’ in the guises of specific, predominantly merchant-oriented ethnic groups.⁵⁷ The derogatory connotations of the ‘Bumbay’ nickname for the latter therefore remain, in theory, irrelevant to their Cainteño predecessors.⁵⁸ Connections in the homeland between these sepoy migrants and the wave of refugees fleeing in the wake of the 1947 Partition of India are equally tenuous.⁵⁹

Traditions from other Indian diasporic communities, real or imagined, have nevertheless fed into Cainteño representations of the sepoy and maglalatik. Coinciding with the town’s historic fiesta, the newer SumBingTik Festival starts with the Christian veneration of Saint Andrew the Apostle (on the 30th of November) and ends with that of Our Lady of Light (on the first of December). Not only does it feature food with assumed Indian origins, both savoury and sweet, but similarly appropriative parade floats, passion plays, variety shows and other Philippine carnival pastimes. With tokenish notes of spice and entrepreneurship, Cainta’s festive ‘sepoy’ has begun to meld together with other ‘Indias’ across the archipelago, all now churning in an ocean of latik.

Sepoy Punks, Sepoy Aliens

Globalisation of the Philippines in the second half of the twentieth century has created further opportunities for appropriations from cultures less intuitively linked to the country. As Cainta’s sepoys become increasingly eclectic, so does their ahistoricity. This cosmopolitan irreverence for ‘the historical’ constitutes a key element of what might be characterised as sepoy punk, a means by which Cainteños can address injustices in the present through conscious acts of subversive revisionism. Framed also as a quest to forge the ultimate other, sepoy punk attests to the dynamism of subalternity in a broader sense, embedding within contemporary Cainteño identity values of resistance and resilience potentially shared with other communities in the global South.

The Ethnohistory of the Military Labour Market in Hindustan, 1450-1850 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990).

57 William G. Clarence-Smith, ‘Migrantes del Sur de Asia en Filipinas a lo largo del siglo XIX,’ in *Filipinas, siglo XIX: coexistencia e interacción entre comunidades en el imperio español*, ed. María Dolores Elizalde and Xavier Huets de Lempis (Madrid: Ediciones Polifemo, 2017), 363-92.

58 Rose Carmelle Lacuata, ‘Why Pinoys call Indians “Bumbay”—and other Indian stereotypes,’ *ABS-CBN*, 24 January 2018.

59 Lila Ramos Shahani, ‘Remembering my Uncle Eddie,’ *Rappler*, 2 August 2022.

A Cainta-based dance troupe opened the SumBingTik Festival's 2013 iteration with a call to prayer, of sorts, chanting 'SEPOYS! SEPOYS! SEPOYS!'⁶⁰ Evocative of Hawai'ian *kapa* cloth, *Ahu 'ula* and *mahiolo*,⁶¹ their papery red, white and yellow costumes resembled less South Asian, than indigenous Pacific Islander dress—a sartorial flattening of the Philippines' own global diaspora, connecting Cainta with communities in the United States and its colonial possessions, for which 'Hawai'i' serves as a bridge and key node of emigration. This ritualised synthesis of immigrative and emigrative, uprooted and alienated cultures contrasts starkly with the dichotomous American or East Asian 'modernities' to which many Filipinos often gravitate. For good measure, these young men had caked themselves in dark-coloured makeup: subaltern brownface. Perhaps the only thing lacking from their performance was a rendition of the *Maglalatik*. Characterised in Filipino Martial Arts circles as 'a trapping and boxing method hidden in dance,' the *Maglalatik* (also known as *Manlalatik* or *Magbabao*) re-enacts a battle over sweet latik between Christians and yet another collective on the fringes of Philippine society, the Moros (Muslims native to islands in the south).⁶² But like everything else 'sepoy' in this context, this 'traditional' folk dance had to be invented. In its present form, it dates back only to the primitive modernist Filipiniana revival of the 1950s. It is, as such, not a mere 'dance piece, but rather a dance drama.'⁶³

In seeming defiance of complaints on social media that the SumBingTik Festival dancers 'look more like Zulus (South African black) than Sepoys' and 'need turbans' to be deemed 'authentic,'⁶⁴ Cainta has continually seized

60 Humans of Cainta Rizal (Ericson Galvez), 'SEPOYS! SEPOYS! SEPOYS! ...,' *Facebook*, 2 December 2013, <https://www.facebook.com/HumansOfCainta/photos/a.124114971092561/128305247340200/>.

61 *Ahu 'ula* is a feathered cloak worn traditionally by the highest chiefly *ali'i* class in Hawaiian society. It is accompanied by *mahiolo*, or a feathered helmet.

62 For more on the *Maglalatik* folk dance and music, see Christi-Anne Castro, 'Recuperating a National Past: The Bayanihan Philippine Folk Dance Company,' in idem, *Musical Renderings of the Philippine Nation* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), 61-104; and Kanami Namiki, 'Hybridity and National Identity: Different Perspectives of Two National Folk Dance Companies in the Philippines,' *Asian Studies* 47 (2011): 63-86.

63 Namiki, 'Hybridity and National Identity,' 79.

64 Ben Oro in response to Humans of Cainta Rizal (Ericson Galvez), 'They look more like Zulus [...],' *Facebook*, 2 December 2013, https://www.facebook.com/HumansOfCainta/photos/a.124114971092561/128304807340244/?comment_id=316992755138114

the racialised means of its historic isolation by embracing, even revelling in the perceived brownness of its residents. Akin to Kip Fulbeck's positive hapa. me portraits of 'part Asians,'⁶⁵ the municipal archives contain several albums filled with pictures of 'Produkto ng Sepoy,' people believed to be the biological offspring of sepoy-native unions, five or so generations removed. Though rarely identified by name, these subjects of ethno-photographic study are not hidden away, but openly acknowledged as symbolic kin. In 2018, it could be observed that some portraits had been given pride of place, adorning the walls of busy, publicly accessible chambers in the municipal hall.



IMAGE 3. Undated photographs of the municipality's 'remaining descendants of the Sepoy race,' displayed in the Town Hall, Cainta, Rizal, as of 21 February 2018, photo: Hana Qugana

65 'Hapa' originated in Hawai'i as a term for the children of white and indigenous unions in the nineteenth century, before being reconfigured to better suit the interests of the US colonial state into a more generic term for those of mixed—but particularly, partial Asian ancestry in the twentieth century. Kip Fulbeck, hapa.me, 2023, <https://kipfulbeck.com/hapa-me/>.

One such frame entitled ‘Mga natitirang lahi ng Sepoy’ (remaining descendants of the Sepoy race) hung behind the front desk with seven photographs of locals with biological features and character traits attributed to their alleged South Asian heritage. Stressing the genealogical aspect of sepoym identity, a few were pictured in family groups, while others had been positioned like objects of anthropological study, on their own. A similar ethos pervades the pages of Felix Memorial High School’s periodical. In the 1990s, one Felixian asked, ‘Have you ever seen a dark-skinned and semi-kinky haired with deep-set eyes and pointed nose people?’ to which he responded proudly, ‘If you can visit Cainta you can see for yourself these kind of people’: ‘down-to-earth, religious, friendly and most of all very industrious.’⁶⁶

If Cainta’s civic entanglements with the sepoym seem inordinately malleable, there are others who take greater comfort in the sepoym’s historical rigidity and rootedness in this community specifically, than in any multicultural, manufactured version of him. Recounting the route home after a lengthy sojourn in 2018, Cainteña/o/x artist, Jean Trals, blogged:

I found the whole Imelda Avenue – Ortigas Ext. (in Taytay, lampas Tikling) stretch super alien. Factories I did not used to remember seeing were everywhere. Ang daming bago, pero *grimy* bago, parang post apocalyptic industrial *alikalok*-heavy na bago. (Lots of new, but *grimy* new, like post-apocalyptic industrial, dust-heavy new.)

The only soothing thing in this now-alien land I guess is the newly erected statue of “Ang Sepoy at Maglalatik” sa gitna ng Junction. It’s in steampunk brass, still very in unison of the rusty mecha theme the whole of Cainta hopefully will decide in the future to not go with.⁶⁷

Trals is not alone in feeling removed or alienated from what their hometown has become today. Thoroughfares like the ‘whole Imelda Avenue – Ortigas Ext.’ crisscrossed and sectioned by pedestrian overpasses, constitute

66 ‘Cainta’s Intricate History and Its Humble Beginning,’ *The Sepoy*, June-September 1992, 5.

67 Jean Trals, ‘Steampunk Cainta: Ang Sepoy at Maglalatik,’ *junk of the mind* (blog), 22 August 2018, <https://jeantralala.wordpress.com/2018/08/22/steampunk-cainta-ang-sepoy-at-maglalatik/>. Emphasis original.

a wellspring of theirs and others' disillusionment with the Manileño behemoth's rise on the other side of the floodway, and its dystopian spill-over into adjoining municipalities more generally. Adiar argues that this 'post-apocalyptic' urbanisation and local responses to it originated during the first Marcos presidential administration (1965-1986), when 'an emergent depth structure beg[an] to define urban subjectivity both as a condition of and resistance measure against a hegemonic aesthetico-politics of surface.' From this structure emerged 'another technology of social and subjective structuring' to combat the post Martial Law 'crisis channeling of deterritorialized urban flows'—the flyovers and overpasses, which have irrevocably 'restructured the urban space of the nation's capital' and surrounding areas.⁶⁸

Embodying 'at once a mode of social stratification and a mode of symbolic and material production that images and supports the deregulated, decentralized, and flexible modes of postindustrial production,'⁶⁹ the Ortigas Avenue Extension—and the Manggahan Floodway itself (built in 1986) over which it passes—opened Cainta up to the 'development' deemed necessary for the capital's growth and nation's economy, while severing arteries that once bound the community together, and what has made it, historically, whole. Trals expresses frustration with the powers that be in Cainta for failing to close off the municipality to the invasion of 'post-apocalyptic industrial, dusty-heavy' factories and other 'rusty mecha' blights, and the slow haemorrhaging of its cottage industry that has ensued. Their problem with this urban sprawl is not that it is centuries old, but that it is actually decades new—that it is only pretending to be from long ago, the antidote for which is something real and historical: the sepyo.

68 Neferti X. M. Tadiar, 'Metropolitan Debris,' in idem, *Things Fall Away: Phillippine Historical Experience and the Makings of Globalization* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2009), 217-61.

69 *Ibid.*, 218.



SUMBINGTIK FESTIVAL

A Dazzling Celebration in Cainta



The highly urbanized town of Cainta has several unique festivals which are celebrated by its people throughout the year and one of these is the "Sumbingtik" festival and it is commemorated during December 1 along with the town founding anniversary and feast of our Lady of Light, the patron saint of the town.

Sumbingtik stands for suman, hatingka and latik which are sweet delicacies made from glutinous rice and coconut for which the town is famous and this event was first celebrated in 2014.

Honorable mayor John Keith P. Nieto is the first town mayor of Cainta who popularized the said festival. He encouraged all the town people of Cainta to give importance to the forgotten culture of the town.

In line with the celebration are the colorful float parade and street dances which are held a day before the town fiesta.

Nieto made the float parade,

which is one of the main events of the town fiesta, a competition among the barangays of Cainta to make it more interesting. Each barangay decorated the float based on the theme which was agreed upon by the different barangay officials.

The float parade started at the Municipal Hall of Cainta and will go around each barangay to showcase the floats they made and ended at Sta. Lucia East Grand Mall where each float was judged and the best among the floats had received a monetary prize.

Another attraction which made the festival even more fascinating is that the people decorated their houses using the different delicacies of Cainta, Rizal and they invited everyone to come and taste the sweet delicacies that they had for free!

It is really fun in Cainta and it dazzles with its Sumbingtik Festival.

Kirsten Ellen Labrusca

IMAGE 4. Photo of page 11 from the May-October 2017 issue of *The Sepoys*, Francisco P. Felix Memorial National High School, Cainta, Rizal, 21 February 2018, photo: Hana Qugana

White City

The 2022 instalment of SOAS' annual Philippine Studies Conference in London ended not so much with a bang, but a beginning. Candy Gourlay closed out the last day with a public reading from an upcoming novel by Rogelio Braga.⁷⁰ Both writers were born in the Philippines and now live in the UK, but the passage begins in neither locale. Instead, it transports us back, 260 years into the past, to the military barracks of the British East India Company near Madras, on the eastern coast of the Indian subcontinent, where local

70 The novel will, in the first instance, be submitted as a PhD English thesis to Birkbeck, University of London; Rogelio Braga, email to author, 14 June 2023.

recruits known as sepoy's anxiously await the orders that will take them across the sea to invade Spanish Manila during the Seven Years' War:

One day, [Kareem the Giant] was sent to the White City to deliver food to the very generals who were going to lead the campaign. He found himself standing at attention surrounded, not just by generals, but the admiral, officers of the East India Company, and representatives of the London office.

'What was it like, to be in that room?' Pavan asked Kareem. Nobody in our battalion had ever managed that kind of access.⁷¹

This moment, of course, is fiction. Pavan and Kareem the Giant did not exist, and this exchange never happened. The text cannot tell us what the Indian participants in the expedition 'actually' thought, let alone dared to utter out loud or caused to be transcribed. It nonetheless has historical value, compelling us to acknowledge the overlooked, yet vital presence of the subaltern in a room typically reserved for 'men and events' in contemplation. It is a stargate providing access to other equally valid histories—of communities like Cainta, hitherto viewed as incidental or inconsequential, and which stand to gain by identifying with 'the sepoy,' however (a)historically constructed.

Questions remain as to where on the Indian subcontinent the sepoy Manilamen hailed from more precisely; if they adhered to particular faiths or belonged to particular castes; what motivated them to enlist, whether or not they had families waiting for them back home (wherever that was); and ultimately, who they 'actually' were—questions, however, that normally require time and creativity in repositories neither designed, nor ever intended to address them. Counter storytelling, as seen in Cainta and now Braga's 'White City,' has emerged as a viable alternative to conventional forms of history and gnosis, 'creat[ing]' (as James Miles puts it) 'spaces for new stories and ways of knowing.'⁷² Borrowing from Pratt, it is no longer tenable to assume that 'all participants are engaged in the same game, and that the game is the same for all players,' especially 'when speakers are from different classes

71 Rogelio Braga, excerpt from *Elephant and Castle* (unpublished manuscript, September 2022), typescript. Many thanks to the author for sharing their work with me.

72 James Miles, 'Historical silences and the enduring power of counter storytelling,' *Curriculum Inquiry* 49, no. 3 (2019): 253-9.

or cultures, or one party is exercising authority and another is submitting to it or questioning it.⁷³

Even when searching for sepoy along the archival grain is possible,⁷⁴ what is uncovered is not always satisfying, and for some, better left undiscovered. A chronicle of the Manila expedition, now housed with the EIC's surviving papers in London, describes an incident illustrative of the incongruous manner by which certain aspects of imperial conflicts are ultimately remembered, but also forgotten to serve the interests of postcolonial others. Orders issued by King George III himself reached Manila by the end of March 1764, more than a year after peace had been declared in Europe. Along with instructions to hand Spain back its pre-war colonial possessions, they contained a request from the Deputy Governor and Council in India to 'send 200 [...] Soldiers in one of the Companys Ships to Madras, to replace the 200 Men sent from thence to Bengal.' The men themselves, however, had other ideas:

The Regiment would not be seperated and the Men threatened to mutiny. And the Sepoys, who had engaged only for six months, and had served above twenty, swore by Mahomet they would not be left behind to be cut to pieces by the Spaniards. They would therefore oppose the embarking of the English Soldiers at the risk of their Lives upon the Beach.⁷⁵

The document from which this passage derives was drafted and submitted as evidence by a nameless solicitor in support of the Commandant of the 79th, William Brereton's claim to more prize money (in part, for how he deescalated this situation) in the aftermath of the war. It was never meant to offer subaltern perspectives on these events, and certainly not beyond the courts. Even so, it is worth appreciating this rare instance in the official record in which we can hear the sepoy speak—and what they have to say is mutinous. These sepoy are a far cry from Cainta's beloved forebears. Fearful of being 'cut to pieces by the

73 Pratt, 'Arts of the Contact Zone,' 38.

74 Ann Laura Stoler, *Along the Archival Grain: Epistemic Anxieties and Colonial Common Sense* (Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2009).

75 'History of the Expedition against Manila': manuscript account of the expedition fitted out at Madras which forced the Spanish garrison at Manila to surrender in October 1762 and of events thereafter (Unsigned and undated), MSS Eur D628, folio 28-9, India Office Records and Private Papers, British Library, London, United Kingdom.

Spaniards, they were willing to ‘risk [...] their Lives upon the Beach’ so as to *not* be ‘left behind,’ an inconvenient fact for any narrative of subaltern empowerment.

Braga’s take is more ambivalent, allowing for greater diversity in opinion within the sepyo *barkada* (comrades-in-arms) that the novel follows over whether ‘desertion’ was a viable option. It is that the British occupation of Manila has only been ‘misremembered’ by others, not forgotten altogether.⁷⁶ And yet, Braga does not imaginatively recount a discrete episode in history for its own sake either. If their work is fiction, it is a necessary one, galvanised less by Tagliocozzo’s imperial optic, than the invisibility of Filipinos in Britain today.⁷⁷ Braga reads against the grain, eliding ‘White Town’ (the historic nickname for the EIC’s Fort St. George, around which the city of Madras or modern-day Chennai developed) with White City, a district in London neighbouring the traditional centre of the country’s Filipino community at Earl’s Court—and effectively bringing the histories of these two ‘white’ localities together.



IMAGE 5. Market in SW5 Earl’s Court, London—home to ‘Little Quiapo,’ a salon named after a Manileño district sitting directly northeast, across the Pasig River from Intramuros, 25 October 2023, photo: Hana Qugana

76 Rogelio Braga, ‘Art Events: The Novel [an abstract for *Elephant and Castle*],’ 2022 Philippine Studies Conference at SOAS, 2023, <https://conference-2022.philippinestudies.uk/artevents/>.

77 Anonymous, ‘Why I and so many Filipinos still feel totally invisible in the UK,’ *Independent*, 14 December 2018.

The passage read aloud at the SOAS conference is but a vignette in a story rooted in the much more recent past, of Filipinos in twenty-first-century London looking for the Santo Niño, an *agimat* or *anting-anting* (a talisman in the Filipino occult tradition), tracing back to the rebellion led by the British-allied Ilocano, Diego Silang, against the Spanish in northern Luzon during the Seven Years' War.⁷⁸ Simultaneously, the wider novel (in Braga's words) 'reveals their lives and struggles in Duterte's Philippines and as migrants in the UK after the Brexit vote' through the 'defamiliarization' of the city itself.⁷⁹ It is through this hunt for a relic of early Philippine-British encounter and confluence—in itself a performative act of (mis)remembering—that the protagonists find themselves in the heart of Britain's former empire. It is a wonder that it is still beating.

Braga's forthcoming novel is entitled *Elephant and Castle*, a reference to another monument watching over a frenetic crossroads, this time, on the southern bank of the River Thames, feeding all manner of people and things into Central London to the north over a series of bridges, from Vauxhall to London Bridge. Dating back to 1898, 'The Elephant' originally beckoned weary travellers passing through this once somnolent suburb to the Elephant and Castle pub, although a coaching inn or public house of the same name has stood on that site since at least 1765.⁸⁰ By the 2010s, it was easy to miss the totemic statue—a pink elephant with a yellow-and-blue howdah on its back, carrying a solitary white round castle tower—amidst the market stalls, bus stops, cars and cycle lanes that encircled the five-way intersection. Behind it stood a tired, yet beloved shopping centre—the first in Europe when it was built in the 1960s—dwarfing this local talisman even further. The mall's internal composition was an ever-changing testament to 'multicultural' Britain, populated by small businesses as discreet and transient as the communities of migrants from overseas they served. At one point, a Filipino *sari-sari* (convenience) store occupied its corridors, only to disappear as quickly and silently as it had emerged.

78 Unread specs prefacing Braga, excerpt from *Elephant and Castle*.

79 Braga, 'Art Events: The Novel.'

80 Patricia Dark, 'Our Trunk Road Talisman,' *The Elephant*, no. 6, Autumn 2015, 19. For a more comprehensive historical account of Elephant and Castle, see Stephen Humphrey, *Elephant and Castle: A History* (London: Amberley, 2013).



IMAGE 6. Lock-up shops and emblem, Elephant and Castle, the mall's periphery lined with convenience shops prior to demolition (in 2022), 8 June 2012, photo: Robin Scott, licensed under CC BY-SA 2.0 DEED, <https://www.geograph.org.uk/photo/2991683>, accessed 16 December 2023

'Regeneration' has since come for the Elephant, threatening to swallow it whole; gone is the mall,⁸¹ the Corbusian housing estate next door⁸² and even (momentarily) the pub.⁸³ While the statue itself has been 'saved' and now perches above the new Castle Square retail and leisure complex nearby, it is unclear what the future holds for the neighbourhood that took its name, in the

81 Damien Gayle, "'We're going to miss the community": Elephant and Castle shopping centre closes after 55 years,' *Guardian*, 24 September 2020; and M@, 'In Pictures: The Demolition Of Elephant And Castle Shopping Centre,' *Londonist*, 25 January 2022.

82 The Heygate Estate was demolished between 2011 and 2014. Joshua Surtees, 'The last days of Elephant and Castle's 1970s housing project,' *Guardian*, 26 March 2010.

83 Sebastian Mann, 'Historic London pub the Elephant and Castle will not become a Foxtons after all,' *Evening Standard*, 22 October 2015.

face of the wider city's advances. Akin to what Braga has said of modern-day Manila, the setting of their first book of short stories translated into English and published in Britain,⁸⁴ *Elephant and Castle* serves also as 'a homage to a dying, if not already 'completely dead,' post-industrial city, reflective of a 'disdain for this relentless faith in language, that we always have a word for a specific human experience, that the lives that we choose for ourselves, our decisions, are always rational.'⁸⁵ Echoing a sentiment expressed by one of Braga's sepoys shortly before shipping off from Madras to Manila, 'for the first time, within the world [we] had created, as brothers, as soldiers, someone [will speak] of a world and its many possibilities outside of being a sepoy.'⁸⁶

Pursuing sepoys through the colonial archive, it turns out, is a lot like the fraught search for the first Filipino migrants and their descendants in Britain. 'Diaspora' in the Philippine context is largely synonymous with the Filipinx American community, for such reasons as population size and the more direct historical links between the United States and the archipelago's inhabitants, during and after formal American colonial rule over the first half of the twentieth century.⁸⁷ It is not uncommon to hear young Fil-Brits disparaging that some new-fangled *ube* (purple yam) concoction gone viral is 'so Fil-Am' (matched only by Fil-Ams responding 'I just can't get over your accent'). In the absence of their own equally established *halo-halo* tradition in culture and politics,⁸⁸ the Filipino diaspora in the UK has often turned to the better storied experiences of Britannia's more familiar colonial subjects, to tell a range of stories about who *they* are as Fil-Brits, in all their complexity.

84 Rogelio Braga, *Is There Rush Hour in A Third World Country?*, Kristine Ong Muslim (trans.) (London: 87 Press, 2022).

85 *Idem*, as quoted in Eunice Barbara C. Novio, 'Homage to a dead city,' *Daily Tribune* (Philippines), 1 February 2023.

86 *Idem*, excerpt from *Elephant and Castle*.

87 For a classic introduction to conceptualising the Filipino diaspora, see E. San Juan, Jr., 'The Filipino Diaspora,' *Philippine Studies* 49, no. 2 (Second Quarter 2001): 255-64.

88 See e.g. Justine S. Ramos, *Halo-Halo: A poetic mix of culture, history, identity, revelation, and revolution* (New Degree Press, 2021); Eileen R. Tabios, ed., *Halo-Halo Review* (blog), 2015-present), <http://halohaloreview.blogspot.com/>; Joseph O. Legaspi, ed., 'Special Section: Philippine-American Lit,' *World Literature Today* 92, no. 2 (March/April 2018): 37-51; and Adrian De Leon and Jane Hone, eds., 'Conservatisms and Fascisms in Asian America,' special issue, *Amerasia Journal* 48, no. 1 (2022).

The fleeing of one's homeland is never a simple matter of seamlessly obtaining asylum elsewhere, especially if you are perceived as 'brown.' The politics of who is considered an 'expat,' 'migrant,' 'guest' or 'refugee' is highly racialised in the British immigration context especially, requiring the performance of need for some, less than others. In the immediate aftermath of the 'tragedy' of having to leave the Philippines, in 2018, a life 'already built' ('everything is there'),⁸⁹ Braga took on a series of artistic commissions from UK institutions alongside their postgraduate studies at Birkbeck, University of London, one of which centred on the Baron Carlo Marochetti's 1853 *Monument to Granville Gower Loch* in St Paul's Cathedral. As a piece of 'empire at home' par excellence,⁹⁰ the original—a marble relief in the unassuming third bay (from the west) of the southern aisle of the nave—commemorates the 'sacred' memory of its aristocratic, soldierly namesake,⁹¹ whose otherwise glowing naval career came to an abrupt end during the Second Burmese War of 1852-53, when the Burmese chief, Myat Toon, and his rebel troops successfully executed a surprise attack on British forces at Danubyu in southwestern Myanmar. As Cora Gilroy-Ware notes, among the vanquished were none other than a number of sepoys.⁹² Loch himself was forty years old when he 'fell in the service of his Country'⁹³—and into a less conventional way of lying in state—making the emphasis on his unmarried status somewhat peculiar, a factoid on which Braga satirically feasts. Their one-act play, entitled *Why Handsome Single Guys Die in Burma?*, is performed by queer Filipina/o/x actors, Aldrin Bula and Istifen Dagang Kanal, in a film shot in the style of a 'typical beauty vlog on social media.'⁹⁴ Issuing a uniquely intersectional intervention in the commemoration of Britain's colonial past, it is a memorial unto itself.

89 Braga, as quoted in Ella Doyle, "'I built a life and then abandoned it': Playwright who had to flee to the UK after writing play featuring trans actors,' *MyLondon*, 10 August 2021.

90 Catherine Hall and Sonya Rose, eds., *At Home with the Empire: Metropolitan Culture and the Imperial World* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006).

91 Baron Carlo Marochetti, *Monument to Granville Gower Loch*, 1853, marble relief, London, St Paul's Cathedral.

92 Cora Gilroy-Ware, 'Carving Destruction: Carlo Marochetti's Monument to *Granville Gower Loch* (1853),' *Journal of Victorian Culture* 28, no. 1 (2023): 42-6.

93 Marochetti, *Monument to Granville Gower Loch*.

94 Pantheons: Sculpture at St Paul's Cathedral, *Why Handsome Single Guys Die in Burma?* (29 November 2022) YouTube video, 23:53, <https://youtu.be/6Nodo5F703k>.

WHAT OF OTHER such memorials, not yet and perhaps never to be built? What about the Filipinos who made up less than two per cent of the National Health Service workforce in the UK during COVID-19, but at the pandemic's peak, accounted for twenty-five per cent of total deaths among NHS staff?⁹⁵ What recognition can they hope to receive beyond the fleeting signage, bought and paid for not by the British state, but by the current Marcos administration to promote the Philippines' overseas workers? Gracing the side of a London double-decker bus, it read, 'WE GIVE THE WORLD OUR BEST. THE PHILIPPINES.'⁹⁶ The Fil-Brit featured in the advertisement, May Parsons, 'the nurse who gave the world's first COVID 19 vaccine,' had the honour of marching in Queen Elizabeth II's funeral procession in September 2022,⁹⁷ turning who is commemorating whom, and critically, *what*, on its head. Following the Queen's passing, Braga reflected, 'I am trying to reconcile the sadness, what the people feel about the monarchy, and the history of the violence of the political dynasty.'⁹⁸

Lest we forget that before these vocational enclaves, which now dominate the diasporic Filipino landscape in Britain—the nurses, the intelligentsia—came the seafarers, who had, by the 1880s, established their own 'little Manila' beyond the seas.⁹⁹ Taking local wives, many of them settled near the docks on Frederick Street in Liverpool¹⁰⁰—but it could have very well been Bristol. The portrait of one less fortunate among these Filipino Victorians appeared fairly recently in what would otherwise seem to be the most unlikely of places: a festschrift for Catherine Hall, a historian renowned for her work on the legacies

95 BBC Newsnight, 'Why are so many Filipino health workers dying of Covid19?' 1 May 2020, YouTube video, 4:27, <https://youtu.be/N6RHRMD0v8>.

96 Emphasis theirs. Ma. Stella F. Arnaldo, 'From "fun" to "the best": PHL bares new country brand,' *BusinessMirror*, 9 May 2023.

97 Lorraine, "'It Was Overwhelming": NHW Nurse May Parsons on being part of the Queen's Procession,' 20 September 2022, YouTube video, 4:16, https://youtu.be/G_yrGbQacNU.

98 Lian Buan, 'Grateful but critical Filipinos: Some celebrate Queen Elizabeth, others struggle,' *Rappler*, 19 September 2022.

99 Filomeno V. Aguilar Jr, 'Manilamen and seafaring: engaging the maritime world beyond the Spanish realm,' *Journal of Global History* 7 (2012): 364-88.

100 Nestor P. Enriquez, 'In Search of the DeLa Cruz Family (also known as Delacruz) | Filipinos in Liverpool: Little Manila on Frederick St. (Part 1),' *fil-am history*, 1995-2003, https://www.filipinohome.com/02_10_15liverpool.html. Coincidentally, Frederick Street is named for Frederick, Prince of Wales, the father of Britain's sovereign during the Seven Years' War, King George III. Frederick is also credited for his patronage of Thomas Arne, which produced 'Rule, Britannia!' first performed in 1740.

of British slavery.¹⁰¹ London, Liverpool, Bristol—each had been a key port in the Atlantic slave trade, and each would have been home to Filipino sailors. The story of how ‘seaman John Levina,’ ‘single’ and ‘Roman Catholic,’ came to be arrested in the east London ward of Bishopsgate in late December 1898 (and imprisoned in the City of London Asylum shortly thereafter) has yet to be fully told, but what little has been shared thus far is revealing—‘it was thought that John was Spanish, but in red ink a note has been added to his records: “a Philippino.”’¹⁰² A Manilaman institutionalised, sequestered away from public memory—he was certainly not the first. Nor would he be the last.

Manilla Hall was not the first English country house to commemorate a military expedition overseas. It was not even the first among the memorials to that war. Even if the hall no longer stands, its monumental remains are nonetheless (in Andrew Shenken’s words) ‘saturated in significance,’ and it is precisely because, not in spite of their ‘misplace[ment]’ on Clifton Down that they are so.¹⁰³ From the defence of ‘Captain Cook’ in the English town of Whitby,¹⁰⁴ to the soon-to-be completed marker mythologising the wartime service of the current Philippine President’s late father and former President himself, Ferdinand E. Marcos, in the family’s home province of Ilocos Sur,¹⁰⁵ the current age is strewn with controversies over statues, cenotaphs and other monuments to ‘great,’ or at least fallen men. Simultaneously hyperlocal and hypernational in scope, they embody the fracturing of memory itself. Time will tell whether it can be pieced together again, or refashioned like the subaltern sepoy into something more resilient.

101 Caroline Bressey, ‘Living together in Victorian England’ (paper presentation, ‘Families, Nation, Race and Empire – celebrating the work of Catherine Hall,’ Institute of Historical Research, University of London, 17 March 2018). This talk was based on idem, ‘The City of Others: Photographs from the City of London Asylum Archive,’ 19: *Interdisciplinary Studies in the Long Nineteenth Century* 13 (2011). For an introduction to Catherine Hall’s work on British slavery, see ‘Centre for the Study of the Legacies of British Slavery’ (orig. 2009-2012, and 2013-2015), University College London, <https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/>.

102 Bressey, ‘The City of Others,’ annotations for Figure 7.

103 Andrew M. Shanken, *The Everyday Life of Memorials* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2022), 151.

104 Susie Beever, ‘Protesters stand 24 hour “guard” at Whitby Captain Cook statue over fears monument will be vandalised,’ *Yorkshire Post*, 14 June 2020.

105 Miguel Paolo P. Reyes and Joel F. Ariate Jr., ‘A Marcos monument for a dubious wartime deed to rise in Ilocos Sur,’ *VERA Files*, 16 May 2023. The tagline for this periodical is ‘truth is our business.’

Incidental Validations: Translating Pedro Manuel

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*“Lives remarkable only in their
incompleteness and ordinariness.”*

— RESIL MOJARES, *Lives from the Margins*

AN EXPLORATION OF affective history, this reflective essay serves as a literary act of mourning. In it, I introduce the spectre of Pedro Manuel, in order to memorialise his absent presence. Working with a corpus of fragmentary texts and the gaps and spaces around them, the essay hopes to recreate the life of this particular man, living as a manservant in Alexander Dalrymple’s household, uprooted and emplaced as a direct result of the British Occupation of Manila in 1762.

Despite the challenges posed by layers of textual representation and mediation, including the author’s own tendencies toward reconstructing complete, thickly described conscious subjects, the recounting of Pedro’s life explores trans-constitutive approaches to the past. Drawing inspiration from *Can These Bones Live? Translation, Survival, and Cultural Memory* by Bella Brodzki (2007), the author

uses transgenerational approaches, both hermeneutic and performative, as a means of invoking cultural memory and affect—a recognition of the irreducible and distinctly human aspects of a lived life. The essay ends with a recounting of a performance piece entitled ‘Chasing the Human and Non-Human Senses: an Homage to Pedro Manuel (Ilocos c.1740–London, May 1810)’ as an extra-textual coda to this memorialization.

KEYWORDS: Pedro Manuel, Alexander Dalrymple, Malay, Servant, Filipino

“The Indian from the Philippine Islands, whom I saw alive in London at Alex. Dalrymple’s, was in appearance, exactly this sort of middle man.”

MY INTRODUCTION TO Pedro Manuel began with a footnote. Whilst taking notes on the origins of the “brown race” for a Philippine studies lecture on bleaching ads, I came across this curious aside in a treatise on the principal varieties of humankind from an 18th-century German naturalist, Johann Friedrich Blumenbach. His evolving thesis began with a 1775 doctoral dissertation on four racial categories by skin colour, geography and skull measurements: “Caucasians” (white), “Ethiopians” (black), “Americans” (red), and the “Mongolians.” By 1795, he named a fifth category which he inserted between the ideal and originary Caucasian and what he considered the degraded Ethiopians on the opposite end. The “people from the southern world” was the brown intermediary between black and white. Later, he would call this classification the Malay race.

This footnote about the “Indian from the Philippine Islands,” only appears in the 1795 edition of Blumenbach’s published thesis.¹ Said almost as an afterthought, it ante-dates the time and location that Blumenbach

1 Johann Friedrich Blumenbach, *The anthropological treatises of Johann Friedrich Blumenbach*, translated by Thomas Bendyshe, 1865. This edition includes the author’s *On the natural variety of mankind*, 1st (1775) and 3d (1795) editions, and his *Contributions to natural history* in 2 parts. I will use this volume for all citations from Blumenbach.

could have physically met Pedro and used him as a living sample of the so-called brown race. Throughout Blumenbach's armchair-academic career, he had only relied on skulls sent back by navigators, travel accounts from expeditions, and even paintings from artists who travelled.² But this Indian, remaining un-named in the treatise but who we now know as Pedro Manuel, must have been at Alexander Dalrymple's house as his manservant for at least twenty-five years before Blumenbach used him as a footnote.

We don't know how well-acquainted Blumenbach and Dalrymple were, or how often they would visit each other's houses. Both were elected fellows to the Royal Society of London (Dalrymple in 1771 and Blumenbach as a foreign member fellow in 1793) and both moved around in the same social and intellectual circles. At this point, Dalrymple had moved back to England for good and was a well-known geographer, travel writer and the first Hydrographer to the British Admiralty. Blumenbach was a prolific writer and knew many of Dalrymple's friends, including Joseph Banks who had just given him a prized skull of a Javanese woman. It is not hard to imagine that Pedro's unbelievable presence, "alive in London," would have been used by Blumenbach for illustration or verification of what to him had become, his biggest contribution to post-Linnaean racial taxonomy:

"Formerly in the first edition of this work, I divided all mankind into four varieties; but after I had more actively investigated the different nations of **Eastern Asia** and America, and, **so to speak**, looked at them more closely, I was compelled to give up that division, and to place in its stead the following five varieties, as more consonant to nature." (emphasis mine)³

Imagining Pedro through the lens of Blumenbach's characterizations of the Malay variety makes for an interesting conjuring experiment. According to Blumenbach's composites, Pedro would have been the "colour of fresh mahogany and dried chestnuts," his hair black, thick and plentiful,⁴ his

2 Blumenbach gives a list of Illustrations he used in his studies from "good" artist drawings "taken from life." Bendyshe, 1865, 159.

3 Bendyshe, 1865, 99.

4 Blumenbach distinguishes between the more common lush straight hair of the average Malay with the range of other hair types like "wiry ringleted hair" of the Ygolotes in the Philippines. Bendyshe, 1865, 306.



IMAGE 1. Artist rendering of a portrait of Pedro Manuel reconstructed from text descriptions and 18th-century photos of manservants. Tristan Antonio Juan, graphite on paper, September 2022.

forehead slightly swelling, his nose full and rather wide with thick ends, and having a large mouth with a somewhat prominent upper jaw.⁵ He would have been “hairless,” not unless he “plucked the hair off his chest or face,” and he would have proportionally shorter legs, several inches shorter than the average mid-sized European. I am not quite sure if there is any point in taking up Blumenbach’s obsession with skulls and how he goes on and on about the “beauty and symmetry” of the Georgian skull and how this translates to facial features and even cranial capacity for intelligence. The “degraded” skulls of the

5 Bendyshe, 1865, 304.

Malay variety were not as beautiful with foreheads that were slightly swelling, cheekbones by no means prominent, upper jawbone somewhat prominent. I am only hoping that Blumenbach did not have the nerve to measure Pedro's head to prove a point.

Character-wise, Pedro is said to have likely resembled the buffalo and the tiger: twin metonymic beasts that Blumenbach, quoting William Marsden's *A History of Sumatra*, said most characterised the Malay variety. For "in his domestic state, he is indolent, stubborn and voluptuous as the former, and in his adventurous life, he is insidious, stubborn and rapacious as the latter."⁶ But even Blumenbach does not make a scientific case for this characterization, relegating this somewhat silly conclusion aside as a footnote.

Through Dalrymple's Eyes

Blumenbach aside, it is through Dalrymple that we know more reliable detail. Various records show that Pedro Manuel (c.1740-1810) was a manservant in the household of Alexander Dalrymple and was his constant travel companion. As an East India Company man and hydrographer, Alexander Dalrymple travelled back and forth on expeditionary journeys under the EIC between Madras and several islands in the Malay Archipelago—including the Philippine Islands and what was then the Sulu Sultanate. Dalrymple later got swept up in the British Occupation of Manila when he was tasked to very briefly replace the EIC's Drawsonne Drake to become the deputy Governor General of the Philippines for a few days. At the signing of the peace treaty and eventual pull-out of the British forces, Dalrymple sailed to his home in Madras via Canton, before heading back to England towards the end of 1764.

After the British Occupation, and Dalrymple's return to England, it seemed like he was not particularly happy about settling in Britain. He continued to dream of going back to the Malay Archipelago to establish his dream port city and run it himself.⁷ A few years later, Dalrymple travelled to Madras in 1775 and stayed there from 9 December 1775 to 11 October 1776 in order to try and re-establish his administrative post in the EIC council. As usual, Pedro travelled with him and is mentioned in the list of servants given

6 Bendyshe, 1865, 232 n2.

7 East India Company, Marine Records, Journal of the Grenville, 1775-1777 (IOR: L/MAR/B/467D).

free passage on the Grenville as a part of household staff.⁸ After Dalrymple's unsuccessful foray into Madras, both men travelled on the Swallow first to Suez, then an overland journey to Alexandria, then to Marseilles for a 20-day quarantine, and on to Calais then London by April 1777.⁹

By 1777, Dalrymple had settled back in London for good. Frustrated by the denial of his various proposals, including the leading of an expedition to find the Transit of Venus, Dalrymple continued to work around the intellectual circles of London, publishing a voluminous amount of travel narratives, compilations of maps and charts and was later employed as the first official hydrographer of the British Admiralty.

It is within this flurry of Dalrymple's publishing activities that we once again meet Pedro. In a passing acknowledgment in the preface of "A Collection of Charts and Memoirs" published in 1772, we suddenly have a deluge of particulars, so precise and precious, about our man, Pedro.

Speaking about a map drawn out around the Sulu waters, Dalrymple simply says that:

"Takoot Paboonoowan is laid down from a plan made by my servant Pedro Manuel, a native of Ylocos on Luzon: coming down in a galley with the ships from Manila 1764, he anchored on it, and took the bearings of several places from thence, which I found to agree with their positions as I had determined them"¹⁰

To begin with, we now know that Pedro was, surprisingly, an Ilocano. I had always thought that Pedro could have come from the southern part of the Philippine Islands, most likely Zamboanga, the Spanish settlement just off the coast of Mindanao.¹¹ Given his Christianized surname,¹² it

8 East India Company, Court Minutes, 12 April 1775 (IOR: B/90), 550

9 See Andrew Cook's note on this itinerary p40 n79., in Alexander Dalrymple. Hydrographer to the East India Company. Unpublished PhD Thesis presented to the University of St Andrews (1993).

10 Dalrymple, Alexander. *A Collection of Charts and Memoirs*. London:1772. Introduction, viii.

11 Resil Mojares proposes the same conclusion in *Isabelo's Archive* on his chapter entitled Blumenbach's Model.

12 His surname ante-dated *The Catálogo alfabético de apellidos* of 1849, and Manuel was a common Basque surname (i.e. Don Pedro Manuel de Arandia, was from the Basque region

seemed most logical that Pedro could have been recruited and employed by Dalrymple from this Spanish city during one of his numerous journeys to the southern part of the Philippine Islands between 1761 and 1764.

But Dalrymple makes it clear—Pedro was a “native of Ylocos,” a region that would have been significant to the British reader, especially those who knew of or were involved in the Occupation of Manila in 1762. Happening around the same time that Pedro became acquainted with Dalrymple, the Ilocano Diego Silang and his compatriots forged an alliance with the British against Spain and established an independent Ilocano State in the Northern regions of Luzon. Silang was writing letters addressing King George III as his king and master, and sending him tributes of twelve loaves of sugar, twelve baskets of calamay, and 200 cakes or balls of chocolate.¹³ The rebel Ilocanos were also pushing the *frayles* into Vigan’s municipal jail, tearing up their *cedulas*. In response, the British declared Silang as the *Teniente de Justicia Mayor* and promised him tactical support in the hope that this, and similar native rebellions happening all over Luzon, would help the British expand the occupation of the Islands beyond Manila and Cavite.

But things did not happen as hoped. One by one, the rebellions were tamped down by Simon de Anda’s forces and Spanish loyalists, and even the military support promised by the British never materialised. In the end, Diego Silang was assassinated and a significant number of those accused of treachery to the Spanish were either ostracised or executed. With the ending of the Seven Years War, the remaining ships in the British fleet wound its way back to England. We know that Pedro was on one of the galleys (a single-deck ship propelled by men on oars) that sailed down with the British fleet on its way out of its less than two-year occupation of Manila and Cavite.

We will never know the exact reasons why Pedro left his native home. Was Pedro part of Silang’s rebel army? Was he in a quandary, having compromised his alliances? Would leaving the Philippines with Dalrymple be the safest choice to make? It did not help that Pedro was sounding Philippine waters and drawing maps for the British. Perhaps he was also attracted to

and died in Manila in 1759). Pedro could have been a mestizo of Spanish extraction.

13 Pedro del Vivar, O. S. A., “Relación de los alzamientos de la ciudad de Vigan, cabecera de la provincia de Ilocos, en los años 1762 y 1763,” (1764). In Juan de Medina, *Historia de los Sucesos de la Orden de San Agustín* (Manila, 1893).

some of the more liberal policies of the British as seen in their proffered terms of capitulation (freedom of religion, no head taxes) But for whatever reason, we know that Pedro was in the employ of Alexander Dalrymple by 1764.

Aside from the specifics of birth and employment, Dalrymple's virtual introduction also gives us a glimpse into Pedro's character. Dalrymple almost gushes as he points out Pedro's intrepid nature, his quick-wittedness and his self-initiative. Pedro had already been with Dalrymple in London for at least eight years when he wrote his acknowledgment of Pedro in his preface, and in it, in a reel of almost filmic action, we picture this Ilocano, hanging out of the galley's chains and casting the line with its lead plummet into the blue Sulu sea. Heaving and calling out fathoms by the mark at every second or third, we imagine the young man, most likely just 24 years of age, balancing himself on the rudders, calling out the numbers in a clear voice. The notorious shoals, only three fathoms deep in some parts, had taken out various ships before. Its notoriety was continuously pointed out in hydrographic notes like these:

If a large ship approach Sooloo Road from N. Eastward, care must be taken to avoid Takoot Paboonoowan Shoal, on which the Swedish ship, Gustavas Adolphus, struck in 1798, where she had only from 3 to 34 fathoms, and injured her rudder; it is in lat. 6°13' N., distant about 6 lengues nearly N. by WV. from the East end of Sooloo, and 5 leagues to the westward of the Duo Bolod, which are two high rocks, nearly mid-way betwist Sooloo and Basseelan.¹⁴

It was no wonder that it was with a sense of paternal pride, and scholarly magnanimity (and a bit of patronising as Dalrymple had to say he double-checked the data himself and found it accurate) that Dalrymple acknowledged Pedro's exceptional navigational skills.

Similarly, in Dalrymple's journal of his travel along the north coast of Magindanao on the ship London, Pedro again gets a special mention. On 16 October 1764, as the two men try to traverse the seas around Dapitan and

14 The India Directory Or Directions For Sailing To And From The East Indies Australia And The Interjacent Ports Of Africa And South America Compiled Chiefly From Original Journals Of The Honourable Company's Ships And From Observations And Remarks Resulting From The Experience Of Twenty One Years In The Navigation Of Those Seas By James Horsburgh Edition London Wm Hallen And Co Booksellers To The Honourable The East India Company 7 Leadenhall Street. 1843. Volume 2, 518.

Zamboanga, Dalrymple records that without Pedro telling him, he would not have known that the East Point of Silla Bay was joined by a sandy spit and that it was also full of shoals. Dalrymple interrupts his self-assured journal monotone and says:

... but Pedro Manuel tells me it is joined by a sandy spit, and that the Bay, from hence to Pta. De Villa, is full of shoals, and though deep within, *no channel*, except for small vessels close to the eastern shore.¹⁵

Now it wasn't the first time that this hydrographer had gone out of his way to acknowledge his sources. From other instances, we see Dalrymple have this same academic generosity and "regard for the peoples of the Malay Archipelago." Amaso Delano for example, an American Sailor, would recount years after Dalrymple's death, that the islanders of Sulu described him as "thorough, bold, magnanimous and generous. They had wanted him to live with them permanently and said they would cover him with honours." Dalrymple also acknowledged other native Malay sources for his nautical maps and charts—naming them, sometimes by-lining them in his printed charts. In his "Map of Part of Borneo and the Sulu Archipelago: Laid down Chiefly from Observations Made in 1761, 2, 3, and 4," published on 30 November 1770, he acknowledges that he used sketches ... "Received from the Sooloos [a Malay people of the Sulu archipelago], but chiefly from the information of Bahatol an intelligent old Pilot [ethnic identity not given, but surely of some Malay group]."¹⁶

But what was significant about Dalrymple acknowledging Pedro in his writing was that Pedro was himself present and was not some sage old "Malay" back in Sulu. One can imagine Pedro standing beside the published volume, in its original dusky red-velvet binding the size of a card table and weighing over thirty pounds. Did Dalrymple show the map on page 86 to one

15 See Alexander Dalrymple's Journal of ship London, with captain Walter Alves, along the north coast of Magindanao, October, 1764, 17. Published in 1781 and may be accessed online at https://archive.org/details/bim_eighteenth-century_journal-of-ship-london-_dalrymple-alexander_1781/page/n19/mode/2up.

16 Quoted from Howard Fry's *Alexander Dalrymple (1737-1808) and the expansion of British trade*. London: Routledge, 2014, xii.

of his close friends? And did Dalrymple ask Pedro to come in the drawing room to recount just how shallow those shoals were? How the wind whipped his face and how he anchored himself, feet flat on those narrow ship boards? What would his brown eyes have said right at that moment when the minute islands he knew so well, were now ink-pressed and peeled from copper plates, the only reminders of his far-away home?

And speaking of books and manuscripts, what might have Pedro done with those Philippine vellum-bound manuscripts that were a part of Dalrymple's library? William Marsden, a close friend of Alexander Dalrymple, who was particularly interested in Austronesian languages, was a frequent visitor to his house and did in fact borrow many of Dalrymple's dictionaries of Philippine languages.¹⁷ Could Marsden have asked questions about some of the words in Pedro's first language from the *Bucabulario Yloco* (1631) in Dalrymple's library? Or asked him to write the indigenous script of the Tagalogs for his comparative analysis of native Malay scripts? One wonders how many of Dalrymple's friends might have interacted with Pedro, and how much more of Pedro's indigenous knowledge and skills are silently embedded in all sorts of western treatises on the Malay world.

Pedro in London

Pedro's neighbourhood was 18th-century West London. When Dalrymple finally settled in London, he was a bachelor with a relatively small household, mostly consisting of Pedro Manuel, and later, Edward Bailey and his wife who lived in an annex that housed Dalrymple's free-standing library.¹⁸ Initially, Dalrymple moved around frequently, but he always confined himself to this part of London, north of the River Thames and west to the City of London. He first leased the Pigot house in Soho Square in 1780, and moved to 72 Titchfield Street, north of Oxford Street. By mid-1789 he moved to High Street, Marylebone using various house numbers from his letters including No. 52, 62 and 57. He stayed the longest (and eventually died) in Number 57, situated just two houses from what

17 An introduction to the provenance of the William Marsden collection of linguistic material via Alexander Dalrymple may be accessed online at <https://1762archive.org/at-kings-college/>.

18 Cook, 1993, 24.

was then the Marylebone Parish church.¹⁹ There must have been no end to the packing and unpacking of an entire household, and one cannot easily imagine Dalrymple doing the brunt of the work.

Marylebone in London began as a small woody village annexed to ancient estates owned by the English aristocracy. Almost a mile west of Central London, the area began to urbanise between 1716-20 when Cavendish Square was built and lined with fashionable housing. In Maitland's "History of London," he gives the number of houses in "Marybone" as 577 in 1739, and the persons who kept coaches at thirty-five. At the beginning of the nineteenth century, the houses numbered 9,000, and the number of "coaches" estimated at about 530.²⁰ The roster of well-known individuals who resided in the area in the late 18th to early 19th century included Charles Wesley, Lord Byron, Sir Stamford Raffles and Sir George Staunton.

Marylebone High Street was the main thoroughfare and the Anglican 17th century St Marylebone Parish Church built along it was the village centre. The Marylebone Gardens, built in 1738, with a carriage entrance from the High Street, was an enclosed entertainment area used for among others, gambling, cockfighting, bull baiting and boxing matches. It also had a stylish concert venue which featured composers such as George Frederic Handel.

Dalrymple's social life centred almost exclusively around the Royal Society, and a significant part of Pedro Manuel's weekly task (formal dressing, arranging for the coach etc.) revolved around making his master socially presentable. As a Royal Society Club member, Dalrymple was a frequent guest since 1772—just missing the years he was in Madras between 1775-1776. No more than two days after his return to London, the guest registers had Dalrymple for dinner on 24 April 1777.²¹ Dalrymple was said to have achieved an attendance rate of over 70% at the weekly Club dinners which preceded Royal society meetings.

The work of Pedro as a one-man servant must have been backbreaking. We know from letters to William Marsden that Dalrymple was prone to outbreaks of erysipelas throughout his adult life. A streptococcal infection,

19 Cook, 1993, 24.

20 Quoted in Daniel Lysons, 'Marylebone', in *The Environs of London: Volume 3, County of Middlesex* (London, 1795), 242-279.

21 Cook, 1993, 46.

the chronic sufferer would have severe rashes and lesions in the face and extremities and needed frequent warm baths to alleviate its symptoms. The frequency of these healing baths must have become so burdensome to Pedro that Dalrymple eventually installed a modern hot water contraption that cost him a considerable amount of money. But if Dalrymple's erysipelas did not keep Pedro busy enough, Dalrymple was also said to have had a gastric condition that Dalrymple alleviated by drinking "Cheltenham water"—or staying at the Spa from which it was sourced.²² We imagine Pedro, riding a horse-drawn carriage with Dalrymple, on their way to what was an almost bi-annual pilgrimage to the posh spa town in Gloucestershire. What Pedro would have to pack for these trips included the meticulously starched white shirts, the different types of spa loungewear and not to forget the extra heavy trunk with charts and maps that Dalrymple obsessively worked on.

In all the ins and outs of Pedro's life in London, Dalrymple constantly referred to him as his "good and faithful servant." It is easy to imagine Pedro as the living embodiment of London's portrait of a model for "housekeepers." Pedro had in some sense taken on more feminised versions of domestic work. As the only servant in the household, he would have been the butler, the housekeeper and the valet and would have had to cook, clean and bathe Dalrymple. Alexander Dalrymple remained unmarried all his life and seemed to have lived without the company of women except at the end when, in Pedro's absence, Dalrymple became acquainted with Mary Selby, a 17-year-old "spinster" who seemed to have taken care of him until he died on 9 June 1808.

A few treatises have been written about the general conditions of servants' lives before the end of 18th century England. In recreating the life of Pedro, we can use this genre of vignettes and models of behaviour as negative space—either as ideals or contrasts to what may have been the characteristics and actions of a "good and faithful servant."

Domestic service was the biggest labour force in England before the shift towards factory work with industrialization. There was a tax on indoor male servants—and their wages were considerably higher—so only the wealthy could afford to employ them. From what we know, Dalrymple lived an increasingly comfortable life in London after 1779, receiving £500 a year for his hydrographic work for the Company, the additional £500 a year annuity

22 Cook, 1993, 46 n116.

for his past Madras service from 1791 and a further £500 a year from the Admiralty as Hydrographer's salary after 1795.²³

The customary physical arrangements of a servant's life are a good commentary on how Pedro might have lived. Apart from normal wages, the servant was supposed to receive food and lodging—sometimes an allowance for washing clothes. Butlers would often get their Masters' second-hand clothes. Under the Law of Settlement of 1662 and its subsequent amendments, right of settlement, and hence the right to claim parish benefits, could be earned within a year's hiring.

Giving the servant's full wages or the giving of "vails" was discouraged—as it gave "a constant excuse to loiter at public houses' were they squandered their money in" gaming, drunkenness and extravagance" and most probably were they would gossip about their employees²⁴

In "The Art of Conducting a Family with Instructions to Servants Exemplary behaviour expected from servants," first published in London in 1754,²⁵ we get a catalogue of the model ways of behaving for servants and by whose standards Pedro would have been measured against:

Wastefulness: A good servant should be as careful and frugal of their master's property as they would be if it were their own.

Respect: A servant owes his master respect and should never answer back and only speak when spoken to. Whether servants are hired by the week or the year, their whole time is their master's; and if they willfully waste that time, by idly omitting what they are ordered to do, or by staying longer on messages or errand, it is as bad as picking their master's pocket; for it is robbing the master of that time the servant has contracted to give him, and for which he is paid.

23 Cook, 1993, 24.

24 The Gentleman's Magazine 26, 1756, 14.

25 An 1800 edition was printed for H. D. Symonds 1800 and can be accessed online here: entitled Domestic Management: Or the Art of Conducting a Family; with Instructions to Servants in General. Addressed to Young Housekeepers. https://books.google.com.ph/books?id=_MG_xgEACAAJ&source=gbs_navlinks_s.

Leave: If a servant asks permission to take leave and it is declined, under no circumstances should he/she take it regardless but wait until a more convenient time.

No Singing or Romping: No servant should ever sing, whistle or talk loudly in the hearing of any of the master's family, nor make any other noise about the house, so as to disturb, nor particularly should the men and maids romp in the kitchen.

Tread lightly: When a servant enters the room where the master or mistress is, they should tread lightly and never speak but in a quiet voice. They should equally go up and down stairs lightly.

Doors: When entering a room, if the door is closed, they should close it after them and close it again when they leave. Whilst speaking to the master they should not keep the door open and fiddle with the knob of the lock, but shut it gently, by turning the bolt, and opening it again, when they retire. Nothing is more insolent, or gives more offence, than slamming a door.

Silence is golden: Quietness adds to the comfort of every family and the more quiet and orderly servants are, the more they are valued.

No Spitting: A servant should neither blow his nose or spit in his master's presence and, if possible, neither sneeze nor cough.

Answering the bell: Attentive servants will always come at the first ring of the bell. Tread lightly and speak in an under-voice, yet so as to be heard distinctly, and will whisper to their master or mistress. They will not thrust their heads in the face of their master or mistress nor poison them with offensive breath. To avoid anything disagreeable on this score, such as attending the room, servants will be clean of their person and will on no account eat onions, garlic or shallots.

Taking instructions: When a servant is receiving directions, he should be attentive, look in his master's face, and not leave the room until the master has finished giving his instructions. If this

was always done, there would not be so many mistakes, nor would the ignorance of servants be so much complained of.

Books and Papers: A servant should not presume to take a book out of a master's room or library to read, nor take away or remove any paper that may lie about, without first asking whether it is of any use. Many a valuable paper has been destroyed by the ignorance and carelessness of servants.

We extrapolate much of Pedro's demeanour in the way he must have been frugal with Dalrymple's resources, or looked directly at Dalrymple's face while he was given instructions, or treaded lightly around the house, speaking in an under-voice (did he eventually adopt an English accent?) and never singing or romping about in the presence of his master.

All in all, Pedro lived in London as Dalrymple's manservant for over forty years. Both life-long bachelors, they would have walked down the High Street like mismatched lovers. The Scottish master with his high forehead and thinning hair, and the shorter, perhaps stockier Pedro beside him. When Dalrymple's niece, visited from Newhailes, she left disquieted and spoke almost sadly of the small quiet household, made up of one manservant.²⁶

In 1801, we begin to see some changes in Pedro's routine. From a strange thievery incident recorded in the Bailey on 15th April 1801,²⁷ a man named Edward Trevett was accused of stealing a hot water steam pump from Dalrymple's house.

Edward Bailey (Dalrymple's engraver) lived in the house annexed to Dalrymple's on 57th. He was the caretaker of the warehouse and what seemed to be Dalrymple's "strange library."²⁸

From the transcript:

26 Christian Dalrymple, the heiress of Newhailes, recorded in *Private Annals of My own Time*, 1805., 19. She records that the engraver Edward Bailey and his wife lived in a separate household in the annex.

27 Proceedings of West Bailey provides access to the text of criminal trials held at London's Central Criminal Court from 1674 to 1913. The proceedings of this particular case can be accessed online at <https://www.oldbaileyonline.org/index.jsp>.

28 King and Lochee, *A Catalogue of the extensive and valuable Library of Alexander Dalrymple, Esq.*, F. R. S., 4 vols. London, 1809-1810.

Edward Bailey sworn. - Mr. Alexander Dalrymple is a lessee under the Duke of Portland, at No. 57, High-street, Marry-le-bonne; Mr.

Dalrymple did not live in the house at the time the lead was taken, nor had not for two years.

Q. Was it not occupied by any servant of his?

A. No, nobody; it has been empty; I have lived with him upwards of twenty years and kept his books; on the morning of the 26th of February, the pump was brought to me; the prisoner was then in custody.

Pedro's strange absence from an otherwise constant presence in Dalrymple's life makes sense when we look at the modifications of the will Dalrymple first drew up in 1798. The original will provide for a few people with an annuity, and the first one he mentions is Pedro Manuel whom he tenderly calls his "old and faithful companion, for I cannot call him servant." Dalrymple leaves him sixty pounds sterling per annum, one pound to be paid to him weekly, and the remainder at the end of the year.

But the later sections attached to the will dated 1805 has a few new codicils. Dalrymple was seventy-one years old now and his beautiful hand had become shaky, the acronym AD he used to write with so much flourish, was now a misshapen blob inserted at the end of every stricken-through sentence—reversals of bequeathals because someone had already died or added ones because some had left. The saddest ones are the text strikethroughs for Pedro.

~~26 I bequeath to my old and faithful companion, for I cannot call him servant, Pedro Manuel, sixty pounds sterling per annum, one pound to be paid to him weekly, and the remainder at the end of the year. Pedro Manuel being admitted to Marybone _____ . The bequest becomes needless. But I leave him two shillings weekly for his accommodation. 29 October 1805. ADalrymple²⁹~~

29 Alexander Dalrymple's will . Public Record Office, London PRO: PROB. 10/3854.

One wonders why Dalrymple, so precise in his writing, would leave such a long thoughtful blank before a full stop that did not even complete a thought.



IMAGE 2. Part of St Marylebone Workhouse prior to reconstruction. Credit Wellcome Collection. Attribution 4.0 International (CC BY 4.0) via Wikimedia Commons.

The blank space that Dalrymple inserts in his will is the unnamed place where Pedro went to spend the last few years of his life. The gap that Dalrymple draws into his superscripted note might have been an indication of Dalrymple’s refusal to acknowledge the sorry end of his dear and faithful companion. In all likelihood, Pedro was “admitted” to the Marylebone Workhouse, just a few blocks from the Marylebone High Street, and which around the time Dalrymple changed his will (between 1798 to 1805) seemed the most likely place to house an infirm like Pedro. A parish workhouse in 18th century London provided for accommodation and employment to those unable to support themselves. As the century wore on, these workhouses would affix infirmaries to the buildings to specifically care for the old and

chronically ill. The St Marylebone Workhouse's infirmary built in 1755 was built "For The Poor Being Lame, Impotent, Old And Blind.³⁰" The engravings of such workhouses from the period is a sorry sight, bunks of beds lined against the walls. candle-lit, bare wooden floors, spartan bedside tables.

Pedro was often in Dalrymple's mind. Himself weak and sick, Dalrymple almost pleads with his executors and his former employers at the East India Company to make sure that Pedro is provided for:

"In case my Estate is competent to discharge all my Debts and make the Provision specified for Pedro Manuel and Edward Bailey and his wife and to pay the legacy to John Simmons, I leave all the pictures of my Sea pieces"³¹

and again, almost obsessively:

I bequeath to the generosity of the East India Company to make a provision for Pedro Manuel .. in case my Property should be incompetent thereto.³²

Pedro Manuel stayed in the infirmary until he died and is last mentioned in the St Marylebone Parish church burial registry on May 13 1810. It was almost a shock to see Pedro's name and the date of death written in an elegant scrawl by one Luke Heslop the vicar of the Marylebone Parish. So firm, and so final. So Pedro must have been a churchgoer. He also most likely had become an Anglican or he would not have been included in the parish registers. The registry of death bears no frills, no names of heirs. By this time, Dalrymple had been dead for two years and was buried "in the small cemetery adjoining the church."

Having outlived his master by two years—Pedro probably had no one with him when he was laid to rest. There is no indication that Pedro had a family in London, nor friends. Scanning through Westminster archives, there are some hints of fellow Manila men from the same period whom Pedro might have met. I came across two men, born in Manila, both of them sailors,

30 A good online resource for a history of workhouses in Marylebone may be accessed at <https://www.workhouses.org.uk/StMarylebone/>.

31 PRO: PROB. 10/3854 Par. 38.

32 PRO: PROB. 10/3854 Par. 43.

but one was treated for boils and released, and the other was treated for fever but died. There are no indications that they ever met.

Unlike Dalrymple, we know from the records that Pedro was buried in one of the mass plots owned by the Parish several metres from the High Street and just behind what was the St Marylebone workhouse. It is almost impossible to find Pedro Manuel's tombstone if he even had one.

Performing Pedro

On 16 November 2022, the conjuring of Pedro Manuel's life took on a new form as it went beyond the text through a commissioned performance piece that worked with the fragmentary remnants of his life and played it out through the very streets and places that Pedro walked, lived and even died in. Conceived as a form of historical activism, the piece, performed by four London-based Philippine artists, Noel De Leon, Jun Terra, Gus Albor, and Jovi Juan, was structured to retrace Pedro's life as a hydrographer, sailor and Alexander Dalrymple's "faithful servant and friend" through the streets of Marylebone's 18th century terraced houses, churches and graveyards. Entitled '*Chasing the Human and Non-Human Senses: an Homage to Pedro Manuel (Ilocos ca. 1740 – London, May 1810)*' and sub headed by de Leon's *Chasing, Tracing, and Trance: Channelling Pedro Manuel's Spirit*, was conceived as a symbolic, if much delayed funeral procession.

The starting point was significant, the Paddington Street Gardens, which was a graveyard during Pedro's time, with the old headstones now lining the edges of the leafy green. De Leon began the ritual with a long guttural wail that stepped down into a chant inspired by the songs of Ilocos. He then performed part of an Ilocano funerary ritual for Pedro, something that was assuredly denied him when he passed away at the workhouse just several blocks over and laid to rest in one of the pauper's unnamed graves that might have been under the performer's feet. Albor played the flute throughout these passages and Terra distributed woven trinkets meant to recall the weaving traditions of Pedro's provincial roots, so well-known for its diasporic, well-travelled inhabitants.

As a closing, Juan led the crowd towards the actual location of Dalrymple's house, 57 Marylebone High Street, which had been torn down and replaced with a medical office. Walking slowly through the graveyard to the high street, people were made to attach ultramarine plexiglass medallions backed by magnets unto street lamp posts, iron gates, and metal doorways



IMAGE 3. Installing the Philippine Post-colonialist Society's Blue Plaque for Pedro Manuel. 16 November 2022. No. 57 Marylebone High Street, London.

along the path. The medallions each commemorated a fact gleaned from historical texts and were designed to closely mimic a scaled down version of the historic blue plaque markers that dot the neighbourhoods of London. Each started with his name and birth and death dates accompanied by phrases like “Took soundings of the waters around Sulu,” “did back-breaking work for Alexander Dalrymple who suffered poor health,” and “was a footnote to Johann Friedrich Blumenbach.” Each participant was given five or six they could affix anywhere along the route as they made their way through streets populated by some of the wealthiest individuals in the world.

Upon reaching the High Street, the last plaque, now scaled to the size of a National Heritage Trust official memorial disc, was pressed onto the travertine side walls of the erstwhile home of Dalrymple and Manuel. The awarding body of the said plaque was the “Philippine Post-colonialist Society.” The plaque read:

PEDRO MANUEL
ca. 1739-1810
*Hydrographer, Immigrant
and Friend
lived at 57 Marylebone
which stood on this site.*

And there the group left it, under the early evening shadow cast by the imposing Marylebone Parish Church, where Pedro would have offered prayers, in a new tongue, to a British version of the Christian god.

Denouement

The naming of this life, the particularization of dates and places of birth and deaths seem inconsequential to the grand narratives of history and the British occupation of Manila and Cavite in particular. But the narrativization of the lives of the subaltern can only be particular and locally lived experiences. It is in their naming that they are remembered.

There are of course some generalisations (mostly false universals) that can be made. Servants have been used to think (or think-through) key aspects of social life in many times and places including London’s social economy, migrant labour and the transformative shifts in Philippine society after the galleon trade and gradual opening of Manila to foreign trade.

Additionally, the servant/butler-master relationship is often seen as a rare instance of a master's ability to pick from the best of the race—and that with Pedro Manuel, Dalrymple had found a unique person who had become his dear friend. But how many of such lives can be used to show that people like Pedro are enough to statistically break the stereotype of the phlegmatic, lazy and thieving indio? While the discourse on indio labour transformation from the Spanish “polo” or forced labour model to a more bourgeois capitalist mode is well-explored in Philippine economies, questions linger about the driving forces behind these transformations. Were economic factors the sole catalysts, or were there emotional and relational motivations at play? How did notions of faithfulness and friendship contribute to this transformative shift?

And then there is the method. To tell the life of Pedro, I mostly used what may be categorised as incidental validations—texts that acknowledge, praise or memorialise a subaltern in counter-intuitive places: prefaces in books, footnotes, wills, handwritten marginalia, captions for images.³³ They are “incidental” because the textual remains of these lives have survived only because they are attached to lives or projects that are considered more historically or culturally “significant.” They have only entered, in mostly interstitial spaces into the records or archives of the West because they were linked to Europeans and their projects. They are hardly ever self-enunciated - these pre-19th century indio priests consigned by their race to subordinate positions, or unnamed printers, draughtsmen, musicians, foot soldiers and domestic servants would always only be known through the modes of knowledge and history construction of the dominant. So we are left with these incidental mentions of a passing life—discrete miniature texts, passing annotations, the marginalia of afterthought.

There are many other questions to ask about Pedro, but for now, I will rest with this retelling—this re-threading of mentions of Pedro's name here and there, these negative spaces against which we can conjure up a life that is particular, human and lived. A remembered life that perhaps can reconfigure the genealogies of the current Manuels in Ilocos, or maybe reshape the laws for migrant domestic workers, or even acknowledge the contributions of

³³ Very much a now well-used postcolonial archival methodology as outlined in William Henry Scott's “Cracks in the Parchment Curtain” *Philippine Studies*, Vol. 26, no. 1/2, 1978, 174–91., but in this case, using British documents from the early modern period.

indigenous voices in the shaping of 18th-century enlightenment ideals and its self-assured production of western knowledge. If History had no other agenda than the survival of cultural memory, here's to hoping that through creative modes of non-fictive storytelling, or through performance art, this essay has somehow articulated the temporal, spatial and affective silences in Pedro's life who otherwise would have remained only incidental and attached to larger things.

Scorched Earth: War and Loss in Manila and Luzon, 1762-1764

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Abstract

THE BRITISH invasion of Manila in late 1762 sparked an intense and devastating war in Luzon. By the beginning of 1763, massive popular anti-colonial rebellions erupted in Ilocos and Pangasinan in response to Spain's temporary loss of control of the capital of its Asian empire. Spanish colonial officials partnered with Catholic priests and the loyal principalia to raise a large, multiethnic loyalist army that met the foreign invaders and local insurgents in battles. The rival armed forces that converged and clashed in the Philippines embraced scorched earth strategies, ensuring maximum damage to homes and sacred buildings. This chapter considers this complex, multifront war's destructive impact on human life and material culture in the Philippines, illuminating its enduring impact on cultural heritage and historical knowledge.

KEYWORDS: Cultural heritage, Archives, War, Violence, Rebellion

WHEN A JOINT British Royal Navy and East India Company force attacked Manila in late September of 1762, it set in motion a long and devastating war. The British capture of Intramuros—the walled city of Manila—inspired tens of thousands of Indigenous peoples across Luzon to revolt against Spanish colonial rule. Spanish government officials, militant missionaries, and the Indigenous *principalia* worked together to organize diverse local communities into a loyalist army to fight a multi-front war to defend Spain’s Asian empire against foreign invaders and battalions of homegrown revolutionary fighters. In this complex war, the boundaries dividing soldiers and civilians blurred as people from different regions and social backgrounds were recruited into armed bands. The conflict pitted rivals against each other in major battles and smaller skirmishes and often swept up non-combatants into the path of violent conflict.

The Spaniards and their Filipino allies were ultimately victorious. They corralled the British forces into Intramuros until the British withdrew from the Philippines in early 1764. They also defeated the great Indigenous revolt, executing the movement’s leaders and reestablishing the colonial social order. Yet the price of victory was immense. This chapter examines the war’s enduring impact on the cultural heritage of the Philippines occasioned by the wartime looting and destruction of libraries, archives, and material culture. It also considers the armed conflict’s impact on the people who lived through it. Zeroing in on blood, ashes, exhaustion, and viciousness, it recovers the human experiences of war that have been overlooked in previous studies.¹

1 Previous studies of the British invasion of Manila have focused on the leaders of the Spanish and British governments and military forces in the Philippines. See for example Shirley Fish, *When Britain Ruled the Philippines* (Bloomington: First Books, 2003); Vila Miranda, Carlos. “Toma de Manila por los Ingleses en 1762.” *Anuario de Estudios Atlánticos* 53 (2007): 167-219. Moreover, the Philippines have long been marginalized in studies of the global Seven Years’ War. See Fred Anderson, *Crucible of War: The Seven Years’ War and the Fate of Empire in British North America, 1754-1766* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2000); P. J. Marshall, *The Making and Unmaking of Empires: Britain, India, and America, C.1750-1783* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005). Daniel Baugh, *The Global Seven Years War, 1754-1763* (Great Britain: Pearson, 2011);

A City Ruined: The British Invasion and Urban Destruction and Displacement

The British fleet that attacked Manila was mobilized from Madras. It landed approximately 3000 men in Manila, many of whom were South Asian sepoy soldiers.² With the assistance of heavy artillery, this army captured Intramuros on the 6th of October after a three-week siege. This first short and shocking phase of the war caused extensive damage to Manila's built environment. The invaders set fire to the Ermita church, the church of San Juan in Bagumbayan, and another dedicated to Santiago, in addition to countless homes Extramuros—the neighborhoods outside of the walled city—reducing them to piles of smoldering wood and rubble. This destruction was strategic. Fire eliminated structures that Hispano-Filipino forces could use to attack the invaders, clearing ground in front of the city walls to facilitate their bombardment until a section collapsed. Manila's Archbishop Rojo, who was also the interim governor of the Spanish colony, agreed to surrender to the British when the invading army began to pour through a breach in the city walls. Rojo accepted the terms of the British capitulation agreement, which included a promise that the Spanish Crown would pay a four million dollar ransom to have Manila returned to the monarchy intact.³

What happened next, according to various Spanish and British eyewitness accounts, was that Manila was turned over to the victors to be pillaged for a period of up to forty hours. For two days and two nights, the Royal Navy and East India Company's sailors and soldiers searched and sacked the city's richly adorned churches, stealing their precious and sacred silver and gold, including chalices used in Catholic mass, and any other objects of value they laid their hands on. Troops were seen running about in the clergy's ceremonial vestments.⁴ They damaged statues of saints that locals venerated. The wood and ivory statue of Nuestra Señora del Rosario, a revered image

2 Megan C. Thomas, "Securing Trade: The Military Labor of the British Occupation of Manila, 1762–1764," *International Review of Social History*, Vol.64, N.27 (2019): 133–34.

3 For the siege, see Francisco Leandro de Viana, "Diario del sitio de la plaza de Manila por los ingleses," in *Documentos Indispensables Para La Verdadera Historia de Filipinas*, ed. P. Eduardo Navarro (Madrid: Imprenta del Asilo de Huérfanos, 1908), 339–385; "Diary and Consultations of Deputy-Governor Dawsonne Drake and Council of Manila," in *IOR* (BL, 1762), 58–66.

4 East India Company, *Manilha Consultations*, (Madras: Superintendent of Government Press, 1940–1946), 6: 7–8, 15; .5:3; AGI Estado 44, N.6.

known as ‘La Naval’ whose sanctuary was in the Dominican church and convent in Intramuros, had her jeweled crown stolen by the invaders. They also decapitated the image and tore the limbs off the Christ child that she held in her arms.⁵ In addition to churches, the invaders looted private homes and shops. Josepha Agustiana de Larraguiver, a wealthy widow, testified that enemy soldiers broke into her house and took eight thousand pesos, trunks of clothing and jewels, and objects of Catholic devotion.⁶ The sacking of Señora Larraguiver’s home was repeated in hundreds of households, rich and poor alike. Countless objects of great personal and cultural value were destroyed or transferred from Manileños to the British forces in this violent opening act of the short-lived British government of Manila.

The British invasion and destruction of Manila followed an established script. No visual images of the sacking of Manila survive, however, eyewitness accounts evoke engravings from George Anson’s bestselling book *A Voyage Round the World* that documented the British admiral Anson and his crew’s attacks on Latin American port cities and his capture of a Manila Galleon in the 1740s. One illustration (Image 1) depicts Anson’s men running amok in the coastal Peruvian city of Paita while dressed in the stolen clothes of the city’s residents. The picture of sailors donning women’s gowns is intended to humor British readers, yet the scene could also hint at the violence that led to dresses being removed from women’s bodies and onto the invaders’ backs. Another contemporaneous illustration (Image 2) of the British attack on Paita shows British ships anchored alongside sunken Spanish vessels as thick black smoke rises in the sky above the burning city in the background.

5 See Regalado Trota Jose, “Imaging Our Lady in Sixteenth-Century Manila: Nuestra Señora Del Rosario de La Naval” (2008), p.9. Diego Zurita, Tomás Adriano, and Pedro de Ire. *Oracion panegyrico moral* (Colegio y Universidad de Santo Thomas, por Thomas Adriano Tipo de Documento, 1764); Nicholas P Cushner, *Documents Illustrating the British Conquest of Manila, 1762-1763* (London: Royal Historical Society, University college, 1971), 125-128; Christina H. Lee, *Saints of Resistance. Devotions in the Philippines under Early Spanish Rule* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2021), 73.

6 Cushner, *Documents*, 125; Documents Pertaining to Simón de Anda y Salazar, Newberry Library, *Ayer* MS 1921, Folder 5.



IMAGE 1. “Admiral Anson’s Men in the Dress of the Inhabitants of Payta.” (1770)⁷

⁷ Edward Cavendish Drake, *A New Universal Collection of Authentic and Entertaining Voyages and Travels, from the Earliest Accounts to the Present Time* (London: Printed for J. Cooke, at Shakespear’s Head, 1770), 136. Digitized image from the John Carter Brown Archive of Early American Images. <https://jcb.lunaimaging.com/luna/servlet/detail/JCB~1~1~3830~600004:Admiral-Anson-s-men-in-the-dress-of>



IMAGE 2. “The burning of the Town of Payta on the Coast of Santa Fee in the South Sea” (1748)⁸

People as well as property were the targets of soldiers’ greed and aggression in Manila. César Falliet, a Swiss merchant and mercenary who lived in the city, was shocked that invading troops raped young local women.⁹ Many Manileños were killed by enemy soldiers when they tried to protect their churches, homes, and families from harm. The Spanish reported that an estimated 300 civilians, in addition to fifty soldiers, thirty militiamen, and several military officials “were killed on our side, and many were wounded” during the crazed sacking of Manila.¹⁰ Numerous others fled the violence.

8 George Anson, *A Voyage Round the World, in the Years MDCCXL, I, II, III, IV* (London: Printed for the author; by John and Paul Knapton, 1748), 200. Digitized image from the John Carter Brown Archive of Early American Images, <https://jcb.lunaimaging.com/luna/servlet/detail/JCB~1~1~501041~115901300:The-burning-of-the-Town-of-Payta-on>.

9 Company, *Manilha Consultations*, 6:153.

10 In Emma Helen Blair and James Alexander Robertson (eds), *The Philippine Islands* (Cleveland: A. H. Clark Company, 1903-1909), 49:127-128.

The Dominican friar Pablo Ngien estimated that he saw ten thousand people, ranging from babies to the elderly, escape Manila after the enemy broke through the city walls.¹¹ War emptied a large, cosmopolitan city, creating a refugee crisis.

Multiple factors contributed to looting on the scale witnessed in the Philippine capital. Pillaging vanquished populations was standard in eighteenth-century warfare. As the wartime British Governor of the Philippines Dawsonne Drake reasoned, “it is a known and universal rule of war amongst the most civilized nations, that places taken by storm... are subject to all the miseries that the conquerors may chose to inflict.”¹² Men who went to war, from the lowest-ranked soldiers to the most powerful military officials, regarded loot as fair remuneration of military labor. They sought out valuable objects that they could easily sell to supplement their pay. Drake shipped numerous ill-gotten goods on his return voyage to India in 1764, including a beautiful embroidered altar cloth bearing the coat of arms of an earlier Philippines Governor Fernando Valdés Tamón, “a gold cross” and “seven Manila religious pictures.”¹³ These trophy items were displayed in Drapers’ house, celebrating his military prowess and lending prestige.¹⁴ Scholars have identified many objects stolen from Manila during the British invasion in modern British collections, but the majority remain lost.

Looting was also an established strategy for knowledge accumulation among European powers in this era.¹⁵ Highly-ranked British officials in Manila sought out spoils of war with strategic value. They raided libraries and archives for rare books and vellum-bound manuscripts that contained useful geographical and political information about the Philippine islands and the wider Pacific world could advance Britain’s imperial ambitions in this

11 AGI Estado 44, N6; AFIO, 21/26.

12 Company, *Manilha Consultations*, 6:16.

13 J.M. Mancini, *Art and War in the Pacific World: Making, Breaking, and Taking from Anson’s Voyage to the Philippine-American War* (Oakland, California: University of California Press, 2018), 29-39; “A True an Perfect Inventory of... the Goods Chattels and Effects of Dawsonne Drake, Late of Fort St George,” in *Pocock Papers* (The Huntington Library, 1787).

14 On British trophy-taking in Asian wars, see Maya Jasanoff, “Collectors of Empire: Objects, Conquests and Imperial Self-Fashioning,” *Past & Present* 184 (2004): 109-135.

15 Emma Hagström Molin, “Spoils of Knowledge: Looted Books in Uppsala University Library During the Seventeenth Century,” in *Rethinking Europe: War and Peace in the Early Modern German Lands*, (Brill, 2019), 252-257.

world region. The nuns of Manila's Santa Clara convent fled the city during the war. When they returned at the end of the conflict, they found their convent building and its contents "quite destroyed."¹⁶ A library and archives were surely among the nuns' stolen and destroyed possessions. The library in the Augustinian convent of San Pablo is one of the most well-known prizes that the British seized in Manila.¹⁷ The collections of this library and others in Manila, which included maps and charts that revealed the locations of forts, dangerous reefs, and safe places to weigh anchor in and around the Philippines, were extremely valuable to an empire that was bent on establishing colonies in Southeast Asia and the Pacific. Many of these stolen papers wound up in the Royal Navy hydrographer Alexander Dalrymple's possession. Dalrymple edited and published these documents in the decades after the war, facilitating future British voyages discovery and conquest.¹⁸

Destruction was also a consequence of the scorched earth strategies that the invading British army and Spanish military forces alike adopted in and around Manila. Simón de Anda y Salazar, a high-ranking Spanish colonial official in Manila, became the Governor of the Philippines during the British occupation and led the military campaign against the invading army. Anda relied heavily on the clergy and Indigenous elites to recruit men to fight. Anda's side weaponized the destructive power of fire. In November of 1762, for example, the loyalist Hispano-Filipino battalion led by "a mestizo called Coronél with 150 *indios* under his command" torched the town of Navotas, including its church, to thwart British efforts to occupy it.¹⁹ A Pampangan regiment set fire to rows of houses in Tondo to hurt the invaders in early January.²⁰ Fires were a

16 Sarah E. Owens, *Nuns Navigating the Spanish Empire* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2017), 137-138.

17 For the British acquisition of this library, see Company, *Manilha Consultations* 6: 229-236; The 1762 Archive Project that aims to digitally reconstruct and repatriate this stolen library's collections signifies its high value. <https://1762archive.org/disc/>.

18 For example, Dalrymple cited and reproduced charts and maps created by the Manila pilot Thomé Gaspar de León in the 1770s. For example, his notes on the route "from Tanjong Baram to Borneo-proper... is from a Chart of Thomé Gaspar de León, who commanded a Ship from Manila to Borneo in 1752." Alexander Dalrymple, *Memoir of a Chart of the China Sea* (London: George Bigg, 1786), 4; J.M. Mancini, "Disrupting the Transpacific: Objects, Architecture, War, Panic," *Colonial Latin American Review* 25, no. 1 (2016): 41, 77-79.

19 Viana, "Diaro del sitio," 428.

20 *Ibid.*, 457-459.

core component of Anda's strategy was to isolate the British in Intramuros and starve them of essential supplies. There were acute food shortages in Manila by December of 1762, when a Spanish priest observed that there was "no beef in the butcher shop, not even for the English governor."²¹ British patrols routinely burned urban and rural towns and farms to the ground to eliminate places where enemy combatants could hide or congregate.²²

The global historian Emmanuel Kreike characterized this kind of devastation as environcide. It occurred when combatants deliberately or inadvertently damaged, destroyed, or rendered "inaccessible environmental infrastructure through violence."²³ Krieke's expansive definition of environmental infrastructure encompasses "homes and stables, fields, fences, soils, crops and weeds, granaries and food stores, animals, orchards, wells... is a coproduction of human ingenuity and labor on the one hand and nonhuman actors (animals, insects, microbes, and plants) and forces (physical, chemical) on the other;" that is, the resources necessary to support human life. The multiethnic armies that converged in the Philippines aimed to making life impossible for their rivals. The pursuit of this goal resulted in extreme human suffering and an unfathomable loss of cultural heritage. The outbreak of anti-colonial rebellions in the provinces beyond the capital ensured that environcide spread deep into Luzon.

The Great Insurgency: War and Devastation Beyond Manila

Communities across Luzon began to protest against Spanish colonial rule in the final months of 1762 as news spread that the British had taken control of Manila. Many people saw the Spaniards' temporary loss of their colonial capital as an opportunity to transform the way that empire operated in the Philippines. A rambunctious crowd of three thousand people gathered on the third of November outside of the casa municipal building in Binalatongan, the largest town in Pangasinan. The town's gobernadorcillo, José Magalong, presented a list of demands to Padre Melendez, the head of the Dominican order in the Province and one of the most powerful Spaniards in the region. The protestors' primary demand was a pause on tribute, the

21 *Ibid.*, 456.

22 Company, *Manilha Consultations* 5:162-63.

23 Emmanuel Kreike, *Scorched Earth: Environmental Warfare as a Crime against Humanity and Nature* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2021), 2-3.

annual tax that Indigenous adult men aged between 18 and 60 years of age were obliged to pay to the king of Spain. They also requested that several unpopular colonial officials be replaced, from Pangasinan's *alcalde mayor*, to the local schoolmaster.²⁴ Spanish authorities managed to arrest Juan de la Cruz Palaris, the man who they identified as a ringleader, but the crowd roared until Palaris was freed. Melendez refused to negotiate a moratorium on tribute, and the rebellion grew.²⁵

In the final weeks of 1762, towns across Pangasinan joined the uprising. It spread into the neighboring Ilocos province when its *alcalde* attempted to begin the annual tribute collection. This triggered a major protest in Vigan, the provincial capital. An estimated two thousand armed people gathered at the *alcalde mayor*'s Vigan residence in the middle of December. They called for the immediate suspension of the tribute and the tributary labor system that was known as the *polo*, which required *pueblos* to provide teams of men to undertake work for the Spanish colonial government for set periods of time each year.²⁶ The Vigan-born Diego Baltasar Silang y Andaya emerged as the leader of the growing insurgency in Ilocos. Silang had been raised in the house of a Spanish priest, which afforded him access to a Spanish education and opportunities to build relationships with powerful Spaniards. He was known to be an *apoderadillo*, one of many Indigenous 'little lawyers' who advocated for Filipinos of low social status in disputes against the *principalia* and Spanish elites, often using intimidation and violence to force parties to negotiate mutually agreeable solutions to problems.²⁷ Silang was capable of operating within and across Spanish and Indigenous spaces. He was literate, multilingual, and possessed a rich knowledge of the geography and politics of

24 Binalatongan was also known as San Carlos. AGI Filipinas 609, N.34; Domingo Collantes, *Historia de la provincia del Santísimo Rosario de Filipinas, China, y Tunquin* (Manila: en la Imprenta de la Universidad del Santo Tomás por Iuan Franc. de los Santos, 1782), pp.637-642; Juan Ferrando, *Historia de los pp. Dominicós en las Islas Filipinas*, (Madrid: Imprenta y Estereotipia de M. Rivadeneyra, 1871), 4:658-659; Rosario Mendoza Cortes, *Pangasinan, 1572-1800* (Quezon City: University of the Philippines Press, 1974), 172-178.

25 Pedro del Vivar, "Relación de los alzamientos," in *Biblioteca Histórica Filipina* (Manila: Chofré y Comp, 1893); *Documentos indispensables para la verdadera historia de Filipinas*, (Madrid: Imp. del Alislo de Huérfanos, 1908), 1:82-87; Fernando Palanco and José S Arcilla, "Diego Silang's Revolt: A New Approach," *Philippine Studies* 50, no. 4 (2002): 112-137.

26 Vivar, "Relación de los alzamientos." *Documentos indispensables para la verdadera historia de Filipinas*, 1: 82-87; Palanco and Arcilla, "Diego Silang's Revolt," 112-137.

27 AGI Filipinas 605, N.3 (1763) f.21r-22r.

central Luzon, making him well-placed to lead a revolt. During the first few months of 1763, Diego Silang put these transcultural skills to use. He wrote to Simón de Anda—the leader of the loyalist Spanish forces in Luzon—and to Dawsonne Drake, the leader of the British forces in the Philippines. Silang attempted to negotiate with both parties, taking advantage of their rivalry. The British agreed. Drake sent a contingent of British and sepoy soldiers to aid Silang’s armed rebellion, however, few could be spared.²⁸

Historians have previously characterized the rebellions in Pangasinan and Ilocos as two separate social movements, but the archive suggests they were interconnected.²⁹ The Catholic clergy claimed that rebels in Binalatongan and Vigan were allies. Melendez observed that the people of Pangasinan were “united with those of Ilocos,” and they were “imitating” each other.³⁰ Chinese migrants also rebelled against the Spanish. Several hundred Chinese men battled against Hispano-Filipino forces at Guagua in Pampanga. In 1763 the revolt spread into the Cagayan valley in northeastern Luzon and the upland Sierra Madre range.³¹

The insurgency’s politics became more radical as time passed and it spread further across Luzon. Initial cries for a temporary moratorium on tribute evolved into demands for tribute abolition. Diego Silang’s surviving letters and friars’ recollections of his speeches show that he underscored how the tribute impoverished Filipinos. The Spaniards, proclaimed Silang, “will let you wear nothing but a loincloth, leaving you only your Christianity.”³² Yet the financial burden of tribute was not the only thing that people hated about it. Tribute was crucial to the creation of what historians have called ‘colonial

28 Company, *Manilha Consultations* 5: 102; Kristie Patricia Flannery, “Battlefield Diplomacy and Empire-Building in the Indo-Pacific World During the Seven Years’ War.” *Itinerario* 40, no. 3 (2016): 467-488.

29 Megan C. Thomas, “Proclaiming Sovereignty: Reflections from the Eighteenth-Century Philippines,” in *Comparative Political Theory in Time and Place*, ed. Daniel J. Kapust and Helen M. Kinsella (New York: Palgrave, 2017), pp.79-104; José S Arcilla, “The Pangasinan Uprising, 1762–1765,” *Philippine Historical Review* 4 (1971): pp.35-52; David Routledge, *Diego Silang and the Origins of Philippine Nationalism* (Diliman, Quezon City: Philippine Center for Advanced Studies, University of the Philippines System, 1979).

30 AGI Filipinas 609, N.34, f.217r.

31 On the Chinese at Guagua, see “Documentos para la historia de la invasión,” Newberry Library, Ayer MS 1292; On Cagayan, see Juan Ferrando and Joaquin Fonseca, *Historia de los PP. Dominicos* vol. v (Madrid: M. Rivadeneyra, 1871), 685.

32 Vivar, “Relación de los alzamientos,” 351.

difference'. As a head tax on the Crown's non-Spanish subjects, including Indigenous peoples, tribute signified and reinforced the unequal status of *indios* and *españoles* in the Spanish empire.³³ Spaniards in the Philippines were unwilling to pause or abandon tribute because they saw it as an important symbolic gesture of loyalty and submission to the Crown, comparable to a loyalty oath. Spanish friars were convinced that the rebels' ultimate goal was to destroy the empire in the Philippines, especially after Diego Silang was murdered in mid-1763. The people of San Vicente said that they wanted the Spanish go back to Spain and the English to do the same.³⁴

What began as an anti-colonial rebellion in Pangasinan quickly transformed into a violent civil war. As soon as the revolt broke out, Anda prioritized raising and arming "a Catholic army of Spaniards and Natives that will devastate, destroy, and annihilate" the insurgents.³⁵ The loyalist forces' membership and support base were volatile and shifted as communities assessed and reassessed their decisions to back the Spanish colonial government and their allies, or the rebels, or attempted to avoid the conflict entirely which often proved impossible. At one point, the loyalist "Army of Amainan," as the northern Ilocos region was called, included "the *timaeria* (commoners) of Laoag, a battalion from Bacarra with Juan Bisocol who also brought some Black archers, and the group from Bangui with their captain D. Luis Beltran."³⁶ Like the fighting men embroiled in war in Manila and its hinterland, the loyalists and the rebels who were embroiled in fighting across the region embraced scorched earth strategies to cause maximum harm to their enemies.

Insurgents left a trail of destruction as they moved from town to town. In Laoag, rebels broke into the parish church and shredded the registry of tribute payments.³⁷ This was not just a symbolic act of defiance; ruining tribute records would have made it very difficult for agents of the Spanish empire to collect the head tax. Such focused acts of sabotage took place in the context of wonton destruction and death. Rebel militias routinely pillaged

33 AGI Filipinas 609, N.34; On tribute and the construction of *calidad*, see Norah H. Gharala, *Taxing Blackness: Free Afromexican Tribute in Bourbon New Spain* (University of Alabama Press, 2019), pp.2-8, 24-40.

34 Vivar, "Relación de los alzamientos," p.404.

35 *Ibid.*, 344.

36 *Ibid.*, 433.

37 *Ibid.*, 322.

the enemy pueblos they entered. When insurgents arrived at the town of San Nicolás, for example, they “tore down the houses of the principales and stole all that they could steal” before sacking the church and convent. The victors then had a drunken party to celebrate their victory, eating and drinking whatever food and booze they could find until there was not a crumb left in the pueblo. “They stole in such a manner that they took even the cats, old pots, and whatever trinkets the people had in their homes.”³⁸ Vigan’s Bishop Ustaríz recalled that when rebel forces attacked Calasiao they “committed the worst atrocities and abuses, leaving not one house, place, or person exempt or free from their fury.”³⁹ Non-combatants died in these attacks. Priests reported that several of their “*criados* and *indios*” (Indigenous servants and staff) were killed as they tried to escape the carnage at Calasiao. Churches and convents across Pangasinan were reduced to ashes in the war, including, in addition to Calasiao, at Santa Barbara, San Carlos, Malasiqui, Asingan, Pandoyocan, Paniqui, Telban, san Isidro de Tubuan. Fire destroyed silver and wooden altars and *santo* statues in addition to parish records that included registers of births, marriages, deaths and libraries.

Loyalist forces also pillaged and torched enemy towns. Following the loyalist army’s victory at a major battle in Vigan, they sacked and burned multiple pueblos on their retreat. The Augustinian missionary Agustín de la Encarnación condemned the victorious loyalists’ excessive violence in the town of Bantay. He estimated that they killed 1000 people. They showed no mercy on the innocent people who took shelter in the church. They raped women “without fear of God,” and executed all the men they found on the patio outside of church, even though they were unarmed, “slaughtering them as though they were animals.” The victors stole all of the livestock, and “not even the plow that are the *indios*’ hands and feet did the soldiers leave them.”⁴⁰ It is not surprising that this mode of warfare resulted in a famine that emptied towns of people across Luzon as residents fled to the mountains to find food, “searching for something to nourish human misery.”⁴¹ Binalatongan, the birthplace of the armed revolt, was one of the last places where it was extinguished by force. Reinforced by fighting men from Cagayan, the loyalist forces clashed with rebels who had dug trenches in

38 *Ibid.*, 371-72.

39 ASPR, *Pangasinan, Tomo 2* (1760-1782), Doc. 3.

40 AGI Filipinas 605, N.3

41 *Ibid.*, f.62v.

Binalatongan in preparation for the assault. The entire town was destroyed in the battle. Loyalists lit a fire that ravaged the city, leaving only the shells of the burned-out church, convent, and schoolhouse. Notably, to erase the memory of the revolt from popular consciousness, the Spanish colonial government chose not to rebuild Binalatongan. Instead, they constructed a new town named San Carlos several kilometers from its smoldering ashes.⁴² The revolt ended as the loyalists captured and executed rebel leaders. In September 1763, loyalists killed Gabriella Silang, Diego Silang's widow who had taken his place as a key leader of the rebellion in Ilocos following her husband's death. Loyalists finally captured and hanged the Pangasinan revolutionary Palaris in mid 1765.⁴³

Conclusion

The war that began in Manila in late 1762 was a complex conflict that involved the agents of rival European imperial powers and their multiethnic allies, and anti-colonial insurgents who sought to remake or overthrow the colonial systems that oppressed them in the Philippines. These competing armed groups had very different goals, yet they shared a commitment to looting their enemies and using scorched earth strategies against them. The armies and militias that converged and clashed in the islands all embraced fire as a weapon with devastating effects. The British invasion of Manila, the Indigenous revolt against Spain, and the Spanish campaigns to defeat the British and the homegrown insurgency resulted in a massive transfer and loss of cultural heritage and human life. Tribute records show that Pangasinan's population plummeted in the war, falling by more than 25,000 in only a couple of years. This sharp decline reflects a combination of families fleeing war in the province, but also the deaths of so many men of fighting age and non-combatants who became victims of war.⁴⁴ Filipinos' horrific experiences of this mid-eighteenth-century war may have had the effect of extinguishing uprisings against Spanish colonial rule for several generations.

42 Ferrando, *Historia de Los PP. Dominicos en Las Islas Filipinas*, IV, 721, 33-34; Mendoza Cortes, *Pangasinan, 1572-1800*, 209-10. Arcilla, "The Pangasinan Uprising, 1762-1765," 39-44.

43 Agustín María Castro y Amuedo, "Relación sucinta, clara y verídica de la toma de Manila por la escuadra Inglesa. Año de 1770," in *Documentos indispensables para la verdadera historia de Filipinas*, ed. Navarro (1908), 86-87; Ferrando, *Historia de los PP. Dominicos*, IV, 721,16, 37-38.

44 *Ibid*, p.739; Mendoza Cortes, *Pangasinan, 1572-1800*, 212-13.

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Taking a Long View of the British Invasion of Manila: Replication and Commodification of Objects of Knowledge

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Abstract

THIS PAPER examines inter-imperial dynamics leading to the British invasion of Manila and its subsequent impact on the lives of objects implicated in the rivalry between Spain, Britain, and the newly ascendant American Republic. Shifting focus from a narrative of plunder and loss, this paper examines instead the lives and afterlives of looted things; and the re-orientations of patronage and circulations of luxury goods. Specific works from British collections are discussed including an ivory sculptural ensemble portraying the Niño Dormido (Sleeping Child), an eighteenth-century map designed by the Spanish Jesuit Pedro Murillo Verlarde, and export paintings from British and US collections depicting Philippine inhabitants, occupations, and customary garments known as *tipos del país* (country types). The goal is to discern the complicated long-term impact of the British invasion on the production, replication, and circulation

of artworks and objects of knowledge implicated in the intertwined maritime trade networks of the late-eighteenth-to-early-nineteenth-centuries.

KEYWORDS: replication, commodification, export paintings, cartography, *tipos del país*, English country trade, early American trade, China trade, Manila trade

Introduction

THE REPLICATION and commodification of artworks triggered in part by the British invasion of Manila in 1762 attest to art's multiple dimensions as objects of beauty, wonder, and knowledge. These luxury objects' lives change as they transition through the diverse categories of art to commodities and trophies of trade, trophies of travel, and trophies of war. Shifting focus from a narrative of plunder and loss, this paper examines instead the lives and afterlives of looted things; and the re-orientations of patronage and circulations of luxury goods. British and subsequent US interventions diverted prestige objects from their usual endpoints in Latin America and Spain, to English and US destinations.

Pivoting on the British Occupation of Manila from 1762-64 as reference point and anchor, this paper examines inter-imperial dynamics leading to the British invasion, and its subsequent impact on the lives of objects implicated in the rivalry between Spain, Britain, and the newly ascendant American Republic. Eighteenth-century Manila was especially attractive to competing empire builders for its strategic location as the fulcrum of the Spanish-controlled transpacific trade. In fact, British interest in Manila commenced long before Spain formally opened the colonial port to foreign trade in 1834.

The English East India Company sought to create a market for English textiles in Manila through the intra-Asian trade.¹ Even before the eighteenth-century invasion, the British surreptitiously conducted business with Manila through merchant ships flying Portuguese or Armenian colors to circumvent Spanish trade restrictions banning direct British trade with Manila.² Manila and Cavite were both prized British targets—the former as a coveted entrepôt

1 Serafin D. Quiason, *English "Country Trade" with the Philippines, 1644-1765* (Quezon City, 1966), *passim*.

2 B. Bhattacharya, "Making money at the blessed place of Manila: Armenians in the Madras-Manila trade in the eighteenth century," *Journal of Global History*, 3(1), (2008), 1-20.

and stepping stone to Mindanao, the latter as a shipbuilding center.³ The scholar Iván Valdez-Bubnov, for example, notes the historical importance of the shipbuilding industry in Cavite where impressive galleons were outfitted as warships to repel attacks by rival powers coveting the wealth of trade goods and silver they carried.⁴

Afterlives of General Draper's War Trophies

The successful colonization of the Philippines by Spain beginning in the sixteenth century whetted the appetite of rival European powers, including Great Britain.⁵ The English East India Company had become entrenched in India by the late eighteenth century. The Seven Years' War (1756–63) in Europe involving major European powers impacted overseas colonial struggles between Britain and France, in particular, as they competed for control of North America (the French and Indian War; 1754–63) and India.⁶

The conflict spread to Manila after Spain joined the war on the side of France, both powers intent on preventing the British from dominating the trade and navigation of the East and West Indies. This decision was based in large part on Charles III's miscalculation of the commercial and military strength of Britain.⁷ In 1762, the British commander Brigadier General William Draper

3 According to Megan C. Thomas, the British plan to occupy Manila was partly a continuation of the English East India Company's China trade. Manila was on the eastern periphery of its Indian Ocean trade, and a crucial source of silver, valued in Canton unlike British and Indian goods. Though barred by Spain from trading in Manila, British merchants regularly circumvented the ban, trading for silver that in Canton bought the luxury goods so valued in Europe. Seeking an alternative to silver, the Company aspired to establish a base in the realm of the Sultan of Sulu (which extended north to Palawan, west to Borneo, and east to Mindanao) where they expected to exchange British and Indian goods for forest and sea products that were valued in Canton. Megan C. Thomas, 'Securing Trade: The Military Labor of the British Occupation of Manila,' *Internationaal Instituut voor Sociale Geschiedenis* (IRSH), 2019, 1-23. See also Miguel A. Bernad, 'Father Ducos and the Muslim Wars, 1753-1759,' *Philippine Studies*, vol.16, no. 4 (1968): 690-728.

4 Iván Valdez-Bubnov, 'The Manila Galleons and the Philippine Shipbuilding Industry: Technology, Society, and State,' *Intertwined: Transpacific, Transcultural Philippines* by F. H. Capistrano-Baker (Makati City: Ayala Foundation, Inc., 2022), 42-48.

5 Pál Kelemen, *Art of the Americas: ancient and Hispanic with a comparative chapter on the Philippines* (New York: Bonanza Books, 1969), 334.

6 <<https://www.britannica.com/event/Seven-Years-War>> [accessed 1 April 1 2023].

7 Christelow, Allan. 'Economic Background of the Anglo-Spanish War of 1762.' *The Journal of Modern History*, vol. 18, no. 1 (1946), 22-36.

and Admiral Samuel Cornish attacked Manila, forcing the acting Spanish governor-general, Archbishop Manuel Antonio Rojo, to surrender the city.



FIG. 1. Niño Dormido, 18th century, Manila.

Ivory, silver, cloth, semi-precious stones.

BANGKO SENTRAL NG PILIPINAS.

Historically entangled in this dramatic turn of events is an exquisite ivory *Niño Dormido* (Sleeping Child), said to have been part of Draper's war booty (fig.1). Unidentified artists created the lavish ensemble consisting of a carved ivory figure of the Infant Jesus dressed in rich garments, resting on a silver filigree four-poster bed encrusted with semi-precious stones. When the sculptural ensemble came up for auction at Christie's London in 1981, Jaime Zobel de Ayala, who was then Philippine Ambassador to the Court



FIG. 2. Murillo Velarde, P., Suárez, Francisco, [engraver], Valdés Tamón, Fernando, , dedicatee, & George III, King of Great Britain, former owner. (1734). *Carta Hydrographica y Chorographica Delas Yslas Filipinas*. Dedicada Al Rey Nuestro Señor Por el Mariscal d Campo D. Fernando Valdes Tamon Cavallo. del Orden de Santiago de Govor. y Capn. General de dichas Yslas / Hecha pr. el Pe. Pedro Murillo Velarde dla Compad. Ihs. Cathco. d De Canones.

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of St. James, alerted Jaime Laya—then governor of the Central Bank of the Philippines—who successfully acquired and repatriated the important work.⁸

The original owner and setting for this *Niño Dormido* are unknown, though it has been suggested that such tableaux may have been created for home altars.⁹ Though the ivory figure wears western-style garments, the silver bed's distinctly Chinese style suggests Sino-Filipino workmanship, attesting to strong Chinese presence in the creation of fine and decorative arts in Spanish colonial Manila. Luxury objects of devotion such as this Sleeping Child, along with other religious statuary in precious ivory now inhabiting English collections as secular things, attest to a firmly entrenched Roman Catholic religion embraced by the wealthiest members of eighteenth-century Manila society.¹⁰ British intervention transformed this impressive object of devotion to a spectacular trophy of war. Sold at auction by Draper's heirs about 200 years later, the artwork now lives in a Philippine government museum, intermittently displayed as the stellar feature of special exhibitions in other museums—a thing of beauty, wonder, and history.¹¹

Though the British had modest knowledge of Manila when they sailed from Madras (present-day Chennai) in 1762, they had a copy of an important and accurate guide—the famous *Carta Hydrographica y Chorographica de las Yslas Filipinas*, popularly known among collectors as the 'Murillo Velarde Map' (fig. 2). King Philippe V of Spain had commissioned the map in 1733. Designed by the Jesuit priest Pedro Murillo Velarde, it was drawn by Filipino artist Francisco Suarez and engraved by another Filipino, Nicolas de la Cruz Bagay, hence the current push to refer to the map as the 'Velarde-Bagay-

8 Personal communication with Jaime Zobel de Ayala, 28 September 2004 on the occasion of the exhibition of the *Niño Dormido* at the Ayala Museum. See also Ambeth R. Ocampo, "Niño dormido," *Philippine Daily Inquirer*, 25 December 2015 <<https://opinion.inquirer.net/91458/nino-dormido>> [accessed 27 November 2020].

9 Regalado Trota Jose, *Images of Faith: Religious Ivory Carvings from the Philippines* (Pasadena: Pacific Asia Museum, 1990), 28.

10 J. M. Mancini, 'Disrupting the transpacific: objects, architecture, war, panic,' *Colonial Latin American Review*, 25:1 (2016), 35-55; Maria Cristina Martinez-Juan, 'A Philippine Madonna in Suffolk,' *Intertwined: Transpacific, Transcultural Philippines* by F. H. Capistrano-Baker (Makati City: Ayala Foundation, Inc., 2022), 82-88.

11 The BSP Nino Dormido was a stellar attraction in the 2004 exhibition entitled 'Power + Faith + Image: Philippine Art in Ivory from the 16th to the 19th Century' curated by Regalado Trota Jose and Ramon N. Villegas (2004-2005); and in 'Intertwined: Transpacific, Transcultural Philippines' curated by Florina H. Capistrano-Baker (2021-2023), both at the Ayala Museum.

Suarez Map.¹² The signatures of Bagay and Suarez are inscribed on the map, both self-identifying as ‘Indio Tagalog.’ It was the largest and most precise map at the time, scientifically charting the entire Philippine archipelago and important maritime routes.

How did the British obtain a copy of this important document? It is said that the celebrated British Commodore George Anson had seized a copy of the map when he captured the Spanish galleon *Nuestra Señora de Covadonga* in 1743.¹³ Thus one assumes that General Draper’s seizure (in addition to the *Niño Dormido* discussed above) of the eight copper plates used to print the original edition maps was not a random act but a calculated move. Americanist scholar J. M. Mancini suggests that maps and charts are among the prized booty the British seized from Manila for the information they contained.¹⁴ As with the *Niño Dormido*, Draper’s act of plunder ironically enhanced the map’s persistent afterlife. Draper donated the copper plates to his alma mater, Cambridge University, which issued restrikes that found their way to educational and cultural institutions, and the private collections of English aristocrats.¹⁵

Besides geographic and navigational information, the Murillo Velarde Map is embellished with 12 detailed vignettes on the left and right margins. Some vignettes contain detail charts such as a plan of Manila with architectural structures whose accuracy must have made it easy for the British to carry out their attack in 1762. Other scenes represent local inhabitants such as ‘Mestizos,’ ‘Indios’ and ‘Bisaya.’ In the background one sees a musician playing a stringed instrument while a couple dances the *comintang*—a traditional dance form.

These images may be considered precursors to the popular nineteenth-

12 Ambeth R. Ocampo, ‘It should be called the Velarde-Bagay-Suarez Map,’ *Philippine Daily Inquirer*, 11 September 2019 <<https://opinion.inquirer.net/123895/it-should-be-called-the-velarde-bagay-suarez-map>> [accessed 1 April 2023].

13 Mancini, ‘Disrupting,’ 35-55.

14 *Ibid.*, 41.

15 The Library of Congress, in Washington, DC purchased one of the Cambridge reprints. There is another copy in the Newberry Library in Chicago. There are reproductions dating to 1934 made from a copy of the 1734 map that Trinidad Pardo de Tavera had acquired in Paris. One of these 1934 copies is in the collection of the University of Wisconsin Milwaukee Libraries. An unpublished master’s thesis by Alexi Louise Cordero Paglinawan entitled ‘The Philippines in Microcosm: Transcultural Engagements and Catholic Visual Culture under Spanish Imperialism (c. Eighteenth-Nineteenth Centuries),’ The University of British Columbia (Vancouver), 2022, discusses the location of various reproductions.

century painting genre known as *tipos del país* (or country types) that portray local inhabitants, ethnicities, customary garments, and occupations discussed in greater detail below. Vignettes depicting foreign traders who frequented the islands such as Armenians and Chinese (or ‘Sangleys’), who both functioned as middlemen for English traders, document the cosmopolitan nature of eighteenth-century Manila. Many Chinese merchants chose to reside in Manila and a small number of Armenian merchants also settled there.¹⁶ In addition to scenes of local inhabitants and foreign traders, other images depict agricultural activities and local fauna and flora such as sugar cane, papaya, jackfruit, and palm nuts. Commodification of knowledge encouraged the replication of these works encoding a wealth of information as Cambridge restrikes generated new lives for Draper’s plundered copper plates.

Exploring Entwined English and U.S. Patronage

Continued British commercial interest in Manila after the invasion enticed new iterations of previously looted things. Vignettes depicting local inhabitants in the eighteenth-century Murillo Velarde map discussed above presaged the popular nineteenth-century genre called *tipos del país*. Though post-dating the British occupation of Manila by at least 50 years, important examples of *tipos del país* by Filipino artists Damian Domingo (c. 1796–1834) and Justiniano Asuncion (1816–1901) trace English provenance through patronage or ownership. An important album in the Newberry Library in Chicago, for example, contains watercolor images of local inhabitants and their customary garments. Each plate, including the title page, is signed in black ink on the lower right corner: *Damianus Dominicus pinxit* (‘Damian Domingo painted [this]’).¹⁷

Though I have published a number of essays on this particular album, my focus in earlier publications was on surfacing the previously undocumented phenomenon of Chinese replication.¹⁸ This essay examines instead the

16 Quiason, *English Country Trade*, *passim*.

17 Digital images of the entire album are online <https://collections.carli.illinois.edu/digital/collection/nby_eeayer/id/71029/> [accessed 10 January 2020].

18 Florina H. Capistrano-Baker, *Multiple Originals, Original Multiples: 19th-century Images of Philippine Costumes* (Makati City: Ayala Foundation, Inc., 2004); ‘Trophies of Trade: Collecting Nineteenth-Century Sino-Filipino Export Paintings,’ *Archives of Asian Art* (1 October 2017) 67 (2): 237–256.

album's English connections as an example of the surprising presence of numerous Philippine works associated with English collections. The plates are folio-sized laid paper with the watermark *Harris 1817*, suggesting British manufacture. The title page identifies the artist, Damian Domingo, and the patron, Rafael Daniel Babon. Since previous studies identify Babon (spelled 'Baboom' in Chinese copies) as an Armenian merchant from Madras, ties to English merchants are likely.¹⁹ Most scholars, including myself, tend to presume a Spanish connection with Philippine *tipos del país*. However, it is important to keep in mind that a notable number of surviving *tipos del país* and Chinese copies trace back to English ex-collections.

Another set of *tipos del país* with more explicit English connections is the unsigned album of Philippine Costumes in the New York Public Library.²⁰ The album includes nine exceptional watercolor paintings by Justiniano Asuncion and four inferior images by an anonymous artist. The album's title page identifies the person who commissioned the paintings as 'M. Soden, Esq. of Bath,' presumably referencing Bath, England.²¹ Notes accompanying the paintings include commercial information:

An exact representation of a rich Mestizo... He is a great dandy and fond of imitating the Europeans, as you may see by his hat and umbrella... The shirt is made of a species of grass cloth... beautifully embroidered... the cost depending... upon the quantity of work upon it. This man would not think of wearing a shirt of *less* value than from 10 to 12 dollars.

19 Marilyn R. Canta, 'The Possible Worlds of Rafael Daniel Baboom: An Indian-Armenian Merchant in Manila,' *Asian Studies: Journal of Critical Perspectives on Asia* (2020) Volume 56 (2): 99-119.

20 Digital images of the entire album with original handwritten notes are online <<https://digitalcollections.nypl.org/search/index?&keywords=justiniano+asuncion>> [accessed 10 January 2020]. It is important to note that the library catalogue has not corrected the misattribution of all the images to Justiniano Asuncion. Only nine signed paintings are by Asuncion.

21 'These figures were painted for the sake of the costumes by a native artist of Manila for M. Soden, Esq. of Bath in the year 1841 or 1842, nine in number, the other four by an inferior artist the former being ill.'

It is noteworthy that there is another city named Bath, Maine, USA. Known for its flourishing shipbuilding industry in the 1850s, the name 'Bath' has a possible connection to Bath, England. <<https://bathhistorical.com/history-of-bath/>> [accessed 10 March 2023]. A quick research visit in 2022 to Bath, England did not shed further light on the identity of 'M. Soden' but instead revealed the location of the tomb of Gen. Draper in the Bath Abbey.

Since I first published in 2004 the previously unknown phenomenon of Chinese replication of Philippine originals, more Chinese copies in various overseas collections have come to light. Among these are important copies of Asuncion's works by the Cantonese export painter known as Tingqua (believed to be the artist named Guan Lianchang, born c. 1809; active 1840s–70s) at the Peabody Essex Museum in Salem, Massachusetts.²² The master album by Tingqua, along with Chinese copies replicating Asuncion's works, are from the collection of the Heard family of US merchants. One wonders how the demand for these lexicons of Philippine costumes and textiles entwined American and English merchants decades after the British invasion and occupation of Manila.

British attempts to enhance their commercial engagement with Asia through a base in the Philippines easily spilled over to their North American colony. American colonists were aware of British and Spanish rivalry. Knowledge gleaned from the British who participated in the 1762 invasion informed early American interest in Manila. Twenty years after the American colonies declared independence from Britain in 1776, the first American merchant ship docked in Manila as the end destination in 1796, initiating the Manila-Salem trade that contributed to creating the first American millionaires.²³ Early American trade with Manila included goods destined for the British market, including Manila hemp or abaca, listed in mid-nineteenth-century shipping lists in the archives of the Baker Library at Harvard. Prominent US merchants maintained accounts with London merchant banks, giving London bankers prominence in financing American re-exports to Europe.²⁴ Examination of the entangled British and American trade transactions in Manila makes the presence of Chinese copies of Domingo's and Asuncion's works in British and American collections less perplexing.

22 I thank Karina Corrigan for providing access to this album and other export paintings in storage at the Peabody Essex Museum and generously sharing important information about the Heard collection to which these works belong.

23 Benito Legarda, Jr., *After the Galleons: Foreign Trade, Economic Change & Entrepreneurship in the Nineteenth-century Philippines* (Quezon City: Ateneo de Manila University Press, 1999), 234.

24 James R. Fichter, *So Great a Profit: How the East Indies Trade Transformed Anglo-American Capitalism* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2010), 107.

A Hierarchy of Replicas

Examining watermarks and different types of paper used for export paintings helps ascertain provenance and dates. As noted above, the Domingo album at the Newberry uses large sheets of laid paper, each folded and bound at the center. Laid paper has a grid pattern created by the wires on the metal mold used in its manufacture. In addition, two watermarks identify each large sheet used in the Domingo album—*Harris 1817* on one side and a crest on the other. The date *1817* likely refers to the year the paper mill was established. There are published references to a Harris family of papermakers who had a paper mill in the English village of Loose in Kent in the eighteenth century, near Maidstone, which was famous for its paper industry.²⁵

Commissioning the original album on European paper aligns with the Chinese practice of creating master albums on imported paper, to be copied later by apprentices on less expensive pith. It is not difficult to imagine the patron bringing the original Domingo album on laid paper to Canton to be replicated on pith. Pith was popularly used in nineteenth-century Chinese export paintings.²⁶ This fragile material is technically not paper, but was manufactured by cutting the pith of the *Tetrapanax papyriferum*, which is native to Taiwan and southern China.²⁷ Pith's distinctive cell-like structure holds pigments differently and makes them brighter than paintings on either laid or wove paper. Besides obvious stylistic differences, Chinese copies on pith in the Ayala Museum and various private collections are significantly smaller than the signed originals on laid paper at the Newberry Library.

Unlike the Domingo album on laid paper, the Asuncion album at the New York Public Library commissioned by M. Soden of Bath is on wove paper, which has a uniform surface. Watercolor was easier to apply evenly on wove than on the grid patterns of laid paper. Also, wove paper rarely had

25 Nineteenth-century papermaking in the Maidstone area is briefly discussed by the Loose Area Historical Society <https://www.looseareahistorysociety.org.uk/?page_id=937> [accessed 10 March 2023].

26 Carl L. Crossman, *The Decorative Arts of the China Trade: Paintings, furnishings, and exotic curiosities* (England: Antique Collectors' Club, 1991), 177-78.

27 Dard Hunter, *Papermaking: The History and Technique of an Ancient Craft* (New York: Dover Publications, 1947), 23-25; Blas Sierra de la Calle also discusses different types of paper used in Chinese export paintings including European papers as well as those manufactured in China known as 'mianlinzhi,' 'tongcao,' and 'tinsin.' *Pintura China de Exportación* (Valladolid: Museo Oriental, 2000).

watermarks that could interfere with the way paints were absorbed. James Whatman (1702-1759) is credited with the invention of wove paper in the 1750s. Whatman is said to have owned the largest paper mill in England, with close ties to the English East India Company.²⁸ He also had links to a Harris family of papermakers in Kent, possibly the same ‘Harris’ referenced by the watermarks on the paper used in the Domingo album.²⁹

Recent research by Alina Krüger suggests that the use of different types of paper for export paintings fluctuated depending on events and economic factors affecting the paper supply. The shortage of European paper in the early nineteenth century, for example, led to the increased use of pith, which could be produced faster locally. Krüger also identifies the English manufacturer Reeves & Sons (London) among the producers of watercolor paint boxes for painting on pith along with Chinese manufacturers.³⁰

My first-hand examination in 2022 of an album entitled *tipos del país Coleccion de trajes Manila y de las Provincias Ynbentado por D. Rafael Daniel Baboom y dibujado por D. Damian Domingo Director dela Academia de Dibujo por la Real Sociedad Economica de esas Islas Filipinas [1826]* in the National Art Library at the Victoria & Albert Museum (V&A) in London³¹—also misattributed to Damian Domingo—revealed that these paintings are also Chinese copies on thick pith.³² The extraordinary quality of these copies reveals an intriguing hierarchy of replicas. While specific Chinese copies of

28 Julie L. Melby (26 March 2008) <https://www.princeton.edu/~graphicarts/2008/03/laid_or_wove.html> [accessed 29 October 2022]

29 The Elder James Whatman (b. 1702), tanner, learnt the basic features of papermaking as a boy in the Harris mill. In 1733 he built a papermill of his own situated on the River Len and installed his close friend, Richard Harris, as paper maker there. In 1736 Harris moved to Turkey Mill near Maidstone and further down the River Len; in 1738 he began pulling this much larger mill down in order to accommodate the equipment needed for the new technology, a process that was to revolutionize the British Paper Industry. ‘The Whatmans and Wove Paper,’ <http://www.wovepaper.co.uk/the_whatmans.html> [accessed 1 November 2022].

30 Alina Krüger, ‘Paper made from Pith – A Revaluation of Rice Paper in Early Modern China & Europe,’ (unpublished master’s thesis, Ruprecht-Karls-Universität Heidelberg, 2019).

31 Online catalogue data, National Art Library at the V&A Museum <<https://nal-vam.on.worldcat.org/oclc/1008040550>> [accessed 24 April 2023].

32 I thank Maria Cristina Martinez-Juan and Kelly Sembrano Bailey for organizing our joint visit to the National Art Library at the V&A in 2022. A virtual exhibition curated by Martinez-Juan and Bailey is available at <<https://philippinestudies.uk/mapping/tours/show/31>> [accessed 24 April 2023].

Asuncion's paintings can be traced to the Cantonese artist Tingqua and his workshop, the identities of Chinese artists who replicated Domingo's works, such as these examples at the V&A, remain unknown.

FIG. 3.

Detail of *India de Bisaya* from the album *tipos del país Coleccion de trajes Manila y de las Provincias Ynbentado por D. Rafael Daniel Baboom y dibujado por D. Damian Domingo Director dela Academia de Dibujo por la Real Sociedad Economica de esas Islas Filipinas [1826].*

NATIONAL ART LIBRARY,
V&A MUSSEUM, LONDON.
PHOTOGRAPH BY
F.H. CAPISTRANO-BAKER, 2022.



Differences in painting styles, techniques, and skills are most evident when comparing the original Domingo album at the Newberry Library with the V&A watercolors and other copies on pith. The consistently high quality of the images in the V&A album shows the hand of a skilled master artist trained in Western painting techniques—more Western, in fact, than Domingo's originals. To cite just one example of many, the exquisite rendering of the *India de Bisaya's* head with delicate wisps of hair, sparkling eyes, and soft rosy cheeks departs in style and technique from Domingo's original (fig. 3). The difference in surface quality is also noteworthy. The original painting on laid paper has a more somber matte finish, in contrast to the luminosity of the copy on thick pith. The more brilliant colors of the replicas may be

attributed to the luminous effect of pigments painted on pith, but also reflect the Chinese cultural preference for brighter colors:

Gorgeous coloring being... the main object to be attained, everything which makes the painting look dull/ is considered a defect.³³

Prominent Cantonese artists learned to paint in the Western style to satisfy the tastes of English and American merchants, who purchased paintings as trophies of travel and trade, or gifts for their families back home. Tingqua and his brother Lam Qua (believed to be Guan Qiaochang c. 1801–1860) were among the most prominent of the nineteenth-century master artists who could paint in both the European and Chinese styles, according to the client's preference.³⁴ The older brother Lam Qua was reputedly the most prominent painter of his time. The scholar Carl Crossman notes that it was not uncommon for a Western merchant to have his portrait painted by the Canton-based English artist George Chinnery (1774–1852) and afterwards copied by Lam Qua who charged less. Crossman cites as evidence a reference by the American merchant Robert Bennet Forbes who sat for a portrait by Chinnery and then sent it to Lam Qua for copying.³⁵ Repetition and commodification of images by different artists was the norm. A nineteenth-century visitor noted that:

Copying one another's works and compositions seems to have been common among the Chinese painters working for the export market.³⁶

33 Crossman *China Trade*, 101

34 In 2005, Karina Corrigan shared with me an important album (dated 1854) with the stamp of the prominent Cantonese master artist Tingqua in the collection of the Peabody Essex Museum in Salem. Interspersed with Chinese figures for apprentices to replicate were 2 copies of works by Justiniano Asuncion, along with loose-leaf copies presumably by apprentices in the same workshop.

35 Crossman *China Trade*, 73

36 *Ibid.*, 99

But as evident in the irregular quality of replicas, the works are not exact, mechanical copies but originals in their own right—each iteration informed by specific cultural preferences and individual artistic styles. These repetitions and replications, generated by demand from English and American traders and travelers, were enthusiastically consumed as commodities, templates, and trophies.

This essay has only skimmed the surface of the history of tangible things whose lives and global circulations entwined historical events. Commercial competition between Spain and Britain precipitated the short-lived British Occupation of Manila in the late eighteenth century though its repercussions persisted through the nineteenth century. Western rivalry for dominance in Manila continued long after the conclusion of the Seven Years' War. Implicated in these intertwined imperial projects are works of art and objects of knowledge such as those discussed above—coveted things that document geographic and navigational data, local inhabitants and religions, customs and costumes, produce and products—feeding into the British appetite for intelligence as a means of expanding trade and strengthening empire.

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The Military Uses of Mathematics, According to Juan Dominguez Zamudio (1766, Manila)

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Abstract

IN 1766, *Theses mathematicas de la munitoria, pyrotechnia, y polemica defensiva, y ofensiva* by Juan Domínguez Zamudio was published in the Jesuit press in Manila. Among other things, the *Theses* tackle the casting of cannon, the computations of constructing fortresses, and the attack and defense of a town. Two previous publications on mathematics issued by the same institution dealt with the teaching of mathematics (1758) and astronomy (1762), respectively. The 1766 *Theses* manifest a strongly military character which can be placed in the context of post-British invasion Manila

Introduction

IN 1766, two years after the British left Manila, a curious publication was issued by that city's Jesuit-run Royal and Pontifical University, which was also popularly known as the Colegio Máximo de San Ignacio or the Colegio de

Manila. Entitled *Theses matemáticas de la munitoria, pyrotechnia, y polémica defensiva, y ofensiva*¹ (Mathematical theses on military architecture, firearms, and defensive and offensive military maneuvers), the work tackled the casting of cannon, the construction of fortresses, and the attack and defense of a town through mathematical computations. This paper seeks to bring the *Theses matemáticas* to the attention of a wider public. It will give a brief context of the *Theses*, then describe the work through a rough translation of salient portions of the 19 sets of resolutions that comprise the *Theses*. More attention will be given to the first, second and third theses, which deal with the parts of a fortification, and the 18th and 19th theses, which deal with defending and attacking a plaza, or fortified place.

Next to nothing is known about the author of the *Theses*, Juan Domínguez Zamudio, except the byline he uses in the title: a cadet of the Royal Regiment of Manila. He may have been related to the José Zamudio listed in 1768 as a *becario* or scholar of the Colegio de San José,² a boarding school run by Jesuits for those attending their Colegio de San Ignacio which was in the same compound (just across the street, in fact, from the breach effected by the British in September 1762). We can hardly discern anything about his character in his foreword, where the author dedicates the work to King Charles III of Spain. This foreword is a baroque paean to the Catholic Majesty of the King, who has solidified the Spanish Empire by staunchly supporting the Catholic Church. Significantly, the author recalls the image of the Spanish Empire as imagined by Vicente de Mémije and engraved by Lorenzo Atlas in 1761. Since Domínguez Zamudio's prose is perhaps the closest contemporary commentary on Memije's thesis, it would be appropriate to quote it here:

A few years ago this Academy of Mathematics configured the 'Symbolic Aspect of the Hispanic World' as a venerable matron, whose head was Spain crowned by the most noble kingdoms; the

1 Juan Domínguez Zamudio, *Theses Mathematicas de la munitoria, pyrotechnia, y polemica defensiva, y ofensiva [...] por [...], cadete del Real Regimiento de Manila su Patria: presidiendo el Rp Pasqual Fernández SJ profesor público de Mathematicas en la Real Pontificia Universidad de la misma Comp.a* (Manila: Imp. de la Comp.a por Nicolás de la Cruz Bagay, 1766). Archivo de la Univeridad de Santo Tomás (AUST): Libros 45.12, folios 433-452.

2 Maria Marta Manchado, 'Consecuencias de la Expulsión de los Jesuitas: Filipinas', in *Tres grandes cuestiones de la historia de Iberoamérica: ensayos y monografías* (Madrid: Fundación Ignacio Larramendi, 2011), 232.

body was the South Sea; the jewel on the chest was the compass star or rose of the winds; the womb the Gulf of Mexico; the purple royal mantle the two Americas; the Pacific Ocean, a most ample robe reaching up to the archipelagos of Asia, whose folds are the navigation routes of the same South Sea; and the feet are those of the Philippines. Asia lies therefore at the feet of the Hispanic World and serves as a pedestal; and on this large part of the world will be secured that other imagined new Military Aspect of the Spanish monarchy.³

In the image, the Holy Spirit is drawn over 'Roma'; the Crown of Spain rests over the where Spain should be; the jewel of the pendant over the chest doubles as the Rose from which all geographic directions emerge; the feet rest on the islands of Luzon and Mindanao. Domínguez Zamudio thus imagines Asia, symbolized by the Philippines, as the base of a new and larger military aspect of the Spanish monarchy.

The *Aspecto Symbólico* was originally accompanied by another print, *Aspecto geográfico del mundo hispánico*, this time engraved by Nicolás de la Cruz Bagay, which presented the same map of the world as in the *Aspecto Symbólico* but without the allusive metaphors. Both *Aspectos* appeared in a dissertation by Vicente de Mémije entitled *Theses Mathematicas de Cosmographía, Geographía y Hydrographía en que el Globo Terraqueo se contempla respecto al Mundo Hispánico*.⁴ To Mémije's 1761 and Domínguez

3 Dispúsose los años pasados en esta Academia de Mathematicas el *Aspecto Symbólico del Mundo Hispánico* en figura de Venerable Matrona, cuya cabeza es España coronada de sus Nobilísimos Reynos; el cuerpo el Mar del Norte; el Joyel del pecho la Rosa de los vientos; el vientre el Seno Mexicano; el purpureo manto real las dos Américas; el Mar Pacífico la amplíssima ropa talar hasta los Archipiélagos del Assia; cuyos pliegues son los derroteros del mismo Mar del Sur; y los pies son estas Islas Philipinas. Cae pues el Assia a los pies del Mundo Hispánico por peana: y a esta gran parte del mundo va a asegurar en esse estado este otro imaginado nuevo Aspecto Militar de la Monarchía Española.

4 For this work, which was composed of 9 Theses and 90 propositions, see [Vicente Laureano de Mémije], *Theses mathematicas de cosmographía, geographía y hydrographía en que el globo terraqueo se contempla respecto al mundo hispánico*, with an introduction by Tarsicio García Díaz, *Anuario de Historia, Facultad de Filosofía y Letras* (Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México 1965) V, 99-141. I did not have access to this publication, but it was described by Pedro Luengo Gutiérrez, *Manila, Plaza Fuerte (1762-1788). Ingenieros militares entre Asia, América y Europa* (Madrid: Ministerio de Defensa and Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 2013), 54-55, 65-70; Alfredo J. Morales Martínez, 'Cartografía

Zamudio's 1766 *Theses matemáticas* we must point out two more works with similar titles, *Theses matemáticas de astronomía*, by Joseph Sousa y Magallanes and published in 1762,⁵ and *Conclusiones matemáticas* by Fernando de Araya, printed in 1758.⁶ Apart from Sousa y Magallanes being a Chinese from Macao,⁷ nothing else is known about this author. As gauged from the title of *Conclusiones matemáticas*, Araya was an *alférez*, a standard bearer or officer of one of the Companies of the Royal Regiment.

These four academic works were presented at the Colegio Máximo de San Ignacio, the Jesuit university of Manila, under the aegis of that school's Academia de Matemáticas, which was founded by Governor General José Francisco de Obando y Solís (r. 1750-1754)⁸ and about which a great deal has still to be studied. The 1758, 1762, and 1766 theses were published in the Jesuit press also housed in the same university, under the direction of Nicolas de la Cruz Bagay (since I have not been able to access Mémije's *Theses*, I cannot provide pertinent publication data). The 1758 *Conclusiones mathematicas*

y cartografía simbólica Las "Theses de Mathematicas, de Cosmographia e Hydrographia" de Vicente De Memije', *Varia Historia*, 32:60 (2016), 669-696; and most recently, in Ricardo Padrón, "The Philippines and the Body Politic: The Transpacific Cartography of Vicente de Mémije", in *Transpacific Engagements. Trade, Translation, and Visual Culture of Entangled Empires (1565-1898)* ed. by Florina H. Capistrano-Baker and Meha Priyadarshini (Makati City, Los Angeles, and Florence: Ayala Foundation, Inc., Getty Research Institute, and Kunsthistorisches Institut in Florenz, respectively, 2020), 49-59.

5 Joseph Sousa y Magallanes, *Theses mathematicas de astronomia: para el computo de los planetas, y para el calculo, predición, y observación de los eclipses de la luna, y de la tierra (El sol no padece eclipse) dedicadas al M.I.S. Marqués de Ovando: Por la Academia de Mathematicos, Fundada por S.M.I. en la Regia, Pontificia Vniversidad de la Compañía de Jesus de Manila defendidas por Don Joseph Sousa y Magallanes: presidiendo el R.P. Pasqual Fernández De la misma Compañía de Jesus, Professor público de Mathematicas en la misma Vniversidad. Con las licencias necesarias en Manila en la Imprenta de la Compañía de Jesus, por Don Nicolas de la Cruz Bagay. Año de 1762.* The work is also found in the AUST, catalogued as Libritos 145. There used to be another copy at the Augustinian library in San Agustin, Manila, but its present location is unknown.

6 Fernando de Araya, *Conclvsiones mathematicas, practicas, y especvlativas defendidas en el principio del segvndo año por don Fernando de Araya, alférez de vna de las Compañías del Regimiento del Rey nuestro señor, presidiendo el R. P. Francisco Ortíz Zugasti, professor público de mathematicas en la Vniversidad de la Compañía de Iesus de esta Ciudad de Manila (Manila: Imprenta de la Compañía de Iesus, por Don Nicolás de la Cruz Bagay, 1758)*

7 Pedro Luengo Gutiérrez, *Intramuros. Arquitectura en Manila 1739-1762* (Madrid: Fundación Universitaria Española, 2013), 225.

8 Luengo, *Manila Plaza Fuerte*, 54.

was directed by Padre Francisco Ortiz Zugasti, professor of mathematics at the Jesuit University in Manila. He was born in Cervera, Lérida, on May 4, 1727. He arrived in Manila in 1752, and taught at San Ignacio. In 1768, he was declared unfit for the journey back to Europe; he finally left in 1771, and stopped in Bagnacavallo, Italy, after which he disappears from history.⁹

The 1761, 1762 and 1766 *Theses matemáticas* were directed by Padre Pascual Fernández, a Jesuit who taught mathematics at San Ignacio at least from 1761 until the expulsion of the Jesuits in 1768.¹⁰ One source says he was born on April 2, 1713, in the diocese of Osma (in today's Soria province, in the Castilla-Leon region of Spain).¹¹ Another source, a bit earlier but perhaps more studied, states Fernández was born on April 12, 1713, in Rabal, Orense (in the Galicia region). He arrived in Manila in 1750 at the age of 37. Apart from teaching mathematics, he was also at some time assigned to the mission in Marinduque. In 1768, he joined the rest of the Jesuits as they were expelled from Manila, but the ship had to return due to inclement weather, and he stayed in the capital until 1770. He died in Bologna in 1783.¹²

For now, we are virtually clueless on the development of mathematics in mid 18th century Manila. How was it taught at San Ignacio? How were the mentors formed? What was the role, if any, of Fathers Ortiz and Fernández in the defense of Manila against the British siege? From the sources cited by Mémije, we know at the very least that the San Ignacio library was well-stocked with technical and up-to-date reference materials such as atlases and maps.¹³ Some of these may have been deposited by the government to the nearby Dominican University of Santo Tomás after the Jesuits' expulsion in 1768. In this Dominican institution's present-day Antonio Vivencio del Rosario Heritage Library are 14 architecture-, defense-, and mathematics-

9 Lorenzo García, '*La expulsión de los Jesuitas*', 220. Descalzo Yuste ('*La Compañía de Jesús*', 703) says he came from the Diocese of Calahorra and arrived in 1750.

10 Horacio de la Costa, *The Jesuits in the Philippines 1581-1768* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1961), 602.

11 Eduardo Descalzo Yuste, '*La Compañía de Jesús en Filipinas (1581-1768): realidad y representación*' (Doctoral thesis, Universidad Autónoma de Barcelona. Bellaterra, 2015), 675.

12 Santiago Lorenzo García, *La expulsión de los Jesuitas de Filipinas* (Alicante: Universidad de Alicante, 1999), 192.

13 Luengo, *Manila Plaza Fuerte*, 67-70.

themed titles dating from 1566 to 1744.¹⁴ Although it is unclear how or when most of these books ended up in the library, it would be illustrative to present some titles, listed chronologically below.

Antoine Deville, *Les Fortifications du Chevalier, avec l'Ataque & la Defence des Places* (Lyons: Chez Philippe Borde, 1641).

Claude François Milliet de Chales, S.J., *Cursus seu Mundus Mathematicus* (Lyons: ex officina Anissoniana, Jean Posuel & Claud. Rigaud, 1674 [Vol. 1], and 1690 [Vols. 2-4]).

— Includes diagrams on calculating for arches and corners. An inscription on the title page says the book belonged to the Chinese mission of the French Jesuits.

— — —, *L'Art de Fortifier, de Defendre, et d'Attaquer les Places: suivant les methodes Françoises, Hollandoises, Italiennes & Espagnoles; le tout enrichy de figures en taille douce* (Paris: chez Estienne Michallet, rue Saint Jacques, à l'image Saint Paul, proche la Fontaine S. Severin, 1684).

Andres Pozzo, S.J., *Perspectiva Pictorum et Architectorum: in qua docetur modus expeditissimus delineandi optice omnia que pertinent ad Architecturam. Pars Prima* (Rome: typis Joannis Jacobi Komarek Bohemi apud S. Angelum Custodem, 1693).

— An inscription on the title page says it belonged to the Jesuit College of San Ignacio in Manila.

Sebastián Fernández de Medrano, *El Architecto Perfecto en el Arte Militar* (Antwerp: Henrico y Cornelio Verdussen, 1708).

Nicolas Bion, *Traité de la Construction et des Principaux Usages des Instrumens de Mathématique. Troisieme edition* (Paris: chez Michel Brunet, Etienne Gaeau, Claude Robustel, & Charles Osmont, 1725).

Le Parfait Ingenieur François, ou la Fortification Offensive et

14 See for example Regalado Trota José, 'Books on Architecture and Related themes, 1566-1897, in the University of Santo Tomás', in Javier Galván Guijo, *Heritage Churches of the Cagayan River Basin* (Quezon City: Vibal Foundation, Inc., 2022), xiv-xv.

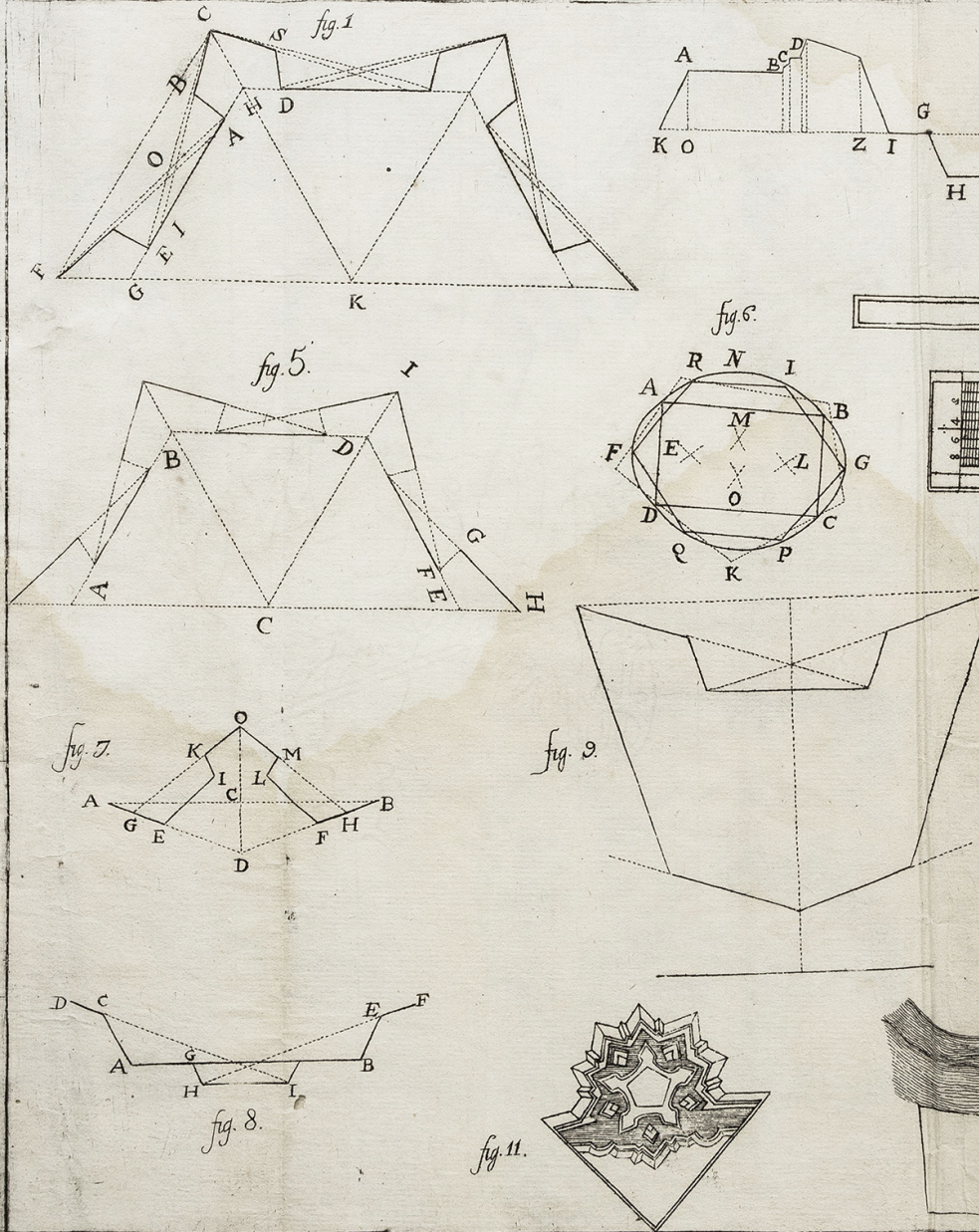
Défensive (Amsterdam: Par la Compagnie des Libraires, 1734).

Felix Prosperi, *La Gran Defensa; Nuevo Método de Fortificación*.
[Vol.1] (Mexico: n.p., 1744).

Zamudio's 1766 *Theses* can also be appreciated for its bibliographic significance. It is one of the last five books published by the Jesuit press in Manila, before it was forcibly closed in 1768. It is the only known copy to exist. It has two copperplate engravings that depict cross sections of a cannon, a fortified town under siege, the calculation for a five-pointed star-shaped fort, and other images that are pertinent to the book. The first plate contains figures 1 to 12; curiously, figures 13 to 15 don't appear in another plate, just as they are not mentioned in the text. Figures 16 to 25 are included in the second plate, which is signed *Cyprianus a Cruce Bagay sculp.*, 'engraved by Cipriano de la Cruz Bagay', the first under this name. Perhaps he was a brother, son or close relative of the famous Nicolás de la Cruz Bagay, who worked for the Jesuit Press from 1731 to 1761. He may have been the same one who signed Cipriano Romualdo Bagay, and Cipriano Bagay, both as printer and engraver, in publications of 1786 up to 1788 of the Real Seminario de San Carlos, which took over the Jesuit press after 1768, and then again in 1798. If so, his career would have spanned at least 30 years.¹⁵

Finally, it should be pointed out that all four known mathematics publications of the Academia de Matemática carried illustrations. Araya's 1758 *Conclusiones* carried an equestrian portrait of Fernando VI by Nicolás de la Cruz Bagay; Mémije's 1761 opus included the two famous *Aspectos*, the *Simbólico* by Lorenzo Atlas and the *Geográfico* by Nicolás de la Cruz Bagay; Sousa y Magallanes' 1762 work included the coat-of-arms of Governor Obando and another plate with five figures of astronomical spheres; and Domínguez Zamudio's 1766 *Theses*, as we have just seen, two plates brimming with figures, signed Cipriano de la Cruz Bagay. We may imagine that the Jesuits promoted the production of such texts by encouraging, if not subsidizing, the inclusion of costly illustrations.

15 Regalado Trota José, 'Bubbles and Tongues of Fire: *Rocalla* in the Philippines', in Florina H. Capistrano-Baker and Meha Priyadarshini, eds., *Transpacific Engagements. Trade, Translation, and Visual Culture of Entangled Empires 1565-1898* (Makati City, Los Angeles, and Florence: Ayala Foundation, Inc., Getty Research Institute, and Kunsthistorisches Institut in Florenz, 2020), 122.



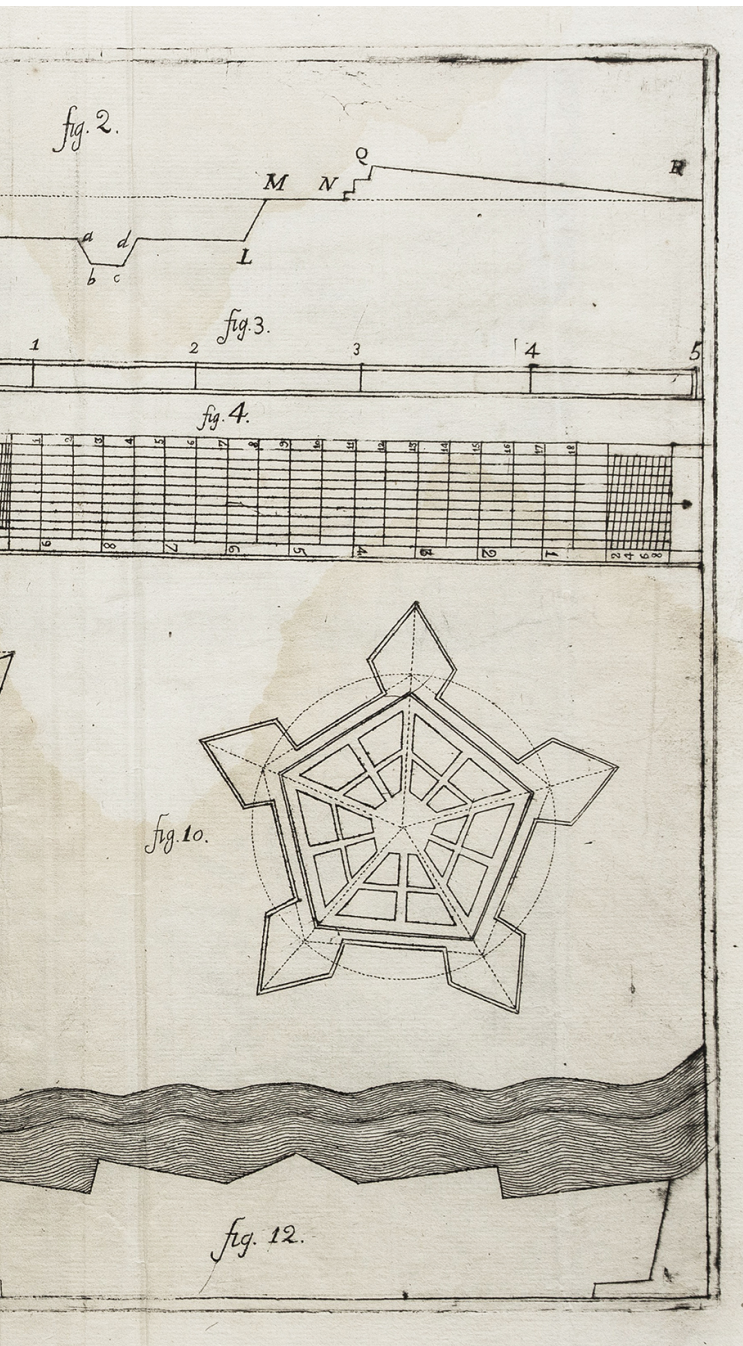


IMAGE 1.
Plate 1, containing
Figures 1 to 12.

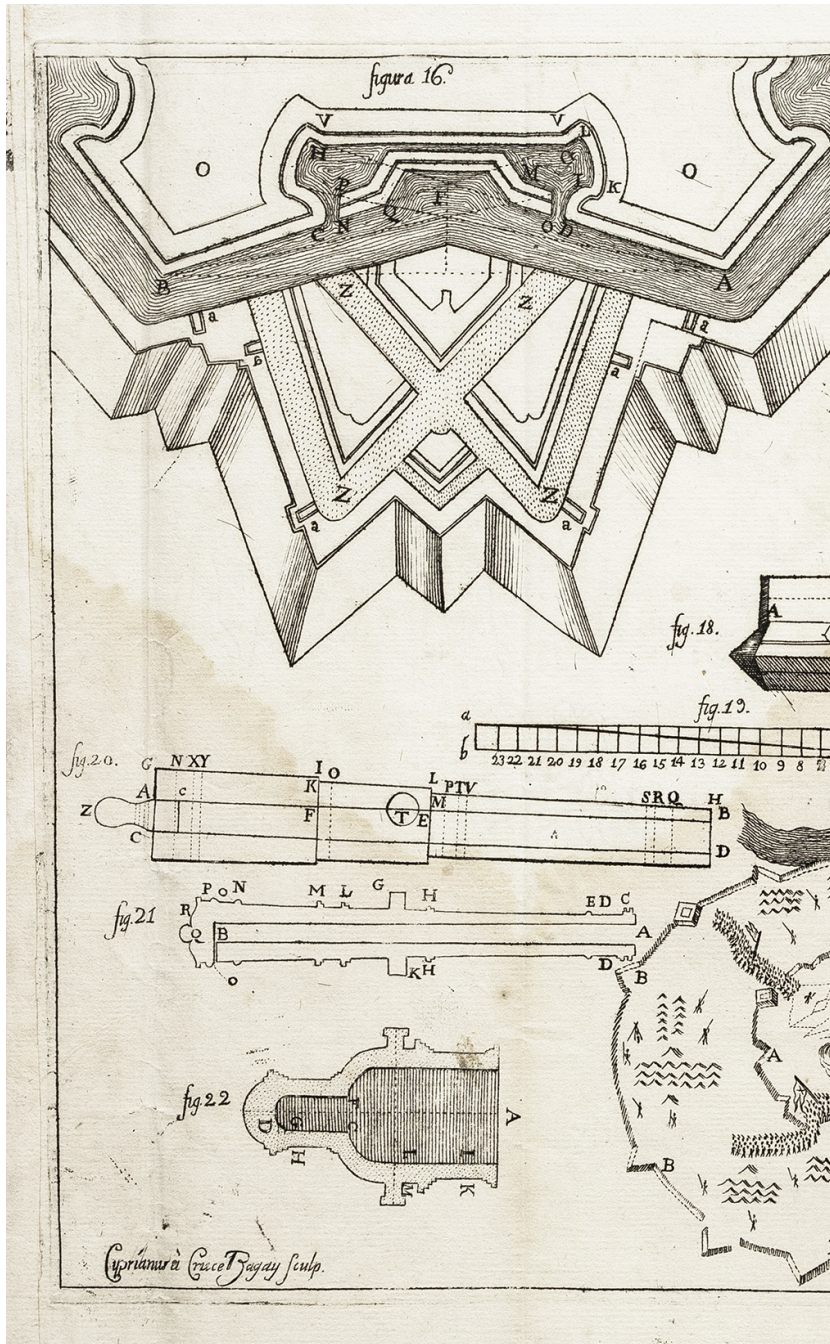
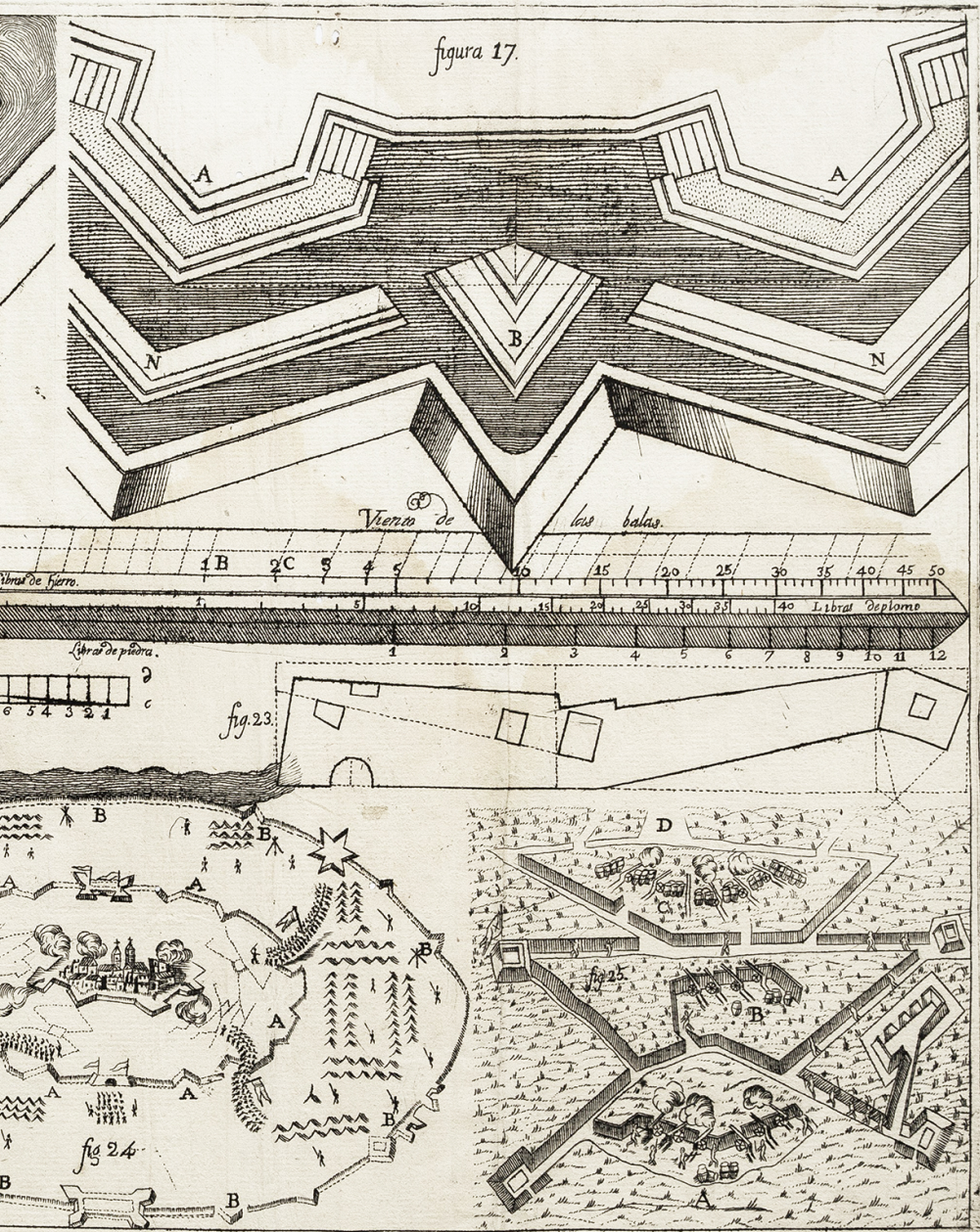


IMAGE 2.
Plate 2,
containing
Figures 16 to 25.



General structure of Juan Domínguez Zamudio's *Theses matemáticas*

Juan Domínguez Zamudio's opus is composed of 19 theses, framed as questions. Each thesis is followed by a *preliminar* or short introduction, and is answered through any number of resolutions numbered simply *Resolución I*, *Resolución II*, and so on. The resolutions in turn are composed of groups of numbered statements, tables, or figures as depicted in the plates. In contrast with today's academic discussions, there is hardly any elaboration that accompanies the statements; the work is in fact rather stoic in terms of explanations.

The 19 theses are as follows:

THESIS 1.

Quales sean los Principios Generales, o Maximas de Fortificación?

What are the general principles or maxims of Fortification?

THESIS 2.

Quales sean las partes principales de la Fortificación?

What are the principal parts of a fortification?

THESIS 3.

Quales sean las medidas de las partes de la Fortificación?

What are the measurements for the parts of a fortification?

THESIS 4.

Como se fortifique qualquier Polígono por las Tablas?

How is any polygon fortified according to the tables?

THESIS 5.

Como se resuelva la delineación de la Fortificación por Geometría?

How is the delineation of the fortification resolved by geometry?

THESIS 6.

Quales sean las Maximas de la Fortificación Irregular?

What are the maxims for Irregular Fortification?

THESIS 7.

*Como se reduzja una figura Irregular a Regular,
para que a esta se acerque, quanto posible fuere, la Fortificación Irregular?*
How is an irregular figure adjusted to a regular one,
to make it as regular as possible?

THESIS 8.

*Como se fortifique un lado, quando es grande
para solo un Baluarte, y pequeño para dos?*
How to fortify one side, when it is large enough
for one *baluarte*, and too small for two *baluartes*?

THESIS 9.

Que Máximas se deban observar acerca de las Obras Exteriores?
What maxims should be observed regarding outside works?

THESIS 10.

Como se determinan las dimensiones, y disposiciones de lo interior de la plaza?
How are the dimensions and dispositions of the interior of a plaza determined?

THESIS 11.

Quales sean los principios de la Pyrotechnia?
What are the principles of Pyrotechnics?

THESIS 12.

*Quales sean los nombres de las partes de las piezas,
y distribución de sus metales?*
What are the names of the parts of such pieces,
and the distribution of its metals?

THESIS 13.

*Quales sean las propiedades, y efectos de las cargas
de polvora encendida dentro del Cañon?*
What are the properties and effects of the charges
of powder lit inside the cannon?

THESIS 14.

Quales sean las propiedades y efectos de las balas disparados?

What are the properties and effects of bullets fired into the air?

THESIS 15.

Quales sean los modos de apuntar una pieza al blanco?

What are the ways to aim a piece at the target?

THESIS 16.

Como se delinee, y se trace un Cañón de Artilleria?

How is an artillery cannon drawn?

THESIS 17.

Como se delinee un Mortero?

How is a *mortero* drawn?

THESIS 18.

Como se defienda una Plaza?

How is a Plaza defended?

THESIS 19.

*Como se disponga el asedio de una Plaza,
para combatirla, hasta rendirla?*

How is a siege laid on a Plaza, to make it surrender?

In Spanish military parlance, a plaza is defined as a place fortified with walls, bulwarks, etc. where the people can defend themselves from the enemy.

In order to make this rare work more accessible to a wider public, I have opted to present rough translations of selected sections¹⁶, and to limit discussion of certain aspects to a minimum. Several military terms are obsolete and not easily found in dictionaries; they are better understood by locating them in the corresponding figures in the plates. More details will be given for the two last theses, which are on laying siege to a town and

¹⁶ Since this will be an initial attempt, I beg the reader's indulgence for all the mistranslations. Admittedly, many of the military terms are obsolete and are not found in dictionaries. Some meanings had to be derived through the context.

defending it, than to the middle sections, which are meticulous calculations for the production of arms and ordnance.

Since Figures 1 to 12 in the *Theses* appear in one plate, and Figures 16 to 25 are in the second, in this article those in the first plate will be referred to as Fig. 1.1, 1.2, etc., and those in the second will be referred to as Fig. 2.16, 2.17, and so on.

Thesis 1. What are the general principles or maxims of Fortification?

Preliminar. The *Munitoria*, or Military Architecture, is the science of fortifying a place in such a way that with little resources, much can be defended. There are Regular (Theses 1 to 5) and Irregular (Theses 6 and 7) fortifications.

RESOLUTION 1.1.

1. The more perfect the fortification, the less works, supplies, and troops it has to defend.
3. There should be no part that is not flanked, or that cannot be defended from another side.
4. All the lines of defense must be ordered according to the reach of the corresponding weapons, that will be used for defense.
6. The fortification should dominate all parts of the adjacent fields; and no part of it shall be dominated by an exterior prominence, which can be easily taken by the enemy, and from there damage the Plaza.

RESOLUTION 1.2.

7. The plazas of the high and low batteries must have the corresponding width for their supplies, and number, magnitude, and operation of its weapons.
8. The curtain wall, moat, flank, and face of the opposite bulwark, as well as the esplanade and *estrada encubierta*¹⁷, must be visible from the upper parts of the walls.
9. All works and repairs on the Plaza that confront the enemy must be strong enough to resist their artillery.

¹⁷ The *estrada cubierta* was also known in other documents as the *camino cubierto*, the path between the fortification and the field outside it, 'covered' by a sloped esplanade in such a way that defenders could cross the line of fire without being seen by the enemy.

RESOLUTION 1.3.

10. Bulwarks and curtain walls that are too tall must be excluded from good fortification.
11. A moat that is very deep but lacks the necessary width must be likewise excluded; so too must be a moat that is wide but without the necessary depth.
12. Any *berma* [see **FIG. 1.2**], moat, *estrada encubierta*, or esplanade whose total height exceeds the line of fire must be totally avoided.

RESOLUTION 1.4.

13. The angle of the polygon of the fortification (excepting the *campestre*)¹⁸ should not be less, or straight [*que recto*][?], than 90 degrees.
14. The flanked angle, called the *baluarte*, must not be much greater, or straight [*que recto*][?], or less than 60 degrees.
15. All things being equal, a plaza is better off with less, but larger bulwarks defending a certain distance. Too many small bulwarks should be avoided.

Thesis 2. What are the principal parts of a fortification?

Preliminar. The advantage of the mathematical sciences is that, in explaining themselves in figures, a better vision is had with fewer lines and letters, than with any other mode of explanation.

RESOLUTION 2.1. FIG. 1.1.

Part of the fort (Spanish term)	English	Legend
<i>Baluarte</i>	Bulwark.	A B C S D
<i>Lado exterior</i>	Outer side.	F C
<i>Lado interior</i>	Inner side.	G H
<i>Cara del Baluarte</i>	Outer face of the bulwark.	B C
<i>Ala o Flanco 1</i>	Wing or 1 st Flank.	BA
<i>Ala o Flanco 2</i>	Wing or 2 nd Flank.	E I
<i>Gola</i>	The section of the polygon adjacent to the bulwark.	A D

18 Probably the angle facing the open field.

<i>Semi Gola</i>	The midpoint in the section of the polygon adjacent to the bulwark.	A H
<i>Cortina</i>	Curtain wall.	A E
<i>Capital</i>	Distance from the middle of the gola to the tip of bulwark.	H C
<i>Linea de defensa menor, o rajante</i>	Lesser line of defense	C I
<i>Linea de defensa mayor, o fixante</i>	Greater line of defense	C E
<i>Radio mayor</i>	Greater radius	K C
<i>Radio menor</i>	Lesser radius	K H
<i>Angulo del polígono</i>	Angle of the polygon	A H D
<i>Angulo de la Espalda</i>	Angle of the shoulder	A B C
<i>Angulo Flanqueante</i>	Flanking angle	A E B
<i>Angulo Flanqueado</i>	Flanked angle	S C B
<i>Angulo Diminuto</i>	Diminutive angle	I C F
<i>Angulo del Centro</i>	Central angle	G K H
<i>Angulo de la defensa Exterior</i>	Angle of the outer defense	C O F
<i>Angulo de la defensa Interior</i>	Angle of the inner defense	A I C

Thesis 2. RESOLUTION 2. Profile, **FIG. 1.2.** [Note: E and F were not inscribed in the figure; F should appear on the point between D and I, at the top of the broken line Z, while E should appear on the slanted line between D and F].

Part of the fort (Spanish term)	English	Legend
<i>Muro</i>	Wall.	K A E I
<i>Escarpa interior</i>	Inner escarpment.	A K O
<i>Terraplen, o camino del muro</i>	Terraplein, or walkway on the upper level of the wall.	A B
<i>Banqueta</i>	Raised masonry support running alongside and behind the inner part of the wall, on which defenders could fire against the enemy.	B C D
<i>Parapeto</i>	Parapet.	D E F
<i>Escarpa exterior</i>	Outer escarpment of the wall.	F I Z
<i>Berma, o Lisera</i>	Space at the foot of the wall and outer decline of the terraplein, which served to contain the rocks thrown from the latter and prevent them from falling into the moat.	G I
<i>Escarpa interior del Foso</i>	Inner escarpment of the moat (nearer the defense wall).	G H
<i>Refoseto, o Cuneta</i>	Drainage ditch in the middle of the moat.	a b c d
<i>Escarpa exterior</i>	Outer escarpment of the moat (farther from the defense wall).	M L
<i>Estrada en cubierta</i>	Pathway 'covered' by the esplanade or glacis.	M N
<i>Parapeto de la estrada encubierta, esplanada, o glacis</i>	Parapet of the covered pathway; esplanade or glacis, a slope away from the covered pathway towards the field.	Q R

Thesis 3. What are the measurements for the parts of a fortification?

Preliminar. The universal standard of measurement is the *pertica* [*pertiga*, pole, rod, staff]. Its parts are divided into tens, which is facilitated in great measure by mathematical operations. It is thus divided into ten equal feet (the seventh larger one is the Castellano), of which can be seen in half feet in **FIG. 1.3**. Each foot is divided into 10 *puntos*, each *punto* into ten lines. And it

is not difficult for the mathematician to adjust these measurements according to those required in each country.

RESOLUTION 3.1. Table of angles for calculating sections of the fort.

RESOLUTION 3.2. Table of lines for the width of sections of the fort.

RESOLUTION 3.3. Table of lines for the length of sections of the fort.

RESOLUTION 3.4. Table of lengths for the *estrada encubierta*.

RESOLUTION 3.5. Table of heights of sections of the fort.

RESOLUTION 3.6. *Plazas altas*, **Fig. 2.16.** O in the *gola del baluarte*.

Cavalleros, **Fig. 2.16.** V in the extremes of the *cortina*.

The *Tenazas*, **Fig. 2.16.** N P in front of the *cortinas*.

All of these will have to widen the *terraplen*, in proportion to the pieces which will be installed there.

The inner *baluartes* in **Fig. 2.17:** A inside the exteriors.

Contraguardias, **Fig. 2.17** N in front of the *baluartes*, and the *revellin* B.

The moat between the inner and exterior *baluartes*, between the exterior and the *contraguardia*, between the *cortina* and the *tenaza*, has to be about 2 or more *perticas* wide, according to the circumstances.

Thesis 4. How is any polygon fortified according to the tables?

RESOLUTION 4.1. See the example in the hexagon, **Fig. 1.5.** Take from the Table the lower radius of 62 *perticas*, 3 feet and 9 *puntos*; and with this interval, inscribe the circle A B C D on the paper, from the scale **Fig. 1.4**, using in the field the actual measurement. [6 further statements]

Thesis 5. How is the delineation of the fortification resolved by geometry?

Resolution in 10 statements of calculations and a table.

Thesis 6. What are the maxims for Irregular Fortification?

Preliminar. Irregular fortification is that whose sides, or angles are unequal. In its delineation the more its science and ability of the engineer are manifested, the more it adheres to the Regular.

Resolution in 10 statements of calculations, using **Fig. 1.6.**

Thesis 7. How is an irregular figure adjusted to a regular one, to make it as regular as possible?

Resolution in 6 statements of calculations.

Thesis 8. How to fortify one side, when it is large enough for one baluarte, and too small for two baluartes.

Resolution in 7 statements of calculations, utilizing **Figs. 1.7** and **1.8**.

Thesis 9. What maxims should be observed regarding outside works?

Resolution in 8 statements and a table of measurements.

1. No construction should be made, if it cannot be furnished with sufficient troops and supplies. And those that are in great danger of being easily taken by the enemy, should be demolished as soon as possible, so that they will not be used against the Plaza.
2. Nothing should be built in the form that, if taken by the enemy, will not be subject to firing from the Plaza. And by this maxim the *Hornabeque* [hornwork, an exterior fortification composed of two half *baluartes* or horns joined by a curtain] is reprov'd, **Fig. 1.9**. [Such an *hornabeque* was constructed on the coastal side of Intramuros in 1765 as a provisional defense, but it was demolished a few years later]¹⁹.
8. The best way to fortify on the banks of a river is seen in **Fig. 1.12**.

Thesis 10. How are the dimensions and dispositions of the interior of a plaza determined?

Resolution in 7 statements.

1. That which is called the *Plaza de Armas principal*, is situated in the middle of the fortress, and is given a half diameter at least the quantity of a half *gola*. In it is the principal corps of guards, **Fig. 1.10**.
7. However, whatever is made, to occupy some eminence, to cover, and obtain communication with a navigable river, or to close, and guard a port, this construction should not be distanced farther than the firing range from the plaza, and its disposition towards it, as in **Fig. 1.11**.

19 María Lourdes Díaz-Trechuelo Spínola, *Arquitectura Española en Filipinas (1565-1800)* (Sevilla: Escuela de Estudios Hispano-Americanos de Sevilla, 1959), 121, 126.

Thesis 11. What are the principles of Pyrotechnics?

RESOLUTION 11.1, in 5 statements and a table of sizes of bullets.

1. Pyrotechnics is the science of firearms, of the instruments and other things needed for combat, and defense of fortifications.
2. Its origin and force revolve entirely around the powder, its direction and caliber, and the augmentation of its efficacy to the form of the cannon.
3. Caliber is the diameter of a bullet of a certain metal and weight. [...]
4. In the rule of the caliber, the length of the diameters of iron bullets, lead, and stone classified according to their weight, such as 1, 2, or 3 *libras*. Also included in the rules are the diameters of the *animas* [openings] of the pieces respective of said bullets, with the addition of the outlet, called *viento*, **Fig. 2.18**.

RESOLUTION 11.2.

6. The cannon are divided into 3 types, called first, second, and third genre.
7. The pieces of the first genre are called *culebrinas*. Their *anima* is from 30 to 32 diameters at the mouth, and serve to hit from afar.
8. Those of the second genre are the cannon proper. Their *anima* is from 17 to 20 diameters at the mouth, and serve to pound walls.
9. Those of the third genre are called *pedreros*, because balls of stone are fired from them. Their *anima* measures from 12 to 14 diameters from the mouth. They serve to defend a siege in an open breach.

RESOLUTION 11.3. On the firing range of bullets, with a table.

RESOLUTION 11.4. On the weights of bullets, in statements numbers 9 to 12 [sic].

Thesis 12. What are the names of the parts of such pieces, and the distribution of its metals?

RESOLUTION 12.1. Example of a *culebrina*, **Fig. 2.21**, with its parts.

RESOLUTION 12.2. Table with examples of the distribution of metals in pieces of the first type.

Thesis 13. What are the properties and effects of the charges of powder lit inside the cannon?

RESOLUTION 13.1, in 7 statements.

1. The powder, after being lit inside the cannon, remains compressed for a few seconds, but while it flies through the air, it is converted into *salitre* [saltpeter]. [...].

RESOLUTION 13.2, in statements nos. 8 and 9.

RESOLUTION 13.3, in statements 10 to 12.

Thesis 14. What are the properties and effects of bullets fired into the air?

RESOLUTION 14.1, in 4 statements.

1. Of bullets of equal size, but of different material, the one that is lighter reaches further.

RESOLUTION 14.2, in statements 5 to 9.

[...].

8. A bullet passing over the sea, lake, or river, loses its effect.

Thesis 15. What are the ways to aim a piece at the target?

Resolution in 9 statements.

Thesis 16. How is an artillery cannon drawn?

Resolution in 12 statements of calculations; see **Fig. 2.19**.

Thesis 17. How is a *mortero* [mortar] drawn?

Resolution in 5 statements; see **Fig. 2.22**.

Thesis 18. How is a Plaza defended?

6 Resolutions, with 28 statements.

Preliminar 1. The *Polémica* is the science of directing military operations during wartime. It is divided into Offensive and Defensive.

Preliminar 2. Let us imagine a Plaza provided with a good Governor, expert officials, brave soldiers who are experienced in war; at the same time, well-stocked with all manner of goods and ammunition, at least for four months, if it was a city, and for a year, if it was a citadel.

RESOLUTION 18.1. [summaries]

1. Upon the declaration of a siege: all trees and other obstructions in the field should be cleared; all buildings within range of enemy fire must be burned and demolished; high places and must be flattened, and deep places filled in, such that only those places that can be defended by themselves or from the plaza will remain, to deny the enemy any advantage, or prevent them from landing or erecting a blockade.
2. All livestock should be brought inside the plaza; or kept in a safe area; or destroyed, so as not to serve the enemy.
3. The land must be flooded by directing as much as possible river waters through dams or canals, if there are no dikes dug beforehand.
4. Goods and ammunition must be stored in warehouses scattered throughout the city, for more efficacious distribution, so that not everyone will perish in a bad incident or treason: these should be outfitted with all possible preventions.
5. The timely distribution of goods and rations among the soldiers should be entrusted to capable persons of the city, so that the soldiers shall not miss their rations on the corresponding time.
6. The people shall be divided into three classes: the first for guarding, or corresponding posts; the second, in reserve; the third, free.

RESOLUTION 18.2.

7. If the Plaza is on the coast, and if the enemy comes from the sea, every effort must be made to deny them a landing.
8. If the enemy comes from land, any blocking of the plaza from its access to resources, including people, must be avoided. It would be a great error to isolate it.
9. Information must be obtained from spies on the true ambitions of the enemy: which parts do they intend to attack, and with what forces.

10. No chance should be given the enemy to have any idea of the Plaza or its interior; hence ambassadors are not to be admitted, or they should be blindfolded; and deserters from the enemy are to be arrested.

RESOLUTION 18.3.

11. *Hornabeques*, or crownworks should be built to defend the weakest parts of the Plaza, according to the circumstances. [Curiously, this contradicts statement 2 of Thesis 9 above.]
12. Certain exterior parts should be strengthened or repaired; or if indefensible, they should be demolished.
13. All works confronting the enemy must be protected by bags or similar containers of sand.
14. For those sections which are deemed to be hit by enemy fire, the necessary *cortaduras* (moat and parapet along narrow passages) must be constructed as soon as possible.
15. [...]

RESOLUTION 18.4.

16. To start firing prematurely should be prevented; it also gives away the capacity of the arms and cannon.
17. Therefore firing should only start after the enemy has begun, when it has settled in its camp.
18. But that does not mean that he should be given room to erect, or arrange trenches, with which he defends himself from shots.
19. The reach of each cannon must have been measured ahead of time; and firing should be upon signals which the enemy does not know; so as not to waste fire, or time in firing; to know how to use, and take advantage of the artillery of the plaza, and its ordnance.

RESOLUTION 18.5.

20. Those should be kept apart who wonder about the forces of the enemy, or diminish those of the Plaza, and thus let down the spirits of the defenders of the Plaza; so their comments cause less damage.
21. The same should be done, with those who exaggerate the advantages which the defenders can obtain, surrendering to the enemy, over those who can hope, and resist it.

22. Similarly, those who announce the progress of the enemy should not be tolerated during times of siege; such as he who has the trenches, attacks, mines, and others in such a state, that the plaza cannot be defended.
23. Much less should naysayers or spreaders of suspicion be tolerated. And truthfully, if someone likes to sincerely manifest what he knows for the good of the defenders: it is enough for him to inform the person who directs the arms, or in the councils, or war meetings.
24. But that does not mean that the women and persons who frighten others should be expelled, so long as there are supplies for everyone; [...].

RESOLUTION 18.6, with statements 25 to 28.

26. All laws of war must be observed, and all precautions must be made as if the enemy were not to keep these laws.

Thesis 19. How is a siege laid on a Plaza, to make it surrender?

4 Resolutions, 1-25. **Figs. 2.24 and 2.25.**

RESOLUTION 19.1.

1. Information on the Plaza to be attacked must be gathered, such as the quality of its defenses, artillery, supplies, goods, ammunition, number and quality of troops, and the conditions of the surrounding countryside, all well located on a map.
2. A good time must be selected for the attack, but this must be kept top secret.
3. With the troops on the march, the first task is to deprive the Plaza of any help from the people, goods, and ammunition, separating it from anything that can benefit it; and the second is to see to it that the Plaza under attack not deprive the attackers of useful things, such as roads.
4. Troops should occupy all advantageous posts from which to fire on the Plaza.
5. Engineers should survey and measure beforehand the fields where the attackers can set up camp. This shall be from firing range of the cannon on the Plaza, but not within; placing the greater force, where there is greater danger of firing from the plaza against the attackers.
6. The troops, if they are numerous, should not encamp where there are no sources of water, or in flooded places.

7. Roads of access of help for the Plaza under attack should be closed; roads should be kept open for the attackers to seek shelter.
8. Seek good emplacements for the Artillery according to the circumstances: the line of Artillery in an area free of firing beyond the line of fire of cannon on a straight line.

RESOLUTION 19.2.

9. The army shall try to first secure the line of *contravalación* [contravallation, a series of works confronting the walls of a place under siege, to isolate the defenders and safeguard the besiegers against allies; a more or less continuous chain of redoubts and breastworks raised by besiegers outside the line of circumvallation of a besieged place to protect the besiegers from attacks from the outside, as by a relieving force] **AA**, **Fig. 2.24** if the Plaza is well defended, or the *circunvalación* (bypass) **BB**, if the Plaza has many troops in the field, who can fight the attackers.
10. These *líneas obsidionales* [siege lines], also called lines of communication, have to be straight: formed at intervals, according to the lay of the land, angles, in which are constructed redoubts, or other field forts flanked like in AA and BB, which are also located in the same straight lines, if they are too long, in such a way that the distance between them is not more than double the line of fire; no part of the line is retained, that is not flanked.
11. All these lines must have their own moats, and parapets, and much more so the field forts, of which those that are more in danger of advances should be more spacious.

RESOLUTION 19.3.

12. With the said *líneas obsidionales* constructed, which must be far from eminences or raised land, new lines can be raised for attack or approaches, **Fig. 2.25**, which must never be erected on flooded land.
13. The portion of the Plaza ruined by the artillery must be taken at once, to take over the rest of the Plaza.
14. For this reason time should not be wasted in combating exterior works: repairing the battery, and attack on the part of the plaza, that lacks them, although the stronger walls may be there.
15. For this same reason, if there is a citadel, this should be taken first: which usually takes less time, and with less expense in munitions and loss of personnel; and from there, the plaza is dominated and taken.

16. The attack, and battery, must be placed as close as possible to the part that has to be pounded, which has to be the face of the *baluarte*.

RESOLUTION 19.4.

17. Beginning with the cannonade from the first battery A, the construction of the second B, and the third, C, follows, leading to the attacks within firing range of rifles on the Plaza, and nearer and nearer as possible, and continue firing on the flanks and faces of the *baluartes*, to impede the artillery from the Plaza D.
18. To gain entrance to the *estrada encubierta*, the attacks should follow the angle of the shoulder of the *baluarte*.
19. Arriving at the esplanade of the *estrada encubierta*, lighted *hornillos* [kitchen stoves] are thrown over the defenses to drive away the defenders.
20. Gaining the *estrada encubierta*, the attackers fortify themselves against the defenders: constructing parapets and *transverías*, with *cestones* or *gaviones* [sandbags], which can also be improvised over the parapet of the *estrada encubierta*, being passed by the laborers from one to another, while firing is continued against the defenders.
21. [...].
22. With the wall or part of it captured, the artillery is turned on the most dangerous parts, where the resistance is found.
23. If the *bocacalles* [street entrances] are blocked, fighting is carried out from the wall, without descending until the paths are cleared, if not, with such precautions that secure such actions.
24. Although the roads are open, these are to be entered only with great care, making sure that the passages are secured.
25. No permit for sacking shall be given, without having taken over all the principal posts, with the corresponding guards, especially in the middle of the plaza.

Conclusion

More archival studies will have to be made to see which of these *Theses* were based on the British experience, and which were taken from research in the copious libraries of San Ignacio and Santo Tomás. One obvious lesson was the enemy occupation of stone structures and towers such as the churches of Santiago and San Jose de Bagumbayan, which were promptly demolished by

the British themselves. On another aspect, the *Theses* give good evidence that in Manila, cannon and mortars were cast, and ordnance produced—although the corresponding question arises, how were the calculations arrived at? We may also ask, how well was this product of the Academia de Matemática taken by the military engineers assigned to reconfigure Manila in the second half of the 18th century, such as Miguel Antonio Gómez, Feliciano Marquez y Trujillo, and Dionisio O’Kelly y Burke?

It may take some time to know the answer. Nevertheless, we owe an incomparable vision of the intellectual development of mid 18th century Manila to Juan Domínguez Zamudio and his mentor Padre Pasqual Fernández. And had it not been for the caring hands of the archivists of the past, this unique opusculum may never have reached our day.

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Strangling the Silver Stream: The Impact of the English Occupation of Manila on the English East India Company's Trade with Canton

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Abstract

MANILA PLAYED a fundamental role in Asia as a supplier of silver specie. The Pacific trade provided the liquidity that enabled all other intra-Asian trade routes and helped settle payments with Asian partners. Manila's importance was built on its deep capital markets based on religious legacy funds and the capital they originated through sea loans. The English occupation of 1762-1764 not only disrupted the Pacific silver trade, but also depleted the Manila legacy funds. Its impact was more profound than has so far been studied, while this new characterisation of Manila's role in maritime Asia leads to new lines of research.

KEYWORDS: Trade, silver, *obras pías*

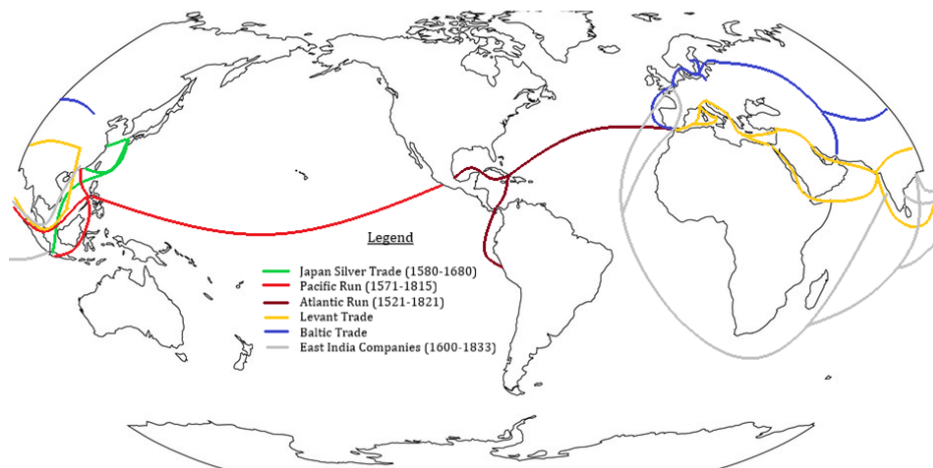
FOR OVER 250 years between 1571 and 1826, Manila connected Asia directly with Spanish America and its vast silver mines. During this period, an

estimated annual amount of 2-4 million pesos (approx. 50-100 tonnes of silver) crossed the Pacific in exchange for Asian textiles and commodities, principally Indian cotton and Chinese silk.¹ While the literature on Manila has been explicit on the importance of silver for the functioning of trade within the city, this has not been linked to the broader Asian trading networks, and the impact of Manila's supply of specie for maritime Asia remains comparatively understudied. This is particularly perplexing given the vast amount of literature that has noticed the importance of treasure in allowing long-distance trade between Europe and Asia.²

Our aim is to place Manila within the broader context of trade in Asia during the Early Modern period and show that Manila played a unique role in Asia due to the exclusive nature of its commerce: Manila was not only a hub, Manila was a provider of liquidity that greased the wheels of trade. Because of the large demand that existed in Asia for silver specie and Manila's ease of access to the source in Spanish America, the city was fundamental in providing working capital for other traders. The importance of Manila can be seen once the silver flows were stopped. This happened during the English occupation of the city between 1762 and 1764. The strangling of the silver stream had repercussions across the trading fabric of maritime Asia, especially for the English East India company (EIC henceforth). The absence of this source of liquidity for English merchants in Asia reveals the role that Manila played in enabling the three-way English trade between China, India, and England, and in the rising supremacy of the EIC in the region. Placing Manila in its commercial context not only gives a new level of significance to the English occupation of the city but can also lead to new avenues for research which are suggested in the conclusion.

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The Global Silver Trade, ca. 1500-1800

SOURCE: Own creation from Gunder Frack, André, *ReOrient: Global Economy in the Asian Age*, Berkeley: University of California Press (1998), Barrett, Ward, 'World bullion flows, 1450-1800' in *The Rise of Merchant Empires: Long-distance trade in the Early-Modern World, 1350-1750*, ed. James D. Tracy, Cambridge University Press (1990), Flynn, Dennis, & Giráldez, Arturo, 'Cycles of Silver: Global Economic Unity through the Mid-Eighteenth Century', *Journal of World History*, vol. 13, n° 2 (2002), & Irigoín, Alejandra, 'Rise and Demise of the Global Silver Standard', in *Handbook of the History of Money and Currency*, ed. Stefano Battilossi, Yousef Cassis, & Kazuhiko Yago, Singapore: Springer (2020).

Manila and the Pacific Silver Trade

One of the topics that the literature on the long-distance trade between Europe and Asia has focused on is the persistent shipment of treasure, specifically silver, that Europeans had to export to Asia to pay for the importation of goods. According to Chaudhuri, between 1660 and 1720 the EIC exported an annual average of 25 tons of treasure from England to Asia, while according to Bowen, between 1760 and 1820 this average had increased to 40 tons annually.³ The VOC also exported a total of 573,926,000 guilders to Asia between 1602-1795,

3 Chaudhuri, K.N., 'Treasure and Trade Balances: the East India Company's Export Trade, 1660-1720', *The Economic History Review*, vol. 21, n° 3 (1968), 497-500, & Bowen, Huw V., 'Bullion for Trade, War, and Debt Relief: British movements of silver to, around, and from Asia, 1760-1833', *Modern Asian Studies*, 44, n° 3 (2010), 454-455.

representing 28.7 tons annually.⁴ De Vries estimated that from 1725 to 1800, an annual average of 160 tons of silver were shipped from all of Europe to Asia.⁵

This trade pattern continued throughout the Early Modern period. The large Asian demand for silver was the result of its relative scarcity compared to Europe, and especially, Spanish America. By the early 16th century, Chinese silver mines had been depleted.⁶ The discovery of large silver deposits in Japan during the 17th century led to an expanding trade, first capitalised on by the Portuguese and later the Dutch, and always by Chinese merchants, but by the last decades of the century Japanese silver production dwindled and its export was forbidden.⁷ In contrast, Spanish American silver production skyrocketed during the 18th century, reaching 6,773 tonnes for the decade 1801-1810.⁸ It has been calculated that Spanish American silver production accounted for approximately 80% of the world's monetary stock during the 18th century.⁹ As a result, throughout the 17th century, Manila and Japan were the main suppliers of silver to China, and between the last decades of the 17th century and the later boom of the European trade with Canton in the last decades of the 18th, Manila was the main partner in the silver trade to East Asia. Another important aspect of the global silver trade that intermediated Asian demand for silver and American supply was that the Pacific route monopolised by Manila was the most direct route, with the least amount of intermediaries. On the Atlantic side, silver had to be paid for by imports of goods to Spanish America, then brought to Europe where it fluctuated in the local money market before making its way eastwards. Manila's ease of access to Spanish American silver created a direct supply for Asia, meaning that it could offer pesos cheaply.

4 Gaastra, F.S., 'The exports of precious metal from Europe to Asia by the Dutch East India Company, 1602-1795', in *Precious Metals in the Later Medieval and Early Modern Worlds*, ed. by J.F. Richards, Durham: Carolina Academic Press (1983), 451.

5 De Vries, Jan, 'The limits of globalization in the early modern world', *Economic History Review*, vol. 63, n° 3 (2010), 718.

6 Von Glahn, Richard, 'Myth and Reality of China's Seventeenth century Monetary Crisis', *The Journal of Economic History*, vol. 56, n° 2 (1996), 432.

7 Irigoin, Alejandra, 'Rise and Demise of the Global Silver Standard', in *Handbook of the History of Money and Currency*, ed. Stefano Battilossi, Yousef Cassis & Kazuhiko Yago, Singapore: Springer (2020), 395-396.

8 TePaske John J., *A New World of Gold and Silver*, ed. by Kendall W. Brown, Boston: Brill (2010), 113.

9 Irigoin, 'Rise...', 385.

It was precisely this capacity to offer specie at competitive prices that made Manila unique. Liquidity was scarcer in Asia. All participants in the trade, especially the East India companies, suffered from a constant lack of liquidity to finance their operations in Asian waters.¹⁰ This was precisely what Manila offered, and it did so in great quantities. Ng estimated that between 2-4 million pesos reached the coasts of Fujian during the 17th and 18th centuries from Manila.¹¹ This is in accordance with Bonalian's estimates for the volume of specie transported by the Manila Galleon for the period.¹² However, this amount does not include Quiason's estimates that around 350,000 pesos reached Madras annually between 1690-1762 from Manila as the proceed of "outright sales", comprising 25-30% of all the silver to reach the Madras presidency during the period.¹³ A third leg of unknown volume linked Manila to Batavia starting from the late 17th century, as VOC exports of silver from Japan dwindled. Thus, seen from the viewpoint of Manila, the city sat across the triangular trade that linked China, India, and Java, offering much needed liquidity that facilitated the intra-Asian exchange.

The importance of Manila's trade cannot be understated. As Chaudhuri noted, the European East India companies noticed from very early on that the wind patterns and the seasonality of the trade crops made it imperative for European factors to have liquidity at the ready in their respective factories.¹⁴ Unwilling to accept money substitutes such as bills of exchange or letters of credit, commercial operations needed to be sustained with cash. Hence the large shipments of treasure from Europe, and hence the importance of Manila during the 18th century. Manila's role as a source of specie was especially influential for the English company. Englishmen in Asia had originally sought to establish relations with Manila already in 1644, without much success.¹⁵ In 1688 the EIC

10 Chaudhuri, K.N., 'The Economic and Monetary Problem of European Trade with Asia during the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries', *Journal of European Economic History*, vol. 4 n° 2 (1975): 323-358.

11 Ng, Chin-Keong, *Trade and Society: The Amoy Network on the China Coast, 1683-1735*, Singapore: Singapore University Press (1983), 85.

12 Bonalian, *El Pacifico...*, 45-48.

13 Quiason, Serafin, *English "Country-Trade" with the Philippines, 1644-1765*, Quezon City: University of the Philippines Press (1966), 74-76

14 Chaudhuri, K.N., 'The East India Company and the Export of Treasure in the Early Seventeenth Century', *The Economic History Review*, vol. 16, n° 1 (1963), 24.

15 Quiason, *English...*, 5.

signed a treaty with the Armenian nation that allowed them to indirectly set the India-Manila trade in a solid foundation.¹⁶ Chaudhuri asserts that as early as the 18th century, the volume of trade of the EIC in Asia was affected, among other variables, by the vicissitudes of the Manila trade.¹⁷ Thus, Manila's trade was unique in that it enabled and facilitated other Europeans' trade within Asia. Similarly, this role was of special importance for the English in Asia, something that Chaudhuri already intuited. This new contextualisation of Manila provides a different lens through which to examine the impact of the events of 1762-1764.

The Capital Market of Manila

Manila's main function within the trading networks of Asia was to supply liquidity. This was done through purchases of Asian goods for re-export to America. Yet such a trade and such a function required sophisticated and deep capital markets to pool liquidity. Manila had always played a fundamental part in originating capital for the Transpacific exchange, but the origin of Manila's transformation into a financial hub started in 1668, when legacy funds that invested directly in the trade were first created.¹⁸ These legacy funds were known locally as *obras pías*. They were endowments of money opened by individuals under the management of a brotherhood or tertiary order of their choice, but the most important one was the *Misericordia* of Manila, or Brotherhood of Mercy. The foundational capital was divided into three allotments, with a third of it being invested in the trade with America, another third invested in the trade to China, India, and Java, and a third kept in deposit.¹⁹ The proceeds of these investments were then used to recapitalise the funds, absorb all the shocks of the trade, and pay for the welfare of the city. As legacy funds, *obras pías* were instrumental in providing public goods.²⁰

16 Aslanian, Sebouh, 'Trade Diaspora vs Colonial State: Armenian Merchants, the English East India Company, and the High Court of Admiralty in London', *Diaspora: A Journal of Transnational Studies*, vol. 13, n° 1 (2004), 50.

17 Chaudhuri, K.N., *The Trading World of Asia and the English East India Company*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press (1978), 180.

18 Mesquida, Juan, 'Negotiating Charity, Politics and Religion in the Colonial Philippines: The Brotherhood of the Misericordia of Manila (1594-1780s)', in *Faith's Boundaries: Laity and Clergy in Early Modern Confraternities*, ed. Nicholas Terpstra, Adriano Prosperi, & Stefania Pastore, Turhnhout: Brepols (2012), 195.

19 AMN 552 MS1662, Doc. 6, *Extracto General de la fundación de las Obras Pías de la Misericordia*, undated, fols. 25-66.

20 *Ibid.*

What is important here is the speed with which the model of *obras pías* spread, as well as their capacity to pool liquidity. From 1668 to 1700, there were only 8 funds, all under the management of the Misericordia.²¹ By 1750, the Misericordia alone managed 48 funds.²² Based on a census of several managers, including the tertiary orders of Saint Dominic and Saint Francis, and the Archbishopric of Manila among others, we have identified 264 individual *obras pías* that operated between 1668 and 1833,²³ although several more existed. Since account books were never consolidated, either across managers or across funds, it is difficult to know exactly how much money was under management at any point or another, but it is certain that Manila's total available liquidity augmented during the 18th century. While in 1707 the Misericordia managed scarcely 81,587 pesos,²⁴ this sum had jumped to 577,773 pesos by 1755,²⁵ and reached 1,037,449 in 1783.²⁶ In the year of 1809, at a time when the Galleon trade was already in decline, the *obras pías* were capable of originating 3 million pesos for the trade.²⁷

The abundance of cash in Manila is also evidenced by the declining trend over the premia charged in the sea loans originated by the *obras pías*. From 1725 to 1821, the premium of sea loans to Acapulco halved from 50% to 25%, reaching low points of 20%,²⁸ while the premium for sea loans to

21 *Ibid.*

22 AGI Filipinas 303 N. 6., *Expediente sobre interferencia de privilegios de las obras pías*, 1750-1752.

23 Gathered from AMN 552 MS1662, Doc. 6, AMN 552 MS1662, Doc. 5, *Extracto que manifiesta todas las obras pías que administra la junta de la VOT de Penitencia de nuestro Padre Santo Domingo de la ciudad de Manila*, 1829, AGI Filipinas 1034, *Libros de obras pías administradas por la junta de la Orden Tercera de San Francisco de la ciudad de Manila*, 1805-1806, AUST Libros Tomo 20, *Consultas y sus Respuestas*, undated, 18th century, ff. 157-166, & Newberry Library Vault Ayer MS1349, *Report concerning the liquidation of obras pías formerly owned by the Jesuits in the Philippines*, 1797.

24 AGI Filipinas 193 N. 75, *Petición de la Mesa de la Misericordia de permiso en la Nao de Filipinas*, 1707.

25 AGI Contaduría 1282, *Demonstración del estado en que se halla este presente año de 1755*, 1755.

26 AGI Filipinas 595, *Cuentas Casa de la Misericordia y Colegio de Santa Potenciana*, cuaderno 4, cuentas 1784-1788, f. 8.

27 de Comyn, Thomas, *Estado de las Islas Filipinas en 1810*, Madrid (1820), 56.

28 Data gathered from the notarial protocols of the city of Manila, Colección de Microfilmes de la Sección de Documentos Españoles del Archivo Nacional de Filipinas. Archivo del Centro de Ciencias Humanas y Sociales (CSIC), Madrid, Spain.

Asian destinations like Canton, Emuy, or Coromandel dropped similarly from averages of 20% to 12% during the period.²⁹ Given that the premium in these instruments was calculated as a factor of the profit margins that could be realised in the trade they financed, a possible explanation for this long-term fall is that profit margins in the Pacific trade similarly declined. This is difficult to prove due to the lack of data on the profit margins of the trade. But estimates of profits for the 18th century suggest that the trade was profitable enough to maintain premium rates of 50%.³⁰ A more likely explanation is that the supply of capital for investment expanded faster than the demand for it. Since the Pacific trade was limited in volume for much of the 18th century to one or two annual Galleons while *obras pías* kept being founded, this is far more likely.

To summarize what has been said so far, Manila filled a very specific and indispensable position in maritime Asia as a provider of liquidity that could finance trading operations. This position was enhanced by its deep capital markets, which progressively supplied more liquidity at cheaper prices. Because the “good” provided by Manila was cash, its influence permeated through the commercial lines of Asia. An abrupt stoppage against this flow of specie was prevented by the city’s capacity to pool cash for long periods of time. Only a catastrophic event could unravel this dynamic, but that is exactly what happened in 1762 when the English captured Manila.

The English Occupation of 1762 and the Pacific trade

Obras pías financed the flow of silver throughout Southeast Asia, enabling the Transpacific and intra-Asian trades of Manila. They also maintained their investment portfolios in three large accounts: the financing going forward in the year’s Galleon to Acapulco; the returning investments from the previous trade season, held in the incoming Galleon of the previous year and the various intra-Asian ships; and the cash held in the treasury. In catastrophic scenarios where both the outgoing and incoming vessels were lost, the *obras pías* could still employ the third maintained as cash in their coffers. The English occupation of Manila was the first instance in which all three accounts were lost.

29 *Ibid.*

30 Bonialian, *El Pacífico...*, 177 & Cheong, Wang Eang, “The Decline of Manila as the Spanish Entrepôt in the Far East, 1785-1826: Its Impact on the Pattern of Southeast Asian Trade,” *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies*, vol. 2 n° 2 (1971), 152.

Spain's entrance in the Seven Years war resulted in a resounding defeat after the English captured Havana and Manila, both of which would be returned to Spain after the peace negotiations in 1763. In the year 1762, a combined force from the EIC and the British Navy, led by Admiral Cornish and General Draper, successfully conquered Manila and granted its administration to the EIC, who placed Dawsonne Drake as its provisional governor. The 1762-1764 led to the most catastrophic events in the history of the *obras pías*, as the outgoing Galleon, the Santísima Trinidad, was captured by admiral Cornish, the incoming Galleon, the Filipino, was confiscated by Spanish resistance fighters, and the deposit of the *obras pías* was looted by Draper. As a result, *obras pías*, for the first time, temporarily lost all business and passive accounts, and were bankrupted. The Transpacific silver trade was halted for three years, and its effects were devastating.

In Manila, the bankruptcy of the *obras pías* led to a credit crunch. *Obras pías* forced the repayment of unperforming loans, even confiscating some debtors' homes.³¹ The disruption of the Transpacific exchange led to a scarcity of pesos that permeated all commercial exchange in Southeast Asian waters. The Canton Committee had long relied on the shipments of pesos from independent merchants like Carvalho and Barnewall that were settled in Manila or interlopers that traded Indian goods with Manila and sent the pesos to Canton to acquire Chinese goods in a triangular trade, as well as shipments of specie from London and India. The bankruptcy of *obras pías* led to scarcity of pesos in Manila that could not afford purchases of Indian goods, and therefore, remittances to Canton. Similarly, shipments of specie from London had to be diverted to pay for the troops occupying Manila, leading for the first time to Manila being a net recipient of cash instead of a remitter.³²

The Canton Committee necessitated peso imports to maintain their commercial operations in China. Between the months of November and December 1763, the Canton Committee entered into 11 currency exchange transactions worth a total of 32,980 pesos with Luis Carvalho and Francis Barnewall at a 10% premium.³³ Such a premium and the number of small transactions in such a short span, highlight the frenzy with which the Canton Committee scrambled for pesos.

31 APSR Tomo 304, fol. 85b.

32 *Letters to Fort St. George*, 1763; Letter 13, 10.

33 *Letters to Fort St. George*, 1763; Letter 46, 39, & *Letters to Fort St. George*, 1764; Letters 13, 15, 16, 10-16.

These exchange deals and the frequent requests for cash sent to India were not enough to maintain the volume of operations of the Canton Committee, which had to borrow 100,000 taels from their Hong suppliers at 10-13%.³⁴ Meanwhile in Manila, this led to confrontations between the EIC, weary of its Chinese business crumbling, and the British forces. These climaxed when Dawsonne Drake was forced to withdraw to the anchored EIC vessels in Manila Bay, threatened by British Army officers.³⁵ The English occupation of Manila was in disarray.

In 1764, Manila was returned to Spain and trade resumed. But the English occupation of Manila had long-term effects. Wary of their reliance on pesos from the Philippines, the EIC tried to broaden their supply. To that effect in 1768 they tentatively introduced the first of a scheme to have private merchants buy bills of exchange on the Court of Directors in London by paying pesos in the Canton Treasury.³⁶ This, however, was as well an attempt to partake in the increasing volume of interloper trade that by the 1770s, was outpricing the EIC procurers even in India itself. Prakash has documented how these interlopers managed to outprice EIC factors in Bengal, forcing the company in turn to introduce increasingly punitive measures against Indian producers.³⁷ The links of these private merchants to Manila has been studied by Cheong, but it remains to be examined in more detail.³⁸ The relationship between prices in Asia and Manila's money shipments remains to be studied, but it is certain that an increase of the prices of Indian goods in London was taking place simultaneously with an increase of prices in China, and both occurred as the silver trade through the Pacific expanded between 1780 and 1800.³⁹ This is not surprising given that Manila's export good was money, but less studied is

34 *Letters to Fort St. George*, 1765: Letter 13, 10

35 Martínez de Zúñiga, Fr. Joaquín, *Historia de las Islas Philipinas*, Sampaloc (1803), 680.

36 An early instance of this can be seen in IOR HMS 795, *Extract of such paragraphs of the Letters from the Court of Directors to the Bengal Government as regard China Remittances*, 11th November 1768, fols. 92-96.

37 Prakash, Om, 'From Market-Determined to Coercion-Based: Textile Manufacturing in Eighteenth-Century Bengal', in *How India Clothed the World: The World of South Asian Textiles, 1500-1850*, ed. By Giorgio Riello & Tirthankar Roy, Leiden: Brill (2009): 217-252.

38 See Cheong, Wang Eang, 'Changing the Rules of the Game (The India-Manila trade, 1785-1809)', *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies*, vol. 1, n° 2, (1970): 1-19.

39 For price trends of Asian goods, see Chaudhuri, *The Trading...*, 440-448 & 499-502, for the end of the century Chinese price inflation, see Cosano Moyano, José, *Filipinas y su Real Hacienda*, Córdoba: Publicaciones del Monte de Piedad y Caja de Ahorro de Córdoba (1986), 282-285.

the impact that these monetary injections had on the EIC's trade in Asia. The insistence of EIC factors in creating a treaty with the Spanish Real Compañía de Filipinas after its creation in 1785 reveals that East India Company agents in Asia considered the Spanish supply of specie as part of the solution.⁴⁰ The decision of the RCF to contract through private merchants (often ex-agents of the EIC) ended up accentuating the problem of procurement.⁴¹

The relationship between shipments of treasure across the Pacific and price evolution in Asia is understudied. Other factors, such as increased shipments from Europe and the beginning of US intermediation, certainly played a role. But the two facets of increased interloper activity in Manila and outpricing EIC agents in India signal that there was a causal relationship between both. The changing structure of trade finance in Canton after the English occupation of Manila, certainly obeyed this reliance on the city's role as a provider of liquidity.

Conclusion

To summarise, Manila was not just another entrepôt in maritime Asia, but a unique provider of liquidity that permeated commercial routes crisscrossing the South China Sea. The city was capable of playing this role thanks to a great degree to its sophisticated capital markets, which were capable of pooling large amounts of cash and internalise risks. The extent of Manila's importance was revealed by the interruption of the silver flows during the English occupation of 1762. The occupation in turn led to long-term consequences that can be intuited, but that require more in-depth analysis, including the start of trade finance in Canton itself, as well as the new alliance between Spaniards and interlopers bent on outpricing the EIC in their own territory. The English occupation of the city in 1762-1764 and the disruption of the Pacific silver trade evidence the unique role that Manila played, and lead to more questions that previous historians had already noticed, but that deserve an independent and focused study: what role did Manila play in the rise and fall of the EIC's fortunes in Asia as a trader? Was there any relationship in Manila's switch from the EIC as a preferred partner and the country trade revolution of 1760-1800? Did Asian prices react at all to Pacific shipments of treasure, and what impact could this have on Asia's long-distance trade with Europe? All these questions remain to be answered. Manila is the key to solving them.

40 Cheong, 'Changing...,' 1, & IOR, HMS 606, 435.

41 Cheong, 'Changing...,' 4.

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The Batanes and Babuyan Islands in Eighteenth Century British and Spanish Maritime Projects¹

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Abstract

THE OBJECTIVE OF this text is to review how the northernmost reaches of the Philippines, after the British occupation of Manila, became an important strategic position in the purview and expansionist endeavors of England and Spain. This interest led them to devise projects to advance into and even occupy the archipelagos north of Luzon. Spain tried to expand its settlements while the British intended to use the islands as stopover points on their way to China. These processes were recorded in descriptions and maps, materials that allow us to appreciate the politicization of the Pacific in the eighteenth century.

KEYWORDS: Islands, Pacific Ocean, Philippines, cartography, navigation, British, Spanish

1 This text was translated by Debra Nagao.

THE BRITISH INVASION of Manila in 1762 exposed the maritime vulnerability of the archipelago and Spanish settlements along the Pacific. It was a wake-up call especially for the Philippines because, unlike the capture of Havana, surrounded by enemy positions such as Jamaica that posed an ongoing threat, there were no British settlements nearby in the Pacific, so the invasion of Manila came as a complete surprise. Therefore, after the Peace of 1763, and the return of Manila, it became necessary to restructure the economic and defensive situation of the archipelago and its maritime connections. Although Spanish authorities paid more attention to the south Pacific because it was the gateway from the Indian Ocean. Also, the south of the Philippines was an area of conflict with the sultanates of the region. But the Spanish authorities could not take the north for granted because it was an area of transit between the coasts of the Americas and China.²

The aim of this text is to review measures taken by the Spanish government to protect the northernmost part of the Philippines (principally the north of Luzon) after the British occupation. The idea is to reconsider how the capture of Manila, supposedly the best-defended Spanish position in the Philippines, revealed how the rest of the archipelago was easy prey for enemies. And that was problematic because the British advance in the Pacific principally focused on insular areas, including those north of Luzon.³ This situation compelled Spanish authorities to review what the British knew about the Philippines, and which enemy projects targeted the areas north of

2 For a synthesis of European incursions in the Pacific Ocean, see Susana Pinar, *El Explorador del Índico. Diario de viaje de Francisco Noroña (1748–1788) por las islas de Filipinas, Java, Mauricio y Madagascar* (Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, Ediciones Doce Calles, 2009), 36–42. On conflicts with the sultanates of the southern Philippines, see Eberhard Crailsheim, “Trading with the Enemy: Commerce between Spaniards and ‘Moros’ in the Early Modern Philippines,” *Vegueta*, 20 (2020), 81–111. Concerning British advances in the Pacific from the coast of the Americas, see Peter Gerhard, *Pirates of the Pacific, 1575–1742* (New York: Dover Publications Inc., 2003).

3 On British advances and their interest in insular areas along the Pacific Ocean, see Guadalupe Pinzón, “Proyección inglesa sobre las Islas del Pacífico novohispano a través de sus mapas y diarios de viaje (siglo XVIII),” Francisco Roque de Oliveira (coord.), *Cartógrafos para toda a Terra: produção e circulação do saber cartográfico ibero-americano: agentes e contextos = Cartógrafos para toda la Tierra: producción y circulación del saber cartográfico iberoamericano: agentes y contextos*, 2 vols. (Lisbon: Biblioteca Nacional de Portugal, Centro de Estudos Geográficos da Universidade de Lisboa, Centro de História d’Aquém e d’Além-Mar da Universidade Nova de Lisboa e da Universidade dos Açores, 2015), I, 371–391).

the archipelago. Furthermore, Spanish authorities planned ways to extend their presence in those northern islands and incorporate them in transpacific connections. This process can be seen through maps, logbooks, and maritime projects. This is relevant because, as Antonio Sánchez Martínez has noted, political-geographical disputes must also be seen from the history and influence of maps, because their power and relevance were not only based on their scientific accuracy but also on their ability to generate, develop, and resolve diplomatic, political, and even economic issues.⁴

Although the subject is not new in historiography and research has addressed projects to occupy the islands north of the Philippines and possible new transpacific routes,⁵ the novelty of this text is that it cross-references information and connects it directly to the British occupation. This perspective allows us to assess the reappraisal of maritime spaces around the Philippines after the British invasion of Manila, and that included connections with New Spain. This process gave rise to projects, discussions, and actions to expand Spanish frontiers to the north, as can be seen through cartographic sources, geographic descriptions, and logbooks. It should also be said that New Spain was undergoing a similar situation to that of the Philippines because its borders were also extended to the north to stave off both British and Russian occupation.⁶ In sum, the British invasion of Manila made Spain rethink its

4 Antonio Sánchez, *La espada, la cruz y el Padrón, Soberanía, fe y representación cartográfica en el mundo ibérico bajo la Monarquía Hispánica, 1503-1598* (Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 2012), 92 and 118; Antonio Sánchez, “De la ‘cartografía oficial’ a la ‘cartografía jurídica’: la querrela de las Molucas reconsiderada, 1479-1529,” *Nuevo Mundo Mundos Nuevos*, 1-21 (2), <https://doi.org/10.4000/nuevomundo.56899>

5 Some studies on this subject are María de Lourdes Díaz-Trechuelo, *Dos nuevos derroteros del galeón de Manila (1730 y 1773)* (Seville: Escuela de Estudios Hispano Americanos, 1956); María Baudot, “Cubrir la nueva ruta del Galeón: la conquista de las islas Batanes en 1782,” Salvador Bernabeu and Carlos Martínez Shaw (eds.), *Un océano de seda y plata: el universo económico del Galeón de Manila* (Seville: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 2013), 341-377; Guadalupe Pinzón, “El Pacífico septentrional. Un espacio marítimo en transformación en las descripciones geográficas y la cartografía del siglo XVIII: el caso de Filipinas,” Guadalupe Pinzón and Raquel Güereca (eds.), *Construcción de un espacio marítimo. El Pacífico y su evolución a partir de sus redes transoceánicas e interamericanas, 1521-1821* (México, Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, Instituto de Investigaciones Históricas, 2023), 207-238.

6 On the expansion of the frontier of New Spain, see Martha Ortega, *Alta California: Una frontera olvidada del noroeste de México 1769-1846* (Mexico City: Universidad Autónoma Metropolitana-Iztapalapa, Plaza y Valdés Editores, 2001); Francisco Altable, *Vientos nuevos.*

enemies' situation in the Pacific in general and also the connections between the Philippines and New Spain.

Enemy advances north of the Philippines

When the British left Manila in 1764, the vulnerability of the archipelago was evident and more specifically, its poor communications with other Spanish settlements. What is more, British advances and recognition of the Pacific demonstrated their interest in getting a permanent foothold in that region to link their trading activities in the Atlantic and the Indian Ocean. Faced with that danger, Spanish authorities deemed it necessary to know more about its enemy's advances in the Pacific and ordered a comprehensive review of British maps and logbooks describing that ocean, especially the transpacific routes. In those revisions, the area north of Luzon was frequently mentioned.

It should be remembered that after the restoration of the Portuguese monarchy (1640) and the taking of Formosa by the Dutch (1624–1662), the maritime connections of the Philippines with the northern area were reduced because it could no longer participate in trade with Japan. As a result, the Spanish settlement in Manila shifted its commercial interactions to the Chinese coasts through the Sangleys.⁷ In addition, conflicts with Muslim populations led to increased defensive measures in the southern archipelago, diminishing official protection of the north, which remained primarily under the surveillance of religious orders such as the Dominicans. For example, in 1686 the Dominicans tried to extend their missionary system to the small archipelago of the Babuyan Islands with the province of the Holy Rosary. However, the difficulty of connecting with these islands forced them to abandon the project in 1725.⁸ The area then continued to employ local maritime connections mainly conducted by its own populations.

Later, during the War of Succession, the situation changed. Licenses given to French navigators to cross Tierra de Fuego and trade with Peru and

Idea, aplicación y resultados del proyecto borbónico para la organización del gobierno y el desarrollo de la población y economía de las Californias, 1767–1825 (Mexico City: Universidad Autónoma de Baja California Sur, 2013).

7 Paulo Pinto, “Manila, Macao and Chinese Networks in South China: Adaptive Strategies of Cooperation and Survival (Sixteenth to Seventeenth Centuries),” *Anais e História de Além-Mar*, 15, 79–100 (94–97).

8 Baudot, “Cubrir la nueva ruta,” 350.

Chile gradually spurred them to continue their travels to China, which they did through the area north of the Philippines.⁹ This can be seen in the voyage of Captain Nicolas de Frondat (1708), who arrived in Canton after passing through the Babuyan Islands. Another example was the voyage of Captain Jean de Boisloré, who in 1713 stopped in Ilocos where his vessel was captured and sent to Manila. During his detention, Boisloré gave an account of several French sailors who, after making a stopover in Guam, headed for Canton, passing through the zone north of Luzon.¹⁰ This was reported by the pilot from Manila, Henrique Herman:

and that the many French ships that have crossed over to Greater China due to the proposed route, it is true that they came from East to West from which it is inferred with moral certainty, that they came with the monsoon which were the months of March[,] April[,] and May when these French ships arrived at Marianas and Cape Engaño in the month of June and since the gale had not started then, the currents were not strong and the waters, no doubt some blew westward and in this way these ships happily passed through the narrow space and, instead, for the month of July at high seas the force of the gale, since then the water flows with the wind, it is favorable to pass through the new route that is proposed between Cape Bojeador and Cape Engaño and there will be no pilot or sailor with intelligence and practice who says otherwise because the aforementioned conforms to the rules of the sea and navigation.¹¹

9 On French trading with Chile and Peru and their transit through the Pacific, see André Lespagnol, *Messieurs de Saint-Malo. Une élite négociante au temps de Louis XIV*, 2 vols. (Rennes: Presses Universitaires de Rennes, 1997); Carlos Malamud, *Cádiz y Saint Maló. El comercio colonial peruano (1698–1725)* (Cádiz: Diputación Provincial de Cádiz, 1986); Pablo-Emilio Pérez-Mallaina, *Política naval española en el Atlántico 1700–1715* (Seville: Escuela de Estudios Hispano Americanos, Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1982).

10 Archivo General de Indias (AGI), Filipinas 224, N.1, fol. 38–38v. Manila December 8, 1715. An account on the French embarcations or ships crossing the Pacific north of Luzon can be found in José Ángel Barrio, *Filipinas y la Guerra de Sucesión Española: avatares y sucesos en un frente secundario (1701–1715)* (Valladolid: Castilla Ediciones, 2015), 126.

11 “y que los muchos navíos franceses que han pasado a la gran China por la derrota propuesta es cierto que venían de Leste a el Oeste de que se infiere con certidumbre moral, que venían con el monzón que eran los meses de marzo abril y mayo cuando estos navíos franceses llegaban a Marianas y al Cabo de Engaño por el mes de junio y como entonces no se

This situation demonstrated that if the area north of the Philippines was analyzed from the Hispanic perspective, it could be considered peripheral, but from the French viewpoint, it was strategic in connections between the Americas and China. This latter perspective was also shared by the British as well. For instance, William Dampier pointed out the five islands of the Batanes, north of the Babuyan Islands. He explained that those islands were located between 20° 26'N and 21° 13'N and were named by the Dutch. The largest one was called Orange Isle and the others, Grafton and Monmouth isles. In the middle of them, there was a little island that he called Bashee, named after a liquor consumed on these islands; eventually, this designation was used for the archipelago:

Their ordinary drink is water; but they make also a kind of liquor of the juice of sugar-canes, boiled up with black-berries, allowed afterwards to ferment four or five days in jars. It then settles and becomes clear, when it affords a strong and pleasant liquor, which they call bashee, resembling our English beer both in taste and colour.¹²

Dampier also mentioned fruits and animals that could be obtained in the area and that made the islands a potential stopover to be used in navigation to China. He mentioned that Monmouth and Grafton isles had hills, goats, pigs, and fruits, and the population usually gathered bananas, sugar, potatoes, cotton, and caught different kinds of fish.¹³

During the War of Succession, the British launched new expeditions to attack Spanish settlements and ships in the Pacific. For example, in 1701

ha entablado el vendaval no tenían fuerza las corrientes y las aguas sin duda alguna corrían al Oeste y así embocaban y pasaban dichos navíos con felicidad y por el contrario por el mes de julio que en mar ancha es la fuerza del vendaval como entonces corre el agua con el viento es favorable a desembocar por la nueva derrota que se propone entre el Cabo de Bojeador y Cabo del Engaño y no habrá piloto ni marinero de inteligencia y práctica que diga lo contrario por ser lo referido conforme a reglas de mar y pilotaje.” AGI, Filipinas 95, n. 1, fols 74v–75. Santa Cruz, May 27, 1730.

12 Robert Kerr (ed.), *General History and Collection of Voyages and Travels arranged in systematic order, forming a complete history of the origin and progress of navigation, discovery and commerce by sea and land, from the earliest ages to the present time* (Edinburgh: Printed by James Ballantyne and Company, 1814), X, 286.

13 Kerr, *General History*, X, 284–285.

William Dampier tried to capture the Manila Galleon *Nuestra Señora del Rosario*, and although the expedition failed, the voyage helped him recognize different insular positions in that ocean.¹⁴ Later, in 1709, Woodes Rogers succeeded in capturing the galleon *Nuestra Señora de la Encarnación* off the coast of California. This expedition even stopped in the Marianas to stock up on provisions before heading for the Indian Ocean.¹⁵ In other words, since the beginning of the eighteenth century, the interest of the British in the Pacific was evident and they increasingly tried to use some islands as stopover points. However, Spanish authorities dismissed those advances as sporadic, and as a result, did little to prevent them.

In the first part of the eighteenth century, the new Bourbon authorities paid more attention to smuggling and implemented regulations to reduce this activity. For example, they published new regulations to better control trade on the galleons.¹⁶ These efforts also can be seen in 1730 when the pilot Henrique Herman drafted a proposal suggesting that the Manila Galleons sail the waters north of Luzon instead of the Strait of San Bernardino, where smuggling activities were far more common. Herman pointed out that the area north of Luzon was well-known to French sailors (which he knew from Boisloré's accounts) and proof of that can be seen on foreign maps, such as those of Joan Blaeu, Nicolas Visscher, and Nicolas Sanson, which contained references to the "Babujones."¹⁷ Moreover, Herman recovered accounts by the Dominicans that described the Batanes and much of the Babuyan Group as islands that were difficult to inhabit. In reality, the islands continued to be populated by settlers and to have regular commercial dealings, involving

14 Peter Bradley, *Navegantes británicos* (Madrid: Mapfre, 1992), 277–278.

15 Carmen Yuste, "Un episodio bochornoso. El relato español acerca del asalto y apresamiento inglés del galeón filipino *Nuestra Señora de la Encarnación*," Iván Escamilla, Matilde Souto, and Guadalupe Pinzón Ríos (coords.), *Resonancias imperiales. América y el Tratado de Utrecht de 1713* (Mexico City: Instituto de Investigaciones Doctor José María Luis Mora, Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, Instituto de Investigaciones Históricas, 2015), 147–171.

16 Carmen Yuste, *Emporios transpacíficos. Comerciantes mexicanos en Manila 1710–1816* (Mexico City: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, Instituto de Investigaciones Históricas, 2011), 58–59.

17 Nicolas Sanson d'Abbeville, *L'Asie en plusieurs cartes nouvelles, et exactes; & en diverses traites de geographie, et histoire...* (Paris: Chez l'auteur, dans le cloistre de Saint Germain l'Auxerrois, 1652), 89 [David Rumsey Map Collection, <https://www.davidrumsey.com> Image 11574078.jp2].

Luzon traders. For example, in 1721 Pedro Esquerria, *alcalde mayor* of Cagayan, reported he had explored the Babuyan Group and found out that some of its inhabitants regularly went to the Batanes where there were many pigs and other things they could exchange. Furthermore, Mathías Suárez, a resident of Manila, said that he once traveled to Camiguin, one of the Babuyan Islands, to obtain sulfur from the island's volcano, but winds forced him to stop in the Batanes, where he was able to conduct some trade.¹⁸

After Herman's proposal, in 1741 an expedition was organized that explored Cape Bojeador and the Babuyan Islands and finally returned to Manila through the Strait of San Bernardino. The pilots on this expedition recommended the route not be changed because the seas north of Luzon were lashed by strong winds, and the islands lacked populations that could aid the Manila Galleons in case of need.¹⁹ Consequently, few changes were made in the use of that area. However, the new Bourbon monarchy ordered local authorities to prepare and send descriptions of the overseas territories. That order included the Philippines. In that context, in 1733 Philip V ordered a map be made of the Philippine archipelago, which was drawn up by the Jesuit, Pedro Murillo Velarde, by Tagalog printer and engraver Nicolas de la Cruz Bagay, and published in Manila a year later. In that map, entitled *Carta Hydrographica y Chorographica de las islas Filipinas*, the Babuyan Islands were situated at the border of the Philippines. That map conveyed the idea that the islands were barely noticed from an official standpoint (Image 1).

18 AGI, Ultramar 605, fols 24–39 [1721].

19 Guadalupe Pinzón, "Islas del Pacífico en las reestructuraciones marítimas españolas del siglo XVIII: el caso de las Babuyanes y las Batanes," Flor Trejo and Guadalupe Pinzón Ríos (coords.), *Espacios marítimos y proyecciones culturales* (Mexico City: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, Instituto de Investigaciones Históricas, Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia, México, 2019), 303–324 (310–313).



IMAGE 1. Pedro Murillo Velarde, *Carta Hydrographica y Chorographica de las islas Filipinas* (1734)²⁰

COURTESY OF BIBLIOTECA DIGITAL HISPÁNICA PID BDH0000024007

20 "Hydrographic and Chorographic Chart of the Philippine Islands."

The map also included the route usually taken by the Manila Galleons through the San Bernardino Strait, as well as the route proposed by Henrique Herman north of Luzon. This detail is important because the map was drawn when the borders and maritime connections of the Philippines were polemic topics. Recently, Ricardo Padrón explained that Murillo Velarde’s map marks a change in perspective on the Philippines because the Jesuit recorded the archipelago as autonomous, separate from transpacific connections with New Spain.²¹ That affirms the idea of debates and revisions concerning the archipelago. This situation can also be seen in Murillo’s *Geographia histórica, de las Islas Philipinas...* (1752), where the author only mentioned the Babuyan Group. The difference was that on this occasion the islands were mentioned as a possible stopover in connections with Formosa:

Outside of the north of Cagayan at a short distance are the islands of Babuyan in which there are two or three ports in Camiguin and Fuga that could serve as a stopover and better than all, in the southern part of Isla Hermosa where there is a good bay and swell.²²

IMAGE 2.

(*opposite page*) Maurice Lowitz (Professeur en Mathematiques à Nurember),
 “Carte Hydrographique & Chorographique des Isles Philipinas,”
 publiée par les Heritiers de Homann, 1760.²³

COURTESY OF DAVID RUMSEY MAP COLLECTION

<https://www.davidrumsey.com/rumsey>. Image No. 10878.000

21 Ricardo Padron, “The Philippines and the Body Politic: The Transpacific Cartography of Vicente de Memije.” Florina H. Capistrano-Baker & Meha Priyadarshini (eds.), *Transpacific Engagements: Trade, Translation and Visual Culture of Entangled Empires* (1565–1898) (Makati City, Philippines: Ayala Foundation Inc., Los Angeles: Getty Research Institute, and Florence: Kunsthistorisches Institut in Florenz [Max-Planck-Institut], 2020), 49–59.

22 “Fuera de que al norte de Cagayán a breve distancia están las islas de Babuyanes en que hay dos o tres puertos en Camiguin y Fuga que podrían servir de escala y mejor que todos, en la parte meridional de Isla Hermosa donde hay una buena bahía y surgidero...” Pedro Murillo Velarde, *Geographia historica, de las Islas Philipinas, del Africa, y de sus islas adyacentes* (Madrid: Oficina de D. Gabriel Ramirez, 1752), VIII, 61–62 [https://books.google.com.mx/books?id=8N15DIMZS9YC&printsec=frontcover&source=gbs_ge_summary_r&cad=0#v=onepage&q&f=false]

23 “(Mathematics Professor at Nuremberg) Hydrographic and Chorographic Chart of the Philippine Islands.” The cartouche of this map explained it was based on the map by Murillo Velarde published in Manila in 1734 and engraved by Nicolas de la Cruz de Bagay.

The Murillo Velarde map was soon used by the British to gain familiarity with the Philippine area and combined the map with new records made from British voyages. An example of the latter was the Maurice Lowitz map of 1760 published in Nuremberg.²⁴ It included information from the original map, such as the routes of the galleons and the route proposed by Henrique Herman. It also included an account of Spanish advances in the Philippines since Magellan's voyage, a route that was also traced on the map. As for the Batanes and Babuyan Islands, both are indicated, but it is clear that the information about them came from different sources, which explains why the toponymy of the Babuyan Islands was based on Spanish records (such as Camaguin island), while the Batanes or Bashee were named using Dutch and English nomenclature (such as Orange and Montmount) (Image 2).

Isolation after the British attack

When the British attack occurred, the official and most protected port of the Philippines, Manila-Cavite, fell easily. According to later reports on the invasion, three unknown ships were sighted and authorities thought they were trying to take the galleon and not the city, because they were unaware of the war between Spain and England.²⁵ Nevertheless, the governor, Bishop Manuel Antonio Roxo, in addition to dispatching a ship to ascertain the intentions of those vessels, ordered defensive actions in different provinces and a review of weapons and personnel.²⁶ However, shortly after, British squadron commander William Drapier called for the surrender of Manila, and although it tried to resist, it was quickly taken and looted. Meanwhile, resistance continued outside Manila led by the lieutenant governor, later governor, Simón de Anda.²⁷

24 Lowitz was a professor of mathematics at the Royal Society of Sciences of Göttingen. This society was founded in 1751 by George II of England, who was also prince-elector of the Holy Roman Empire. In this society the chair of mathematics was developed, in which the astronomer and mapmaker, Tobias Mayer, later participated; Maurice Lowitz collaborated with him. On the academy see "Göttingen library project," <https://www.uni-math.gwdg.de/en/burmann.xhtml>. As for the collaboration between Mayer and Lowitz, especially in globemaking, see Günther Oestmann, "The Reconstruction and Production of Tobias Mayer's Luna Globe," *Globe Studies*, 57/58 (2009–2010), 37–48.

25 The account was signed by Juan Monroy, "Secretario de Cámara del Gobierno de Filipinas." AGI, Filipinas 721, fols 2–4. Manila, September 22, 1762.

26 AGI, Filipinas 721, fol. 7v. Manila, September 23, 1762.

27 AGI, Filipinas 721, fols 7v–11. Manila, September 23, 1762.

News of the fall of Manila reached Corunna (Coruña, Spain) before it reached New Spain. This was because the galleon that was sent to Acapulco, the *Santísima Trinidad*, left Manila before the British attack, and after a difficult voyage, it returned and was also captured by the enemy. In fact, news of the capture of Manila did not reach New Spain until January 1765,²⁸ whereas it reached Corunna in May 1763 via the British ship *Jamides* which sailed the route of the Cape of Good Hope. Some details of the attack were also obtained from print news published in London, where it was reported that the attack was organized in Madras.²⁹

The British invasion highlighted the poor defenses in the archipelago and deficient Spanish communications along the Pacific. Therefore, one of the first measures taken was the establishment of a direct connection between Spain and the Philippines via the Cape of Good Hope. This project was discussed and had even been attempted since 1734 when Spanish ships tried to open that route, but Dutch opposition and the attempt to avoid a possible conflict with Batavia put an end to the project.³⁰ But after the British attack, it was obvious that the archipelago needed a direct connection with Spain. Despite Dutch opposition, this objective was achieved in 1765 when Spanish naval ships arrived in Manila from Cádiz.³¹ As for connections with the American coasts, beyond the issue of smuggling, borders and maritime spaces were also prioritized, because it was necessary to expand Hispanic presence both at sea and on land. And here, the islands north of Luzon once again came to the forefront.

Other factors also led Spanish authorities to reconsider the zone north of the Philippines. In addition to the French and British incursions mentioned above, Russian presence had spread from Kamchatka to the North American coasts in search of otter skins that they sold in China, trade in which the British also soon found themselves involved.³² This problem led to the

28 Archivo General de la Nación México, Marina, vol. 2, fols 114–115. La Navidad, January 7, 1765.

29 Archivo General de Simancas, Marina, Leg. 426, exp. 222. Coruña, May 11, 1763.

30 Marina Alfonso and Carlos Martínez Shaw, “La ruta del Cabo y el comercio español con Filipinas,” Bernabeu and Martínez, *Un océano*, 307–340.

31 Alberto Baena, “El comercio asiático en los barcos de la Armada: generalas y equipajes entre Manila y Cádiz (1765–1784),” Carmen Yuste (coord.), *Nueva España. Puerta americana al Pacífico asiático. Siglos XVI–XVII* (Mexico City: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, Instituto de Investigaciones Históricas, 2019), 283–319.

32 Matilde Souto and Inés Arroyo, “La devastación de las nutrias marinas en el Noroeste

creation of the Maritime Department of San Blas in 1768 on the coast of New Spain. Reconnaissance and occupation expeditions to Upper California were organized from the new settlement, and communications with the Philippines were also soon planned from there.

In the case of the Philippines, new British explorations in the area forced Spanish authorities to focus on and protect the archipelago's border. In 1767 the expedition of John Byron and Samuel Wallis passed by Bashee (in October) without stopping, and the height of the islands was described as a marker on the sea route:³³

At noon, on the 28th, we altered our course, fleeing S. by W.; and at half an hour after one, we saw the Bashee Islands bearing from S. by E. to S.S.E. distant about six leagues. These islands are all high, but the northermost is higher than the rest.³⁴

British presence made it necessary to reconsider the proposal of pilot Henrique Herman which, according to Francisco Leandro de Viana, was a safe option for transpacific navigation and would also reduce smuggling activities. Merchants in Manila criticized the new route because they said this navigation would alter established traffic and would not adapt to the monsoons. Despite opposition, in 1771 the authorities ordered reconnaissance of the area north of Luzon. Thus, in July 1772, the ship *Nuestra Señora del Rosario* explored the area, and because of some difficulties, it stopped in Cagayan for repairs. Then the ship continued to the Marianas and returned through the Strait of San Bernardino, as the previous expedition had done before. In addition, in 1775, the Dominicans were again asked for news of its previous experience in the Babuyan Islands.³⁵

americano. Una mirada desde la historia y la criminología eco globales (siglos XVIII y XXI),” Matilde Souto and Daniel Kent (coords.), *Miradas globales desde América Latina. Estudios históricos más allá de lo nacional* (Mexico City: Instituto de Investigaciones Dr. José María Luis Mora, 2023), 89-114.

33 John Hawkesworth, William Strahan and Thomas Cadell, *An Account of the Voyages Undertaken by the Order of His Present Majesty for Making Discoveries in the Southern Hemisphere, and Successively Performed by Commodore Byron, Captain Wallis, Captain Carteret, Captain Cook...* (London: W. Strahan and T. Cadell, 1773, III, 502 [Biblioteca Nacional Hispánica, pid: bdh000001714].

34 *Ibid.*

35 Baudot, “Cubriendo,” 343-354; Díaz-Trechuelo, *Dos nuevos*, 38-39.

Soon, the expansion plans also included the archipelago of Batanes. In 1777 the Minister of Indies, José de Gálvez, ordered the governor of the Philippines, José de Basco y Vargas, to conquer those islands spiritually and militarily. In addition, an attempt was made to insert those archipelagos into the transpacific route when the Manila Galleons were ordered to travel to New Spain through the seas north of Luzon. Furthermore, those ships would make a stopover in the new settlement of Monterey, in Upper California. This objective, however, took five years to succeed.³⁶

Plans to advance in the Batanes came to a halt in 1779, when news arrived about a new conflict between Spain and England, and the decision was made to concentrate defensive forces in Manila. The news came both from Pondicherry and San Blas.³⁷ In addition, the exploration of new transpacific routes was soon proposed, which attests to the interest in improving and diversifying the transpacific routes.³⁸

Despite the war, plans for the exploration and occupation of the Batanes continued. In February 1781, the governor of the Philippines, José Basco y Vargas, sent an order to the *alcalde mayor* of Cagayan, Josef de Huelba y Melgarejo, to report on the possibility of annually sending people and supplies to the islands.³⁹ In addition, their precise location was recorded in a new report on the islands. This corrected the data contained in Murillo Velarde's map. The pilot Manuel Lamas Herrera also reviewed the area in 1772 and described the Batanes:

I only know of the Batanes Islands that they begin at 21 degrees and minutes of latitude in the "Isla Hermosa" mountain range. The demarcations and aspects of the Batanes Islands that accompany them have been cleared for me by the aforementioned Don Manuel Camus, as well as the special plans of the ports of Camaguin, Babuyan and Cabo del Engaño.⁴⁰

36 Baudot, "Cubriendo," 343–354.

37 Díaz Trechuelo, *Dos nuevos*, 50–52; Salvador Bernabeu, *La aventura de lo imposible. Expediciones marítimas españolas* (Madrid: Lunberg, 2001), 27–28.

38 Guadalupe Pinzón, "La inserción de San Blas en las navegaciones transpacificas (1768–1789)," Cristina Barrón (coord.), *Urdaneta novohispano: La inserción del mundo hispano en Asia* (Mexico City: Universidad Iberoamericana, 2012), 256–280.

39 AGI, Ultramar 605, fols 88–98v. Manila, February 10, 1781.

40 "De las islas Batanes solo se que comienzan a los 21 grados y minutos de latitud en la cordillera de isla Hermosa. Las demarcaciones y aspectos de las islas Batanes que acompañan me los ha franqueado el mencionado don Manuel Camus, como también los planos especiales

The local population was included on the map, referred to as “batan and batana,” and the names given to the islands—Dibayat, Dibugus, Siminanga, and Basay—were different from the foreign ones. This action demonstrates Spanish appropriation of the archipelago.

In 1783, the occupation of the Batanes was planned with the participation of a governor, a lieutenant, missionary fathers, troops, and diverse supplies that had to be sent regularly.⁴¹ These actions reinforced the maritime space where the Manila Galleons would continue to transit, a necessary situation given that other maritime powers continued to increase their presence in the area. That presence could be seen in foreign news, logbooks, and maps. For example, in 1786 John Meares pointed out characteristics of the Batanes and their conditions as a stopover zone in transit to China:

If a ship enters the China seas by making the Bashee Islands, her passage to Canton may be endangered, from the strong Southerly currents at that season. This passage, therefore, is not so secure as the former, particularly as the Spaniards have seized these islands, and established a force on them, though at present of no great strength or power. The Bashee Islands, however, are bold and safe; we were here in 1786, and procured refreshments. It may not be generally known that the Spaniards have taken possession of them. But so it is; and a governor resides on Grafton Isle, with about a hundred soldiers, several officers, a few priests, and five or six pieces of cannon, which are mounted before his house; but without fortification or defences of any kind.⁴²

Another example can be seen when John Menzies included the Batanes in his reconnaissance of the southern part of Formosa (1788–1789). In addition to citing Dampier’s earlier descriptions of them, Menzies mentioned that those islands were “under the yoke of Spain” which perhaps referred to the possibility of changing their alliances:

de los puertos de Camaguin, Babuyan y Cabo del Engaño...” AGI, MP-Filipinas, 116. 1781.

41 AGI, Ultramar 605, fols 119–121v. Manila, December 31, 1783.

42 John Meares, *Voyages Made in the Years 1788 and 1789, from China to the N.W. Coast of America: with an Introductory Narrative of a Voyage Performed in 1786 from Bengala in the Ship Nootka...* (London: J. Walter, No. 169, 1791), I, 91–99 [John Carter Brown Library, D791, M484v, v. 1.]

These islands, which are situated between Formosa and Luconia, are five in number, —besides four small rocky islets, which, however, are covered with verdure. Dampier gave the following names to the five larger of them: Granston (*sic*) Island, which is the most considerable, —Monmouth Island, which is the next in size, when Goat Island, Orange Island, and Bashee Island, which are much smaller than the two former. They are inhabited by a race of strong, athletic men, who have been hitherto happy in a soil that produced every thing necessary for their support and comfort: but we cannot suppose that the happiness these people possessed will find any addition from the yoke of Spain.⁴³

Also, news arrived from Formosa. According to the interim governor, Pedro Sarro, that island was assailed by a rebellion that the Chinese authorities had been unable to stop. It was suspected that this revolt had either been initiated by the British and French or at least they were secretly supporting the rebels. This situation seriously endangered Spanish interests, because if the revolt spread to the Philippines, there were neither naval nor land forces to stop it.⁴⁴

The projection of the British in the area continued based on copying and updating Spanish maps, as can be seen in the map of China of Captain Robert Carr (1794), which was based on that of Murillo Velarde of 1734 but with some additions based on the recent British reconnaissance. This map extended to the southern part of Formosa and included both English and Spanish references to the Batanes and Babuyan Islands near Luzon, while the Bashee isles were positioned farther north; these islands also included an annotation indicating that Dampier docked there as an evident attempt at appropriation of the area by the British. A new reference worth highlighting in this map is the inclusion of George Anson's capture of the galleon *Nuestra Señora de Covadonga* in 1743 off Cape San Bernardino (Image 3).

43 *Ibid.*

44 Archivo Histórico Nacional, Estado 46, N.1. Manila, December 21, 1787–San Lorenzo November 20, 1788.

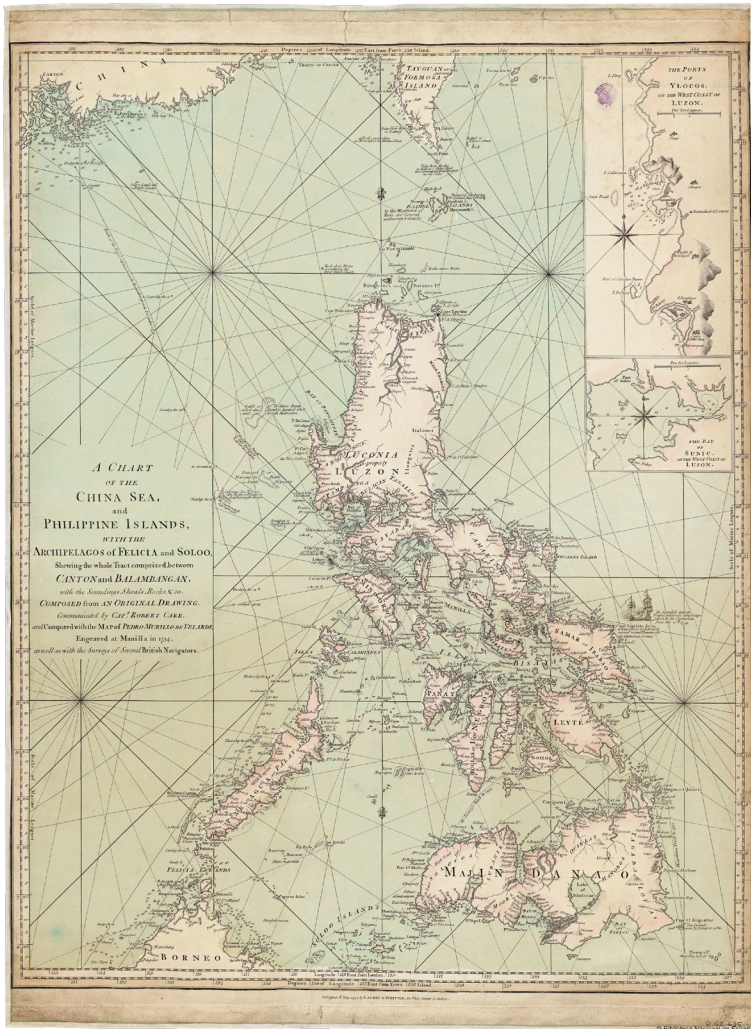


IMAGE 3.

“A Chart of the China Sea, and Philippine Islands...
Composed from an Original Drawing Communicated
by Captain Robert Carr and Compared with the Map
of Pedro Murillo Velarde, Engraved at Manila in 1734,
also with the Surveys of Several British Navigators, 1794.
COURTESY OF BIBLIOTECA DIGITAL HISPANICA PID BDH0000147348

The geostrategic significance of northern Luzon was evident, but for Spanish authorities it was more important to reinforce defenses south of the archipelago. As a result, the efforts to occupy Batanes changed when the new governor of the Philippines, Félix Berenguer de Marquina, arrived in 1788. He regarded defending the south of the Philippines to be the priority⁴⁵ and in 1791 he ordered the galleons to return to their traditional route.⁴⁶ In 1797 orders were issued to halt the conquest of the Batanes. Spanish presence there continued, but was reduced to a lieutenant, missionaries, and soldiers to protect the presidio.⁴⁷

This action perhaps prevented Spanish enemies from occupying those islands, although they continued to include them in their cartographic records. That said, it is also possible that their interests soon shifted to other destinations.

FROM THIS REVIEW, we can see how the north Pacific changed in the British and Spanish projects, maps, and logbooks during the eighteenth century. At the beginning of the century, from the perspective of Spain, the north Pacific could be seen as a peripheral area, however, in the end, it became a central communication zone between continents. Also, the area north of the Philippines in particular, became a geostrategic zone of transit to the coast of China that could be used by British sailors. Because of that, the Batanes and Babuyan Islands were included in different maps, logbooks, and descriptions that highlighted their utility as stopovers and a possible position that should be occupied. This new perspective of those islands explained the different projects (for trade, expansion, or defense) that included them. What is more, this kind of description showed the transition process and politicization that occurred in the north Pacific during the eighteenth century.

45 AGI, Ultramar 605, fol. 278v. Manila, April 1793.

46 Díaz Trechuelo, *Dos nuevos*, 50–52.

47 AGI, Ultramar 605, fols 330–335. Madrid, June 10, 1797.

The British Occupation of Spanish Manila and the Sulu Sultanate

Considerations on Diverging Interests in Southeast Asia (1749-1775)

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Abstract

THE BRITISH occupation of Manila between 1762 and 1764 is a watershed event in the history of the Philippines. For the British, however, the occupation did not seem to have any major consequence after the end of the Seven Years' War. Yet, if we take into consideration the larger British schemes in the region, this impression changes. In particular, the commercial interest of the East India Company in the Sulu Sea was critical in this regard. By analyzing a large set of primary sources, this article will show that the Sultanate of Sulu was a relevant factor for both the Spaniards and the British in Southeast Asia during the occupation. It

will start by delving into the particular interests of the Sulu, the Spaniards, and the British in the middle of the century before looking at the triangle of relations during the British occupation. It will close with considerations on the situation after the withdrawal of the British and the realization of another project on the Island of Balambangan some years later.

KEYWORDS: Philippines; Southeast Asia; colonial history; eighteenth century; Spain; Britain; Sulu.

ON 24 SEPTEMBER 1762, British forces arrived in Manila Bay with the intention to conquer the Spanish capital in Asia.¹ The subsequent eighteen months occupation of Manila had multiple implications and repercussions for a series of peoples in Southeast Asia and Europe. In this article, we would like to present some considerations regarding the triangle of relations between the Sultanate of Sulu, the British and the Spanish in the events surrounding the occupation.² The purpose of this article is to show that the Sultanate of Sulu was a relevant factor for both European players in Southeast Asia during the occupation. For the British, one could argue, it was maybe even more important than the occupation itself, at least in the long run.

The British came from the west. From London they sailed around Africa to Madras, in India, and further to the northeast coast of Borneo. The Spanish

1 Serafin D. Quiason, 'The East India Company in Manila, 1762-1764', *Philippine Social Sciences and Humanities Review*, 28 (1963), 424-44; Nicholas P. Cushner, *Documents Illustrating the British Conquest of Manila: 1762-1763* (London: Offices of the Royal Historical Society, 1971); Horacio de la Costa, 'The British Attack', in *Readings in Philippine History*, ed. by Horacio de la Costa (Manila: Bookmark, 1992), 87-93; Nicholas Tracy, *Manila Ransomed: The British Assault on Manila in the Seven Years War* (Exeter: Univ. of Exeter Press, 1995); Shirley Fish, *When Britain Ruled the Philippines, 1762-1764: The Story of the 18th Century British Invasion of the Philippines during the Seven Years War* (Bloomington, Ind.: 1st Books Library, 2003).

2 Besides central publications on the matter by Warren or Tarling (see below), for example, two older theses have also scrutinized an enormous number of primary sources on the topic Johannes Willi of Gais, *The Early Relations of England with Borneo to 1805* (Langensalza: Hermann Beyer & Söhne, 1922) and Elisa A. Julian, 'British Projects and Activities in the Philippines: 1759-1805' (PhD thesis, SOAS, University of London, 1963).

came from the east. From Madrid, they crossed the Atlantic and the American continent, and, from Acapulco, continued across the Pacific to Manila. The Sulu Sultanate of the Tausug people was based on the Island of Jolo between Borneo and the Philippines and held sway over several other nations on the surrounding islands. James Warren called this the ‘Sulu Zone.’³ Evidently, the two global players Spain and Great Britain were the powerful states among the three, but within the region, the actions of the Sulu Sultanate were equally important for the interstate development in the larger Sulu Sea.

Traders from the Chinese, Islamic, and Western European worlds actively sought contact with the small island of Jolo to take advantage of the fact that the Tausug elites masterfully coordinated the local collection and redistribution of maritime products for the Chinese market. Trade with China was also the main objective of British and Spanish activities in Asia. Since the late sixteenth century, the Spanish had claimed the Kingdom of Sulu (*reino de Joló*) for themselves, but the Tausug resisted successfully. Continuous incursions of raiders based in the Sulu Sea and their repeated captures of indigenous vassals of the Spanish crown were a thorn in the flesh of Spanish colonial endeavors in Southeast Asia.⁴ For two centuries since the first contact, Spanish perception of Sulu and its inhabitants had continued to be heavily influenced by the historic and ongoing experiences of interaction with *indios* in the New World and *moros* in the Old World, producing contradictory projections of a relationship with them as either vassalage or arch-enmity.⁵ In the second half of the eighteenth century, the region became a zone of strategic interest also to the British East India Company (EIC).

This article will start by delving into the particular interests of the Sulu, the Spaniards and the British in the middle of the century before looking at the British occupation between 1762 and 1764. It will close with considerations

3 James F. Warren, *The Sulu Zone, 1768-1898: The Dynamics of External Trade, Slavery, and Ethnicity in the Transformation of a Southeast Asian Maritime State* (Quezon City: New Day Publishers, 1985).

4 Paulina Machuca, *Historia mínima de Filipinas* (México D.F.: El Colegio de México, 2019); Luis C. Dery, *The Kris in Philippine History: A Study of the Impact of Moro Anti-Colonial Resistance, 1571-1896* (Quezon City: Dery, 1997); William L. Schurz, *The Manila Galleon* (Manila: Historical Conservation Society, 1985 [1939]).

5 Lasse Hölck, “‘Indios mahometanos.’ Las Filipinas entre América, y el Mediterráneo,” in *Repensar el ‘Mundo’ Reflexiones y representaciones globales (siglos XV-XX)*, ed. by Stefan Rinke and Carlos Rijoas (Darmstadt: WBG, 2022), 68-90.

on the situation after the withdrawal of the British and the realization of another British project on the Island of Balambangan some years later, before they would abandon the region for over a decade.

The Sulu Interest

The Sulu Sultanate in the eighteenth century was far from a hierarchical political system with a single undisputed ruler. Scholars rather described the political organization of this polity as a 'segmentary state.'⁶ The complex political network structure between powerful Tausug families all over Jolo and the surrounding archipelago included not only noble men and women alike, but also leaders from other ethnolinguistic groups, often called *orang kaya* or 'wealthy men', who had to be consulted in the customary collective decision-making processes of Sulu. Relations between leaders and followers were primarily consensual, as described for heterarchical systems that loosely integrated a network of parallel existing hierarchies.⁷ Any sultan of Sulu was constantly contested in his position, most specially by his own relatives, and could easily be replaced. This made the interrelation between colonial powers and the Sulu Sultanate complicated. Spanish Manila did not know how to best engage the Tausug polity—nor did the EIC for that matter.

This political uncertainty, however, seemed to have ended in 1735 with the election of a new charismatic sultan, Azim ud-Din (r. 1735-1748, 1764-1774). His name would be dominant in Sulu's external politics for the decades to come.⁸ As the person of Azim ud-Din was extremely enigmatic, the Spanish believed that with him they finally had a sovereign counterpart in the Sulu archipelago. In line with contemporary European debates about the monarch as the personification of the state, the sultan of Sulu was expected to legitimately represent the political community as a whole and to be able to demand obedience from all groups in the Sulu Zone.⁹ Driven by internal

6 Thomas M. Kiefer, 'The Tausug Polity and the Sultanate of Sulu. A Segmentary State in the Southern Philippines', *Sulu Studies*, 1 (1972), 19-64; Warren, *Sulu Zone*, xxii-xxvi.

7 Joyce C. White, 'Incorporating Heterarchy into Theory on Socio-Political Development. The Case from Southeast Asia', *Archeological Papers of the American Anthropological Association*, 6 (1) (1995), 101-123 (118).

8 Horacio de la Costa, 'Muhammad Alimuddin I, Sultan of Sulu, 1735-1773', *Journal of the Malaysian Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 38,1 (1965), 43-76.

9 Quentin Skinner, 'On the Person of the State', in *State Formations. Global Histories and Cultures of Statehood*, ed. by John L. Brooke, Julia C. Strauss and Greg Anderson (Cambridge:

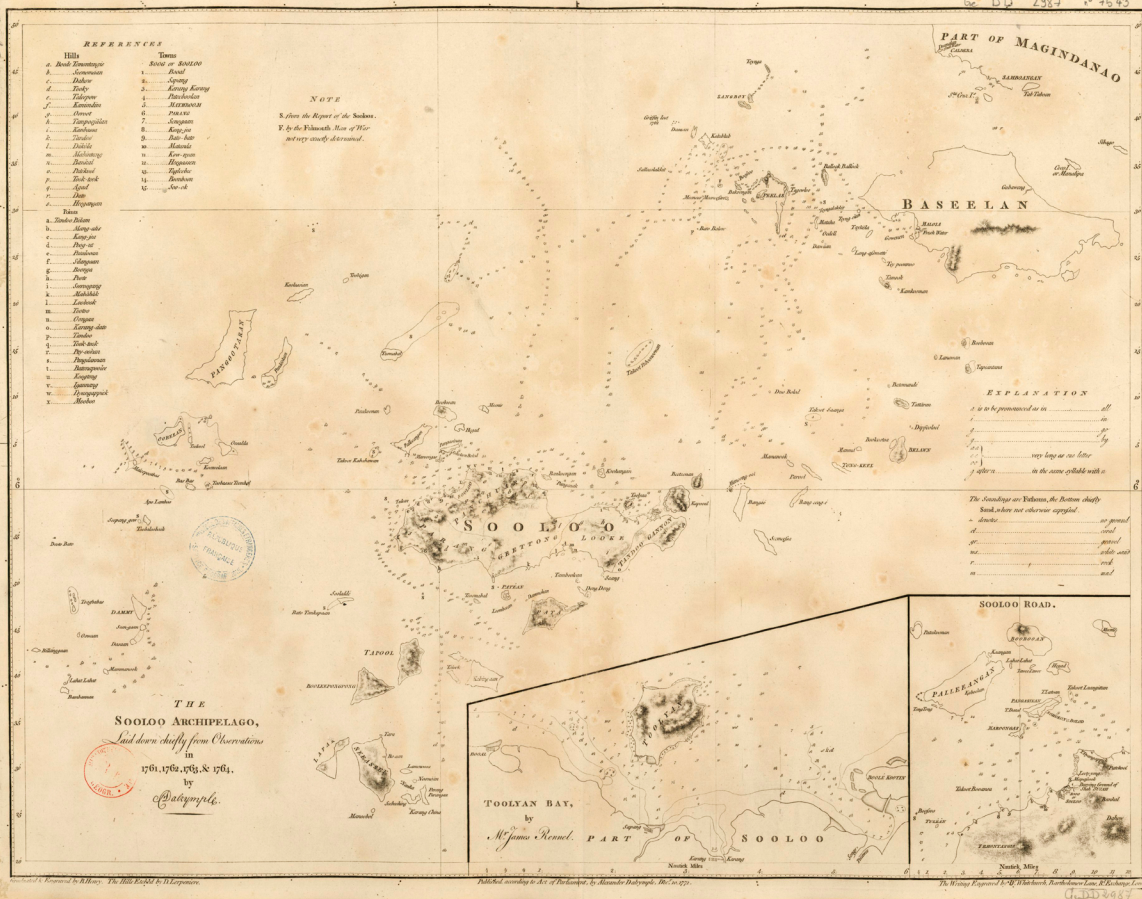


IMAGE 1.
 The Sooloo Archipelago by Dalrymple, 1771
 BIBLIOTHÈQUE NATIONALE DE FRANCE,
 DÉPARTEMENT CARTES ET PLANS, CPL GE DD-2987, Nr. 7543.

affairs, Azim ud-Din engaged in pro-Spanish politics right from the start. He sent an embassy to Manila which signed a treaty of friendship with Spain in January 1737. The treaty included mutual protection of commerce, military assistance, the active pursuit of peaceful relations, and the exchange of captives. It is important to highlight that Sulu was treated as an independent sovereign power at that point.¹⁰

Faced with the strong internal opposition of his brother Bantilan and his predecessor Sultan Nasar ud-Din (r. 1732-1735), who built a 'counter court' on Jolo from about 1742 to 1745, Azim ud-Din traveled several times to the Spanish fortress of Zamboanga and was able to obtain Spanish military assistance.¹¹ In March 1747, he organized a joint military operation with Spanish troops against the Tirun, a non-Muslim people in north-eastern Borneo who were repeatedly raiding the Philippines.¹² This operation reinforced the bond between Spaniards and Azim ud-Din, as it seemed to demonstrate his compliance with the Spanish demands to punish and suppress piracy.¹³ In the aftermath, Manila now addressed Azim ud-Din as 'great sultan', 'honored and praised among the princes of Asia.'¹⁴ Azim ud-Din, for his part, had himself recognized as overlord to the Tirun and thereby established Sulu as a protective power against the Sultanate of Brunei. The damage done to the coastal settlements of the Tirun on Borneo

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Cambridge University Press, 2018), 25-45 (32-39).

10 Compulsas del tratado de pazes que se hizo con el Sultan Mujamad Alimuddin, Rey de Jolo, Manila 18.1.1737, Archivo General de Indias (henceforth AGI) Fil. 228, fols 1290r-1296r; José Montero y Vidal, *Historia de la piratería malayo mahometana en Mindanao, Jolo y Borneo: Comprende desde el descubrimiento de dichas islas hasta junio de 1888*, 2 vols (Madrid: Imprenta y Fundición de Manuel Tello 1888), vol. 2, appendix, 1-6.

11 Cesar A. Majul, *Muslims in the Philippines*, 2nd ed. (Diliman, Quezon City: The University of the Philippines Press 1973), 21, 241-42; Pedro Zacarias to Gaspar de la Torre, Zamboanga, 30.5.1742, AGI Fil. 707, fols 457r-460v; Los Jueces oficiales Reales, Manila, 23.12.1751, AGI Fil. 707, N. 1, fol. 597r; Expediente sobre impresión de manifiesto de la traición del rey de Joló, AGI Fil., 156, N.8; Ovando was very much in doubt if this internal conflict was real or just staged to give a certain impression to the Spaniards (Manifiesto de Ovando, Manila, 21.12.1751, AGI Fil. 156, N.8., § IX and § X).

12 Francisco Mallari, 'The Eighteenth Century Tirones', *Philippine Studies*, 46, 3 (Third Quarter 1998), 293-312.

13 Majul, *Muslims in the Philippines*, 200-202.

14 The Fiscal to the Gouverneur General, Manila, 20.11.1747, AGI Fil. 264, fols 330v-331r; Fray Juan de Arechederra to the Sultan of Sulu, Manila, 30.12.1747, AGI Fil. 264, fols 336v-338r; Fray Juan de Arechederra to the King, Manila, 18.7.1748, AGI Fil. 264, fols 341r-342v.

during the campaign was only minimal.¹⁵ Since the Tirun raids supplied Sulu with labor to be employed in the collection of products like bird's nests and *trepang* (sea cucumber) for the China trade, the sultan actually had to consider the interests of the other Tausug leaders, or *datus*, while making concessions with the Spaniards. Moreover, to foster trade relations with China, two tribute missions were sent from Sulu to the dragon throne between 1742 and 1746.¹⁶ The peace negotiations with the Spaniards thus also followed the imperative to clear the sea route to China via Manila.

An ultimate marker of Spanish recognition of the Sulu Sultanate as a proper political entity came with a letter, dated to 1744, by King Philip V (r. 1700-1746), which arrived in Jolo in 1747 with a delegation from Manila. The reception of the letter was done with much pomp and the highest reverential honors for the Spanish envoys.¹⁷ In it, the king of Spain had confirmed the agreements of the treaty of 1737, but he had added the demand to establish a Catholic mission in Jolo. This was discussed controversially among the Muslim Tausug *datus*. Azim ud-Din was able to impose compliance only due to his alliance with the Spaniards, which provided him with weapons and silver. In September 1748, however, this alliance triggered another rebellion against his person. He had to flee Jolo and eventually landed with his remaining followers in Manila, while his brother Bantilan took over the honor of sultan as Muizz ud-Din (r. 1748-1763).¹⁸ As new sultan of Sulu, he pursued the same interests as his older brother before him, that is, maintaining the control over local tributary groups like the Tirun, Sama Dilaut (Badjau Laut), and others to continue the lucrative trade with China as a basis for upholding his own position. As one of his first official acts, he re-approved the Tirun's raids, which Azim ud-Din had tried to stop in accordance with Spanish demands.¹⁹ He thus also followed a

15 Alimuddin to the Governor-General, Zamboanga, 26.7.1747, AGI Fil. 264, fols 317r- 321r.

16 Ng Chin-keong, 'The Case of Chèn I-lao: Maritime Trade and Overseas Chinese in Ch'ing Policies, 1717-1754', in *Emporia, Commodities and Entrepreneurs in Asian Maritime Trade, ca. 1400-1750*, ed. by Roderich Ptak and Dietmar Rothermund (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1991), 373-400 (391-92); Cesar A. Majul, 'Chinese Relationship with the Sultanate of Sulu', in *The Chinese in the Philippines 1570-1770*, ed. by Alfonso Felix (Manila: Solidaridad Publishing House, 1966), 143-59 (151-52).

17 Juan de la Concepción, *Historia general de Filipinas*, 14 vols (Manila & Sampaloc: Impr. del Seminar. Conciliar y Real de S. Carlos, 1788-1792), vol. 12, 91-93.

18 Majul, *Muslims in the Philippines*, 248-65.

19 Concepción, *Historia*, vol. 12, 137.

majority consensus among the Tausug datu, who had felt restrained by Azim ud-Din's increasingly centralized style of government, as was observed by the Jesuit Juan Anglés during his short-lived time as missionary on Jolo.²⁰

Sultan Muizz ud-Din, alias Bantilan, was not accepted as sovereign of the 'Kingdom of Jolo' by the Manila government, and the following years saw several attacks and counterattacks between Spaniards and Sulu in the Southern archipelago. The peaceful setting that had started with the election of Azim ud-Din as sultan, hence ended with his escape from Jolo. Bantilan soon called for an alliance with neighboring sultanates like Maguindanao and other seafaring people, which, according to Spanish estimates, could mobilize over ten thousand warriors. Above all, however, Bantilan was concerned about the machinations of his brother Azim ud-Din in Manila.²¹

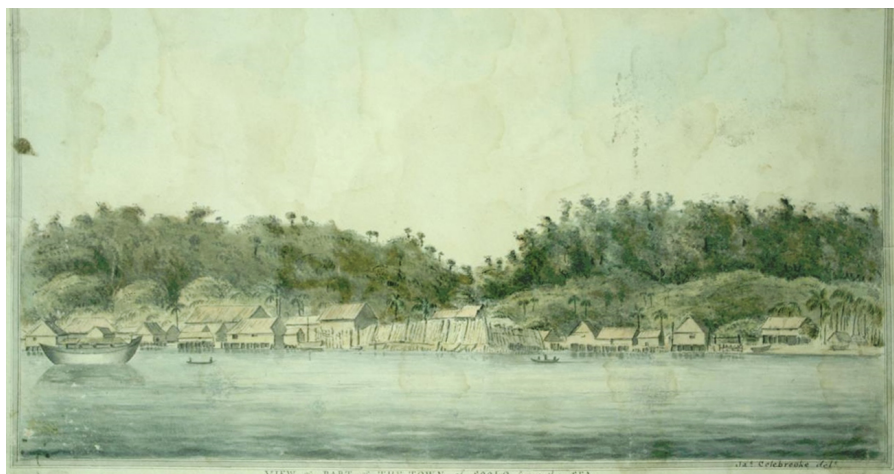


IMAGE 2.

“View of part of the town of Soolo from the Sea” by James Colebrooke
(BRITISH NATIONAL ARCHIVES ADM 344-1463),
undated (18th/19th century).

20 Informe sobre Jolo de Juan Angles, Zamboanga, 24.9.1748, AGI Fil. 456.

21 Bantilan to Pulgar in Montero y Vidal, *Historia de la piratería*, vol. 2, appendix, 23-26; Concepción, *Historia*, vol. 12, 240-45 and 307-308; see also Isaac Donoso: Carta que envía el Sultán Mahomad-Maydiódín que gobierna el reino de Joló, in *Christian-Muslim Relations. A Bibliographical History. Volume 12. Asia, Africa and the Americas (1700-1800)*, ed. by David Thomas and John Chesworth (Leiden: Brill, 2018), 596-599.

Azim ud-Din in Manila

On 2 January 1749, Azim ud-Din arrived in Manila with about seventy followers. The future relations between Sulu and Spain would be strongly influenced by the sultan's absence from Jolo, which lasted just until after the British occupation (1764). The style of his first reception in Manila, with much pomp and solemnity, ritually defined to the people and the government his status and identity as head of a kingdom. Juan de Arechederra, a Dominican friar who acted as ruling governor-general of the Philippines between 1745 and 1750 on an interim basis, wanted to support him to regain his realm. Against the determined resistance of the Jesuits, he enforced the baptism of Azim ud-Din as 'Fernando I, king of Jolo' on 28 April 1750.²² But mistrust against the baptized sultan remained strong.

The Marqués de Ovando, as new governor-general of the Philippines (g. 1750-1754), opted for a violent incorporation of Sulu into the colony, based on a Spanish narrative that claimed that Sulu was a legitimate part of Spain since a first 'tributary' submission in 1578 and a temporary conquest by Governor-general Sebastián Hurtado de Corcuera (g. 1635-1644) in 1638. Bantilan was considered a 'renegade vassal' and the 'Kingdom of Jolo' was to be 'reconquered' for Azim ud-Din, alias Fernando I, who was to be installed as regent by Spain's grace.²³ A first military expedition sent out against Jolo in June 1751, however, could not achieve this goal. Instead, it united the Tausug in Jolo against the Spaniards as the common enemy, thus fostering the cohesion among the defenders, including the supporters of Azim ud-Din. After two weeks of fruitless bombardment and negotiations, the siege of Jolo

22 Eberhard Crailsheim, 'The Baptism of Sultan Azim ud-Din of Sulu: Festivities for the Consolidation of Spanish Power in the Philippines in the Middle of the Eighteenth Century', in *Image- Object Performance. Mediality and Communication in Cultural Contact Zones of Colonial Latin America and the Philippines*, ed. by Astrid Windus and Eberhard Crailsheim (Munster: Waxmann, 2013), 93-120 (103); Fray Juan de Arechederra, 'Relación de la entrada del Sultan Rey de Jolo Mahamad Alimuddin en esta Ciudad de Manila (1750)'; in *Archivo del Bibliófilo Filipino. Recopilación de Documentos*, ed. by Wenceslao Retana, vol. 1 (Madrid: Viuda de M. Minuesa de los Ríos, 1895), Doc. Nr. 5.; Horacio de la Costa, *The Jesuits in the Philippines 1581-1768* (Cambridge Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1961), 548; Antonio F. Garcia Gonzalez, *El Gobierno en Filipinas del Illmo. Sr. Don Fray Juan de Arechederra y Tovar, Obispo de la Nueva Segovia* (Granada: Universidad, Secretariado de Publicaciones, 1976), 31-33.

23 Extracto de secretaría con decreto del consejo, 12.12.1752, AGI Fil. 155, N. 7, fols 1r-4v, citation fol. 3v.

was lifted.²⁴ In the meantime, Azim ud-Din, who had been sent from Manila to help in the conquest, landed in Zamboanga on 22 July 1751, where he received dozens of high-ranking visitors from Jolo over the next two weeks, among them his own family members. But the distrust of the Spaniards in Zamboanga grew in view of his unclear intentions, and the numerous armed Tausug. On 3 August, he, his relatives and his visitors of about 160 people were arrested under suspicion of treason and in October, the Sulu were declared mortal enemies. Azim ud-Din and his retinue had taken everything from them, were declared slaves, and deported back to Manila.²⁵

The next Spanish military operation against Jolo was started right away in 1752, this time not aiming at conquest but at the utmost possible destruction and future extermination of all of Sulu.²⁶ But this 1752 expedition against Jolo was a disaster for Spain and ended in the loss of hundreds of lives.²⁷ Another step was an alliance of the Manila government with the sultan of Brunei against Sulu, which included the donation of Palawan and Balabac to Spain, although the better part of these islands actually lay within the Sulu zone of influence.²⁸ In view of the latent conflicts and rivalries between Sulu and the sultanates of Mindanao island, Governor-general Ovando believed that Sulu was now surrounded by enemies in the southern archipelago.²⁹ But an effective support for the Spaniards did not materialize, neither from Brunei, nor from anywhere in Mindanao.

24 Expediente sobre la expedición de Jolo, AGI Fil. 706; Montero y Vidal, *Historia de la piratería*, vol. 1, 294-295.

25 Concepción, *Historia*, vol. 12, 289-304; Nomina de los principales Joloes que se han asegurado, AGI Fil. 707, N. 1; Pulgar to Ovando, Zamboanga, 6.8.1751, AGI Fil. 706, fols 54r-56r; Montero y Vidal, *Historia de la piratería*, vol. 1, 297-98.

26 Manifiesto de Ovando, Manila, 21.12.1751, AGI Fil. 156, N.8; Ovando to the king, Manila, 18.6.1752, AGI Fil. 706, N. 12, fol. 9.

27 Ramon de Abad, Zamboanga, 10.7.1752, AGI Fil. 708, 'Traslado autentico del diario hecho por el maestro de campo', fols 1r- 24r; Concepción, *Historia*, vol. 12, 332-53.

28 'Traslado autentico de la Providencia Governativa para remitir un embajador...al Reyno de Burney' AGI Fil. 156, N. 4 (Cesion de Paragua y Balabac, Manila, 7.7.1752, *ibid.* fols 138v-139v).

29 Ovando to the sultan of Brunei, 3.3.1752, AGI Fil. 156, N. 4, fols 63v- 69v; on the sultanates of Mindanao, see Ariel Lopez, 'Kinship, Islam, and Raiding in Maguindanao, c.1760-1780', in *Warring Societies of Pre-Colonial Southeast Asia. Local Cultures of Conflict Within a Regional Context*, ed. by Michael W. Charney and Kathryn Anderson Wellen (Copenhagen: NIAS Press, 2018), 73-100.

By the end of 1752, the authorities of Manila controversially discussed the role of the imprisoned Azim ud-Din, considering even a second indoctrination and baptism.³⁰ To bring movement to the stalemate in the Sulu Sea, it was agreed to exchange Azim ud-Din's daughter Fatima for 50 prisoners from Jolo. The princess was extradited in the spring of 1753.³¹ This diplomatic exchange found its follow up on 20 December 1753, with an envoy from Jolo to Manila, promising peace and requesting for all Tausug to be allowed to come home.³² The Ovando administration, however, again rejected the authority of the government of the 'rebel' Bantilan and received his delegation with deliberately reduced hospitality.³³ A treaty was issued in early 1754 only with the Azim ud-Din fraction in Manila, which stipulated that he would become vassal of the Spanish king.³⁴ In a letter to Bantilan, Ovando blamed the Sulu and their 'false faith' to be solely responsible for the conflict.³⁵ In these years, Sulu raids were few but the situation was far from peaceful for the Spanish Philippines, due to Maguindanao and Maranao raiders from Western Mindanao.

The diplomatic relations with Sulu relaxed significantly with the new government of Pedro Manuel de Arandía in Manila (g. 1754-1759), who sent out Commander Antonio Faveau de Quesada to study the situation in Jolo. Based on his observations, Governor-general Arandía decided to return all prisoners, except for Azim ud-Din and his son, who should remain in Manila until their claims to the throne were accepted. On 26 April 1755, the Tausug prisoners in Manila signed a treaty of peace and friendship and over a hundred of them were escorted from Manila back to Jolo.³⁶ About the same

30 Certificación sobre bautismo del rey de Jolo, Manila, 16.11.1752, AGI Fil. 706, N. 1.

31 Instrumento de obligación, Manila, 10.2.1753, AGI Fil. 708, N. 1, fols 2v-7r; Montero y Vidal, *Historia de la piratería*, vol. 1, 308; Concepción, *Historia*, vol. 13, 103-10, 118.

32 Bantilan to Ovando, Buan, 3.10.1753, AGI Fil. 709, N. 1, fols 4v-5v.

33 Ovando to the king, Manila, 18.7.1754, AGI Fil. 709, N. 1, fols 1r-v; Concepción, *Historia*, vol. 13, 124-128; Vicente Barrantes Moreno, *Guerras piráticas de Filipinas contra mindanaos y joloanos* (Madrid: Imprenta de Manuel G. Hernández, 1878), 38-41.

34 Alimuddin and Ovando, Manila, 28.2.1754, AGI Fil. 709, N. 1, fols 67r- 72v; Concepción, *Historia*, vol. 13, 138-42; Montero y Vidal, *Historia de la piratería*, vol. 2, Appendix, 31-33; Majul, *Muslims in the Philippines*, 284-85.

35 Ovando to Bantilan, Manila, 20.3.1754, AGI Fil. 709, N. 1, fols 76r- 78v.

36 Concepción, *Historia*, vol. 13, 384-450; Majul, *Muslims in the Philippines*, 244-47.

time, a manuscript entitled 'Manifest in Defence of the King of Jolo' acquitted Azim ud-Din of all charges brought against him.³⁷

Spanish Interests in Southeast Asia (1755-1762)

Governor-general Arandía correctly assessed the Sulu Sultanate as a polity made up of a strong coherence among local leaders, widely dispersed throughout the whole archipelago, whose extreme mobility rendered futile any attempt to conquer a capital or center as a means to dominate the surrounding islands and inhabitants. An influential manuscript from the early nineteenth century condensed this century-encompassing observation to the quite precise expression that Sulu, as the other polities in the Southern Philippines, represented something like 'ambulant republics', whose power consisted more in the widespread network of connections on the many islands than in any palace or person.³⁸ Hence, Arandía opted for a diplomatic approach and started to re-open trade with Jolo. A Tausug embassy was welcomed in Manila in 1756 and peace was negotiated.³⁹ Bantilan's formal acceptance as Sultan Muizz ud-Din of Jolo was recognized by the Spaniards, as well as his interfamilial rivalry with Azim ud-Din.⁴⁰ In turn, Bantilan rhetorically accepted the geopolitical superiority of Spain.⁴¹

Arandía's inclination to not engage in direct war with Sulu was due first to the fact that other raiding groups, such as the Iranun and the Maranao from Mindanao, were far more threatening in these years, and, second, to a serious lack of funds. The royal treasury had still not recovered from the blow that the British admiral George Anson had dealt them when he captured the Manila galleon *Covadonga* in 1743, the first of five consecutive years without supply from New Spain. Before, the British capture of Portobelo in Panama in 1739 had shown the economic vulnerability of the Spanish Empire.⁴² The

37 Manifiesto en defensa del Rey de Jolo Fernando I. (Manila, o.D. ca. 1754), Biblioteca Nacional de España Mss/6030.

38 Barrantes, *Guerras piraticas*, 41.

39 Relación de como fue recibido el embajador de Jolo en este Palacio Real de Manila, 28.12.1756, AGI Fil. 199, N. 5.

40 Concepción, *Historia*, vol. 13, 396-98; See summaries in *Montero y Vidal, Historia de la piratería*, vol. 1, 317 and Majul, *Muslims in the Philippines*, 285-86.

41 Bantilan to Arandía, Jolo, 18.9.1756, AGI Fil. 199, N. 5 (s.f.)

42 Mariano Ardash Bonialian, *El Pacífico Hispanoamericano: política y comercio asiático en el imperio español, 1680-1784. La centralidad de lo marginal* (Mexico D.F.: El Colegio de

costs of the expeditions against Jolo in 1751 and 1752 had not been covered yet at the end of the decade.⁴³

In 1759, a royal order to stop any diplomatic relations with Jolo and wage all-out war against Sulu arrived in Manila from Madrid via Mexico, to which goal the military budget was increased to 60,000 pesos. Governor-general Arandía died in May that same year.⁴⁴ Faced anew with an arbitrary Spanish behavior between friendship and war, the Tausug in Jolo readily welcomed the British EIC around 1761 as a new partner in the region, just as they had always welcomed any visitors to their island that made good trade offers and did not try to impose their will on the local community. With the British occupation of Manila one year later, the Tausug datus immediately switched the respect they had shown for the Spanish Empire's superior power to Great Britain as will become evident in the following sections.⁴⁵

British Interests in Southeast Asia (1757-1762): Alexander Dalrymple and the Balambangan Treaty

The British were the newcomers in the region in the eighteenth century. Their strategic position in the Southeast Asian and Pacific region was connected to their Atlantic designs, i.e. they wanted to break the Spanish monopolies, for which they had fought the War of Jenkins' Ear with Spain between 1739 and 1748. The Philippines were insofar involved as the British navy captured the Manila galleon *Covadonga* in 1743. With that act of war, the British appeared as a serious threat for the Spanish Philippines, and right so, because the initial plans of the British admiralty included even the conquest of Manila, which in the end, was not carried out in that war.⁴⁶

Until the middle of the eighteenth century, the Dutch dominance in the Moluccas region prevented the EIC from establishing large trading posts

México, 2012), 131-35; Carmen López Yuste, *Emporios transpacíficos. Comerciantes mexicanos en Manila, 1715-1815* (Mexico D.F.: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, 2016), 34.

43 Concepción, *Historia*, vol. 14, 66; Majul, *Muslims in the Philippines*, 289.

44 Montero y Vidal, *Historia de la piratería*, vol. 1, 329-39 (quote p. 329); Barrantes, *Guerras piráticas*, 50-51, 195-6.

45 John Durand to Dawson Drake, 'Yolo, 11.5.1763', in *Manilha Consultations* (henceforth MC). Records of Fort St. George, Proceedings of the President and Council of Manila 1762-1764, Madras 1940-1942, 11 vols, vol. VI, 159-60.

46 Schurz, *The Manila Galleon*, 266 ff.

in the region,⁴⁷ which was acceptable for the Company as long as the China trade was profitable. The year 1757 however marks a watershed in the history of the Company, because it saw an expansion and restructuring process in its Indian possessions after the victory at the Battle of Plassey against the Nawab of Bengal and his French allies.⁴⁸ Also in that year, foreign trade to China was restricted to Canton alone, which represented a heavy blow for the Company. The need to overcome this obstacle, in combination with the new dynamics in India, made the EIC actively search for new ways to generate profit in the South China Sea and hence explore new zones of commerce.⁴⁹

In 1760, the governor of Madras tasked the young Company servant (and later hydrographer) Alexander Dalrymple to discover a new and more secure route to China and to locate a potential base for British trading operations in that area.⁵⁰ Dalrymple chose the Sulu state to establish such a trading post for a variety of reasons: Sulu's geographic location (halfway to China), its legal jurisdiction over large parts of the neighboring islands (including parts of Borneo and Palawan), and its good trading connections with Borneo, Celebes, and Mindanao.⁵¹ To initiate diplomatic and trading relationships with the Sulu Sultanate, Dalrymple visited Jolo at the beginning of 1761 and signed a treaty of friendship with Sultan Bantilan on 28 January, including the promise that the Company would be granted to choose a place for a factory and be given the privilege to trade in the Sulu realms.⁵² In September of 1761, Dalrymple confirmed the treaty with 24 signatories, among them influential

47 Tracy, *Manila Ransomed*, 5; Jürgen G. Nagel, *Abenteuer Fernhandel: Die Ostindienkompanien* (Darmstadt: WBG, 2007), 72. The only exception was Bencoolen, on the south side of Sumatra, for the trade with China.

48 John Keay, *The Honourable Company* (London: Harper Collins Publishers, 1993).

49 Nicholas Tarling, *Sulu and Sabah. A Study of British Policy Towards the Philippines and North Borneo from the Late Eighteenth Century* (Kuala Lumpur: Oxford University Press, 1978), 9; Julian, 'British Projects and Activities in the Philippines: 1759-1805', 32-33; Warren, *The Sulu Zone, 1768-1898*, 17.

50 Julian, 'British Projects and Activities in the Philippines: 1759-1805', 24; Tarling, *Sulu and Sabah*, 13.

51 Julian, 'British Projects and Activities in the Philippines: 1759-1805', 33.

52 First Sulu Treaty of 28 January 1761, signed between Sultan Muhammad Muizzuddin of Sulu and Alexander Dalrymple for the East India Company. British Library, India Office Records (henceforth IOR): H/629, 456-57; Julian, 'British Projects and Activities in the Philippines: 1759-1805', 28-29; Fish, *When Britain ruled the Philippines, 1762-1764*, 13; Tracy, *Manila Ransomed*, 5; Willi of Gais, *The Early Relations*, 34-38.

Sulu leaders like the Datu Bendahara and several orang kaya, or chiefs of ethnolinguistic groups other than the Tausug.⁵³

In November of 1761, Dalrymple traveled to Manila, where he coincided with another sultan of Sulu, Azim ud-Din, and his son Israel. Seizing the opportunity, Dalrymple also obtained Azim ud-Din's signature under a treaty of commerce and mutual assistance.⁵⁴

On a commercial level, products from Madras such as iron, steel, lead, glass, and cloth were in demand in Jolo. Also, opium and weapons were negotiated, but Bantilan's treaty was strict on that matter: The import of opium was refused and the arms trade was restricted to the sultan.⁵⁵ Dalrymple expected above all a lucrative commerce in pepper, sago, clove bark, clove, and cinnamon.⁵⁶ In general, Dalrymple had the vision to create a bustling British emporium in Sulu for trade in Indian, Chinese, European, and Malaysian merchandize.⁵⁷

On 10 June 1762, the ship *London* left Madras with two objectives.⁵⁸ While the first objective of mapping the Sulu Sea was completed successfully, the delivery of South Asian goods to Sulu—and consequently of Sulu products to China—was disappointing as it yielded only little profit.⁵⁹ Overall, the board of directors in London was skeptical in regard to Dalrymple's Sulu undertakings. The directors never approved the agreements from September and November 1761, mainly because they included the obligation to assist

53 Julian, 'British Projects and Activities in the Philippines: 1759-1805', 29; on the first four Sulu treaties of Dalrymple, see Annabel Teh Gallop's transcriptions of the documents from British Library, IOR/H/629, 456-502: <http://britishlibrary.typepad.co.uk/asian-and-african/2014/06/alexander-dalrymples-treaties-with-sulu-in-malay-and-tausug.html#sthash.EEgeK2N5.dpuf> [accessed 12 December 2022].

54 Ratification by Sultan 'Allamodin', Manila, 20.11.1761, IOR/H/629, 459.

55 Costa, 'Alimuddin I', 57-58; Alexander Dalrymple, *Oriental Repertory*, vol. 1 (London: Biggs, 1808), 553.

56 IOR/E/4/862, 626-28 (Dalrymple, Alexander, Unsatisfactory voyage to Sulu Islands, remarks respecting. 17.4.1761); Julian, 'British Projects and Activities in the Philippines: 1759-1805', 30.

57 Julian, 'British Projects and Activities in the Philippines: 1759-1805', 34.

58 Julian, 'British Projects and Activities in the Philippines: 1759-1805', 31, 36.

59 'Fort Letters', Fort St. George, 17.4.1762, BL E/4/862, fol. 849; Julian, 'British Projects and Activities in the Philippines: 1759-1805', 37; This might be related to the fact that Dalrymple had already one eye on the dawning confrontation between Spain and Britain and hence strategic considerations on his mind. Julian, 'British Projects and Activities in the Philippines: 1759-1805', 33.

Sulu in case of an attack against European powers, which was politically not viable.⁶⁰ Yet, above all, the EIC feared that the reigning sultan, Bantilan, would not be able to properly protect their trade and only:

‘good fortifications, and a respectable force could secure us from such malicious designing People who seem to be as little civilized as the generality of the Malays are, who are remarkable for their inhumanity and have frequently cut off those that are dealing with them, whenever there has been the least opportunity given by any inattention to security in those that have been trading with them.’⁶¹

Therefore, it was decreed that the Madras council should wait for ‘better times’ before establishing a settlement but at the same time to ‘keep the intercourse of trade’ with Sulu⁶² and look out for a possible base in the region, preferably in Borneo.

When Dalrymple returned again from Madras to Sulu in August 1762, his major business partners (Datu Bandahara) had passed away from smallpox (or poisoning), and for some reason, Sultan Bantilan had begun to obstruct his trade endeavors. These tensions were partially caused by the permanent opposition between Bantilan and Datu Juhan Pahalawan, who represented the Azim ud-Din fraction on Jolo.⁶³ In spite of that, on 12 September 1762, an important agreement was signed between Bantilan and the EIC, which demonstrates Sulu’s influence over parts of Borneo: The treaty ceded to the Company the island of Balambangan, just off Brunei’s coast. Shortly after, on 23 January 1763, the British banner flew over the island—yet without any immediate effect.⁶⁴ The strategic importance of Balambangan can be seen in

60 Willi of Gais, *The Early Relations*, 39.

61 IOR/E/4/862, 624-625 (Despatches to Madras: Depute to establish trade to Sulu and services connected, 17.4.1762).

62 IOR/E/4/862, 623-628 (Despatches to Madras: Depute to establish trade to Sulu and services connected, 17.4.1762), quote from p. 626.

63 Julian, ‘British Projects and Activities in the Philippines: 1759-1805’, 32, 38.

64 Tarling, *Sulu and Sabah*, 14-15; Julian, ‘British Projects and Activities in the Philippines: 1759- 1805’, 43; Julio Albi de la Cuesta, *Moros: España contra los piratas musulmanes de Filipinas (1574-1896)* (Madrid: Desperta Ferro Ediciones, 2022), 343; Warren, *The Sulu Zone, 1768-1898*, 19-25; Majul, *Muslims in the Philippines*, 255; Willi of Gais, *The Early Relations*, 45, according to Will of Gais, *The Early Relations*, the flag was hoisted after 12.9.1763. Another Borneo islands was conceded before, Usukar, but it was soon forgotten,

a series of factors. It had two excellent harbors and was equipped with fresh water, timber, fish, and dense vegetation. It was very close to the Sultanate of Brunei and well connected with the Islands of Borneo, Jolo, and Mindanao. It was very well positioned at a bottleneck on the transit route of the Chinese junk traffic, and finally, being an island, it seemed to be easy to defend.⁶⁵



IMAGE 3.

“Articles of Friendship and Commerce agreed on and settled between the English and Sooloo” (Dalrymple contract of January, 28th 1761):

BL IOR: H/629, 456-457.

The Occupation of Manila (1762-1764)

Any plans with regard to Balambangan were put on hold for the time when the British captured Manila in the course of the Seven Years’ War (1757-1763). The occupation (7 October 1762 to 16 April 1764) was part of the

see Willi of Gais, *The Early Relations*, 44.

65 Willi of Gais, *The Early Relations*, 45; Julian, ‘British Projects and Activities in the Philippines: 1759-1805’, 175-77; Majul, *Muslims in the Philippines*, 254. Still, according to Spanish sources, the stark Island of Balambangan was only a makeshift solution. Barrantes, *Guerras piraticas*, 65.

larger program of breaking the Bourbon dominance overseas.⁶⁶ The goal of the military expedition from Madras to Manila was not, as William Schurz had stated, to conquer the whole of the Philippines.⁶⁷ Such a scheme had only been part of some initial plans. Instead, the joint EIC and Royal Navy operation was aimed at delivering a heavy blow to Spain and to weaken its hold on America. An additional goal was to secure the Island of Mindanao for the EIC, which was not considered to be Spanish territory by the British.⁶⁸ However, in the end, the military force that was provided for the attack was not enough to conquer and hold Mindanao, instead the focus was almost exclusively on Manila.⁶⁹

The commercial importance of Manila in the region—and for the EIC—was above all in the supply of silver from America. Hence, the conquest of the city had the potential to generate great profit. Eventually, however, it would be detrimental for the region and the Company, because it would cut the supply of bullion, because the Manila galleon would, in all likelihood, not continue to sail as frequently to Asia, without any Spanish bridgehead on that side of the Pacific. Consequently, in the words of Nicholas Tracy, ‘neither commercial nor strategic reasons for the British expedition made much sense.’⁷⁰ On the long run, Dalrymple’s commercial plans with Sulu were much more reasonable for the EIC than any conquest.⁷¹

Shortly after the British took Manila, Azim ud-Din was captured outside of Manila and brought to the capital where he was taken into custody and treated honorably.⁷² At the end of January 1763, the deposed sultan approached the governing council and ‘made to the Company an offer of part of his Dominions on the Islands of Xolo & Borneo.’⁷³ Shortly after, his son, Prince

66 Marian Füssel, *Der Siebenjährige Krieg*, 2nd edn (Munich: C.H. Beck Wissen, 2013).

67 Schurz, *The Manila Galleon*, 272.

68 Fish, *When Britain ruled the Philippines, 1762-1764*, 3-4, 7-8, 15; Tracy, *Manila Ransomed*, 14; Julian, ‘British Projects and Activities in the Philippines: 1759-1805’, 76.

69 Fish, *When Britain Ruled the Philippines, 1762-1764*, 16, 20; Nicholas Tracy, ‘The British Expedition to Manila’ in *The Seven Years’ War. Global Views*, ed. by Mark H. Danley and Patrick J. Spellman (Leiden & Boston: Brill, 2012), 461-486 (482).

70 Tracy, *Manila Ransomed*, 7.

71 Tracy, *Manila Ransomed*, 7-8, 14-15, 20-21; Julian, ‘British Projects and Activities in the Philippines: 1759-1805’, 75.

72 Simon de Anda y Salazar to the king, 20.6.1764, AGI Fil. 609, N. 7, fols 1v-3r; MC, VI, 19; Majul, *Muslims in the Philippines*, 255; Willi of Gais, *The Early Relations*, 44-46.

73 MC, VI, 19.

Israel, informed the council of his misfortunes in the last fifteen years.⁷⁴ The Spaniards had just been upon the point of letting him and his father return to Sulu, but the plan was interrupted by the British conquest of Manila.⁷⁵ Promising to remain loyal friends of the British, sultan and heir asked for permission to return to Jolo. The council, while positively disposed toward the proposal, was hesitant because of possible interferences with Dalrymple's designs in the region and adjourned the verdict for the time being.⁷⁶

At the end of February of 1763, the council finally took a decision in the matter and declared that a sloop should carry the sultan back to Jolo. The very same ship should then proceed to also return the Maguindanao ambassador, who was presently in Manila.⁷⁷ During the time of the British occupation, the council was negotiating with Sulu and Mindanao in parallel.⁷⁸ Besides Azim ud-Din and Israel, also a Sulu ambassador from Sultan Bantilan and a Maguindanao ambassador from Sultan Pahar ud-Din (r. 1755-1780)⁷⁹ were present in Manila. Several arrangements for a British engagement on Mindanao Island and Zamboanga Peninsula, however, were soon abandoned.

In Manila, Azim ud-Din, Israel, and the Sulu ambassador attended a consultation of the council where it was recorded that Bantilan had explicitly invited Azim ud-Din to come back to Jolo to take back his position. On that ground, the council recommended the return of Prince Israel to Jolo to prepare for the subsequent return of his father.⁸⁰ On 23 February 1763, a treaty with six articles was signed by the members of the council, for the EIC, and by Azim ud-Din and his son, on behalf of Jolo. The major points were that (1) Sulu cedes several parts of their territory to the EIC to build forts or factories, (2) the king and prince shall rule without any English interference, (3) crimes committed by Sulu against any EIC employees shall be punished by the Sulu authorities, (4) Azim ud-Din and Israel will honor and confirm the existing

74 Prinz Israel to 'Illustrious Sir' [Drake], Manila, 29.1.1763, IOR/G/4/1, fols 369v-370r.

75 The date was set for November of 1762 by Rojo. Julian, 'British Projects and Activities in the Philippines: 1759-1805', 38.

76 MC, VI, 24; IOR/E/4/862, 849-850 (Despatches to Madras 1763).

77 MC, VI, 34.

78 MC, III, 34-37.

79 Simon de Anda y Salazar to the king, 20.6.1764, AGI Fil. 609, N. 7, fols 1v-3r; Majul, *Muslims in the Philippines*, 30.

80 MC, VI, 37 (February 24, 1763).

treaties between Dalrymple and Bantilan, (5) the English have exclusive free trade in Sulu, being exempt from all duties or controls, and finally (6) they agreed on mutual military assistance in case of being attacked.⁸¹

The idea of returning Azim ud-Din to Sulu and the promise of a British factory there did not go unnoticed amongst the Spaniards in Manila and made them adopt countermeasures. One of the judges of the Audiencia in Manila, Francisco Henriquez Villacorta, wrote a letter to the leader of the Spanish resistance, Simon de Anda, on 15 March 1763, urging him to inform the Dutch in Batavia of the EIC plans. It was thought that the Dutch VOC would militarily oppose the EIC to hold off competition. Yet, the letter was stopped before it could reach Anda's camp.⁸² On 19 March 1763, the interim Governor-general and Archbishop Manuel Antonio Rojo (g. 1761-1762), prisoner in Manila, sent a letter of protest to the council, objecting Israel's return and the British treaties with Sulu. He highlighted the agreed capitulations between the British and the Spaniards as well as earlier agreements with the sultan. His main arguments were, on the one hand, that the British would stir up the Sulu to attack Christian settlements (against agreements to preserve 'life, liberty, and fortunes' of Spanish subjects), and on the other, 'that a preliminary treaty of peace and a voluntary cession both of the sultan and his son towards an establishment of the Spaniards both in Xolo and Basilan with other privileges in those Islands, have been made beforehand.' The British were fast in responding. First, they wrote that they recognized no Spanish rights over Sulu whatsoever and contradicted the archbishop by highlighting that the 'Island never was included among the Philippines.' Second, they stated that while Simon de Anda was fighting against British forces, they did not see themselves bound to the articles of the capitulation and hence, any support from Sulu against the Spaniards was welcomed.⁸³ Rojo repeated his complaint on 16 April 1764, but received the same negative answer.⁸⁴

81 MC, III, 40-41; MC, VI, 71-73; IOR/H/629, 479-483 (Miscellaneous collection of firmans and treaties, Spanish translations of the cession (19th Sept. 1763) and the grant (2nd July 1764) of Balambangan; also originals).

82 MC, V, 73-74, and 221-30; Julian, 'British Projects and Activities in the Philippines: 1759-1805', 91.

83 MC, VI, 58 (including all quotes); Julian, 'British Projects and Activities in the Philippines: 1759-1805', 45; see also Tracy, *Manila Ransomed*, 73-74; Willi of Gais, *The Early Relations*, 47.

84 MC, VI, 81.

Consequently, the council continued to prepare the *Saint Ann*, Prince Israel was given 1000 pesos for the travel by way of credit, and goods were chartered for commerce with the Sulu archipelago. On 14 April 1763, Azim ud-Din, Israel, and the Sulu ambassador attended another council meeting, where they confirmed and ratified the treaty of alliance agreed to on 23 February. The prince as well as the ambassador, ready to leave for Sulu, were reminded not to forget the friendship with the British.⁸⁵ In any case, the council did not seem to be overly concerned if Azim ud-Din would finally be reinstalled as sultan of Sulu but they did seem worried about the merchandise they intended to send and the possible profits in the subsequent trade with China.⁸⁶ In the letter to Alexander Dalrymple (supposedly in Sulu), on 11 April 1763, the council explained their objectives, which were set on commercial gains: ‘a very extensive & Profitable Commerce will hereby be opened with the Adjacent Islands.’⁸⁷ Shortly after, in the second half of April of 1763, Israel and the two ambassadors left Manila on the *Saint Ann* under Captain Mathews.⁸⁸

In the meantime, Dalrymple had returned from his second Sulu voyage on the *London* to Madras on 26 March 1763. Due to the troubled political and administrative situation in Jolo, he recommended to stop the trade with the Tausug for the time being until a new government was in place. To facilitate future commerce, he strongly recommended the establishment of a British settlement first.⁸⁹

On 24 May 1763, an accident happened and a Sulu ship in Manila Bay, mistaken for a Spanish one, was burned by the British navy. On board was the new Sulu ambassador.⁹⁰ Three men were wounded but the letters from Sultan Bantilan were saved. They contained his congratulations for the successful conquest of Manila and the offer of military assistance. The council welcomed this news, paid compensations for the losses infringed by the navy, and allotted an allowance for the Sulu ambassador during his stay.⁹¹

85 MC, VI, 71-3, 80.

86 MC, VI, 75.

87 MC, VI, 79-80.

88 On April 14, 1763, Prince Israel was still attending a meeting in Manila. MC, VI, 71-73.

89 Julian, ‘British Projects and Activities in the Philippines: 1759-1805’, 40-41.

90 MC, VI, 111.

91 MC, VI, 112-13, 149.

On 29 July 1763, the *Saint Ann* returned to Manila with remarkable news. Sultan Bantilan had died and his three sons had now assumed leadership of the Sulu government. On 7 May 1763, Prince Israel arrived in Sulu and was embraced upon his return and included in the government. The British were warmly welcomed and friendship with Britain was accepted. The establishment of commercial relations had been promised as well as to soon return outstanding debts with the EIC. The latter part of the promise did not please the EIC council in Manila, because its members would have preferred to receive the repayment right away. Hence, the council's hopes for a fruitful trade with Sulu received a setback and the need for a fortified factory was highlighted by the council. The small returns of the *Saint Ann*, consisting of sago and pearl shells, were sent to Canton for resale.⁹²

By then the plans regarding a factory in Balambangan came back in view for the EIC. Yet, the cession of that island from 12 September 1762 was not enough for Alexander Dalrymple to guarantee the strategic control of the Strait of Balabac, the northern entry into the Sulu Sea. To forestall any possible Dutch competition, he pushed for a more comprehensive cession to Britain by the new Sulu rulers. On 19 September 1763, the three sons of Bantilan and Prince Israel signed another cession, which ceded the northern part of Borneo and the southern part of Palawan, as well as all islands in between to the Company to trade and build repair yards and fortresses.⁹³ Content with this concession, Dalrymple left Sulu and arrived in Manila on 6 October 1763, to finalize this arrangement with Azim ud-Din. Effectively, this treaty came to replace the one signed by the council and Azim ud-Din on February 23, 1763. The islands ceded to the Company were to be governed by Datu Sarapodin, another son of Azim ud-Din.⁹⁴

Between October and November, the main concern of the council in Manila and of Alexander Dalrymple seemed to have been to redeem the debt (a total of 74,673 dollars) and to buy goods from Sulu, which was rather problematic.⁹⁵ During these months, Dalrymple already prepared his return

92 MC, VI, 159, 168-69.

93 IOR/H/629, 460-502 (Miscellaneous collection of firmans and treaties, Spanish translations of the cession (19th Sept. 1763) and the grant (2nd July 1764) of Balambangan; also originals); IOR/H/99, 263-64 (Company to Lord Weymouth, 19.9.1763)

94 Julian, 'British Projects and Activities in the Philippines: 1759-1805', 42-45.

95 MC, VI, 192-204, 247; Julian, 'British Projects and Activities in the Philippines:

to Jolo, eager to take Azim ud-Din with him as well as numerous Chinese volunteers, who in his view would be very helpful as settlers for a future British factory in the Sulu realms.⁹⁶

A final episode during the occupation of Manila shows the peculiar setting between the Spanish, the British and Sulu. In January of 1764, a body of Sulu troops landed in or near Tayabas to support the British contingents against Anda ‘in case he should refuse to come to terms.’⁹⁷ The council decided to send a messenger to invite them to support the British directly in Manila,⁹⁸ yet it seems that their help was not needed in the end.

Just before the British left Manila, in March of 1764, the situation of Azim ud-Din, became one of the last critical issues in the negotiations. The Spanish delegates insisted that ‘Neither the Vassalls or Allies of his Catholic Majesty are to be compelled to take part nor withdraw from these Islands and particularly the King of Xolo.’⁹⁹ The Spaniards insisted ‘that the King of Xolo Ferdinand the first may not be carry’d away nor sent to his Kingdom upon Account of his having business and other Affairs depending’,¹⁰⁰ but the council replied that ‘the King of Sooloo declaring himself an Ally to his Britannick Majesty & Claiming the Protection of His Flag will be protected by it in his Return to his Kingdom at his Request.’¹⁰¹ Also, a last interview with the sultan was apparently denied, and finally, the EIC left Manila Bay on 16 April 1764, and returned via Jolo to Madras.¹⁰²

The Sulu Sea (1764-1768)

When the British fleet departed from Manila, Azim ud-Din—after 16 years of custody—went with it. On 17 May 1764, he arrived in Jolo and on 8 June 1764, he resumed his title, while his nephew Azim ud-Din II (g. 1763-1764, 1778-1791) withdrew with his retinue.¹⁰³ About three weeks later, on 29

1759-1805’, 41.

96 MC, VI, 244-47.

97 The council was informed since at least June 19, 1763 that Britain was at peace with Spain. MC, VI, 133.

98 MC, IX, 2, 13-16.

99 MC, IX, 43.

100 MC, IX, 67-68.

101 MC, IX, 72.

102 MC, X, 22.

103 Majul, *Muslims in the Philippines*, 22, 259.

June 1764, and without the approval of the council at Madras or the court of directors in London, Dalrymple organized the ratification of Azim ud-Din's cession, which included parts of Northeast Borneo, Palawan and the islands in between. The Company became the owner of these lands, while one of Azim ud-Din's sons (Israel or Sarapodin) became its governor.¹⁰⁴

While the rest of the fleet continued for Madras, Dalrymple decided to stay behind with a considerable contingent of '1000 to 2000 Chinese, 1 officer, 39 Coffreys, 81 Sepoys and 4 artillery-men, and a large quantity of military stores.'¹⁰⁵ The obvious intention was to lay the foundation of a settlement in the Sulu realm—without previous permission from the Company. Dalrymple then continued to the Island of Balambangan, where he waited until September for reinforcements and provisions, which, however, never arrived. Disappointed, he returned to Sulu where he provisioned himself and sailed for Canton. He arrived there in November and, after finishing his business, he left again in January of 1765, reaching England on 10 July 1765.¹⁰⁶

In Manila, the Spanish officials had taken over the government again. Their relations with Sulu remained stable and without major confrontations,¹⁰⁷ yet, they were confronted with massive incursions of the Maguindanao, Maranao, and Tirun raiders in the south of the Philippines.¹⁰⁸ At the same time, the British activities in the Sulu Sea were disturbing Manila, and already in 1764, the new governor-general directed a letter to Madras, protesting against the British plan to establish a settlement in the Sulu realm. According to his reasoning, this would go against the Treaty of Paris (1763) and even the treaty of Munster (1648). Apparently, the protest, even though weak in argumentation, was enough to delay the Sulu plans of the Company. Yet, even more importantly, the Dutch now were fully aware of the British plan to set foot on Sulu and Borneo and protested diplomatically against this competition. At the same time, they launched ships from Batavia to threaten

104 Willi of Gais, *The Early Relations*, 56; Julian, 'British Projects and Activities in the Philippines: 1759-1805', 50-2.

105 Julian, 'British Projects and Activities in the Philippines: 1759-1805', 48.

106 Julian, 'British Projects and Activities in the Philippines: 1759-1805', 50-53.

107 Warren, *The Sulu Zone, 1768-1898*, 18-24; Majul, *Muslims in the Philippines*, 258-60.

108 Barrantes, *Guerras piraticas*, 54; Montero y Vidal, *Historia de la piratería*, vol. I, 333-35; Dery, *The Kris in Philippine History*, 35; Warren, *The Sulu Zone, 1768-1898*, 168.

the Company.¹⁰⁹ In the end, however, neither Dutch nor Spanish actions stopped the Company's ambitions in the region.

Dalrymple's superiors in Madras would have been inclined to accept his action and the cession, however, things took a different turn.¹¹⁰ When departing from Jolo in September of 1764, Dalrymple left many troops in Jolo behind to be picked up two months later. Yet, six months passed and no extra money or supplies were sent. Consequently, tensions with Sulu broke out and people got killed. Ironically, Manila offered them help if they would manage to come to Zamboanga. Finally, they were picked up in March 1765 by a British ship. The respective reports of the rescue mission from British officers in charge were very pessimistic with regard to a future Sulu cooperation.¹¹¹ Thence the British-Sulu relations deteriorated and, in addition, the Madras council had no Sulu cessions or treatises in their hands, because Dalrymple had taken everything with him to London.¹¹²

In light of these many problems, the board of directors in London shelved the Sulu project for some time. However, the directors were still aware of the good opportunities of a fruitful Sulu trade and intended to keep the Balambangan option open, recommending to not worsen the relations any further. With regard to the outstanding debt from 1763, it was decided not to insist on the payment because the chances for an easy settlement were considered very low. Trade with the Sulu without explicit license was forbidden in order to avoid aggravating mutual relations 'nor cause of jealousy be given to the Dutch or Spaniards.'¹¹³

In Jolo, the influx of Chinese craftspeople and traders that had fled from Manila, the massive immigration of the Iranun—caused by a volcano outbreak in their homeland in 1765—, and the consolidation of the Tausug political system contributed to the rise of the Sulu Sultanate in the subsequent years. Many of these immigrants were excellent seamen, craftsmen, or traders, establishing new cross-regional networks. Their arrival in the Sulu region provided the Tausug with additional manpower, which was essential

109 Willi of Gais, *The Early Relations*, 48–52.

110 Willi of Gais, *The Early Relations*, 57–58.

111 Julian, 'British Projects and Activities in the Philippines: 1759-1805', 53–54.

112 Willi of Gais, *The Early Relations*, 58–59; Majul, *Muslims in the Philippines*, 259.

113 IOR/E/4/863 (Balambangan, grants of Sultan of Sulu to East India Company, ca. 1765), 327–30.

in such a region with low population density.¹¹⁴ Azim ud-Din's government continued to develop Jolo's position as entrepot of European and Chinese trade in the Sulu Sea.¹¹⁵ Consequently, Spain and Britain, and even the Dutch tried to make their case and prove their rights on Sulu, going as far back to the Treaty of Tordesillas.¹¹⁶

The EIC in Balambangan (1768-1775)

Back in London, Dalrymple proposed to the court of directors of the Company in 1767 another voyage of discovery in the area. The Company hence started an intense assessment process and concluded that the recommended trading outpost in Balambangan would indeed be ideal. However, the situation had to be vetted with regard to possible Dutch or Spanish objections.¹¹⁷ In 1768, the Company sent official petitions (on 7 July and 28 October) to King George III (r. 1760-1820), with the recommendation of taking possession of Balambangan. This island should become the most distant outpost of the empire. The purpose was to create an entrepot between India, China, Southeast Asia, and the Isles of the Pacific.¹¹⁸

George III was delighted by the expansion plans of the Company, however, he wanted the plans to be studied even more with regard to possible international implications.¹¹⁹ The scrutiny as well as the negotiations of the

114 Thomas Forrest, *A Voyage to New Guinea and the Moluccas from Balambangan* (Dublin: Price, W. and H. Whitestone, 1779), 193; Tarling, *Sulu and Sabah*, 10, 38-39; James F. Warren, *Iranun and Balangingi: Globalization, Maritime Raiding, and the Birth of Ethnicity* (Quezon City: New Day, 2002), 26, 32; Montero y Vidal, *Historia de la piratería*, vol. 1, 342; Anthony Reid, 'Economic and Social Change, c. 1400-1800', in *Cambridge History of Southeast Asia*, ed. by Nicholas Tarling, 2 vols, vol. 1 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 460-507 (463).

115 Dalrymple, *Oriental Repertory*, 578.

116 Tarling, *Sulu and Sabah*, 22-28; Miguel A. Espina, *Apuntes para hacer un libro sobre Joló* (Manila: Imprenta de M. Perez, 1888), 290.

117 Willi of Gais, *The Early Relations*, 61-62; see also Julian, 'British Projects and Activities in the Philippines: 1759-1805', 55.

118 Willi of Gais, *The Early Relations*, 63. As the proposal was largely based on Dalrymple's report, which were founded on unreasonable expectations of inclined Sulu, prolific trade possibilities and little opposition of Spain and the Dutch, the chances of success were little right from the start. Willi of Gais, *The Early Relations*, 63, see also Julian, 'British Projects and Activities in the Philippines: 1759-1805', 61.

119 IOR/H/99, 253-256. (Company to Lord Weymouth, 16.12.1768); Willi of Gais, *The Early Relations*, 65.

terms of the project dragged on for some more years. In the meantime, after having sent the first petitions to the king, the Company had prematurely—without royal consent—sent orders to India to take possession of Balambangan on 4 November 1768.¹²⁰ The British flag was again hoisted on 30 July 1769, and Captain Trotter, sailed to Sulu, renewing the friendship and the cession with the aging Azim ud-Din and the acting ruler of Sulu, Prince Israel. Since the Sulu raids on Spanish coasts had increased during this period and frictions with Manila were strong, this alliance with the British was welcome in Jolo.¹²¹ Manila observed in these years that the British were supporting Sulu with weapons, powder, ammunition, tooling, but also training and guidance in their incursions.¹²²

In any case, the Company's instructions were not very clear at that time, and the small contingent of troops stationed in Balambangan had to suffer lack of provisions and constant fear of Dutch attacks. Moreover, it was generally accepted that the island of Palawan belonged to the Spanish Empire in spite of the cessions. Upon learning of the premature EIC inroad in 1768 in Sulu, George III was rather disappointed and stalled the process. Hence, nothing was really constructed permanently in Balambangan, and in 1771 Madras and Bengal just sent a ship there each in preparation for a possible future expedition from London. As the EIC had just hugely extended their sway over India, Sulu was not pre-eminent in their many preoccupations.¹²³

In March of 1771, the project seemed to have failed, when, on the one hand, the king signaled additional political concerns and, on the other, Dalrymple was dismissed due to his seemingly exorbitant demands. However, the preparations continued and in June 1771, definite orders were issued to Captain Swithin on the *Britannia*, with John Herbert as chief of the undertaking. Finally, the crown had given permission that an independent

120 IOR/H/99, 259-262 (Copy of a letter send from the Court of Directors to Bombay 4.11.1768).

121 Willi of Gais, *The Early Relations*, 74; Julian, 'British Projects and Activities in the Philippines: 1759-1805', 56, 178.

122 Barrantes, *Guerras piráticas*, 52. Warren, *The Sulu Zone, 1768-1898*, 25-26. This trade was not carried out by the Company alone, also the local British traders (country traders) commuted between India and Jolo, competing with the EIC. Warren, *The Sulu Zone, 1768-1898*, 23.

123 Willi of Gais, *The Early Relations*, 75-76; Julian, 'British Projects and Activities in the Philippines: 1759-1805', 56-57.

factory should be constructed, including proper defense mechanisms against local powers. Its purpose was to be a place for free trade and to enable the Company's monopoly on spices, raw silk, and opium. Evidently, the settlement should become a trade emporium and facilitate the Indian and Chinese trade of the EIC, connecting them in addition with the local principalities.¹²⁴

On 17 January 1772, Captain Swithin delivered the new instructions to the council in Bombay, yet due to unfortunate circumstances, such as bad weather and absences and illnesses of officers, the beginning of the expedition was delayed. John Herbert, the chief of the expedition—after returning from holidays—was slow in the implementation and even opposed the project as he saw no advantage in establishing a factory in Balambangan. He seemed to be much more interested in his private profits than in the benefit of the empire.¹²⁵

When the *Britannia* arrived in Sulu on 16 July 1773, it was cordially received by Israel, who was to become sultan in the following months (r. 1774-1778). On the occasion of his election, Carlos III of Spain (r. 1759-1788) sent his congratulations and expressed his desire for peaceful relations with the sultan of Sulu. During these years, two dominant fractions existed among the Tausug, one in favor of Spain and another one for the British.¹²⁶

Mr Herbert extended his stay in Jolo to four months, engaging in private trade and defrauding the Company on various levels. Disputes broke out between the Tausug and some crew members of the *Britannia*, which however were eventually settled. The mismanagement of a total of over 230,000 pounds by Mr Herbert was excessive and years later the EIC directors would render a hard judgment on his conduct. Yet for the time, Mr Herbert continued commanding the expedition, which finally cast anchor in Balambangan on 12 December 1773—two and a half years after the *Britannia* had received its orders.¹²⁷

124 Willi of Gais, *The Early Relations*, 66–73; Julian, 'British Projects and Activities in the Philippines: 1759-1805', 62–65, 179–81.

125 Willi of Gais, *The Early Relations*, 77–80; Julian, 'British Projects and Activities in the Philippines: 1759-1805', 182–87.

126 Montero y Vidal, *Historia de la piratería*, vol. 1, 337–38; Majul, *Muslims in the Philippines*, 310; Tarling, *Sulu and Sabah*, 29; 'Barrantes, *Guerras piráticas*, 72–73; Majul, *Muslims in the Philippines*, 23; Julian, 'British Projects and Activities in the Philippines: 1759-1805', 185; Najeeb M. Saleeby, *The History of Sulu* (Manila: Bureau of Printing, 1908), appendix XI, 319–20; Montero y Vidal, *Historia de la piratería*, vol. 2, appendix, 42–43.

127 Willi of Gais, *The Early Relations*, 82–89; Julian, 'British Projects and Activities in the

Within a year, Mr Herbert organized the building of a proper village, a harbor, and a stockade at the northern bay of Balambangan. Yet, things did not go as expected. Some of the potential trading partners lost their interest and some vessels were shipwrecked or fell prey to pirates. Many junks, which usually passed by, avoided the route in 1774 and the lucrative trade with Manila was officially forbidden.¹²⁸ On the other hand, a decent trade developed with Brunei and Mindanao, and Herbert send out an expedition to explore the coast of New Guinea.¹²⁹ The trade with Jolo consisted above all of weapons, ammunitions—officially, against their common enemies from Brunei and Mindanao—and piece goods from India, and for the first time also opium was introduced in large quantities. Yet, Mr Herbert and his team’s commercial understanding of the region was inadequate and their overall financial conduct seemed horrendous.¹³⁰ No profits were ever registered and loads of credit bonds were issued without the backing of the Company.¹³¹ In other words, the team was highly corrupt, mis-using their position of power for private gains.

The presence of the Company in Balambangan was observed critically from Manila and the conduct of Chief Herbert and his council was not acceptable to them. In 1775, the Spanish ambassador in England sent a protest note, stating that Balambangan was supporting raiding parties against the Philippines with arms and ammunition. Abashed by these accusations, the directors in London reminded their employees that any aggressive act against European or other nations was strictly forbidden.¹³² While, Governor-general Anda y Salazar (g. 1770-1776) issued orders to reinforce the fortress of Zamboanga to prepare for the worst, he also strengthened the diplomatic relations with Jolo. For almost two months, a Spanish ambassador remained

Philippines: 1759-1805’, 185–88.

128 Willi of Gais, *The Early Relations*, 92–95.

129 See the report of Forrest, *A Voyage to New Guinea and the Moluccas*.

130 Warren, *The Sulu Zone, 1768-1898*, 19-22, 30.

131 Willi of Gais, *The Early Relations*, 106.

132 Julian, ‘British Projects and Activities in the Philippines: 1759-1805’, 60, 192. It is very conceivable that Dalrymple had introduced the trade in weapons and ammunition keeping in mind that it would strengthen the Sulu against Spanish and Dutch competitors. Warren, *The Sulu Zone, 1768-1898*, 22. Herbert disregarded any diplomatic concerns of the Company and continued to trade in weapons and ammunition. Warren, *The Sulu Zone, 1768-1898*, 29.

in the Sulu capital. He successfully negotiated with the Tausug and even organized dance classes for the high nobility in Jolo.¹³³

While Spain managed to improve its relations with Jolo in these years, including their trade,¹³⁴ the relations between the Tausug and the EIC deteriorated. Sultan Israel was in fact openly opposed to the settlement in Balambangan, which threatened his authority, and introduced a five percent duty on the trade. The British, on the other hand, secretly supported his political adversaries in Jolo and intensified trade with Maguindanao, a competitor of Sulu.¹³⁵ The tensions culminated on 26 February 1775, when native warriors under the Tausug datu Teteng attacked the factory and ousted the British, killing some of them in the act. Initially, Teteng, a relative of Sultan Israel, had been sent to support the British with their construction works. Yet, he had incurred large debts and when he was not able to pay them back, he was publicly humiliated, which was probably one reason for his attack. It is unclear how well Sultan Israel was informed of this matter or if even he himself ordered the attack, driven by the pro-Spanish fraction at the court.¹³⁶ Another theory maintains that Mr Herbert was fully aware of the imminent attack—shortly before his relief as chief due to mismanagement¹³⁷—and on purpose did not procure proper measures to defend the village to cover up

133 Barrantes, *Guerras piráticas*, 65–72; Montero y Vidal, *Historia de la piratería*, vol. 1, 336–40.

134 Barrantes, *Guerras piráticas*, 62–92; Saleeby, *The History of Zulu*, appendix XI, 319–20; Julian, ‘British Projects and Activities in the Philippines: 1759–1805’, 194–95; Eberhard Crailsheim, ‘Trading with the Enemy: Commerce between Spaniards and ‘Moros’ in the Early Modern Philippines’, *Vegueta: Anuario de la Facultad de Geografía e Historia*, 20 (2020), 81–111; Jolo was in conflict with many neighbors in these years, with Brunei as well as with the Maguindanao and the Iranun. Warren, *The Sulu Zone, 1768–1898*, 32–34.

135 Warren, *The Sulu Zone, 1768–1898*, 28, 32.

136 IOR/H/119, 67–69 (The EIC directors are informed from the Fort Marlborough about Teteng’s attack on Balambangan, 15.2.1776); Barrantes, *Guerras piráticas*, 96–100; Forrest, *A Voyage to New Guinea and the Moluccas*, 357–58; Montero y Vidal, *Historia de la piratería*, vol. 1, 347–51; Julian, ‘British Projects and Activities in the Philippines: 1759–1805’, 198; see also Saleeby, *The History of Sulu*, 183–87; Majul, *Muslims in the Philippines*, 262; Warren, *The Sulu Zone, 1768–1898*, 34; Willi of Gais, *The Early Relations*, 109–11.

137 IOR/E/4/866, 147, 151 (23.12.1774, New chief and council) and 155r–159r (4.1.1775, New chief and council); IOR/H/122, 6 (Extract of the general letter from Bengalen, 20.11.1775).

for his malpractices and to secure his riches.¹³⁸ In any case, the Company was informed that ‘not one paper [...] either publick or private being saved.’¹³⁹

Datu Teteng returned to Jolo and shared the enormous booty of merchandise, money, supplies, weapons and ships—according to Herbert amounting to 926,886 pesos—with the Tausug leaders. Sultan Israel, hence had a handsome profit from the enterprise. When the representative of the Company arrived and demanded a compensation of 400,000 pesos, the sultan, ‘in the most arrogant and haughty manner,’ refused to pay.¹⁴⁰ The Spanish government in Manila, on the other hand, was content that the British were gone, even more so as the Zamboanga governor also received a precious gift from Teteng.¹⁴¹ Once the British competitors were gone and with the massive loot, the Sulu Sultanate rose in subsequent years to become a strong regional emporium, giving it a considerable advantage over its direct neighbors such as the Sultanate of Maguindanao, which had in addition lost the Company as supplier of essential goods.¹⁴²

The Aftermath of Balambangan

After the fall of Balambangan, the British at first continued their efforts in the region. John Herbert ordered the construction of a factory on the Island of Labuan, which was given to the Company on 28 March 1775 by the sultan of Brunei.¹⁴³ Yet soon after, and in particular because of the many irregularities of Herbert’s government, the directors mandated the closure

138 Willi of Gais, *The Early Relations*, 112–13.

139 IOR/H/119, 268 (Extract from the general Letter from the President and Council of Fort Marlborough to the Court of Directors, 24.7.1775); see also Julian, ‘British Projects and Activities in the Philippines: 1759–1805’, 201.

140 IOR/H/122, 5–8 (Extract of the general letter from Bengalen, 20.11.1775); IOR/H/119, 267–69 (Extract from the general Letter from the President and Council of Fort Marlborough to the Court of Directors, 24.7.1775); Willi of Gais, *The Early Relations*, 114; Julian, ‘British Projects and Activities in the Philippines: 1759–1805’, 203.

141 Majul, *Muslims in the Philippines*, 263. In any case, Manila was not willing to guarantee military support in case of a British attack on the Sulu, as this was not included in their alliance. Montero y Vidal, *Historia de la piratería*, vol. 1, 349.

142 Tomás de Comyn and José Felipe del Pan, *Las Islas Filipinas. Progresos en 70 años* (Manila: Imprenta de La Oceania Española, 1878), 170–71; Warren, *The Sulu Zone, 1768–1898*, 36–37.

143 Willi of Gais, *The Early Relations*, 109.

of all factories in Southeast Asia and hence the EIC withdrew for the next decade from the region¹⁴⁴—much to the relief of Spanish Manila.

Thus ended the British expansion in Southeast Asia that had started with Dalrymple's ideas and explorations. The British colonial expansion in Southeast Asia had reached a peak during the Manila conquest and another one with the establishment of the Balambangan factory, but it ended in disaster. Consequently, this experience discouraged the Company for many years to repeat any other major Southeast Asian endeavor (until Penang was ceded under duress in 1786 by Kedah Sultan to the EIC). The Spaniards on the other hand, seized the moment to start a restructuring process of their economy. They developed the idea of intensifying their regional commerce¹⁴⁵ even with their neighbors from Mindanao and Jolo.¹⁴⁶ At the same time, they felt the need to strengthen their defenses against European forces and regional 'pirates' alike.¹⁴⁷

The British occupation of Manila was, in the end, only a brief interplay with varying effects on the three investigated states. It made the Spaniards start a reformation process for their Asian economy and rethink the strategic value of Manila. The British, on the other hand, after their departure from Manila, refrained from great expansionist plans in the region and settled to only hold a small island in the Sulu Sea, which in the end did not work out at all. The Tausug, finally, thanks to the British, regained an old ruler with new ideas, a new ally with threatening plans, and in the end, a huge treasure, which enabled them to remain the dominant power in the Sulu Sea for the next century. All three developments are intertwined and show that when looking at the British occupation of Manila, we must not forget the Sultanate of Sulu as an important factor in the equation.

144 IOR/H/119, 271-72 (Forbidding them to settle elsewhere in these Eastern Seas, 20.2.1776); Forrest, *A Voyage to New Guinea and the Moluccas*, 383; Willi of Gais, *The Early Relations*, 114.

145 Francisco Leandro de Viana, 'Memorial: Manila, February 10, 1765', in *The Philippine Islands 1493-1803*, ed. by E. H. Blair and J. A. Robertson, 55 vols (New York: AMS Press, 1962), vol. 48, 197-338.

146 Crailsheim, 'Trading with the Enemy'.

147 Crailsheim, '¿Fortalecer la cohesión interna? El "peligro moro" en las Filipinas coloniales en la segunda mitad del siglo XVIII', in *Filipinas, siglo XIX: Coexistencia e interacción entre comunidades en el imperio español*, ed. by María Dolores Elizalde and X. Huetz de Lempis (Madrid: Polifemo, 2017), 393-425.

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PHILIPPINE HISTORIES mention the British Occupation of the Philippines as “an interruption” of the 333 years of Spanish rule in the Philippines. But as the papers in this volume show, that two-year interlude was not just a period of conquest, but a time of challenge and change for the Spanish Empire and its colonial outpost in the Pacific as, for the first time, another European colonizer would supplant its imperial hold.

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THIS EDITED VOLUME explores the British Invasion of Manila and Cavite in 1762, offering a collection of articles that highlight the enduring impact of this historical event on Spanish-ruled Philippines. Based on proceedings from the Annual Philippine Studies Conference at SOAS, University of London, the articles contribute to the historical discourse by focusing on unconventional sources for knowledge production and creating a resource book of primary source materials as references for further study. Going beyond methodologies and historical narratives produced by centres of power, the volume expands the Occupation’s geographic influence from Batanes to Sulu, looks into the socioeconomic losses, reversals and new opportunities leading to and after the invasion, and advances more productive ways of historicising the occupation by centring on issues of local agency and resistance.



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