

PHILIPPINE
POLITICAL and CULTURAL
HISTORY

VOLUME II

*The Philippines Since
the British Invasion*

GREGORIO F. ZAIDE

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VOLUME II

The Philippines Since the British Invasion

By

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"We the new men sprang from Philippine soil and with the recollection of the Philippines' past, ought to enter freely upon the wide road of progress, and should labor together to strengthen our fatherland, both internally and externally, with the same enthusiasm with which a youth falls again to tilling the land of his ancestors so long wasted and abandoned through the neglect of those who have withheld it from him."—DR. JOSE RIZAL

REVISED EDITION 1957



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PREFACE TO REVISED EDITION

Out of the ashes of the Second World War was born the Republic of the Philippines, the only Christian democracy in Southeast Asia. Since its emergence on July 4, 1946, by the grace of God and with the blessing of America, it has demonstrated a remarkable record of achievements in politics, economy, culture, and diplomacy, worthy of its spur as a sovereign state. Notwithstanding its extreme youth and small size, it has already won high prestige in the global affairs. It has participated actively in the proceedings of the United Nations and in various international congresses. It is, presently, playing a leading role in the preservation of democracy, peace, and security in Asia.

The story of the Philippines should be told. It is of paramount interest and significance not only to the Filipinos, but to all peoples of the world. For it is an epic of freedom, a saga of Asian democracy.

This two-volume work relates this fascinating tale of an Asian republic. In the first volume, the pre-Spanish and early Spanish periods are narrated. This particular volume (Volume II) deals with the history of the Philippines from the British attack on Manila in 1762 to the present year (1956), which marks the milestone of the first decade of the Republic of the Philippines. The period under study is astirred with thrilling passages of wars, battles, revolts, and revolutions; it is likewise fruitful with peacetime achievements, as evinced by the political growth, economic development, and cultural progress of the Filipino people.

A paramount feature of Philippine history is the rise of a new Asian nation, whose racial ancestry is a blend of the Asian races and invigorated by the ethnic strains of the West, and whose civilization is an admixture of the Asian, Spanish, and American cultural heritages. Of all Asian nations, the Filipinos are, verily, the most unique. They are the only Christian nation in Southeast Asia; they are the only English-speaking people in all Asia; and they are the most Westernized nation in the Asian world. Only in the Philippines, of all countries of Southeast Asia, does an English-

speaking visitor feel at home and sojourn pleasantly without the services of an interpreter.

Many colleagues and friends have aided me in the preparation of this work. To list their names and cite the particular assistance given to me would require another volume. Suffice for me to express my gratitude to a few close ones, such as Professor Esteban A. de Ocampo, a very intimate college pal and now a professor of history at the University of the East and the MLQ Educational Institution, for his valuable suggestions on certain chapters; Professor Faustino G. Bugante, one of the top grammarians at the University of Manila, for improving the diction and style of the manuscript; and Mrs. Dolores M. Zaide, my understanding wife, for her encouragement in my arduous research for materials and for her patient proof-reading of the work during the printing stage. To those, whose names cannot be mentioned here for lack of space, I am also grateful, and for them I sincerely extend a greeting that comes from my heart: "God bless you."

For the merits of this work, I am deeply indebted to those who helped me. And for the opinions expressed in these pages and for whatever errors which the readers may find, I am solely responsible.

GREGORIO F. ZAIDE

October 15, 1957
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CHAPTER I

BRITISH INVASION OF THE PHILIPPINES

The Seven Years' War in Europe (1756-63) had its repercussions in the Philippines when the British invaded this country in 1762. Spain, being unprepared, readily gave up Manila; but she was able to defend the provinces because of the heroic resistance of Don Simon de Anda and the loyal Filipinos. The occupation of Manila by the British (1762-64) was just one of the incidents of the war which affected the ultramarine possessions of the combatants, as were also seen in the French and Indian War in America and the Clive-Dupleix strife in India. The British did not remain long in Manila, however, for they evacuated the city soon after war's end, hardly two years after its capture, but this short incident has left an indelible impress upon Philippine history.

Why the British Came. England and France, two traditional rivals for global colonization in the 18th century, were the principal actors in the Seven Years' War. In the course of this struggle King Louis XV of France, a Bourbon, sought the help of his kinsman, Charles III, the Bourbon king of Spain. Accordingly, a dynastic allegiance known as "Family Compact" was signed at Versailles on August 25, 1761, in which the Spanish king promised to help France in the war against England, in return for which aid the French king would restore Minorca to Spain.¹

So it came to pass that Spain was dragged into the maelstrom of the Seven Years' War. England declared war against Spain on January 2, 1762 and British expeditionary forces were readied upon order of King George III to attack Spanish possessions in the New World and in the Orient. In India, Lord Robert Clive prepared the British expedition for the conquest of the Philippines, a Spanish colony.

Warnings of Invasion. At the outbreak of war between Spain and England, the Philippines was woefully unprepared to repel a European foe. The military defenses of Manila were in a deplorable state of neglect. Moreover, Archbishop Manuel Antonio

¹ Vide C. Abbott, *The Expansion of Europe* (New York, 1928) Vol. II, p. 289; *The Cambridge Modern History* (Cambridge University Press, England, 1934). Vol. VI, pp. 344-346; and C. J. H. Hayes, *A Political and Cultural History of Modern Europe* (New York, 1947). Vol. I, pp. 342-343.

Rojo,² the acting governor-general, was unaware of the coming struggle because no official notice from Madrid reached him that war existed between Spain and England.

The Spanish authorities were forewarned of the impending British invasion, but they ignored the ominous warnings and failed to forearm. Some Armenian merchants from Madras, India, first told the Spanish authorities of the British military preparations for the conquest of Manila, and a certain secular priest in Manila received a letter from a friend corroborating this startling news. An Augustinian friar, Father Cuadrado, heard from a friend in China the news that Spain was at war with England. Finally, on September 14, 1762, an English vessel appeared in the vicinity of Corregidor, made soundings of Manila Bay, and sailed away without giving the customary salute to the port authorities.³

Notwithstanding all these manifest signs of danger, the inept and lethargic Spanish authorities failed to take precautionary measures. So when the British attack came, Manila surrendered as only an unprepared city could surrender.

Arrival of the British. At nightfall of September 22, 1762, shortly before the church bells chimed the Angelus, a strange fleet entered Manila Bay.⁴ The Spanish authorities thought the vessels to be Chinese sampans. They were deeply shocked upon learning later that the vessels were British warships on a mission of conquest.

The British expeditionary force was under the joint command of General William Draper⁵ and Admiral Samuel Cornish.⁶ It consist-

² Governor Pedro Manuel de Arandia (1754-59) died on May 31, 1759, leaving the gubernatorial chair vacant. Bishop Miguel Lino de Espeleta of Cebu, a Filipino prince of the Church, acted as Archbishop of Manila and Governor-General of the Philippines until the arrival of Archbishop Rojo, who took charge of the governorship. (Fr. Joaquin Martinez de Zuñiga, *Historia de las Islas Philipinas*, Sampaloc, 1803, pp. 597-600.)

³ For further study of the warnings of the British invasion, see Marquis de Ayerbe (Pedro Jordan de Iliries), *Sitio y conquista de Manila por los Ingleses en 1762* (Zaragoza, 1897), pp. 33-34; Guillaume Joseph Hyacinthe Jean Baptiste Le Gentil, *Voyage dans les mers de l'Inde* (Paris, 1779-81), Vol. II, pp. 236-237; and Zuñiga, *op. cit.*, pp. 601-603.

⁴ This date—September 22, 1762—is taken from Spanish sources. It should be September 23, considering the fact that all Spanish dates until January 1, 1845 (when our calendar was finally rectified by Governor Narciso Claveria) were one day behind standard time.

⁵ General Draper, a son of a customs collector, was born in Bristol, England, in 1721, and was educated at Eton and Cambridge University. Joining the army of the British East India Company, he saw active service in India, rising to the rank of colonel in 1760 and attaining the rank of brigadier general in 1761. While on a brief vacation in China, he studied the military conditions of the Philippines and found them to be weak. At the outbreak of war with Spain, he was appointed military commander of the British expedition to Manila. The Spanish flags captured in Manila were donated by him to his alma mater, Cambridge University. After the war, he retired to South Carolina and in 1769 he married the daughter of Chief Justice Lancey of New York. He became governor-general of Minorca. He died on January 8, 1787 while in retirement at Bath, England (Blair and Robertson, *The Philippine Islands*, Vol. XLIX, pp. 46-47, note.)

⁶ The facts regarding Admiral Cornish's life are meager. In 1743, when captain of the 50-gun *Guernsey*, he destroyed a Spanish privateer near Cape de Gatt. In 1759 he was sent to India and took part in the attacks against the French in Pondicherry (1760) and Mahe (1761). He was then already a rear admiral. Owing to his naval exploits in India, he was made commander of the fleet which was sent to Manila in 1762. After the war, he was made a baronet. His death occurred on October 30, 1770. (Blair and Robertson, *op. cit.*, Vol. XLIX, p. 44, note.)

ed of 13 ships and 6,830 men. The ships were as follow: *Norfolk* (flagship), *Elizabeth*, *Grafton*, *Lenox*, *Falmouth*, *Weymouth*, *America*, *Panther*, *Argo*, *Seashore*, *Osterly*, *Seaford*, and *South Sea Castle*. Of the invasion force, there were 1,500 European soldiers (including 250 French mercenaries), 3,000 European seamen and marines, two artillery companies, 800 Sepoys, and 1,400 Indian laborers.⁷

To oppose the British invaders, Manila had only 550 men of the King's Regiment and 80 Filipino artillerymen. Such meager force was hurriedly reenforced in subsequent days; but the city fortifications and walls were weak; the cannons were rusting with age; the powder was old and moldy; and the troops, owing to many years of peace and idleness, were poorly equipped and ill-disciplined. On top of all these predicaments, was the absence of an able military leader to direct the defenses of the city. Archbishop-Governor Rojo was a good man, a true minister of God; but he lacked military training and energetic leadership. Only a miracle could have saved Manila then, but that miracle never happened.

The Landing. On the morning of September 23, General Draper sent an ultimatum to the Spanish authorities demanding the surrender of Manila. Archbishop Rojo was alarmed, but he bravely rejected the British ultimatum, replying that the Spaniards "would never surrender in the face of danger, much less to be intimidated by arrogant threats."⁸ At nightfall of the same day, the British invaders, under cover of fleet barrages, landed at Malate, and unfortunately for them, under also a lashing typhoon. Some landing boats capsized, and one officer, Lieutenant Hardwick, was drowned. The city defenders offered little resistance if at all, and the invaders took possession of the Spanish powder works outside the city walls and the stone churches of Malate, Ermita, and Bagumbayan (Luneta). That same night the siege of Manila began.

The Siege. On the next morning, September 24, the British began shelling the beleaguered city. From the bastions of San Diego and San Andres the Spanish guns retaliated, but their discharges were futile against the sturdy churches occupied by the enemy. The artillery duel lasted the whole day, with the Spaniards on the worse end of the receiving line.

⁷ Eduardo Malo de Luque (pseudonym Duke of Almodovar), *Historia política de los establecimientos ultramarinos de las naciones europeas* (Madrid, 1790), Vol. V, p. 238. According to General Draper, the total British force numbered only 2,300 men. (Blair and Robertson, *op. cit.*, Vol. XLIX, p. 129.) Mr. Percy A. Hill, American writer, claimed that there were over 3,000 men in the British expedition. (Vide "The British Occupation of the Philippines", *Philippine Magazine*, Manila, August, 1936.)

⁸ Fr. Juan Ferrando and Fr. Joaquin Fonseca, *Historia de los PP. Dominicos en las Islas Filipinas y en sus misiones del Japon, China, Tunghin y Formosa* (Madrid, 1872), Vol. IV, p. 621. Cf. Rojo's Journal in Blair and Robertson, *op. cit.*, Vol. XLIX, p. 111.

On the night of September 24, the defenders, consisting of 800 Filipino lancers, 50 Spaniards, and some militiamen under the command of Chevalier Cesar Fayette (Fallet), made a daring sortie against the enemy.⁹ All night long Fayette hurled his men against the British lines. But, notwithstanding the reinforcements rushed to his assistance, including 1,500 Filipinos and two companies of Spanish troops, the British stoutly held their ground and drove Fayette and his men back to the city.

Filipino Gallantry. In Spain's darkest hour the Filipinos remained steadfast in defense of her honor and glory. Some 3,000 Filipino archers, on September 26, from Bulacan, Laguna, and Pampanga rallied to the support of the city. A few days later, over 4,500 more Filipino warriors swelled the number of the city defenders.

At dawn of October 3rd, under cover of pouring rain, the Filipinos led by Manalastas, a Pampangan leader, rushed out of their encampment, and, with unusual valor, threw their weight against the British trenches.¹⁰ In a bloody hand-to-hand combat which followed, about 200 British soldiers were killed. So furious was the attack that the enemy had to fall back on their second line of defense, and only the timely arrival of British reinforcements saved the day for England. The Filipinos, fighting with inferior weapons although with superb courage, and faced with overwhelming odds, withdrew to the city. Theirs was a magnificent effort at resistance ever demonstrated by the city's defenders throughout the siege. Their fighting spirit and fierce courage evoked praises from the enemy. In his *Journal*, General Draper wrote:¹¹

Had their skill or weapons been equal to their strength and ferocity, it might have cost us dear. Although armed chiefly with bows, arrows, and lances, they advanced up to the very muzzles of our pieces, repeated their assaults, and died like wild beasts, gnawing the bayonets.

The Spanish Council of War. After Manalastas' gallant, though futile, sortie, things loomed dark for Spain. Archbishop Rojo, realizing the gravity of the situation, convened a council of war in the afternoon of October 3rd. He submitted to this council

⁹ Chevalier Fayette was a French soldier-of-fortune and a friend of Archbishop Rojo. Later, when Manila fell into the hands of the British, he deserted the Spaniards and joined the enemy, for which reason he was branded a traitor by Spanish historians. He sailed to India with the British in 1764—a fugitive from Spanish court martial.

¹⁰ Vide Rojo's *Journal* in Blair and Robertson, *op. cit.*, Vol. XLIX, pp. 121-122; Fr. Zuñiga, *Historia*, pp. 614-615; and Jose Montero y Vidal, *Historia general de Filipinas* (Madrid, 1887), Vol. II, pp. 22-23.

¹¹ Blair and Robertson, *op. cit.*, Vol. XLIX, p. 93.

the fateful issue of whether to surrender to an obviously superior foe or continue the seemingly hopeless struggle. For long hours the army officers, ecclesiastical dignitaries, and civil officials strained for a decision. The officers, mostly Mexican Spaniards, vigorously advocated conditional surrender because of the futility of further resistance. They were, however, overruled by the majority members of the council led by the brave Marquis de Monteclaro.¹²

Having decided to continue the fight, the council agreed to send the royal treasurer, Don Nicolas de Echauz, to Paete, Laguna, with the government funds amounting to P222,000. At the same time, it appointed Don Simon de Anda, junior *oidor* of the Royal Audiencia, as lieutenant-governor and conferred upon him the authority and powers to mobilize the native population against the invaders.

The Fall of Manila. On the next day, October 4th, the British artillery under Major Barker fired heavy barrages on Manila's old walls, while Admiral Cornish's fleet batteries pounded them with unrelenting salvos. Hour after hour the British guns roared, leaving the bastion of San Andres a heap of ruins. Building after building within the city exploded into bits, and many more were aflame with the bursting shells. All day long the doomed city lay beneath the cruel blows of the enemy. The Spanish batteries retaliated, but their efforts were next to useless.

Through the gloom of the night the British guns barked unrelentingly. Shell after shell burst on the city's ancient walls until a sector facing the Luneta crumbled, leaving a gaping hole in the city's defenses.

At daybreak of October 5, 1762, the invaders, spearheaded by a suicide column under Lieutenant Russell, rushed through the breach. As the enemy troops streamed into the city, panic seized the defenders and the populace. Rojo, together with the civil and ecclesiastical authorities, retreated to Fort Santiago. In consternation the residents fled in all directions. Many plunged across the Pasig River, hoping to save themselves; but the British poised their guns on them, killing them by the hundreds, and the mangled bodies littered the river which turned scarlet with their blood.

Only a handful of men, gallantly led by Martin de Goicouria, met the enemy in a fierce but hopeless street-fighting, held the British at bay at Puerta Real, and defended every inch of ground with

¹² For good sources on the council of war, see Rojo's *Journal* in Blair and Robertson, *op. cit.*, Vol. XLIX, pp. 124 *et seq.*; Marquis de Ayerbe, *op. cit.*, pp. 56-57; Montero y Vidal, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, pp. 23-24; and Zuñiga *Historia*, pp. 623-625.