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## The Siege and Capture of Manila by the British

H. de la Costa

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## Texts and Documents

### *The Siege and Capture of Manila by the British, September-October 1762*

H. DE LA COSTA

The documents here presented are preserved in the archives of the old Jesuit Province of Aragón, to which the actual Province of Tarragona fell heir. The archives are kept in the College of San Francisco de Borja, in the town of San Cugat del Vallés near Barcelona. Since the Province of Aragón had charge of the Philippine Jesuit Mission from 1859 to 1927, its archives contain considerable Philippine material; for instance, a part of Alzina's manuscript history of the Bisayan Islands and their people which was described by Messrs. Hester and Lietz in the last number of this review.<sup>1</sup> The documents with which we are concerned pertain to the siege and capture of Manila by the British exactly two hundred years ago.

Their principal interest lies in the fact that they include the original communications received by the Spanish authorities at Manila from the commanders of the British expedition, and the exact copies of the communications sent by the former to the latter. The documents on this subject in the Archivo de Indias in Seville are notarized copies of the originals, not the originals themselves. Moreover, they give not the English text of the British communications, nor the

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<sup>1</sup> X/3 (July 1962), 331-375.

Latin text of some of the letters, but their Spanish translations.

The documents, of various sizes but for the most part 21 x 32 cm., are bound together in a parchment-covered volume which has the following title on the outside front cover: "Año de 1762 / ASALTO DE MANILA POR LOS YNGLESES". There are two title-pages which differ slightly in wording. The second is probably the original title-page. It reads: "Año de 1762. 1a Pieza del Expediente formado en punto de la Yrrupción Anglicana que procedió a el Ataque desta Ciudad de Manila. Contiene las cartas originales de el Enemigo, y Copia de lo que se les respondió a ellas, desde el ingreso del serco, hasta la cesión a que obligó de las Provincias y Fuertes."<sup>2</sup>

The volume is labelled "primera pieza"—File One—because the papers pertaining to the British siege, capture and occupation of Manila were organized on Archbishop-Governor Rojo's orders in seventeen separate files or dossiers, as follows:<sup>3</sup>

I. Original letters of the enemy; copies of letters sent in reply; terms of surrender and related documents. 58 folios.

II. Narrative of the British landing, storming of the city, surrender of the citadel, capitulations agreed upon, surrender of Cavite, sack of the city, ransom imposed on the city and payments made toward it, destruction of the principal archives.<sup>4</sup> 154 fol.

III. Documents illustrative of II, including the results of an inquiry into the looting of the city and the confiscation of the church bells inside and outside the walled city. 161 fol.

<sup>2</sup> To be cited as *Irrupción Anglicana I*.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. "Ymbentario de los expedientes originales informativos mandados formar por el Illmo. Señor Arzobispo metropolitano Doctor Don Manuel Antonio Roxo del Rio y Vieyra... en asunto de la pérdida desta plaza...", Manila 1764; in Archivo General de Indias (Seville), sección de Filipinas, legajo 722. At the time of the British attack, Archbishop Rojo was concurrently governor and captain-general of the Philippines.

<sup>4</sup> This narrative is really a day-to-day account of the siege and capture of Manila, composed for the most part by Juan de Monroy, Rojo's private secretary. We shall have occasion to refer to it frequently in the following pages.

IV. Proclamation reopening the churches of the city and proclamation issued at the request of the enemy commanders calling upon those who had fled the city to return to their homes. 33 fol.

V. Statistical tables on the regular troops, artillery units, artillery pieces, arms, munitions and supplies available in Manila at the time of the attack.

VI. Results of an inquiry into the unprecedented step taken by the *oidor* Doctor Simón de Anda y Salazar in declaring himself Governor and Captain-General, President of the Audiencia<sup>5</sup> and the Audiencia itself by himself alone, and the disturbances and destruction of property consequent upon this declaration. 64. fol.

VII. Criminal charges prepared against the military officers who abandoned their posts on the day of the British attack. 101 fol.

VIII. Inquiry into the return of the ship *Santísima Trinidad*, and its capture. 15 fol.

IX. Papers pertaining to the communication of 12 April 1763 addressed by Anda to Archbishop-Governor Rojo through the British Governor, 167 fol., with an appendix containing additional letters, 26 fol.

X. Certification that Anda confiscated and kept from the Archbishop-Governor the dispatches and letters carried by the ship *Filipino*. 7 fol.

XI. Concerning the disposition made of the royal seal of government. 16 fol.

XII. Concerning the armistice agreed upon by the Kings of Spain and France on the one hand and the King of England on the other. 40 fol.

XIII. Concerning the open letters and broadsides published by the Attorney-General, Francisco Leandro de Viana. 91 fol.

XIV. Concerning the chartering of a ship to bring the news to the King of Spain of what had taken place in the Philippines. 25 fol.

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<sup>5</sup> In the Spanish colonial system the *audiencia* performed the twofold function of a supreme court and a consultative council to the governor or viceroy; cf. C. H. Haring, *The Spanish Empire in America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1947), p. 119. The Audiencia of Manila was composed of four members (*oidores*) and an attorney-general (*fiscal*).

XV. Copy certified by the secretary of the colonial government of the treaty between said government and the Sultan of Sulu and his son; among the provisions of this treaty were that the English would be excluded from and the Spaniards admitted to the island and kingdom of Jolo, and that certain islands were being ceded to the Spanish government. 3 fol.

XVI. Diary of events during the siege and capture of Manila. 17 fol.

XVII. Various letters pertaining to the cession of the provinces and their forts to the British. 40 fol.

Only a selection of the documents contained in File One are here transcribed. I have spelled out certain abbreviations and inserted punctuation marks in the interests of readability; otherwise the documents are reproduced exactly—or as exactly as I can. I have also appended an English translation to the Spanish and Latin texts.

## 1

### *Archbishop-Governor Rojo to the Commander of the British Squadron, 23 September 1762*

Spain became embroiled in the Seven Years' War in January 1762, when Great Britain declared war on her as an ally of France. News of this development reached British India more quickly than it did the Philippines. On 1 August 1762 an expedition set out from Madras with orders to attack Manila.<sup>6</sup> The expedition consisted of a squadron of eight warships, three frigates, two storeships and two Indiamen under the command of Rear Admiral Samuel Cornish, and a landing force of about 1,000 British regulars, 300 marines, 600

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<sup>6</sup> [Samuel Cornish], *A Plain Narrative of the Reduction of Manila and the Philippine Islands* (London, 1764), p. 4. The squadron sailed from Madras, not Calcutta as Mr. Richard Foot has it in "The British Venture into the Philippines", *Sunday Times Magazine* (Manila, 12 August 1962), pp. 15-16.

Sepoys and 40 irregulars of various nationalities under the command of Brigadier General William Draper.<sup>7</sup>

The squadron entered Manila Bay on 23 September<sup>8</sup> and cast anchor before Cavite. Apparently, the news that Spain was at war with Britain had not yet reached the Philippines. This at least was what Archbishop-Governor Rojo said in the letter which he dispatched to the commander of the strange fleet.

### Excelentísimo Señor

La novedad de haver entrado Vuestra Excelencia con una Esquadra en esta Bahía, sin tener esta Capitanía General noticia alguna de rompimiento de guerra, ni motivos para recelarse de enemigos, me pone en la precisa obligación de manifestar a Vuestra Excelencia el justo sentimiento de que no se me aya dado el correspondiente abiso antes de anclar

<sup>7</sup> Cf. William Nicholson, "A Draught of the Great Bay of Manila and Harbour of Cavita," in the map collection of the British Museum. Nicholson was Master of the *Elizabeth*, one of the ships of Cornish's squadron. According to Nicholson's table on the chart, the ships were: *Grafton*, Capt. Hyde Parker, 70 guns, 520 men; *Panther*, Capt. George Ourry, 60 guns, 420 men; *Elizabeth*, Capt. Isaac Ourry, 64 guns, 495 men; *America*, Capt. Samuel Pitchford, 60 guns, 420 men; *Norfolk*, Capt. Richard Kempenfelt, 74 guns, 615 men; *Weymouth*, Capt. Richard Collins, 60 guns, 420 men; *Falmouth*, Capt. William Brereton, 50 guns, 350 men; *Lenar*, Capt. Robert Joiceylyne, 74 guns, 600 men. The frigates were: *Argo*, Capt. Richard King, 28 guns, 180 men; *Sea Horse*, Capt. Charles Cathcart Grant, 20 guns, 160 men; *Seaford*, Capt. John Peighin, 20 guns, 160 men. Storeships: *South-Sea Castle* and *Admiral Stevens*. Indiamen: *Essex* and *Osterly*. The *Grafton*, *Panther*, *Elizabeth* and *America* formed the first division under Commodore Tideman, the *Norfolk*, *Weymouth*, *Falmouth* and *Lenar* the second division under Admiral Cornish. Cornish's flagship was the *Norfolk*.

<sup>8</sup> Both Cornish (*Plain Narrative*, p. 4) and Nicholson ("Draught") have 24 September, but it is clear from the documents here presented that it was the 23rd. The Spaniards, sailing westward from Spain and Mexico to the Philippines, lost a day; a loss which in the eighteenth century they had not yet bothered to correct. Now Rojo's first message to the commander of the British squadron (Document 1) is dated 22 September; the correct date is therefore the 23rd. The British, sailing eastward from Madras, gained a day; thus, Cornish's and Nicholson's "24th" must have been taken from the log books before the necessary correction had been made.

los Navios del comando de Vuestra Excelencia dentro de dicha Bahía, especialmente siendo conforme a los tratados de Pazés, a el derecho de las Gentes, y a la Política observada entre las Naciones Civilizadas el referido aviso a los Capitanes Generales de las Provincias; por cuios motivos, por el derecho que tiene esta Plaza a saber los Navios que entran en sus puertos, el fin y causa de su venida, se ha de servir Vuestra Excelencia participarme de qué Nación son los Navíos del comando de Vuestra Excelencia? Con qué destino vienen a estas Yslas? Y lo demás que conduzca a la más caval instrucción de esta Capitanía General, avisándome al mismo tiempo si Vuestra Excelencia necesita alguna cosa; pues estoy prompto por mi parte a cumplir con todas las leyes de la humanidad, en caso de haverse visto Vuestra Excelencia obligado de algún accidente a tomar abrigo en esta Bahía; así como en caso de venir con otro objeto (que no puedo presumir por la neutralidad de nuestra Corona con todas las demás), haré los últimos esfuerzos en obsequio de mi Rey y Señor y de sus Cathólicas Armas, con la satisfacción que me promete la Justicia que me asiste, por no haver dado motivo para imbeción alguna.

Dios guarde a Vuestra Excelencia muchos años. Manila y Septiembre 22 de 1762.<sup>9</sup>

Excelentísimo Señor: Esta carta he triplicado desde anoche sin averse logrado su recibo. Somos oy 23 al medio-día, y la destino aguardando la razón que [suplico?] de Vuestra Excelencia.

Besa la mano a Vuestra Excelencia su servidor attento, MANUEL ANTONIO, Arzobispo de Manila, Governador y Capitán General destas islas. Excelentísimo Señor Comandante de la Esquadra que ha anclado en esta Bahía.<sup>10</sup>

<sup>9</sup> Cf. note 8.

<sup>10</sup> Autograph copy, *Irrupción Anglicana* I, 1-iv.

[TRANSLATION]

Most Excellent Sir:

Your Excellency's unlooked-for entrance with a naval squadron into this harbor, at a time when this captaincy-general has no information of an outbreak of hostilities and no reason to fear an attack, compels me to express to Your Excellency my just displeasure at your not having given the usual notification before the ships under Your Excellency's command cast anchor within the said harbor; particularly since such notification to captains-general of provinces is a stipulation of treaties of peace and international law, and one of the common courtesies observed among civilized states. In view of this, and in view of the fact that this Capital has a right to know what manner of ships enter its ports and what is the end and purpose of their coming, Your Excellency will please make known to me under what nation's flag the ships commanded by Your Excellency sail, and with what object they have come to these Islands, along with all other information with which this captaincy-general should be provided. Your Excellency will also let me know if you have need of anything, since I for my part am ready to comply with all the demands of humanity, in case it is some misfortune that has obliged Your Excellency to seek shelter in this harbor. I cannot presume any other object of your visit, since the Spanish Crown is at peace with all the other powers; but if that object is other than friendly, then I shall do all in my power to perform whatever the service of my King and Lord and the honor of his Catholic arms may require, with full confidence that justice is on our side, since we have given no provocation whatever for an attack.

May God guard Your Excellency many years. Manila,  
22 September 1762.

Your Excellency, I have sent this message three separate times since last night, without being able to effect its delivery. It is now noon of the 23rd. I send it again in the hope of an explanation from Your Excellency.

Your faithful servant, who kisses Your Excellency's hand,  
**MANUEL ANTONIO**, Archbishop of Manila, Governor and Cap-  
 tain-General of these Islands.

His Excellency,  
 The Commanding Officer of the Squadron  
 that has anchored in the Bay

## 2

*Admiral Cornish and General Draper to the Spanish Authori-  
 ties at Manila, 24 September 1762*

Even before receiving a reply to his enquiry, Archbishop-Gov-  
 ernor Rojo, fearing the worst, embarked on feverish preparations to  
 defend the city.<sup>11</sup> He ordered a muster of the available troops, and  
 found that the commander of the garrison, the Marquis of Villame-  
 diana, had under his command only 556 Spanish regulars, and only 85  
 Filipino artillerymen to service the guns of the city. Four companies  
 of volunteer militia, each company consisting of 75 men, were hurried-  
 ly recruited from the Spanish community and placed under the com-  
 mand of the Marquis of Montecastro. Native auxiliaries were sum-  
 moned from the provinces of Tondo, Bulacan, Pampanga, Batangas,  
 Laguna, and Pangasinan. The two gates facing the harbor, Santa  
 Lucía and Postigo, were shut and sealed. In the afternoon of the 23rd  
 and through the night the gunpowder kept in La Polvorista,<sup>12</sup> a small  
 fort near the beach in the district of Malate, was loaded in carts and  
 hauled into the walled city. In the morning of the 24th, Archbishop-  
 Governor Rojo received the following communication from the British  
 commanders.

Nosotros Samuel Cornish, Admirante y Commandante  
 en Xiefe de la Esquadra de Su Majestad Britanica en las  
 Indias Orientales, y Guilerimo Draper Esq. Brigadier Gen-  
 eral y Commandante en Xiefe de sus Fuerses par Tierra  
 contra los Españoles:

El conducto de la Corte de España aviendo obligado a  
 su Majestad Britannica Nuestro Rey al amo y Señor a decla-

<sup>11</sup> Cf. Juan de Monroy in *Irrupción Anglicana* II, 3-4v, and  
 "Diario de lo ocurrido en el ataque y defensa de la plaza de Manila",  
*Irrupción Anglicana* XVI, 2v-3.

<sup>12</sup> Also called Fort Santiago Antonio Abad.

rar la Guerra contra aquella Corona, El Rey nos ha enviado a executar lo contra sus Vassallos para conquistar a Manila y las Islas Philipinas y para convencer a los Españoles [que] las mas remot [tas Dominiones de su Soberano no son aseguradas de la fuerza y poder de sus armamientos, o fuera de la alcansa de su mui justo resentimiento.

Pero como deseamos movido de los Principios de moderación y humanidad tan peculiar a la Nación Britannica para evitar estes tristes extremidades que han de ser el infalible y inevitable consecuencia de una mala temporada y infructuosa resistencia de Vouistra Parte, Nosotros en] el Nombre del Rey nuestro Señor pedim[os el inmediata] intrega de la Ciudad, las Fortificaciones [y Territorios] alla aparteniciendo. Ven vosotros bien los medios que tenemos para enfuersar nuestro demand. Los Españoles si no son Enfatuada han de aceptar nuestra Misericordia.—Esperamos una prompta Respuesta.

Somos con Estemacion  
y perfecto Consideracion  
Vouestras mui  
Obedientes Serbidores—  
S. CORNISH  
[WILLIAM DRAPER]

A Bordo del Barco de su  
Majestad El Norfolk  
Sep. 24 1762<sup>13</sup>

[TRANSLATION]

We, Samuel Cornish, Admiral and Commander-in-Chief of His Britannic Majesty's Squadron in the East Indies, and William Draper Esquire, Brigadier General and Commander-in-Chief of his Land Forces against the Spaniards:

The conduct of the Spanish Court having obliged His Britannic Majesty, our royal Lord and Master, to declare

<sup>13</sup> Autograph, *Irrupción Anglicana* I, 2-2v. The words and passages enclosed in square brackets, illegible in the original, have been reconstituted from Monroy's transcript in *Irrupción Anglicana* II, 6-6v.

war against that Crown, the said King has sent us to carry on that war against the said Crown, to conquer Manila and the Philippine Islands, and to convince the Spaniards that the most distant dominions of their Sovereign are not proof against the force and power of our King, or beyond the reach of his most just displeasure.

Moved, however, by those principles of moderation and humanity which have ever distinguished the British Nation, and desiring to avoid the sad extremity which must be the infallible and inevitable consequence of an ill—timed and fruitless resistance on your part, we demand in the name of the King our Lord the immediate surrender of the City and the fortifications and territories thereto appertaining. You see well what means we have to enforce our demand. The Spaniards, unless they are totally lacking in judgment, must see that they must accept our clemency. We await a speedy reply.

We are, with the highest esteem and consideration, your most obedient servants,

S. CORNISH  
WILLIAM DRAPER

On board His Majesty's Ship *Norfolk*  
September 24, 1762

### 3

*Archbishop-Governor Rojo to the British Commanders, 24 September 1762.*

Excelentísimos Señores Almirante y Comandante en Gefe, y Brigadier General y Comandante en Gefe de la Esquadra de S. M. Británica:

Afirman Vuestras Excelencias que Su Magestad Británica obligado de la Corte de España declaró la guerra y son embiados a conquistar estas Yslas para que se reconosca que los mas remotos dominios de la Magestad Cathólica del Rey

mi señor y Amo no están asegurados de la fuerza y poder de los Armamentos Británicos.

Y usándose de la Urbanidad para que no se experimentan las hostilidades se pide que rinda esta Plaza y sus Fuertes y Guarniciones.

En la verdadera inteligencia que es la primera noticia (aún abiendo tenido cartas recientes de los Gobernadores de Batavia y Madrastra y ningunas de la Nueva España ni de Cantón) que me llega deste rompimiento y que a su consecuencia se me pide lo que es proprio de mi Señor y Rey sin hallarme con algún orden de S. M. para semejante entrega y antes sí como Vasallo afortunado suyo estar obligado a defender esta plaza que se me encargó y mandó entregar por S. M. C. haré todos los esfuerzos para su defensa hasta la última gota de mi sangre y de estos sus fieles Vasallos y Ministros que están en el mismo ánimo y constancia, pues quando el Altissimo por mis culpas permitiera una desgracia no esperada tendría la viva y firme esperanza de que el Poder Divino auxiliando a tan Poderoso Rey como el de las Españas vindicaría este y qualquier agravio; puedo concluir que no teniendo sino esta primera noticia que se asegura por tales personas como los Gefes de su Magestad Británica, tengo la justicia de mi parte, y extraño mucho que se me haga la proposición de rendimiento que no puede caber en corazón noble. Se deve estar con la seguridad que la defensa corresponderá a mi lealtad y destos Españoles y los efectos la explicarán bien.—Dios guarde a V. E. muchos años. Manila y Septiembre veinte y tres de mill setecientos sesenta y dos.

Es copia de la que se remitió en respuesta a los Gefes Británicos firmada por su Señoría Ilustrísima Governador y Capitán General de estas Yslas. Manila y Septiembre veinte y tres de mill setecientos sesenta y dos años.

[TRANSLATION]

Most Excellent Admiral and Commander-in-Chief, and Brigadier General and Commander-in-Chief, of the Squadron of His Britannic Majesty:

Your Excellencies state that His Britannic Majesty, obliged by the Spanish Court, has declared war and has sent you to conquer these Islands and to force us to admit that the most distant dominions of His Catholic Majesty my Lord and Master are not proof against the force and power of British arms. However, moved by an urbane desire to spare us the horrors of war, you ask us to surrender this Capital with its fortifications and defenses.

Permit me to inform you that while no word has reached us from either New Spain or Canton, we have but recently received letters from the Governors of Batavia and Madras; and yet this is the first intimation we have of this outbreak of hostilities. Since, then, what you ask me to surrender belongs to my Lord and King, and I have no instructions from His Majesty to surrender it, but on the contrary am obliged as his fortunate vassal to defend this Capital which His Catholic Majesty entrusted and delivered to my care, I shall do all in my power to defend it to the last drop of my blood and that of these His Majesty's faithful subjects and servants who are of the same resolute mind and spirit. And if on account of my sins the Most High should permit us to suffer an unexpected defeat, there remains the firm and undying hope that the Divine Power, coming to the aid of the powerful King of all the Spains, will avenge this and any other injury. And so the only reply I can make to this first notification of a state of war, which I have from personages no less distinguished than His Britannic Majesty's Commanders, is that I have justice on my side, and that I am much surprised they should ask me to do anything so craven as to surrender. Let them rest assured that our defense will be fully equal to my loyalty and that of these Spaniards with me, as will be abundantly shown by the event.

God guard Your Excellencies many years. Manila, 23 September 1762.

The above is a copy of the reply sent to the British Commanders over the signature of the Most Illustrious Governor and Captain-General of these Islands. Manila, 23 September 1762.

JUAN DE MONROY

4

*Archbishop-Governor Rojo to Captain Juan Antonio Blanco de Sotomayor of the "Filipino", 25 September 1762*

As soon as the British envoys had regained their ships, the squadron raised anchor and maneuvered for a landing, which Rojo decided not to oppose. With the three frigates covering them, the infantry in three divisions, followed by three divisions of seamen, hit the beach between the Polvorista and the city, thus effectively securing the former. Draper immediately took possession of the strong stone church of Malate, which he made his headquarters, and subsequently occupied three other churches, those of Ermita, Santiago, and San Juan de Bagumbayan, all of stone.<sup>14</sup> They served him in good stead as advanced outposts and emplacements for his siege artillery. That night, at the suggestion of the *oidores* of the royal audiencia, Rojo took 111,000 pesos from the colonial treasury and gave them to the Treasurer, Don Nicolás de Echaus, to take to safety in the province of Laguna.<sup>15</sup>

The following morning (the 25th), watchers from the ramparts facing the Bay sighted a galley which had come in through the Mariveles entrance and was trying desperately to make it to shore.<sup>16</sup> Several British launches gave chase and captured her when she ran aground in the shallows before Navotas. Most of the crew leaped overboard and escaped, but the Captain of the vessel, Don José Cerezo, Ensign Ignacio Castro, and Antonio de Sierra Tagle y Rojo, Archbishop-Governor Rojo's nephew, were taken prisoner.

<sup>14</sup> Nichelson, "Draught"; Monroy in *Irrupción Anglicana* II, 9-10v; "Diario", *ibid.* XVI, 4v-5.

<sup>15</sup> Ramón de Orendain, *ibid.* II, 19-19v. Orendain was *secretario de gobierno*, or, as we should say today, executive secretary.

<sup>16</sup> This incident is recounted by Monroy, *ibid.* II, 12-13v, and in the "Diario", *ibid.* XVI, 5-6.

Captain Cerezo had managed to toss a packet of letters to one of the seamen who had jumped overboard and who managed to swim ashore. Brought before the Archbishop-Governor, this man reported that the galley was the *Santa Gertrudis*,<sup>17</sup> which had been dispatched to announce the arrival in the Islands of the Acapulco ship *Filipino*. The letters he brought were soaked in sea water, but one at least was still legible—that addressed to Rojo by the Captain of the *Filipino*, Don Juan Antonio Blanco de Sotomayor. It was dated 12 September from Palapag, Samar, where Blanco had decided to take shelter after several fruitless attempts to negotiate San Bernardino Strait.<sup>18</sup>

Rojo realized at once that it would not take the British long to learn from the prisoners they had taken from the galley the whereabouts of the *Filipino* and the nature of her cargo, namely, silver: the silver that represented the annual Mexican subsidy to the Philippine government, and the returns from the sale of China goods at the Acapulco fair. He therefore lost no time in dispatching the following instructions to Blanco.

En el día, y aún en la hora del maior conflicto del Bloqueo que nos están haziendo los Yngleses en esta Plaza con treze Navios los quatro de maior Porte y los restantes regulares, respondo a la de 12 de Septiembre fecha en Palapa, qu recibí afortunadamente y mui mojada por aver apresado los Enemigos la Galerilla Sta. Rossa<sup>19</sup> ya en esta Bahía azia Navotas; echó los demás Pliegos al agua, aunque me temo que con la pressa de algunos de otra Galera tengan completa noticia de esse Navío y su interés.

[Marginal Note:] Se advierte como cosa tan importante que no se embien aquí pliegos algunos, y en caso de hallarse mui afligido de enemigos en tan extremo estrecho se quemén.

En esta suposición con Acuerdo de los Señores Ministros Togados y Corbatas, y de los primeros Sugetos del Comercio, se remite a Don Ignacio Balzola con esta, que ofrece llegar allá mui en breve, y es sugeto de satisfazió. Y el orden que

<sup>17</sup> So Monroy, *ibid.* II, 13, and Captain Blanco of the *Filipino* in the letter referred to below (note 18). Rojo in Document 4 calls it the *Santa Rosa*, but this is almost certainly a slip on the part of a somewhat harassed executive.

<sup>18</sup> The letter is preserved in *Irrupción Anglicana* I, 6-7v, and is extremely interesting, but too long to reproduce here.

<sup>19</sup> See above, note 17.

doi a Vuestra Merced es que luego luego se desembarque e interne la Plata en la parte más segura que se reconozca, y se fortifique con Artillería; y el Navío se atraviese en el Puerto; y en caso de avistarse Navío contrario se le dé barreno, o fuego. Que todos estén a los órdenes de Vuestra Merced, y a ninguno le permita venir a esta Capital ni a ninguna isla, salvo en caso que sea necesario destacar alguno para recoger víveres: en caso de que no baste lo que es corriente, y mejor, que por medio del Alcalde y Governadorcillos en sus Barotos no alcance esta Providencia. Los Padres que allí están, creo de su Religiosidad y fidelidad al Rey cooperarán a la defenza y resguardo al Thesoro con el maior zelo.

[Marginal note:] Con fecha de 4 de Octubre repetí el orden y que solo me obedeciese con la contraseña de Eug<sup>o</sup>. assi: Manuel Antonio Eug<sup>o</sup>. Arzpo de Manila.

En virtud de esta carta tiene Vm toda mi authority para requirir y mandar a los Alcaldes y Governadorcillos y demás para el expressado intento.

No se trate de que pueda salir el Navío para otra parte alguna por el maior peligro que amenaza de apressarle los Enemigos, y sin nuevo orden no se mueva de dicho Paraje.

Dios guarde a Vm muchos años. 24 de Septiembre a la 6 de la tarde de 1762.

Señor General D. Juan Blanco<sup>20</sup>

[TRANSLATION]

On the day and the very hour of fiercest conflict in the blockade which the English are enforcing on this Capital with thirteen ships, four of them capital ships and the others of regular size, I write this reply to yours of 12 September from Palapag. It reached me, fortunately, but was all wet when I received it, because the enemy captured the little galley *Santa Rosa* when it was already inside the Bay, in the direction of Navotas. The other dispatches were thrown over-

<sup>20</sup> Copy, *Irrupción Anglicana* I, 8-8v. Note that the commanding officer of an Acapulco ship was usually called a "general".

board, but I fear that with the capture of some of the crew of another galley, the enemy now has complete information of that ship and its cargo.

[Marginal note:] It should be borne in mind as of the highest importance that no dispatches whatever should be forwarded here. If hard pressed by the enemy, burn them.

On this supposition, and with the approval of the chief civil and military officials and the principal merchants of the city, I am sending Don Ignacio Balzola with this message. He promises to get there as quickly as possible, and he can be trusted. My orders to you are these: Disembark the silver immediately; I repeat, immediately. Carry it inland to the safest place that can be found. Fortify the place with artillery. Run the ship aground in the harbor. As soon as an enemy vessel is sighted, scuttle the ship or burn it. I place everyone under your orders. Do not allow them to come to this Capital or to any other island, unless you should find it necessary to send someone out for more or better food than you have on hand, and the provincial governor or the petty governors and their canoes cannot get it for you. I am confident that the Fathers there, in their devotion to the cause of religion and their loyalty to the King, will cooperate with the greatest zeal in defending and protecting the treasure.

[Marginal note:] I reiterated these orders on 4 October, adding that orders should be obeyed only if they bore the countersign "Eug<sup>o</sup>" [Eugenio], thus: "Manuel Antonio Eug<sup>o</sup> Arzpo de Manila".

By these presents I delegate to you all my authority to demand from and command the provincial and petty governors all that may be necessary to accomplish the stated object.

The possibility of the ship being taken to any other harbor should not even be considered, because the danger of her being captured by the enemy would then be much greater. Let her not stir from her present anchorage without further orders.

God guard you many years. 24 September, at six in the evening, 1762.

General Juan Blanco

## 5

### *Proclamation of Archbishop-Governor Rojo, 26 September 1762*

On the same day, the 25th, a certain M. César Fallet or Fayette, a French-speaking Swiss resident of Manila who had had some military experience, volunteered to lead a night sortie with the object of dislodging the enemy from his advanced outposts in the churches of Santiago and Ermita. He was given a combat team consisting of 50 Spanish fusileers, 80 Filipino lancers, a unit of volunteer militia and two small field pieces. Fallet attacked vigorously but made little impression on the enemy, who kept making good his losses with fresh troops. Fallet was forced to fall back on the church of San Juan de Bagumbayan, where he stoutly held his ground all night against a British counterattack. At nine o'clock the following morning (the 26th) he retired in good order with the aid of fresh troops sent out to cover the retirement.<sup>21</sup>

Either during this action or in earlier skirmishes with the British in the suburbs some instances of corpses being despoiled and mutilated must have been observed, because Rojo published a proclamation strictly forbidding these and similar atrocities.

El Doctor D. Manuel Antonio Rojo del Rio y Vieyra del Consejo de S. M., Arzobispo Metropolitano de estas Islas, Presidente, Governador y Capitán General de ellas:

Para evitar todas desórdenes y los extragos que las tropas indisciplinadas suelen cometer, mando estrechamente a todos los Gefes y oficiales de esta Capitanía General, y cavos, hagan que sus respectivas Compañías y toda gente de su mando guarden la disciplina militar sin cometer exeso alguno ni inhumanidad contra el enemigo, mutilando los Cadáveres u otras barbaridades inhumanas, pues solo es lícito el matarles en buena guerra, y si alguno o algunos se rendiesen perdonarles la vida aprisionándolos. So las graves penas de la

<sup>21</sup> Monroy, *ibid.* II, 14-14v; "Diario", *ibid.* XVI, 6-6v.

vida y de la del tali3n, que se ejecutar3 contra quienes cometieren estos exesos y barbaridad. Y mando que el presente se publique por Bando en esta ciudad, y dem3s partes acostumbradas de esta Governaci3n. Dado en Manila a veinte y cinco de Septiembre de mill setecientos sesenta y dos a3os.

MANUEL ANTONIO Arzobispo de Manila

Por mandado de su Se3or3a Ilustr3sima:

THOMAS FRANCISCO DE LOS SANTOS

*Notta*

Sac3se testimonio del superior Bando que antecede y se remiti3 al corregidor Governador de la Provincia de Tondo para su obcerbancia, y para que conste lo noto. Manila y Septiembre 25 de 1762. a3os.

ORENDAIN<sup>22</sup>

[TRANSLATION]

Doctor Manuel Antonio Rojo del Rio y Vieyra, of His Majesty's Council, Metropolitan Archbishop of these Islands, and President, Governor and Captain-General of the same:

In order to prevent all the disorders and excesses which undisciplined troops are wont to perpetrate, I hereby strictly enjoin all commanders and officers, commissioned and non-commissioned, of this captaincy-general to see to it that their respective companies and everyone under their command keep military discipline and commit no excesses or atrocities against the enemy, such as the mutilation of corpses or other barbarous practices. To kill the enemy in fair fight alone is lawful. The lives of all who yield must be spared by taking them prisoner. Under penalty of death and the *lex talionis*, to be imposed on all who are found guilty of such excesses and barbarities.

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.* I, 9-9v.

Let this ordinance be cried throughout the City and wherever customary in this jurisdiction. Given in Manila, on 25 September 1762.

MANUEL ANTONIO  
Archbishop of Manila

By order of His Illustrious Lordship.  
TOMAS FRANCISCO DE LOS SANTOS.

*Note.* A certified copy of the above general orders was sent to the Corregidor-Governor of the Province of Tondo for his compliance, in testimony whereof I sign this note. Manila 25 September 1762.—ORENDAIN.

6

*Brigadier General Draper to Archbishop-Governor Rojo, 26 September 1762.*

Soon after the withdrawal of Fallet and his troops from the field, Draper sent an officer under a flag of truce to Rojo with the following message:

Sir

Your Excellency sees How unequal Your People are to support this affair, I beg you therefore to consider Your Situation before it be too late. I have a multitude of most Fierce People, who are unacquainted with the more Humane Parts of War; it will not be in my Power to Restrain them, if You give us more Trouble.

I am Your Excellency's

Most Obedt humble servant  
WILLIAM DRAPER

Headquarters at Malate  
September 26, 1762<sup>23</sup>

<sup>23</sup> Autograph, *ibid.* I, 10.

## 7

*Archbishop-Governor Rojo to Brigadier General Draper, 26 September 1762*

While Draper's envoy was still with Rojo, it was reported that the British had taken advantage of the truce to advance their front lines closer to the city walls. Rojo thereupon sent a messenger of his own to Draper's headquarters with a note protesting the move.

Excelentísimo Señor Brigadier en Gefe D. Guillermo Draper—Excelentísimo Señor—Luego que me avisaron de oficial embiado de Vuestra Excelencia con bandera blanca hize parar las operaciones de la Plaza, y sus esforzados Ingenieros y Militares, pero al tiempo de oír al dicho oficial y leerme la apreciable carta de V. E. me avisan de la Plaza que han abanzado los soldados de V. E. asercando su batería a la Plaza abansando sobre el puesto en que se hallavan; sin embargo no he hecho novedad en que se les haga retirar a fuego y por fuerza porque me persuado es esta operación provenido de el advitrio de ellos y de ningún modo de orden de V. E. como que sabe bien como valeroso y noble Británico Gefe el uso político y reglado destes lanzes; y assí antes de contestar a la de V. E. le suplico que mande reprimir a dicho desorden y que se retire tanto quanto ha abanzado, y más lejano en la distancia que abansó sin orden de V. E. mui yregular de todo modo culto y urbano y esforcido de Batallar.—Dios guarde a V. E. muchos años. Palacio Real de Manila y Septiembre 25 de 1762.—Exmo. Sr., besa la mano de V. E. su atento servidor.

El qual trasumpto pongo en lugar de la copia latina que quedó de su original por haverse traspapelado la referida copia. Manila y Septiembre 25 de 1762.

MONROEY<sup>24</sup>

[TRANSLATION]

His Excellency,  
Brigadier-in-Chief William Draper

Most Excellent Sir: As soon as I was told that Your Excellency had sent an officer under a flag of truce I sus-

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.* I, 11.

pended all the operations being conducted by the engineers and fighting forces of this Command. But while I was conversing with the said officer and reading the esteemed letter of Your Excellency, I received a message from the lines to the effect that Your Excellency's troops had gone forward, bringing their battery closer to our walls and beyond the point where they were originally. Hence I did not object to my men resuming fire and forcing them back, for I am quite sure that your men took it upon themselves to execute this maneuver and not at all by order of Your Excellency; for so valiant and noble a British officer must be thoroughly familiar with the usages established for eventualities of this nature.

In consequence, before sending a formal reply to Your Excellency's message, I am requesting you to countermand the said violation of the truce and to order your troops to fall back by as much as they had gone forward, abandoning the ground they had taken by advancing without Your Excellency's orders; for such proceedings are clearly contrary to the canons of civilized, urbane and honorable warfare.

God guard Your Excellency many years. Government House, Manila, 25 September 1762. Most Excellent Sir, your faithful servant who kisses Your Excellency's hand.

I place this translation on file instead of the file copy of the Latin original, which has been mislaid. Manila, 25 September 1762.—MONRROY.

## 8

*Archbishop-Governor Rojo to Brigadier General Draper, 26 September 1762*

Rojo now convokes his principal civil and military officers and prominent members of the community to a council of war and asks them what reply he ought to make to Draper's message.<sup>25</sup> The unani-

<sup>25</sup> The minutes of this meeting, certified by Orendain, are given *ibid.* II, 18-18v.

mous opinion of the council was that they should continue to defend themselves, and Rojo accordingly sent back Draper's envoy with a letter expressing this resolve.

Excelentísimo Señor Brigadier General en Gefe D. Guillermo Draper. — Exmo Señor — Agradesco mucho las expresiones que a dado V. E. a mi oficial por mí como nacidas de sus altas obligaciones y mui noble corazón. Igualmente me ofresco a la disposición de V. E. y sobre el incidente que escribí V. E. se servirá mandarlo examinar teniendo por cierto que corresponderá el orden de V. E. según las noticias que averiguare; de mi parte ha estado en inacción la Plaza y todas las cosas en el mismo estado desde que se vió con bandera blanca el oficial de V. E. — Sobre el punto esencial del rendimiento de esta Plaza he tenido el consejo respectivo, y unánimes y conformes resuelven la defenza vigorosa de la Plaza con que me conformo de todo corazón como Vasallo fiel de mi Rey y señor no juscando nada inferiores mis fuerzas a las de V. E. ni las de mi tropa y Plaza al Armamento y tropa que tengo a la vista. — Por lo demás no es ageno y sí mui proprio y mui devido a la perssona de V. E. el saber reglar y hacer moderar los desórdenes geniales de la soldadesca que acompaña a la disciplinada de la propria nación Anglicana, como yo aseguro a V. E. lo hago executar también con toda la gente que esta a mi mando. — V. E. vea en que le sirvo, y si otra cosa se le ofrece y sus inclinaciones me serán de mucho agrado y tendrán el devido cumplimiento. — Dios guarde a V. E. muchos años. Palacio de Manila y Septiembre 25 de 1762.

El qual trasumpto pongo en lugar de la copia latina que quedó de su original por haverse trasapelado la referida copia. Manila y Septiembre 25 de 1762.

MONRROY

[TRANSLATION]

His Excellency,  
Brigadier General-in-Chief William Draper

Most Excellent Sir: I deeply appreciate the expressions of esteem which Your Excellency sends me through my officer, as coming from your high sense of what is fitting and your most noble heart. I place myself at Your Excellency's disposal in the same spirit. With reference to the incident which was the subject of my letter to Your Excellency, if you will cause an enquiry to be made, your dispositions will doubtless correspond to your findings, which can only be that this Command and all its operations had been held in a state of suspension the moment Your Excellency's officer was sighted carrying a flag of truce.

On the vital question of the surrender of this Capital, I have taken counsel of my officers, and all without exception are resolved on a vigorous defence; a resolution to which I adhere with all my heart as a faithful vassal of my King and Lord, especially since I consider my forces to be in no way inferior to Your Excellency's, nor the defences and defenders of this Capital to the attackers I see arrayed before it.

For the rest, it is surely not incompatible but most in keeping with the character of Your Excellency to know how to regulate and restrain the native ferocity of the auxiliaries accompanying the disciplined formations of British regulars, just as I assure Your Excellency I shall do with all the people under my command.

Your Excellency sees how ready I am to be of service; if there is anything else I can do for you, it will give me the greatest pleasure to attend to it.

God guard Your Excellency many years. Government House, Manila, 25 September 1762.

I place this translation on file instead of the file copy of the Latin original, which has been mislaid. Manila, 25 September 1762. — MONRROY.

## 9

*Brigadier General Draper to Archbishop-Governor Rojo, 27 September 1762*

During the night of 26-27 September Draper subjected the city to almost continuous mortar fire.<sup>27</sup> The next day he sent the following communication to Rojo:

I am much obliged to Your Excellency for Your Polite Message. Be assured that the War will be carried on as becometh Polite and Humane Nations. I have the Pleasure to acquaint you that Your Nephew is safe on board the Admiral's Ship, and that He will be sent on Shore as soon as Possible, till which Time I shall give the strictest Orders not to Fire upon your City and suspend all Hostilities, and do not doubt but Your Excellency will observe the same Punctilio.

I have the honour to be, with Great Esteem and Consideration,

Your Excellency's most humble Servant,

WILLIAM DRAPER

September 27, 1762  
before Manilha

To His Excellency the Governor and Captain General of the Philippine Islands<sup>28</sup>

## 10

*Archbishop-Governor Rojo to Brigadier General Draper, 27 September 1762*

Dux Excellentissime:

Jucundissima mihi perque grata est ac cordi Vestrae Excellentiae epistola urbanissima, ac qui mihi demonstratus

<sup>27</sup> Monroy, *ibid.* II, 20.

<sup>28</sup> Autograph, *ibid.* I, 13.

fuit a meo remisso tibi Capitaneo animus pernobilis ac generosus circa normam proeliandi juxta regulas disciplinae cultae ac generosae Nationis Anglicanae.

Pariter mihi pergratum ac cordi infixum permanebit liberatio ac restitutio sobrini mei, satis certe fortunati qui apud tales hostes, egregios dicam ac politissimos Duces cecidit casu, imo providentia satis praeclara ac inaestimabili. Melius illi fuit hoc infortunatum quam ad meos amplexus directe pervenire. Gratias quam maximas rependo Excellentiae Vestrae pro tanto ac mihi munere concesso. Alter illius Pronepos ac Consobrinus certior hujus rei factus rogavit innixe ut aliquam illi permitterem significationem gratissimi animi apud Excellentiam Vestram. Quam libentissime illi concessi, insimul illum remittendo ad Excellentiam Vestram, ut ex animo tanto Duci mancipatus gratias rependam meo ac suo nomine; insuper tam mihi donatus quam nunc remissus mancipati omnino erunt obedientiae, ordini ac arbitrio Vestrae Excellentiae. Ego vero remissis his rebus bellicosis, suoque in statu consistentibus, ut debitam fidelitatem Regibus nostris observemus exactissime, opto opportunitatem serviendi, et omnino tanto ac martiali Duci obsequendi.

Vellem, Dux excellentissime, ut capiat vestra comprehensio inexpugnabilitatem hujus Civitatis munitissimae ac veteranis militibus custodiatae, auxiliatae atque peditibus ac equestribus roboratae, ne in casum, et in praejudicium multorum oleum ac operam perdat tantus ac egregius Dux Anglicanus. Ego ut Archiepiscopus parum belli intelligo, sed peritissimis Militaribus instructus sum de nimia fortitudine Civitatis ac Insularum; ac auxilia quae praesto erunt Galeicana ac Hispana maritima. Hae juxta amicitiae leges; juxta vero militiae, uti tantus Dux, ego ex parte mea, in [pro]cinctu sumus, et ego usque ad extremae vitae spiritum.

Deus O. M. te sospitem servet. [On margin:] Manilae ad Regiam Aulam sexto Kal. Octobris an. 1762.

Excellentissime Domine ac egregie Dux, tui obsequentissimus ac reverens servus, EMMANUEL ANTONIUS Archiepiscopus Manilensis, Dux Generalis Insularum.

Excellentissime Dux ac D. egregius Willerme Draper.<sup>29</sup>

[TRANSLATION]

Most Excellent Lord:

It was a great pleasure to receive Your Excellency's extremely polite letter, and to learn from the officer I had sent of your generous resolve to carry on the war in keeping with the cultivated and humane traditions of the British Nation.

Equally welcome, and deeply appreciated, is your decision to free my nephew and restore him to me. It was certainly fortunate—I should say, highly providential—that he fell by the chances of war into the hands of an enemy led by such urbane Commanders. I might even say that he is the better for this mischance than if he had come directly to my arms. I am most grateful to Your Excellency for so great a favor.

When my other nephew learned of this he besought me earnestly to allow him to send Your Excellency some token of his gratitude; a permission which I readily granted, undertaking to send the gift to Your Excellency in order that I might send my own thanks along with his. Both this nephew who is with me and the nephew you are restoring to me will from henceforth be Your Excellency's faithful servants. Our present hostilities apart, in which we must keep due faith with our respective Sovereigns, there is nothing I would like better than to be given an opportunity to be of service to so generous an officer.

I beg Your Excellency to consider well what a hopeless undertaking it is to take by storm a city so strongly fortified and defended by such seasoned troops and auxiliary formations of infantry and cavalry, as this is. It seems a pity that a British officer of such distinction should waste so much

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<sup>29</sup> Copy, *ibid.* I, 14-14v.

time and effort and be the occasion of so much useless suffering. I am an archbishop and little instructed in warfare, but the best military experts have made me thoroughly acquainted with the strength of this city and these Islands, even apart from the imminent arrival of the Spanish and French fleets. I say this to you as a friend; as the head of an army, I am as ready for battle as you are, and prepared to resist to my last breath.

God guard you many years. Government House, Manila,  
26 September 1762.

I am, most excellent Lord, yours faithfully,

MANUEL ANTONIO  
Archbishop of Manila and  
Captain General of the Islands

His Excellency,  
General William Draper

11

*Brigadier General Draper to Archbishop-Governor Rojo, 27  
September 1762*

I have the Honour to Enclose Your Excellency this Letter from Your Nephew. It seems He declines Entering Manila. As the Reason therefore for which only I suspended my Operations against Your Place, does no longer Subsist, Hostilities will recommence this Night.—God Have You in His Holy Protection; If You will Place a Particular Flag upon Your Palace My Bombs shall avoid it if Possible.

I am Your Excellency's

Most Obed humble servant  
WILLIAM DRAPER

Head Quarters  
before Manila  
September 27, 1762

His Excellency the Governor and Captain General of the  
Philippine Islands<sup>30</sup>

## 12

*Antonio Sierra Tagle to Archbishop-Governor Rojo, 27  
September 1762*

Ilustrísimo Señor.

Señor

El día 24 viniendo para esta Ciudad, a las 9 de la mañana, fuimos cojidos por las Barcas Ynglesas, porque todos se echaron a el Agua. A la presente, nos hallamos en la Almiranta el Capitán Don Joseph Serezo, el Alférez Don Ignacio Castro, dos soldados mis mozos; pero los Señores Cavalleros Yngleses nos han franqueado, y nos han dado su mesa, y nos estiman mucho, y no sigo por no ser molesto.

Besa los pies a Vuestra Ilustrísima su seguro serbidor

ANTONIO R. SIERRA TAGLE

El Capitán de el Navío de Guerra bino por mí, pero yo no quise porque espero la orden de V. S. Yllustrissima, que la espero quanto antes, como tambien el Capitán Cerezo y el Alférez Castro.

[On envelope:]

Al Ilustrísimo Sr. Dr. Don  
Manuel Antonio Roxo

M. R. P. Dignissimo, Arzobispo de la Ciudad, etc.<sup>31</sup>

<sup>30</sup> Autograph, *ibid.* I, 15.

<sup>31</sup> Autograph, *ibid.* I, 16.

[TRANSLATION]

Most Illustrious Lord:

My Lord:

On the 24th, while making for that city, at 9 o'clock in the morning, we were taken by the English ships, because the whole crew jumped overboard and fled. We are at present on board the flagship, Captain José Cerezo, Ensign Ignacio Castro, and myself with two of my servants; but the English officers, gentlemen that they are, have given us the freedom of the ship. We eat at their mess and they show us every courtesy.

I write no more in order not to be troublesome.

Your faithful servant, who kisses Your Lordship's feet,

ANTONIO R. SIERRA TAGLE

[Postscript:] The captain of the warship came to fetch me, but I refused to come because I await the order of Your Illustrious Lordship, which I, as well as Captain Cerezo and Ensign Castro, hope you will send forthwith.

His Illustrious Lordship

The Most Reverend Archbishop of the City, etc.

## 13

*Archbishop-Governor Rojo to Brigadier General Draper, 27 September 1762*

Excellentissime ac summe Ductor

Multa equidem sunt argumenta benevolentiae erga me Vestrae Excellentiae. Responzionem ad Epistolam sobriini mei ad manus [...] simas Vestrae Excellentiae commito ac repono. Fac ut vellis ac sapis; [...] que celcitus urbanissima tua se scit ac docet apertumque facit: meam siquidem ut cunctam personam tanto beneficiorum pondere oprimens, obstringens ac obligans. In desiderio meo est ut aliqualem prestem animi significationem erga Vestram Excellentiam.

Ad priorem Epistolam Vestrae Excellentiae responsum daturus statim, ac meum (si tibi cordi est Dux egregie) sobrinum meum obiis excipiam ulneis.

Valeas ac vivas, Ductor urbanissime, strenue Anglicane.

Manile, ad Aulam Regiam 6<sup>o</sup> Kalendas Octobris anni 1762.

Exme Dux Generalis Williarne Draper<sup>32</sup>

[TRANSLATION]

Most Excellent General:

Many indeed are the favors I have received from Your Excellency. Into your merciful (?) hands I give and entrust the accompanying reply to my nephew's letter. Do with it what you will and as you know how. Let your own gracious kindness tell you what course to take, and in so doing put me deeper in your debt with further favors. How I wish I can make some return to Your Excellency!

I shall answer Your Excellency's previous letter just as soon as I welcome my nephew back—if such be your will, my good General.

Farewell, most humane of Commanders, most valiant of Britons. Manila, 26 September 1762.

His Excellency,  
General William Draper

## 14

*Archbishop-Governor Rojo to Antonio Sierra Tagle, 27 September 1762*

Ya estaba en el successo, y en tu presa, y la de los Oficiales; y nunca he creído sino que los Señores Ingleses y el Señor Gefe de esse Navío te harían todo honor y festejo y agrado. El Exmo. Señor General Draper una vez que embió

<sup>32</sup> Copy, *ibid.* I, 17.

por tí debías obedecerle, pues estás vajo de su Dominio; pero tu buena crianza quiso también mi venia. El mismo Señor General embiará por tí, obedécele, vente; pero antes de verme pide ser puesto en su presencia para darle las debidas gracias como yo se las estoy dando; y a su tiempo las daré al Capitán del Navío; pero por lo que mira a los Oficiales se deberá egecutar lo que el Señor General dispusiere.

Dios te guarde muchos años. Manila, y Septiembre 26 de 1762.

Tu tío, que desea verte,  
 MANUEL ANTONIO, Arzobispo de Manila  
 Capitán General de las Philippines

Mi sobrino Antonio de Sierra Tagle y Roxo.<sup>33</sup>

[TRANSLATION]

I had full particulars of the action [in the Bay] and your capture and that of the officers, and entire confidence that the English gentlemen and the captain of that ship would treat you with all honor and courtesy. You should have obeyed His Excellency General Draper when he sent for you, since you are in his hands, but being well brought up you wanted to have my permission also.

The General will send for you again. Obey him and come; but before crossing the lines to me ask to see him personally to give him the thanks you owe him, as I am thanking him by this means. When the opportunity offers I shall also express my thanks to the ship's captain. As for the officers, the General will of course decide what is to be done with them.

God guard you many years. Manila, 26 September 1762.  
 Your uncle who is anxious to see you again,

MANUEL ANTONIO  
 Archbishop of Manila and Captain-  
 General of the Philippines

For my nephew,  
 Antonio de Sierra Tagle y Rojo

<sup>33</sup> Copy, *ibid.* I, 18.

## 15

*Archbishop-Governor Rojo to Brigadier General Draper, 28 September 1762*

At 10 p.m. on the night of the 27th Draper put an end to the truce, as he had announced, and recommenced firing his mortars.<sup>34</sup> The following morning a troop of Filipino lancers, acting apparently on its own initiative, flung itself on the British advanced positions with such fury that it dislodged the Sepoys from the church of San Juan de Bagumbayan. Draper had to send reinforcements to recover the outpost. The Filipinos fell back toward the walls, whereupon the gunners on the San Andrés Bastion<sup>35</sup> signalled to them to stand clear of the line of fire so that the guns could be brought into play against the advancing Sepoys. They did so, and the Spanish artillery tore large gaps in the enemy line.

At this juncture the gunners caught sight of a British officer making for the city gate carrying a white flag. He was accompanied by a young man in black and followed by a drummer sounding to parley. According to the Spanish accounts, the Spanish artillery immediately ceased fire, but the Sepoys continued to rake the Filipinos with musketry; whereupon the Filipinos, enraged, fell on the British officer and killed him, cutting off his head. They also killed the drummer and felled the young man in black with seven deep wounds. Then they quickly withdrew from the field into the city, carrying with them the severed head of the officer and the wounded young man, who turned out to be the Archbishop-Governor's nephew, Sierra Tagle. Draper had set him at liberty, as he had promised, and was sending him to Rojo escorted by his personal secretary, Lieutenant Fryar.

When Rojo learned what had happened, he wrote at once to Draper to express the sorrow and horror that he felt.

<sup>34</sup> The following account is based on Monroy, *ibid.* II, 13v-14v; "Diario", *ibid.* XVI, 7v-8v; [Sir William Draper], *Colonel Draper's Answer to the Spanish Arguments Claiming the Galleon and Refusing Payment of the Ransom Bills for Preserving Manilla from Pillage and Destruction* . . . (London: Dodsley, 1764), p. 16. Draper's pamphlet was written after the war. Note his peace-time rank (colonel), and that he had been granted a knighthood. The galleon in question was the *Santísima Trinidad*, which had set out for Acapulco just before the British attack but was driven back by storms and taken by surprise by the *Panther* and the *Argo* (31 October 1762).

<sup>35</sup> The bastion at the southeast angle of the city walls, where a replica of the Statue of Liberty now stands. It was also called the *Baluarte de la Fundición*, because of the government foundry just behind it.

## Egredie Ductor Generalis

Res praeter opinionem, expectationem, imo adversus ordinem millies repetitum, contig[is] . . . .] um monstruosa, at non supra indolem multarum [ . . . .] nationum. Qui a tua celsitudine nictetatur cu[m] sobrino]meo, nihilo obstante signo pacis, signiferi alb[i], occisus fuit; sobrinus meus letaliter laesus, me inscio hujusce rei, illico, ac pacis signis animadverterunt Capitanei mei, ab omni hostilitate abstinerunt; at non potuere omnes continere Indos; de quo certior factus, exivi equitans ad prope usque loca periculosa, et habita a tuis militianis, et fortificata. Spirituum, animi et corporis nimia fatigatione potui ad illud punctum facere ut res omnes conquiescerent.

De hisce enim rebus certiore[m] te facio, strenue Dux, ut tua peritia militari persisteris, an a tua, an a mea parte, res haec in discrimen pervenisset? Certum est enim et apud omnes aures perceptum quod nullam mei fecerunt motionem rei bellicae, usque tui ad bombardeum manus et opera admoverunt; et multo post, ita ut ego, qui munitiones civitatis visitarem ad horam decimam noctis, percepi et mei statim ad regiam domum reducere.

Iterum lege epistolam meam hesternam, in qua, quam paratam habebam insimul mito; perlegas, quaeso, eam, et cum anteriori conferas oro ac obsecro, ut etiam videas quantum fidei tuae consistebam. Vellit tua benignitas in bonam, certam et manifestam rem iudicium ferre, et sententiam proferre; te iudicem apello, et in tuo ac meo negotio libenter constituo.

His omnibus in sua consistentiam firmitate; et ut res bellica ad exitum perducatur; nam ego in procintu sum; et bono et fortissimo animo praemunitus. Sed vellim ut in tuo iudicio hanc rem pensites ac revices; et adjunctam epistolam, in illa scilicet amicitiae consilium adhibitum ponderes. Valeas Dux justissime et animose. Tui obsequentissimus servus.

EMMANUEL ANTONIUS, Archiepiscopus Manilensis, Gubernator et Capitaneus Generalis Insularum.

Quinto Kal. Octobris An. 1762.

Exme Dux Generalis Guillerme Draper<sup>36</sup>

[TRANSLATION]

Most Excellent General:

What has happened was totally unexpected, wholly unforeseen, and indeed utterly contrary to my repeated orders; a shocking thing, but quite within the capacity of many of these native tribes. The officer whom you sent to accompany my nephew, notwithstanding the sign of peace, the flag of truce, was killed; my nephew mortally wounded. It all happened without my knowledge. My officers suspended hostilities as soon as the white flag appeared, but were not able to control the *indios* completely. As soon as I learned this I sallied forth on horseback and rode right into the field of fire, within range of your lines and batteries. By dint of strenuous mental and bodily exertion I succeeded in restoring order in that area.

I put the facts before you, my dear General, and ask you, as a man well versed in military affairs, whether it was your side or mine that brought about this unfortunate occurrence. There is no doubt at all, and all who were within hearing distance will agree, that my men held their fire until your men began firing off their mortars. Indeed, they did not return the fire until long afterwards; and since I planned to inspect the defenses of the city at ten o'clock that night, I decided to leave matters as they were and had my escort take me back at once to Government House.

Kindly re-read my message of yesterday, of which I send herewith a copy exactly as it was written; read it carefully, I beg of you, and compare it with my previous message, and you will realize how much I counted on your good faith.

<sup>36</sup> Copy, *Irrupción Anglicana* I, 19-19v.

Weigh with serenity what is clear and certain in this affair, pass judgment and give sentence; I appeal to your good sense, and most willingly accept you as arbiter of our respective claims.

Let this matter be cleared up, that we may resume the conflict and bring it to a conclusion, for I am all in readiness and have a good stomach for anything that may befall. Let me, however, suggest that you carefully reconsider this whole campaign; give due weight to the friendly counsel contained in the accompanying letter. Farewell, most judicious and spirited of leaders.

Your faithful servant,

MANUEL ANTONIO  
Archbishop of Manila, Governor and  
Captain-General of the Islands

27 September 1762.

His Excellency,  
General William Draper

16

*Brigadier General Draper to Archbishop-Governor Rojo, 28 September 1762*

Head Quarters before Manila. Sept. 28th 1762

It is impossible for me, to ex[press to] Your Excellency the indignation I feel at the Barbarous Treatment of my Secretary, murdered under the Solemn Sanction of an Embassy; a Guilt only known, I believe amongst these Savages; for believe me, Sir, I cannot think or suspect Your Excellency or any Castilian to be Concerned in so Horrid an Affair: as you may well Judge by my Trusting my Aid de Camp with another Message to Your Excellency: I must tell you, Sir, that if the Authors of this most Barbarous Murder are not Immediately given up to our Justice, those Gentlemen, now

our Prisoners will meet with a proper Retaliation for this Affair. I likewise Demand the Head of my Secretary or shall send in the Heads of all our Prisoners in Exchange. I am Your Excellency's H. Servt WILL. DRAPER.

[On envelope:]

To His Excellency  
The Governor and Captain  
General of the Philippine Islands<sup>37</sup>

## 17

*Brigadier General Draper to Archbishop-Governor Rojo, 29 September 1762*

Rojo's reply to Draper's indignant message, which we need not reproduce textually, was to the effect that he was moving heaven and earth to find out who had been guilty of killing and beheading Lieutenant Fryar, because his intention was to send the assassin to Draper so that Draper could try and punish him himself. At the same time, he pointed out that according to the gunners on the walls it was the Sepoys who really disregarded the truce by continuing to fire even after Fryar and Sierra Tagle had advanced beyond their lines and were in full view. As for the Filipino troops, they were acting without orders from their officers.<sup>38</sup> Draper, somewhat mollified, replied the next day.

I did my self the Honour to acquaint Your Excellency by my Letter of last night that I could not [har]bour a Thought that the murder was committed by any Encouragement of any Spaniards, whom I have always Esteemed as Men of Great and Strict Honour and National Faith. But Your Excellency will be pleased to observe that it must be by Your order These Savages have been put in arms against us. Your People then cannot be surprized if my Soldiers should unfortunately Retaliate upon Persons who by the Accidents of War may fall into their Hands. I wish to make War with Humanity, but it will be Impossible to do it unless those Wretches are sent to their own Homes; I do assure

<sup>37</sup> Autograph, *ibid.* I, 20.

<sup>38</sup> *Ibid.* I, 21-21v.

Your Excellency most sincerely that their Whole Force is not of Consequence enough to terrify one of my Platoons. I can assure you I sent no more yesterday to Displace them. They may serve to terrify Raw Troops, but mine are Veterans. I [condole?] with you most sincerely for the wounds of Your Nephew, they touch me dearly. It is therefore Doubly Incumbent upon Your Excellency's Justice to deliver up the Barbarous Murderers to Punishment. I wish most Heartily for both our sakes this Fatal Accident had never happened.

I am with much Real Regard and Esteem Your Excellency's Humble Servant.

WILLIAM DRAPER

[On envelope:]

To His Excellency the Governor and Captain General of the Philippine Islands<sup>39</sup>

## 18

### *Terms of Surrender Proposed to the British Commanders by Archbishop-Governor Rojo and His Council, 6 October 1762*

Beginning 30 September, Draper concentrated his mortar and gun batteries on the San Andrés Bastion with the object of effecting a breach. One by one the guns mounted on the bastion were silenced, and the old powdery stone crumbled rapidly under the British bombardment, filling up the moat.<sup>40</sup>

In the night of 4-5 October, 2,500 Pampango troops were sent out of the city in a desperate assault on the British positions in Ermita, Malate and Bagumbayan; the attack was repulsed with great loss. The following day Rojo called a council of war to which the civil authorities, ecclesiastical superiors and the principal merchants of the city were admitted. By and large, the military were in favor of surrendering on terms; the civilians were resolutely for continuing the resistance.<sup>41</sup> Rojo himself seems to have realized that the end

<sup>39</sup> Autograph, *ibid.* I, 22-22v.

<sup>40</sup> This account is based on the following sources: Monroy, *ibid.* II, 29-46v; "Diario", *ibid.* XVI, 9-15v; Cornish, *Plain Narrative*, pp. 4-5; Draper, *Colonel Draper's Answer*, pp. 21-22.

<sup>41</sup> The minutes of this meeting, certified by Orendain, are in *Irrupción Anglicana* II, 38-40v.

was not far off, for at nightfall he sent the youngest and most vigorous of the members of the Audiencia, Don Simón de Anda, out of the city with a commission as *juez visitador* or inspector-general; a commission which gave Anda, in effect, the powers of deputy governor in the territory unoccupied by the enemy.

Meanwhile Draper, judging the breach to be practicable, had decided to take the city by assault. Early in the morning of 6 October he mounted an attack in three columns: the first column to enter the city through the breach, swing sharply to the right just inside the walls, take possession of the Royal Gate and open it to the second column; both columns then to advance through the city to the citadel (Fort Santiago) while the third column broke through the Parian Gate and made for the same objective.

They met with hardly any opposition, for most of the defenders had retired to the citadel. Archbishop-Governor Rojo and a handful of staff officers were still in Government House, but when a messenger broke in with the report that the British had entered the breach, they also withdrew to Fort Santiago. There Rojo immediately sat down with his councillors to draft the following surrender terms.

PROPOSICIONES QUE HACE A LOS EXMOS SEÑORES GENERALES DE SU MAGESTAD BRITANICA EL ARZOBISPO GOVERNADOR CON ACUERDO DE LA REAL AUDIENCIA Y CAVILDO DE CIUDAD Y COMERCIO

Primera. Que se concedan a la Guarnición de esta Plaza y a la del Castillo de Santiago, y igualmente a los Ministros de S. M. Católica, y al vecindario los honores militares, y los demás correspondientes a la graduación que cada uno tenga, salvas sus haciendas y personas con livertad y franqueza, como la han tenido hasta aquí.

2ª. Que se mantendrá y conservará la religión cathólica Romana en el egercicio y funciones de su Ley evangélica por su Pastor, Fieles y Ministros.

3ª. Que se puedan restituir las Familias que se han retirado de esta Plaza y las demás que se hallaren dispersas, indemnizadas sus Personas y Bienes.

4ª. Que esta misma indemnidad, franqueza y livertad se entienda por todas las personas de ambos sexos havitantes

en la Ciudad, sin que se les perjudique, moleste, ni aflixa en su comercio interior.

5°. Que considerada la entera satisfacción y [polit]ica de los Exmos Señores Generales Británicos, darán la más efectiva y egecutiba orden para evitar los desórdenes y mantener la quietud de la Plaza y Arrabales, castigando a los Agresores y Contraventores de sus superiores Ordenes.

6°. Que se permita el que quede libre y franco el Comercio de dicha Ciudad y sus Avitantes de la misma manera y como antes le tenían, y que para ello se les conceda a su tiempo los pasaportes correspondientes.

7°. Que assimismo quede franco y libre el tráfico y comercio de víveres y utensilios de los Naturales del Pais, sin que se les haga oposición ni extorción alguna, pagándoles como hasta aquí se ha hecho sin alteración lo que importaren.

8°. Que el Gobierno Ecclesiástico quede indemne y libre para la instrucción de sus Fieles expecialmente de los Patrios Naturales.

9°. Que el uso y egercicio del Gobierno económico de la Ciudad quede en su franqueza y livertad.

10°. Que para los negocios políticos, civiles, y de Derecho quede en su Authoridad como antes la Real Audiencia, a fin de que por su m[ano] se eviten los desórdenes y que los insolentes y culpados queden respectivamente castigados.

11°. Que dichos Ministros y Offiziales Reales han de ser indemnes sus Personas y Bienes, manteniendose en sus honores, y con la cóngrua suficiente a su manutención y decencia, siendo responsable S. M. Cathólica a la satisfacción; quedando, por este medio, dichos Ministros bajo la protección de S. M. Británica como los demás vecinos y naturales.

12°. Que las Familias y demás Personas del Vecindario de esta Plaza puedan salir a vivir fuera de ella como las convenga.

Que en consideración de la decadencia grande de este Comercio, que es notoria, ofrece la cantidad de trescientos mil pesos por la indemnización de las Personas y Bienes de los Ciudadanos y Havitantes, para subvenir a los gastos de la Esquadra Británica con la calidad que los Señores Generales ha[rán que?] se restituyan los saqueos que con gran dolor se han experimentado aun en las Iglestias, cassas y Palacios Real y Arzobispal, pues aunque por dichos Señores y Officiales de S. M. Británica se han proporcionado las providencias para evitarlos, efectivamente se han padecido.

Real Palacio de Manila, y Octubre 5 de 1762.

MANUEL ANTONIO, Arzobispo Gobernador y  
Capitan General de las Islas

firmada del Arzobispo  
oidores y [illegible] sujetos  
de ciudad y comercio

Es copia de la Capitulación para la rendición cuio original fué firmado por S. S. Illustrissima, Señores Oidores, y demás Concurrentes en la junta [?]. Oy cinco de Octubre de 1762.

MONROY<sup>42</sup>

## 19

### *Conditions Imposed on the City of Manila by the British Commanders, 6 October 1762*

Having drafted the capitulations which he intended to propose to the British commanders, Archbishop-Governor Rojo ordered the white flag raised over the citadel, and sent Don Antonio Piñon, who seems to have known some English to General Draper. Piñón returned accompanied by a British officer, Colonel Monson, who said that the Fort must be surrendered unconditionally or else the assault would continue. Rojo then requested to see Draper personally. Monson had him taken under guard to Government House, which Draper had in the meantime occupied. Draper received Rojo

<sup>42</sup> Autograph copy, *ibid.* I, 26-27v. For an official English translation, see Document 20 below.

courteously but insisted that while the Spanish proposals would be considered in due course, it was imperative that Fort Santiago be surrendered immediately and unconditionally. Rojo thus had no choice but to comply.<sup>43</sup>

Meanwhile, Admiral Cornish having come ashore, he and Draper imposed the following conditions on the conquered city.

CONDITIONS ON WHICH THE CITY OF MANILA SHALL BE PRESERVED FROM PLUNDER, AND THE INHABITANTS PRESERVED IN THEIR RELIGION, GOODS, LIBERTIES AND PROPERTY UNDER THE GOVERNMENT AND PROTECTION OF HIS BRITANNICK MAJESTY.

The Spanish Officers of every Rank shall be Esteemed as Prisoners of War, upon their Parole of Honour, but shall have the Liberty of wearing their Swords; the Rest of their Troops of Every Degree and Quality must be Disarmed and Disposed of as We shall think Proper; they shall be treated with Humanity.

All the Military Stores and Magazines of Every Kind must be surrendered Faithfully to our Commissary, and Nothing secreted or damaged.

His Excellency the Governor must send Immediate Orders to the Fort of Cavite, and the other Forts under His Command and Dependent upon Manila to surrender to His Britannick Majesty.

The Propositions contained in the Paper delivered on the Part of His Excellency the Governor and His Council will be Listend to and Confirmed to them upon their payment of four millions of Dollars, the Half to be Paid Immediately, the other Half to be Paid in a time to be agreed upon [and hos]tages and security Given for that Purpose.

S. CORNISH  
WILLIAM DRAPER

<sup>43</sup> Cf. Monroy, *ibid.* II, 44v-49v.

<sup>44</sup> Autograph, *ibid.* I, 28.

## 20

*Reply of the British Commanders to the Spanish Proposals,  
7 October 1762*

The British troops had no sooner taken possession of the city than they put it to the sack. The pillaging went on all day. That evening, the evening of the 6th, Archbishop-Governor Rojo asked Draper to put a stop to it, but Draper replied that it was too late to do anything, and they would have to wait until the following day. Draper later denied the Spanish accusation that he had explicitly authorized the pillage for a period of forty hours.

The next morning (7 October), Rojo called a general meeting of the officials, officers and citizens still in the city and got them to agree, however reluctantly, to the conditions imposed by the conqueror; in particular, to the payment of the ransom of four million pesos. Whereupon Cornish and Draper issued orders for the pillaging to cease, and returned the following answer to the Spanish proposals.<sup>45</sup>

PROPOSALS MADE TO THEIR EXCELLENCIES HIS BRITANNICK MAJESTY'S COMMANDERS BY SEA AND LAND, BY HIS EXCELLENCY THE ARCHBISHOP, CAPTAIN GENERAL OF THE PHILIPPINE ISLANDS, THE ROYALL AUDIENCE, THE CITY AND COMMERCE OF MANILLA.

Article 1st. That the effects and Possessions of the inhabitants shall be secured to them under the protection of his Britannick Majesty, with the same Liberty they have heretofore enjoy'd. *Granted.*

2<sup>d</sup>. That the Catholick, Apostolick and Roman Religion be preserv'd and maintain'd in its free Exercise and Functions by its Pastors and faithful Ministers. *Granted.*

3<sup>d</sup>. That the Families which are retir'd into the Country may have free liberty to return unmolested. *Granted.*

4<sup>th</sup>. That the same indemnification and liberty may extend to all persons of both sexes, Inhabitants of the City, without any Prejudice or molestation to their Interior Commerce. *They may carry on all sort of Commerce as British Subjects.*

<sup>45</sup> Cf. Monroy, *ibid.* II, 50-56v.

5<sup>th</sup>. Having great Confidence in the manners and Politeness of their Excellencies the Britannick Generals, hope they will [use] their best endeavours in preserving Peace and Quietness in the City and Suburbs, chastizing all People who shall dare to oppose their Superior Orders. *Granted.*

6<sup>th</sup>. That the Inhabitants of this City may enjoy the same Liberty of Commerce as they have had heretofore, and that they may have proper Passports granted them for that End. *Answer'd by the 4th Article.*

Article 7<sup>th</sup>. That the same Liberty may be granted to the Natives of the Country for bringing in all manner of Provision etc., according to their usual method, without the least Opposition or Extortion, paying for them in the same manner as hath been heretofore practiced. *Granted. NB. Anyone coming in with arms will be put to death.*

8<sup>th</sup>. That the Ecclesiastical Government may be tolerated and have free Liberty to instruct the Faithful especially the native Inhabitants. *They must not attempt to convert any of our Protestant subjects to the Popish faith.*

9<sup>th</sup>. That the use and Exercise of the Oeconomical Government of the City may remain in its same Freedom and Liberty. *Granted.*

10<sup>th</sup>. That the Authority as well Political as Civil may still remain in the hands of the Royall Audience, to the end that by their means a stop may be put to all Disorders and the Insolent and Guilty be Chastized. *Subject to the superiour controul of our Government.*

11<sup>th</sup>. That the said Ministers and Royall Officers, their Persons and Goods may be in full Security and be maintain'd in their Honours, with a Stipend sufficient to support them, His Catholick Majesty being answerable for the same. Upon these conditions the above mentioned Ministers will be under the Protection of his Britannick Majesty, in the same manner as the rest of the Inhabitants. *His Catholick Majesty must pay for their support.*

12<sup>th</sup>. That the Inhabitants may have Liberty to reside within or without of the City, as shall be most convenient for them. *Still subject to the revocation of our Government, if they find it necessary.*

S. CORNISH  
WILLIAM DRAPER

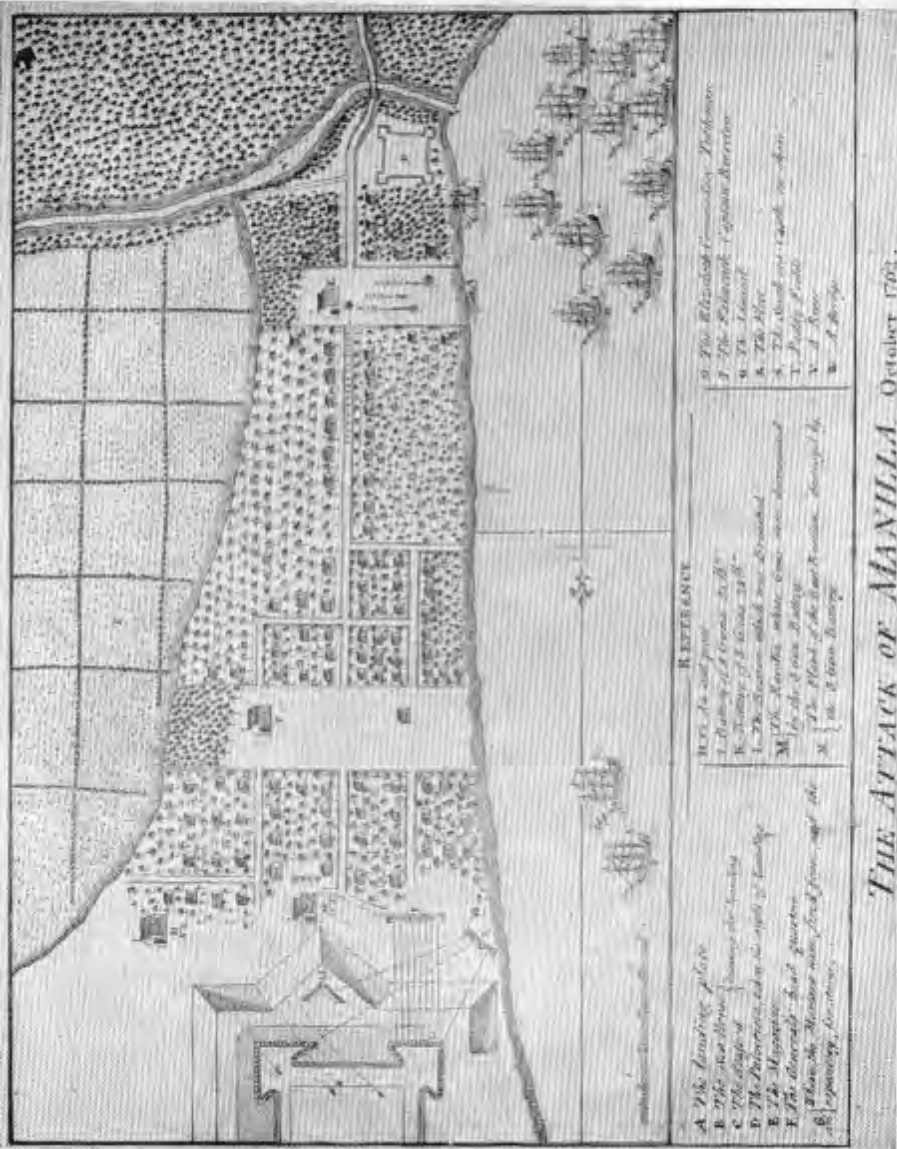
Done at Head Quarters in the City of Manilla this seventh day of October: one Thousand seventeen hundred and sixty two.

CHARLES PEMBLE  
Aid de Camp and Secretary<sup>46</sup>

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<sup>46</sup> Autograph, *ibid.* I, 33. We hope to publish subsequent documents in this series in later numbers of PHILIPPINE STUDIES.





II. Plan of the British Landing at Malaca and Attack on the Walled City of uncertain authorship. Courtesy of the Library of Congress, Washington.



III. Portion of William Nicholson's "Draught of the Great Bay of Manila" showing the Walled City at the Time of the British Attack. Courtesy of the Library of Congress, Washington.