TRANSLATOR'S
PRELIMINARY DISCOURSE.

THE Work now laid before the British Public, was evidently intended to call the attention of the Spanish authorities and nation to the neglected state in which the Philippine Islands were left, and, by pointing out the abuses under which the administration of that secluded portion of the monarchy laboured, to awaken a spirit of inquiry, favourable to reform in all the branches of the insular government. Its object was also to shew the immense improvements of which that country is susceptible, by an enumeration of resources in great measure disregarded, and to demonstrate the fallacy of that restrictive system by which the industry and emulation of the inhabitants had hitherto been paralyzed. It was published in Madrid at the time the Spanish Cortes so lately met for the commencement of their valuable labours, as containing desirable and recent information respecting the Philippine Islands, a subject that would naturally enter within the range of investigations about to be instituted, with a view to correct existing defects, and reconstruct the commercial relations of Spain on a more enlightened system. Its publication may, therefore, be considered as among the first advantages gained by the late revolution in Spain, and

the consequent establishment of the freedom of the press. A certain jealousy has usually prevailed with regard to the transmarine affairs of Spain, that must have withheld a work like this from the public eye; but that feeling ceased, as soon as the new order of things was restored, and many of the most distinguished members of the Cortes were the first to recommend its appearance in print, on the principle that valuable information ought not to be hidden, and that they were equally as much interested in the welfare of those distant sections of the monarchy, as the natives and inhabitants themselves could be.

The author's previous pursuits have clearly been mercantile, and from the high situation he held in the Philippine Company at Manilla, he possessed sources of information to which few could have access. Hence, may it be said, that he has published the first statistical and descriptive account of a part of the Indian Archipelago, of which, till now, we had scarcely any other knowledge than a few scanty and detached particulars, hastily communicated by voyagers who had accidentally touched at or cruised near the islands, among whom Dampier and the writer of Anson's Voyages may almost be considered the best. Some historical details, particularly by Zuñiga, were indeed printed about the year 1803; but they are no other than a crude outline of various events, by which, from the time of the conquest, the administration of each Captain-General had been distinguished, only reaching up to 1764, when Manilla was evacuated by the British; of course very inadequate to the wants of the general reader, and in no way comprising the last 50 years, during which

period the Philippine Islands have, comparatively speaking, acquired a new existence.

If any thing is to be regretted, it is, that the author has not given us more, and that he confined himself only to the most material points. He must evidently possess a still larger and more diversified fund of information; but having been appointed to accompany the commissioners who proceeded to Buenos Ayres with pacific overtures, he was no doubt prevented from adding to his volume. It has, however, been the wish of the translator to throw into the body of the work, as much illustrative and comparative information as he was able, in the shape of notes, distinguished in the usual way; and also additional matter in the Preliminary Discourse; with a view to make up deficiencies, so as to render the present work as complete as possible, and deserving the character of an useful appendage to Crawfurd's History of the Indian Archipelago. For this purpose, he obtained some materials from Madrid, and considered himself fortunate in possessing a variety of interesting, though not recent, reports and papers, at various times laid before the Council of the Indies, of which his confined limits have prevented him from making as much use as he could have wished; but it will be found he has given an ample sketch of the conquest, settlement, and history of the Philippines, and, in other respects, supplied the omissions of the original work; at the same time explaining some of the author's views, which, to the English reader, might not appear altogether intelligible. In short, as an important and eventful revolution has taken place in Spain, on which the author could not have calculated according to the form in which his pages were prepared, and of which,

consequently, he did not anticipate the results, the translator has endeavoured to place the whole on a parallel with the constitutional system, more particularly as far as regards political and commercial changes, by which means the work is rendered more acceptable and perfect in all its parts.

The Archipelago of St. Lazarus, the name originally given to the Philippine Islands, was discovered by Hernando de Magallanes, who left Seville in August, 1519, with five ships, manned by 234 men and fitted out by orders of Charles V. On reaching the South Sea, by the passage still bearing the name of its discoverer, he had only three vessels left; but with these he proceeded on in quest of the Spice Islands, the chief plea that had given rise to so daring an enterprise. On the day of St. Lazarus, he discovered a group of islands which he called by the name of the Saint, and landing at Botoan, belonging to the province of Caraga, in the island of Mindanao, he took possession of the new discovery in the name of the king of Spain, and there the first mass was celebrated. He next proceeded to the island of Zebu, and gained over its chief, as well as that of Dimasua. Mactan, a small island in front of Zebu, however, resisted the Spaniards, and its chief, confident of his own strength, challenged Magallanes to land, who accepted the challenge. He took with him 50 Spaniards, attacked the Indians by advancing through a deep morass; but, being wounded by an arrow, he died on the field together with six of his men, and the rest retreated on board. Thus perished, though not ingloriously, the renowned Magallanes, whose name, in the annals of the New World, deserves to rank immediately after that of Columbus.

After the death of their leader, the Spaniards chose Juan Serrano for their commander, and the Indians after this recent misfortune, no longer considering them as demi-gods or invincible, began to plot their destruction. They artfully disguised their designs, and persuaded the new commander, accompanied by 24 of his companions, to be present at a feast, prepared by Hamabar, chief of Zebu. In the midst of the entertainment, concealed Indians rushed on the unsuspecting Spaniards, and murdered the whole of them, with the exception of Serrano, who escaped to his ships. Despairing of success in this quarter, the Spaniards proceeded in search of the Moluccas, after burning one of their ships, owing to the want of men, and choosing Juan Carvallo as their leader. On the 8th November they arrived at Tidore, one of the Moluccas, where the chief received them well, and granted them permission to load spices, with which they intended to return to Spain. The Trinidad, one of the ships, proceeded towards Panama; and the Victoria, the other, returned home by the way of the Cape of Good Hope, and arrived at St. Lucar, on 7th September, 1522, three years after their departure from Seville, and with only 18 men remaining. The surviving Captain, Sebastian del Cano, being thus the first who had sailed round the world, the emperor bestowed honours upon him, and gave him for his coat of arms a terrestrial globe, with the motto of *Hic primus geometros.*

The enterprising spirit which at that time existed in Spain, and the flattering accounts given by the survivors of the new discoveries, induced the emperor to send out another armament under the command of Estevan Gomez, who, by a north-west passage, pledged

to discover a shorter route to the Pacific. This squadron sailed in 1524, and was soon dispersed by bad weather. In the following year, Father Loyasa was dispatched from Corunna with 7 ships and 450 picked men, among whom was Andres de Urdaneta, who afterwards became a friar of the order of St. Augustin, and, as will be hereafter seen, directed the expedition from New Spain, which effected the conquest of the Philippines. Loyasa's fleet passed the Straits of Magallanes, with the loss only of one ship; but on entering the Pacific, they were dispersed by a storm. Loyasa pursued his course, and dying soon afterwards, was succeeded by Sebastian del Cano, in conformity to the orders of the emperor; but he only surviving a few days, the command devolved on Martin Yañez, a Biscayan. They arrived at Tidore, on 31st December, 1526, and were soon joined by the rest of the squadron, though after losing a large part of their men. Here they found that the Portuguese had declared war against the chief of Tidore, for having, on the previous occasion, granted the Spaniards a favourable reception. The latter espoused the cause of the islanders, and several partial actions took place with the Portuguese; but, through the effects of the climate and other calamities, their numbers being now reduced to 120, they constructed a fort and intrenched themselves. In this situation, shut up in their fortress, was the remnant of Loyasa's armament found by Alvaro de Saavedra, who commanded an expedition of three ships fitted out by the viceroy of New Spain, by orders from court, and which arrived at Tidore by the route of the Marianas Islands, of which possession was taken in 1528. They were received as deliverers by their suffering countrymen; but their joy was of short duration,

fresh quarrels breaking out with the Portuguese, who had nearly destroyed all the ships of the Spaniards. Twice they commenced their voyage to New Spain, and as many times were driven back through stress of weather, and after losing their leader and a great part of their crews, the survivors submitted to the Portuguese.

This portion of the Indian Archipelago, at that time, presented the singular spectacle of the subjects of two European nations waging a destructive war against each other, without any previous declaration of hostilities at home. To explain the origin of this contest, a small digression will be necessary. The ambition of new conquests, the glory of visiting remote seas, and the fervid zeal of extending the Christian faith, equally animated the breasts of Spaniards and Portuguese, during the 16th century; commerce being, at that time, only a secondary consideration. The enterprising and heroic acts of both nations, whether read from the pen of an Ercilla or a Camoens, fill the mind with wonder and astonishment; more particularly if we consider the degraded state into which each was afterwards sunk through the defects of their respective governments. The Portuguese had for some time been carrying on their discoveries and conquests along the coasts of Africa and Guinea, and by a bull, dated 8th January, 1456, Pope Nicholas V. confirmed the same to Alphonsus V. of Portugal; in which he also amplified his former letters patent, wherein a grant had been made of all he might take from the Saracens, as an equivalent for the expences incurred, and on the condition of his reducing the conquered to the Christian faith. These grants were afterwards confirmed by Calixtus III., in 1456,

and Calixtus IV., in 1481, when the possession of the Canary Islands in favour of Spain, was specially exempted from the previous grants.

In 1493, Alexander VI. issued his bull on behalf of Ferdinand and Isabella of Spain and their successors, in which he granted to them all the countries and islands, discovered and not discovered, situated to the west and south of a line drawn from the two poles, and passing 100 leagues westward of the Cape De Verd Islands, unless previously occupied by some Christian power. The terms of this grant by the court of Portugal were deemed an infringement on those previously made to them, and several remonstrances and negotiations ensued, as well with the Papal See as the government of Spain. In the mean time the celebrated Sebastian del Cano arrived home with the remnant of Magallanes' expedition, bringing overtures of allegiance from several of the Molucca chiefs, and, above all, a cargo of spices. These circumstances excited greater emulation in the Portuguese, who, being powerful in India, lost no time in establishing themselves in Ternate, one of the Moluccas, whilst remonstrances were urged against further armaments being made by Spain to that quarter. Both sovereigns, anxious to preserve the existing harmony, resolved to leave the matters in dispute respecting their Indian enterprises to arbitrators, and the whole eventually terminated in a treaty, signed 22 April, 1529, by which the emperor Charles V. at that time in great want of money, agreed to give up his right and title to the Moluccas or Spice Islands, for the sum of 350,000 ducats of gold; but, according to the tenor of the original document, of which a copy is before me, reserving to himself and successors the pri-

vilege of reassuming his rights and title to the same, whenever the above-named sum should be refunded.

The contest being ended in this way, the king of Spain turned all his thoughts to the conquest of the undisputed islands discovered by Magallanes, and for this purpose orders were transmitted to the viceroy of New Spain; the ports on the Pacific being deemed more convenient. With this view five ships were fitted out and sailed from the port of Natividad, under the command of Ruy Lopez de Villalobos, on 1st November, 1542, who was strictly enjoined not to approach the Moluccas, in order to avoid creating jealousies among the Portuguese. He also carried with him four Augustin friars for the conversion of the conquered natives: but the squadron, after arriving safe off the Philippines, was driven so much to leeward by the S. W. monsoon, that they were compelled to anchor at the island of Sarragan, 40 leagues from the opposite coast of Mindanao. It was this commander who then gave to these islands the name of Philippines, in honour of Philip II. of Spain, and after suffering great privations in the miserable island of Sarragan, through the want of provisions, he sent some of his smaller vessels to the neighbouring ones in search of supplies; but, being delayed longer than he expected, he sailed for the Moluccas, though contrary to his orders. Here he was ungraciously received by the Portuguese, and proceeding on to Amboyna, he died in the arms of St. Francis Xavier, in the year 1546, falling a victim to a deep melancholy which preyed upon him, owing to the disasters of his expedition and the dread of his sovereign's displeasure.

Notwithstanding such great sacrifices and misfor-

tunes, the government of Spain seemed to cling to the old project of colonizing the Philippine Islands, and being partly recovered from the exhausted state in which the kingdom was left by the ruinous wars carried on during the reign of Charles V., and the viceroyalty of New Spain, having, in the mean time, made rapid progress, Philip II. gave orders to his representative there, Don Luis de Velasco, belonging to the noble family of the Duke de Frias, to construct the number of vessels necessary for the enterprise, appoint a commander, and make every other preparation. He also addressed a royal order to Andres de Urdaneta, who, as already noticed, had become an Augustin friar in Mexico. This distinguished individual had served as a military officer in the Italian wars, and had also been a captain in the armaments of Loyasa and Saavedra, when he acquired great practical knowledge of the Indian Archipelago. He was, besides, well versed in nautical affairs, being considered one of the best mathematicians of the age, and the king was desirous that his talents, prudence and experience should be added to the present undertaking. The viceroy confided the supreme command to Miguel Lopez de Legaspi, a noble Biscayan, who had greatly distinguished himself in the military affairs of America. Five Augustin friars were also embarked, as well as an Indian interpreter, belonging to Tidore, who had been brought away in Villalobos's ship. The most judicious arrangements having been made by the viceroy, the armament left the port of Natividad on 21st November, 1564, consisting of two large ships, one galley and a *patache*, having on board 400 picked men. A month after their departure, the *patache*, commanded by Alonzo de

Arellano, separated, as is generally thought, intentionally, and proceeding on to Mindanao, took in a cargo of spices and gold, with which she returned to New Spain.

Legaspi pursued the course pointed out in his instructions, and on 9th January, 1565, discovered an island which he called Barbudos, owing to the natives wearing longer beards than the other Indian islanders. On the 22d they made the Ladrones islands, which name was given them from the thievish disposition observed in the inhabitants, but since called the Marianas, in compliment to Queen Mary of Austria. On 13th February, they came in sight of the Philippines, and landed at Tindaya and Abuyo, but did not succeed in negotiating for provisions. Legaspi next proceeded to Bohol, where Villalobos' people had formerly obtained supplies; but the natives had fled to the mountains. The conciliating conduct of the Spanish commander soon inspired them with confidence, and they brought down what provisions they had, for which they were duly paid. The Spaniards then sailed to Zebu, but their landing was opposed by the chief and his people; though as soon as the Spaniards were on shore they took to flight. The detachment advanced towards their town; but, on approaching, they found it in flames and the moveables conveyed away.

Legaspi pitched his tent on shore, and ordered his flag-ship to be repaired, with a view to send her back to New Spain. Being greatly harassed by the Indians, a fort was built. Constant negotiations were kept up with Tupas, chief of the island, in which Legaspi endeavoured to convince him of the advantages of living in amity, and pledging to forget his treachery towards

Magallanes. Hardships, the want of provisions, and uncertainty with regard to the future, gave rise to several mutinies among the soldiers, which were, however, fortunately suppressed, and some examples set to deter others. The flag-ship being ready, she sailed on the 1st of June, 1565, with Father Urdaneta on board, who went with a report of what had been done, and to solicit supplies and assistance for the conversion of the islanders.

The day after the sailing of the flag-ship, Tupas, finding it impossible to resist the Spaniards, had a conference with Legaspi, and agreed to pay homage to the king of Spain, supply provisions, and grant the land necessary to build a city and fortifications. Thus was established the first Spanish town in the Philippines, which Legaspi called by his own name, San Miguel. The natives came down from the mountains, confidence was restored, and soon the island exhibited the spectacle of two distinct races of people establishing themselves near each other. The Spaniards had constructed several light gallies, better adapted to these seas, and with them went against some neighbouring towns, at war with the Zebuans. The natives of the island of Luzon also brought them 200 baskets of rice, and several good captures of provisions were made from the enemy; still, for a considerable time, they were exposed to famine. Several small expeditions were sent out to reconnoitre the neighbouring islands, and it was discovered that some of the towns courted the friendship of the Spaniards, whilst others sought to starve them out of the country, and for this purpose the provisions had been conveyed to the mountains.

Soon afterwards a vessel arrived at Zebu from Aca-

pulco, sent in aid of the expedition, at the solicitation of Father Urdaneta, who had arrived safely in Mexico, and proceeded on to Madrid. On board this vessel a dreadful mutiny and some bloody scenes had taken place; but at length she entered the port to the great joy of the new colony. Besides looking after provisions, a galley was sent to Mindanao, for the purpose of obtaining cinnamon, intended to be sent to New Spain on account of the king, and also pitch for careening the vessels. On a party employed there in this way, the Mindanayans rose, and murdered the whole.

The Portuguese made their appearance in these seas, in consequence of which Legaspi strengthened his fortifications. On the 10th June, 1567, two Portuguese gallies arrived with letters from Captain Pereyra, in which he expressed a hope that the Spaniards had only taken up a temporary residence in Zebu. Legaspi, apprehensive of an attack, sent off a small vessel to New Spain, requiring immediate aid. On the 20th of the following August, two ships arrived with seasonable relief; but Pereyra did not reach Zebu till 30th September, 1568, when, instead of waging war against each other, the two commanders held conferences, for the purpose of ascertaining whether the Philippines were within the line of demarcation traced by the pope.

Legaspi, finding the theatre of his operations too confined at Zebu, resolved to establish himself in a more fertile country, and ordered the camp to be removed to the island of Panay. This service he intrusted to his relative, Philip de Salcedo, who was cordially received by the natives, whom he had formerly assisted against their enemies. Captain La Haya was also sent with a detachment to the river Araut in the

same island, Captain Ibarra to the island of Masbate, and a garrison left in Zebu. Another vessel arrived from Acapulco with supplies, and several Augustine friars. Tupas, the Zebuan chief, was baptized and took the name of Philip, in compliment to the king of Spain, and his example was followed by many of his countrymen; indeed nothing could equal the zeal of the missionaries, and their labours were most successful.

It having been determined to subdue the island of Luzon, Legaspi set out to forward the expedition, and touching at Panay, was cordially received by the natives. Here he ordered fortifications to be erected, as well to prevent any attempts on the part of the Portuguese, as to check the proceedings of a number of pirates, fitted out from Jolo and Borneo, and which had captured a Spanish vessel and her crew, but were afterwards dispersed by the commander left at Zebu. In January, 1570, Captain Juan Salcedo sailed against the pirates of Mindoro, and having taken the town of Mamburao, he compelled the inhabitants to ransom themselves with gold. He next proceeded to the isle of Lucban, where the pirates of Mindoro had taken refuge, and after forcing their intrenchments, they ransomed themselves in the same way.

Colonel Goite was appointed to command the expedition against Manilla, and accompanied by Juan de Salcedo, 120 soldiers, and a party of friendly Indians, he left Panay, in the beginning of May, 1570. He himself went directly against the town, but Salcedo landed near the lake of Bombon, now called the province of Batangas, to treat with the natives. They received him with demonstrations of hostility, when he engaged them, but receiving a wound in his leg from an

arrow, he was compelled to abandon his enterprise, and followed the colonel to Manilla. The latter had made terms with Rajah Matanda and his nephew Soliman; but it was soon discovered they were not sincere. They had fortifications built at the mouth of the river, where now the fort of Santiago stands, defended by artillery, in the use of which they had been taught by Europeans. Several Spaniards had been murdered ashore, and Soliman at length threw off the mask, and fired on the shipping. The colonel instantly landed with eighty men, and stormed the fort, the Indians flying to their town, which they burnt with a view to diminish the success of their enemies. Here a foundery for cannon was destroyed; but twelve large, and a few smaller pieces were taken in the place. The old Rajah, Matanda, was considered no party to this disturbance, the whole of the blame being laid on Soliman; but the colonel finding his force insufficient, and fearing also that if he delayed any longer the S. W. monsoon would prevent his return, after repairing his ships at Cavite, proceeded back to Panay.

On the 23d June, three more vessels arrived from New Spain, and in them several missionaries. Legaspi also received dispatches from his sovereign, approving his conduct, nominating him president of the Islands, and ordering portions of land to be distributed among those engaged in the various conquests. He dispatched two vessels back to Acapulco, and then went to Zebu, constituted the new town into a city, gave it a municipal establishment, laid the foundation of a stone fort, and made every other arrangement for the good administration and future defence of the island.

Returning to Panay, he took command of the expe-

dition destined against Manilla, with which he sailed on the 15th April, 1571. He reviewed his men in the island of Latuga, and found they amounted to 280, and passing by the island of Mindoro, settled the tribute the natives were to pay to the king of Spain, where he had the opportunity of saving a Chinese junk from foundering, by which means he secured the friendship of the crew. He arrived at Cavite, and there waited for the vessels which had fallen astern. The whole squadron then entered the river of Manilla, and the Indians, conceiving the Spaniards had returned to punish them for their late misconduct, set fire to the town, and fled with their effects to Tondo. Colonel Goite went after them, and convinced them, by means of an interpreter, that the intention of the Spaniards was not to injure them. After various negociations, the old Rajah and Lacandola, chief of Tondo, agreed to visit Legaspi, who received them in the most engaging manner. They promised to become subjects of the king of Spain, and listen to the new law that was to be preached to them. Soon afterwards Soliman also came in, and received the general's pardon.

Affairs being thus advanced, arrangements were made for building a new city and fort at the entrance of the river. Behind it a palace, church and convent were first erected, as well as houses for the remaining Spaniards. Such was the conquest and foundation of the city of Manilla, intended as the seat of government, and the ceremonies usually attending establishments of this kind, were performed on the 19th of May, 1571. It was, however, soon discovered that no great reliance could be placed on the sincerity of the islanders. Two chiefs from the interior appeared off the mouth of Ban-

cusay harbour, with forty prows, and landing they proceeded to Lacandola's house, reproached the Indians for so tamely submitting to a handful of foreigners, and urged them to shake off the yoke. Legaspi sent two Spaniards to treat with them, but they received them with insults and derision, offering to fight the Spaniards if they went to Bancusay bay. Thither Colonel Goite instantly proceeded with his light vessels, when a most bloody engagement ensued, in which the Indians shewed the greatest valour. The leader of the Indians being killed by a musket-shot, the remainder fled and were pursued by the Spaniards, who took many prisoners, among whom were a son and nephew of Lacandola. Legaspi however forgave their treachery, and sent them back to their relatives. This forbearance and the dread of Spanish prowess, had such an effect on the country, that several chiefs came in and sued for peace.

The new city being founded, a municipality established, and the surrounding country in amity with the Spaniards, Colonel Goite was sent to La Pampanga to reduce the natives; but on arriving at the river Betis, he was obliged to return, having discovered the treachery of Soliman and Lacandola, who had accompanied him as interpreters. On the 17th of July, Legaspi's nephew arrived with two ships, sent by the viceroy of Mexico as a reinforcement. Juan de Salcedo was sent to reduce the people of Cainta and Taytay, two small towns high up on the river Pasig, who refused to acknowledge the authority of the Spaniards, and had intrenched themselves. The first was carried by assault, with great loss on the part of the Indians, on hearing which the second surrendered. He afterwards

marched against another settlement, situated on Lake Bay, where the Indians were prepared for defence; but sending forwards an Augustine friar, the latter induced them to submit, and their example was followed by the other towns round the lake.

Salcedo advanced further into the country, and found the people of Mahayhay, fortified on a high hill; but, having perceived a path less rugged than the rest, he boldly advanced and took the position. Exploring the country he found the villages deserted, the inhabitants having fled to the mountains. He therefore returned to Lake Bay, where most of his people had been left, and learning that in the country of Camarines, there was a town, called Paracale, possessing gold mines, he resolved to go thither. Having dispatched back to Manilla, a party of men with a report of what had been done, he proceeded to Paracale with only a few troops, and endured the greatest hardships.

La Pampanga having been subdued by Colonel Goite, and a large portion of the country round the capital being now in a state of perfect submission to the Spaniards, the governor distributed tracts of land as a reward to his officers, reserving the tributes of the natives, as an impost to the king. In 1572, the Chinese whom the Spaniards had saved from shipwreck, arrived with merchandise, when the first foundation of the Acapulco trade was laid, as well as the plan of sending missionaries to China.

Nothing being yet known of the northern part of the island, Juan de Salcedo volunteered his services to go there, and he left Manilla on the 20th of May, 1572, with forty-five soldiers. On the third day, he arrived at Cape Bolinao, where he found a Chinese junk,

whose crew had got possession of an Indian chief and some of his people, intending to carry them to China. Salcedo released them, and this action so much gratified the natives, that they solicited to be put on the same footing as those of the other districts in amity with the Spaniards. He then passed along the coast of Pangasinan and Ilocos, till he arrived at Cape Boxeador, and in most of the towns was received in a friendly manner. At Bigan he built a fort, and traced out a town, where he left twenty-five of his people. Passing on to Cagayan, he made the complete circuit of the island of Luzon, and arriving at Manilla, received the melancholy intelligence of the death of his relative, Governor Legaspi, who by his prudence and probity had endeared himself to all parties, and by his zeal, energy and courage, had rendered essential services to his sovereign. Juan de Salcedo returned to the conquest of Ilocos, and this being completed, he proceeded to Camarines, where he founded the city of Santiago de Libon, on the river Vicol. The Bisayas islands were also explored, and as fast as Augustine missionaries arrived from Mexico, districts were placed under their spiritual care, this being found the best means of restraining and civilizing the natives.

In November, 1574, the Spaniards were alarmed by dangers of a novel kind. Limahon was a pirate of such renown, that the emperor of China had sent three squadrons against him, and fearful of encountering them, he resolved to remove his predatory operations to a greater distance. Having captured a Chinese junk from Manilla, he learnt the situation of the Spaniards there, and resolved to attack them. He arrived

at the island of Corregidor, at the mouth of the bay, with sixty-two junks, having on board 2000 soldiers, many seamen, 1500 women, and abundance of artillery and arms. Unperceived by the Spaniards, Sioco, a Japanese and second in command to Limahon, landed 600 men, and advanced on Manilla. At day-break they were close to the fortifications, and had surprised the house in which Colonel Goite and family lived, who with his guard were put to the sword. The advance of the Chinese was at length checked by a detachment of Spaniards, and a severe engagement took place, in which eight of the latter were killed. The remainder were nearly overpowered, when a reinforcement arrived, and after great slaughter Sioco was compelled to retire to his boats, and join Limahon in Cavite.

Juan de Salcedo, who had observed this fleet off the coast of Ilocos, where he was then engaged in making settlements on the land distributed to him, fearful for the safety of the capital, resolved instantly to proceed there with all the forces he could collect. He arrived in the bay the night after the attack, and learning how matters stood, ordered trumpets to be sounded, salutes to be fired, and lights put about his vessels, in order to induce the enemy to believe a considerable reinforcement had entered the river. The same night Limahon brought his ships close to Manilla, and the next morning Sioco landed, advancing on the capital in three divisions. One he ordered to march along the principal street to the square, where he expected the Spaniards would sally from the fort to engage them; the second was sent by the side of the river, and the third he himself led along the beach. The first division arrived at the square; but the Spaniards did not quit

the fort, though they saw their houses burning, their artillery continuing to do great havoc among the Chinese. Sioco finding he could not draw the Spaniards out of their fortifications, ordered the division in the square to push on to the assault, at the same time leading on his own party. So great was the number of assailants, that the palisade was forced, when the governor and Colonel Salcedo came up with the reserve, and, cutting their way through the Chinese, entered the fort, repulsed the enemy with great loss, and compelled him to retire to the shore.

Limahon, who had been hitherto unable to take part in the action, now entered the river; but, observing the flight of his people, ordered his ships to withdraw, thinking to make them desperate, by depriving them of all protection from him. The Chinese, however, withstood the fire pouring upon them, without venturing to return to the engagement, and Limahon found himself compelled to land with 400 fresh men. He moved onwards and burnt a few vessels drawn up on the beach; but being attacked by Colonel Salcedo at the moment he was preparing to pillage and set fire to the remainder of the town, he was finally forced to retreat. Having lost many of his people, and among them Sioco, the pirate then re-embarked his troops, and returned to the river Parañaque, where he killed all the Indians assembled in an hostile attitude. He next sailed to the province of Pangasinan, where he entered into an arrangement with the chief, and formed a strong encampment on the river Lingayen.

This was the greatest trial the Spaniards had experienced in their new conquests, as the event besides gave rise to several commotions among their own

Indians. Nothing however could appal the daring minds of these intrepid men. The natives of Manilla had committed excesses whilst the Spaniards were engaged with the Chinese; those of Tondo murdered some persons belonging to the church, and the Mindorese carried their friars as prisoners with them to the mountains. Soliman and Lacandola, the chiefs of Manilla and Tondo, apprehensive that the governor would punish them for their ill-conduct, retired to Navotas, where they stirred up a rebellion. Colonel Salcedo, accompanied by a friar, went out against them, but through the influence of the latter, a reconciliation was effected.

The governor, relieved from the anxiety occasioned by the restlessness of the Indians, resolved to follow Limahon to Pangasinan. On examining his muster-roll, he found the soldiers in Manilla did not exceed 200, and about the same number were distributed in the provinces of Bisayas and Camarines. On the 22d of March, 1575, Colonel Salcedo sailed with 150 Spaniards, and 1500 friendly Indians, and on the 29th entered the river Lingayen. On the following day he sent Captain Chaves with a party to take possession of the pirates' ships, and Captain Rivera with another, to reconnoitre his fortifications on shore. The former executed his commission with ease, the Chinese flying from their vessels the moment they were boarded. Rivera attacked the advanced works, and made dreadful carnage among the intrenched Chinese. Limahon seeing this, ordered his men under cover of an intervening grove of palm-trees. Rivera having received reinforcements, followed up his success, and compelled the Chinese to retreat to their fort, which he would have

scaled; but finding the palisade too lofty, as an expedient, he ordered his men in a body to rush against it. Being formed only of palm-trees driven in the ground, it easily gave way, and they entered the fort. The Chinese retreated to the inner intrenchment, which the Spaniards ought instantly to have attacked, and before the enemy recovered himself; but, lured by plunder, they lost the opportunity. Limahon was not slow in taking advantage of this error, and attacking them with 400 men, he drove the Spaniards out of the works. They however returned to the attack, again advanced to the second palisade, which finding it impossible to force, they withdrew to their own position.

Colonel Salcedo, seeing the difficulty of taking the fort by storm, and anxious also to spare his men and resources, resolved to turn the siege into a blockade, and deprive the enemy of provisions. He also ordered a Chinese merchant who was with him to write letters to Limahon, to induce him to submit; but, the latter replied that he was considered a savage tiger, whom all were desirous of catching; he however assured them, that he should either kill them, or they him. The Spaniards threw up works beyond the range of the enemies' artillery, and guarded the mouth of the river to prevent his escape. The distance of the Spaniards' quarters enabled Limahon to collect in the fragments of his junks which had been burnt, and with these he built boats within the fort. Four months were passed in this way, when the Chinese, finding they had no other alternative, opened a canal to the river, and withdrew in the night.

In 1576, the colony had the misfortune to lose Col. Juan de Salcedo, who, on the 11th of March, died of a

fever, deeply regretted by all parties. He had borne a most distinguished part in the whole of the transactions relating to the Philippine Islands, and always behaved with the greatest valour and prudence. The number of religious missionaries had greatly increased, but they had hitherto been confined to the Augustine order, whose friars already possessed several convents, and had held two provincial chapters. About this time, seventeen Franciscans also arrived, and commenced their spiritual labours. Queen Elizabeth of England sent out the renowned Captain Drake, with a considerable squadron, for the purpose of subduing the Moluccas; but, in the straits of Magallanes he lost several of his vessels. He pursued his course, named several islands on his route, and arriving at Tidore, collected a cargo of cloves, with which and the plunder of several Spanish ships bound to New Spain, he returned to Europe.

In order to prevent other nations from obtaining a footing in the Moluccas and neighbouring islands, the Philippine governor, La Sande, resolved to conquer Borneo, and a favourable opportunity then presented itself. Sirela, king of the island, had come to Manilla and solicited the aid of the Spaniards, in order to expel his brother who had usurped his power. La Sande took with him thirty vessels, and arriving safe at Borneo, entered the river and attacked the position and residence of the usurper. The latter defended himself with great valour; but at length he was compelled to fly to the mountains, and the legitimate chief reinstated in his rights. On the return of the governor to Manilla, troops were sent against Jolo and Mindanao, and the natives compelled to pay the customary tribute; but,

owing to distance and the scarcity of friars, the conversion of the natives could not be undertaken. Captain Chaves also completed the conquest of Camarines, and there founded the city of New Caceres.

Governor Peñalosa arrived at Manilla in 1580, and the first step he took was to mark out a particular quarter, under the guns of the fort of Santiago, for the residence of the Chinese, who had become numerous. He also sent Captain Rivera to re-establish Sirela on the throne of Borneo, which his brother had a second time usurped. A Japanese pirate, who, with several vessels and many followers, had established himself in the province of Cagayan, was also dislodged; but with severe loss on the part of the Spaniards. The city of New Segovia was founded, near the Indian town of Lalo, and that of Arivalo also in the island of Panay.

The plan of taking possession of the Moluccas had been long agitated, and for this purpose orders had been transmitted from Spain. In 1582, an expedition sailed for that quarter, having on board Pablo de Lima, married to the niece of the king of Tidore, and who claimed several towns of which she had been deprived by the king of Ternate. The squadron easily took the island of Motiel, and the natives recognised De Lima as their governor. The Spaniards next proceeded to Ternate, where the natives were prepared to oppose their landing. In this however they succeeded, and laid siege to the town, when a disorder in the bowels broke out among the men, and compelled them to return to the Philippines.

In March, 1583, Governor Peñalosa died, a deep melancholy having preyed on his mind, owing to serious disputes which had arisen between the laity and the

Augustine and Franciscan friars. He was buried in the church of the former, which being set on fire by the tapers used at his funeral, the flames spread, and in a few hours nearly the whole city was destroyed, with immense loss of lives and property. In 1584, the members of the Royal *Audiencia*, or high court of justice, arrived at Manilla; an establishment deemed necessary, from the inconvenience experienced in referring cases of appeal and other weighty matters to Mexico. The following year another squadron was sent to reduce the Moluccas; but it was not more successful than the preceding one. The absence of troops, the misfortunes which had befallen the colony, and the rapacious conduct of those among whom distributions of lands had been made, had created a restlessness among the natives, who seemed anxious to break the yoke of the Spaniards. Those of La Pampanga and Manilla entered into a conspiracy with the Moors of Borneo, who visited the colony for the purposes of traffic, and formed the plan of entering the city at night, and setting fire to it. This plot was however fortunately discovered, and the ringleaders punished; but its existence shewed the precarious situation in which the Spaniards were, particularly as symptoms of discontent had likewise appeared in the islands of Samar, Ibabao, and Leyte.

The merchants of Manilla about this time received a severe blow in the loss of the Santa Anna, the rich Acapulco ship captured by Cavendish, who had fitted out five ships with the assistance of Queen Elizabeth. In 1589, no ship was sent to Acapulco, the two which had been fitted out for this purpose having been driven ashore at Cavite, in a storm. The partial insurrections

of the Indians continuing, the governor, in several instances, was compelled to resort to coercive measures. A stone fort was built where the royal gate now stands, and the cannon foundery, which hitherto had been established at Santa Anna, removed to Manilla, and several pieces of artillery cast. An hospital for Spaniards was also built and endowed, and many new arrangements made for the better defence and interior police of the colony.

In 1590, a new governor arrived with a reinforcement of 400 men, sent by the viceroy of Mexico. The city was now surrounded with a stone wall and the fort of Santiago reconstructed. The royal magazines in Manilla and Cavite were built, as well as the asylum of Santa Potencia, for the reception of the daughters of deceased military officers. An embassy arrived from the emperor of Japan, for the purpose of establishing commercial intercourse, and another was also sent by the king of Cambodia, with a present of two elephants to the governor, requesting his aid against the king of Siam, who had commenced hostilities against him. The governor excused himself, alleging that the enterprise he had in view against the Moluccas, required all his resources.

A third attempt against the Moluccas being determined upon, Governor Dasmariñas himself sailed from Cavite on the 19th October, 1593, and arriving off Santiago, encountered a strong gale, which dispersed the whole of his ships. At length his own vessel anchored at Brimstone Cape, where 150 Chinese, who were on board as sailors, incensed at some reproaches they had received from the governor, for the ill performance of their duty, concerted a plan to murder him

and his companions. They commenced their carnage at the time the Spaniards were reposing in the afternoon, by killing the governor and all those who were unable to escape in the boats or by swimming, sparing only Father Montilla, a Franciscan, and Cuellar, the governor's secretary. After this they resolved to sail for China; but, passing by the province of Ilocos, entered the port of Sinay to water, where the Indians killed twenty of them. The following day they disembarked in another part, and sacrificed an Indian convert to their gods, when they proceeded to Cochin-China, where eventually they met with the punishment due to their crimes.

In February, 1596, the flag-ship of Alvaro Mendana de Neyra, arrived at Cavite. He had sailed from Callao, the port of Lima, with four ships, to colonize the Salmon islands; but having commenced with that of Negros, near New Guinea, he died, and his wife and family came to Manilla. About this time the charitable institution of Mercy was established, for the relief of female orphans. In 1603, a fire consumed 250 houses in Manilla, as well as the convent of St. Dominic, and the hospital for the reception of Spaniards. Several mandarins at various times had arrived from China at Manilla, whose emperor evidently had views on the Philippine Islands, and a secret communication was kept up with his subjects residing there. It was at length discovered that 25,000 Chinese had plotted to enter Manilla on the eve of St. Francis, and destroy the Spaniards. There were two classes of Chinese at that time in the colony; those who came annually for the purposes of commerce, and the old residents, who occupied the quarter of the town called Parian, without

the walls, and whom the Dominicans had endeavoured to convert.

The governor exerted himself to reconcile the annual traders, who were numerous; but he failed in the attempt, and at length they assembled in open rebellion, in a town half a league from Manilla, where they threw up works, the others remaining at Parian. In the night, some of them sallied out, burnt the towns of Quiapo and Tondo, and killed many Indians. Finding all conciliatory measures fruitless, the governor sent 130 Spaniards against them, almost all of whom perished, and the heads of the three principal officers who commanded this detachment, were sent by the Chinese to Parian, as an incitement to their countrymen. Such was the imminent danger to which the Spaniards were exposed, that a general muster was made, and several parties advanced against the rebels. Even many friars volunteered on this service, particularly an Augustine, named Antonio Flores, who had served in Italy, and been present at the battle of Lepanto, previous to his taking the habit. This venerable man headed a party which he posted near a river, where the rebels must pass to join their countrymen at Parian. From this position he sallied forth and made great havoc among them; but they effected their retreat to Parian and Dilao, and intrenched themselves. Captain Gallinato, however, burnt the former, and laid waste the latter, and Captain Velasco pursued the fugitives to Cabuyao. The Chinese not being able to maintain themselves there, fled to St. Pablo in the mountains, where Captain Velasco, who had pursued them, fell, together with two Franciscans. Here the insurgents fortified themselves so strongly, that it was necessary to wait for

reinforcements from Manilla; Major Acuña, however, eventually cut off their supplies of provisions, and compelled them to quit their position or starve. In the night they retreated to Batangas, where they were pursued and destroyed. In the various actions, no less than 23,000 Chinese perished, and the several ring-leaders who had been discovered were hanged.

As soon as the colony had recovered from this dreadful calamity, a new expedition against the Moluccas was projected, on which the government at home seemed to insist. In March, 1604, 800 troops arrived from New Spain, and on the 15th January, 1606, the governor himself sailed at the head of the armament. On his arrival, he sat down before the city of Ternate, and took it on the 1st of April, with the loss of fifteen men. The king, who had fled with some of his subjects, shewed a disposition to enter into amicable terms with the Spaniards, proposing to deliver up all his fortresses, the towns in Batoquina, chiefly settled by Dutch captives or Spanish deserters; all his Christian prisoners; the islands of Marotay and Herrao, together with his artillery and ammunition. These terms were accepted, but the king was not allowed to remain there; the governor conveying him to Manilla, with those of his chiefs of whom apprehensions were entertained. Colonel Esquival was left governor of Ternate with 600 men, and Captain Alarcon remained in Tidore, at the request of the king, with 100 soldiers.

The capital being left without troops during the absence of the governor, the Japanese, who clung together and were distinct from the Chinese with whom they always lived in enmity, availed themselves of this opportunity, and took up arms against the Spaniards.

This rebellion was however soon overcome, through the mediation of the friars. On the arrival of the governor, he banished the ringleaders, and obliged the remaining Japanese to live in the town of Dilao, under the guns of the fort. Governor Acuña dying soon afterwards, the rebellion which lay smothered in the breasts of the Japanese, broke out afresh. They engaged the Spaniards in a most brave and determined manner; but at length were subdued, and not allowed to live together in any numbers, till 1621, when shops were built in their old quarter, and let out to them on account of the Franciscan friars.

At Easter, in 1609, the new governor, Juan de Silva, arrived with six companies of soldiers, and in October, a Dutch squadron appeared off the port of Iloilo, consisting of six ships and a considerable military force. On former occasions, Dutch cruisers had come into the neighbourhood of the Philippines, with whom the Spaniards were implicated through their operations in the Moluccas. The latter had also taken the Dutch governor of Malacca, and detained him till twenty-two Spaniards captured at Amboyna were released. The Dutch commodore landed his men at Iloilo, but they were repulsed by the governor, and the Spaniards subsequently captured two of the ships, and made some reprisals. The latter were annoyed at the establishment of the Dutch in Java, and more particularly in Malacca, as their squadrons cruised in the Philippine seas. The governor formed the project of attacking Malacca, and with this view he sailed for Ternate with six ships and two gallies; but, on his arrival hearing the Dutch had made formidable preparations for defence, he resolved to confine his operations, for the present, to

the reduction of Gilolo and Bataquina, whence he withdrew with the loss of 300 men.

A considerable reinforcement arrived from Cadiz in five, out of the seven, vessels which left that port in April, 1613, with 240 seamen and 100 Portuguese military on board. The governor now renewed his project against Malacca; but his emissaries informed him the Dutch were powerful in ships and men. Whilst his preparations were making, the Dutch landed in the island of Panay, and marched for the city of Arivalo, burning the convents and destroying the plantations; but they soon afterwards retired. By the end of 1616, the governor had collected the largest armament that had been seen in the Philippines, consisting of ten ships, five gallies and a number of smaller vessels, having on board 5000 men, of whom 2000 were Spaniards and Portuguese. With this armament he sailed to attack the forts of Malacca, expecting also aid from India. A fleet of vessels had, in fact, been fitted out there, but it had been defeated by the Dutch before the arrival of the Spaniards, who in Malacca were received with open arms, the Dutch having fled away. Here governor Silva died, and the armament returned to Manilla, without effecting any other object.

The Dutch had received reinforcements from Europe, and during the absence of the Spanish armament, one of their squadrons cruised near the entrance of the bay of Manilla. The deputy-governor fitted out the few vessels he was able and fortified several positions, the inhabitants and even the clergy taking up arms. The Dutch commodore wrote to demand the release of the governor of Malacca, whom they supposed was still confined by the Spaniards; but hearing he was dead,

they left their cruising ground. They afterwards brought ten ships against Oton, where they were repulsed in four assaults they made on the forts. The following year the same armament came against Playa Honda, where they were attacked by the Spaniards, who sunk one ship, burnt two, and the rest fled.

About the year 1623, insurrections took place in the islands of Bohol and Leyte, and were not quelled without bloodshed. An expedition was also sent against the Igorrots, inhabiting mountains of the interior, where gold is obtained; but this, as well as other subsequent attempts, did not prove successful. The governor of Cagayan landed on the island of Formosa and fortified that part nearest his province, in order to check the Dutch who, on the opposite side, had constructed works, with a view to obstruct the trade between China and Manilla.

In 1626, General Tabora arrived from Europe, as governor of the Philippines, with 600 men and several officers who had served with him in Flanders. He soon collected a strong naval armament, for the purpose of driving the Dutch from Formosa. Being however driven back by contrary winds, part of the vessels were sent against the Dutch at Siam, where several of their junks were destroyed. Notwithstanding the interruptions of this active enemy at sea, the trade and emigration from China had been so continued, that by 1639, there were upwards of 30,000 Chinese residing in the colony, some of whom had become planters in Calamba and Biñan. A fresh mutiny broke out, and spreading to those of Santa Cruz, Parian and Manilla, they at last converted the church of St. Peter Macati *into* a strong hold and assembled there. The governor sent 200

Spaniards and a large body of Indians against them, and took their position. Dispersed into separate bands, they plundered and committed great atrocities. The Spaniards pursued and did great havoc among them; but being reduced to 7000, they at length surrendered. This melancholy event plunged Manilla in great distress, owing to the loss of so valuable a class of people as the labouring Chinese were; though the Indians remained tranquil, a circumstance attributable rather to their hatred of the latter than their attachment to the Spaniards.

In 1640, Portugal separated from Spain, and her possessions in India soon followed her example. This year also the Dutch reduced Malacca, and it was feared these two events would plunge the Philippines in difficulties. Dutch cruisers were stationed to intercept the Acapulco ships; but being frustrated in their design, they planned the capture of the remainder of the island of Formosa, with a view to obstruct the trade to China, and facilitate the conquest of the Philippines. So great were the apprehensions entertained of the vicinity of the Dutch and the activity of their cruisers, that the new governor, Don Diego Faxardo, who took possession of his government on 11th August, 1644, deemed it necessary to unite all his forces. Jolo was evacuated, when it was discovered the natives had solicited aid from the Dutch at Batavia, whose armaments attacked the port of Caldera and were repulsed: but the next year they again appeared in the Philippine seas with twelve ships, intending to attempt the capture of Cavite; the garrison, however, having had ample time for preparations, made a good defence, and the Dutch commanding officer received a wound, of which he died.

The enemy then retired and disembarked in La Pampanga, where the chief magistrate collected 600 Indians and fortified himself, as well as he was able, in the convent of Abucay. The Dutch advanced to the assault, when the Indians fled in such disorder, that 400 were killed in the pursuit. The Dutch deeming it prudent not to remove too far from their ships, returned on board, but landing a second time at Samal they were repulsed, and after cruising some time, to intercept the trade, they returned to Batavia.

Salicala, son of the king of Jolo, and Cachile, chief of Tuptup in Borneo, infested the Archipelago with their squadrons and committed great depredations on the coasts. The Spaniards encountered the latter near the island of Burias, and his fleet was dispersed and himself killed; on hearing which Salicala retired to Jolo, and his attention was soon taken up with disputes regarding the succession to the throne. In order to check and punish the Borneans, Major Monforte landed there, burnt all the towns within his reach, as well as great quantities of provisions and many vessels, and brought away 200 prisoners.

Whilst the governor was engaged in repelling the attacks of the Dutch and Moors, the natives in several parts of the colony shewed symptoms of discontent. In Palapag they murdered a Jesuit and plundered the church and convent; and those of Camarines also broke out in open rebellion. Zebu wavered in its loyalty, in Caraga many Spaniards and friars were murdered, and the Bisayas would have been lost, if a stop had not been put to these acts in due time. A force was sent against the rebels of Palapag who had fortified themselves on a hill, under the command of Sumoroy, their

leader. The Spaniards advanced in the most undaunted manner, and as soon as their outposts were taken, the Indians fled with great precipitation. Sumoroy attempted to escape, but his own people killed him and sent in his head as a peace-offering to the Spaniards. Dabayo, the ringleader of the rebellion in Caraga, got possession of the fort by stratagem, and the Spaniards were obliged to escape in a boat. Tranquillity was, however, soon afterwards restored, and the ringleaders delivered up to justice.

Severe as were these trials, a greater calamity still awaited the colonists. On the day of St. Andrew and the anniversary of the victory gained over Limahon, about eight at night, nearly all Manilla was destroyed by an earthquake. The convent and church of St. Augustine were spared; but almost all the public edifices were thrown down, and above 600 persons buried in the ruins. This calamity extended also to some of the other islands. In Cagayan, a hill was rased from its foundation, and in its fall overwhelmed a town and its inhabitants. During sixty days a succession of earthquakes prevailed, and many extraordinary changes took place, owing to the strong convulsions of nature. The people of the capital were obliged to live in huts in the fields; but gradually the houses were rebuilt, and the college of St. John de Letran founded for the education of orphans.

In 1653 the Mindanayans issued from their ports to carry on their predatory excursions, although at the time ostensibly at peace with the Spaniards. The latter sent two Jesuits and some merchants to Corolat, in the character of ambassadors; but the islanders murdered them and continued their depredations. An in-

surrection also took place in the province of La Pampanga, owing to the hard service the Indians had to endure in cutting wood for the king's dock-yard. It was, however, soon suppressed by the governor, who went there with a detachment of troops; but this bad example had previously operated on the natives of Pangasinan, who also rebelled and chose an Indian, called Marlong, as their king. They murdered the chief-magistrate of the province and his whole family; troops, however, arriving from Manilla, the Dominicans had such influence over the people, that they were restored to their duty without firing a gun, and Marlong was delivered up and executed. A similar revolt also took place in Ilocos, but being quelled without great difficulty, the ringleaders were hung.

The events which gave rise to the occupation of the China throne by the Tartar dynasty, drove numbers from their country, who collected under Cogseng, the son of a general who had fallen a victim to the resentment of the new emperor. To revenge the death of his father Cogseng turned pirate and ravaged the Chinese coasts and islands. At length he landed 100,000 men on the island of Formosa, in the cultivated part and opposite that where the Dutch had their fortifications. The latter had 2000 Europeans on the island and abundance of artillery and shipping. Cogseng soon invested the fortress of Tayguan, when the Dutch capitulated, after a seven months siege. Elated with this success, Cogseng determined to become master of the Philippines, and as a preliminary step, sent an ambassador to demand the allegiance of the colony, who arrived at Manilla on 10th May, 1662. The governor instantly collected all his forces and prepared for defence. Steps

were taken to send the Chinese out of the colony, on learning which some retired to the mountains and others took up arms. The governor sent back the ambassador; but on his arrival he found the pirate Cogseng dead of a fever, and thus the islands were released from the imminent dangers by which they were threatened. Cogseng left a son, who succeeded to his father's power, but not possessing the same warlike spirit, he sent an ambassador to Manilla to enter into a treaty of amity and commerce. Although the expedition had not reached the Philippines, the effects of the threatened danger fell heavy on the colony, as all the convents and churches near the capital were destroyed, to prevent the enemy from converting them into military stations. Ternate, Calamianes and Zamboanga were also evacuated and the garrisons assembled for the defence of Manilla, which, together with the disaffection of the Chinese residents, greatly deranged the affairs of the colony.

For several years, the civil and ecclesiastical authorities of the Philippines were involved in disputes and contentions of a most serious kind, which wholly occupied the public attention. In 1703, the fortifications were strengthened, in consequence of the war declared by Spain against the English and Dutch, and in 1709, Count Lizarraga arrived as the new governor, when the first step taken was to send out of the islands all the Chinese who were in the habit of remaining behind after the departure of the junks. The safety of the state required this measure, for experience had proved they could not be trusted, although the country was benefited by their industry. Their settlement had originally been allowed, under the plea of cultivating the land; but

it was soon found this was a mere excuse. They became traders, adulterating the weights and measures, as well as many colonial commodities. In fact, they had become monopolizers, creating artificial scarcities, and in other respects oppressing the community.

In 1710, an unsuccessful attempt was made by the Jesuits, aided by the government, to colonize the Pelew Islands and convert the natives; and in the same year three English ships appeared off the coast of California, for the purpose of intercepting the Philippine trade, when one galleon was captured. General Bustamante arrived as governor in 1717, and soon involved himself in dreadful disputes, as well with the members of the *Audiencia*, as the clergy and some of the principal merchants, owing partly to his intemperate character, and partly to various suits he instituted for the recovery of old debts due to the treasury. Disgraceful acts of violence took place, which eventually ended in an open mutiny, when the people, headed by the religious orders, went up to the palace in procession, and the guards opposing no resistance, they rushed in to seize the governor, and in the struggle both he and his son were killed. The chief inhabitants, who had been confined through the injustice of the governor, were then released; but this unhappy affair produced great confusion in the country.

In 1739, Governor La Torre arrived, and soon afterwards war being declared between England and Spain, Commodore Anson entered the Pacific, and the well-known capture of the galleon took place. This loss was severely felt by the Manilla merchants, who fitted out four ships to intercept the Commodore and the China fleet, but they were too late. Nothing very remarkable occurred in the affairs of the Philippine Islands that is

not related elsewhere, till the year 1754, when the greatest irruption of the Moors took place that had hitherto been known. They entered with fire and sword in all directions, carrying away numerous captives, and by this calamity the colony was reduced to a most deplorable situation. In the month of December a terrible shock of an earthquake was also felt, and the volcano called the Taal, situated in the centre of the lake of Bombon, in the province of Batangas, threw out such an immense quantity of cinders, that four neighbouring towns were completely ruined. At Manilla, although twenty leagues distant, the atmosphere was entirely obscured in the middle of the day: and at Cavite, a little nearer, the darkness resembled that of midnight. The centre of this volcano contains a large quantity of water, and those who live near it, dread a repetition of scenes to which their ancestors were exposed.

Notwithstanding the rigorous measures repeatedly adopted against the Chinese, and the orders of the government at home not to allow their residence in the colony, numbers still remained there. Governor Arandia, about the year 1757, ordered all those to be expelled who were not Christians, and appropriated the suburb of San Fernando for the reception of such as might arrive annually for the purposes of traffic. Attempts were also made to restore the missions of the Bataan islands, where the Dominicans had been obliged to withdraw; but the enterprise was not attended with permanent success till 1783, and since they have been found very burdensome to the government, owing to their poverty and sterility, which renders it necessary for nearly all their supplies to go from Manilla. Gover-

nor Arandia died in May, 1759, and was succeeded by Don Manuel Roxo, a clergyman and native of Tala, in New Spain, who had also been created archbishop of Manilla. Under his administration the Philippine capital was taken by the British, a most important event in the history of these islands, and deserving of more particular notice.

The wars waged between the British and French, in the East Indies from the year 1749 to the general peace, in 1763, had carried thither larger and more effective bodies of European troops than before had been assembled in Asia, which, when no longer authorized to fight against each other, employed their arms as auxiliaries in the contests existing between the princes of the country. War being renewed in 1756, it was followed by a series of successful efforts, which nearly deprived the French of the whole of their possessions in that part of the globe: and considerable funds having been granted by parliament, in 1762, for the East India service, Admiral Cornish was sent against the island of Bourbon, the last settlement held by the French. He was to have been joined by Commodore Keppel from England, with a body of land forces; but not meeting with him, he returned to Madras without effecting any thing. In the mean time, war having been declared against Spain, Admiral Cornish altered his plan, and resolved to attack Manilla. The forces destined for this expedition, were part of the 79th regiment, a company of artillery, 600 sepoys, a company of caffres, one of topasses, another of pioneers, two companies of Frenchmen, 600 lascars, a battalion of 550 seamen and 270 marines, commanded by General Draper. They anchored in Manilla bay on 23d September,

and found the Spaniards totally unprepared, and even ignorant of the war existing between England and Spain. After an ineffectual summons, the troops were landed the following day in front of the Polvorista or powder manufactory, two miles to the south of the city, protected by the fire of three frigates. They successively took possession of the churches of Malate, La Hermita, San Juan de Bagunbayan and Santiago, and put themselves under cover. The Spaniards advanced out of the city with 400 men and two field-pieces: but they were soon driven back with the loss of one of their field-pieces; indeed they had lost the most favourable opportunity of defending themselves at the time the British were landing, for the surf then ran very high, and the men were up to the waist in water. It must, however, be acknowledged, that the number of the garrison was small, and not exceeding 600 men, some part of whom were Indians.

The superiority of the British in repelling this sortie was so evident, that General Draper sent a second summons, when a spirited negative was returned. Besides the walls and bastions, the city was defended by a wet ditch, a covered way and glacis. It was, however observed, that the ditch did not go round the bastion of San Diego, and this was early made the projected point of attack. The extent of the city rendered it impossible for so small a body of besiegers to invest it, by which means two sides were constantly open to the besieged; nor could the British take possession of the posts of Minondo, Tondo and Santa Cruz, which commanded the river and communications with the country. In a short time, the besiegers completed a battery for small shells, which played on the bastion of

San Diego, and on the 27th the governor sent out a flag of truce, apologizing for some barbarous acts committed by the Indians, and requesting that a nephew of his, captured on his arrival in the bay, might be restored. This gentleman had just arrived from Acapulco in the Philipino galleon, which had entered a port in one of the other islands, and landed her money. Admiral Cornish sent two ships after her, but instead of her, they captured the Trinidad, which had sailed for Acapulco a few days before the British arrived, and been delayed by contrary winds.

On the 28th, part of the garrison, intermixed with Indians, sallied out, and mistaking a British officer, who was accompanying the governor's nephew with a flag of truce, both were killed; they were, however, driven in with great loss. On the 29th, the men of war opened their fire on that part of the city forming the point of attack; but the shallows prevented them from approaching sufficiently near. On the 1st and 2d October, the weather was very tempestuous, the squadron in danger, and all communication with it cut off. A store-ship was driven ashore, yet, even in that situation was of great service, as she enfiladed the beach to the S., and checked a body of Indians who menaced the Polvorista and rear of the besiegers. Notwithstanding the heavy rains, a battery for 24-pounders was soon completed, and another for large mortars, the besieged giving little interruption, and seemingly trusting for their defence to the elements. On the 3d, these batteries opened on the San Diego bastion, of which the guns were silenced in a few hours, and in the night another battery began to play on the bastion of St. Andrew's, which annoyed the flank of the besiegers.

A heavy cannonading being constantly kept up, that part of the walls on which the guns bore, was soon dismantled and destroyed, when the besieged having received a reinforcement of 5000 Indians, made a sortie on the 4th, in three divisions. They advanced by different routes, the first against the church of Santiago, the second against Malate and La Hermita, and the third was destined to attack the seamen cantoned on the beach. The latter was the first point attacked by 1000 Indians, and their approach was favoured by thick bushes, growing on the banks of a rivulet, which they had crossed in the night. A reinforcement being sent to support the seamen, the Indians were repulsed with the loss of 300; but if their skill and weapons had been equal to their strength and ferocity, the consequences would have been serious, for although armed only with bows, arrows and lances, they advanced up to the very muzzles of the guns, and repeated their assaults in a most determined manner. Scarcely was this affair ended, when the church of Santiago was attacked, and the sepoys forced from it. The Indians took possession of the building, but the European soldiers kept their position in the rear, and reinforcements arriving, the Indians were driven in, after losing seventy men, and the British forty.

This was the last effort made by the garrison, and after it most of the Indians returned home. On the 5th, the fire from the batteries had been so incessant, that the breach appeared practicable, and the orillon of St. Andrew was also silenced. On the morning of the 6th the besiegers assembled in the church of Santiago, for the purpose of storming the town, and under a general discharge of artillery and mortars, rushed for-

ward to the attack. The breach was easily passed, and the British met with little resistance, except at the royal gate and from the tops of the houses surrounding the main square. In the guard-house, over the royal gate, 100 Spaniards and Indians who refused to surrender, were put to the sword, and a much larger number drowned in escaping across the river. The governor and principal officers retired to fort Santiago, and the British advanced by the main street to the palace, whither the archbishop and his council immediately proceeded and delivered themselves up as prisoners. Proposals of capitulation were then made to the British commanders, on the part of the governor, royal *audiencia* and city and commerce of Manilla, stipulating chiefly for the exercise of the religion of the country, the security of private property, and a continuation of the powers of the *audiencia*, municipality, &c. These terms being accepted, with some restrictions, and mutually signed, fort Santiago was delivered up to the British, and the officers and garrison admitted as prisoners of war, amounting to 261 rank and file.

Plundering commenced, though it would seem without any express authority from the British commander, at least if it is possible to judge from the orders of the day, given at the time, and the subsequent agreement mutually signed to the contrary. Certain it is, that a dreadful pillage did take place, though the Spanish accounts state that guards were placed in the nunneries for their protection, at the request of the archbishop. The Spaniards affirm that this plunder lasted forty hours, though they attribute the greatest part of the excesses to the Indians, who discovered their masters' riches, in order to participate in the booty. The suburbs of

Santa Cruz and Binondoe were also exposed to the most dreadful ravages, and the greatest atrocities committed by the Indians on the fugitives from the city. The Spaniards acknowledge that, on the following day, General Draper exerted himself to stop the pillage, and on the 16th a more formal capitulation, called "Conditions on which the city of Manilla shall be preserved from plunder," &c. was mutually signed. The 3d article of this document stipulated that the fort of Cavite should be surrendered to the British; the 4th, that a ransom of four millions of dollars should be paid, and the 5th, that all the other dependencies should equally be delivered up, &c.

An order to the commandant of Cavite was sent by the archbishop to surrender the fortress; but the garrison, consisting of 300 men, refused and went off into the country with their arms, when a British detachment entered the castle. Contributions on the inhabitants were then commenced, though the sum obtained, including church ornaments, the archbishop's plate, rings, and breast cross, together with the funds of the charitable institutions, did not exceed 500,046 dollars. To make up the deficiency, the cargo of the Philipino was demanded; but this money was no longer under the control of the archbishop, and in fact afterwards greatly aided in the defence of the interior. The archbishop also sent for 111,000 dollars he had placed in safety near Lake Bay; the Franciscans however, who had the ascendancy in that part of the country, refused to give this sum up and had it conveyed across the mountains to the missionaries of Ituy. In the end, every thing valuable, whether public or private, was given up, although much discontent and misunderstanding took

place on this subject. The 5th clause was rendered ineffectual, from the circumstances hereafter mentioned.

On the 2d November, Manilla and Cavite, together with all their appurtenances, were formally delivered up to representatives of the East India Company, and the whole of the troops brought from Madras left to garrison them. Before his departure, the general issued a proclamation, offering to exempt the Indians from the payment of tribute, if they would swear allegiance to the king of Great Britain; but the inefficacy of this measure, as well as others equally resorted to, soon proved, that although the Spaniards, after a gallant defence, considering the unprepared and weak state they were in, had been compelled to yield up the possession of a city fortified only on a scale to resist an Asiatic enemy, this example and the subsequent conditions imposed on the captive authorities, had no influence whatever on the interior, for reasons, it is now time to explain.

The day previous to the fall of Manilla, the archbishop and his council sent Sr. Anda into the country, with full powers and orders to maintain the islands in obedience to the king of Spain. He arrived at Bulacan, where he was joined by numerous fugitives from the capital, and calling together the chief magistrates of the province, the Augustine friars, and other persons of influence, they deliberated on the best measures to be adopted. The friars offered to raise troops and conduct them to the field, all renewed their assurances of loyalty, and Sr. Anda was acknowledged governor of the islands. Bacolor, the capital of the province of La Pampanga, was also fixed upon as the temporary seat of government, and every exertion made to rouse and arm the country against its invaders.

For the future government of Manilla it had been regulated, that the British commander should hold the military department, and the archbishop the civil and political one, a charge he had the weakness to accept, and which brought upon him the just reproaches of his countrymen. His first step was to draw bills on the Madrid treasury, although the war was still waging, for the balance of the Manilla ransom, as it was called, and the refusal to pay them, gave rise to warm disputes between the two governments at home, when the claim was eventually waved. To this Junius alludes in one of his letters to Sir William Draper, who, he says, had given up the Manilla ransom and abandoned the gallant army, in whose favour, on his return to Europe, he complained, threatened, and even appealed to the public in print. Sir William answers, that all his endeavours to obtain payment had been fruitless, "as the ministers of the day were fearful of involving the country in a fresh war for private concerns." The archbishop also joined the British commissioners, in order to promote the submission of the interior, and the first step taken was to declare Sr. Anda to be a seditious person and deserving of capital punishment, as well as the Augustine friars who had joined his party, and resolved to defend themselves. The archbishop sent several remonstrances to the new governor, urging him to desist from his enterprise, and the British commissioners issued proclamations against him and his partisans, but to no effect. Sr. Anda answered them in the most firm and vigorous manner, refusing to obey authorities who could be considered in no other light than as prisoners, and vowing to execute the orders confided to him previous to the fall of the capital.

Through a fortunate circumstance, copies of all the

public papers relating to the occupation of Manilla by the British, and their views on the interior, came into the hands of the writer of this sketch; but notwithstanding they were never laid before the public in this country, his confined limits on the present occasion, at least, allow him only to make a partial use of them. Conformably to their contents, it would seem that the archbishop remained firm to the British, and died on 30th January, 1764, previous to the evacuation, when he was buried with the greatest pomp and splendour. No doubt he felt keenly the misfortunes in which he and the country were involved, and the error he had committed in joining the party of an enemy, though possibly his motives were good, preyed on his spirits, for, a few days before his death, he wrote to his own sovereign, and in a repentant tone assured him, that he should have been happy if he had visited the breach at the moment of assault, and died by a canon-ball.

In the mean time, Sr. Anda reestablished the royal *audiencia*, regulated the military and political government, assembled troops, cast cannon, manufactured gunpowder, saved the money from the ship Philipino, and as his second in command, named Don Pedro Josef de Bustos, an Asturian youth, who afterwards rendered the most essential services. The British commissioners, perceiving that threats and decrees were of no avail, resolved to take up a position on the river Pasig, in order to open a passage for provisions from Lake Bay. A party of 500 men were sent on this service, and as soon as they arrived in front of Maybonga, General Bustos retreated to Maraquina. The British passed the river with little molestation, when the Indians fled, and in their confusion at the bridge near the convent, numbers of them were drowned. They were pursued as far as

the river Bamban, and the British fortified the position they took, and held it till the peace. A party of Pampanga Indians soon afterwards advanced as far as Maysilo, two leagues from Manilla; but they were dislodged and the place burnt.

The Chinese resident in the country had declared for the British, who being greatly in want of men, put many of them in their ranks. Another detachment of 600 men was sent by sea to dislodge the Spaniards, who had fortified themselves in the convent of Bulacan. The squadron left the bay on 18th January, 1763, with an intention to enter the bar of Binoangan, and being prevented by contrary winds, they proceeded by Pumarava, near Malolos, where they landed without any opposition and marched towards Bulacan. The convent was attacked, and in the defence made, the Chinese, who accompanied the British, suffered severely. The gates were however soon forced, and great slaughter ensued; the Chinese particularly being anxious to avenge the death of their countrymen. After holding this position for some time, and being constantly harassed by active guerillas, the British evacuated and burnt the convent.

Considerable desertion now prevailed, and the Spanish regulars, as well as many Frenchmen who had accompanied the British, went out to join the forces assembling in the interior, and in consequence of this, the Spaniards remaining in the city were restricted to the quarters nearest the sea. The commanding officer of Pasig, advanced towards the lake and the province of Batangas, with a view to intercept the money of the Philipino. He took with him 80 men, passed Tunasan, Biñan and Santa Rosa, and then embarked for Pagsanhan, the capital of La Laguna. Returning to Calamba, he traversed the province of Batangas; but on arriving

at Lipa, and understanding that the money had been ordered to Santor, a town of Pampanga, he returned to his position.

By this time, Sr. Anda having assembled and equipped a large body of men, he ordered General Bustos to encamp at Malinta, a league and a half from Manilla, and this position was strengthened with redoubts and palisades. From this point the Spaniards frequently advanced to the outskirts of the capital, and, on one occasion, carried away the bells from the town of Quiapo, for the purpose of founding cannon, although they met with considerable resistance. The British, alarmed at these incursions, called in their piquets and dug ditches, in order to have a less extended line to cover. On the 27th June, a sortie was made, with a view to dislodge the Spaniards from Malinta; but on arriving at the banks of the intervening river, and not venturing to pass it in face of the enemy, the British retired to Maysilo, and Bustos changed his position to Meycavayan.

These were the last military actions which took place, for on the 23d July an English frigate arrived with the preliminaries of peace, and a cessation of hostilities consequently followed; several unhappy rencontres as well as great dissensions and misunderstandings, however subsequently occurred, owing to the disorganized state to which the country was reduced, and the competition and enmity of the chiefs. Nothing could be more alarming than the situation of the interior, during the whole of the eighteen months the British held possession of the capital. Through this event numbers of criminals were released from the prisons, and, uniting in bands, marauded and plundered through the country, frequently perpetrating wanton and horrid murders. At length

the farmers and settlers, wearied out by these attacks, were compelled to abandon their estates and leave their cattle and effects in possession of these banditti. Owing to their vicinity, the provinces of Tondo and Cavite bowed to the conqueror and were overawed by his presence; but several of the others were convulsed, and became the theatres of atrocities and acts of private revenge. Numbers of friars, curates and Spanish laity were murdered by lawless bands, roving about the country, particularly in the province of Batangas. In that of La Laguna also the Indians behaved in the most savage and barbarous manner. The provinces of Bulucan and Pampanga however remained firm in their allegiance, and witnessed only the crimes of a few individuals. The Chinese also rose and assembled in the town of Uava, whence they were eventually dislodged with great loss. The Indians of Cagayan and Ilocos equally broke out in open rebellion, and elected a chief of the name of Silang. They demanded to be released from the tribute, and, under this plea, visited the estates and defenceless places with fire and sword. The district-magistrate having no forces to aid him, was soon obliged to abandon his post; and in a short time the whole province of Ilocos submitted to the influence of Silang. This chief was however murdered by one of his own people, on the 28th May, 1763, six months after he had commenced his power and at a moment when he was planning a general massacre of the friars and whites.

The most obstinate rebellion of the Indians, however, took place in the province of Pangasinan, where it broke out in the town of Binalatongan, on 3d Nov. 1762, when the magistrate began to collect the tribute. Every possible exertion was made by Sr. Anda to put

down this rebellion; but it increased, and when the rebels were dislodged and driven from the plains, they retired and fortified themselves in the mountains; nor was tranquillity perfectly restored there till March, 1765, when in this undertaking it was found 70 Spaniards, 140 loyal Indians, and upwards of 10,000 of the rebels had perished.

The 31st of March, 1764, was the day appointed for the formal surrender of Manilla and the other places held by the British, conformably to the general treaty of peace, and of them Sr Anda, who had so bravely defended the interior, and so successfully resisted the inroads of anarchy, took possession in the name of his sovereign, although, in the mean time, another governor had arrived in a frigate from New Spain. The capture and occupation of Manilla are estimated to have cost the British 1000 lives, sickness included, many of whom, it is true, were Asiatics; but the treasure expended was considerable. As a military achievement, the taking of the city of Manilla certainly does honour to the troops and officers employed, and proves their courage and perseverance; still, as a political object, it is a query whether it was worth the sacrifices made. Nothing could be more visionary than to suppose that a handful of men could effect the permanent conquest of an extended range of country, divided by nature into separate portions, so as to render it an establishment of value to the British government, although it was possible to obtain possession of even the strongest points. It was still more so to imagine that it could become an advantageous dependency on the East India Company, an humiliation to which the inhabitants would never have submitted. Whilst the British were in possession,

they were cut off from every part of the country their army and navy did not overawe, and, although aided, in the person of the archbishop, by the strongest moral power the colony could afford them, the administration, during their stay in the capital, was most unfortunate.

It is, in fact, melancholy to read the official papers and proclamations issued at the time, by the British commissioners, filled with threats and denunciations, and by which they seem to have mixed themselves up with the acrimonious parties which convulsed the country previous to their arrival. They had not a political, or, indeed any other, inducement to hold forth, that could, for a moment, have influenced a class of people such as the Philippine islanders are; and even if they had succeeded in there destroying the power of Spain altogether, they would have gained nothing, as far as regards the interior, for the history of the country proves they could never have secured an ascendancy over the inhabitants. They might have broken the bonds in which the Indians were held, merely by the tie of religion and the presence of their pastors, yet this could have produced no permanent good; on the contrary, it would have plunged the islands into a dreadful state of anarchy, and made them a prey to the ravages of lawless banditti, who, when they had exhausted the plunder ashore, and there found no more white victims on whom to satiate their vengeance, would have commenced the occupation of pirates at sea. It excites horror to read the details of murder and desolation which took place in the interior, from the moment the old administration, the empire of the laws, and the influence of the missionaries were shaken, and it is a query whether any government could have been satis-

fied with dispossessing an enemy of a country, under such a responsibility, and sacrifices so great, or indeed consent to make use of instruments so dreadful as the infuriated and savage Indians must be.

The neglect of the Spanish ministers in not conveying out timely advice of the rupture with Great Britain, was the real cause of this misfortune to Manilla, for if the governor had only been in time to destroy the churches and massive buildings situated beyond the walls, which served as fortresses and gave immediate shelter to the British, as was formerly the plan of General Arandia, though at the time opposed by the friars, so small a force could never have met with success. The season of the year was also most unfavourable, and placed the squadron in the utmost danger. It must further be acknowledged that, if the first landing of the troops had been opposed with the same vigour as the sorties were afterwards made, the fate of the expedition would have been rendered very precarious; and if the timely arrival of the advices of peace, signed in Europe, had not released the garrison from a most galling duty, at the moment Sr Anda had prepared a large force, and pacified the interior, the consequences must have been extremely serious, so great was the state of desperation to which the inhabitants were driven by their sufferings, both within and without the city.

These remarks are not made with a view to depreciate the merits and execution of an arduous military enterprise, in its result more fortunate than reasonably could be expected, if all the contingencies are duly weighed; but rather for the purpose of pointing out the difficulties and uncertainty of operations of this kind,

when the invader does not carry with him means sufficient to protect and shield the unoffending inhabitants from anarchy, butchery, and rapine, or has nothing better to offer to them than a yoke in itself more hateful than the one he comes to dislodge. This was literally the case in our attack on the Philippine Islands, and these observations, resulting from the evidence of facts and existing circumstances, might have been dispensed with, if the writer was not aware that a second project of attack was more recently formed, possibly without mature reflexion and a full knowledge of all the dangers to be encountered. Whoever pays attention to the history of the past, and considers the sacrifices under which the Spaniards effected the conquest of this portion of the Indian Archipelago, will readily confess that the nations, holding commercial intercourse with China and India, are under the greatest obligations to them for keeping in check a band of lawless pirates, whose increase and impunity must always endanger navigation in that distant and secluded quarter. It has uniformly been the object of Spain to make the Philippine Islands the centre of her mercantile operations in Asia, in order to supply her American dominions, and the precious metals derived from the latter, were sent to the markets where the assortments of goods originated. This beneficial trade must consequently have ceased from the moment her power was destroyed, and the perusal of the present volume, particularly of the two last chapters, will amply prove what must have been the consequences when that faith which holds the moral elements of the world together, and, in the instance alluded to, alone restrains hordes of unruly and unlettered savages within the bounds of control, had lost its

influence, and the natives reduced to the same state in which they were when first conquered.

As soon as the British squadron left the bay of Manilla, Sr. Anda delivered up the government to the commanding officer who had arrived from Mexico, and, in company with his brave coadjutor, Bustos, departed for Spain, where he was received in the most enthusiastic manner. As a just reward for his services, he was appointed governor of the islands he had defended from an enemy and preserved to his sovereign, and left Cadiz on the 11th January, 1770. He arrived by the Cape of Good Hope at Manilla, in the middle of July, and with the greatest zeal and disinterestedness, laboured to repair the ravages of which he himself had been a witness. The fortifications, troops, and navy, experienced his particular attention. He sent several expeditions against the Jolonese and Mindanayans who infested the Archipelago, and dispatched the frigate Deseada to the coast of Malabar, for the purpose of forming commercial relations. He improved the plan for the administration of the revenue, encouraged agriculture, industry, and commerce, and in the year 1771, established the Board of Trade. Nevertheless, he had the misfortune to make many enemies, who possibly envied the honours with which his sovereign had remunerated his firmness and zeal. Towards the close of his life, he found himself involved in disputes and dissensions, which no doubt hastened his death, at the end of October, 1776, and in the 76th year of his age. Bustos returned to Manilla with the rank of lieutenant-colonel, but did not meet with that confidence and encouragement he merited. With wounded feelings he withdrew from the capital into the country, where he

devoted himself to hunting, of which he was passionately fond. Having overheated himself in this amusement, he met with a premature death in 1773.

Don Josef Basco, afterwards Count de la Conquista, and admiral of the navy, succeeded to the command of the Philippine Islands. The hopes entertained by the colony from his abilities and activity were soon realized, and by his judicious arrangements the state of the country was materially improved. The capture by the British, and the events which immediately followed, also excited the attention of the Spanish cabinet to this distant settlement, and orders were sent out to place the capital in a good state of defence. The navigation from Spain to the Philippines, by the way of the Cape of Good Hope, was also allowed, and several vessels of war were dispatched to add to the protection of the islands. The Royal Philippine Company was established, as well as a society for the encouragement of agriculture, industry, and useful arts; but to these and other subsequent improvements and events, sufficient allusion is made in the body of the work. It is therefore necessary to pass on to other subjects, more immediately connected with the views of the writer.

Manilla is situated at the mouth of the river Pasig, which, in a considerable stream, descends from the large lake of Bay, estimated at twenty-five leagues in circumference. In front is an extensive bay, thirty leagues round, surrounded by a rich and well cultivated country, studded with hamlets, villas, and convents, and affording a beautiful perspective. The situation is however deemed dangerous, owing to the inundations of Lake Bay, as well as the vicinity of volcanos, and the frequency of earthquakes. The shipping port is at

Cavite, situated to the S. W. and at the distance of 3½ leagues by sea. Here the vessels anchor behind a long strip of land, forming one side of the bay, load and unload, the king's dock-yard and stores being also there. Near the entrance of the bay, estimated at 3½ leagues wide, is the high mountain of Mariveles, which gives name to the surrounding district. At the distance of a league, and near the entrance, is the island of Corregidor, thus forming two passages. The one usually used by ships is that to the N. called the Mariveles Passage, unless the winds should render it necessary to pass through the other.

The Indian Archipelago constitutes the largest group of islands on the globe, as well as one of its most interesting subdivisions. The Philippines form the eastern and northern boundary, and the number of islands, bearing that name, exceeds forty, though those deserving of notice are not more than thirteen, many of the rest being small and uninhabited. The annexed map will suffice to shew their position, and a correct idea of their relative importance will be collected from the general contents of this volume, and their respective returns of population. Luzon and Mindanao are the largest; the first being 138 leagues in its greatest length, 48 wide, and 360 in circumference; and the second, 75 leagues long, 50 wide, and 260 in circumference.

To the philosophic eye, these islands present a striking and majestic spectacle. In many parts covered with basalt, lava, ashes, &c. they also exhibit ruins of both the animal and vegetable kingdom. In the bowels of the earth, sulphur is constantly burning, and the materials for volcanos always preparing. This continual agitation of nature, the vicinity to the tropics, and the

humidity derived from the ocean, as well as the high mountains and lofty forests, no doubt are the chief causes of the great fertility with which they are distinguished. They contain wide forests and stupendous trees, and the greatest part of the birds, quadrupeds, plants, and fruits, for which Asia is remarkable, are there found of a superior class, besides many productions not met with elsewhere. The sea, rivers, and lakes, afford fish in great abundance, and the earth teems with numerous and valuable minerals. The vicinity to the tropics, gives uniformity to the climate, as well as to the natural productions and character of the inhabitants; but the climate, although usually mild, sometimes is exposed to great changes. During one part of the year, the sea and land winds keep up a temperature that could scarcely be expected from the situation of these islands; whilst, at another, the atmosphere burns with lightning, and the country is inundated with torrents of rain. The violent winds, called *baguios*, which prevail from June to January, do great havoc both on sea and land. In the island of Luzon, divided as it is, by a chain of mountains, the seasons vary greatly with regard to mild weather and rain. In the provinces facing the west, the sky is serene when the east winds blow, and in those exposed to the east, when the west winds set in. In the midst of these periodical variations, however, a perpetual spring is experienced; and cold, snow, and hail, are unknown. The difference between the length of day and night is scarcely sensible; the trees never lose their leaves, and the earth always wears a green and smiling aspect. The plants and flowers are sightly and aromatic; the fruits nutritive and exquisite in taste;

the air is healthy, and the natives live to an old age; although foreigners, through the effects of a too copious perspiration, are weakened by the heat till they become accustomed to the climate. When the Spaniards first arrived in these islands, they found scarcely any other aliment than rice; now wheat and other grains are abundant, as well as most of the useful productions of the old world. The same increase has extended to horses, horned cattle, hogs, and stags; indeed sheep alone have degenerated, owing to the dampness of the climate.

This portion of the Indian Archipelago has not been sufficiently explored, so as to furnish an adequate idea of the natural and other curiosities therein contained. The volcanos constitute a prominent figure, as before noticed. That of Mayon, situated between the provinces of Albay and Camarines, is of a sugar-loaf figure, and of such an elevation as to be discovered at an immense distance at sea. In Mindanao is another that serves as a land-mark; and in many parts warm springs are found. The woods abound in pigeons and quails; partridges, woodcocks, &c. are also met with. The *tabon* is a bird that lays eggs, similar to those of the turkey, and buries them deep in the sands on the sea-shore, and when hatched by the heat of the sun, removes the sand to disengage the young ones. The *chacon*, is a species of lizard, dwelling in the tops of houses, and frequently articulating the word *tocò*. The *calo* is a bird having a kind of hollow shell on his head, and crows at certain hours of the day, the same as a cock. The *taclobo* is an immense oyster, of which the shell holds a pitcher of water, and used as baptismal

fonts in the churches. The other curiosities are noticed in the body of the work.

The greatest part of these islands is mountainous, and the secluded portions of the uplands are inhabited by various independent tribes, seemingly the Aborigines, who have receded as the whites advanced, in the same way as in North America. Whatever may have been their origin, they are nearly all black, most of them have curly hair, and though small in stature, are strong and robust. They live in a secluded manner, as if jealous of their liberties, and never are seen without their bows and arrows. Accustomed to the silence of the forests, the smallest noise disturbs them; and the chase and bulbous and other roots growing spontaneously around them, supply them with food. It has been found impossible to civilize them, a task difficult among hordes who cannot be considered stationary, and dwelling in almost inaccessible places. The want of missionaries, and the diversity of their languages, have however been great impediments; for though resembling each other in habits and independence, they differ in other respects. At the arrival of the Spaniards, the country immediately round Manilla, was inhabited by the Tagala race, and to the north were found the Pampanga, Zumbales, Pangasinan, Ilocos, and Cagayan nations, and to the east, the Camarines and Albay, now constituting so many provincial divisions. At that time, each formed a distinct community, had a different dialect, and instead of a supreme chief, were divided into clans of 50 or 100 families, as it will afterwards be seen they still remain, a circumstance which, no doubt, facilitated their subjugation. The

plains have been successively occupied by settlers from Malacca, Siam, Macassar, Sumatra, Borneo, the Moluccas, Arabia and China, and various mixtures have again taken place, with the original natives, Mexicans, and occasionally European Spaniards, which renders the population of the Philippines, particularly that of Luzon, one of the most singular medleys that can be imagined. The religion, habits, language, as well as other peculiarities, denote the respective origins of these foreign settlers; nor have these characters been effaced by the conquest of the Spaniards. The variety of colour, features, and languages, are retained, though evidently in the course of time these distinctions must diminish.

Two distinct aboriginal races are still noticed in the Philippines, a phenomenon that equally distinguishes other islands of the Archipelago; and these are the black and brown, or the negros and Indians. The Papua, or black, is certainly the primitive race, and they retired to the mountains as the others advanced. They are smaller than the African negro, their limbs more delicate, and their complexion, instead of jet black, is of a sooty hue. The hair is also longer and more tufted, the profile of the face not so flat, and in strength and energy they are greatly inferior. Whether they originally descended from the Papuans inhabiting New Guinea, or came from Angola, which is the opinion of some Spanish writers, is still matter of conjecture. Very few of them have been domesticated, and it is observed their numbers have greatly declined, owing to the inclemencies of the weather, diseases, particularly the small-pox, and the precarious supplies of food.

The Indians, found in the islands, were of a regular stature, brown complexion, large eyes, lank hair, and their limbs rather fleshy than muscular and strong. At the period of their discovery, they were of course more advanced in civilization than the primitive race, and each tribe or nation had a distinct government and name; though several leading traits indicated that their origin was the same. The chiefs had gained their ascendancy through valour or abilities, and their rank was inherited according to the rights of primogeniture. They did not however live in a confederated manner, but independent of each other, and the extent of their dominion had chiefly depended on their success in the wars waged with their neighbours. In these wars the prisoners taken became slaves, and when enfranchised, they were called *Timauas*, signifying the children of liberty, a term, as will hereafter be seen, still used to distinguish the Indian plebeians. It will also be noticed that the original clans and chiefs are still retained; indeed the rights of the latter were guaranteed to them at the time of the conquest. They are charged to collect in the king's tribute, and are called *cabezas de barangai*, equivalent to heads of clans. As already stated, great mixtures have subsequently taken place, and it is thought the Igorrots of the province of Ilocos, and of whom frequent mention is made in the course of this work, are descended from the followers of Limahon, the Chinese pirate, who, as previously pointed out, fled to the mountains when driven from Pangasinan by Juan de Salcedo. At the present day the Tagala Indians are used by the Spaniards in Manilla as servants, and the word *tagalo* and servant are now synonymous. According to the traditions of this race,

they descend from the Malays, and in the language of the latter, *tagala*, or rather *tageylog*, means a man living on the coast, in contradistinction to the mountaineer.

The prevailing fevers are intermittent, owing chiefly to marsh miasma. Contagious distempers are unknown among them, except the small-pox, which, most probably, with their commerce and religion, was brought among them by the Arabs, in like manner as a more loathsome disease was introduced by Europeans. Cutaneous disorders are, however, very common, and this the natives attribute to the great use of fish. Many tribes, owing to this circumstance, have their skins always covered with scurf, and Dampier, speaking of the Mindanao people, says, "they were troubled with a sort of leprosy, the same he had observed at Guam." Parturition is expeditious and safe among the Indian islanders, and seldom attended with misfortunes. The natives bathe frequently, yet this practice does not much contribute to cleanliness. They are extremely abstemious in their diet, and satisfied with a small portion of animal food. They are credulous and superstitious, cunning, yet of weak capacities, but possibly a great number of their social defects may be attributed to their ignorance, want of civilization, and the bad administration of justice. They are nevertheless hospitable to strangers, and, excepting in their robberies, piracies, and acts of private and public revenge, harmless in their manners. They are fond of external show and pomp, and certainly, on this account, they could not have been so easily captivated by any religion, possessing less ceremony and ostentation than the Catholic one. The civilized and converted Indians, of

course, follow the laws and usages of their preceptors; the independent tribes, however, greatly tinctured with paganism, revere an institution similar to marriage, and the lot of their women is more fortunate than among most of the nations of the east.

Adultery is punished by a fine, as is also the crime of disrespect to elders; but fraud and usury are totally overlooked by their laws. Their matrimonial customs are peculiar. They are only allowed to marry one woman, and although the chiefs and other persons of influence sometimes have concubines, these are generally slaves. They frequently marry relatives, though not the first of kin, and if the wedlock proves unhappy or burdensome, the husband restores his wife to her parents, without assigning any particular cause for the divorce. The dowry given on the day of marriage is merely restored, and this consists of two kinds, which the bridegroom always pays. The one is called *bigay-suso*, and is paid to the mother as a compensation for the milk with which she nourished her daughter; the other is the *bigay-caya*, or green dowry, and is generally set apart for the maintenance of the new married couple. Besides these dowries, the bridegroom is obliged for some years to serve the parents of his bride, at particular times, such as sowing the rice, and getting in the harvest. If any dispute takes place, the marriage is annulled, an arrangement usually agreeable to the parents of the woman, as a new suitor presents himself, and they reap the advantage of fresh services and dowry; but this can only be previous to the expiration of the time of service, for when this is ended, the husband becomes lord and master, and treats his wife as he pleases. The interest which the parents

thus have in the disposal of their daughter, has proved highly pernicious to morals, nor has it been possible to abolish its practice, although royal edicts, as well as regulations of the bishops, have been resorted to, the custom being general, even among the half civilized natives. The marriage ceremony is performed by sacrificing a hog, which a priestess kills with many gesticulations, and after this she bestows benedictions on the parties. An old woman then presents them with food, and the ceremony closes with dancing and refreshments.

In their religious ceremonies they use neither idols nor temples, their sacrifices being offered in arbours, raised for the purpose. The priestess works herself up to a state of apparent frenzy, and, uttering words considered prophetic by the bystanders, she pierces the hog with a lance, and then distributes the carcass among them. These sacrifices are offered to the infernal deities, as well as to the souls of their ancestors, who, they are taught to believe, inhabit large trees, rocks of uncommon appearance, or any natural object which, in point of magnitude or form, varies from the usual course. Whenever they pass an object of this description, they evince some testimony of respect, and if a person is dangerously ill, his friends offer up rice, wine, or flesh, to their deities, and then give the offerings to the sick, under an idea that a cure will be thus effected. They practise no external adoration; but, owing to their great credulity and superstition, are the dupes of numerous impostors, and believe in all kinds of charms and spells.

The general religion of the Indian islanders is, however, Mahomedan, originally introduced from Arabia,

and since kept up by their intercourse with that country, and missionaries expressly coming from it; nevertheless it is greatly blended with their ancient superstitions. Circumcision of the males takes place generally when they are about eleven years of age, and the ceremony is performed with great solemnity. Their burials are plain and decent, and great respect shewn to the memory of the deceased persons; yet, in most other respects, they are extremely lax in the observance of tenets they profess to follow. It may be said that the institution of this religion has produced no fixed principles of morality, and although intercourse is kept up with Mecca, and pilgrimages undertaken there, it is more for the sake of show, than any real motives of piety. The negative precepts of the Koran are entirely disregarded, and the use of hog's-flesh, as well as intoxicating liquors, general. The success of the Mahomedan missionaries must nevertheless be deemed surprising. This undoubtedly was owing to the manner in which they conciliated the natives, and, having once gained over the chiefs, their doctrines soon spread. These Arabs learnt the languages of the islands, followed the manners of the inhabitants, carried on trade, and also intermarried with them.

Having thus given a short sketch of the state of the Philippine natives and their religious rites, it is time to convey some idea respecting the Marianas Islands, dependent on the Philippine government, and which have been entirely overlooked by the author, with the exception of his merely stating their population to be about 4000 persons. These islands, formerly called the Ladrones, are situated in the Pacific, about 400 leagues to the east of the Philippines. They are sixteen in

number, but the principal ones are, Guam, Seypan, Tinian, and Rota, though none except the first are now inhabited. The circumference of Guam is about forty leagues, and the port is called San Luis de Apra. Three leagues distant from it is the city of Agaña, which is considered the capital, and there are besides about twenty villages. These islands were discovered by Magallanes, in 1521, although possession was not taken of them till 1565, when Legaspi was proceeding to the conquest of the Philippines. At that time it was noticed the natives had no religion, or form of worship, and like those of the Pelew Islands, they are pacific in their disposition, and simple in their manners. Their colour is a light brown, and they have long hair, which the men cut, but the women wear it in great profusion. The old are greatly infected with the leprosy, owing to their feeding on marine productions. Anson visited Tinian in 1741, and of the French ships which explored the Pacific, in 1771, under M. Marion, on their return, 200 sailors were cured of the scurvy at Guam, without losing a man. The inhabitants having been desolated by a dreadful distemper which nearly destroyed the population, the remnant was at length concentrated in one island. Plantations for vegetables, fruits, &c. have since been formed there, as well as good roads for the interior intercourse. The natives are intelligent, make good artisans, and are divided into an effective militia. They have public schools, and are passionately fond of music and dancing. They have abundance of bread fruit, as well as the *coco*, of which they make wine; indeed the family of palms, found in the Philippines, is equally extended to the Marianas Islands. They have

none of the European grains, but they grow rice and maize, and also make bread of some of their bulbous roots. Besides the vegetable plantain, they have the dwarf, or fruit plantain, and these islands also produce a wild species, of which the fibres are twisted into ropes and cables, the only purpose for which it is used. The sea-side and damp grounds afford quantities of capers, peculiar to these islands, which have also been transplanted to the Philippines. The caper trees retain their flowers almost all the year round, and the smiling aspect of the country, added to the goodness and fragrance of the varied fruits, render the Marianas a most delightful spot.

In 1668, they were reduced to Christianity by the Jesuits, and missions established there at the expence of Queen Mary Ann of Austria, in memory of whom they bear her name. She also left an endowment of 21,000 dollars for their support and defence, and another of 3000 dollars, for a college, intended for the instruction of the Indians, and a third for the maintenance of five religious persons, formerly Jesuits, but now Augustines. The Manilla galleon regularly touches at Guam, on her way home from Acapulco, but if in great want of water, she makes the Sandwich Islands, although this is avoided if possible, owing to the dangers to be apprehended from the hostility of the chiefs. The establishment of the Marianas, is in fact kept up entirely for the convenience of refreshments, and it has been observed that, in the vast extent of the Pacific, the island of Guam is the only one that has a town built in the European style, a church, and regular fortifications. Horned cattle have greatly multiplied in these islands,

and a fine race is found there, being all white with black ears; besides goats, hogs, fowls, horses, asses, mules, &c.

Nothing can be more secluded than this position, and no intercourse is kept up with Europe, unless through Manilla or Mexico. The government is supported by a *situado*, or annual allowance of money from New Spain, and, with the exception of their seclusion, the inhabitants may be considered almost the most fortunate people on earth. They are maintained at the expence of the crown, exposed to no dangers, and pay no tributes or imposts. Their happiness and comforts must however greatly depend on the qualities of their governor, who has much in his own power. This establishment is in fact of the greatest use to all maritime states, as may easily be seen by the voyages of Anson, Wallis, Byron, Marion, &c. M. Crozet, the writer of the voyage of the latter, observes, that in the whole extent of the South Sea, there is no port in which the wearied voyager can re-establish himself sooner, and find better and more abundant refreshments, than in the island of Guam. Besides the Marianas, the Spaniards also consider the Caroline and Pelew Islands as dependencies on the Philippine government, and several attempts have been made to establish missionaries in both; but of the first little is known, and of the others information has already been conveyed to the public by English voyagers.

Before we close this sketch, intended chiefly to supply the omissions of the author, it is necessary to say something of the immediate causes which have contributed to the decline of the Philippine Islands, or rather retarded their prosperity and kept them in a backward

state. Besides distance from the mother-country and, as will be seen by their history, the dreadful misfortunes to which they have so frequently been exposed, the wavering and uncertain nature of the regulations intended for their government, the hostility of European rivals, and the litigious spirit of the inhabitants themselves, as well as the unceasing dissensions and lawsuits to which this has given rise, have been of the most material injury to the colony. To comprehend the causes of these calamities, it is necessary to recur to early times and trace them to their origin.

The conquest and settlement of the Philippines, did not give rise to those torrents of blood which, unhappily, flowed at the commencement of other transatlantic establishments. Mild and persuasive measures entered into the plan of these acquisitions, and the propagation of religion was the chief motive of the original undertaking. When it was first agitated whether or not they ought to be abandoned, owing to the expences they occasioned, Philip II. observed, "that for the preservation of a single hermitage, as long as it was glorious to the true God, he would yield up the whole treasures of the Indies; and that he never could think of abandoning, and consequently, of depriving of the light of the gospel, as many provinces as might be discovered, however barren, useless and poor, they might be." The policy pursued in this respect having been so judicious, it is strange that in others it should have been so much the reverse.

As before stated, when first discovered, the natives of the Philippines were not all entirely savage. Some inhabited mountainous and inaccessible places, but those who dwelt on the plains, were divided into clans, having

their own chiefs and laws, as well as some rude notions of arts and agriculture. What they then possessed was guaranteed to them, and the surplus lands distributed among the conquerors. The districts into which the country was then divided were afterwards placed under the care of missionaries, and, it is natural to suppose, the choicest tracts fell to their lot. This distribution, which, at first, promised to be highly advantageous, in the end produced fatal consequences, and another pursuit, by no means so congenial to the capabilities of the country, as agriculture, soon drew the colonists from their estates. The too lucrative commerce derived from their communications with America, led them to consider the most honourable occupations as intolerable and even disgraceful; yet if an accident happened to the ship on board of which all their property was staked, they were plunged in the deepest distress.

This neglect of agriculture, by which the European settlers were early distinguished, was, in some measure, made up by the arrival of the Chinese, who with great industry and economy devoted themselves to tillage and manufactures, but unfortunately their allegiance never could be trusted, and prone to continual plots and conspiracies, it became necessary to recur to destructive means, by which the good effects of their useful labours were totally lost. Their repeated expulsions have consequently been detrimental to the prosperity of the islands, but it is a query whether the safety of the existing authorities could have been purchased with less sacrifices, when it is considered that the whites there only stand in the proportion of 15 to 25,000. The immense scope these islands presented to their enterprise and talents, compared to their own country, and the

great advantages they gained from the circulation of a large portion of the wealth of Mexico and Peru, gradually brought back numbers, who in the Manilla merchants and others found patrons and supporters. Nevertheless, alarmed by the experience of the past, and liable to the watchful superintendence of the officers of government, their return to agricultural pursuits was partial, and, as will be seen by the returns contained in this volume, few Chinese now have a permanent abode in the islands, notwithstanding the rigid orders issued in consequence of the part they took during the occupation of Manilla by the British, were revoked in 1778, when many returned to their wives and children, who had not been driven away.

The ravages of the piratical tribes, as well as a number of defects in the system of government, by which the industry of these islands has uniformly been paralyzed, are sufficiently explained by our author; still there is another great cause of depression to their trade, to which he merely alludes, under the head of "Royal Custom House," without entering into particulars, although he distinctly points out the work in which it can be minutely traced. As this is a subject of considerable importance, and has, at various periods, excited great interest in Spain, and occupied the attention of the Council of the Indies for years, the translator procured the *Extracto Historial del Comercio de Philipinas*, published at Madrid, in 1736, by orders of the Council, and from its contents he has been enabled to subjoin the following remarks.

The clamour, envy, and the consequent intrigues and remonstrances of the Seville merchants, first restrained that freedom which the Philippine Islands enjoyed from

the time of their conquest, and gave rise to a long series of differences, fraught with the most injurious results. Although commerce there had never been conducted on those solid principles which render it useful to a state, the merchants, nevertheless, enjoyed a certain degree of activity and wealth, and Manilla had gradually become a considerable emporium in the east. Gold and spices were brought in by the natives and bartered for those European articles which attracted the eye, rather than contributed to the convenience of social life, and these new productions, together with the merchandise brought from India, were remitted to Mexico and sold at an enormous profit. The subsequent increase of this trade, for a long time unrestricted, gave rise to all those disputes and harassing regulations which depressed the Philippines and shackled the industry of their inhabitants. So great was the ascendency of their rivals in Europe, notwithstanding they sent agents to court, in order to remonstrate and plead their cause, as was ably done in a memoir presented to the Council of the Indies, in 1637, in the name of the city and merchants of Manilla and found among the papers above alluded to, that their speculations were by law confined to one annual ship, a limited investment, and the excess declared forfeited to the crown. The Philippine merchants were, however, partly enabled to evade the effects of these restrictive regulations, by investing more capital than the royal order allowed, although they still laboured under great privations. The Seville merchants, joined also by those of Cadiz, made fresh remonstrances, pointing out the evasion practised and insisting on the injuries done to the trade and manufactures of the mother-country, by suffering the importa-

tion of silks and other China merchandise into the South American markets. These objections were again answered by the Philippine merchants, who urgently solicited an extension of their annual permit; and these painful and expensive disputes agitated the Spanish ministry for many years, absorbed the time of the Council of the Indies, and the proceedings thereby instituted filled folio volumes.

In 1604, the annual investment had been regulated at 250,000 dollars and the returns at 500,000; but on the 12th of August, 1702, these amounts were increased to 300,000 and 600,000 dollars, and fresh regulations adopted for the more correct valuation of the cargoes. The South Americans were also prohibited from having any share in this traffic, and prevented from going to China in search of their own supplies. The establishment of such erroneous principles of commerce and political economy could not fail to produce fatal consequences, although the great profits gained by the Asiatic trade, notwithstanding so small an investment, in some measure delayed the ruin of the Philippines. Nevertheless, so loud was the subsequent clamour of the Andalusian merchants, and so powerful their intrigues at court, that on the 27th October, 1720, a royal order was obtained, totally prohibiting the introduction of China goods in both parts of the monarchy, notwithstanding it was clear the European merchants could not make up the deficiency from national resources and without themselves recurring to the looms of foreigners.

So fatal and unexpected a blow filled the Philippines with consternation and despair, and the inhabitants felt keenly the injustice and cruelty with which they were treated, after the numerous sacrifices they had

made in defence of the islands, and the calamities of all kinds by which they had been incessantly assailed. Fresh agents were sent to court to appeal against these impolitic measures, and both parties were again heard before the council. It would be tedious to follow the litigants through the pleas and allegations by which their respective causes were supported; but eventually the royal order of 1720 was revoked, and this triumph on the part of the Manilla merchants was followed by another in 1734, in which the annual investment allowed was raised to 500,000 dollars, and the returns to one million. As a compensation to the European traders, they were permitted to establish a privileged company in Manilla, the object and ill-success of which are hereafter minutely explained. Such, among many other public calamities and misfortunes, which, in fact, rendered the tenure of the Philippine islands almost a miracle, have been the improvident measures tending to depress and impede the prosperity of this colony; but thanks to the new order of things, established in Spain, these restrictions are now at an end, and the inhabitants of that distant and neglected portion of the monarchy are enabled to use the resources with which they are blessed, and avail themselves of the advantageous position in which they are placed, between two continents, each wanting the productions of the other.

Notwithstanding the great freedom and liberality our author evinces throughout the whole of his work, his anxious wish that the transatlantic commerce of Spain should be established on more enlightened principles, and civilization, with all its boundless blessings, extended, some of the sentiments he expresses in the

2d chapter respecting the Indians and the best method of urging them to labour, may, nevertheless, appear novel and even revolting to an English reader, who cannot be aware of many traits peculiar to their character, or the social footing on which they stand. Although the plan he suggests with regard to the Indians, as pointed out by the translator in a note, cannot be adopted now the constitution is restored, the practical and local facts blended with his remarks are important, and may be rendered serviceable in any future arrangements, adopted with a view to turn this valuable race of people to better account, improve their moral condition, and raise them to the rank of useful members of society. As an elucidation to the subject, and in explanation of grounds on which his positions are founded, the writer of these pages has been induced to subjoin the following observations on the state of the Indian population, applicable to that of the South American continent, as well as the Asiatic islands of Spain.

It is a question that has set to work some of the most able and philanthropic pens employed on practical subjects connected with the new world, whether it was more conducive to the good of the state, for that distinction, at present subsisting between the Indians and other classes of the population, to remain; or whether it would be more useful to create one indistinct national body. The laws, as they now stand, forcibly establish this separation; yet it must be remembered that these laws were framed at the time of the conquest, or very soon after, when many abuses were introduced, and, by the absurd system of the *encomiendas*, or distributions in favour of individuals, the Indian was rather made the

tool of avarice and the victim of slavery, than the useful and deserving subject. The original motives and object of this plan were certainly good and humane; but it was soon discovered that the regulations emanating therefrom, had been founded on the very imperfect knowledge at that time obtained of the country, tainted, as it was, by interest or the opposition prevailing among the Spaniards themselves, and particularly the military commanders, in whose views civil rights were too frequently disregarded. Under such a complication of interests, and at such a distance, the sequel proved that the intended protection of the crown did not suffice to shield the Indian from oppression.

Although this important subject has not since met with the attention it deserved, and notwithstanding the defective system of government, prevailing at home, prevented the adoption of liberal and enlightened principles in this department of state policy, time has, nevertheless, produced considerable changes, and the abused authority of individuals over the aboriginal races has been taken away. Since the year 1764, at which period the packets were established, the ultramarine provinces have been more intimately connected with Spain; their concerns better understood, and the regulations of government more readily observed by the officers charged with their execution. The maritime and inland conveyance of letters to the provinces situated beyond seas, for the establishment of which so much is due to Count Florida Blanca, besides being greatly beneficial to trade, produced a great revolution in the moral state of the country, so much so that it may be said the various sections of the new world, from the above date up to that of the invasion of Spain by the

French, making a period of only 44 years, had improved more than during the lapse of the 270 preceding, from the time of the conquest. The subsequent division of such extended tracts into districts, more proportioned to the authority that was to watch over them, the abolition of *repartimientos*, and the extinction of *encomiendas*, and more particularly the grants of free trade, as they are called, were so many political improvements, which, it must be acknowledged, have not failed to produce beneficial effects.

Notwithstanding all these advantages, still the ultramarine provinces have not prospered in a manner proportioned to their capabilities, and among other causes, this may be attributed to the feelings of disunion and enmity which rankle in the breasts of the inhabitants, and debilitate their energies. The Indian, seeing that the laws have specially confided his defence and protection to the superior courts, conceives this shield is essentially necessary to his safety, and intended to act as a barrier against evils he has every reason to dread. Hence arises a division of interests, and this class is induced to believe that it is the intention of the rest to oppress them. The tribute they pay, although trifling, and which is not levied on the other classes; their exemption from the duty of *alcabala* on all they raise and manufacture; their being considered in contentious cases, in the light of minors, by which they are in fact deprived of many essential rights, added to the peculiar forms of government they are allowed to follow among themselves, give rise to many distinct lines of division, and create interests always at variance in the general formation of the state.

Similar defects are also noticed with regard to the

class of population, called casts, although arising from principles entirely opposite. Against them opinion prevails; they are less esteemed than the Indians, less protected by the law, yet the individuals constituting this class, by their cunning and address, have gained on that one possessing the greatest share of riches and wielding the power of government. The distance at which policy and prejudice had removed the casts from the other two classes, was great; yet, owing to their activity and more daring spirit, they have now taken the place of the Indians, who are thus left in the last grade of society, and hence the groundwork of their abhorrence of both classes has been laid. This proximity of the casts to the whites has, however, been considerably affected by the 22d article of the Spanish constitution, which deprives all those who in any way derive their origin from Africa of the rights of citizenship, thus opening the door to endless broils and lawsuits, injurious to the future tranquillity of the country in which such an impolitic clause is to operate. Its enactment was originally intended to prevent a greater number of transmarine deputies from sitting in the Cortes, so as to secure a majority of Europeans; but this is no other than an attempt to remove one evil by the creation of another, sanctioning, at the same time, a positive act of injustice. This privation has already given rise to considerable clamour, and before me is the remonstrance of the Spanish *pardos*, or people of colour, inhabiting the Peruvian capital, in which they bitterly complain of an humiliating exclusion, "that does not even reach to foreigners and enemies." In the most affecting language they call to mind the national services they have rendered, the number of times they

have repelled invaders from their coasts, and the various instances in which they have evinced their loyalty and devotion to their monarch. This unwise law, which besides can never answer the end for which it was framed, must be the parent of interminable feuds and broils, and involve the courts of justice in inquisitorial proceedings of a disgusting kind. Its enactment appears the more strange, as it took place at a moment when it seemed to be a primary object to unite the opinions of all the inhabitants of the monarchy, and create a moral power capable of preserving its integrity, and forming an intimate and cordial union among all the individuals of which it is composed.

Such contrarieties establish the evident principles of disunion, and it would be almost a phenomenon in the moral condition of mankind, if a country containing within itself three distinct bodies of component population, opposed to each other in views and partly in language, and besides influenced by a respective feeling of abhorrence, could ever be happy; or, at least, attain that degree of advancement which their union must inevitably promote. These, therefore, were important points of consideration to the government intended to guard the security and watch over the welfare of distant provinces, in an age like the present, in such a state as they had been left through recent events, and for these cogent reasons the subject deserved the earliest attention. Fortunately for the Philippines, they contain a very small proportion of black population, and few or no slaves, but this law materially affects Venezuela and Lower Peru; the experience of the last ten years has, however, proved the important fact, that the introduction of machinery is the best means of abolish-

ing slavery, as it greatly diminishes the want of manual labour. Several parts of the Brazils, particularly Bahia, may be mentioned in proof of this assertion; for in the latter place, more particularly, the use of machinery has already dispensed with the services of one half of the slave population, and when this system is also introduced into the mining districts of the American continent, the savings will be immense.

The contemplative mind is naturally led on to pursue inquiries regarding the welfare and improvement of so interesting a portion of the human race, as the Indians of the New World, whose history and misfortunes have always excited so deep and general an interest in Europe, although few points in civil policy are more difficult to reconcile than the one now under consideration. Notwithstanding it is a question that has not hitherto been duly considered by the new government of Spain, at former periods, it called forth the exertions of some of her best patriots, and within her own territory she has had a case in many respects similar, and more particularly as far as regards the influence of opinion, which, although partial, is nevertheless important. The Spanish government, at one time, was anxious to extinguish the race of gypsies which had greatly increased, and erroneously adopted the harsh measure of abolishing them, by seeking to prevent their procreation. Subsequent ministers, however, more enlightened, sought rather to efface the name which defamed, and, by collecting and incorporating them by every possible means with the general mass of the people, thus effected a political change, altering only opinions opposed to the welfare of the state, and that

general stream of happiness and equality which ought uniformly to flow into all its parts.

The removal of odious distinctions has also entered into the policy of the North American government, in reference to their coloured population, not that the clashing difficulty, owing to the great disproportion in numbers, can, for a long period of years, at least, be overcome with the same success in the extended dominions of Spain and Portugal, situated on the other side of the Atlantic; yet still the groundwork ought to be laid. The remarkable dissimilitude of character and difference in the energies of each party, will no doubt operate as an obstacle; but these defects will be gradually removed by mental instruction, which must be made the chief basis of all moral improvement. The Spanish legislation seems to have been aware of the comparative weakness of intellect, and want of genius and spirit in the Indian, and in order to counterbalance this defect with the preponderating character of the European, who, as the conqueror, and outstripping the Indian in talent and energy, must in the course of time gain a great ascendancy, wisely granted to him that pointed protection, and those exemptions to which allusion has already been made. Nevertheless, with this shield in his favour, and with that more immediate redress to which he can recur when injured, the Indian is not exempt from oppression; nor do the injunctions of the law, or the express orders and zeal of its ministers, at all times protect him from overreaching ambition.

The laws consequently have not answered the end in view, and the reason is, that odious distinctions still

exist, and nothing, at least efficient, has been done for the mental improvement of the aboriginal races. The peculiar character of the Indian, it must be confessed, also presents great difficulties. Nature has created him with a limited capacity, and devoid of energy, and if, during the existence of their respective sovereigns or chiefs, these various tribes had not been inspired with sufficient ambition and independence of mind to acquire individual property, but in themselves rather presented the same picture of apathy as that in which they still live, the task of bringing them to an equal standard will be rendered more difficult, now they are surrounded by the superior talents of Europeans and their descendants. In the history of the whole of the new countries it is remarkable, that where the Europeans have been attracted by locality and goodness of climate, the Indians have in time nearly disappeared. This, in some measure, is attributable to the peculiar frugality of the latter, and as the Europeans require a greater extent of land to supply their wants, the former have been imperceptibly dispossessed, and the necessaries of life raised to prices infinitely higher than those at which they have been accustomed to obtain them. The plains and valleys of the Philippines, Peru, and Mexico, present remarkable instances of this kind, so that the great mass of Indians are compelled to occupy the most elevated parts; and if it were allowed to risk a conjecture on this subject, one might venture to predict, that the Indian races will eventually become extinct, and blended with the different casts, as the country advances in trade, intercourse, and colonization, for the mestizos, as may be seen from the several scales of

population presented in the course of this volume, are already gaining fast upon them.

Instead, however, of destroying this distinction and rivalship between the various classes, it has been the peculiar policy of Spain to keep it alive, and even to extend it. This opposition of the casts to the Indians has been used as a powerful check on the most numerous and dreaded class, and served to secure the supremacy of a weak government, possessing little moral aid. Notwithstanding the great practical distance at which the great body of the Indians are kept, the legislature of Spain made many distinctions founded on policy, and some of the measures adopted seem to have had for object to render the higher ranks of Indians uniform with the rest of the subjects. The noble Indians and those descended from the ancient chiefs, are exempt from tribute, and rendered equal with the Spaniards in civil, ecclesiastical, and military employments. The plebeian Indians, however, have remained in the same low sphere, and still apparently have obtained a multitude of privileges, yet notwithstanding the efforts of policy and legislation in their favour, the beneficial effects have never extended beyond individuals, without affecting the general body.

It must not however be thought that it is intended to argue that the condition of the Indians, on a general scale, has not been bettered by the conquest. Their marked protection and mild treatment, in the eye of the law at least, exhibit a perfect contrast with the tyrannic government of their ancient sovereigns, by whom they were held in the most perfect servitude, subjected to a cruel and forced homage, and loaded with the weight of

personal labour and tributes. Besides the exemptions above noticed, the existing laws give the Indian a preference in the irrigation of his lands, and it is ordained that these shall not be in any way mixed with the estates of Europeans, in order to avoid disputes. It has been expressly recommended to teach him the Spanish language, in order to induce him to forget his own; he has been induced to give up his national dress, taught a profession, &c.; still the effects have been temporary or partial. The fact is, the Indian, as a conquered and dejected being, hates the Spaniard, mistrusts him in every act, even when this appears the most advantageous. He assists and obeys him merely in the character of a superior; an expression of regard or attachment never escapes his lips; dread and rigour alone induce him to work; he is fond of solitude and retirement, in order to escape the sight of the other classes, whom he considers his rivals or enemies; he is sparing and abstemious, besides being distinguished by many other peculiar qualities, which hold him at variance with the remaining classes. To these characteristics may be added, the superstition of his exterior worship, a reserve and caution in his conduct, a sadness in his voice and song, a proneness to refuse any thing asked of him, even the provisions he has brought to market for sale, as well as a remarkable obliqueness of answer. He is fond of his children, cruel to his wife, disrespectful to his aged parents, capable of remaining for hours in the same posture, without moving or speaking, sullen, gloomy, besides a variety of other traits which might yield to education, but at present render any political alliance extremely difficult.

Many of the misfortunes of the Indians, however,

may rather be attributed to the executive, than the legislative, power, for, in all ages and countries, the views of the best establishments have been counteracted by human malice. By the removal of those regulations enacted for them soon after the conquest, politically speaking, they have been rendered more free, yet from this change the state has received no advantage, nor has it tended to improve their own relative condition, as might have been expected. Whether this arises out of any fault in the system observed towards them, or whether it has been the result of the overthrow of their empire, and the privation of their customs, manners, and mode of government, which circumstances have preyed on their spirits, and made them despondent, appears to be an investigation, deserving the attention of their present rulers. Their physical state is, no doubt, bettered, but their moral and intellectual faculties are not improved in the smallest degree.

The Indian tribes of the South American continent differ from each other, in appearance, according to their various nations, soil, and climate. In some parts, they are above the common size, in others, of a good stature, and in many again, small. Though, at the time of their discovery, nearly all had the same habits and pursuits of life, a great difference was observable in their manners, and the degree of civilization they had attained. In Tlascala, a well regulated commonwealth was found, whose transactions with Cortes would not have disgraced any European nation. It is true that several inferior governments were discovered, scattered on each side of the two great monarchies of Peru and Mexico, as well as in the islands, where the people were less civilized, living in clans, or wandering in the wilds,

almost in a state of nature, and scarcely subject to any control among themselves.

Still the generality of these Indians were not atheists; they had partial, though just, ideas of a Deity, notwithstanding these were weakened by the worship of idols. They acknowledged a Supreme Being, whose existence was coeval with time, and who possessed every powerful attribute, although idolatry superadded many extravagancies. They affirmed that the number and variety of gods they worshipped, were subjected to a sovereign being, who was lord over gods and man, and the Peruvians, particularly, thought his semblance was in the sun. These intermediate beings were considered as steps between them and the Divinity; and they believed that through them their wishes and wants were transmitted to the great presiding Power, and each had his peculiar department.

Their ideas of omnipotent power in some measure resembled those of the natives of Asia, and they explained the semblance of man to God, nearly in the same way. "Imagine to yourself," said they, "a million of dew-drops, hanging in pearls from the thorn, on which the star of day beams his resplendent rays and is reflected. The figure of the Divinity is at the same time multiplied and represented in each globule, and in each is seen the exact resemblance of the creative sun. Our bodies are these drops, the sun is the supreme Being, and this image represents that figurative alliance which exists between him and the whole human race."

That men, once capable of such a train of reasoning as this, and who had besides advanced to such a state of civilization as that in which they were found under the Incas in Peru, the monarchs in Mexico, and even

their respective chiefs in the Philippines, and who then appeared to possess native talent, reflection, and combination, should, in the course of time, without any exception of places, have fallen back to a state of mental gloom and apathy, courting the seclusion of woods, or living dispersed in the mountains, appears strange and unaccountable; and, equally so, that after so long a lapse of time, and the predilections shewn by the court at home, they have not been raised from the dejected state in which they have been plunged, and converted into useful members of the community. This seems to indicate a defect in some quarter or another, and that either secret policy has kept them back, or that the failing has been on the part of the executive.

The art of governing a country, is, as much as possible, to ameliorate the situation of each individual, and public felicity is no more than the assemblage and general result of this improvement. Hence the perfection of laws and government seems to consist in no individual furthering his own interest by the misfortunes of another, and rendering all capable of that happiness proportioned to the station of each. The primitive ages of all nations have, however, rather been distinguished by warlike acts than the pursuits of industry, or the sober calls of civilization, and such also were the symptoms, added to a destructive and cruel tyranny, which stamped the first European establishments in the New World; whence it is to be feared, that on this account the Indians there have not hitherto met with that consideration they deserve, and that the enjoyment of those social and civil rights which constitute the inheritance of every free man, have not been extended to them.

Nevertheless, that a system partly coercive, is necessary for the government and subjection of the Indians of the Philippines, is proved by the history of the country, and this fact is rendered more evident by the annals of Peru. There, though few general, yet upwards of 200 partial, revolts have taken place. The greatest number were occasioned by weak and discontented leaders, often through views of personal aggrandizement, and ended in their execution and the chastisement of their immediate supporters. The revolt of Tupac-Amaru was however more serious. This youth was a direct descendant from the Inca of that name, executed by viceroy Toledo, for an alleged conspiracy to reinstate the ancient dynasties. Tupac-Amaru was a mestizo, had studied for the profession of the law, and was not devoid of talent and address. In 1780, the flame of rebellion broke out, and it appeared directed against new imposts levied. The Indians of the district of Tinta rose, killed their curate and civil magistrate, and made war on the whites. The neighbouring provinces followed their example, and the Indians of the Intendancies of Cusco, Huamanga, Oruro, La Paz, and some districts of Tarma, rose in a mass. The ostensible object of this revolt was to destroy the *viracochas*, a term given to the whites, in the Peruvian language, and to restore the legitimate Inca, Tupac-Amaru, to the throne. He besieged and took Cusco, where he received the honours of emperor; but the city of La Paz withstood the combined efforts of the Indians, during four months. The latter constructed immense works, in order to turn the course of the river and inundate the town; but, eventually, the garrison was relieved, after being reduced to the great

est privations. The natives even cast cannon to supply their wants, the country was ravaged, and a destructive war carried on for upwards of four years. The chief was at length delivered up by one of his own party and executed, when the Indians laid down their arms, and fled to their homes, or hid themselves in the mountains. Peace was restored, yet the traces of this revolt still remain on the minds of the Indians, and prove how dreaded all civil contests must be in a country where such a clashing of views, disposition, and character, prevails. This was the most regular and best combined revolt Peru has witnessed; but the rest have resembled those of the Philippine Islands, and generally been attended with exactly the same consequences.

From what has been just stated, it is evident that the Indians constitute a population very difficult to manage, and it is equally so to train them to regular habits of industry. Humboldt observes of them that they are extremely improvident, and though at intervals they may be induced to work hard, they spend in one week what it has taken them months to earn. This is the difficulty to which our author alludes in those remarks which the present details were intended to explain; yet the plan he suggests, even if it was divested of the unjust principle with which it is tainted, could never become any thing more than a temporary expedient, without improving the moral condition of this class at large, or teaching them fixed habits of industry. This can only be the result of a judicious and well combined plan on a large scale, in which both the legislature and executive must zealously cooperate, with constancy and good faith.

It now merely remains for the writer of these pages to subjoin a few general remarks on Spain, in reference to her ultramarine provinces, intended chiefly to point out the political footing on which they stand, through the new system adopted in the Peninsula. By the first article of the constitution, the Spanish nation is declared to be "the assemblage of all Spaniards belonging to both hemispheres," and the ultramarine provinces were decreed to be equal and integral parts of the monarchy. In consequence of this, such parts of the American continent as were not in a state of insurrection, sent deputies to the Cortes assembled in 1812, and as Count Toreno remarks, in his late pamphlet on Spanish affairs, "the deputies from Peru were seen seated by the side of those from Estremadura, and near those from Catalonia were seen the representatives of the Philippine Islands. Magnificent spectacle," adds he, "on the part of a nation which, embracing both hemispheres, beholds within the bosom of its Cortes, deputies born in the two extremities of the earth! In their faces were distinguished the European, American and Asiatic; and perhaps, this is the first congress ever known, in which were assembled persons who, speaking the same language, having the same customs, and belonging to the same nation, were born in climes so distant, and whose ancestors were men of such varied origin."

Such was the state of things up to the year 1814, when the constitution was unhappily overturned, and those principles of civil freedom and reform which had been established, entirely thrown down. This event produced a complete chaos in the nation, and strength-

ened the revolt in the ultramarine provinces, where hitherto the operation of the new code had only been partial. The constitution was however restored in 1820, through the memorable events which distinguished the La Isla revolution, at a moment when the nation was wearied out and disgusted with the acts of injustice they had witnessed in the interval, and ashamed of the degraded state into which the monarchy was sunk. It was most enthusiastically received, and hailed as the harbinger of future peace and prosperity. For some months, the new government has continued its labours, though not without experiencing difficulties and some contrarieties, internal as well as external. The constitution, reduced to practice, has not been found so perfect as it was at first thought, and its defects, as well as a variety of other motives, have put in motion discordant elements the nation contains within itself. With these difficulties a weak administration has had to contend, whilst, in the mean time, the necessary modifications have been overlooked.

The spirit, however, by which the mass of the nation is actuated, is good, and the situation of Spain is full of hope, not only for herself, but for the rest of the world. Nevertheless, she has much to do—much to conciliate and arrange. The general plan of the constitution is admirable, and when compared with the old despotism it was intended to dislodge, as a whole, almost amounts to perfection; yet to be lasting, some of the practical details must be reformed. It must be better adapted to the situation and circumstances of the ultramarine provinces, if it is intended to realize the hopes entertained of it. Spain has however avoided

the horrors of the French revolution, and the spirit of freedom breaking out with a resistless force in a country where civil and religious oppression had long prevailed, cannot fail in the end to secure social happiness, and strengthen that bond of union by which the various parts of the monarchy are held together.

London,
20*th March*, 1821.

CIX