

TRAVELS OF FRAY  
SEBASTIEN MANRIQUE  
1629-1643 VOLUME II

Sir C. Eckford Luard with H. Hosten



THE HAKLUYT SOCIETY

Travels of Fray Sebastien  
Manrique  
1629–1643

A Translation of the  
Itinerario de las Misiones Orientales.  
Volume II: China, India, etc

Edited by  
SIR C. ECKFORD LUARD with H. HOSTEN

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TRAVELS OF  
FRAY SEBASTIEN MANRIQUE  
1629-1643

VOL. II: CHINA, INDIA, ETC.

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No. LXI

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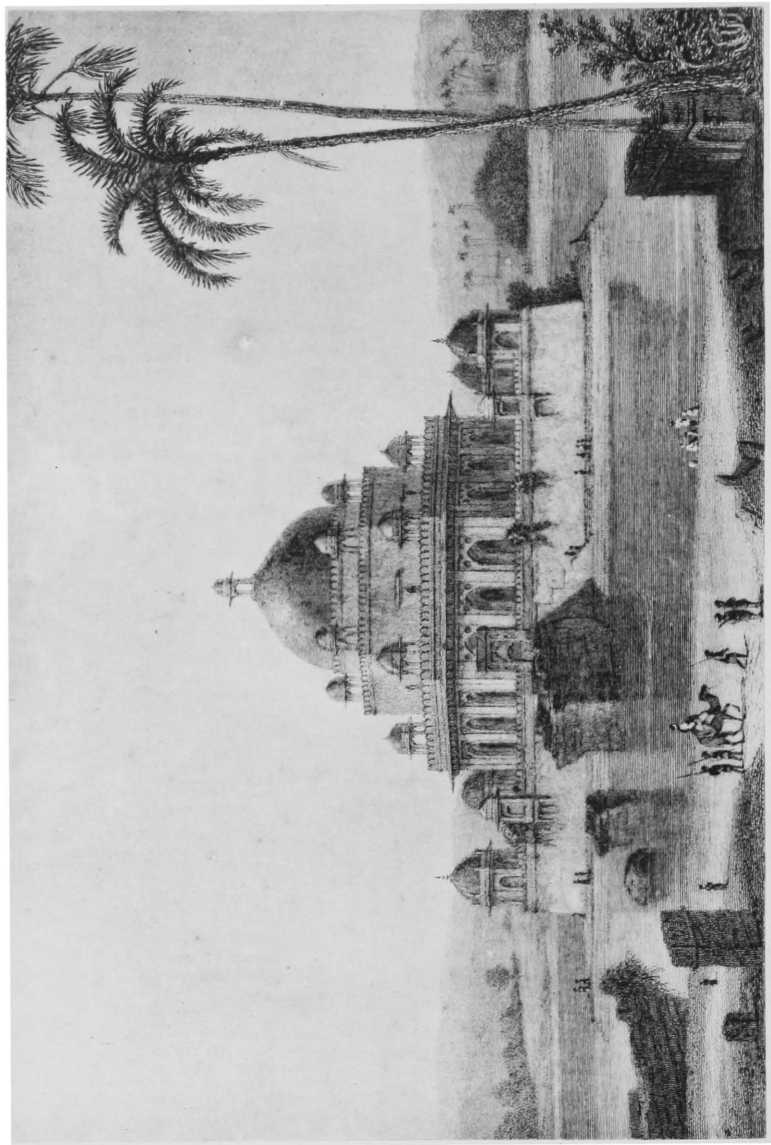
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*MAUSOLEUM OF THE EMPEROR SHER SHAH*

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WITH INTRODUCTION AND  
NOTES BY

LT.-COL. C. ECKFORD LUARD, C.I.E., M.A.

ASSISTED BY  
FATHER H. HOSTEN, S.J.

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*At a Meeting of the Hakluyt Society, held on 14 July 1927, Sir Richard Temple undertook the final proof-reading of pages 225-440 of Vol. II, the portion not passed for press by the late Colonel Luard at the time of his sudden and unfortunate death. These pages have therefore been examined and passed by Sir Richard Temple and Miss L. M. Anstey, who have not interfered with the translation of the text and have endeavoured, as far as possible, to follow the author's design.*

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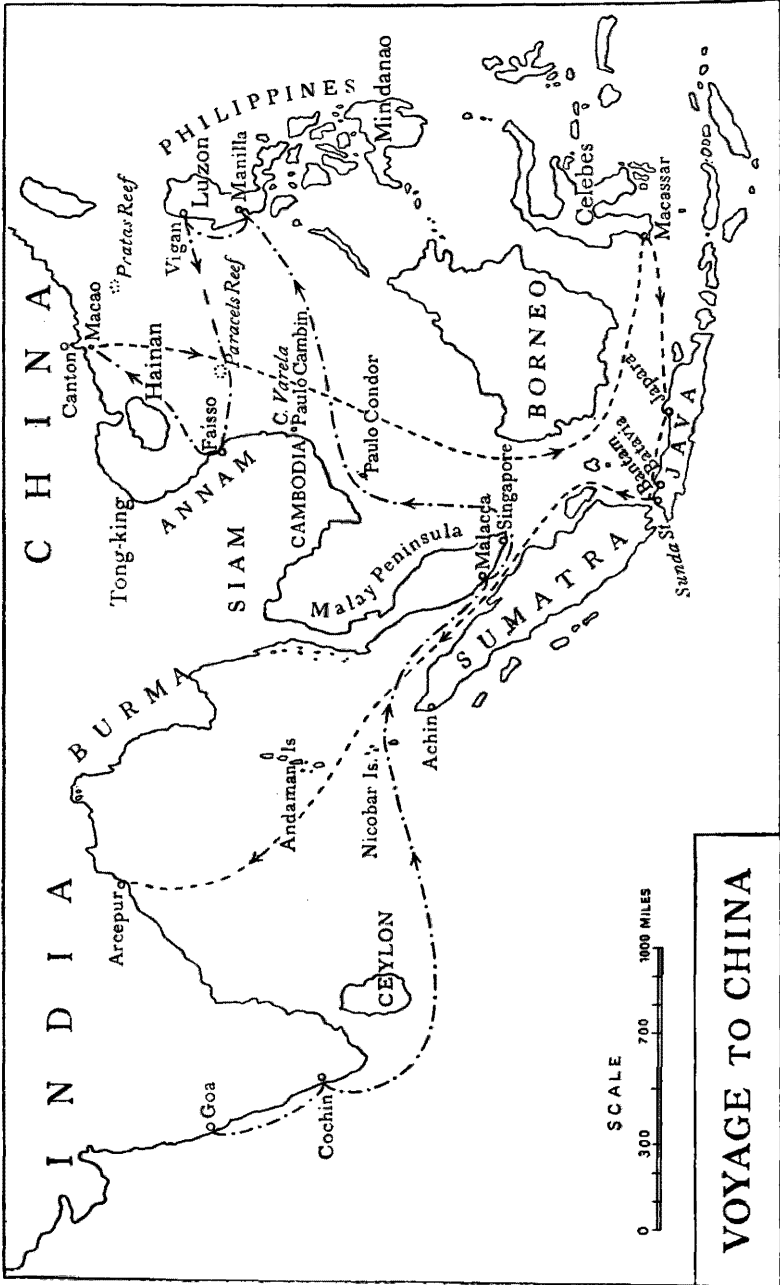
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### ERRATA TO VOL. I

- p. xxiv, map. The sketch-map here given is not strictly accurate in its location of certain settlements, particularly Pipli, Loricol, Siripur, Chandekan, and Banja.
- p. xxxi, l. 1. For 1726 read 1780.
- p. 55, n. 12. 12s. 6d. A much-exaggerated value, due to a mistranslation by Hakluyt of the Italian 'soldi'.
- p. 64, n. 12. For *English* read *Hindustani*.
- p. 80, map. On this map Manrique's route between Ramu and Poragri has been incorrectly marked. As indicated on p. lviii, after crossing the hills from Ramu he went southwards, passed over the estuary of the Mayu river, and then proceeded to Poragri via Urritaung.
- p. 233, map. In the sketch-map here given the position of Siriam is wrongly shown. It should be to the east of Rangoon, on the Pegu river.
- p. 318, n. 31. For 1606 read 1602.

SECTION II  
THE VOYAGE TO CHINA AND  
THE FAR EAST

April 1637 to August 1639



# VOYAGE TO CHINA

T. A. Smith

## CHAPTER XL

*How I left Cochin for Goa, and all that befell me after leaving Goa until I reached Malaca.*

[258/1] ALL of us were much distressed when on reaching the port of Cochin we learnt that the fleet had already sailed: some because they wished to winter<sup>1</sup> at Goa; others because, owing to its departure, they could not dispose of their merchandise so well, especially articles used in Portugal. Nor was I one of those least affected by this loss, from the fact that a new Viceroy had come, while the late Viceroy had already left for Portugal, and also on account of important matters connected with the Churches and our ministry in Bengal and Arracan, in which delay might lead to fresh difficulties. But since there was no remedy we were all obliged [258/2] to make the best of it.

When the winter was over the first fleet arrived at Cochin from Malabar, consisting of two galleys and thirty-two rowing vessels. The Captain-Major was Martin Texeira<sup>2</sup> de Gamboa. This fleet was acting as escort to a convoy of some hundred trading vessels assembled together from the ports of Barcelor,<sup>3</sup> Mangalor,<sup>3a</sup> and Cananor.<sup>4</sup> The fleet remained nineteen days.

<sup>1</sup> i. e. pass the rainy season. See Chap. IV, n. 3.

<sup>2</sup> We know nothing about him.

<sup>3</sup> Now Basrūr, a village in the South Kanara District of Madras, one of those West coast ports which has entirely lost its importance. In early days it is often coupled with Bacanor, another vanished port. Barcelor is met with on all early maps. Rennell shows it on the map in his *Memoir* (p. 234) just north of Mangalore. It is believed to be the Abersarur of Ibn Batuta (1343). See a most interesting note on the West coast ports and their decay, and another on their identification, *Cathay and Way*, iv. 27, 72. Linschoten mentions it as a Portuguese settlement. They abandoned it in the eighteenth century, and its decay then started (*Linschoten*, i. 66). See *Hobson-Jobson*, s. vv. Bacanore, Barcelore.

<sup>3a</sup> This, more correctly Mangalūru ("Mars' village"), is the headquarters of the South Kanara District of Madras, situated in 12° 52' N., 74° 51' E. It is nowadays widely known for the Mangalore roof-tiles, made originally by the German Basel Mission. See *Imp. Gaz.* and *Hobson-Jobson*, s. v. Mangalore. It is a town of great antiquity and is mentioned by Ibn Batuta among early travellers (see references in note 3 above). Abūl Fazl mentions it and gives the port dues received there (*Ain*, ii. 246, 259). Barbosa describes it as "a very great town . . . where many ships take cargoes of black rice which is better and more wholesome than the white" (*Barbosa*, i. 195).

<sup>4</sup> More correctly *Kannanūr* ("the lovely village"); it is now the

We then started, but with north-westerly breezes which were contrary<sup>5</sup> to our course, on account of which we made but little headway, for if we were able to get well out to sea with the off-shore morning's breeze the evening's sea-breeze took us landwards again. However, in spite [259/1] of all this tacking we managed to make some way. We at length arrived at the port of Cananor, where the fleet waited three days. Here we took on some white cardamoms<sup>6</sup> of good quality, for Portugal and places in India, and some other merchandise of less importance. On leaving Cananor we made Goa after a voyage of twenty-four days, having sailed for twenty-one days on end, a long period for the hundred leagues that separated Cochin from Goa.<sup>7</sup> On my arrival I went to report myself, as was required, to my superiors, giving them a full account of the conditions obtaining in the missions in the places I had come

head-quarters of the Chirakkal *talūka* in the Malabār District of Madras, situated in 11° 52' N., 75° 23' E. It is an old town and was of importance as a trade centre in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. It was one of the earliest of the Portuguese settlements. Vasco da Gama visited it in 1498, a factory being opened in 1501. Varthema says it was a centre for the importation of Persian horses. See *Cathay and Way*, iv. 76; *Linschoten*, i. 67; *Varthema*, p. 123.

<sup>5</sup> The text has *vientos noroestes punteros a nuestro viage*. The obsolete term *puntero* means a wind necessitating sailing close-hauled with continual tacking. Literally it is a wind which forces you to *punter* or "ir orzando cuanto se puede para aprovechar el viento cuando escasea" (*Dict. Acad.*). There is an idea of "pricking" or forcing your way through a contrary wind. The word "orzar" (Ital. *orzare*, Fr. *orser*) is to "luff", from *orza*, the rope ("sheet") attached to a sail, allowing it to be close-hauled. The word comes primarily, however, from the Euskarian word *ortz*, meaning a tooth or pick, whence the idea of forcing a way.

<sup>6</sup> This is called *elachi* in Hindī. It is the fruit of the *Elettaria Cardamomum*, which thrives on the Western Ghāts. Linschoten devotes a chapter (Chap. 67) to this plant. He refers thus to its use in cooking by sailors: "They sieth no flesh in India, but commonly they put cardomomum into the pot: it maketh the meate to have as good a savor and a taste as any of the other spices of India." It is familiar to Europeans in India as one of the objects invariably included in the formal 'itr-pān presentations at the end of ceremonials, especially in Indian States.

<sup>7</sup> The well-known capital of Portuguese India, a relic of their once extensive hold over the near and farther East. It was unknown to history until the Portuguese settled there. The name is derived from *Goven*, connected with the Skt. *go*, a cow. It has been the Portuguese capital since Albuquerque took it in 1510. See *Hobson-Jobson*, s.v. Goa. Manrique gives us no description of it, though many early travellers do so. See *Linschoten*, i. 175 and Index; *Pyrard de Laval*, ii, Pt. I, Chap. i; *Mundy*, iii. 53; *Fryer*, ii. 10; d'Alaya, *Goa, Antiga e Moderna*; Fonseca, *Goa*.

from, and of the matters entrusted to me by the late Viceroy in his letters. They then instructed me to go and see the present Viceroy, Pedro da Silva,<sup>8</sup> tell him everything, and hand over the letter from the King of Angelim.

On receiving this order I went to the palace and gave the Viceroy full information on all the points his predecessor had inquired about. He then told me that this information should be given in writing to Antonio Paes Soares,<sup>9</sup> Secretary of State, as well as the letter I had brought, and that we should both proceed to the translation of the latter. When the letter was translated it was considered by the Council, together with the information I had given. They found that they could not take any action in these matters at the moment, for reasons I have previously stated, but decided that an answer should be sent, with every good wish, to His Highness, [259/2] that as soon as they received the expected reinforcements, they hoped to be able to carry out his friendly proposals.

The Viceroy desired that I should, at the next monsoon, return to Bengala with this answer and a handsome gift. He talked this over with Father Diego de Santa Anna,<sup>10</sup> who was at that time the head of our Congregation, with the powers of Apostolic Visitor, and they decided that it would be best if I went as *Vicario de la Vara* and Superior of the Christian settlements there, so that I might be able to support and encourage the good intentions of the King of Angelim more easily and be less suspected by the Mogors.

After arriving at this decision the Father Visitor informed me of the proposal and said that I should arrange to sail by the first boat for Cochim, as, when I got there, I should find big vessels and be able to sail for Bengala at once.

This decision caused me much pain, and I begged to be

<sup>8</sup> He was Viceroy from 1635 to 1639; he was not suited for the position. Mandelslo remarks that "his person was not answerable to his quality" (p. 86). He found the State treasury empty and received little support from Europe. He was known as the "Mole" or "soft one". Difficulties with the Dutch increased during his day, while Malacca was again in danger from the enmity of the Achin king. Pedro da Silva died in June 1639.

<sup>9</sup> Nothing is known about him.

<sup>10</sup> Nothing is known about this man.

excused on the grounds of a licence<sup>11</sup> which I had obtained from the last Chapter permitting me to visit Japan, a licence it had taken me seven years of strenuous petitioning to obtain, as the Father well knew, and I begged him not to dash my hopes in this way. He replied that it pained him exceedingly to send me against my wish, but the Viceroy was anxious that I should go, and I should, therefore, conform [260/1] to the vow of rigid obedience which I had taken. He added much on the same subject, and in conclusion pointed out that I was not so old as not to be able to wait three or four years.

To console me somewhat he undertook to confirm the permit I had received to go to Japan, with his Apostolic authority, so that when this matter was settled I could go direct from Bengala without any need for returning to Goa.

On this I proceeded to conform to my vow without further protest, and began to get ready. Meanwhile, just as the time was approaching for my departure to Cochim, a Courier (called Patamar<sup>12</sup> in these parts) was received from Bengala, by whom the Viceroy was informed that the Mogors had treacherously seized the King of Angelim and sent him to the City of Daack, where he was in close imprisonment.<sup>13</sup>

The Viceroy was much affected by this news, and at once cancelled my voyage, leaving me free to go to Japan.

On this I went to see the Viceroy and returned him certain letters he had entrusted me with, telling him I proposed to proceed to Japan. He said: "I know that, Father, and that you were in consequence going to Bengala against your own wish: now if any vessels are going south during this monsoon I will see you are comfortably provided for in the best ship sailing. We shall see each other again before that."

I kissed his hand [260/2] and thanked him for the kindness he was doing me, adding that I was always ready to carry out His Excellency's orders, such being the wish of my superiors.

<sup>11</sup> No previous mention is made of the intention or the licence.

<sup>12</sup> The origin of this word is not clear. See *Hobson-Jobson*, s. v. Pattamar. The word is constantly found in letters in the *Factory Records* of the period, and also in Portuguese literature, sufficiently so to be met with in many ordinary Portuguese dictionaries.

<sup>13</sup> It is not known who he was or why he was imprisoned.

Soon after this the Council of War and Finance determined to dispatch some vessels to Malacca with provisions for that fortress.<sup>14</sup> As commander of the expedition a gentleman of rank, by name Luis Martines de Sosa Chichorro, was appointed in succession to Antonio Pinto de Fonseca, who had died. The Council of Finance decided to send at the same time Roman de Lemos, a knight of the Order of St. James, to China, as administrator of the royal estates there.<sup>15</sup>

Under the wing of this fleet certain merchant vessels also sailed laden with goods, among them being a *Pataxe*,<sup>16</sup> destined for the Philippine islands, belonging to one Antonio Correa Buenas-razones,<sup>17</sup> a native of Villanueva in Serveira. I made up my mind to travel in it, as it was at that time impossible for priests to get to Japan except via the Philippines, since the route by Macan was closed. This was due to the fact that the Portuguese at that port had a clause in their agreement with the Japanese<sup>18</sup> that they would bring over no

<sup>14</sup> Quarrels had arisen between the admiral and commander at Malacca, and the King of Achin took advantage of this to break off amicable relations. The place was also short of necessaries, even of provisions. Hence the Viceroy sent four galleons to its relief, and Manrique seems to have sailed under the wing of this fleet (*Danvers*, ii. 258). For name see *Hobson-Jobson*, s.v. Malacca.

<sup>15</sup> *Luis Martines de Sosa Chichorro, Antonio Pinto de Fonseca, &c.* Fonseca originally came out to India in 1612 as Inspector of Forts. He was present at the taking of Bassein by Luiz de Brito e Mello. He was governor of Malacca in 1629 when Nuño Alvarez Botello relieved it, on attack by the Achinese forces. He died at Malacca in 1630.

For Luis Martines de Sosa Chichorro, see Chap. XLI, n. 6.

*Roman de Lemos.* No more is known of him. Perhaps he is the Reimão de Lemos mentioned in the Viceroy's letter of Aug. 1638. Cf. *Mundy*, iii. 530. The Order of *Saint James* was in those days one of the principal military orders, only conferred for important services.

<sup>16</sup> The modern Spanish form is *patache*. It is also met with in this form in early English literature. The origin of the word is uncertain. See *Oxford Dict.*, s.v., which says it is a small ship for communicating with the vessels of a fleet. But the *Dict. Spanish Acad.* says it was an armed vessel used for carrying dispatches and for guarding the entrance of ports, what in modern parlance is a "gunboat". *Minsheu's Spanish Dict.* (1623) calls it "a pinnacle, a small swift ship".

<sup>17</sup> We know nothing more of him.

<sup>18</sup> An Imperial Japanese edict, issued in 1636, drove the Portuguese from Nagasaki. The Dutch machinations were responsible for this. Cf. Rhodes, *Voyages*, p. 13. The Emperor Hideyoshi in 1587 began to persecute Christians, this persecution culminating in the massacre of Hara in 1638 during the reign of the Emperor Iyemitsu (1623-50). Absolute prohibition to the conveyance of members of religious orders existed, but

members of a Religious Order in their ships, under pain of death and confiscation of property. For this reason religious missionaries, who had to pass that way, to water with their blood [261/1] the plants of conversion, withered by our sins and through the unbounded ambitions of certain people, sought out the Philippine islands, and the city which bears the most sacred name of Jesus of Manila, whence they could proceed unchecked, owing to the war that had been going on for some years between the Spanish and the Japanese. As I was compelled, for these reasons, to go via Manila, I went and reminded the Viceroy of the promise His Excellency had made to get me a berth in any ship I proposed to sail on.

To this His Excellency replied that he would not only get me accommodation, but would also see that I was supplied with all that was needed for the voyage, as he desired that I should make this journey also on His Majesty's business. He then gave me certain instructions (not to be mentioned here) and sent me away satisfied, saying he would send for me when the time came.<sup>19</sup>

Yet I was much vexed by these events, and also to see the numerous difficulties which arose tending to prevent my making this voyage to Japan, that I had so much at heart. I looked upon every incident which seemed to endeavour to turn me aside from it as a deliberate attempt to injure me, forgetting

were constantly disregarded by the Brethren, who sought martyrdom. The prohibition was extended to Christians generally. See *Mundy*, iii. 272. To whom Manrique refers in "the ambitions of certain people" is not known.

<sup>19</sup> It was this mingling of religion with diplomacy and the employment of priests (probably as linguists) in conducting negotiations that was one of the great causes of the loss of Portuguese prestige, though there were others also. Manucci notes, "The Portuguese in any negotiations they have with the Moguls or the Rajas in India are accustomed to send priests as ambassadors. It appears to them that by doing so they make certain of success; but by the experience I have had, and from what I have heard from the leading men at the Court, there could not be a greater error committed. For it causes everybody to think of and estimate the King of Portugal as an impecunious king, who is unable to provide the requisite expense for an ambassador, and therefore sends *faquirs*, for such is their conception of the practice of those Fathers" (*Storia do Mogor*, iii. 199).

Faquirs, of course, as religious mendicants, should have no concern in worldly matters.

that all was regulated by Divine Order, His Divine Majesty perceiving my unsuitability to follow in the steps of all those Brethren of my holy Order who had gone forth to shed their precious [261/2] blood in those distant lands, in order to publish and support the blessed Catholic faith.

At length the date for my embarkation came, but while I expected to be sent for by the Viceroy, it was the Father Visitor Apostolic who summoned me. After he had made over to me certain documents bearing the Royal seal, he gave me one bearing that of the Congregation of our Order. After giving me this last document he told me that it contained the orders and instructions I was to follow. In accordance with my vow of obedience I was not to open it until in sight of Pulo Butum.<sup>20</sup> Moreover, if attacked by enemies and in imminent danger of being made prisoner, I was to throw all the papers into the sea. He gave me some more information and left me, saying that I could go to Santa Ines whenever I wished, as the Captain of the Pataxe had orders to comply with all my wishes. With these, somewhat confused, instructions I completed my preparations and went to Santa Ines.<sup>21</sup> It is a Parish Church belonging to our Order, standing close to the harbour, at which our Brethren when going to or leaving Goa can embark or disembark with great convenience.

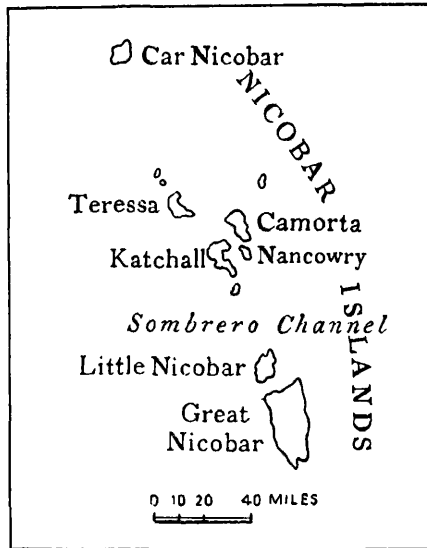
Thence I proceeded to embark next day, which was the 27th of April, 1637. We set sail to the wind and started [262/1] our voyage. The wind was favourable and we reached the latitude of Cochim on the third day, and, as it continued to favour us, sailed by the coast of Malabar and the Pescaria. This last name is derived from the important pearl and seed-pearl fisheries which were carried on here till rather less than fifty years ago, when the Archbishop of Cochim, Don Andres,<sup>22</sup> a Brother of the Seraphic Order, and a zealous servant of God,

<sup>20</sup> An island (*pulau*), situated in 6° 10' N., 96° 30' E., off the Malay Peninsula.

<sup>21</sup> Manrique had, no doubt, been staying at the Augustinian monastery which stood near the Jesuit College of St. Paul. The Augustinian establishment was erected in 1572 and rebuilt in 1582.

<sup>22</sup> *Pescaria*. See Chap. IV, n. 11. Don Andres's excommunication has not been traced.

excommunicated those seas, on account of the very serious charges of corruption he had to bring against certain Brethren. We then entered the gulf of Ceylon, rounding Cape Comorin, which behaved so placidly and gently towards us that we should have disabused ourselves of our bad opinions of it, as fierce and terrible, had we not seen it on other occasions. After passing the cape so satisfactorily we entered the bay of Nicobar.<sup>23</sup> Here, although we encountered some Samatras<sup>23a</sup>



with heavy rain, which caused us to be parted from the fleet and the company of other vessels, we were not anxious, as the winds from the monsoon quarter held, so that we sighted the island of Nicobar in nine days. There boats full of the natives

<sup>23</sup> The group lying off the Burmese coast between the north end of Sumatra and the Andaman group. There are nineteen separate islands. There are only two possible harbours, one a magnificent refuge between the islands of Camorta, Trinkat, and Nancowry, now known as "Nancowry harbour". This is probably where Manrique went in. Ambergis is still sold there. See *Hobson-Jobson* and *Imperial Gazetteer*, s. v. Nicobars. The *Sombrero* channel lies between *Little Nicobar* and *Katchall* islands, and is so called from an umbrella-shaped hill near it (*Hobson-Jobson*, s. v.). But Le Blanc says it obtained its name because leafy trees overshadowed passing vessels like the edge of a hat! (*Voyages*, p. 99).

<sup>23a</sup> See p. 89, n. 19.

came out to us signalling from a distance that they wished to trade. We put out a white flag, on which they approached with confidence, their boats, at first sight, seeming to be laden only with eatables and fruit. Below these [262/2] they had some ambergris of excellent quality. After they were assured that our ship was not a warship but a merchant vessel, and when they had disposed of their eatables and fruit, in exchange for some inferior Malayan cloths, they said they had brought some amber to sell. They showed a sample which the merchants saw was of first-rate quality, while the amount weighed over twelve and a half pounds. It was, therefore, necessary to open the hatchways and bring up some bales of coarse cloth, which they wanted. Seeing that it would be to their advantage, they got the Pilot to sail in between the islands by a channel they call the Sombrero channel.<sup>23</sup> Here we anchored in eight fathoms, and the merchants spent most of the day weighing out amber and paying the islanders, whom they found less barbarous in a business transaction than they expected.

We left this place and travelled on, carried by the same wind until we came off the island of Pulo Butum. We decided to run in there as we were short of water, the entry to the harbour being easy and free, while a fine river of clear and crystalline water flowed through the island. As soon as we sighted the land I did not forget to carry out the injunctions of the Father Visitor Apostolic regarding opening the sealed orders he had given me: I had indeed always carried this injunction in my mind, being so anxious to clear up the confusion under which I laboured.

[263/1] On opening the packet I found that the Father Visitor had, in exercise of his authority, instructed me, if I found no ship at Manila or arrangement for crossing to Japan, to place myself under the orders of the Governor of that State. This point being now clear, I proposed to settle the next, which was lying before me in the shape of the second letter with the royal seal upon it and addressed in my name. After I had opened it and ascertained its contents I lost every shred of hope of crossing to Japan, even if there were a hundred

vessels and every conceivable arrangement made for my comfort. Let each reader imagine how he would feel in such circumstances, just when he believed that the ship of his desire had safely overcome the difficulties of Scylla and Charybdis<sup>24</sup> and was sailing on quiet waters with the wind well astern.

The afflictions of obedience are sweet when borne for God's sake with the patience which the physician to the Gentiles commended to the Thessalonians, *Patientes estote ad omnes*,<sup>25</sup> yet very bitter to the flesh.

However, let us leave these inward communings with God alone and return to our history. Well, on arriving at the island in order to obtain water, our Pataxe sighted three Dutch pirate vessels which obliged us to go about, leaving our eyes and hearts with the water we so sorely needed. We changed our course just as the sun reached the [263/2] meridian, and at the same moment the wind fell. The pirates, who must have been a little over two leagues away from us, seized the opportunity to send off two big boats,<sup>26</sup> each carrying a falconet and being full of Musketeers.

As soon as the Pilot and Captain, who were on the topmast of the mainmast, saw these boats they at once descended, and, although there were but sixteen persons on board who could bear arms, they at once put the Pataxe in excellent fighting trim. They ran out five small cast-iron cannon which we carried, strengthening the defences on each side of the vessel as far as possible, securing the yards on the mainmast and foremast with strong iron chains. They also placed several jars of sea-water about the deck as a protection against fire, should they be needed. They summoned us all, who, as I have remarked, numbered sixteen only, of whom seven were Ecclesiastics.<sup>27</sup> These included three Augustinian Brethren,

<sup>24</sup> The well-known rocks between Italy and Sicily so feared by ancient sailors in the Mediterranean. A monster was supposed to live in Scylla, and a whirlpool played round Charybdis.

<sup>25</sup> "Be longsuffering toward all" (I *Thess.* v. 14).

<sup>26</sup> Text has *lanchas*. This is a Spanish and Portuguese term for the boats carried by larger vessels for safety. The word appears to be derived from the Latin *planca*; but see Malay origin suggested by Yule, *Hobson-Jobson*, s. v. Lanchara.

<sup>27</sup> Nothing more is known about these companions of our author.



*CAPE COMORIN*



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that is Father Fray Diego de los Martires, Father Fray Emanuel del Espiritu Santo, and myself. The first of these was proceeding to China, the second belonged to our Brotherhood of the monastery at Malaca, while I was travelling to Japan. Another priest, a Dominican named Father Fray Sebastian, was joining the Mission belonging to that sacred Brotherhood [264/1] in the kingdom of Solor.<sup>28</sup> There was also with us Father Gabriel de Magellanes, on his way to China, as well as a lay teacher, a Franciscan, who was going with me to the Philipines and thence to New Spain; <sup>28a</sup> finally there was Father Pedro Nuño, a secular priest, also going to China.

Of the remaining nine, six were Portuguese and their slaves, but trained by the Portuguese, and so skilled in the use of arms. We were all given a choice of weapons; some took muskets and some harquebuses, while pikes and swords were placed ready in a separate spot, for use, if the enemy by any chance attempted to board the Pataxe.

As soon as all these preparations were over and each man had been assigned his post in the defence, we turned to the more important matter of our spiritual preparedness. All confessed and then repeated Our Lady's Litany before her consecrated Image. When we had finished this each man went to his post to await the enemy, who were about half a league away, rowing as hard as they could. But the current in the sea was flowing directly against them, and hence they drew up more slowly than they wished, so that it was three in the afternoon before they reached us.

As they approached within range of our guns the Captain ordered a red ensign <sup>29</sup> to be hoisted at once, and, mounting [264/2] upon the castle of the poop, sword and shield in hand, and helm on head, waved to them with his sword, anathematizing them as heretics and calling on them to attack; a superfluous piece of advice, as they approached with the utmost

<sup>28</sup> Islands off the east end of Sumatra.

<sup>28a</sup> That is Spanish America, Mexico.

<sup>29</sup> In the seventeenth century, and even up to the early nineteenth, a red flag signified defiance (Middleton, *Voyage*, p. 44 n.). See *Mundy*, iii. 189, n. 2.

rapidity and such lack of precaution that, forgetting they were within range, the two boats drew together, apparently in order to discuss some new point in the attack. But as no good and expert commander ever misses a chance in war, so our Leader, taking full advantage of this opportunity, sent for a Portuguese gunner who was on board, desiring him to put the closure on this consultation by sending them good advice in the form of a gun-charge.

Now on ships such as ours these charges are usually made up of bags full of bullets, old nails, bits of iron bar, and miscellaneous pieces of metal, useless for any other purpose. Our good gunner decided, therefore, to call on them with this admirable mixture. He arranged that it should reach them before the consultation was complete, since it is a Belgian<sup>30</sup> custom to terminate such meetings by a mutual drinking of healths on both sides. He, therefore, aimed his piece through fore- and back-sight and, using his elevating scale (for though but a youth he was well skilled), fired so that the charge struck the two boats amidships and created great havoc, especially in the boat lying more directly in his line of fire. [265/1] It at once fell back, but before it could recover from the confusion created, another Portuguese fired into them. Had this been fired by the artillery-man it would have sent them to the bottom. There were only these two guns on that side, and while these were being reloaded, the second boat came close to us on the starboard side, saluting us with heavy musketry fire. We were now safe from the first boat, as she was returning towards her ship, with the assistance of the current, far faster than she had come up, besides being lightened of some of her crew. So we all came to the side on which the second boat lay; here, protected by the wales and other cover which had been provided, we answered their fire gaily. So we fought for about an hour, receiving and returning fire, of which ours was the more continuous, because we had so many muskets and harquebuses that those who could not

<sup>30</sup> Used for Dutch. The same use is made of this term by Fryer, so perhaps it was not uncommon to use Fleming, Dutchman, Hollander, and Belgian indifferently. See *Fryer*, i. 113; ii. 371; iii. 37, 201.

shoot employed their time keeping these spare arms loaded. Seeing that they could not carry out their plan in this position the enemy retreated under the stem and proceeded to repay us in our own coin. They fired their small gun into our stern cabin, and filled it with much the same mixture as that we had sent them. With their first discharge they did little damage, only breaking a few articles in the cabin. They continued [265/2] to fire with their gun and muskets, but as most of those who were not fighting were below deck they did no damage, after an hour and a half's firing, except to destroy a few unimportant things, including one of the jars of sea-water on the deck. Besides this they pierced many holes in our sails, which we had kept spread instead of furling them, as should any wind arise, we could then escape from the enemy.

While we sixteen were fighting, some of us on the forecastle and others on either side of the stern, Fortune decreed that our artillery-man and his assistant should be severely wounded by a stray ball. They had to be at once taken below, while we were obliged to employ only musketry and hand grenades,<sup>31</sup> for, however essential, for us to fire off the guns without them would have been the same as merely firing into the air, to no effect. So we defended ourselves and attacked them until half-past five in the evening, having begun just before three o'clock. The heat was intense and water very scarce, so that we were all in great distress. But our Lord, with His usual pity for us, came to our help, and just as the sun was setting He sent us the wind we were longing for. So we spread our [266/1] sails and rapidly drew away from the boat; and had we but had a man who could fire the cannon we should have sunk them. But they benefited by our failing in this respect and rowed away amidst loud cries from our people, those who had not been fighting expressing their rage by their tongues, hurling many insults upon them, though far less than such base dogs and heretics merited, pirates and enemies of God as they were.

Still they had not got off scot-free, but rowed away with

<sup>31</sup> The text has *alcancias*, derived from the Arabic word *al-kanaz*, storing up, treasuring, hence a bomb, &c.

such a list that our Captain would have lowered the long boat and attacked them, had we not gone to him and protested, urged thereto by the objections raised by four merchants on board. They pointed out the danger of losing their merchandise, begging that we would continue our voyage and make the most of the wind so as not to run the risk of being again becalmed and of again encountering the enemy, who, stimulated by a desire for revenge, would attack us with redoubled energy. The Captain was obliged to submit to these arguments, and, aided by a wind which freshened during the night, we found ourselves at dawn next day nineteen leagues away on the high seas, free, thanks to God's grace, from the danger we had been exposed to, of being killed or taken prisoners.

The Pilot at this juncture, seeing we were well quit of the enemy and were short of water, decided, in agreement with those interested [266/2] in the safety of the *Pataxe*, to make for Pulo Dindin.<sup>32</sup>

With this intention he lay to<sup>33</sup> until it was time to fix his position by the sun. Having determined this, and finding himself twenty-two leagues from Pulo Dindin, we held a southeasterly course for the rest of the day in order to get to the windward<sup>34</sup> of the island. That night, the wind being fresh and favourable, we steered for the island and found ourselves seven leagues away at daybreak. As the wind was strong we soon covered this distance and entered the port, which is easy of entry and safe. Here we spent most of that day taking in the water we so badly needed. When we had completed this we sailed out again, and proceeding on our way accompanied by favourable breezes, we reached Malaca, through

<sup>32</sup> An island (*pulau*) in the Straits of Malacca just off Perak.

<sup>33</sup> The text has *puso el pataxe a la trinca*. Minsheu's *Spanish Dict.* (1623) has *Poner la vela a la trinca*, "to hull with a ship", and *trincar*, "to hull up and downe with a ship". To "hull" a ship was to reduce the sail to the minimum and fix the helm to the lee side, and then lie to.

"There they hull, expecting but the aide  
Of Buckingham to welcome them ashore."

*Rich. III*, IV. iv. 439.

<sup>34</sup> The text has *nos ponermos a bar lo vento*, that is *par le vent* or to windward.

God our Lord's Grace, on the 11th of June of the same year, 1637. On this day of that year fell the festival at which Catholics celebrate the greatest boon which the same Lord could grant, in token of His boundless love.

We Brethren, arriving thus, might well take it as a happy omen that on this voyage, made in God's service, we had arrived at Malaca<sup>35</sup> on the day on which His Divine Majesty had shown His crowning mercy to us. From this omen we might well believe that our merciful and kindly Father, seeing how weary and worn we were after the voyage, had especially ordained that we should arrive on that day before the sun had uncovered his golden [267/1] rays, crying to us :

*Venite ad me omnes qui laboratis et onerati estis et ego reficiam vos.*<sup>36</sup>

For so they could be consoled, receiving the divine Sacrament at the altar, and each man be able to continue his voyage with renewed courage, [267/2] remembering what was said to the sainted and zealous Prophet Elijah : *Surge : grandis enim tibi restat via,*<sup>37</sup> and however hard and wearisome it might be, that

*Oportet per multas tribulationes introire in Regnum Dei.*<sup>38</sup>

<sup>35</sup> We now get one of our few positive dates, Thursday, June 11, 1637, the Feast of Corpus Christi.

<sup>36</sup> "Come unto Me, all ye that labour and are heavy laden, and I will give you rest" (*Matt. xi. 28*).

<sup>37</sup> "Arise, for a long journey is yet before thee" (*Vulg. 3 Regum xix. 7*). Our version (*1 Kings xix. 7*) has "because the journey is too great for thee".

<sup>38</sup> "Through many tribulations we must enter the Kingdom of God" (*Acts xiv. 22*).

## CHAPTER XLI

*How the author left Malaca for the Philippine Islands and the events of that voyage until his arrival at Manila, the capital city of those islands.*

[267/1] ON reaching this place, which is the principal trade centre of the Samothracian Hemisphere,<sup>1</sup> the merchants inspected the goods they had brought and, after disembarking such as were intended for that city and taking on board others for Manila, as well as replenishing their store of necessaries, arranged to continue the voyage. All was ready for the start, when the day before our departure three ships and a Pataxe of Dutch pirates stationed themselves two leagues outside Malaca harbour. A few days before they had captured a Geliā from Negapatam<sup>2</sup> (267/2) belonging to a Portuguese from Cochim, called Bartolome Ventura.<sup>3</sup> He was travelling with seven other Portuguese<sup>4</sup> to China, carrying merchandise from the coast of Choromandel.<sup>4a</sup> They had heard from the sailors who had escaped after the Portuguese had been massacred, that there was a Pataxe in port on the point of sailing for Manila.

<sup>1</sup> The text has *Samotraccio emisphero*, which refers to Sumatra. See Chap. XLVIII, n. 12.

Of Malacca Manrique tells us nothing. It was always an important place owing to its position. In 1511 the Portuguese took it. In 1641 it surrendered to the Dutch. Cf. *Sonnerat*, ii. 99. Between the king of Achin and the Portuguese it was a constant bone of contention (*Danvers*, ii. 228; *Mundy*, iii. 327).

<sup>2</sup> A town and sea-port in the Tanjor District, Madras (*Hobson-Jobson*, s. v.).

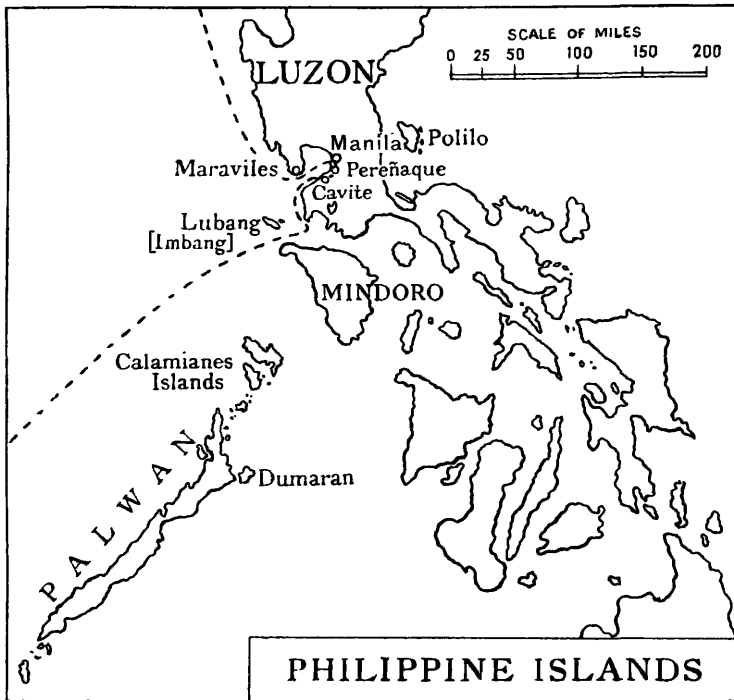
<sup>3</sup> We know nothing of him.

<sup>4</sup> We are here told of Ventura "and seven others"; lower down we learn that "those seven Portuguese" fought bravely, and still farther down that Ventura and Carvallo being killed, "three remaining Portuguese fought on". It is Falstaff inverted.

<sup>4a</sup> *Choromandel* is the south-eastern coast of India. See *Hobson-Jobson*, s. v. Coromandel.

On learning this they had, therefore, come to look for our Pataxe, but their coming was fruitless, as our Pataxe did not sail.

This information had not been obtained too cheaply, as those seven Portuguese, with some slaves and servants who were also on board, defended the Geliā so bravely that they killed (268/1) nineteen Dutchmen who were in the three boats



*T. A. Smith*

making the attack, so that one of the boats had to return twice to the ships for more men.

At this juncture, as the owner of the Geliā, Bartolome Ventura, and one Manoel Carvallo<sup>5</sup> of Cananor City, both valiant soldiers, had been killed, the three remaining Portuguese determined to sell their lives dearly, and encouraging

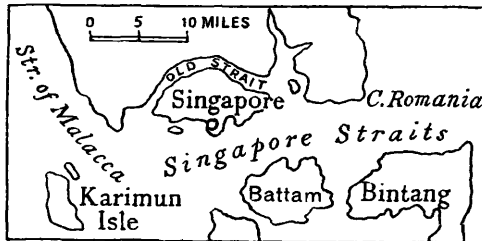
<sup>5</sup> We know nothing about him. For *Cananor*, see Chap. XL, n. 4.

their companions they fought on until all were dead. After they had been killed these barbarous heretics, mad with rage and indignation at the death of their companions, on getting on board, proceeded to kill all whom they found bearing arms. One of the slaves who saw this threw away his harquebus, and full of the courage and determination which he had acquired from the Portuguese, went quietly down below, while the hurly-burly was at its height, and set fire to a barrel of powder with the lighted match he had in his hand. This put an end to the rage of those heretics by blowing them and himself into the sky, as well as destroying the boat lying alongside. The two other boats escaped, as they were lying some way off. Instead of booty they merely took up some men floating on the water, who asked for help, and among them some of the crew from the *Geliā*, who, as I have remarked, told them about our *Pataxe*. These men were sent to Malaca by the Dutch in exchange for some of their own men. [268/2] On reaching Malaca they told the story of the *Geliā*, which greatly perturbed General Luis Martines de Sosa Chichorro,<sup>6</sup> both for the death of those Portuguese and also for the loss of the information he had been sending by them to China, to warn merchant vessels to collect at a certain spot at which a fleet would wait for them so as to give them safe conduct to Malaca.

<sup>6</sup> Manrique states in Chap. XL that Luis Martines de Sosa Chichorro was succeeding Pinto de Fonseca as captain-general at Malacca, the latter having died. De Sosa, moreover, actually travelled in the same convoy as our author. This was in June 1637. Referring to Mundy, however, we find that in 1637 Don Diego Coutiño, the son of Don Francisco Coutiño, was Governor at Malacca (iii. 140, n. 1; 327, n. 3), and that in 1638 the captain-general was Luis Martin de Soza. Mundy was at Malacca in January 1638, while, according to Manrique, they only sailed from Goa on June 11, 1638. Incidentally, Careri (*Churchill*, 1704, iv. 269) says Don Francisco Coutiño was Governor of Salsette in 1695.

Sir Richard Temple, to whom I referred, says that probably some mistake has crept in. But the letter of August 30, 1638, from the "Monsoon Documents", quoted in Mundy, distinctly says that Luis Martin de Soza was appointed successor to Don Francisco Coutiño del Sem, adding that on his death his son Diego Coutiño had assumed charge at Malacca and caused trouble by his acts, due mainly to inexperience. Manrique may thus be wrong in saying that de Soza succeeded Fonseca.

Since this dispatch had been lost and it was necessary to issue another, the General (seeing that the monsoon was over and winter was setting in) called his council together. This was attended by several Pilots familiar with those coasts. They decided after consultation that no vessel except a Geliā manned by rowers could now be sent, as, after passing through the straits of Sincapur,<sup>7</sup> they must make the Champa coast so as to hug it up to Cochin-China. From this place the warning could be sent over by the islands of Ainan.<sup>7</sup> Though a voyage at that season was most dangerous<sup>8</sup> the General ordered a good Geliā to be at once made ready. But his



Captain and the military generally looked upon it as inconceivable rashness to trust themselves to the China seas at that season in such a small, frail vessel, and hence not one of them came forward to offer his services, in the way members of the military profession in those parts usually do in the hour of danger. On seeing this a [269/1] brave Captain, by name Antonio Paes Brandan,<sup>9</sup> a man from the plains of Coimbra, summoned six valiant and intrepid soldiers, friends of his own, and went to offer his services to the General for this enterprise. The General received him with open arms, calling him a true descendant of the Lusitanian heroes of old,

<sup>7</sup> The Straits of *Singapore*. See note 16. *Champa*, on the south-west of the Annam peninsula; *Cochin-China* being at its southern extremity. *Ainan* is the island of *Hainan*, south of Canton in China. See *Hobson-Jobson*, s. vv. Singapore, Champa, Cochin-China.

<sup>8</sup> The winds in these regions resemble those in India, hence a south-west wind and heavy weather was to be expected.

<sup>9</sup> We know no more about him. *Coimbra* is a large town in Portugal, on the Mondego river, rather over 100 miles north of Lisbon.

and had the Geliā put under his charge. But the preparation of the Geliā had only just commenced, because this duty lay with certain ministers of the Crown and people of position, who, for State reasons, wished to keep everything in their own hands. However, Captain Antonio Paes Brandan now took charge of this, and began putting the Geliā in order with all diligence, but not with that rapidity which the case demanded. Meanwhile there was no lack of comment on the rashness of the Captain, and those who were sailing with him, both from military and civil local communities. And whenever the Captain or any of his assistants passed by they were greeted with taunts as to the desirability of having masses said for their souls and the preparation of their last wills and testaments, with other similar remarks. Some said this with a real intention of helping them, but others were roused by a sense of jealousy in finding that there were people who showed more resolution and courage in a moment of danger than they did themselves.

While all this was going on I stayed in our Monastery, [269/2] very sick at heart at being unable to make the voyage, and seeing that I could not leave Malaca that year at all I became quite melancholy, when one day Captain Brandan came and talked to me. He said he had heard that I had to go to the Philipines, but that it was probable that I should not get a passage that year, and might not for two years perhaps. Moreover, to save delay I should be obliged to go to Macassar,<sup>10</sup> many miles out of the direct route, and even then I should have to wait a whole year for the next monsoon. So, if I was ready to go with him as far as Cochin China, he would take me, as besides serving God by doing so great an act of charity he would also be serving His Majesty, because by taking a Priest on such an occasion he would raise the flagging spirits of some of our men, while all would go with greater peace of mind.<sup>11</sup> Moreover, this would also make my

<sup>10</sup> To go to Macassar, that is the Celebes Islands, meant going to the east of Borneo, instead of straight up in a north-easterly direction.

<sup>11</sup> A priest on board was looked on by the Portuguese as a safeguard. See Chapters XXXIX and XL.

own journey more certain, as it would be very easy to complete it from Cochin China.

When the Captain had ended I felt as joyful, within myself, as if I had already reached Manila. So I replied that in view of the danger and uncertainty of the voyage I must first commune over it with God our Lord, and for this he must give me three days' grace.

We then parted, and I informed the Father Prior [270/1] and the other Brethren, who were all aghast at my temerity, the Father Prior saying that I ought not even to imagine such a thing. But in no way deterred by this reply I turned to the sacred solemnity of the Mass for confirmation in my intention, for I saw that the fundamental reasons I had for making this voyage were good. I then told the Father Prior that I was quite determined to travel by taking advantage of the occasion now offered to me, detailing my reasons, which he already knew. To this he replied that this resolve of mine did not meet with his approbation, but that, since I was so set on carrying out the orders I had received, he gave me God-speed.

On this I gave Captain Brandan the answer he wished for, and we both went off to speak to the Captain-General, who congratulated me heartily on my intention of embarking on the present occasion. A lay brother, by name Sebastian de la Concepcion, a Franciscan,<sup>12</sup> hearing of all this, also decided to travel. He, as I have said, was proceeding to Manila on his way to the West Indies. There was no lack, on this occasion, of people of position in Malaca, friends of the Monastery, who tried to dissuade me from such a voyage, but, while thanking them for their good intentions, I let them know that my resolve was fixed.

I was, however, much concerned to see [270/2] how our departure was delayed far beyond what I had expected. We were already at the end of July, and there was no chance of starting for another fortnight, which meant putting to sea in the very middle of winter, which in these parts falls at this time of year. In spite of all these important considera-

<sup>12</sup> We know nothing more about him.

tions, the dilatoriness of the Crown agent made it impossible for us to sail until the 15th of August.<sup>13</sup> This is the day on which the celestial Empress entered Heaven in triumph, a fact which we took to be a good omen. So we celebrated Mass, and entrusted ourselves to Her keeping, taking Her as our guide in this dangerous voyage. We embarked and left the port under sail and oars, spending the night at the Isle of the Rock,<sup>14</sup> awaiting some of our company who had not arrived.

During this wait we found that the Geliā was leaking at the stern and also along the keel, a very dangerous place. Although this was not yet serious, still with the force of the waves and the strain on the vessel it might open out and cause us much trouble in setting it right. It was, therefore, decided that two soldiers should be sent to inform the Crown agent about this and request him to send a caulker<sup>14a</sup> next morning. With this order and an injunction to return without delay the two soldiers went off. They found the factor much more phlegmatic on the subject than they were [271/1], or thought right. His chief contention was that this seemed to be merely an excuse on the part of the Captain, who was already repenting of his rashness. This remark and the evident indifference they found in him caused the soldiers to return at once and inform the Captain of what had happened. At this the Captain flew into such a towering rage, and was so put out, that, had we not all been at hand to calm his anger by suitable argument, he would actually have broken the factor's head. When he was pacified Captain Antonio Paes Brandan got an expert Portuguese sailor, who was on board as Master of the Geliā, to caulk the open seams as well as he could.

As soon as this was done we finally left the island on the 16th of August, under such favourable winds that we reached

<sup>13</sup> The Feast of the Assumption of the Virgin, which falls on Aug. 15.

<sup>14</sup> The *Ilha de Pedras*, which lay about a mile off shore. It was here Albuquerque anchored in 1511. The channel has now silted up.

<sup>14a</sup> The text has *calafate*. In *Hobson-Jobson* an Arabic derivation from *qālāfat* is preferred. The *Oxford Dictionary* supports a Latin origin. See Dalgado, *Vocabulario*, s. v. Calafate.

the island of Pulo Quirinam<sup>15</sup> on the twenty-first. Here we sighted two Dutch pirate vessels. To avoid a meeting we gave them a wide berth and sailed off, but not without their detecting us and sending boats to give chase. The Captain, however, took no notice of them, and we held on our course under the same favourable weather and winds, which far more resembled those of spring than winter. We reached the straits of Sincapur<sup>16</sup> on the twenty-fourth, the day of the great Apostle Saint Bartholomew.<sup>17</sup> After passing through the straits and by the Romania islands<sup>16</sup> the Captain, trusting [27 1/2] to the fair weather, decided to shorten the voyage by leaving the coast and making straight across the fifty leagues lying between us and the island of Pulo Condor,<sup>18</sup> a route followed only by ships with high sides, and that too in summer, during the monsoon. On this unfortunate decision (which was rather an act of rashness than the result of careful deliberation) we found ourselves in mid-ocean. On the second day, the twenty-sixth, at sunset the wind fell, and in order to enable the Geliā to steer we had to take to the oars. Our experienced Pilot considered it an evil presage that the wind should fall at such a time, and so had our little vessel prepared

<sup>15</sup> The islands (*pulau*) of Karimon, or more correctly, *Krimun*, situated at the eastern end of the Straits of Malacca (Crawfurd, *Dict.*, p. 84).

<sup>16</sup> There are two Straits of Singapore, one being known in Manrique's time as the "Governor's Strait", which is the southern and wider channel, between the Islands of Singapore and Sumatra; and the other the narrow channel on the north, between Singapore Island and Johor, called the *Salat-Tembrau*. This channel was dangerous for sailing vessels. Cf. Careri, *Churchill*, iv. 274. Manrique does not specify which strait he passed through, but it was certainly the wider passage south of the Island of Singapore and not the *Salat-Tembrau* or strait of the "Tembrau-fish". See *Teixeira*, p. 2. He would in either case have passed on by "the Romania Islands", that is Romania-point (*Tanjong Penusok* or "the projecting point"), and not "Wet-nurse point", as formerly stated, at the south-east corner of Johor. See *Mundy*, iii. 149, n. 1; Crawfurd, *Dict.*, pp. 369, 395. The origin of the name "Romania" is unknown; it was probably given by the Portuguese.

<sup>17</sup> St. Bartholomew's Day (Aug. 24), notorious for the massacre in France on that day, in 1572, of the French Protestant (Huguenot) community, to which the ancestors of one of the present editors belonged.

<sup>18</sup> An island (*Pulo Kundur*, "Pumpkin Island"), one of the groups lying off the coast of Cambodia. See *Cathay and Way*, Index, *Pulo Condor*; and for our unfortunate attempt to start a factory there in 1704, see Hedges, *Diary*, II. cccxxviii.

for rough weather. The calm continued till about midnight, when a fierce south-western gale began to blow, accompanied by heavy storms of rain and thunder. An old experienced soldier when he saw this said to the Captain, "Well, Captain, in our country we say, *Gazedes, peixes, na rede*";<sup>19</sup> then, turning to me, added: "Father, I earnestly beg you to ask for God's mercy upon us."

As soon as the wind struck us the oars were shipped, and lowering our mainsail we ran with only a small jib<sup>20</sup> (no bigger than a bed-sheet) set. At dawn we sighted the mountains of Pulo Condor, but could not make the island, being prevented by the wind, which was against us, and also the force of the hurricane and the cross seas. [272/1] But much as we wished to reach the island all our hopes of that shelter were dashed aside. We abandoned the attempt and once more took to the open sea, relying only on God's mercy for protection against those mighty rolling waves, at one moment piled up into lofty mountains and at the next transformed into yawning abysses. In order to stand up better against the fury of the attack we struck the small awning we had upon the stern and were thus left without any protection against the raging elements. In this way, with death ever near us, one moment lifted up on high and the next plunged into a yawning gulf, we were drenched by two waters—by that from the sea, salt and bitter, reminding us in the midst of our affliction that all earthly gifts are bitter and salt, and on the other hand by that of the fierce rain, which sent from heaven was sweet, proving to us in our distress how everything which emanates from there is sweet and soothing, and that to heaven alone could we look for safe and happy relief.

On August the twenty-eighth, the saint's day of my great Patriarch St. Augustin,<sup>21</sup> driven out of our course by the force

<sup>19</sup> "Fishes, you are lying in the net." These seas are always disturbed; from March to November by the north-east, and from June to October by the south-west, monsoon.

<sup>20</sup> In the text *traquitillo* (Portug.), a diminutive of *traquete*, a fore-sail.

<sup>21</sup> Aug. 28, St. Augustin's Day.

of wind and waves, we entered the shallows of Pulo Sissi del Mar,<sup>22</sup> twelve leagues from the west of Champa. Here we thought [272/2] several times that it was all over with us, for the sea being very shallow the waves broke with such force that we had to take shelter under a small barren rocky heap, about half a league in circumference, formed by the shoals, and lie up to leeward. Here we proposed to lie to, out of reach of the storm, and wait for three or four hours for a favourable breeze, which would enable us to make the coast of Champa. But as we found no protection here we were obliged to decide rapidly what we proposed to do, for our little boat was incapable of lying to in such weather. The pilot, thereupon, decided that we must go about<sup>23</sup> and make for the Calameanes<sup>24</sup> or for the Islands of Borneo. The former was the more desirable, as it was under the Spanish Government, and Christians and Augustinian bare-footed Brethren resided there, who had converted most of the islanders to our sacred faith, while the rest of the inhabitants had already been rendered more tractable and civilized, by visits from and intercourse with the Catholic priests, than the barbarous people of Borneo. This information seemed satisfactory enough until they said that from the position we were then in it was four hundred leagues to the Calameanes: this appeared very serious. Still, there was no other course open to us, and we commended our souls to God and went about, hoisting a fore-topsail at our prow in place of the foresail. [273/1] In order to enable the Geliã to keep a more direct and steady course we all sat close together, exposed to the incessant rain and soaked by the heavy seas, which rising high about the little vessel spent their fury on our already weakened bodies. For our caboose with the provisions had fallen into the sea and we had no

<sup>22</sup> This is the island Paulo Cear de Mer, or Cecir de Mer, lying in 10° 43' N., 109° 2' E.

<sup>23</sup> The text has *arrasamos en popa*, an expression not given in the *Dict. of the Spanish Acad.* or in the Portuguese dictionaries. The word *arrasar* has, indeed, quite a different sense, "to dismantle, raze".

<sup>24</sup> A group of islands lying to the west of the Philippines, north of Palawan Island. It is used here for the Philippine group in general.

means of lighting a fire, nor did the weather make this possible ; hence we could not cook any rice, which was to our Indian sailors their natural means of sustenance. We had some biscuits,<sup>25</sup> but these, with only some water to drink, were insufficient to recuperate our forces, exhausted by continuous work and sufferings, soaked to the skin as we were, and nearly dead with cold.

The result was that our Pilot and the sailors, who were Indians and of poor physique, soon collapsed. The Pilot was so ill that the ship's Master and the Captain, with two Portuguese skilled in navigation, took charge of the helm and steered the *Geliā*, each of these taking it in turn, assisted by two or three of his companions. These men, thanks to God's mercy, proved a second time our salvation. One of the greatest boons we enjoyed during this voyage was a flask of brandy which the Captain carried and four boxes of quince pulp, or marmalade<sup>26</sup> from Persia, which I had been given in Goa to take on the voyage. For every [273/2] morning and evening a small portion of this was given to each man, together with a dram of brandy, that served to bring some relief to our relaxed stomachs. So we spent six whole days, sailing at random, for whenever the wind shifted we were obliged to wear the vessel so as to get it directly upon our stern, for it was only by doing this that the *Geliā* could stand up before the tempest and not catch the crested seas on her beam. This, however, drove us many leagues out of our way. So we sped on, ever in fear and apprehension lest the continuous buffets of the waves should open the *Geliā*'s seams and we should go to the bottom and find a watery grave in those depths. Ever haunted by this fear and ever seeing these raging elements round us, with but little hope of life, some of our company prayed for their last hour, to end all these hardships and trials ; for, however desirable life

<sup>25</sup> See Chap. XII, n. 11.

<sup>26</sup> We here get "marmalade" used in its original sense. The word comes from the Greek *μελίμηλον*, "honey apple", a name applied to the quince, becoming *marmelada* in Portuguese, but now restricted to orange marmalade, unless the word apricot, or lemon, &c., is prefixed.

may be, if it is to be spent in endless toil and pain, one comes to wish for its end.

After six days of the misery I have described, God our Lord was pleased in His infinite mercy that the storm should abate upon the seventh, and the wind die down. We then resumed our proper course, and next day encountered a large number of big birds, Boobies ;<sup>27</sup> boobies also by nature, for at night they came aboard us [274/1] and we caught quantities with our hands. Then, as the rough seas died down somewhat and gave us a chance of lighting a fire, necessity, the mother of invention, discovered a substitute for the lost caboose and enabled us to contrive a place where we could kindle a fire. So, at less cost than in the case of the quails in the desert of Sinai,<sup>28</sup> God sent us, in this watery wilderness, an abundant supply of meat. This restored our weakened strength, and we came within sight of the islands of the Calameanes, which we had so longed to see. But on sighting them, in view of our abundant supply of flesh, wine, and other necessities we forgot our recent hardships, and resolved not to waste time by going ashore, but to take every advantage of the favourable breeze then blowing, and sail on another thirty leagues. We should thus pass between the islands of Mindoro and Lubao,<sup>29</sup> and enter the port at the first of them, where there was a Spanish garrison and we could make certain of the weather before us more easily. On deciding to act thus we put to sea and sailed all night with a strong breeze, finding ourselves in the morning at the channel between the islands.<sup>30</sup> Since the favourable wind still held,

<sup>27</sup> The name comes from the Spanish *Bobo*, a fool, derived from the Latin *balbus*, according to the *Spanish Dict. Acad.* But the Oxford Dictionary does not give this derivation. The Boobies are allied to the *Gannets*. There are several species. Their stupidity is proverbial. Dampier (*New Voyage*, i. 49) mentions it as an unusual fact that on the *Isle of Aves* the Boobies nest in trees, and not as elsewhere, on the earth.

<sup>28</sup> *Exodus* xvi. 13.

<sup>29</sup> These are islands of the Philippine group. Mindoro lies south of Luzon, and Lubao or Lubang (*Imbang*) north-west of Mindoro. Mindoro has two small safe harbours called Marguirin on the south-west and Puerto Galera on the north-east. At this port, which they proposed to make, a garrison was kept with ships (*galera*) to control the Sulu pirates.

<sup>30</sup> It is not clear what channel he means. Probably it is that between the north-west corner of Mindoro and the south-east end of Lubang.

and forgetting that it was the third day of the moon,<sup>31</sup> some of our soldiers, who had previously voyaged in these parts, and so posed as [274/2] Palinuruses<sup>32</sup> on a small scale, asserted that under this breeze we could reach Cavite,<sup>33</sup> the port in Manila, in twenty-four hours, and so finish off the voyage at once. They added, moreover, that even if the wind did change we should reach the Isle of Maribeles<sup>33</sup> at half-way, where also there was a Spanish garrison. So at length, when the Pilot reappeared, more dead than alive, as almost all, as I have said, were becoming desirous of death (influenced by mere whim and not solid reason), they placed themselves and their companions in danger of ending their lives and the voyage at the same time. So, although we could have made certain of the moon's phase at Mindoro, they insisted on continuing the voyage until nightfall without sighting Maribeles, or having any idea where they were. We were soon convinced that they were rash, headstrong men rather than skilled Pilots. With night the wind began to strengthen, moreover, and the weather changed into a north-easterly, accompanied by thunder and lightning, while the sea began to rise. So we approached the coast in hopes of entering a bay before the waves increased yet more. We found one and endeavoured to sound the depth, letting out a cable nine fathoms long, but I believe that at nine hundred fathoms we should have found no bottom at this spot. We were all in consternation at this, seeing that we had no idea as to what point we had reached, while the storm was rising [275/1] and we had no human remedy left us.

<sup>31</sup> There was no new moon till Sept. 9, 1637. Mundy seems to have met this same rough weather (iii. 237).

<sup>32</sup> Palinurus was helmsman to Aeneas (*Aeneid*, iii. 202).

<sup>33</sup> Cavite is a port lying just south of Manila, of which it forms the naval arsenal. Maribeles, or Maraviles, was at one time an important harbour lying to the west across Manila Bay; it is now quite decayed. It was originally called Camaya, and is said to have received its present name from a romantic incident. A Franciscan nun, Maria Velez, early in the seventeenth century fled from the Convent of Santa Clara in Manila with a Franciscan monk, to Camaya. The city corregidor (*Alderman*) pursued them and they were brought back. Since then Camaya has been called after the girl. A rocky island near is called the "Corregidor", and two projecting rocks, the "Fraile" (monk) and "Monja" (nun).

In this confusion the Master of the ship, an experienced sailor, weighted the small anchors and threw out one at the bow and the other at the stern, but they merely hung; so he ordered the oarsmen to take to the oars and swing the vessel prow to the wind, using all the strength they could against the waves and wind. In spite of all these precautions we so certainly believed ourselves lost that all confessed and prayed to God for mercy, with many tears. And our merciful Lord allowed day to break upon us, when we hauled in the swinging anchors and set our foresail, for it was dignified by this name, though but a stick disguised under a small sheet; with this we sailed out of this inhospitable bay and hugged the coast in perplexity, since we did not know if it was the coast of Cabite, or some other island of the many lying in that region. Still harassed by our doubts we proceeded to double a promontory, which there juts out far into the sea, and when we were at the height of our uncertainty, depressed and down-hearted, we suddenly heard bells ringing. This sound dissipated all our doubts, and now, joyful and contented we poured out thanks to our Lord. On doubling the point we found ourselves in the very port we were so anxious to make, Cabite, on Saturday, September the fifth of the current year "37".

[275/2] Before we entered the harbour the Captain had the Geliā dressed in her pennants and flags and loaded all the sulphureous weapons on board. As we drew near a frigate reconnoitred us, with four Spanish soldiers on board. In accordance with the orders of the Commander of the fort, they asked whence we came. On learning that we came from Malaca, these Spaniards were so taken aback that they crossed themselves continually, exclaiming that the Portuguese have no real belief in God since we had dared to attempt such a voyage at that season in a mere cockle-shell. Those Castillian gentlemen were told in reply that if the Portuguese made voyages of this kind it was not for lack of trust in God, but owing to their great reliance on His divine mercy. We then entered the port, firing a salvo of all our guns.

As soon as we arrived one of the Spaniards leapt ashore

and went off to take the news to the Commandant of the fort. The Commandant was a valiant soldier named Nicolas Gonzales,<sup>34</sup> who, in his prime, had fought with the Portuguese armies in the East Indies. As soon as this courteous officer learnt who we were he sent back word by the messenger who took him the news, that we were most heartily welcome [276/1] and that his only reason for not coming to meet us was his being in bed, where he begged us to come and see him.

To this our Captain replied that he would certainly comply with this request, but that His Honour must not take it amiss if he had to await us for a time, as we had first of all to carry out a vow we had made to God, that if we landed safely on Christian soil, be it where it might, we would proceed barefooted in procession, bearing candles in our hands, to the nearest Church.

We completed our vow as well as our feeble nature allowed, thanking the Lord our God from the bottom of our hearts for His great mercy. I most particularly did so, considering the wonderful way in which I had reached Manila when I least believed it possible.

We then went to the Commandant's house. He received us with all customary courtesy and then questioned Captain Brandan closely on the voyage and the orders he had received. He then without delay sent word to the Governor, at that time Don Sebastian Urtado de Corcuera y Mendoza,<sup>35</sup> a knight of Alcantara. After he had done this he had the soldiers and others billeted and the Geliā placed in safe moorings. The Portuguese Captain did not wish to accept the Commandant of the fort's hospitality, so we proceeded to the monastery of my Order there, of bare-footed Augustinians,

<sup>34</sup> We know nothing about him.

<sup>35</sup> Originally Governor of Panama, he became Governor of the Philippines in 1635, leaving in 1644. He quarrelled with the Archbishop, but gained the day. Later on he was punished with five years' imprisonment, but on his release was made Governor of the Canary Islands. In the *Factory Records* we hear of the *Sea Horse* visiting Manila. She reached there on July 22 [O.S.], 1644, and found Urtado was just making over charge to Don Diego Faxardo, who arrived on Aug. 12 [O.S.] (*Factory Records*, 1642-5, p. 220).