South China in the Sixteenth Century (1550–1575)

C. R. Boxer

THE HAKLUYT SOCIETY

South China in the Sixteenth Century (1550–1575)

Being the narratives of Galeote Pereira, Fr. Gaspar da Cruz, O.P. , Fr. Martin de Rada, O.E.S.A., (1550–1575)

Edited by
C.R. BOXER

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The title-page of the first European book on China
(The *Tractado* of Gaspar da Cruz, Evora, 1569)

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Being the narratives of
GALEOTE PEREIRA
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FR. MARTÍN DE RADA, O.E.S.A.
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Edited by
C. R. BOXER

CAMÕES PROFESSOR OF PORTUGUESE, UNIVERSITY OF LONDON,
KING'S COLLEGE

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PREFACE

THIS volume contains three narratives describing South China as it appeared to Portuguese and Spanish visitors to that country in the years 1550–1575. The narratives and their writers are discussed in the introduction, this preface being concerned only with the editing of the volume.

The translation of the narrative of Galeote Pereira is based on Richard Willis' translation in the *History of Trauayle in the West and East Indies and other countreys lying eyther way towards the fruitfull and ryche Moluccas* (London, 1577), leaves 237–251 [misprinted 253], which, in its turn, was taken from the Italian version printed in the *Nuovi Avisi delle Indie di Portogallo . . . Quarta Parte* (Venice, 1565), pp. 63–87. I have carefully compared Willis' version with the Portuguese manuscript copies of Pereira's original report which are preserved in the Archives at Lisbon and Rome, and made such additions and alterations to Willis' text as proved to be necessary.

Similarly, the translation of the *Tractado* of Gaspar da Cruz is based on Samuel Purchas' pioneer English translation, 'A Treatise of China and the adjoining regions, written by Gaspar da Cruz a Dominican Friar, and dedicated to Sebastian, King of Portugal: here abbreviated,' printed in *Purchas his Pilgrimes* (London, 1625), III, pp. 166–198. I have restored Purchas' omissions (amounting to about one-third of the original text) and corrected and amplified his translation where a careful comparison with the original Portuguese edition of 1569–70 showed this to be justified. Since this present edition is not a textual reprint of Willis' and Purchas' pioneer efforts, I have not adhered slavishly to their spelling and punctuation. I have modernised the spelling of other than proper names, and corrected the punctuation where this was necessary for the sense; but apart from this, I have not altered their wording or their idiom except where they had mistaken the meaning of their often obscurely worded Portuguese originals.

There was no contemporaneous English translation of Fr. Martín de Rada's 'Relación' of 1575, on which I could base my

own version and thus give the latter the authentic flavour of the original. I have accordingly made my own translation from a comparison of three sixteenth-century Spanish versions, only one of which has been hitherto available in print—and that in the files of an obscure Spanish religious periodical (*Revista Agustiniana*, Vols. VIII and IX, Valladolid, 1884–1885). I have tried to pay due regard not only to the sense but to the idiom of the sixteenth-century Spanish texts; but obviously this translation does not have the Elizabethan or Jacobean flavour of the other two.

In preparing the footnotes, I have done my best to confine them to such points as are necessary to elucidate the text, in accordance with the Society's present practice. Most of the bibliographical references given in the introduction and notes are abbreviated: the full titles of the works so cited will be found in the Bibliography.

The transcription and transliteration of Chinese names presents a problem which cannot, in the present circumstances, be solved to the entire satisfaction of all concerned. No two Sinologues hold identical views on this matter, and no two authors have followed identical methods of using even the more generally accepted systems outside France where the use of the Vissière system is *de rigueur*. After much cogitation, I have decided to use a slightly modified form of the Wade-Giles system, in the belief that it is likely to be the one most familiar to my readers, and because it is the one which is used in most of the standard works on China which are quoted in the footnotes. I admit that one Sinologue, in discussing the various European systems of transcribing Chinese, wrote that 'it is not easy amidst these fantastic systems to pick out the least objectionable; but there can be no possible doubt as to which is absolutely the worst; and the palm here must be given to that introduced into the British service on the authority of the late Sir Thomas Wade, and to which, owing to its having been adopted by the Imperial Maritime Customs, wide prominence has been given by modern writers on China'.[1] I further admit that H. A. Giles, whose use of this system in his great *Dictionary* (1892) gave it a quasi-official sanction, described it as 'anything but scientifically exact. In some respects it is cumbersome; in others inconsistent'. Nor am I forgetful that the Wade-Giles system was

[1] *Journal of the North China branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, XXXIX, 163–4

designed for the Pekingese or North Mandarin language, whereas this book deals with South China. But the Canton, Amoy, and Foochow languages (or 'dialects' as they are often if incorrectly called) are as far removed from each other as they are from Pekingese. On balance, therefore, it is probably less confusing for the reader to use one admittedly imperfect system throughout the book, than three or four widely-differing systems,—particularly as almost all English works dealing with China use the Wade-Giles system or close approximations to it.

Departures from the Wade-Giles system have been kept to a minimum, but the following principal modifications should be noted. In accordance with the usual practice in works intended for a public which does not know Chinese, all tonal marks and superior tone numbers have been omitted. Aspirates and diacritical marks have been retained, except in words which have become household usage without them. Similarly, common geographical names such as Peking, Canton, and Foochow, which have become anglicised in the same way as have Lisbon, Rome, and Copenhagen, are retained in their familiar forms. Capital letters and hyphens have also been employed (or dispensed with) at times more in accordance with the dictates of common sense than with strict adherence to the unmodified Wade-Giles system.

The sound of a Chinese word can, as a rule, only be rendered very approximately in the letters of our alphabet, and the correct tone and pronunciation can only be learnt from a Chinese. In the Wade-Giles orthography, broadly speaking, the consonants are sounded as in English and the vowels as in Italian. The chief exception is the letter *j*, which represents something between the French *j* and an *r*. The initial *hs* is a compromise between *h* and *sh*, so that the word *hsi*, for instance, is neither quite *he* nor *she; e* is pronounced more or less as in 'lens'; *ê* the vowel-sound in 'lurk'; *ou* as in 'soul'; *ih* like the *i* in 'shirt'; and *ü* in the same way as the French *u*. The aspirate is an expulsion of breath between the consonant and the vowel. Further details will be found in H. A. Giles' monumental *Dictionary*, in E. T. C. Werner's prefatory note to his *Dictionary of Chinese Mythology* (Shanghai, 1932), pp. xv–xvii, and in the School of Oriental Studies' *Handbook of Oriental History*, pp. 157–165. Chinese emperors are designated, conveniently if incorrectly, by their *nien-hao* or year-period, thus

the Emperor Yung-lo, instead of 'the Yung-lo emperor'. The translation of Chinese official titles presents a more difficult problem, since in most cases there is no exact (or even approximate) European equivalent. Generally speaking, I have retained the explanations given by my original authorities, save where these are manifestly misleading. The reproduction of all Chinese names which occur in this book, in a special section at the end (by Mr. Ch'ên Chih-jang) greatly facilitates their identification.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

My own knowledge of Chinese being limited to a few characters, I have drawn freely on the knowledge of this language possessed by others. I am, however, solely responsible for the identifications made from Carstairs Douglas, *Dictionary of the Amoy vernacular*, which I had to use on my own.

Mr. Ch'ên Chih-jang and Mr. Lo Hsien-hau kindly translated many relevant passages from the Chinese works which are listed in the bibliography. Professor K. Enoki of Tokyo University, and Mr. O. B. van der Sprenkel of the School of Oriental Studies (London University) gave me some useful hints and indications, and kindly checked a number of references. Miss J. M. Stead, of the same institution, suggested identifications of some Cambodian Buddhist terms which I could not find in the works of Aymonier and Leclère. Padre António da Silva Rego of the Escola Superior Colonial at Lisbon, and the Rev. F. E. Croydon of King's College, London University, helped me to find some Biblical references. D. Virginia Rau, of the University of Lisbon, secured for me accurate transcripts of the relevant documents in the Portuguese archives. Fr. G. Schurhammer, S.J., and Fr. M. Batllori, S.J., were equally obliging in furnishing me with copies and photostats of relevant material in the Jesuit archives at Rome. I am indebted to Mr. Stephen Rickert for assistance in procuring photostats and microfilms of documents in the Spanish archives, and to Snra. Mercedes Mendoza for typing others. Mr. James Cummins has kindly checked and re-checked my translation of Fr. Martín de Rada. Mr. R. A. Skelton, Hon. Secretary of the Society, has been most helpful in his capacity as editor. Mr. G. S. Holland of the Royal Geographical Society kindly drew the sketch-maps with his customary skill. To none, however, am I under a greater obligation than to Mr. J. V. Mills, who has never wearied in searching for relevant material in Chinese books and maps.

Mistakes, no doubt, will be found in this book. As Mr. Mills writes, 'I distrust all translations: I have just come across one by an ex-Professor of Chinese at King's College, London: he has trans-

lated "[written by] Tëĕ-Tseen-yun" instead of "[written in] the same rhyme as before": Hirth and Rockhill translated "Ta Shih" as "a great feast" instead of "the Arabs".' Where such Sinologues have faltered, it is certainly not in me to command complete success. I trust, however, that such errors have been reduced to a minimum by the kindness and assiduity of the friends mentioned above, and the cross-checking which has been applied wherever practicable.

The majority of the illustrations are taken from books in my own library; but special acknowledgement is due to Professor K. Enoki for securing permission to reproduce the very rare map of Canton in 1558 (Pl. 3) from the original in the Research Institute of Humanistic Science, Kyoto University, Japan, and to the Council of the Royal Asiatic Society for the loan of the blocks for Plates 4, 8 and 10.

1 *January*, 1953 C. R. B.

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INTRODUCTION

ONE of the outstanding 'best-sellers' of the sixteenth century was Juan González de Mendoza's *Historia de las cosas más notables, ritos y costumbres del gran Reyno de la China*, first printed at Rome in 1585. By the end of the century, thirty editions of this book had been published in the principal European languages.[1] Translations of Mendoza's *Historia* continued to appear down to 1656, although its place as the standard work on China was taken first by Nicholas Trigault's *De Christiana Expeditione apud Sinas* (Augsburg, 1615),[2] and later by Martino Martini's *De Bello Tartarico* (Antwerp, 1654),[3] both of which enjoyed a comparable popularity. The reading public in those days was small, and it is probably no exaggeration to say that Mendoza's book had been read by the majority of well-educated Europeans at the beginning of the seventeenth century. Its influence was naturally enormous, and it is not surprising to find that men like Francis Bacon and Sir Walter Raleigh derived their notions of China and the Chinese primarily, if not exclusively, from this work. Even travellers who, like Jan Huighen van Linschoten, had themselves been in Asia, relied mainly on Mendoza's *Historia* for their accounts of China, although Mendoza himself had gone no further than Mexico. As G. F. Hudson has observed, 'Mendoza's book reaches the very essentials of the life of Old China, and its publication may be taken to mark the date from which an adequate knowledge of China and its institutions was available for the learned world of Europe.'[4]

The English translation of Mendoza's book, which appeared in

[1] 'Juan Gonzalez de Mendoza, Historia de las cosas mas notables, ritos y costumbres del gran Reyno de la China and El viaje que hizo Antonio de Espejo', by H. R. Wagner, reprinted from *The Spanish Southwest* (Berkeley, 1924), is the best bibliographical survey in English. See also R. Streit, *Bibliotheca Missionum*, IV, nr. 1972, pp. 531–533.

[2] Eleven editions in the decade between 1615 and 1625. Streit, *Bibliotheca Missionum*, V, 716–717.

[3] Twenty-one editions in twenty years, 1654–1674. Streit, *Bibliotheca Missionum*, V, 796–797.

[4] G. F. Hudson, *Europe and China* (London, 1931), p. 242.

the year of the Armada,[1] was reprinted by the Hakluyt Society in two volumes edited by Sir G. T. Staunton and R. H. Major a century ago.[2] It has long been out of print and is one of the most difficult to find (and costly to buy) of the volumes in the first series, although the editing left a great deal to be desired. No effort was made to disentangle Mendoza's sources from his own interpolations and observations, and little trouble was taken over the identification of Chinese names and terms, many of which were left unexplained. This was probably because Staunton was then an old and tired man (he died in 1859 at the age of seventy-eight), and Major did not claim to be a Sinologue.[3]

Since Mendoza himself was never in China, the principal value of his work lies in the eyewitness accounts which he used. The two most important of these were the *Tractado em que se cõtam muito por estẽso as cousas da China*, by the Portuguese Dominican friar, Gaspar da Cruz, printed at Evora in 1569–1570, and the 'Relación de las cosas de China que propriamente se llama Taybin' written by the Augustinian friar, Martín de Rada, after his visit to Fukien in 1575. Rada's 'Relación' was all his own work, but Cruz's *Tractado* was partly based on the narrative of Galeote Pereira who had been a prisoner in South China from 1549 to 1552. It is these three basic sources which form the staple of this book, but, before considering them separately, it will be as well to survey the course of Portuguese and Spanish contacts with China down to 1575. This need be done only in broadest outline, since the subject has been treated by previous writers in some detail, although the published material admittedly leaves several gaps and doubtful episodes in the story.[4]

[1] *The Historie of the great and mightie kingdome of China, and the situation thereof: Together with the great riches, huge citties, politike governement, and rare inventions in the same. Translated out of Spanish by R. Parke* (London, 1588).

[2] *The History of the great and mighty kingdom of China and the situation thereof. Compiled by the Padre Juan Gonzalez de Mendoza. And now reprinted from the early translation of R. Parke.* Edited by Sir G. T. Staunton, Bart., with an introduction by R. H. Major, 2 vols., Hakluyt Society, First Series, Vol. XIV (1853), and Vol. XV (1854).

[3] A facsimile (and unauthorised) reprint of the 1853–1854 Hakluyt Society edition was published by Henri Vetch of Peking shortly before World War II, but it is now as rare as the 1853–1854 edition.

[4] D. Ferguson, *Letters from Portuguese captives in Canton, written in 1534 and 1536* [alias 1524 for both]. *With an introduction on Portuguese intercourse with China in the first half of the sixteenth century* (Bombay, 1902); E. A. Voretzsch,

1. The Coming of the Franks

(*a*) *The Portuguese*

At the time (1498) when the Portuguese opened the maritime route round the Cape of Good Hope to India, the emperors of the Ming dynasty, reversing the expansionist policy of the third emperor, Yung-lo (1403–1424), which had carried Chinese fleets as far as the Persian Gulf and the Somali coast, officially forbade their subjects from emigrating or trading overseas, on pain of death.[1] This ban was not very strictly observed, and junks from Fukien and Kuangtung visited Malayan, Indochinese and Indonesian harbours with fair regularity, but they seldom went further west than Malacca. The Portuguese established friendly contacts with Chinese junk-masters on their first arrival at and subsequent occupation of Malacca, whose dispossessed Muslim sultan vainly appealed to his nominal suzerain at Peking for help against the *Feringhi* (*Fo-lang-chi*) or Frankish intruders.[2] The first contacts of the Portuguese with China itself were made by individual merchant-adventurers who sailed from Malacca for the South China coast in native junks, and they found that there was

'Documento acêrca da primeira embaixada Portuguesa á China', in *Boletim da Sociedade Luso-Japonesa*, I (Tokyo, 1929), pp. 50–69; J. Yano, 'Comércio dos Portugueses em Tamau e as circunstâncias em que frequentaram Lampacau', in *Ibidem*, pp. 70–77; T. T. Chang, *Sino-Portuguese Trade from 1514 to 1644. A synthesis of Portuguese and Chinese sources* (Leiden, 1934), pp. 32–99, and P. Pelliot's lengthy review of this work in *T'oung Pao*, Second Series, XXXI, 58–94; H. Bernard-Maître, S. J., *Aux Portes de la Chine. Les missionaires du seizième siècle, 1514–1583* (Tientsin, 1933); *Ibid., Les Iles Philippines du grand archipel de la Chine. Un essai de conquête spirituelle de l'Extrême-Orient, 1571–1641* (Tientsin, 1936), pp. 1–51; A. Kammerer, *La Découverte de la Chine par les Portugais au XVI^eme^ siècle et la cartographie des portulans* (Leiden, 1944); A. Cortesão, *The Suma Oriental of Tomé Pires and the Book of Francisco Rodrigues*, Vol. I, (Hakluyt Society, Ser. II, No LXXXIX, 1944), pp. xxvii–lxiii; J. M. Braga, *The Western Pioneers and their discovery of Macao*, (Macau, 1949); W. H. Chang's monograph (in Chinese), *A commentary on the four chapters on Portugal, Spain, Holland and Italy in the History of the Ming Dynasty*, in the *Yenching Journal of Chinese Studies*, Monograph Series No. 7 (Peking, 1934), pp. 5–82, cited hereafter as W. H. Chang, *Commentary*.

[1] This subject is discussed by J. J. L. Duyvendak, *China's discovery of Africa* (London, 1949), and G. B. Sansom, *The Western World and Japan* (London, 1950), pp. 42–53, 147–151.

[2] For the connection between 'Franks', *Feringhi*, *Fărangī*, and *Fo-lang-chi* see P. Pelliot, 'Le Hōjă et le sayyid Husain de l'histoire des Ming', in *T'oung Pao*, Second Series, XXXVIII, 86–87, 204–206.

'as great profit in taking spices to China as in taking them to Portugal'.[1]

In 1517, a Portuguese squadron commanded by Fernão Peres de Andrade, carrying Tomé Pires as ambassador, anchored in the Pearl River off Canton. After some hesitation on the part of the Chinese, Tomé Pires was eventually allowed to proceed to Peking, and Fernão Peres de Andrade established peaceful and profitable relations with the local officials at Canton. A detachment of this

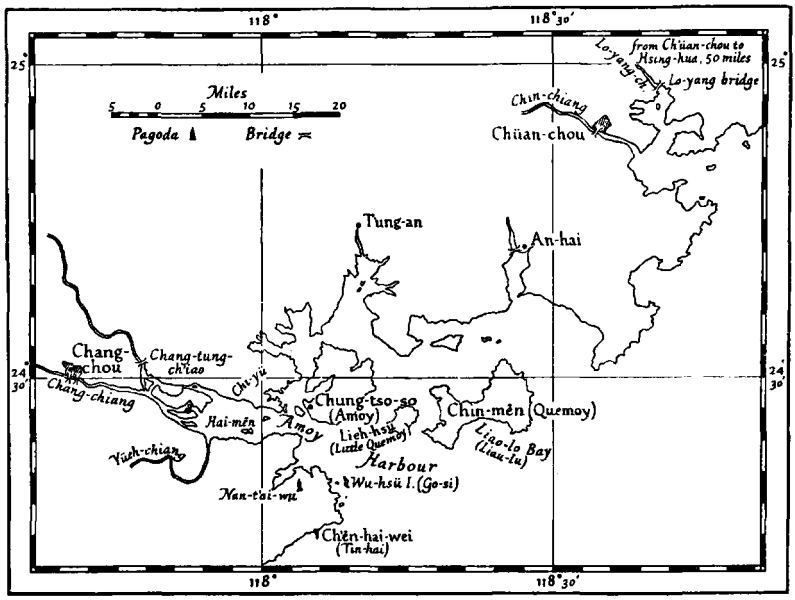

Fig. 2. The Region of the Bay of Amoy

squadron, under Jorge Mascarenhas, was sent to discover the Liu-chiu (Ryūkyū) islands, but got no further than Fukien, where, however, they drove an exceedingly profitable trade at the port of 'Chincheo', (probably the Bay of Amoy),[2] before rejoining Fernão Peres at Canton. All seemed 'set-fair' for the smooth development of Sino-Portuguese commercial intercourse when

[1] Andrea Corsali to Duke Giuliano de Medici, Malacca, 6 January 1515, quoted in D. Ferguson, *Portuguese captives in Canton*, pp. 4–5. Duarte Barbosa, writing about the same time, states that pepper could be sent from Malacca to China at a profit of 300%; *Book of Duarte Barbosa* (ed. Longworth Dames, Hakluyt Society), Vol. II, p. 215. Cf. also Diogo do Couto, *Decada IV*, Livro 3, cap. 1.

[2] Cf. Appendix I 'Chincheo'.

Fernão Peres left Canton for Malacca, 'very prosperous in honour and wealth, things rarely secured together', as his friend and chronicler, João de Barros, wrily commented. This prospect was blighted by Fernão Peres' brother, Simão de Andrade, who was the commander of the next royal squadron which visited Chinese waters. He behaved in so outrageous and high-handed a way[1] that credence was now given to the complaints of the envoys of the fugitive Sultan of Malacca. The position was further aggravated by the death of the Ming emperor, Chêng-tê, who had apparently agreed to receive Tomé Pires, and by the inability of the Portuguese to realise that Chinese etiquette demanded the temporary cessation of foreign trade during the period of Imperial mourning. Tomé Pires and his suite were sent back to Canton, where they were arrested, tortured and imprisoned. Some of them were executed; others, including the ambassador himself, died of the hardships to which they were subjected, but two of the survivors succeeded in smuggling out letters which recorded their plight and give us, incidentally, a wonderful 'worm's-eye' view of Ming China.[2] The Portuguese ships which attempted to renew the trade in 1521–1522 were forcibly expelled from the Kuangtung coast, and an imperial decree was promulgated, banning all dealings with the 'barbarian devils' or *fan-kuei*, as well as with other foreigners.

The China trade was too valuable for the Portuguese to give up this new and promising market without a struggle. The Fo-lang-chi accordingly continued to visit the China coast for the next

[1] Cf. the Chinese records quoted by S. F. Balfour, 'Hong Kong before the British' in *T'ien Hsia Monthly*, XI, 40.

[2] The letters of Christovão Vieira and Vasco Calvo, discussed at length in the works of Ferguson, Voretzsch, and Cortesão quoted on pp. xviii–xix. Cortesão has shown that both letters must have been written towards the end of the year 1524, and not in 1534–1536, as erroneously ascribed by some early copyist, who thereby misled Ferguson and Voretzsch. I cannot, however, follow Cortesão in his surmise that Tomé Pires did not die in May 1524 (as stated by the writer of the letters and accepted by João de Barros), but lived in exile for years in the interior, where his daughter subsequently met Fernão Mendes Pinto. To my mind, the arguments of Ferguson (*op. cit.*) and of Schurhammer (*Fernão Mendes Pinto und seine 'Peregrinacam'*, Leipzig, 1927, and in *Anais da Academia Portuguesa da História*, II series, Vol. I) against the authenticity of Fernão Mendes Pinto's travels in China and Tartary, are far stronger than the elaborate and unconvincing defence of his veracity advanced by Cortesão in his edition of the *Suma Oriental*, I, xlix–xliii, and by the Visconde de Lagoa in his *A Peregrinação de Fernão Mendes Pinto. Tentativa de reconstituição geografica* (Lisbon, 1947).

thirty years, sometimes trading with the connivance of the local officials and sometimes in despite of them. As the imperial ban on their trade was originally enforced fairly strictly in Kuangtung, the Portuguese turned their attention to the more northerly maritime provinces of Fukien and Chekiang, where they wintered in

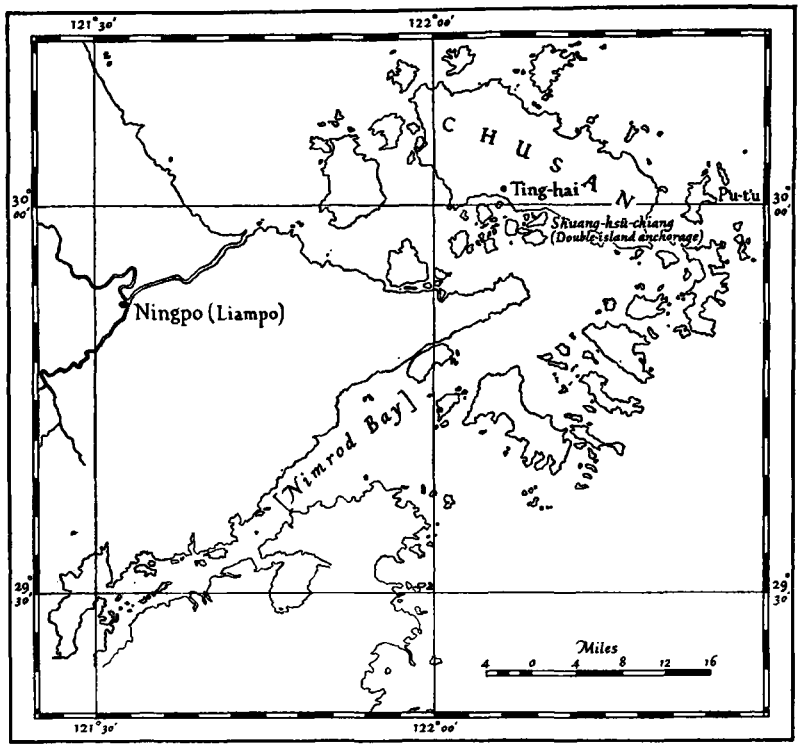

Fig. 3. Ningpo and Double-island anchorage

various sheltered but obscure islands and anchorages. The most flourishing of these temporary settlements were the Shuang-hsü-chiang (Double-island anchorage) near Ningpo, and Wu-hsü island[1] and Yüeh-chiang (Moon anchorage)[2] on the southern

[1] According to the *Ch'ou-hai-t'u-pien* of 1562 (ch. 4, p. 10), Wu-hsü water-station was then subordinate to Ch'üan-chou prefecture. At an unascertained later date, it was transferred to that of Chang-chou. Cf. map on p. 316.

[2] The *Chang-chou-fu-chih*, as quoted in W. H. Chang, *Commentary*, p. 40, states 'Hai-têng district was originally the territory of Pa-chiu-tu in Lung-ch'i district; its old name was Yüeh-chiang'; and 'Yüeh-chiang is in sub-district 99; on the exterior it goes out to the tidal waters of the sea; on the interior it abuts on

edge of the vast Bay of Amoy. Despite Fernão Mendes Pinto's traveller's tales, there is no reason to suppose that these settlements were anything more than temporary affairs, where the Portuguese erected matsheds to house themselves and their goods on shore during the trading-season, and which were burnt or dismantled when they sailed away in their ships. This was the way in which the trade was conducted in later years at Saint John's island (Shang-ch'uan), at Lampacau (Lang-pai-kao) and, for the first couple of years, at Macao.[1] Even if the Portuguese had begun the construction of more permanent buildings at Shuang-hsü-chiang, Wu-hsü and Yüeh-chiang, they could not have progressed very far before their embryo settlements at these places were broken up by the Chinese in 1548–1549.

It is clear from Chinese records that the Portuguese smuggler-traders who frequented the China coast in 1521–1551 met with a good deal of sympathy and support from Chinese of all classes who were anxious to do business with them. As one of these records expressed it, 'the Fo-lang-chi who came, brought their local pepper, sappan-wood, ivory, thyme-oil, aloes, sandal-wood, and all kinds of incense in order to trade with our borderers. Their prices were particularly cheap. Every day they consumed supplies of drinks and eatables which they got from our people, such as quantities of rice, flour, pigs and fowls. The prices which they paid for them were double the usual amount, and therefore our borderers gladly provided them with a market.'[2] Another contemporaneous record states that 'the officials in each territory, directly the foreigners entered the anchorage, were unable to restrain the local people from trading. They felt that the Court was far away, and they once more took the foreigners' illicit presents and allowed them to moor their ships. The foreigners employed the wicked rascals in the locality and carried on their traffic without

the fresh waters; its shape is like that of the moon, hence its name'.

[1] Cf. Cruz, Ch. XXIX p. 224 (n) (4) *infra*, and Gregorio Gonçalves' eyewitness account of the origin of Macao in P. Pastells, *Catálogo de los documentos relativos las islas Filipinas existentes en el archivo de Indias de Sevilla*, I, cclii–ccliii. Cf. also the *Ao-men chih-lüeh*, II, p. 226, quoted in T. T. Chang, *Sino-Portuguese trade*, p. 91, and P. Luis Frois, S.J., letter of 15 December 1555, *apud* J. M. Braga, *Western Pioneers*, p. 83.

[2] The passage from the collected works of Lin Hsi-yüan, quoted in W. H. Chang, *Commentary*, p. 44. Cf. J. M. Braga, *Western Pioneers*, p. 68, for a slightly different version of this passage

restraint'.[1] In short, as the *Chang-chou Gazetteer* put it, 'the literati and the people privately went out to sea to bribe the foreigners and entice the pirates; prohibitions did not deter them.'[2] Local smugglers and merchants, or even petty officials, 'tipped-off' the Portuguese as to what harbours it would be safe for them to frequent, and at what times. Expatriate mariners and local fishermen acted as pilots to the Portuguese ships and junks; but, as T. T. Chang remarks, this smuggling-trade along the coast of Fukien and Chekiang could never have achieved the proportions it did, if it had not been actively encouraged by the scholar-gentry.[3]

Portuguese smugglers were not the only ones who frequented the China coast at this time. Even more serious, from the point of view of the Ming Court, were the depredations of the 'dwarf robbers' or Japanese pirates. Japan at this time was in the throes of the *Sengoku-jidai* (or 'country at war period'), with the *daimyō* or feudal barons contending among themselves for local supremacy in a bewildering series of ever-changing combinations and fluctuating fortunes. Raiding the China coast was a favourite occupation of many of the *samurai* from southwest Japan, who behaved as pirates or as traders as the occasion offered. In the words of the official history of the Ming dynasty, 'the Wa [Japanese] were shrewd by nature; they carried merchandise and weapons together, and appeared here and there along the sea-coast. If opportunity arrived, they displayed their weapons, raiding and plundering ruthlessly. Otherwise they exhibited their merchandise, saying that they were on their way to the Court with tribute. The southeastern coast was victimised by them.'[4] These bands of 'dwarf-robbers' (*Wakō* in Sinico-Japanese) were often organised and equipped by the daimyō of Kyūshū, Shikoku and the Inland Sea

[1] *Ming-shih-lu*, ch. 363, quoted in W. H. Chang, *Commentary*, p. 42–43.

[2] *Chang-chou-fu-chih*, ch. 31, p. 7, quoted in W. H. Chang, *Commentary*, p. 40. Cf. also *China Review*, XIX (1891), p. 50.

[3] T. T. Chang, *Sino-Portuguese trade*, pp. 69–70. The close association between foreign traders and local pirates persisted in the minds of the Chinese authorities for centuries. Commenting in 1880 on the Ch'ing criminal code (based with trifling exceptions on that of the Ming), a Sinologue wrote, 'It is curious to observe, too, in some places, how pirates and foreigners are classed together, as if the distinction between them was so small as not to be worth noticing' (*China Review*, VIII, 5*n*.).

[4] *Ming-shih*, ch. 322 of the 1739 edition, quoted in R. Tsunoda & L. C. Goodrich, *Japan in the Chinese Dynastic Histories, Later Han through Ming Dynasties* (South Pasadena, 1951) p. 117.

region, whose origin was not usually very distinguished. According to a noted Japanese historian, 'their manners were rude, their lives loose, their thoughts low, their tempers hot, and their strength great, while they all suspected and were jealous of one another.'[1]

To guard against the ravages of the Japanese pirates, which had begun in the Mongol (Yüan) dynasty, but greatly increased in scope and ferocity during the early Ming period, the Ming created the so-called *Wei* or military guards. These Wei were regional military establishments located at strategic places along the sea coast, and also on the Northwestern frontier against the Mongols and Manchus. Each Wei originally consisted of about 5600 men, subdivided into smaller formations known as *ch'ien-hu-so* and *po-hu-so*, or garrison posts of 1120 and 112 men respectively. These figures were subsequently modified on different occasions in later years, and the garrisons were often under strength. They were recruited on a local hereditary militia basis, and came under the direct command of regional high commanderies, which in their turn came under the military board (*ping-pu*) at Peking.[2] In addition to the forces stationed ashore, there were also provincial coastguard fleets in the southern maritime provinces which were supposed to keep the coast clear of Japanese and other pirates, although at this time they seldom did so. It was the Kuangtung division of this coastguard fleet which had driven off the Portuguese ships after the closure of Canton to foreign trade in 1522, but the Chekiang and Fukien formations were not so efficient. As the *Fukien Gazetteer* put it, 'Evil people recklessly went out and traded illicitly with the Dwarfs [Japanese], the Fo-lang-chi [Portuguese] and others. At that time our coast defences in Chekiang and Fukien had for a long time been obsolete. Only one or two in every ten fighting-ships and revenue-vessels had been retained. . . . The Japanese robbed with violence, and at once realised their ambitions; there was nothing which they hesitated to do. They followed closely on each other, and started all sorts of trouble on the seas.'[3]

[1] Y. Takekoshi, *The economic aspects of the history of the civilization of Japan*, Vol. I (London, 1930), p. 292.

[2] For the organization of the *Wei*, see the *Ch'ou-hai-t'u-pien* (1562), ch. 4 and maps; *Ming-shih*, chüan 90; E. Hauer, *K'ai-kuo Fang-lüeh* (Berlin, 1926), p. 618 n. (53); F. Michael, *The origin of Manchu rule in China* (Baltimore, 1942), pp. 30–31.

[3] *Fukien t'ung- chih*, ch. 267, p. 14, quoted by W. H. Chang, *Commentary*, p. 38.

We know from Ming Chinese records that Portuguese smugglers and Japanese pirates sometimes co-operated with each other along the China coast, although there are remarkably few references to their joint activities in European works.[1] The Portuguese discovery of Japan, 1542–1543, gave them direct access to the land of the Rising Sun, whose inhabitants were, like themselves, prohibited by the Ming rulers from visiting China on pain of death. The extension of Portuguese trade to Japan led to an increase in their activities along the China coast, which coincided (whether fortuitously or otherwise is not clear) with an increase in the depredations of the Wakō.[2] The Imperial Court at Peking was finally roused to one of its spasmodic displays of energy. An honest and capable Censor named Chu Wan was appointed Viceroy and commander-in-chief of Fukien and Chekiang in 1547, and the provincial authorities were ordered to prepare a fleet to clear the coast of Japanese pirates, Portuguese smugglers and Chinese collaborators.

As the account given by Gaspar da Cruz (Chapter XXIII and XXIV *infra*) agrees substantially with such Chinese records as are available in print, save for one important point, only the briefest summary of subsequent events need be given here. The Chinese coastguard fleet mobilised in Fukien was directed in the first place against the notorious pirate settlement at Shuang-hsü-chiang (Double-island anchorage) near Ningpo, where some Chinese pirates and the Fo-lang-chi had been making themselves particularly obnoxious, as Gaspar da Cruz frankly admits. Our friar alleges that owing to contrary winds the Chinese fleet could not reach its objective, and was consequently diverted southwards against the Portuguese smugglers off the Fukien-Kuangtung coast, but the Chinese records tell a different story. According to

[1] One such reference will be found in González de Mendoza's *Historia*, Part I, Book I. Ch. XXVI (pp. 95–96 of Vol. II of the Hakluyt Society edition).

[2] The standard Chinese monograph on the ravages of the Wako is M. H. Ch'en, *The invasion of China by Japanese pirates during the Ming Dynasty*, in the *Yenching Journal of Chinese Studies*, Monograph Series nr. 6 (Peking, 1934). There is also an extensive Japanese work covering the subject by K. Akiyama, *Nisshi kōshō-shi kenkyū* (Tokyo, 1939). Cf. also R. Tsunoda-Goodrich, *Japan in the Chinese Dynastic Histories*, pp. 106–161. There is a good book in German by P. A. Tschepe, S.J., *Japans Beziehungen zu China seit den ältesten Zeiten bis zum Jahre 1600* (Jentschoufu, 1907), but although based almost entirely on Chinese sources, such as the provincial gazetteers, it does not give specific references to these in the text.

them, the Chinese commander, Lu T'ang, attacked the pirate stronghold at Shuang-hsü-chiang in June 1548, under cover of a dark night and thick weather. The assault was completely successful, but estimates of the pirate casualties range from fifty-five to a few hundred only.[1] No mention whatever is made of the presence of Portuguese among the pirates who were killed and captured, so there can hardly have been very many of them. Probably the majority were among those pirates who escaped and fled southwards to Fukien, whither they were pursued by Lu T'ang. In any event, Pinto's fantastic story of a 'blood-bath' which exterminated the settlement near 'Liampo' with the loss of thousands of lives, must be dismissed as one of his many fabrications. When the pursuing Chinese fleet finally came up with the Portuguese ships in the region of the bay of Amoy, there was some desultory skirmishing off Wu-hsü island and elsewhere, but the Portuguese were apparently able to do some trading at night by bribing the subordinate Chinese commanders. This concluded matters for the trading-season of 1548, but news was sent via Malacca to India that 'the ports of China were all up in arms against the Portuguese'.[2]

Despite this warning, some adventurous spirits, of whom Galeote Pereira was one, resolved to try their luck along the China coast in 1548–1549. The coastguard fleet was more active than ever, but (as Gaspar da Cruz explained), the coast is so studded with islands and inlets that the Portuguese adventurers were able to run the blockade in a few places near the Kuangtung-Fukien border. They could not dispose of all their cargoes, however, before they returned to Malacca. They therefore left a couple of junks with the unsold goods at anchor off Tsou-ma-ch'i,[3] a deep water

[1] Cf. *Ch'ou-hai-t'u-pien*, chüan 4, page 12, and chüan 5, page 19; ch. 8, p. 22.

[2] Letter of St. Francis Xavier, S.J., to Padre Simão Rodrigues, S.J., Cochin, 25 January, 1549, in G. Schurhammer, *Epistolae S. Francisci Xaverii* (Rome, 1945), II, 56–57; Gaspar da Cruz, *Tractado*, ch. XXIII, pp. 192–193 *infra*.

[3] 'Tsou-ma-ch'i is on the sea-coast of the 5th sub-district of Chao-an; on the inside it has Tung-ao, also called Ts'ê-ao [Pirate Bay], because the estuary is a place which is sheltered from the winds, and the pirate ships coming and going all anchor there.' *Chang-chou-fu-chih*, Ch. 22, p. 47, quoted in W. H. Chang, *Commentary*, p. 41. This place may well be identical with either the 'enseada preta' or the 'enseada de Rui Lobo' of the sixteenth-century Portuguese charts and sailing directions. Cf. A. Kammerer, *La Découverte de la Chine par les Portugais au XVI^me^ siècle et la cartographie des portulans* (Leiden, 1944), pp. 168–169, 222–223.

inlet situated about half-way between Swatow and Amoy. These two junks were surprised and captured by the Chinese coast-guard commander, Lu T'ang, in the circumstances described by Gaspar da Cruz in Chapter XXIII *infra*. The prisoners were taken via Ch'üan-chou to Foochow, after some of them had been killed out of hand. About ninety-six of the survivors, mostly Chinese apparently, were later executed by order of the Viceroy Chu Wan, and the remainder were thrown into prison at Foochow, where some of them died from the treatment to which they were subjected.

Chu Wan's vigorous enforcement of the anti-smuggling and foreign-trade laws evoked the active opposition of the local scholar-gentry. As the Viceroy stated in one of his memorials to the throne, 'It is easy to exterminate robbers from foreign lands, but it is difficult to get rid of those from our own country. It is comparatively easy to extirpate the robbers of our coast, but it is indeed difficult to eliminate those who belong to the "robe and cap class" of our own country.'[1] His enemies in the maritime provinces intrigued against him at Court, where their accusations found a ready hearing from the influential Censor, Ch'ên Chiu-tê, who was a personal enemy of Chu Wan.[2] Ch'ên Chiu-tê impeached Chu Wan for having exceeded his authority in putting to death the prisoners taken at Tsou-ma-ch'i without having obtained confirmation of their sentence from the throne. After some discussion of this matter among government boards at the capital, the Emperor dispatched the Supervising Censor, Tu Ju-chên, together with some other high officials to investigate the affair on the spot. Gaspar da Cruz comments that it was lucky for the Portuguese prisoners that the Imperial commissioners' investigations took them to Ch'üan-chou prefecture, where the Portuguese were known as relatively peaceful (if illegal) traders, and not to Chekiang province, where their high-handed behaviour in the Ningpo region had raised the countryside against them.

The result of the commission of enquiry's investigations is fully recorded by Gaspar da Cruz in Chapters XXV–XXVI *infra*, and

[1] *Ming-shih*, ch. 205, p. 2, *apud* T. T. Chang, *Sino-Portuguese Trade*, p. 83. Cf. also *Ch'ou-hai-t'u-pien*, Ch. 4; K. Akiyama, *Nisshi Kōshō-shi kenkyū*, pp. 585–602.

[2] W. H. Chang, *Commentary*, p. 41; R. Tsunoda-Goodrich, *Japan in the Chinese Dynastic Histories*, pp. 127–128.

his account tallies remarkably well with the more fragmentary references to this affair in the *Ming Shih-lu* and other Chinese records.[1] In brief, many of the charges against the Portuguese were declared to be unfounded, and most of the survivors were released from prison at Foochow and sent into what was clearly a not very onerous exile in the province of Kuangsi.[2] Here they were split up into small groups and distributed in the principal provincial cities. Four of the less lucky ones were convicted of killing Chinese soldiers when unlawfully resisting arrest at Tsou-ma-ch'i; they received either long-term or death sentences. Chu Wan and many of his subordinates were found guilty of unjustifiably executing traders, embezzling their goods, and concealing the truth from the Court. After the findings of Ch'ên Chiu-tê's commission had been presented to the Court, an imperial decree (summarized at some length by Gaspar da Cruz) was promulgated, dealing out punishment to the guilty according to the gravity of their offences. The luckless Chu Wan committed suicide in order to avoid a shameful punishment, and several of his principal naval and military subordinates were sentenced to death. Many other officials involved in this affair were banished, demoted or degraded, and a few were promoted for having protested against the summary execution of the Portuguese and other prisoners.

In view of this outcome, it is not perhaps surprising that the Portuguese survivors, despite the hardships which they had suffered during their imprisonment, lauded Chinese justice to the skies, and stated outright that accused persons in a similar position could never have had such a fair trial in Europe. Galeote Pereira went so far in this commendation of Chinese justice at the expense of European, that the Jesuit censor at Rome made large cuts in this section of his report before it was sent to the printer.[3] On turning to the Chinese records, however, one is forced to the conclusion that the Imperial Commissioner and his fellow-investigators were actuated not by motives of sympathy for the

[1] Summarized by W. H. Chang, *Commentary*, pp. 40–48, and T. T. Chang *Sino-Portuguese Trade*, pp. 81–85; Tsunoda-Goodrich, *op. cit.*, pp. 125–128.

[2] As will be seen from the account of Galeote Pereira (pp. 34ff *infra*), T. T. Chang is mistaken in identifying the city of 'Cāsi' with Hangchow in his *Sino-Portuguese Trade*, p. 84.

[3] Cf. Galeote Pereira's report on pp. 20–21 *infra*, and in *Archivum Historicum Societatis Iesu*, Vol. XXII, pp. 57–92.

plight of the Portuguese, or even by strict impartiality, but by the desire to secure at all costs incriminating evidence against the Viceroy Chu Wan.[1] This argument does not apply, of course, to the Imperial edict which was promulgated, confirming the findings of the commission of enquiry and dealing out rewards and punishment; but it is difficult to avoid the conclusion that Chu Wan was the victim of a Court intrigue and thus of a miscarriage of justice, and that the Portuguese were lucky to escape as lightly as they did. This suspicion is strengthened by the fact that after Chu Wan's suicide, Lu T'ang, K'o Ch'iao, and others who had been sentenced to death were reprieved, and their sentences commuted in whole or in part.

It is interesting to contrast the encomiums lavished by Galeote Pereira and (to a lesser extent) by Gaspar da Cruz on the impartial administration of justice by the Ming mandarinate as a whole, with the criticisms of other Portuguese who had similar experiences. Judging from the accounts of Pereira and Cruz, one would be justified in assuming that the Ming government was functioning exceptionally well at this period, and that the empire as a whole was rich and prosperous. This no doubt was so in comparison with the other Asian states which were known to the Portuguese, but it does not convey the whole truth. Calvo and Vieira, writing from their Canton prison in 1524, paint a vivid picture of the harsh rule of the provincial mandarins. Whereas our writers (and the great chronicler João de Barros in their footsteps) extol the system of appointing provincial officials who had no ties of family relationship with the districts in which they ruled, Christovão Vieira claims that this practice led to oppression and extortion. 'Hence it comes that no judge in China does equity, because he does not think of the good of the district, but only of "squeeze", because he is not a native of it, and does not know when he may be transferred to another province. Hence it comes that they form no ties and are of no service where they govern, nor have they any love for the people; they do nothing but rob, kill, beat and torture the people. The people are worse treated by these mandarins than by the devil in hell. Hence it comes that the people have no love for the king and for the mandarins, and every

[1] Cf. W. H. Chang, *Commentary*, pp. 40–48; T. T. Chang, *Sino-Portuguese Trade*, pp. 81–85; Tschepe, *Japans Beziehungen zu China*, pp. 216–224.

day they go on rising and becoming robbers; and because the people who are robbed have no vineyards nor any source of food, they too are forced to become robbers. Of these risings there are a thousand. In places where there are no rivers, many people rise; those that are between rivers where they can be caught remain quiet; but all are desirous of every change, because they are placed in the lowest depths of subjection. It is much worse than I have said.'[1]

Another feature of Chinese life which greatly impressed Galeote Pereira (echoed by Gaspar da Cruz) was the great hereditary estates of the princes of the blood, particularly the *wang-fu* or palace of the Chin-chiang princely family at Kueilin, whose exalted occupant showed great kindness to the exiled Portuguese.[2] Later historians have condemned the formation and extension of these vast imperial benefices, as one of the main causes of the internal decline of the Ming, and, for that matter, contemporary critics among the literati were not wanting. These estates enjoyed a wide range of tax-exemptions, and they occupied a great deal of valuable agricultural land whose revenues did not reach the provincial or central government but were squandered by their spendthrift (and often absentee) proprietors. Their abolition by the Manchus on the collapse of the Ming empire was a popular move which helped to reconcile the Chinese peasantry to their new masters.[3]

The fate of Chu Wan naturally gave no inducement to other high officials in the southern maritime provinces to enforce the existing laws against trading with the Portuguese, and must have encouraged the latter to renew their efforts. According to the *Ming-shih*, 'after the death of Wan, the prohibition against sea-

[1] Cf. Christovão Vieira's letter in D. Ferguson, *Portuguese captives*, pp. 71–74, 124. The wording of my translation differs slightly from that of Ferguson.

[2] Cf. pp. 41–42 *infra*.

[3] For accounts of these vast hereditary estates and their development under the Ming, see H. Maspero, *Mélanges posthumes sur les religions et l'histoire de la Chine*, III, *Etudes Historiques* (Paris, 1950), pp. 170–174, 185–189, 212; T. Shimizu, 'A study on the manors of the Ming period', in *Tōyō Gakuhō*, XVI (1927), pp. 334–350, 463–544; K. T. Wan, 'Royal and official estates in the Ming dynasty', in the *Nanking Journal*, III (1933), pp. 295–310. These last two articles are in Japanese and Chinese respectively.

trading was again relaxed, and the Fo-lang-chi subsequently sailed over the seas fearing nothing.'[1] They were, however, sufficiently impressed by the events of 1548–1549, to transfer their efforts from Chekiang and Fukien back towards their old haunts in Kuangtung province. The general prohibition on overseas trade, which had been imposed at Canton at the time of the expulsion of the Portuguese in 1522, was apparently the cause of widespread hardship and discontent in Kuangtung, which led the local high officials repeatedly to petition Peking for leave to reopen the port. This was finally granted in 1530, but it was expressly stipulated that the Fo-lang-chi should not be allowed to return with the other foreigners but should still be refused leave to trade.[2] It may be asked why foreign trade was so important to China—or at any rate to Kuangtung—that the Imperial Court was forced to reopen Canton. Friar Gaspar da Cruz noted in 1556, after the Portuguese were allowed to come to Canton along with other foreigners, that China's overseas trade 'is so little in comparison of the great traffic of the country, that it almost remaineth as nothing and unperceived'. He added that the shipping engaged in foreign trade was an infinitesimal fraction of that engaged in the coastal and inland navigation. The principal Portuguese imports at this period were ivory and pepper, and these, as the worthy Dominican noted, 'a man may well live without'.[3] But, as in contemporary Europe, spices were in great demand at the Court of Peking. In addition to spices, ivory and aromatic woods were imported by the Portuguese in exchange for Chinese silk, porcelain and musk. In other words, the trade was a luxury trade; and if small in volume it was great in value by contemporary standards.

With the development of Portuguese trade with Japan, and the opening of new silver-mines in the island-empire, a change came over the nature of Portuguese commerce with China, which now became primarily a matter of exchanging Chinese silks and gold for Japanese silver bullion. As noted above, the Portuguese were able to get a firm grip on this valuable trade owing to the international repercussions of the ravages of the Wakō. Writing from Malacca on the 1 December 1555, the Jesuit Luis Frois recorded

[1] *Ming-shih*, ch. 325, quoted in W. H. Chang, *Commentary*, p. 48.

[2] T. T. Chang, *Sino-Portuguese Trade*, pp. 63–75; J. M. Braga, *Western Pioneers*, pp. 78–84.

[3] Cf. Gaspar da Cruz, ch. IX, p. 112 *infra*.

that 'Last year we learnt from the ships that came here from China that there were very great quarrels and disputes between China and Japan. A great fleet from Camgoxima [Kagoshima] had destroyed many places in China which were situated along the sea coast, including a very populous city [T'ai-ts'ang] where the Japanese had wrought great destruction and captured some very great lords who were in it. They say that these wars are so fierce that they will not be appeased for many years. This discord between China and Japan is a great help to the Portuguese who want to go to Japan; for as the Chinese do not go thither to trade with their merchandise, the Portuguese merchants have a great advantage in negotiating their worldly business.[1]' This profitable commerce reached its apogee after the Portuguese had secured a firm base in China at Macao (1557), and another in Japan at Nagasaki (1571), but there is no need to treat this development in detail here.[2] We may conclude this survey of early Sino-Portuguese relations by outlining the circumstances which enabled the Fo-lang-chi to establish themselves at Macao.

Within a year or two of their expulsion from Fukien, we find the Portuguese frequenting the islands of Shang-ch'uan (São João or Saint John's as Europeans called it) and Lampacau or Lang-pai-kao off the coast of Kuangtung, apparently with the connivance of the local mandarins.[3] As hitherto, they merely erected matsheds ashore for the duration of the trading-season, and sailed away to Malacca or to Japan when they had concluded their business. The precarious nature of their tenure, and the rapid development of the Japan trade, rendered it increasingly urgent for the Portuguese to get a firm base on the South China coast within easy reach of Canton. This was at last secured in 1554 by the Captain-major, Leonel de Sousa, who after prolonged negotiations concluded a verbal agreement with Wang Po, the acting commander of the coastguard fleet (*Hai-tao-fu-shih*), whereby the Portuguese were

[1] Letter of Luis Frois, S.J., d. Malacca, 1 Dec. 1555, in Jordão de Freitas, *Fernão Mendes Pinto. Sua ultima viagem d China (1554–1555)*, reprinted from *Archivo Historico Portuguez*, III (Lisbon, 1905); cf. also Tsunoda-Goodrich, *Japan in the Chinese Dynastic Histories*, pp. 129–130.

[2] For details see C. R. Boxer, *The Christian Century in Japan 1549–1650* (Berkeley, 1951), pp. 91–121, 425–427, and Delmer M. Brown, *Money economy in medieval Japan* (New Haven, 1951), pp. 56–66, 72–77.

[3] Yano's article in *Boletim da Sociedade Luso-Japonesa*, I, 70–77; T. T. Chang, *Sino-Portuguese trade*, pp. 86–88; J. M. Braga, *Western Pioneers*, pp. 80–84.

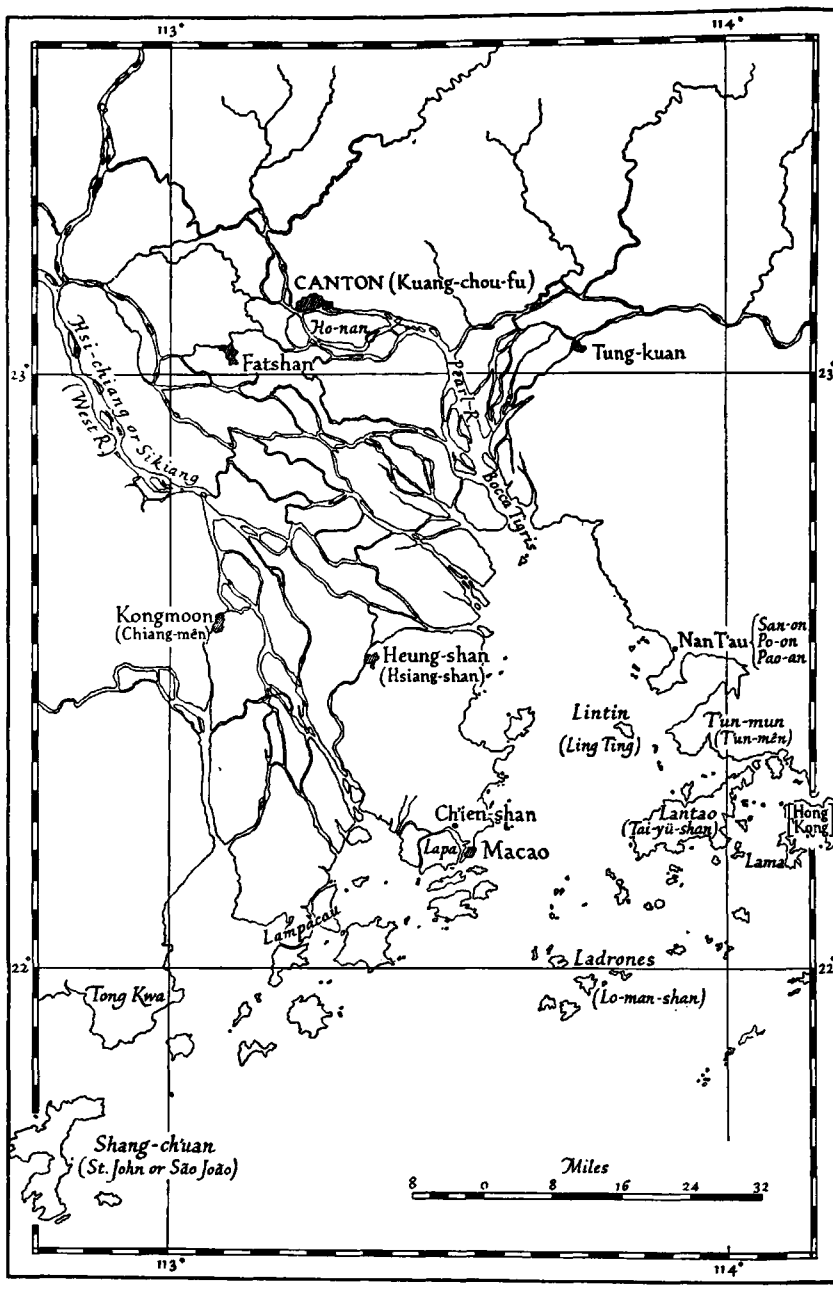

Fig. 4. The Pearl and the West River estuaries

allowed to trade in Kuangtung on the same terms as the Siamese.[1] It is clear from De Sousa's own account of this arrangement, that it was a verbal one; and it also seems that the Portuguese were not admitted as Fo-lang-chi, but as Siamese, or as foreigners belonging to some other of China's tributary states. However this may be, the agreement suited both parties, and consequently had a much longer lease of life than one would expect from an oral arrangement made after much junketing on board the Portuguese ships.[2] At first the Portuguese frequented Shang-ch'uan island where St. Francis Xavier had died in December 1552, but they afterwards transferred their embryo settlement to the smoother and more sheltered waters of Lang-pai-kao, and then, in 1557 or thereabouts, to the 'Bay (or shrine) of the goddess A-ma', or Macao.[3]

Much has been written on the origins of the settlement at Macao itself, but nothing definite has been established.[4] The Portuguese certainly frequented the place prior to 1557, as we know by the letters written there by some Jesuits in 1555.[5] It has been suggested that the 'water-lily peninsula' was given to the Portuguese in return for their help in suppressing piracy in the Pearl River estuary; and if there is no definite proof of this, neither is it inherently improbable.[6] I only wish to draw attention here to one contemporary source which has been overlooked by most writers on the subject. This is an undated Spanish transcript of a document written about 1570 by Gregorio Gonçalves, 'presbitero secular', addressed to Don Juan de Borja, the Spanish ambassador in Portugal.[7]

[1] Leonel de Sousa's letter of 15 Jan. 1555, which is the only contemporary piece of evidence for the existence of this agreement, has often been published, most recently by J. M. Braga, *Western Pioneers*, pp. 84–86, 202–208.

[2] 'foram de mim muyto bem hagasalhados, e banqueteados com algũas dadivas que elles tomaram escondido', as Leonel de Sousa wrote in this letter of 15 January 1555. (Braga, *op. cit.*, p. 205.)

[3] For the origin of the name of Macao, and a list of its numerous other Chinese names, cf. J. J. L. Duyvendak in *T'oung Pao*, Second Series, XXXIX, 188–190 and J. M. Braga, *Western Pioneers*, pp. 103–105.

[4] The latest and fullest discussion is in J. M. Braga, *Western Pioneers*, pp. 102–139.

[5] *Cartas que os Padres e Irmãos da Companhia de Jesus escreverão dos Reynos de Iapão e China . . . desdo anno de 1549 ate o de 1580* (Evora, 1598), fls. 32 *verso*.

[6] This point is fully discussed in Braga, *Western Pioneers*, pp. 109–118.

[7] Archivo de Indias de Sevilla, 67–6–27. Printed by P. Pastells, *Catálogo de los documentos relativos a las islas Filipinas existentes en el archivo de Indias de Sevilla*, I, cclii–ccliii.

The writer claims that he stayed ashore in the year that Leonel de Sousa concluded his agreement with the Chinese, and built a church thatched with straw. After the departure of the Portuguese ships, he and his few Chinese converts were seized by the officials and 'scattered in different places, without one knowing the whereabouts of the other, the Chinese shouting at me that I was staying on shore to hatch some treason, and they detained us until the next year. We then came together again and I built another church and the Portuguese some houses'. He goes on to say that the Chinese, having thus got to know him, let him alone, and he was able quietly to continue his missionary work. Within twelve years the Portuguese had built 'a very large settlement on a point of the mainland, which is called Macao, with three churches and a hospital for the poor, and a house of the Santa Misericordia,[1] which nowadays forms a settlement of over five thousand Christian souls'. This is the only piece of evidence by a participant in the actual founding of Macao that we have, and unfortunately he mentions no dates. Nothing is said therein about Portuguese services in suppressing piracy, although it is very likely that they had done this locally, if only for their own benefit. In any event, it seems that the beginnings of the settlement were very similar to those previously established elsewhere along the Kuangtung and Fukien coast.

Finally, it should be added that the verbal agreement made between Leonel de Sousa and the provincial authorities at Canton was not reported to the Court of Peking, which was not aware of the establishment of the Portuguese at Macao until long afterwards. An ex-governor of the Philippines reported in 1582, that the Portuguese of Macao 'are still nowadays without any weapons or gunpowder, nor justice, having a Chinese mandarin who searches their houses to see if they have any such. And because it is a regular town with about five hundred houses and there is a Portuguese governor and a bishop therein, they pay every three years to the incoming viceroy of Canton about 100,000 ducats to avoid being expelled from the land, which sum he divides with the grandees of the household of the king of China. However, it is constantly

[1] A Charitable Brotherhood, for whose history at Macao cf. C. R. Boxer, *Fidalgos in the Far East, 1550–1770*, pp. 217–221; J. C. Soares, *Macau e a Assistência; panorama médico-social* (Lisbon, 1950).

affirmed by everyone that the king has no idea that there are any such Portuguese in his land'.[1]

(*b*) *The Spaniards*

In the period which elapsed between the discovery of Hispaniola by Columbus in 1492 and the conquest of Mexico by Cortés in 1521, the advantages reaped by the Spaniards from their American possessions did not seem so alluring as those derived by the Portuguese from their control of the Asian spice-trade. When the Spaniards finally realised that Columbus and his immediate successors had discovered neither Cathay nor the real Indies, one of their chief preoccupations was to find a way round the American barrier to the coveted spice islands of the Eastern seas. This was achieved by the voyage of Magellan in 1519–1521, and crowned by the return of Del Cano with a cargo of spices from the Moluccas, after Magellan had perished with many others in the fighting around Cebú. The spices brought to Seville in the little *Victoria* sufficed to recoup the initial cost of the whole expedition.

The Portuguese had been established in the Spice Islands since the pioneer voyage of António de Abreu and Francisco Serrão in 1512,[2] and they were not disposed to tolerate Spanish intruders in what was then regarded as the most profitable trade in the world. By the terms of the Treaty of Tordesillas in 1494, the boundary line between Spanish and Portuguese spheres of exploration and conquest had been fixed along the meridian running 370 leagues west of the Cape Verde islands. With the appearance of the Spaniards in the Moluccas, the problem arose as to where the Atlantic line of demarcation ran when continued on the other side of the globe. In fact, it followed approximately the meridian near which Tokyo in Japan and Adelaide in Australia are now situated, so that both the Moluccas and the Philippines were really on the

[1] Dr. de Sande to Conde de la Coruña, Mexico, 25 January 1582, in P. Pastells, *Catálogo*, II, lviii. Cf. A. P. Van den Wyngaert, *Sinica Franciscana*, II, 134, for confirmation of Dr. Sande's remarks. Fr. H. Bernard-Maître, S.J., in his valuable *Aux portes de la Chine*, p. 102 misunderstood the final phrase of this letter, 'el Rey no sabe que aya tal gente portuguesa en su tierra', which he mistranslates as 'le Roi de Chine lui-même ne sait pas qu'il se trouve tant de Portugais dans son royaume', thereby missing the point of Sande's remark.

[2] For this voyage and its results cf. A. Cortesão, *Suma Oriental* (Hakluyt Society ed.), I. lxxix–lxxxiv, and H. Leitão, *Os Portugueses em Solor e Timor de 1515 a 1702* (Lisbon, 1948), pp. 25–52.

Portuguese side of the line.[1] But the sixteenth-century Spanish and Portuguese cosmographers had very different ideas about where the Tordesillas line ran when continued in the Eastern hemisphere. The Portuguese confidently claimed that the Moluccas were well within their sphere, whereas the Spaniards as obstinately maintained that not merely the Moluccas but China and even Malacca fell within the Spanish sphere. Clashes were therefore inevitable, and speedily occurred when the Spaniards attempted to follow up Magellan's voyage with similar expeditions. Portuguese opposition in the Moluccas proved too strong for such exhausted Spanish forces as survived the long Pacific crossing. In 1529 the Emperor Charles V recognised the strength of the Portuguese position by renouncing his claim to the Spice Islands in return for a cash indemnity in the Treaty of Zaragoza.

Spanish interest in this part of the world now shifted to the Philippines, with which they had hitherto been only casually concerned. Magellan had originally christened this island group after San Lázaro, since they were first sighted on that saint's day. Later navigators called them the Islas del Poniente—the Islands of the West, or Islands of the Sunset. Their present name was given them in 1542 by Ruy López de Villalobos, in honour of the Infante Felipe who later became King Philip II. Villalobos was ordered to keep clear of the Portuguese-occupied Spice Islands, and to investigate the possibilities of trade, conquest and colonisation in the Philippines, where it was reported that the Chinese went 'to trade for gold and precious stones'.[2] This expedition proved to be a failure like those which had been directed to the Moluccas. Most of the survivors became prisoners of the Portuguese, and Villalobos died in the arms of Saint Francis Xavier in Amboina. The eighty-ton *Victoria's* cargo of spices in 1522 was still Spain's only tangible return for all the sacrifices she had made in this part of the world. Then the exploitation of the immensely rich silver mines of Mexico and Peru, which were discovered in the years 1545–1548, diverted Spanish attention from the Spice Islands and the Philippines for the best part of two decades. However, the Iberian *conquistadores*

[1] W. L. Schurz, *The Manila Galleon*, p. 17.

[2] W. L. Schurz, *The Manila Galleon*, p. 21. These early expeditions to the Philippines are fully documented in E. H. Blair and J. Robertson (eds.), *The Philippine islands, 1493–1803*, Vols. I–III, and P. Pastells, S.J., *Catálogo*, I–II, *passim*.

were not the kind of men to abandon an enterprise on which they had once embarked, and, in spite of so many failures, the Spaniards still had hopes of breaking the Portuguese monopoly of the spice trade. Another and this time more lasting effort was made in 1564.

The commander of the expedition which left Mexico under sealed orders for the Philippines was Miguel López de Legazpi, a Basque gentleman from Guipúzcoa, who had long been settled in New Spain. Cebú was reached in April 1565, exactly forty-four years after Magellan's death on neighbouring Mactan. Legazpi founded a settlement on Cebú, but his high hopes of finding spices in this region soon faded, although some reputed cinnamon was obtained from Mindanao. Small quantities of gold were found in possession of the natives, but not enough to suggest that the Philippines might rival the wealth of Mexico and Peru. The relatively modest trade of the islands was mostly in the hands of the Moros, whose commercial activities Legazpi described in a letter written from Cebú to King Philip on 23 July 1567.[1] 'To the north of where we are, or almost to the northwest, not far from here, are some large islands which are called Luzón and Vindoro [=Mindoro], whither the Chinese and Japanese come yearly to trade. The goods which they bring are silks, webbed stuffs, bells, porcelain, aromatics, tin, printed cotton cloths, and other trifles, and they receive in return gold and wax. The people of these two islands are Moros,[2] and when they have bought what the Chinese and Japanese bring, they trade throughout this whole island archipelago. Some of them have come here, although we have not been able to go thither, since we have too few people to detach them in so many places.'

The Chinese of Fukien had been trading intermittently with the Philippines for centuries before the arrival of the Spaniards, although historical notices of the islands before the Ming period are few and vague.[3] A work published in 1575 observes that

[1] Printed in P. Pastells, S.J., *Catálogo*, I. ccxciv.

[2] The Moros, as their name implies, were tribes who had accepted Islam, then creeping up from the south, their strongholds being in Mindanao and the Sulu archipelago.

[3] They are discussed by B. Laufer, 'The relations of the Chinese to the Philippine islands', reprinted from the *Smithsonian Miscellaneous Collections* (*Quarterly Issue*), Volume 50 (1907), pp. 248–284, and by S. Wada, 'The Philippine Islands as known to the Chinese before the Ming period', in *Memoirs of the Research Department of the Toyo Bunko*, No. 4 (Tokyo, 1929), pp. 121–166,

'Luzón produces gold, which is the reason of its wealth; the people are simple-minded, and do not like to go to law'.[1] The growth of Chinese influence on Luzón is described in Chapter 323 of the *Ming-shih* as follows. 'Tens of thousands of Fukien people came here for the purpose of trading, because the country was both near and wealthy. Some of them stayed for good and brought up their children there.'[2] As regards the Japanese, most of those who frequented Luzón seem to have been connected with the Wakō, but they were not averse from peaceful trading. Captain Juan Pacheco Maldonado, writing about 1572, noted that 'Every year merchant ships come to this island from Japan, their principal trade being the bartering of gold for silver, at the ratio of 2 marks or $2\frac{1}{2}$ marks of silver for one of gold'.[3] Their numbers and influence were not so great as those of the Chinese. The 'tens of thousands' of Fukienese who frequented Luzón according to the *Ming-shih* need not be taken too literally; Maldonado's more modest estimate of twelve or fifteen junks a year trading between Fukien ports and Manila is obviously nearer the truth.

Rumours of the wealth of the China trade at its source were not long in reaching the ears of the Spaniards. Andrés de Mirandaola, the Royal Factor in the Philippines, wrote to King Philip II from Cebú in 1569 that he had been told by the Portuguese on that island 'how they traded and trafficked along the coast of China and Japan, and how this was the commerce which supported them, for it is the greatest and most profitable trade which has been seen hitherto'.[4] The reports of the Portuguese were partly confirmed by two stray Chinese traders whom Mirandaola interrogated; but they assured him that the Emperor of China did not allow the Portuguese to settle ashore because he was nervous of potential foreign aggression. Like a true conquistador, Mirandaola concluded his letter by forecasting that the conquest of China would

[1] Quoted in B. Laufer, 'Relations', p. 257.

[2] Quoted in S. Wada, 'Philippine Islands', p. 151. I have followed Wada's translation as being more accurate than that of B. Laufer (*op cit.*, p. 50), but a comparison of these two versions with the original text shows the difficulty of translating Chinese into a Western language. Cf. also W. H. Chang, *Commentary*, p. 81.

[3] Cf. Pastells, *Catálogo*, I, ccxcviii–ccxix; Blair and Robertson, *Philippine Islands*, III, 298–9.

[4] P. Pastells, *Catálogo*, I, ccxiii–ccxix; Blair and Robertson, *Philippine Islands*, III, 33–43.

prove an easy matter for the Spaniards if the King would sanction this enterprise in due time. So tempting were the reports of the wealth of the little-known lands on the other side of the China Sea, that several stalwarts said there was no point in wasting time in attempting to conquer or convert half-savage Filipinos. They urged the abandonment of the islands, and an advance to the countries where the real riches lay, 'such as China, Lequios [Liu-chiu], Java and Japan'.[1]

In 1570 Legazpi moved his headquarters from Cebú to Panay, where supplies were easier to obtain, and whence he dispatched Martín de Goyti to make a reconnaissance in force in the island of Luzón. Goyti's subsequent report on the advantages of Cavite near Manila as a site for a future Spanish base, led Legazpi to consider another move. He wrote to the Viceroy of Mexico, pointing out that, if the King still had his eye on the Moluccas, then Cebú was better situated as a base. If, on the other hand, the King supported the advocates of an advance northwards and to the China coast, then it would be better to transfer his headquarters to Luzón.[2]

After further consideration and consultation with his officers, Legazpi finally decided that the pacification of the Philippines could best be effected by the seizure of the Moro settlement at Manila which was the principal place on Luzón. Accordingly he left Panay for Luzón on the 15 April 1571. Manila was occupied without any difficulty in the following month, the submission of the local chiefs being speedily followed by that of most of the others on the island. Legazpi was justly proud of his new conquest, and urged the King to colonise Manila as soon as possible, since the place was ideally situated for trade with 'Japan, China, Java, Borneo, the Moluccas and New Guinea, as one can go to any of those parts in a short time'.[3]

A few days before his unexpected death from a heart-attack in August 1572, Legazpi wrote to the Viceroy of Mexico summarising

[1] Fr. Diego Herrera to Philip II, Mexico, 16 January 1570, in P. Pastells, *Catálogo*, I, ccxlvii; Blair and Robertson, *Philippine Islands*, III, 72.

[2] Legazpi to the Viceroy of Mexico, Panay, 25 July 1570, in P. Pastells, *Catálogo*, I, ccxcvi.

[3] Legazpi's letter of 1572, in P. Pastells, *Catálogo*, I, ccxcviii–ccxix. For details of the occupation of Manila see Fr. Gaspar de San Agustín, O.E.S.A., *Conquistas de las Islas Philipinas* (Madrid, 1698), pp. 218–231.

the information which he had been able to gather about China since his occupation of Manila.[1] On his way to that place in April 1571, he had ransomed fifty shipwrecked Chinese from the Filipino tribesmen at Mindoro and sent them back to China, in pursuance of his policy of giving all Chinese traders good treatment. He had considered sending two friars to China in one of the returning junks, hoping that they could make 'a treaty of peace and perpetual friendship' with the Emperor, but the Chinese refused to take them. The Chinese explained that the friars would not be allowed to land without a licence, but they promised to try to obtain one from the Fukien provincial authorities.[2] They gave Legazpi a rough sketch-map of the China coast from Canton to Ningpo, 'which they drew in front of me, without a compass, or order of altitude or degrees'. The voyage to Fukien was a matter of eight or ten days only, and the distance could not be more than 150 leagues. He had dropped his idea of sending some Spaniards back with them, so as to avoid causing alarm and despondency among the provincial authorities. This decision was the easier to take, since the Chinese would come and trade freely in the Philippines of their own accord. One of the Chinese castaways rescued from the Filipinos had returned to Manila after having been in Canton, where he saw and spoke with some Portuguese from Macao. This Chinese said that, when he told the Portuguese how well the Spaniards had treated him and his compatriots, the Portuguese replied that 'he should not trust us, for we were pirates who roved around plundering and robbing, and that they would come and throw us out of here. But he, without taking any notice of what they told him, came straight back here'.[3]

On Legazpi's death, the government of the colony was assumed

[1] Legazpi to the Viceroy of Mexico, Manila, 11 August 1572, in P. Pastells. *Catálogo*, I, ccci–cccii. Legazpi died on the night of the 20 August. Cf. also Colin-Pastells, *Labor Evangelica*, I, 133.

[2] Rada, in his letter to the Viceroy of Mexico, dated Manila, 10 August 1572 states just the opposite, *i.e.* that the Chinese offered to take two friars along with them, but that Legazpi refused to allow it without authorisation from the Viceroy or the King. P. Pastells, *Catálogo*, I, ccxcv; Gaspar de San Agustín, *Conquistas*, pp. 251–253.

[3] Cf. Gaspar de San Agustín, *Conquistas*, pp. 224, 246. The earlier futile efforts of the Portuguese to expel Legazpi and his companions from the Philippines are narrated at length in the *Conquistas*, pp. 177–182, 189–193, 201–210. For the Portuguese version cf. Diogo do Couto, *Decada VIII*, Cap. 25 (ed. Lisbon, 1673).

by another Basque, Guido de Lavezares, who had first come out to the Philippines in 1543 with Villalobos. Carping critics subsequently alleged that he was an old and tired man, devoid of enterprise and ambition. They instanced his abandonment of Juan de la Isla's projected voyage of discovery along the coast of China and Tartary, and thence back to Mexico by way of North America, which had been sanctioned by Legazpi. They also claimed that there were more quarrels and dissensions among the colonists during the first nine months of Lavezares' rule than there were during the nine years when Legazpi was at the helm.[1] These accusations were unfair. Lavezares was certainly an old man of over seventy, but he was active, intelligent and ambitious. He fostered the trade with China no less carefully and tactfully than had his predecessor; and at one time he even advocated the conquest and conversion of the Ming empire. In order that King Philip II could appreciate the situation in East Asia, he sent him (in July 1574) a manuscript chart of the island of Luzón and the China coast, together with a Chinese printed geographical compendium, including relevant information about Japan and the Liu-chiu.[2] In other dispatches of the same month, he described the welcome growth of the Fukien junk-trade with Manila, despite the damage caused by 'the numerous pirates who infest the coast of China'.[3]

One moonlit night towards the end of November 1574, a Spanish soldier on the coast of Ilocos descried a large and well-gunned fleet steering southwards in an orderly formation. The soldier's first impression was that this was a Portuguese armada, come to make good their threat of dislodging the Spaniards from the Philippines once for all. He reported this alarming news to his commander, Juan de Salcedo, Legazpi's Mexican-born grandson and the *encomendero* (feudatory) of Vigan, who likewise sighted the armada.[4] Though puzzled as to the identity of this mysterious

[1] Cf. the documents printed in extract in P. Pastells, *Catálogo*, II, xi–xiv; Blair and Robertson, *Philippine Islands*, III, 260–276.

[2] Lavezares to King Philip II, 30 July 1574, in P. Pastells, *Catálogo*, II, xxii. This Chinese book 'en que se hallaba escrito y figuredo de molde todo este Reino' may have been one of the early editions of the Ming Atlas, *Kuang-yü-t'u*, but I can trace no further reference to it in the Seville archives.

[3] Lavezares' letters of 16 and 17 July, 1574, in P. Pastells, *Catálogo*, II, xv; Blair and Robertson, *Philippine Islands*, III, 276.

[4] Juan de Salcedo came out to the Philippines in 1567. He has been called the 'Cortés of the Philippines', and was undoubtedly the greatest *conquistador* of

fleet, Salcedo realised that Manila must be its objective, and he lost no time in repairing thither with a force of fifty arquebusiers in seven oared vessels. He reached the city in the nick of time on 1 December, after a six day voyage of 180 miles on a rough sea. Salcedo found that Manila had barely staved off a surprise attack on the night of 30 November by the invaders, who turned out to be Chinese corsairs under the leadership of a Cantonese adventurer named Lin [Ah] Feng, subsequently known to the Spaniards as Limahon. The Chinese renewed the attack on 2 December, but were repulsed after a fierce fight in which the Japanese leader of the assaulting columns was killed. Limahon, being unable to induce his men to renew the battle for the third time, sailed back along the west side of Luzón to Pangasinán, where he fortified himself on a hill overlooking the river of that name. Here he was blockaded by the indefatigable Juan de Salcedo with a force of 250 Spaniards and 1,500 Filipinos, at the end of March 1575.[1]

The blockade of the pirate stronghold had only lasted a few weeks when an Imperial Chinese war-junk arrived off Pangasinán. The commander of this vessel was the *Pa-tsung* (coastguard garrison commander) Wang Wang-kao,[2] who had been sent by the Viceroy of Fukien and Chekiang to find the whereabouts of Limahon, one of the worst piratical scourges of the China coast for some years past. Wang Wang-kao was well received by Salcedo who sent him on to Manila, together with a Chinese merchant called (by the Spaniards) 'Sinsay'[3] who acted as adviser and interpreter to the Camp-master and Governor. Guido de Lavezares gave Wang a

them all, having pacified most of Luzón and the adjacent islands before he was twenty-five years old. After saving Manila from the Chinese in 1574–1575, he returned to Ilocos, where he died suddenly on 11 March 1576. For his biography see W. E. Retana's edition of Dr. Antonio de Morga, *Sucesos de las Islas Filipinas* (Madrid, 1909), pp. 569–970 (cited hereafter as Morga-Retana).

[1] The campaign of 1574–1575 is very fully documented. For the Spanish side cf. Gaspar de San Agustín, *Conquistas*, pp. 275–302; P. Pastells, *Catálogo*, II, xxiv–xlix; Blair and Robertson, *Philippine Islands*, IV, 1–97; González de Mendoza, *History* (Hakluyt Society ed., Vol. II, pp. 3–118). For the Chinese side, cf. *Yenching Journal of Chinese Studies*, No. 8 (December 1930), pp. 1473–1491; *ibid.*, No. 9 (June 1931), 1869–1871; No. 10 (December 1931), pp. 2061–2081.

[2] *Yenching Journal of Chinese studies*, No. 10, pp. 2064–2065.

[3] 'un Chino de mucha capacidad y buena intención', according to Fr. Gaspar de San Agustín, *Conquistas*, p. 294. I have not been able to identify this man in the Chinese records.

warm welcome and promised him that when Limahon was killed or captured he would hand him over, whether dead or alive, to the Chinese authorities. The governor also gave Wang a number of Chinese prisoners (mostly women) who had been carried off by the rover from the Fukien coast and recaptured by the Spaniards at Pangasinán. The Chinese commander was so delighted with Lavezares' chivalrous co-operation that he offered to take some Spaniards as envoys from Manila to the provincial authorities of Fukien. This was the chance for which the Spaniards had long been waiting, and Lavezares at once accepted the offer. The envoys selected were two Augustinian friars, Martín de Rada and Jerónimo Marín,[1] accompanied by two military men, Miguel de Loarca, *encomendero* of Otón,[2] and Pedro Sarmiento, *encomendero* of Buracay.[3] The soldiers were to return to Manila with news of the embassy, leaving the friars in Fukien if (as was hoped) the Chinese authorities would allow them to stay there.

Lavezares instructed the envoys to present the letters and presents which he was sending to the Chinese authorities at Ch'üan-chou and Foochow. The friars were to give these Chinese officials ample assurances of Spanish friendship, and to request that missionaries should be allowed to preach the Gospel freely. They were to ask for a Fukien port to be assigned to the Spaniards for trade, as the Portuguese had at Macao. They were also to find out all they could about the character, habits and commerce of the

[1] Fr. Jerónimo Marín was born at Mexico City of conquistador parents. He became an Augustinian friar in 1556, and worked as a missionary in the Philippines and Mexico before his death in that latter country in 1606. Cf. Gaspar de San Agustín, *Conquistas*, pp. 524–525, for further biographical details. For Rada's biography see pp. lxvii ff. below.

[2] Miguel de Loarca was an old companion in arms of Legazpi. His account of the embassy to China is the fullest and best which is extant, and has been freely used in my notes to the text of Rada's 'Relación'. In later years he was magistrate of Arévalo (Panay) and wrote a very valuable account of the Filipino Indian tribes, extracts from which will be found on pp. 371–392 of J. Delgado, S.J. *Historia General . . . de las islas del Poniente llamadas Filipinas* (Manila, 1892). Cf. also Pastells, *Catdlogo*, IV, 150, nr. 5812, and *Boletín de la Academia de la Historia*, Vol. XCVIII (Madrid, 1931), p. 424, for the location of Loarca's manuscripts, none of which has yet been published in full.

[3] Pedro Sarmiento was Alguacil Mayor of Cebú, and commanded an expedition of 100 men to help the Portuguese in Tidore against the Sultan of Ternate in 1585. In 1588 he was responsible for uncovering many of the Filipino plotters who were scheming to overthrow the Spaniards with the aid of the Japanese. Colin-Pastells, *Labor Evangelica*, I, 169–173; II, 672–673.