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ALBERT CHAN

When discussing the discovery of the Philippines, the Franciscan friar Marcelo Ribadeneira remarked that it was greed for temporal things combined with the natural desire for favors and rewards from kings that has spurred men to the discovery of the two Indies. This discovery was a momentous event both for the propagation of the Christian faith and for the expansion of the Castilian kings' power.¹ The great Magellan rendered valuable service to Charles V when he hit upon the group of islands north of the Moluccas. Four decades later Legazpi was to conquer the archipelago later to be named the Philippines, after Philip II of Spain. Legazpi also founded the capital city of Manila.

Long before the arrival of the Spaniards in the East, the Chinese already knew of the archipelago that was to be called the Philippines. The *Tung hsi yang k'ao* 東西洋考 mentions a king of Luzon sending a special envoy to China at the beginning of the 15th century and presenting tribute to the Jung-lo emperor of the Ming dynasty. It goes on to say that since Luzon was so near to Chang-chou in Fukien province, many of the local Chinese used to go to Luzon for business.² It is clear that the Chinese merchants went there purely for profit and that the government never had any ambitions for territorial gain. Shortly after the reunification of the empire, the Hung-wu emperor, founder of the Ming dynasty, did send envoys to the Southeast Asian states to announce the victory of the new government over the Mongols and to bestow seals and new calendars upon the rulers of these states as assertions of

1. Marcelo de Ribadeneira, O.F.M., *Historia de las Islas del Archipiélago Filipino y Reinos de la Gran China, Tartaria, Cochinchina, Malaca, Siam, Cambodge y Japón*, ed. Juan R. de Legísima, O.F.M. (Madrid, 1947), p. 24.

2. Chang Hsieh 張燮 (1574-1640), *Tung hsi yang k'ao* 東西洋考 (chüan 5) (Shanghai, 1937), p. 57.

suzerainty. In his foreign policy, however, the Hung-wu emperor tended to be negative. To his mind, these states were so far away and so isolated from China that they could be of no help to the empire. Therefore, so long as they refrained from making trouble, the Chinese government would not interfere in their internal affairs. He specified audiences but he discouraged unscheduled visits. When envoys from these tributary states came to pay homage to the emperor they usually did some business. For this reason *Shih-po t'i-chu ssu* 市舶提舉司 or Maritime Trade Superintendencies were established in Ning-po, Ch'üan-chou and Kuang-chou (Canton). Apart from the Jung-lo emperor (1403-1424), the Hung-wu emperor's descendants adhered to this policy.

We are told that most of the merchants who went to the Philippines were from Chang-chou or Canton. The comparative closeness of these ports is the natural explanation of this. Canton had been known for centuries as a port for foreign trade. Its province, Kwangtung, was prosperous, abounding in commodities of every kind and blessed with fertile arable land. The Jesuit Alonso Sánchez, who saw Canton at the end of the sixteenth century, speaks of a great amount of gold being cast in the form of small boats, weighing half a pound each. These boats were sold for silver like any other goods. There were many silver mines in the province but the emperor would not have them opened, partly through fear that they might interfere with the cultivation of the land and partly to preclude the smuggling of silver out of the country. There was also much mercury, which was shipped to Japan in pails and in kegs. There were also large quantities of copper, sulphur, saltpetre and white copper, and especially large quantities of iron, which was brought to Luzon for sale at only seven or eight rials per *pico* (125 pounds). All the items just mentioned were considered so precious by the Spaniards of the Philippines in the early years of their colonization that they treasured and coveted imports from the Chinese. Needless to say, there were many other things, such as Chinese silk, porcelain, timber, and foodstuffs of all kinds, mentioned by Sánchez but not detailed here, which were indispensable daily necessities for the colonial Spaniards.³

Chang-chou was less fortunate than its fellow city. In general, the land tax was low in the Fukien province and the price of rice

3. Francisco Colín, S.J., *Labor Evangélica*, ed. Pablo Pastells, S.J. (Barcelona, 1900), 1:531.

was moderate. Accordingly the gentry and rich families were eager to possess big farms. Often their possessions reached beyond their home towns. They occupied unclaimed land and sometimes even appropriated farms owned by monasteries. The unequal distribution of land led to inequality of social classes — the rich became richer and the poor were reduced to penury. Fu-t'ang, capital of the province, suffered from overgrowth of its population: the inhabitants then found themselves forced to disperse all over the country to earn their livelihood as traders. People along the coast, where the soil was poor, often risked their lives by sailing the high seas in search of a better living in neighboring states. Such voyagers reached Korea, Japan, the Pescadores, the Philippines, Annam, Cambodia, Malacca, and Siam. As a rule, they set sail in the summer and returned in the autumn. Many made their fortunes in this way; others who were attracted by this kind of adventure followed in their footsteps. Despite prohibitions issued by local authorities, foreign trade went on without interruption.⁴

Long before the coming of Magellan the Chinese were trading with the natives of some of the islands of the Philippine archipelago, especially the islands where gold was produced. In exchange the Chinese would offer textiles, weapons, and trifles of all kinds. Relations between the Chinese and the Filipinos were purely superficial. The Chinese exerted no influence on the natives whether anthropologically or politically or linguistically. When Martín de Goiti took Manila there were only forty Chinese there, all married to natives, and twenty Japanese. In time such Chinese traders began to do business all over the archipelago and made expeditions around the islands. Many of them settled down in Manila or elsewhere in Luzon.⁵

We are told that when the Spaniards first came to Manila they found that the natives had just seized a Chinese boat and made the traders prisoners. The Spaniards set the prisoners free and returned all their belongings. They saw in the Chinese a people who could help them to build up their new colony. They therefore tried to make friends with them in the hope that they would come freely to trade with them. A contemporary document states clearly that the Philippines had not the fertility of other newly discovered

4. Hsieh Chao-che 謝肇淛(1567-1624), *Wu tsa tsu* 五雜俎 (Shanghai, 1959) A. 107, 115, 116.

5. Francisco Combés, S.J., *Historia de Mindanao y Joló* (Madrid, 1897), col. 778.

territories; though gold, silk, and cotton were produced, there was never enough for trade with other countries. The supply of produce for the residents was limited and the soldiers often suffered from lack of necessities. Trade with the Chinese merchants, therefore, was of great importance, since they came every year with a great variety of commodities and sold them at such low prices that the cost of living was no longer a problem; in fact, the Spaniards could even trade profitably with New Spain with the goods the Chinese brought.⁶

Above all, the Spaniards valued the work of Chinese artisans and artists. To build up cities they needed great numbers of these. It is true that there were Spanish artisans and artists from Europe, Mexico, and Peru; and others from Japan and other states from the east. But the Chinese outnumbered all of them, and were unrivalled for the low cost of their labor and for their fine workmanship. Domingo de Salazar, first bishop of the Philippines, wrote an interesting letter to Philip II of Spain in which he gave a full report on the Chinese and their activities in Manila in 1590. According to this letter, the *parián*,⁷ or market place of the Chinese, was erected to the northeast of Manila, just outside the city. It was constructed when Diego Ronquillo was governor to replace the *parián* which had been destroyed in February 1583. The unhealthy appearance of the swampy site where the new *parián* was to be erected had convinced many of its inevitable failure.

But these Sangleys⁸, who are the most hardworking and most ingenious people that exist in this world, displayed such ingenuity that in this place, which seemed uninhabitable, they made a *parián* in the style of the old one. It is, moreover, much bigger and higher and more comfortable, and that is just what the Sangleys want. They have built their houses and streets on the fixed site where the four quarters are.

6. Ribadeneira, *Historia*, pp. 27-28; Colin, *Labor Evangélica*, 1:355.

7. The word *parián* appears in the *Vocabulario Tagalo* of Noceda meaning "A plaza or market place where people buy and sell." W.E. Retana, however, doubts its Tagalog origin. He points out that *parián* was the name given by the Spaniards in 1580 to the place assigned to the Chinese as their residential quarters. The word was applied later to Chinese residences elsewhere. Thus there was a *parián* in Cebu. It is likely that the word derives from some other foreign language. Cf. *Diccionario de Filipinismos; Extrait de la Revue Hispanique*, tome 51 (New York, Paris, 1921), p. 147.

8. The word derivation of *Sangley*, applied by the Spaniards to the Chinese in the Philippines, has given rise to much discussion. The *Diccionario de Filipinismos* makes it clear that the name came from two Chinese words, *xiang lay* (商賈). It quotes a number of

This *parián* too was destroyed by fire since the houses were made of nipa palm leaves, but it was rebuilt under the rule of Governor Santiago de Vera. This time, as a precaution against fire, the houses were built of tiles. The place looked so elegant that the bishop could not refrain from telling the king about it:

I dare to inform Your Majesty that in our time, here or elsewhere, there is no city so beautiful as this one; for in it there are all kinds of crafts from China. One finds in it all sorts of goods and odd things that come from over there. People here are now beginning to make things more frequently and with greater perfection than they do in China. The communication they have with Spaniards has made things perfect in a way that they are not accustomed to do in China.

He then went on to say that there were in the *parián* men of all professions and in large numbers. Because they were able to produce clothing and footwear to the taste of the Spaniards and to sell them at low prices, they had forced the Spanish craftsmen to give up their occupations.⁹

Of the Chinese ships coming to Manila, a Spanish government report said that they usually arrived between Christmas and May and numbered between forty and fifty. However, the number varied greatly. Thus in 1580 there were only twenty. In 1587 thirty Chinese ships of considerable size arrived with a great store of commodities, horses, and cows. The number of ships arriving in the following year was said to have been even higher, though the exact number was not given. They paid a three percent tax on the goods they brought, apart from foodstuffs, horses, mares, and war equipment, which were tax free. The livestock were especially welcome because they enriched the land. "The Chinese are useful to this land though they do take away our money, since there are no equivalents for the exchange with their goods, and if we tried to forbid them it would be likely that they would not return." The report then goes on to beg the Spanish king to grant the permission,

authorities from ancient Spanish writers, including Manuel Buzeta, O.S.A., and Felipe Bravo, O.S.A., *Diccionario geográfico, estadístico, histórico de las Islas Filipinas* (Madrid, 1850-1851), 2:244, which says that *Sangley* has the meaning travelling tradesmen (*comerciantes viajeros*). The Dominican Victorio Ricci in his discourse says that when the first Spaniards to come to the Philippines met the Chinese and asked who they were the answer was: 'we are traders who have come (from China)', *siang-lay* (mercaderes que venimos). Cf. Archivo General de Indias [AGI], *Filipinas*, Leg. 28. Ramo 6, no. 248; Li Ch'ang-fu 李長傳, *Chung-kuo chih-min-shih 中國殖民史* (Taipei, 1966), 137.

9. W.E. Retana, *Archivo del bibliófilo filipino* (Madrid, 1897), 3:16-18.

since it was really important that the Chinese should continue to come with their goods for the present and in the future.¹⁰

The number of ships arriving in Manila was sometimes affected by the internal situation in China. Thus we read in the government report of 1589 that only eleven Chinese ships came that year, with only a small quantity of commodities and these quite expensive. According to the Sangleys, this was due to much war and plague in China in the preceding year. If we go to the Ming sources we find that the sixteenth year of the Wan-li reign (1588) was a difficult one. There had been serious drought and plague in the fourth month of 1588 in six of the provinces: Shantung, Shansi, Shensi, Honan, Chekiang and South-Chihli. Letters asking for relief came to the imperial capital from all over the empire. Then in 1589 it was reported to the Chinese authorities that the natives of Chang-chou were engaging in secret dealings with Japanese pirates. A fleet of forty-four ships was therefore sent to patrol the Chinese and Indian oceans.¹¹

It is interesting to note that in 1587 two Portuguese ships came to Manila from Macao with fancy goods. These so attracted the Spaniards that the traders made good money in no time and went away highly content. This aroused jealousy and ill feelings among the Sangleys. Some of the Chinese captains and principal traders approached the Spaniards and tried to divert their attention from the Portuguese. The Portuguese, they pointed out, had settled in Macao, close to the Kuangtung province, whence they carried on trade with China. Why should the Spaniards not do the same thing in Chang-chou? Once they had obtained their trading post they would be able to bring goods to the Philippines without having to depend on the Portuguese. The captains and traders then offered their help and assured the Spaniards that they would obtain safe-conducts for them from the Viceroy so that they might go to China to negotiate for their trading post. This benevolent advice naturally pleased the Spaniards; but nothing came of it. In the following year (1588) another big Portuguese ship came from Macao with a considerable load of goods. This time the Spaniards were less interested; neither the variety nor the quality was attractive, and

10. AGI, *Audiencia de Filipinas*, Leg. 18A, Ramo 4, no. 68.

11. AGI, *Aud. Filip.*, Leg. 18A, Ramo 4, no. 89; Tan Ch'ien 談遷 (1694-1658) *Kuo-ch'üeh* 國權, (Shanghai, 1958) (*Chüan* 74) V, 4581, 4603.

the prices were far higher than those charged for the same things by the Chinese.¹²

In 1580 Philip II enforced his claim to the crown of Portugal and her dominions, but he still had to respect the autonomy of the Portuguese. In a charter of 1582 he confirmed to them, under a governor or viceroy and a council of regency, all their rights and privileges, their offices, their language, Cortes, courts of justice, and overseas trade. Macao was directly under the Portuguese governor of Goa. A royal letter patent had been sent to the Portuguese of Macao which gave them an exclusive privilege to trade with China. Except for military assistance there was not supposed to be organized intercourse between the Spaniards in the Philippines and the Portuguese in Macao. Even for evangelization purposes, Spanish missionaries in the Philippines were not supposed to go to Macao or to China. All this was quite understandable from the Portuguese point of view. Macao was a small place that produced nothing; nature had left its inhabitants poor. They depended on China and Japan and the South Asian states for their livelihood. They would not suffer the Spaniards to come and share their profit. Above all, Macao was so close to China that its inhabitants were always under the vigilant eyes of the Chinese. The recent conquest of the Philippines by the Spaniards and of Java by the Dutch was known to the Chinese, and they totally disapproved of this development and tried to keep the invaders away from their own coasts. Frequent communication between the Portuguese and Spaniards would undoubtedly arouse the suspicion of the Chinese and might involve the Portuguese in trouble. Hence they had good reasons for keeping the Spaniards away from their territory.

Among the Spaniards in the Philippines, opinion was divided with regard to direct trade with China. Some thought that if they could negotiate for a trading post in one of the small islands along the Fukien coast they might be able to supply the Philippines with goods themselves instead of depending on Chinese tradesmen.

12. AGI, *Aud. Filip.*, Leg. 18A, Ramo 3, no. 65; *Aud. Filip.*, Leg. 18A, Ramo 4, no. 76. According to another report (*Aud. Filip.*, Leg. 18A, Ramo 4, no. 86), these two Portuguese ships brought a considerable quantity of silk, musk, and small irregularly shaped pearls, the total value amounting to three hundred thousand ducats. The merchandise included also over one hundred negro slaves, known as *cafres* among the Portuguese. "At their arrival" says the report, "I asked that they be taxed three per cent as the Chinese and the Spaniards were . . . and in the same manner I asked that the negros should be taxed the same amount as the Indians brought in by the Spaniards."

They could also bring goods directly to New Spain and Peru. Most of the Philippine authorities, however, were opposed to this plan. First, they respected the royal letters patent given on this problem, and they also had in mind that the king of Spain was also king of Portugal. Then, for years the Chinese had kept on bringing in goods of all kinds, and at low cost. It was doubtful if the Spaniards could do the same. Furthermore, if the Spaniards were to succeed in getting a trading post in China they would be able to ship their merchandise directly to Mexico. This would mean that the citizens of the Philippines would lose their trade since they could no longer send goods obtained from China to Mexico. Philip II seems to have grasped the situation. In 1593 he wrote to the governor of the Philippines telling him that he had been informed of the great numbers who were going to China for trade. As a result the prices of goods had risen considerably. In view of these inconveniences he instructed the governor that from then on no one was to be permitted to go to China for trade. Instead, they should allow the Chinese to bring their goods to the Philippines. To make sure that there should be no monopoly, he ordered that two or three persons be selected in Manila every year to set a price on every item that the Chinese brought. When this had been done let the goods be sent to all the neighboring provinces, that all might partake of the fruit.¹³

There was perhaps a more important reason why the Spanish authorities favored having the Chinese bring goods to the Philippines. The taxes that they imposed on the goods provided a large income which was a help to the colony both for administration and for defense. When Francisco de Sande was governor (1575), the anchorage dues for Chinese ships varied according to size from twenty-five to fifty pesos. When Gonzalo Ronquillo succeeded him, he realized that this rate was too low, since Spanish ships going to China were taxed far higher; sometimes a Spanish ship was taxed at a rate of three or four or even five ducats. He therefore, changed the tax rate to three percent on all the goods that the Chinese brought. The report said that at that time the Chinese paid accordingly.¹⁴

Ronquillo's system of imposing taxes does not seem to have

13. AGI, *Aud. Filip.*, Leg. 18A, Ramo 5, no. 123; *Filipinas Leg.* 339; Tomo II, *Libros registros de oficios*, ff. 71-71v.

14. AGI, *Aud. Filip.*, Leg. 6, Ramo 2, no. 31.

produced good results. In 1586 it was reported that formerly the Chinese had brought in great quantities of foodstuffs, which the Philippines badly needed. Now, because these commodities were usually very bulky, they had to pay high taxes, and this naturally lessened their profit. So instead they tried to import less bulky goods and gave up bringing foodstuffs. This at once caused great inconveniences among the inhabitants and petitions were sent to the king in Spain to have the tax cut to one and a half percent instead of three percent. It was even suggested that no taxes should be imposed on foodstuffs, horses, or cattle, so as to encourage the Chinese to import them.¹⁵

From what we said above it seems that the three percent tax remained unchanged, with the exception of the tax on foodstuffs. The Audiencia's reply to the Royal Council in 1601 affirmed this. At that time the Philippine Audiencia was asked to raise commercial taxes from the Chinese. The unfavorable reply was based on the fact that the increase would certainly affect the Islands and their trade. It stated that the Chinese had been raising the prices of their goods and these had reached a maximum. Above all, the colony was exhausted by its losses. An increase of taxes would only increase the sufferings of the people. The advice given was, therefore, to keep to the three percent and to resist the temptation of any novelty.¹⁶

That the commercial taxes raised from the Chinese provided vital income for the Philippines can be seen clearly from the letter of Governor Pedro de Acuña, written on 18 December 1603, two months after the rising of Sangley's in Manila. The terror and desolation had kept the Chinese from coming to this city. "And if the (Chinese) traders were to hesitate to come this year," wrote the Governor, "the damage to the whole commonwealth would be irreparable, and Your Majesty's treasury would lose fifty-two thousand pesos, which would be precisely what accrues from the taxes levied on the goods that come from China. I omit mention of the taxes on fabrics shipped to Acapulco, Mexico and other parts." Finally, the governor concluded, if the Chinese trade were to fail it would be hard to see how things could continue. Expenditure was so great that it had gone beyond the control of the royal treasury. For besides the ordinary expenditure, there were other financial

15. AGI, *Aud. Filip.*, Leg. 18A, Ramo 3, no. 55.

16. AGI, *Aud. Filip.*, Leg. 19, Ramo 2, no. 59.

calls. The islands were surrounded by enemies and it was necessary to fortify all the strategic points. Then there was the problem of evangelization and education of the natives, which was a great preoccupation of the government.¹⁷

Of the neighboring nations China and Japan were considered the most formidable because of their numbers, their wealth, and their politics. The report of the governor of the Philippines in 1592 was that the Chinese were weak, badly armed, and inexperienced in warfare. The Japanese in Manila, though few in number — only about one thousand — were very aggressive and very powerful people who could accomplish much. From an early age they were given to arms and war. Taken as a people they were no less brave than the Spaniards; rather, they were more daring, since “as barbarians they had no fear of death nor of arms.” Their weapons were the same as the Spaniards’ and there was military discipline among them. It was hard to imagine what would happen if they had to be faced in the battlefield.

In the middle 1590s an invasion by the shogun Toyotomi Hideyoshi (1536–1598), whom the Spaniards took as the emperor of Japan, seemed imminent. It was feared that as soon as the war in Korea had come to an end he might lead a great army across the seas to the Philippines. Governor Gómez Pérez Dasmariñas sent an envoy to his court with a substantial gift amounting to over 1,500 pesos. Hideyoshi made no effort to reply. This worried the Spaniards and set them conjecturing what the shogun would do next. He was said to be well acquainted with the geography of the Philippines, better acquainted than the Spaniards. His information came from the Japanese whom he sent to the archipelago to make studies of the places, and from Japanese traders who were ready to give him the information he was looking for. He could come either direct from Japan to Cagayan or through Formosa to Pangasinan on the island of Luzon. If he did come, the first thing the governor would do would be to summon all the Spaniards to Manila for the defence of this city. Next, the natives would be ordered to abandon the coast and retire inland, taking with them all their food supplies. There were even suggestions of taking Formosa and making an alliance with China in the hope that this might check the Japanese invasion.¹⁸

17. AGI. *Aud. Filip.*, Leg. 7, Ramo 1, no. 42.

18. AGI. *Filipinas*, Leg. 29, Ramo 4, no. 95; *Aud. Filip.*, Leg. 18B, Ramo 6, no. 235.

In the 1590s there were also several military actions around the Philippines. The Zambales revolt in 1592, the Molucca expedition in 1593, and the conquest of Mindanao in 1596 had kept the Spanish military occupied. These activities did not only involve manpower. Ammunition was also a very important element. In the early days of the colony when they were still new to the Orient, the conquistadores had to depend on supplies from Spain and Mexico. There were vast distances to be covered. Help often took many months to arrive and if disasters, such as shipwreck, happened the military were driven to despair. Eventually they found that they could obtain all they needed from the Chinese traders. This was an all-important discovery. Official documents of this period made frequent mention of importing copper, iron, lead, sulphur, saltpetre, and mercury. A 1580 document stated that Chinese ships had brought large quantities of iron at low prices. Attempts were also made to find all the necessary raw materials so as to save transportation from Spain. The report, however, said that the export of iron from China was forbidden under capital penalty. Also included under the same penalty were lead, sulphur, gunpowder, and saltpetre. The Chinese traders literally risked their lives when they tried to smuggle these things out, and they could bring only small quantities each time.

In the opinion of the Hung-wu emperor, founder of the Ming Dynasty, much of the trouble caused by pirates came from trade with foreign states. The Maritime Trade Superintendencies which were set up at the beginning of his reign lasted only a few years (1374). In 1381 came an edict forbidding overseas trading by the people. No one was allowed to export horses, cattle, iron goods, copper coins, silk of any kind, or cotton. Throughout the Ming period decrees were issued repeatedly forbidding foreign trade. The ban applied especially to the people of Fukien province. The *Huang-Ming shih-fa lu* 皇明世法錄 gives a number of cases that occurred in different Ming reigns. During the Wan-li period (1573–1620) it seems to have become quite common for rich families in Fukien to trade with neighboring countries through their servants. They supplied the capital and ships, and their servants made the voyages and carried out the business transactions. The maritime penalty code stated that though these rich people did not participate directly in the trade, they were nevertheless the

principal culprits, and for their crimes they were to be sent into exile and their goods were to be confiscated.

Gunpowder is compounded from sulphur, saltpetre, and charcoal. The Chinese authorities realized that not every country produced all these elements. The Manchus for instance, produced a good deal of saltpetre but they had no sulphur, and for this they had to depend on the Chinese. The opposite was true of Japan. Often the Japanese obtained supplies of saltpetre from Portuguese in Macao, who also brought them lead from China out of which they made lead bullets. In 1598 the Chinese government issued an order strictly forbidding the private sale of sulphur and saltpetre. When firearms were being produced in a province the merchants in charge of supplying sulphur and saltpetre were given documents stating clearly the amounts of these elements they were entitled to handle. Traders were strictly forbidden to export them and a capital sentence was imposed on violators. However, the profits were so great that the traders often ignored the order and risked their lives. A contemporary author noted that it was quite common for the people to supply foreigners with sulphur and saltpetre and that it was no easy task to prevent them.¹⁹

In 1585 Governor Santiago de Vera wrote to the Archbishop of Mexico that the Chinese had promised to bring mercury, but attracted by the silver of the Japanese, they had gone to Japan instead. He then described his attempt to buy gunpowder, saltpetre, and metal from the Chinese. Because of the penalty they had not dared to sell. Ultimately, on the insistence of the governor, they reluctantly brought three or four *quintales* (quintal = 46 kgs) of gunpowder but no saltpetre. The only way to encourage them was to offer them an exceptionally high price.²⁰

19. Sung Ying-hsing 宋應星 (ca. 1630), *Tien-kung kai wu* 天工開物 (*Kuo-hsiieh chi-pen ts'ung shu*, ed.) B, 259; Wang Po-ling 王夢麟. *Li-tai chen wo wen-hsien k'ao* 歷代征倭文獻考 (Shanghai, 1940), 253-258. The already quoted memorial to the throne by Hsü Fu-yuan 許孚遠 (1535-1604) states that saltpetre was produced in Japan. The *Hsü Wen-hsien t'ung-k'ao* 續文獻通考 (Wan-yu wen-ku 萬有文庫 ed.) II, 3998a says that saltpetre was not produced in Japan.

20. AGI, *Aud. Filip.*, Leg. 6, no. 65. The *Ch'ou-hai t'u-pien* 籌海圖編 (*chüan* 4), quoted by Fu Yi-ling 傅衣凌 in *Ming-Ch'ing shih-tai shang-jen chi shang-yeh tzu-pen* 明清時代商人及商業實本. (Peking, 1956), p. 139, says that, unlike the Portuguese who came to trade in Chang-chou with goods which they bartered with the Chinese, the Japanese used to bring silver only. The author went on to say that if China wished to get

It must have been distressing and unsatisfactory to be in such a state of uncertainty. Governor Pérez Dasmariñas wrote in 1592, "Since my arrival in this place (Manila) I have not found a pound of gunpowder in the warehouse, no, not even saltpetre or copper. Formerly these materials were imported from China. Of late, nothing has come out. This is due to the severe penalties imposed on those violating the orders." He then turned to Macao for supplies. Earlier, in 1587, Santiago de Vera had mentioned that there was a good deal of saltpetre both in Macao and in the city of Sian. Until then gunpowder had had to be shipped to the Philippines every year. Why go through all this trouble if one could get saltpetre from the Portuguese and sulphur from the Chinese? There was very good charcoal in the Philippines.²¹ Of course, in dealing with the Portuguese one had to pay much more than in dealing with the Chinese. The official document shows repeated hesitation about buying from the Portuguese when the Chinese could offer a better bargain. The disadvantage was that the Chinese always wanted to be paid in advance, even if they were to deliver the goods in the following year. As Dasmariñas put it, "this is a distrustful people and they demand payment from you in advance." However, it should be understood that this custom was common among the Chinese themselves. Dasmariñas himself had to admit that they were honest and never failed to keep their promises.

Of the number of Chinese in Manila, we are informed that in 1585 they had come together and built about one hundred houses. In 1587 more than three thousand came. In the following year it was stated, without precise numbers, that the ships had brought many people. It was suggested that they should be sent away, since they were regarded as enemies. At the same time it was desired to keep 3,000 artisans and craftsmen for employment by the city. Every Chinese resident was to pay a tribute of four rials per year, the same amount as was paid by the natives. We are told that they did not do very well that year. Nevertheless, they expressed a wish to return, since they had an interest in the place and found the

information about the Japanese pirates they had only to send men to Macao disguised as traders. "In dealing with them one can find out whether or not they intend to come to Chang-chou. One can even find out the number of men they intend to send and things that may happen within that same year."

21. AGI, *Aud. Filip.*, Leg. 18A, Ramo 5, no. 123; *Idem*, Leg. 18A, Ramo 3, no. 65.

Spaniards friendly. The document went on to say: "We always try to treat them well, as Your Majesty had instructed us to do. We try to see that the soldiers do no injustice to them. They are very contented with this and are grateful." The estimated number of Chinese in Manila in this year 1588 was over ten thousand.²²

The year 1596 saw great numbers of Chinese arriving in Manila. This aroused the Spanish authorities' suspicions that something unusual was going on. "We are apprehensive and are taking precautions lest an uprising should occur. Since our numbers are greatly reduced owing to the above mentioned expeditions, there are added reasons for us to be fearful and to be on the watch. I have given orders for sending them away. So far over 12,000 of them have left. About the same number have remained and we are making an effort to carry out our decision. This is a people that one has to live with very cautiously and with reserve. . .,"²³ wrote a government officer. Search of the Chinese sources has uncovered no unusual events in China that year that might have prompted the people to leave for the Philippines. The only thing perhaps that suggests an explanation is that the Japanese were then invading Korea. Contemporary Chinese writers state that it was quite common for Chinese who had secret dealings with Japanese pirates to linger in the Philippines. Hsü Fu-yüan 許孚遠 whose writing we have already quoted, says that considerable numbers of Chinese from Chekiang, Fukien and Kuangtung provinces who had been kidnapped by Japanese pirates had settled down and brought up families in Japan. It is not impossible that these were the people who went to the Philippines to spy for the Japanese on pretence of being traders. Their restlessness seems to have attracted attention, for the Spanish document states that "they came in such large numbers on the pretext of business transaction."²⁴

When the Dominican Friar Juan de S. Pedro Mártir wrote to the king, he informed him that there were about seven thousand five hundred Sangleys in Manila. Of this number 500 were Christians. By 1601, the report of Governor Francisco de Tello said that most of the 14,000 Chinese in Manila in 1596 had returned to their own

22. AGI, *Aud. Filip.*, Leg. 18A, Ramo 4, nos. 73 and 76.

23. AGI, *Aud. Filip.*, Leg. 18B, Ramo 6, no. 208.

24. Ibid.; Ch'en Jen-shih 陳仁錫 (1581-1636), *Huang-Ming shih-fa-lu* 皇明世法錄 (Taipei, 1965, photographic of the late Ming edition), (chüan 82) IV, 2168A; *Tung hsi yang k'ao*, (chüan 11) 164.

country. Captains of ships were told not to bring more than 100 Chinese, traders and sailors included, in each ship. The idea was to have in Manila no more than 3,000 Chinese, including artisans, market-gardeners, and workmen of all trades. This 'ideal' number, which one often sees mentioned in official papers, was far from being adhered to. An estimate made at the time of the rising of 1603 by the Augustinians put the number of Chinese in Manila at no less than 21,000, and the ecclesiastical council at 20,000. The governor's report to the king put it at over 18,000.²⁵

While the Spanish government was interested in the politics and trade of China, missionaries were looking forward eagerly to its evangelization. Martín de Rada (1533–1578), who had made a trip to Fukien in 1575, cherished hopes of returning and settling there. The *Maestre de Campo* who accompanied him back to Manila suggested to the governor that the Spanish king should write to the Chinese emperor to arrange for an embassy which would enlighten him about the Christian faith. Once the emperor became interested there would be no difficulty in getting permission to preach the Gospel.²⁶ As a preparation for China, they started missionary work among the Chinese in Manila. Friar Andrés de Aguirre, provincial of the Augustinians, wrote in his letter that every year more and more Chinese were coming to Luzon and that they had settled in Tondo, close to Manila city. In this vicinity there was an Augustinian monastery. Seeing that these people were of good understanding, one of the religious had started to teach them the Christian doctrine. When the governor was informed of this he came to see the place and gave permission to the leading Chinese to move to this new place, a permission which they accepted gladly. One of the more learned monks was appointed vicar to look after them and another was named assistant with the hope that these might learn Chinese and work for their conversion. The Jesuits also had made an attempt to carry on this work in Manila. A letter, dated 1585, from the provincial of

25. AGI, *Aud. Filip.*, Leg. 6, Ramo 1, no. 22; *Idem*, Leg. 79, no. 47; *Idem*, Leg. 84, Ramo 6, no. 157; *Idem*, Leg. 84, Ramo 6, no. 156; Friar Bernardo de Sta. Catalina put the number at 16,000, one of the lowest estimates (cf. *Aud. Filip.*, Leg. 84, Ramo 6, no. 158). The author of the *Tung hsi yang k'ao*, who derived his information from the Chinese report, put the number of Chinese killed in the uprising at 25,000. According to him only three thousand survived. This puts the total number of Chinese in Manila in 1603 at about 28,000. Cf. *chüan* 5, 59.

26. Juan González de Mendoza, O.S.A., *Historia de China* (Madrid, 1944), p. 237.

Mexico to the General of the order speaks of a Chinese quarter in Manila where more than two thousand of the Sangleys were carrying on regular business. This report pointed out that these Chinese merchants were men of good judgement and were affable. Many of them who knew Spanish had become Christians. It was suggested that some of the missionaries should learn the language of these traders so as to be able to help them to understand the faith. Classes had actually started, but the Chinese instructor refused to continue, saying that the house was too far from the city and the journey under the hot sun was intolerable.²⁷

We have quite a detailed report by Governor Santiago de Vera on the work of the Dominicans among the Chinese:

Since I came to this part of the world I have made an attempt to make sure that the religious try to learn the language of the Chinese so as to convert and to teach those who are in this country, the usual number of whom I have already mentioned. As things are not easy and I have been kept occupied with the natives of these islands, I have had to let this matter go. Now that the Dominicans are here I have given them the task of evangelization of the Chinese. I have given them instructors to teach them the language, and I have had a church and a house built for them in the *alcaizería*, known as the *parián*, which is at the tip of Tondo, and there they are given supplies for living. Two of them have done so well that one can now understand and speak the language well, and the other has learned it within a short time. They now preach and instruct and convert many. Already they have a community of Christians. This year on Holy Thursday they held a procession of blood with great devotion. I hope in the Lord (since these people are so intelligent and constant in what they learn and have no particular [religious] sect of their own) that they will be converted in good time."²⁸

Two years later came royal letters patent in which the king expressed his satisfaction with the work of the Dominicans whom he had sent to work among the Chinese. He exhorted the governor to be gracious to the Chinese and to give them every encouragement. He promised to send more religious for this great work. The Franciscan Marcelo de Ribadeneira gives further information on the work of the Dominicans, mentioning another convent which was also near Manila. There were about 600 Chinese converts

27. AGI, *Aud. Filip.*, Leg. 79, no. 7; *Monumenta Mexicana*, ed. Felix Zubillaga, S.J. (Rome, 1959) 2:208, 440, 717.

28. AGI, *Aud. Filip.*, Leg. 18A, Ramo 4, no. 85.

between the two convents. They married Japanese and native girls. Their children were taught to read and write. It was hoped that in this way the Gospel might be introduced to China. The Dominicans also had a hospital for the Chinese and made good number of conversions through the charitable institution. Between July 1595 and July 1596 they baptized 155 on their deathbeds.

The *Tung hsi yang k'ao* says that of the many Chinese who went often to Luzon a good number settled there and were known as *ya-tung* 壓冬. They lived together in the Parián and did business. Eventually their number amounted to several tens of thousands. Among them there were some who cut off their hair and raised families in Luzon. The author made no comment but the explicit mention of Chinese cutting off their hair is a sign of disapproval. According to the *Hsiao-ching* 孝經 or Canon of filial piety, said to have been written by Tseng-tzu 曾子, a disciple of Confucius, one's whole body, the hair included, is inherited from one's parents. Everyone is supposed to take good care of the whole body so as to prevent its suffering any injury. When the first Ming emperor came to the throne he abolished Mongol customs and revived the T'ang tradition. Thereafter the keeping of the hair was regarded as an essential duty of royalty. Towards the end of the Ming dynasty when the rebels were waging war against the government, they used to capture young men of good family and have their hair cut. This disqualified them from returning to their families, so they had no choice but to follow the rebels. Later when the Manchus conquered China the first thing they did was to issue a decree ordering the Chinese to cut off their long hair as a sign of submission to the new dynasty. Not a few of the Ming ministers and of the ordinary people refused to obey. They preferred to risk their lives rather than yield to the new order.

In those days the Chinese of Manila were divided into two groups: the Christians and the non-Christians (*infieles*). The former, who had been taught the faith of Christ and belonged to the fold of the Church, were a more privileged class than the infidels whose idolatry and lax lives had aroused mistrust in the Spaniards. The infidels were quick to notice the differences, and, being men of the world, they tried to get the best of everything. They therefore would also ask to be admitted into the Church, not through conviction but because of the privileges they hoped to enjoy. Externally they lived as Christians, but as soon as they returned to their

country they apostatized. The common saying among themselves was "when in Luzon do as the Luzons do and when in China do as the Chinese do." Bishop Salazar, who was well aware of what was going on, decided to remedy this situation. To prove the sincerity of the neophytes he had their hair cut short. This meant that they were no longer free to return to their own country; one of the missionaries stated that after the long hair was cut they would incur the death penalty if they were to return home. Government officials, however, did not know this secret and they were puzzled by the bishop's incomprehensible action. In a letter to the king, Governor de Vera wrote: "I am convinced that if they (i.e., the church authorities) had not tried to cut their hair when they were baptized (as the bishop had ordered) a general conversion [of this people] might have taken place in this country."

It is to be noted that when Diego de Ronquillo was governor (1583-84) he had brought up this question in a relation he wrote. He asked the king to intervene so that conversions might not be hindered. De Vera had also written previously to the archbishop of Mexico on the same subject. He saw no reason why the bishop of Manila should make such a decision to the detriment of the conversion of infidels. In an earlier letter to the king, de Vera had pointed out that he had let the bishop know that keeping the hair long was not a [religious] ceremony (of the Chinese). It was only the custom of this people; similarly the Spaniards keep their hair short. However, the bishop viewed the matter differently. He said that he was afraid that the return of this people to their native land might mean their relapse into idolatry.²⁹

In the opinion of Juan Baptista Román, royal factor, who had been in Canton in 1582, the Chinese were a civilized people, skilled in learning and in government. Those whom he came across in Manila, he said, possessed acute minds and were well-versed in mathematics.

Bishop Salazar too, was well aware of these qualities. Having spent twenty-three years as a missionary in Mexico, he was familiar

29. *Tung hsi yang k'ao*, (chüan 5), 57; Ribadeneira, p. 33; AGI, *Aud. Filip.*, Leg. 18A, Ramo 4, no. 65; *Idem*, Leg. 6, Ramo 2, no. 31; Leg. 6, Ramo 3, no. 64; Leg. 6, Ramo 3, 65. Prof. Lewis Hanke of the University of Massachusetts kindly informed me of a memorial from the Chinese Christians to Philip IV, petitioning that they be allowed to keep their long hair at the time of their baptism. The reference is to be found in María del Carmen Pescador del Hoyo, *Archivo Histórico Nacional, Siglos XV-XIX* (Madrid, 1954), p. 109. The docu-

with the method used in teaching the Indians there the faith. Could the missionaries adopt this method in teaching the Chinese? Here is what he had to tell Philip II:

It is to be noted that because the Chinese are highly intelligent and are educated like ourselves, surpassing us in many things, it would not be possible to treat them in matters of civil and criminal jurisdiction as we treat the Indians in New Spain or in Peru. In those Islands, those who govern the Indians in the name of Your Majesty have everything so well under their thumbs that the Indians are not given to understand unless they are permitted.

The king seems to have been informed from some other sources already of these personal endowments of the Chinese. When the Royal Tribunal wrote to him in 1583 informing him that the Jesuits in Mexico wanted to open colleges to educate the natives, the king's reply was not favorable. He said that the Indians were of phlegmatic complexion, witty and eager to learn. To give them higher studies might incline them to evil and wrong ideas. The reply then goes on to say that if the Jesuits wish to build colleges somewhere in those parts, China is the place. These Indians (so the Chinese were called by the conquistadores of the time!) have other colleges, and they (the Jesuits), being philosophers, might be able to correct their errors.³⁰

The new Chinese converts in general were good people; they were conscientious in carrying out their duties as Christians, and in everything they tried to do their best. In 1597 Friar Juan de S. Pedro Mártir wrote to the king, telling him that there were about 7,000 non-Christian Sangleys in Manila that year. The Christian Sangleys numbered about five hundred; many of them were very good. The author of the *Historia de China* says repeatedly that there were Chinese near Manila who had settled down in the land because they wanted to enjoy evangelical liberty. Among them there were many artisans and mechanics, shoe-makers, tailors, market-gardeners, blacksmiths, and men of other trades.³¹

From the official report of Hsü Fu-yüan, cited above, it is clear that there were a good many undesirables among the Chinese who came to Luzon. Many preferred to settle there because they could

ment, in Chinese, is dated 20 July 1625. So far I have not seen it. It shows that the problem was not solved in the 16th century.

30. AGI, *Aud. Filip.*, Leg. 74, Ramo 1, no. 23; *Monumenta Mexicana*, 2:187.

31. AGI, *Aud. Filip.*, Leg. 79, no. 47; González de Mendoza, *Historia de China*, pp. 237, 343.

form a community and live comfortably according to their own traditions. Pagan morality, however, did not always agree with Christian teachings. Indeed, there were numerous practices that became causes for complaints and were considered scandalous and serious offences against religion. Bishop Salazar, who was a protector of the Chinese, could not tolerate this corruption of morality. His letter to Philip II pointed out that the Chinese were so numerous and so wicked that they were causing both physical and spiritual damage to the natives. They were very vicious and from their conversation nothing but harm could come. He complained that the government so far had done nothing to prevent the evil and insisted that a remedy should be applied.³²

The bishop in his letters spoke in general terms. One wonders what he had in mind. A letter from the attorney general Gaspar Ayala to the king in 1588 showed how grave the offences were. Information had been laid that the vice of sodomy was being practised among the Chinese. An investigation was carried out. Fourteen to fifteen culprits were caught. The Chinese, however, defended themselves by saying that the practice was quite common among men in China. Despite their excuses two of them were condemned to die at the stake, the others were flogged and condemned to the galleys. Notices in Chinese were put up in the Chinese quarter warning them against this great offence under pain of capital punishment and confiscation of property. Friar Ignacio de Santibáñez, archbishop of Manila, says that the Chinese not only committed this vice among themselves but also enticed the natives, both men and women, to commit the vice with them. Still later, in 1605 a testimony against the non-Christian Sangleys of the *parián* described them as the most vicious (*viciosísimos*), most pernicious, and most harmful people. The testimony went on to state that since Manila and its surroundings were especially warm and humid it was liable to sins of the flesh. Before the arrival of the Sangleys the natives had had no knowledge of sin against nature, even a name for this sin had never existed in their vocabulary. Since their coming this people had perverted the natives, who, being covetous and newly instructed in the Christian faith, could easily be led away from good morals and could even lose their Catholic faith. Their weak characters left them open to the

32. AGI. *Aud. Filip.*, Leg. 74, Ramo 1, no. 8; *Idem.*, Leg. 74, no. 44.

influences of the Sangleys. They might fall into the superstitious practices of this people and eventually became idolaters like them.³³

To understand this matter more clearly, it is perhaps necessary to go back to the Chinese social background of the time. The author of the *Tung Shih yang k'ao* says in *chüan* 12 that sodomy was very severely forbidden in Luzon. Chinese who committed this offence were regarded as against Heaven and were condemned to die at the stake. The tone of his statement seems rather casual, as if someone had been making a fuss about a trifle. Shen Te-fu 沈德符 (1578 - 1642) states that sodomy was the great passion characterizing the Fukienese disregard of social distinctions. The elder of the perpetrators was known as *ch'i-hsiung* 契兄, the younger as *ch'i-ti* 契弟. In the home of the *ch'i-ti*, the *ch'i-hsiung* was treated by the *ch'i-ti*'s parents as a son-in-law. The *ch'i-ti*'s upkeep and his marriage expenses were the responsibilities of the *ch'i-hsiung*. Those who were affected to each other lived together sometimes well after their thirties. If they happened to meet obstacles, it was not uncommon for them to disappear in the waves embracing one another. If they were rich, they also kept boys whom they cherished as their sons. A prisoner would give bribes in order to obtain someone who would live with him in prison. The *Wu-tsa-tsu* criticized those who contended that sodomy was practised especially in Fukien and Kuangtung. The truth is, he said, that from Chekiang, Southern Chihli to the northern provinces, people were quite commonly addicted to this vice. In Peking, since public prostitution was forbidden, there, males known as *hsiao-ch'ang* 小囍 took the place of harlots and served at banquets as sing song girls. The first to take up this profession were natives of Ningpo, but they were later outnumbered by rivals from Lin-ch'ing in Shantung province. We are told that the lascivious gentry class shamelessly admitted them to their homes, and that this was done all over the country.³⁴

Then there was gambling, which was a passion among the

33. AGI, *Aud. Filip.*, Leg. 74, no. 44; *Idem.*, Leg. 18A, Ramo 4, no. 68; *Idem.*, Leg. 74, no. 97. The Audiencia of 1601 mentioned royal letters patent in which an order was given for punishing Chinese who had committed sodomy. It said that the king's command was still in force; cf. *Aud. Filip.*, Leg. 19, Ramo 2, no. 59.

34. Shen Te-fu, *Pi-chou-chai yu-t'an* 敝帚齋餘談. This passage is taken from *Chung-kuo ch'ang-chih shih* 中國通商史 by Wang Shu-nu 王壽奴 (Shanghai, 1935) 228-229; *Wu-tsa-tsu*, (*chüan* 8), 209.

Chinese. Speaking of Chinese artisans, Luis Pérez Dasmariñas insisted strongly that preference should be given to Christian Chinese. If they were not to be had, great care should be taken in selecting non-Christian Chinese artisans to make sure that they were not gamblers, because gamblers are harmful and cunning. From Chinese sources we learn that toward the end of the Ming dynasty a game of cards known as *yeh-tzu-hsi* 葉子戲 became very popular in South China. It is not surprising then to learn that gambling flourished in the *parián* in Manila.

The presence of such large numbers of Chinese in Manila overshadowed the Spanish colony. The fact that the archipelago was so near to China and depended on the Chinese traders for many of its needs made the Spaniards feel uneasy. There was always some fear of an uprising at some unexpected moment, especially when the number of Spanish soldiers was low. For this reason the royal letters patent issued by the king in 1594 decreed that the number of Chinese in the Philippines should be kept down, especially the number in Manila. Apart from necessary artisans and professionals, all who came for trade were to return to their homeland as soon as they had transacted their business. Luis Pérez Dasmariñas, who had been governor of the colony, was particularly aware of the danger. His father Gómez had been assassinated by Chinese in 1593, and this had increased his mistrust of the Chinese. In 1597 he wrote to the king saying that there were many Chinese working in the city of Manila. He had tried to move them out of the city. He had also laid down regulations for their shops. Only nipa (palm leaf) was allowed for the roofs so that the houses could be burnt down if a revolt started. He wished to put a strict limit to the number of Chinese entering the Philippines and to allow no non-Christian Chinese to move about among the natives of the archipelago. Non-Christian Chinese were not permitted to make wine nor were they permitted to work in places not assigned to them. Even religious monasteries were forbidden to harbor any Chinese.³⁵

A letter from Friar Juan de S. Pedro Mártir to the king in 1597 is very revealing. According to him, he had been living and working among the Chinese in Manila for eight years, during which he had tried to understand their customs and their religion. He considered

35. AGI, *Aud. Filip.*, Leg. 18B, Ramo 6, nos. 251, 253.

the Chinese very liberal in spending their money, especially when there was question of honor or gain. Being emotional and pusillanimous they had no hesitation in taking their own lives in drastic ways, by taking poison, by stabbing, by hanging themselves, or by drowning themselves in the rivers. The letter went on to say that, though orders had repeatedly been given that non-Christian Chinese were forbidden to leave the quarter assigned, they disregarded these orders and travelled all around, so that they knew the country far better than the Spaniards. Because of their liberality they were able to obtain licences of every kind from Spanish officials. Formerly non-Christian Chinese were forbidden to stay in the city of Manila, but about two thousand of them had managed to do so without being interfered with. Finally, he pointed out that the Chinese could not tolerate their ill-treatment by the Spaniards, and this had led to a number of tragic cases: the assassination of Governor Gómez Pérez Dasmariñas in 1593; the killing of seven Spaniards on their way to Cagayan, and of twenty-two others who were on a relief trip to Mindanao. The letter then concluded with a statement the writer heard from one of his Chinese Christians, whom he called an honest and religious man. "Father," said this man, "it is impossible for Spaniards to take Chinese with them and not to expect disasters, because the Spaniards treat the Chinese badly and their (the Chinese) reaction is that they prefer dying once to being martyred continuously. In order to liberate themselves from the cruelty of the Spaniards they try to kill them." The Friar's advice therefore was not to allow non-Christian Chinese to live in the city (of Manila) or to live in towns with the native Filipinos. Above all, never to let Spaniards make voyages in the ships of non-Christian Chinese.³⁶

There were other accusations against the Chinese living in the Philippines. Archbishop Ignacio de Santibáñez detailed several of them. First of all, they had taken up the cultivation of land and other tasks. In consequence the natives had been left idle and remained in their vices, since no one would employ them. Secondly, they had monopolized the commerce of the republic both in buying and in selling. As a result there had been a considerable increase in the prices of daily commodities. Chicken, which used to cost from a half rial to a rial had gone up to four rials, and rice had

36. AGI, *Aud. Filip.*, Leg. 79, no. 47.

gone up from one quartillo to one or two riáls per ganta. They were so gluttonous that one Chinese would spend five times more on food than one Filipino. Formerly the Chinese traders used to remain together in Manila, but they had now spread all over the islands. Government authorities had tried to excuse their presence somewhat by saying that the Jesuits needed their help to cultivate their farms near the city; for each portion of land rented to a Sangley they received one peso and a chicken every month. Others would give every variety of reason to justify the stay of the Sangleys. What the archbishop would have liked was to get rid of the Sangleys and to compel the natives to take up the work. This would no doubt be a good method of doing away with idlers and vagabonds.³⁷

On 23 May 1603 a Chinese ship brought three Mandarins to Manila. According to them one of their subjects, a certain Tio Neng, had informed his emperor that there was in the Philippines a golden mountain near the harbor of Cavite, which belonged to no one. The local natives had taken advantage of this and had got a great deal of gold out of it. It had been estimated that ten thousand taels of gold and thirty thousand of silver could be obtained from the fabulous mountain, and this, it was said, might relieve the Chinese traders from paying taxes to their government.

This explanation of the mandarins' visit seemed to the Spanish authorities excessively naive and indeed incredible. Was there anything sinister behind the move? For this we have to refer back to Chinese history.

The end of the Wan-li reign saw the country in a precarious state. Financially the empire was at a very low ebb. The war against the Mongols in the north and the defence of Korea against the Japanese invasion had cost the government huge sums. To add to the misery the audience and residential palaces were burnt down in 1596 and the following year. The cost of reconstruction had embarrassed the imperial treasury. Some of the ministers got the idea that opening mines might solve the crisis. The emperor, who was solely interested in raising funds, approved this suggestion, disregarding the opposition of grave ministers. His mistrust of officials had led him to employ eunuchs as commissioners. These men, raised up as a rule from low social levels, were devoid of

37. AGI, *Aud. Filip.*, Leg. 74, no. 65.

education and had little idea of morality. Their ambition for power and their greed for wealth made them unscrupulous and cruel.

Abuses developed in the summer of 1596 when a mine was opened in the capital itself under the supervision of a eunuch. Wastrels and vagabonds very soon took advantage of this to enrich themselves. They tried to extort money from the rich, and if they failed in this, they would then approach the eunuchs suggesting that there were mines hidden under the houses or farms of these rich people. The eunuchs would have the sites dug up at once to look for ores. Often the diggers desecrated tombs, a criminal offence that exceeded beyond measure. When after all the digging nothing was discovered, the rich owners of the land were forced to make payments. Thus, the eunuchs never failed to heap up more wealth for the imperial treasury, and the emperor was always satisfied with his *faithful* servants.

The scale of the mining project increased after 1596 and eunuchs were sent all over the empire. A memorial to the throne in 1599 informed the emperor that when a eunuch was sent out he usually brought with him a suite of a hundred men. A great part of the money they obtained would go first to the eunuch, then to his followers, and to base men who tried to fetch a share of the benefits. The yield to the imperial treasury was quite insignificant. Since these eunuchs had been officially despatched by the emperor, even the local government was helpless. If local officials tried to lay a complaint, they were at once accused of interference with imperial orders. The law-abiding people suffered in silence at first, but a time came when they could no longer tolerate what was happening. Chinese history in this period records a large number of revolts against the eunuchs all over the country.

At the time when the three mandarins were sent to Manila, the eunuch Kao Ts'ai 高來 was tax commissioner in Fukien. This notorious man retained his office for sixteen years, and the record he left behind contained nothing but scandals. The author of the *Tung Shih yang k'ao* devoted a full chapter to his biography (*chüan* 8). We are told that with the assistance of his gang, a big sign with "Imperial Decree" written on it was erected in the thoroughfare and taxes were levied from all the merchants on even the smallest commodities. Kao had a special interest in trading ships and would go around personally to inspect them. His presence inspired awe in government officials. As soon as a ship entered the harbor, Kao at

once gave orders that no one was to be allowed to go ashore until taxes had been paid. He was accused of having built two big oceangoing trading ships in which he would export articles, goods such as silk, weapons, metals, sulphur and saltpetre, the export of which was strictly forbidden by government. In 1604 he made a secret deal with the Dutch, promising them a trading post. This plan, however, was frustrated by strong opposition from the local government. Nevertheless, it was estimated that in the sixteen years of his stay in Fukien he accumulated several hundred thousand taels of silver and valuable goods of every kind.

Now, let us go back to the three mandarins. In a letter written by himself, the chief mandarin Au Cham chiam described himself as a servant of the eunuch Kao Ts'ai (*criado del capado del linaje de cou*). The letter went on to say that the king of China had ordered a captain by the name of Cochay to find out the truth about the gold mine in Keit (Cavite). Though the Spanish official documents made no mention of the name of Kao Ts'ai, the writers knew who he was. Thus at the margin of a document (*Filipinas*, 60) there is a note explaining that "most of the viceroys of the kingdom of China were eunuchs (*capados*) and for this reason the king keeps about three thousand of them in his residence so that he may make a choice." This note, of course, was not correct: viceroys were always appointed from among the government officials. However, as we have seen, the eunuchs in the Wan-li period, because of special circumstances, often had great power, sometimes perhaps equivalent to that of a viceroy. The letter of the mandarin to the governor of the Philippines stated explicitly that the Chinese king had given permission to the Fukien authorities to go to Luzon to find out the truth about the gold mine. The king's order also said that Cochay (Kao Ts'ai) should go with the mandarins together with Tio Neng. In fact, however, Kao did not go with them. Perhaps he was too shrewd to put his feet on foreign soil, where he was not certain what might happen to him.³⁸

The sudden appearance of these three mandarins caused great surprise and much suspicion. Even the Chinese community was

38. AGI, *Aud. Filip.*, Leg. 7, Ramo 1, no. 29; *Idem*, no. 30. According to the interpreter the names of the three mandarins were: (1) Au sam Chiang fu (no. 29 gives it as Cham chiam de linaje de Au); (2) On Ay hang, and (3) Can siu pi. Chinese sources, both the *Tung hsi yang k'ao* (*chüan* 5, p. 59) and the *Kuo-ch'üeh* (*chüan* 79, *ts'e* 5, p. 4917), give the first mandarin's name as Wang Shih-ho 王時和 magistrate of the prefecture of Hai-ching 海澄. The

greatly disturbed when the mandarins began to exercise jurisdiction over them. Some of the Chinese were tried and punished with the baton. Even a non-Chinese servant of a certain Spanish citizen was beaten by order of one of the mandarins. We are told that all the Chinese blacksmiths closed their forges and left the *parián* for fear of being summoned. Spanish authorities hurriedly called a meeting to decide what they should do. It was unanimously agreed that these mandarins should not be allowed to exercise jurisdiction over the Chinese community. Posters were put up at the gates of the *parián* informing the Chinese of the decision of the Spanish authorities. The *Kuo-ch'üeh* describes an amusing incident. At a banquet given by the Spanish governor in honor of the Chinese envoys, he told the chief mandarin that he would like to have a description of the trees on which, according to them, golden beans grew, on that fabulous mountain Keit. The chief mandarin was dumbfounded and made repeated efforts to catch the eye of Chang I, the inventor of this fabulous story. Unable to save the situation, Chang declared boldly: "The whole country is full of gold. Why do we need to enquire about the trees?" The governor and those present roared with laughter. The chief mandarin felt that his life was in danger. He is said to have died of fright shortly after his return to China.³⁹

Meantime eight Chinese ships had come with merchandise from China. From the traders it was learnt that these mandarins had been sent by their king to inspect the place as a prelude to conquest. This increased the suspicions of the Spaniards. However, the governor gave orders that the envoys should be well treated, though on no account were they to be permitted to leave the city. They were then brought to Cavite, about two leagues from Manila. Upon arrival salutes of guns were fired in their honor. Since they had no experience of such a custom, they were greatly frightened by the firing. When they reached the mountain, Chang I was asked by the mandarins whether this was the place he had meant when he wrote to the Chinese emperor, and he acknowledged that this was

Kuo-ch'üeh says that Wang was sent to Luzon (Fu-lang-chi kuo 佛郎機國) together with the centurion (*po-hu* 百戶) Yen Ying-lung 閩應隆 by the viceroy of Fukien. The author of the *Chung-kuo chih-min shih* (p. 151) says that Wang was sent with the centurion Yu I-ch'eng 于一成. The Chinese sources give Tio Neng's name as Chang I 張巖.

39. *Kuo-ch'üeh*, (*chüan* 79) V, 4900; 4917; *Tung hsi yang k'ao*, (*chüan* 5), 59.

the place. However, there were no signs of gold or silver. To satisfy the visitors' curiosity, a pail made of palm-leaves was filled with local soil and presented to them that they might bring it back to their emperor for inspection. Chang I was once more forced to justify his report. All he could now say was that he had hinted to the Chinese emperor that both the Spaniards and the Filipinos in Luzon possessed great amounts of gold, and if the emperor so wished he could send a fleet to occupy the place. He would then possess all the wealth of the country.⁴⁰

The Spaniards had no desire to keep their guests and tried to make their stay as brief as possible. Once the trip to Cavite was over, they were rushed to a ship which carried them back to their homeland. The *Tung hsi yang k'ao* states that the Spaniards wanted to kill Chang I for all the trouble he had caused, but the Chinese community requested that he be spared. They said that beyond doubt Chang would be handed over to justice in China and would be tried. This was in fact what happened. Kao Ts'ai realizing that he had been fooled, was in a rage. He delated Chang I as a scoundrel. Chang I was beheaded and his head was sent abroad — presumably to Luzon.⁴¹

After the departure of the mandarins the Spaniards expected the worst, and set about fortifying Manila. At the same time they tried to keep watch on the Chinese, especially the blacksmiths and the market gardeners. Vagabonds in the parían, having heard what was happening in the city, spread a rumor that the Spaniards were planning a massacre of all the Chinese in Luzon. There was also a rumor that the Chinese government had despatched an armed fleet to take Luzon. The tension and anxiety on both sides reached a danger point on 3 October 1603, the eve of the feast of St. Francis of Assisi, and a great massacre of the Chinese followed. The story is too long to narrate in this short paper. Here we could only say that the Spanish government regretted what had occurred, fearing that the Chinese authorities, incensed by the violence, might take revenge for the dead. Furthermore, the government knew it might be disastrous for the Philippines if the Chinese traders were to stop coming. Accordingly special envoys were sent to Macao to find out

40. *Conquista de las Islas Malucas al Rey Felipe III, N.ºS.ª Escrita por el Licen.º Bartolomé Leonardo de Argensola capellan de la Magestad de la Emperatriz y Rector de Villahermosa* (Madrid, 1609), pp. 315-318.

41. *Tung hsi yang k'ao*, (chüan 5), 59; *Kuo-ch'üeh* (chüan 79) V, 4917.

the attitude of the Chinese, and the governor of the Philippines sent a personal letter to the viceroy of Canton explaining what had happened. The property of Chinese killed in the insurrection was restored to their relatives in China. In 1605 an edict came from the Chinese emperor emphasizing the liberality of the monarch but also warning the Spanish government not to stir up further trouble.

By December of 1603 the storm of the insurrection seemed to have died away, but the damage remained before the eyes of the citizens of Luzon. The thought of the future plunged them into gloom. Early in April of that same year a great fire broke out in Manila and half of the city was devoured by the flames. The well-to-do lost their homes, and not even the royal storehouses escaped this disaster. Ships, moreover, that had been expected did not reach their destination. Christmas and New Year were near but no one gave a cheerful thought to them. "The whole republic, ecclesiastical and lay, is on the rocks. They are in great distress and are driven forward by necessity," wrote the ecclesiastical municipal council to the king.⁴²

These bitter thoughts now turned people's minds to what had caused all this trouble. The clergy were then the most intellectual group and their testimonies bore most authority. They unanimously blamed the government officials for having neglected the king's order on reducing the number of resident Chinese to a minimum. The ecclesiastical municipal council recalled how they had counselled government officials on this problem both on particular occasions and from the pulpit, saying that the royal commands must be obeyed and put to practice. Had this been done, they said, the disaster might never have occurred. What could be expected from this excessive number of infidels but treachery and perverted customs?⁴³ A letter from Friar Bernardo de Santa Catalina to the king, dated 15 December 1603, gives perhaps the best picture of the evil of the time:

If Your Majesty asks who is culpable in so serious a matter, we can reply: the people who did not observe the royal letters patent of Your Majesty. For years Your Majesty had been commanding that no Sangleyes should stay in this city except those necessary for the service of the city. The municipal council, time and again, requested that the number should be only 3000. This request was never granted; instead, the

42. AGI, *Aud. Filip.*, Leg. 84, Ramo 6, no. 156.

43. AGI, *Aud. Filip.*, Leg. 84, Ramo 6, no. 156; *idem*, no. 157; *idem*, no. 154.

number was allowed to increase year after year until it had gone beyond 16,000. Then, relying on their large numbers, they plotted the treachery we have spoken of. The said royal letters patent of Your Majesty were made the occasion for so many Chinese remaining. As we have said, permits were required for those who wished to stay, and for these they paid two rials yearly per person. The men in charge of the office all had their own interests. Everyone of them strove to make sure that there should be many two rials. Thus we were forced to take in more and more Sangleys. Some years ago I was told that the amount of money derived from these permits came to 60,000 pesos, but I found this hard to believe. This year, however, I came to see that it was true. Several of the Sangleys who had arrived from China recently, came to see me and asked me to obtain residential permits for them, but I declined their request. Three days later they returned and showed me the permits. When I asked from whom had they obtained them, the reply was that they had bought them at five *tostones* each. Trustworthy persons in this commonwealth have informed me that these permits used to be sold at five to six pesos apiece, sometimes even more.

To requite the past and remedy the future it would be necessary for Your Majesty to send a severe investigator to see to it that the culprits pay for what they have done to the peril of this territory. Your Majesty, do not credit all the papers that are going from here. It is obvious that those who feel guilty will try to clear their consciences. . . . May the Lord enlighten Your Majesty to send us a person. If it is not an ecclesiastic who is to make the investigation, it will be of no avail, for Your Majesty is so far away there would be no due fear. One of the *Oidores* here told me years ago that judges in Castile, as a rule, carry out their duties well because they seek honor, which it would not be easy to win if they did not behave well in their offices. In the Indies, however, the opposite is true. All that the judges try to do is to enrich themselves, and having this in mind they necessarily fail in their obligations.⁴⁴

Now, let us turn to the reports of Governor Pedro Acuña, written shortly after the insurrection. According to him, shortly after his arrival in Manila he visited the *parián*. The streets were crowded with Sangleys. Wherever he went he found great numbers of them. He then asked by whose authority these Sangleys were permitted to stay, and he was told that the Audiencia was in charge. Having spoken to the *Oidores* he asserted that, as governor

44. AGI, *Aud. Filip.*, Leg. 84, Ramo 6, no. 158. It is to be noted that in 1597 Luis Pérez Dasmariñas has already suggested that those who were appointed to oversee the repatriation of the Chinese should be men of integrity; otherwise, he said, it would be useless since

and as captain-general responsible for the defence of the land, the authority fell to him and not to the Audiencia or to the Oidor who was in charge of the Sangleys. Their reply, however, was that they had royal letters patent from the king committing to them the office of looking after the Sangleys. One of the Oidores was commissioned to this office every year. They then said that they would honor him as governor with that office for the year if he so desired. But they would not surrender their right without referring first to the king. This was something entirely new to the governor. His letter to the Royal Council said:

Time and again I called to the attention of the ministers that they should look at what they were doing about the activities of the office they had charge of. The whole city now blames them; they knew that it had been agreed that there should be no more than 4,000 Sangleys (in Luzon); yet at the time of the insurrection it was found that the number exceeded 18,000. This is indeed a very serious matter and one that cannot be easily overlooked. The whole population is now conscious of the damage that was done and is clamorous.⁴⁵

From what we have seen, it is clear that in the early days of the history of the Philippines there was mutual dependence between the Chinese and the Spaniards. The Chinese depended on the Spaniards for sale of their merchandise, and the Spaniards depended on the Chinese for material supplies and man power. Undoubtedly the Chinese enjoyed their stay in Luzon and regarded it as a second home — partly because it was so close to the mainland of China and partly because they were in general well treated by the Spaniards. They had a kind of community life among themselves in Manila. The *Tung hsi yang k'ao* says that after the insurrection of 1603 the Spanish authorities restricted the number of arrivals to 200 per ship. They were forced to leave as soon as business was over and had to add another 200 men to the number they had to bring back. We are told that a good number of them escaped halfway and returned to Manila.

Despite the good relations between Spaniards and Chinese, there was always distrust between them. The Spaniards, as newcomers to the East, naturally found everything strange, especially the pagan customs, which were entirely different from those of the Europeans. 'Barbarian' and 'diabolic' are epithets that turn up

before the sending away of the Chinese they would be involved in bribery. Cf. *Aud. Filip.*, Leg. 188, Ramo 6, no. 251.

45. AGI, *Aud. Filip.*, Leg. 7, Ramo 1, no. 42; *Idem.*, no. 46.

often in the documents of the time in reference to the infidels. The Chinese, for their part, found their European neighbors equally strange. Contemporary Chinese described the *Fu-lang-chi* 佛郎機 (Spaniard) as a tall man, seven feet high, with cat's eyes and an aquiline nose. His face has the color of white calcium and is covered with a thick curly beard that looks like black gauze. His hair is reddish. Because they looked so different from the Asiatics and because no one seemed to know much about their origin, legend began to grow that they were baby-eaters. It was said that they would offer 100 golden coins for a baby. Here is the recipe for cooking babies.

Firstly, a big caldron was filled with boiling water. The baby was put in a wire cage which was placed on the water to be steamed until all the perspiration had dried away. It was then taken out and an iron brush was used to fresh off the bitter skin. The bowels of the baby were taken out while it was still alive. The steaming then continued until the flesh was well cooked. It was then served.⁴⁶

Such dark legends served to deepen the suspicion and mistrust between peoples. The Spanish king had ordered that the Chinese were to be well treated, but the officials did not really know how to go about this. After the death of Martín de Rada in 1578, no one made a serious effort to understand the Chinese and things Chinese. Of Rada, we are told that on his trip to China in 1575 he had collected invaluable notes and over one hundred Chinese books covering a comprehensive range of subjects, including geography, history, government, administration, philosophy, religion, sciences, arts, crafts, and products and customs of China. This was the period when Matteo Ricci and his fellow Jesuits were breaking the ice of xenophobia in China. An earnest effort to understand the Chinese mentality and to adapt themselves to Chinese customs had made them acceptable to the people. They were also able to open up to the Chinese a new world in the West, whose culture was entirely different from that of the East but in no way inferior to the culture of the Celestial Empire.

46. *Tung hsi yang k'ao*, (chüan 5), p. 60; In chüan 12, p. 182, Chang Hsieh quoted this legend from the *Yüeh-shan ts'ung-t'an* 月山叢談 but he commented: "(Chinese) who are now in Luzon have never heard of baby-eating (among the Fu-lang-chi)."